

## Psychosocial production of public space in anti-repressive collective action

### *Producción psicosocial del espacio público en la acción colectiva antirrepresiva*

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#### **Resumen**

El estudio analiza la producción de sentidos psicosociales en torno al espacio céntrico de la ciudad de Córdoba, Argentina, desde la perspectiva de jóvenes que se movilizan en una acción colectiva antirrepresiva denominada “Marcha de la Gorra”. En esta manifestación se denuncia la regulación material y sensible que opera la vigilancia policial sobre determinados cuerpos (en particular, juventudes de sectores populares), la cual tiene como efecto la obturación o inhibición de la libre habitabilidad del espacio público. El objetivo de investigación fue doble: 1) comprender, desde una perspectiva psicosocial, cómo procede la segregación socioespacial operada por el control policial selectivo y, a la par, 2) reconocer los sentidos subjetivos y espaciales que produce la irrupción de la acción colectiva en el espacio disputado. Para ello, se trabajó con un enfoque cualitativo, apoyado en el registro etnográfico de la movilización y en entrevistas cualitativas con jóvenes participantes (entrevistas en profundidad y conversaciones en marcha). Por tratarse de un estudio de largo plazo, entre 2014 y 2022, se entrevistó a más de 60 jóvenes, de entre 16 y 31 años, participantes de la acción colectiva en análisis. Entre los hallazgos principales, se identificó que la producción psicosocial del espacio público en el ámbito de la acción colectiva se expresa en tres dimensiones: las intervenciones artísticas en la calle, la corporización de la protesta y la colectivización del conflicto.

#### **Palabras clave**

Juventud, espacio público, acción colectiva, emociones, cuerpo, seguridad, zona urbana, psicología social.

### **Abstract**

*This study analyses the production of psychosocial meanings around the central space of the city of Córdoba, Argentina, from the perspective of young people who mobilize in an anti-repressive collective action called Marcha de la Gorra. This action denounces the material and sensitive regulation that police surveillance operates on certain bodies (especially, youth from popular sectors), which has the effect of inhibiting or blocking the free habitation of public space. The research objective is twofold: 1) to understand, from a psychosocial perspective, how the socio-spatial segregation operated by selective police control proceeds and, at the same time, 2) to recognize the subjective and spatial meanings produced by the irruption of collective action in the disputed space. For this, a qualitative approach was used, supported by the ethnographic record in the mobilization and qualitative interviews with young participants (in-depth interviews and conversation-in-march). As this is a long-term study conducted between 2014 and 2022, more than 60 young people, aged between 16 and 31, who participated in the collective action under analysis, were interviewed. Among the main findings, it was identified that the psychosocial production of public space in the sphere of collective action is expressed in three dimensions: artistic interventions in the street, the embodiment of protest and the collectivization of the conflict.*

### **Keywords**

*Youth, public space, collective action, emotions, body, security, urban areas, social psychology.*

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## **Introduction**

It is necessary to mention that the analyzes presented in this work are around the (psycho)social production of *urban* public space. In this line, the work is anchored in the city of Córdoba, Argentina, particularly, in the collective youth action called “Marcha de la Gorra”. The study of this mobilization took place over nine years, in the framework of a doctoral thesis in psychology. This action characterizes as “anti-repressive”, since its demands are aimed at questioning and denouncing the selectivity of the police control to operate on bodies in the urban area, especially on the popular and juvenile.

Contributions from the social sciences regarding the social production of space are used. Then, “Marcha de la Gorra” is placed as an action that highlights the axial character of the spatial dimension, in a double sense: on the one hand, the denunciation of the sociosegregation in the city of Córdoba and, on the other hand, the political and subjective senses that houses the

massive irruption of bodies in the same space from which they are expelled daily: the center of the city.

The presentation and discussion of the results of this qualitative research will allow us to address the main questions: How do the processes of inequality and segregation materialize in the public space and in the daily relations that are deployed there? What is the subjective and spatial senses of the anti-repressive mobilization in the street? From this double question, we will advance in the understanding of what we call *psychosocial* production of public space, in relation to the subjective and spatial transformations promoted by collective action.

