Mapping of Community Centers: production of meetings and networks*

Cartografia dos Centros de Convivência: a produção de encontros e de redes

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ABSTRACT: This study has as its object the production of Community Centers (CECOs) in the intersectoral network, and has the city of Campinas as empirical field. The main objective was to identify, give visibility, and analyze the creation of Community Centers from a qualitative approach and mapping method. We adopted the Philosophy of Difference and the premises of Psychosocial Care as theoretical reference. From the results, the production of meetings stood out as the central aspect of creation of CECOs: meetings in the difference, between users with diverse age, gender, and diagnosis; meetings between professionals and users; meetings between different disciplines, sectors, and knowledge; meetings with different activities and meetings with the city.

KEYWORDS: Community health centers; Community networks; Intersectoral action.

RESUMO: O presente estudo tem como objeto a produção dos Centros de Convivência (CECOs) na rede intersetorial, tendo o município de Campinas como campo empírico. O objetivo principal do estudo foi identificar, dar visibilidade e analisar a produção dos Centros de Convivência, a partir de uma abordagem qualitativa e do método da cartografia. Adotou como referência teórica a Filosofia da Diferença e os pressupostos da Atenção Psicossocial. Dos resultados se destacou a produção de encontros, como aspecto central da produção dos CECOs: encontros na diferença, o encontro entre usuários com heterogeneidade etária, de gênero e de diagnóstico; o encontro entre profissionais e usuários; o encontro entre diferentes disciplinas, setores e saberes; o encontro com diferentes atividades e o encontro com a cidade.

DESCRITORES: Centros comunitários de saúde; Redes comunitárias, Ação intersetorial.

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INTRODUCTION

Community Centers are public devices that compose the intersectoral network, offering spaces for sociability, cultural production, and intervention in the city. They are open to the community and especially to people in situation of vulnerability or social exclusion[2,3]. By the construction of coexistence spaces, Community Centers promote spaces of articulation with the everyday life and with the territory by actions of different sectors such as Health, Social Services, Education, and Culture.

This research sought to map the production of CECOs from the perspective of managers, workers, and users. Researching not the CECO, but its production, indicates that next to the shapes and objects with stable contours, there is a collective realm of forces that produce them, a moving realm of the reality of things that cannot be abandoned when we intend to understand an object. Mapping here is a strategy of access, analysis, and construction of this realm.

According to Deleuze and Guattari[4], Mapping is useful to describe the processes more than the state of affairs. This indicates an analysis procedure from which the reality being studied is in constant transformation and motion, a reality made up of different narratives, contexts, and lines of strength to be considered in their complexity and uniqueness.

METHODOLOGY

This study is a qualitative research, with participatory nature, based on the method of mapping for the production and analysis of data, as proposed by Passos, Kastrup, and Escóssia[5], as well as by Ferigato and Carvalho[6].

The research project was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Medical Sciences of Unicamp, of the Campinas Municipal Health Secretariat and SISNEP, with the code 1036/2010.

Campinas was the scenario for this research, by factors of convenience and for being the city with the highest concentration of CECOs per inhabitants throughout the country. Ten Community Centers constituted the research field in this city, which was the totality of CECOs implemented at the time of the research (March 2011 to February 2013). Most of these CECOs were under management of the Municipal Health Secretariat, and some of them were linked to Culture and community initiatives.

Data production included extensive field research, divided into stages, with different data production techniques: (1) documentary research in official records of the Community Centers of the City Hall of Campinas; (2) habitation of the research territory[7], totalizing 400 hours of immersion in the field, registered in field journals[8] in which the participating observation was conducted in all CECOs (40 h/service); (3) participants were invited to the research by the presentation of the proposal on the Companionship Center Forum of the city and formal invitation letter to managers; (4) formation of 3 semi-structured focus groups[9,10] with managers, workers, and users of CECOs, respectively. Each group relied on a representative from each CECO. These groups were audio-taped and transcribed; (5) production of photographic and video records; (6) performance of a workshop for socialization of the research results, which was open to the network of professionals, users, and managers of CECOs; (7) final composition of the thesis, crossing narratives of users (in italics and simple spacing) with copyright texts and bibliographic references, from the technique of interpolation of viewpoints[11].

This interpolation, in the analysis stage, helped us identify the constant presence of the term "production of meetings" as an expression heavily used by the research participants, either in the field journals or in the focus groups. This was the first clue that the field has provided us with, and it was the guiding line of the next stage of the research: mapping the meetings produced. The materials were all revisited, and from them we identified different levels of production of meetings, which we will seek to present in this article.