### **About the social production of space and urban sensitivities**

The theoretical and conceptual contributions of the social sciences are copious in order to understand the social production of public space, as well as its conflictual dimension. Growing up in anthropology, Augé asserts that the world can be thought of as an immense city. A city-world within which products, messages, arts, fashions, etc. circulate and exchange. At the same time, each great city is a world, because of the ethnic, cultural, social and economic diversity it hosts. The metropolises reflect through their architecture and aesthetics on the great inequalities and diversities of the world through walls, separations and barriers (material and symbolic) that are expressed in everyday practices (Augé, 2015).

From critical geography and urbanism, Harvey (2013) states that the development of cities is linked to capitalist modes of production, so the processes of urbanization reflect class division. Such a configuration tends to dismiss the city as a social, political, and vital common good. In this sense, it is unproductive to think of the spatial question outside of a conflict-contemplating view. Peña (2014) argues that public space constitutes a stage for disputes over the production and reproduction of social practices, either in order to sustain existing spatial relations or to transform them. In this sense, the apparent state of fixation or structure with which space is usually represented is rather an illusion that masks a dynamic of antagonisms and tensions between projects, possibilities and social sectors. From social psychology, Vidal *et al.* (2014) have affirmed that subjects and collectivities transform space through action on the environment, intervening in it symbolically and affectively. The actions give the space a singular and social sense, and these,

in turn, are intertwined with the emotional experience that spatiality arouses. In this regard, subjectivity is composed of spatial textures. Lacarrieu (2017) has also insisted that urbanity reflects on state-market relations. Examples of this are the processes of gentrification and the building, real estate and socio-economic transformation that are imposed in certain urban sectors. However, it highlights that despite the strong trend of privatization imposed by capitalist and neoliberal logic, public space continues to exist, exposing subjects to the possibility of being, seen, touched or confronted, embodying that conflict.

There are numerous studies in Latin America on the social production of public space. Lindón (2015) asserts that cities constitute disputed zones in which the experience of circulating/inhabiting appears strongly permeated by ethnic and class conditioning. Thus, it claims the approach of space in *experiential* terms and proposes to investigate the ways in which the urban is acted, modeled, contested, and inscribed in bodies. In this sense, collective actions are shown as a fertile ground for exploring conflicts linked to public spatiality. Thus, there are several examples that show how inequality and dissent permeate the configuration of urban space in Latin American cities, constituting a regional problem. We can mention the studies around the most recent social outbreaks in Chile (Campos-Medina and Bernasconi-Ramírez, 2021) and in Colombia (Lisset-Pérez and Montoya, 2022), as well as the actions of reappropriation of the Castilla Park, in Lima, Peru (Del Castillo, 2021), urban movements in which the occupation of public space played a key role in the politicization of conflicts. This group could include the “Marcha de la Gorra” (Córdoba, Argentina), which is the empirical reference of this work.

Delving into the Córdoba context, we find a profuse field of work that has addressed the issue of public space and inequality. First, the work of Cer vio (2015), inscribed in the perspective of the sociology of bodies and emotions, in which the author addressed the socio-spatial segregation in the city of Córdoba from the 80s, within the processes of capitalist structuring. The author points out the progressive differential occupation of the peripheral area, depending on class positions, a reflection of an urban valorization policy oriented to private capital. More recently, San Pedro and Herranz (2017) and Boito and Salguero-Myers (2021), have indicated that the central areas of the city are outlined as closed spaces for those subjects who do not meet the criteria of social desirability, who are relegated to move in the peripheries. In turn, they argue that the location of the popular neighborhoods, notably distant from the urban center, obstructs even more the possibilities of transit of its inhabitants.

At the same time, numerous local investigations suggest that public security policies and the deployment of police forces are a key piece of control and regulation of public space (Bologna *et al.*, 2017; Guemureman *et al.*, 2017; Pita, 2021). Schaefer Square (2020) points out that this materializes in the heavy police presence in the streets and in an increasing number of arrests aimed at a specific group: young men from peripheral neighborhoods of the city.

From a psychosocial approach, Bonvillani (2020; 2023) analyzes the scenarios of police harassment directed at these young people within the framework of the Cordoban security policy. There, he addresses the arbitrary way in which police detentions proceed in central areas of the city, registering them as persecution practices. Security policy as a power device operationalizes a logic of segregation based on stigmatizations linked to body traits: skin color and certain aesthetics linked to popular neighborhoods.