From Spinoza[12], we can identify that the nature of the meetings is not in itself positive or negative. The meeting between the bodies happens for convenience or non-convenience. What is put in the center of interest is its relational component, which can increase or decrease the power of the parties that relate to each other, composing or decomposing them. According to this philosopher, meetings are essentially ethical-affective, linked to the notion of composition or decomposition in the relation between the bodies, in the immanence of the own experience. A good meeting is characterised by composition, by increasing the power of a body, and a bad meeting is characterized by decomposition or decreasing the power to act or the strength to exist of a body.

The transformation that a meeting can generate in a body is undetermined, "we do not know what a body can do"[12], but we know that, what it can or cannot do is directly related to its ability to affect and be affected by the meetings it experiences. What about CECOs? What

meetings contribute to the construction of the health network? What affections and practices these meetings produce?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: THE MEETINGS PRODUCED IN CECOS

By analyzing the material produced during the research, we identified at least 4 aspects: meeting between people, meeting between different sectors, meeting with the activities, and meeting with the city. These meetings provide a set of developments that we will seek to approach below.

Meeting between people

> *The CECO is a space of meeting between people who sometimes cross each other on the street and had never actually met. (Worker 08 in focus group – W08FG)*

This meeting also shows unique and distinct facets, including various meetings, among which: meetings between professionals, between users, and between professionals and users.

Meetings between professionals: creation of networks, transdisciplinarity, and community knowledge

The meeting between professionals identified in the research process produces, among other things, the transdisciplinarity and construction of care networks; that is because, in the context of the CECOS of Campinas, the teams are composed by professionals hired for the CECO, professional partners coming from different services, interns, and volunteers; all of them with different formations. Knowledge from different professional cores and from different points of the network of services are shared and give light to the power of CECO as a producer device and network operator. We refer to networks as networks of life,

> spatial structures having their existence guided by the number of connections they contain. A connected space, consisting of a mobile network of nomadic people and technologies operating in noncontinuous physical spaces. Thus, to integrate these spaces, a node (a service or an individual) do not need to share the same space with the other nodes of the mobile network. The hybrid space consists of the implication of different and discontinuous places[13].

In the CECOs, there are professionals and users from different health services, and from other sectors such as Social Services and Education. Thus, we produce networks in action, from the relational dimension between people.

> *We've managed to establish this partnership with the Centers of Psychosocial Care (CAPS) to improve the relationships, and I think the CECO comes with partnership, both in the sense of volunteers and of people from the network that comes to compose with us. So, we had a psychologist from the Health Center that used to come to do a workshop there for us to be able to make this network not only of workers, but also with the community. (W05FG)*

In situations like this, it is the relational nature of the work in the CECOs that shows itself as a breeding ground for a creative interaction and mutual learning. It is in the tension between the force of alive work and the forces that want to capture it that the professionals and their roles are formed[14].

In one of the CECOs, we registered the existence of a theater workshop coordinated by a health professional and an actor. At this meeting, it was clear the concern by the professionals in opposing the orthodox use of art as moral pedagogy or therapy in oneself, and, at the same time, the health professionals were also worried about differentiating from the simplistic use of art as a mere instrument of reassurance or entertainment. We identified a movement of affirmation of life by the artistic activity, directed by an artist and a health professional[15].

There, meetings with people with knowledge not incarnated in disciplines also happened, such as the volunteers, who are, for the most part, the expression of community knowledge, of the territory singularities (capoeiristas, seamstresses, graffiti artists etc.). The people that meet this way, more than operators of different practices, are people that construct social and subjective networking.

Meeting of users: affirmation of differences and creation of affective networks

> *Can only the poor enter? No, it is not only the poor that can enter, because we have an ethic that all fit this space, poor, rich, black, white. Who need it, may come. (Manager 08 in focus group - M08FG)*

In the CECOs, there are different people regarding age group, social class, gender, presence or not of some

morbidity; people with different limitations and different possibilities. This heterogeneity performs the same activity groups, with shared objectives, and is an important feature of CECOs.

> *This mobilizes us to think with them in diverse groups. People who are using drugs, old ladies who want to gossip... the moment of this meeting is very powerful to construct new ways of living life... I don't need to live only on drugs, or I don't need to live only in gossip. And this is the promotion of life. This deviates a bit from the way of doing of the Basic Health Units, of the Center of Psychosocial Care... it is another moment. (W01FG)*

It is not just about the meeting between different people, but the intersection of heterogeneous modes of subjectification[16].

> *Now we are receiving, besides adults, teenage children; because before we used to receive more the people from Cândido Ferreira(1). This is very important, we no longer have the mark of "sanatorium", but of Companionship Center. (W08FG)*

The meeting between these differences bothers, transforms, relates people who possibly would not relate in other circumstances. These meetings are, mostly, cheerful and surprising, but they can also be very tough. According to the narrative of users and professionals, the meeting with "madness" remains the most difficult one to be worked by the professionals and to the community considered "not crazy".

> *A challenge is to bring the population to coexistence with the user of mental health (...) we are still infrequently accessed. (M03FG)*

On the other hand, users of mental health services are demonstrating the importance of this device in their lives.

> *When I was younger, my children did not want to visit me in the hospital or in the CAPS, they only were there for the first time when they were 12 and 13 years old. I have a picture of them from this time and they were stuck in my arm, afraid of being in a mental hospital, it was too sad. When I said: You go there in the CECO Espaço das*

Vilas, they said: "Ok! There we will go, in the CECO we can go." That was when they started to participate in my treatment. (User 03 in focus group – U03FG)

An important part of the care processes that take place in the CECOs emerges from there, where professionals meet the mission of intermediating the meetings and caring that the possible difficulties elapsing from this process are worked on.

The meeting between professional and user: transversality and new relationships of knowledge-power

The meeting between professionals and users is configured as a relationship of power, hegemonically vertical, in which the professional, detainer of knowledge, acts on the user's body, which takes the position of object and patient of interventions. We can observe that in the CECOs, often, the meeting between professionals and users happens from greater transversality of power. According to Guattari[17], transversality is a dimension that intends to overcome the impasse of a pure verticality or a simple horizontality. Transversality takes place when there is effective communication between different ones in different directions. It is important to emphasise that transversalization processes like this are also movements designed and produced by the network of psychosocial care from the advent of the Psychiatric Reform, and, in this sense, it is not an exclusive attribute of CECOs.

In the field observations, this happened especially when the professionals expressed openness to "operate the availability for the meeting, to provide freedom, promote dialogic contexts, accompany users in everyday life, and mediate interactions" (p. 148)[18].

In moments like this, professionals and users are invited to experience new existential possibilities, new subjectification devices[16]. Users and professionals are invited to move from their traditional places. This dislocation of identity roles promotes in both a destabilisation allowing the power relationships imposed to also destabilize, updating other forms of subjectivity. For the users, the possibility to blur the historically built identity of "mentally ill", or "blind", or "diabetic" is created to allow new becomings: artisans, artists, dancers, graffiti artists, painters.

The knowledge-power is also dislocated in the workshops. Unlike the consulting room or traditional

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(1) Reference to the Dr. Cândido Ferreira Health Service – a charitable entity, civil private law association, non-profit organization, dedicated to a significant part of the psychosocial activities in the field of mental health in the city of Campinas.

classrooms, in which the professional "holds the knowledge" about life or the learning process of the other, in a music workshop there may be a user that mastered more musical instruments than the coordinator of the group.

I didn't know how to do mosaic and today I run a mosaic workshop with 15 people. I feel happy about it, we have the opportunity to start from a territory that is opened. (W08FG)

In this sense, the interventions produced in CECOs cannot take place effectively if the professionals themselves do not try to experience more autonomy and some degree of disruption with their disciplinary knowledge. This implies taking the intervention not only as professional specialty that is offered to users and their families, but as a work to be built and managed on the meeting[14].

Moreover, in these spaces, the professional care for the potentiality of the user is not secondary, but the guiding principle of this meeting, an ethical attitude that comes from the recognition of the other as legitimate, the recognition of each one as insufficient, and the recognition that the meaning of a situation is produced by the set of present knowledge[19].

The potentiality is when you hear the user tell his expectations and what he has gained from the experience with the CECO, when you can treat the disease looking from the health, and put the potentialities, the wishes of the users above everything. (W05FG)

However, this care comes from different sectors, and thus, this meeting may or may not produce therapeutic effects, releasing the health-care professional from that mandate and the professionals from other sectors from this order:

The meeting may also not produce a therapeutic, because we do not have the need to be there all the time. (M06FG)

At this meetings, these bodies can produce new contact surfaces beyond the treatment surface, produce effects both individual and collective, arising from an intervention that aims to ultimately include or re-place the individual in the collective production plan. In this realm, we allowed ourselves to find what we were not looking for or to be found by the event[7].

Meeting between people and activity: language of action and construction of new subjectivities

Most of the meetings established in the CECOs take place intermediated by workshops of activities (artisanal,

artistic, agricultural, culinary, sportive, educational, sociocultural, of income generation...). According to Galletti[3], the workshops function more as producer vectors of existence than producers of clinical intervention.

These spaces do not follow rigid models, they have an experimental nature and can promote the destabilisation in the specific frameworks of each area. By their transdisciplinary and experimental nature[3], they commonly incorporate the entrance of a third element in the meeting between worker and user: the activity.

According to Castro and Lima et al.[20], human activities consist of a set of actions that present qualities, demand capacities and materiality, and establish internal mechanisms for their implementation. The language of action is one of the many ways of knowing oneself, the other, the world, the space, the time in which we live, and our culture.

It is not just about the confrontation with a new area of expression, but the formation of complexes of subjectification: individual-group-activity – multiple exchanges that offer diverse forms of composition of an existential corporality[16].

When questioned about how they came to know the CECOs and why they attended this space, most users refer to specific activities:

I heard from my neighbor that they had a cooking workshop and I came to participate or I attend the CECO because I love painting, when I'm painting I feel lighter. (Report from users registered in the field journal - UDC)

Speeches such as this refer to the possibility of meetings intermediated by actions that are producers of meaning to individuals. According to Galletti[3], an activity is "doing something" that is filled with meaning to the users.

In the reports of the users, the meeting with the activity was related to (a) its therapeutic factor, (b) its function of occupation of space and time, and (c) the transformation of themselves and of their lives.

At least for me, the sport was instrumental as therapy (...), because sometimes the activity goes far beyond what we can imagine. (U01FG)

When school was over, I was sedentary at home, because the courses and schools for blind people said that I had already learned everything they had to offer, and the world of those who can see told me that it had no room for me... And then the CECO appeared and I started

living again, having an occupation and where to go when I leave home. (UDC)

In other narratives, the activity appears as a producer channel that changes the perception that the other has of him or herself, a possibility to decrease stigma, produce rights, and generate new meetings between the individual and his socius[20]:

Sometimes the person goes to CAPS and people think: "that person has a mental disorder, he's going to a psychiatrist..."; when that person starts an activity in the CECO, the people of the neighborhood start looking at us differently, because they see that we are capable of doing something nice. (U04FG)

The workshops of activities, in this context, make it possible for each one to be recognized and recognize oneself by other doings[20]. There, different singularities could enroll in the world from the participation in activities that took place in the culture, building new existential territories.

According to Guattari[16], the final purpose of human activity is the production of a subjectivity that continuously enrich its relationship with the world. Thus, what was objectively produced in a workshop was the result of a constant transition between the singular rhythm of each one and the collectivization of these singularities. "This is about expanding life, seeking dialogue, promoting meetings, enabling new routes" (p. 57)[20].

The meeting between different sectors and the production of intersectoral practices

The intersectoral approach can be understood as the combination of knowledge and experiences in planning, in carrying out or evaluating actions, with the aim of achieving integrated results in complex situations, aiming at a synergistic effect in social development[21].

We identified, in the researched field, that 5 Sectors are directly or indirectly present in the daily life of CECOs: Health, Education, Social Services, Sports, and Culture.

Various activities are means for the implementation of intersectoral actions: computer courses and literacy classes for adults; different sports activities, music, theater, dance workshops, etc.

The identification of CECOs by the community as a cultural space facilitates and stimulates the binding of people with the most different limitations, which needed meeting spaces beyond those that a sector alone can offer. Older adults, people with physical and sensorial disabilities, with mental disorders, and children in situation of vulnerability are just a few of these examples.

The meeting between different sectors expands the health sector approach, which was initially the responsible sector for the implementation of CECOs in Campinas. There, we watch alternative networks grow from the own hegemonic network and connect with other networks, with the city, with the community, and with other ways of thinking health[22].

The intersectoral actions happen because we understand that producing recreation is a way of producing health, as well as culture and education also produce health. (M03FG)

Unfortunately, the alliances and partnerships that are held in the micropolitical daily life of CECOs are not always achievable from the point of view of Municipal Secretariats and macropolitics. This generates overlapping actions and a division between the proposed attention care model and the management and financing models.

We want to set up a CECO, but there is already one in the territory (which is from social services). Instead of the secretariats get together and enhance, each one builds their own little house and it's time to join what is done in two houses in only one house, (...) Thinking these other secretariats together to construct the CECO guidelines would be something interesting, because today there is no intersectoral approach in the central management. (M08FG)

Finally, in the meeting between different sectors, the power of the CECOs is affirmed once again in the occupation of the border area. Border between the disciplines and their knowledge fields. The intersectoral approach in the CECOs took place from rhythmical changes, the network was produced by lyrics, by instruments and professionals shared between different care points, by the joint participation in presentations and not only by roles or management pacts.

The meeting with the city and with the territory: reinvention of public spaces and creation of community areas

Another important meeting to be registered when we think about CECOs is the meeting between CECO users and the city.

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I keep thinking that it's not just about promoting the meeting with each other, but also with the social environment, [...] We have a desire to make people find out their territory and their city, to rethink the leisure and socialization spaces we occupy... (M08FG)

The city is taken as an important space for the investment of Public Policies. We think the city also as "subjective city"[23] and the "Territory" above all as a place of passage, involving biological, geographic, subjective, and sociological aspects, among others.

The territory can relate to both an experienced space and a perceived system in which an individual feel "at home". Territory is a synonym of appropriation, of subjectification closed in on itself. It is the set of projects and representations that develops, pragmatically, a whole series of behaviors and investments in social, cultural, aesthetic, cognitive times and spaces (p.323)[24].

If the territories fulfill a function of delimitation, appropriation, and articulation in a city, it is possible to create connections and actions of belonging to a certain territory and at the same time movements to reinvent it, transform it.

According to Souza and Tedesco[25], life in the territory expands connections, and thus increases the power of living. People who used to live marginalized start to cooperate with each other as they are inserted into affective networks[19]. This increase of power occurs because of connections that expand the cooperative territories in a production of common territory[26].

The Companionship Center, as coexistence public space, can be presented as an important device for the resignificance of the meeting between people and the city, for possibly recreating the way citizens occupy public spaces, appropriating it with an active attitude in its construction.

We stress the term "active attitude" because it identifies, in the speeches of different users, a change in the ways these people inhabit the city from the meetings with the CECOs, a change that apparently removes the individual from a passive, marginalized place, to a place with greater protagonist potential, a place that broaden his acting, broaden the city.

The older people, who are already retired, used to feel "out of time", and those workshops, that coexistence between older people and young people and children helped me a lot. There's still room for me in this time. People feel more supported. (U02FG)

In the CECO, we take the bus and go there, if there's a rehearsal of the Symphony Orchestra, I will go watch and it's free. (U03FG)

In this direction, not only the users are changed, but the city and the people who belong to it also change:

Our June Festival was also not within the service, but in the sports court of the neighborhood. Suddenly the people who were in the square were also there together. (W05FG)

The CECO was built next to a crack house, and with time not only the crack house was transformed, but the way they take ownership of that space, the composition with the religious leaders, the parson, father, I don't know who else that is inside, also change. (W06FG)

Some CECOs, located in public squares, bring this relationship between people and the public space in a quite unique way. We saw the difference in the square and the square of differences. The square as arena and stage for political, artistic, ephemeral, and radical actions. The proposed coexistence goes beyond the walls of CECO, and the individual who sought the CECO, finds the square.

Thus, the effects of facing the exclusion observed in the CECOs go beyond the movement of inclusion of traditionally marginalized groups, functioning as a meeting space for people who felt excluded, especially in neoliberal times, which produces new forms of exclusion.

I'm not mentally ill, I don't have any serious illness, and I'm not that old, but there was something missing, I felt very lonely since my children got married. I used to go to the Taquaral Park every day, but people walk, walk over there and you can't meet anyone. When I first came here, I saw there was a coexistence in a different way, where we could meet people, even those who we used to be afraid of, it's fun, we grow. I no longer feel alone". (UDC)

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this study, we mapped the production of CECOs, having as research field the city of Campinas, seeking to present strategies for coexistence that can be useful for the development of similar actions in other locations.

In a first dive on the field, we identified "the production of meetings" as the main production of

CECOs. Based on Spinoza theories, we started to analyze some of the meetings that the CECOs produce, organizing these meetings in some realms: meetings between people, between knowledge, between sectors, with activities, and with the city.

These meetings, besides giving visibility to the practices and knowledge that constitute the CECOs, also give us important clues about what kind of policies, strategies of intervention and of network production CECOs can produce. That is, the production of meetings is not closed in on itself, but unleash a series of other technical, sociocultural, affective, and political productions that we sought to highlight in the discussion of each result displayed.

We performed a transversal analysis on these meetings and identified that CECOs are powerful devices to promote intersectoral policies, to intervene in the city (producing community areas and creating new ways of circulation through the territories), to create social ties, and to oppose to stigmatizing and excluding practices. The CECO, in its constitution, "embodies" the network in itself, in an implication of singular people and places.

From the perspective of the production of meetings, we can say that the CECOs can work on the health network and in the intersectoral network as a device activator of experience or as an engine of experimentation.

Although the experiences lived in these places and the practice of several cities such as Campinas proves its relevance, the academic and political-economic investments in these devices are still insufficient from the national point of view and deserve to be more explored, especially regarding the construction of intersectoral Public Policies in Brazil.

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