However, public space does not only operate as surveillance territory. On the contrary, it is a space capable of being transformed and redrawn in function of social action. By constituting the venue of the fortuitous and spontaneous encounter between many different social sectors, the public space is a *way* for the disruption of what is instituted. In this context, Mr. Peña (2014) stressed the importance of approaching collective action from a spatial perspective. Precisely, part of this conflict knot is evident in the so-called “*Marcha de la Gorra*”.

### **About the *Marcha de la Gorra* in Córdoba**

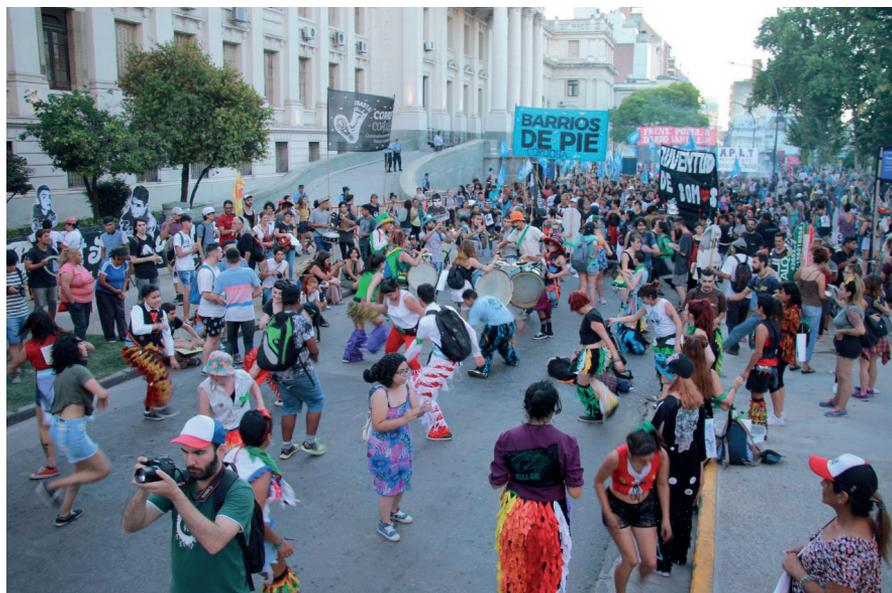
The conflict raised above around the crossings between public space-inequalities-police surveillance is observed in *Marcha de la Gorra*. This collective action was launched in 2007, by a group of young people, territorial leaders and social organizations, with the purpose of denouncing situations of police abuse, especially arbitrary detentions. Since its origins, the mobilization has been replicated annually, reaching eighteen uninterrupted editions. In its statement of demands, there is an emphatic claim regarding public security policies, particularly in relation to police action. In the first editions, there was a predominant repudiation of the systematic and arbitrary nature of police detentions in the central areas of the city, especially aimed at young people from the popular neighborhoods. This selective surveillance results in interceptions and searches on the public roads. Therefore, the core of the March’s demands bears a significant spatial dimension. Subsequently, along

with the conjunctural transformations and some upsurge of the security scenario, the March was incorporating other slogans related to institutional violence, highlighting the demand for justice for the so-called *trigger-happy* cases, referring to episodes of police lethality (Pita, 2019).

The difficulties faced by popular youth in living, circulating and remaining in the urban spaces of Córdoba constitute a psychosocial problem that damages their citizenship status. Precisely, the mobilization has this name because the cap is a costume element commonly chosen by the youth of the neighborhoods of Córdoba. In this sense, it is possible to identify a first performative intervention in the public space: the massive wearing of caps for the staging of the protest. Much of the uniqueness of this mobilization lies in the artistic repertoires and expressive resources (Scribano, 2009) that are put into play: banners, colored flares, street *graffiti*, chants, theatrical devices, murgas, own sonorities (drums, quartet rhythms, rap improvisations), and even the intervention on the marching bodies: paintings, inscriptions and costumes.

### **Photo 1**

*13th Cap March in Córdoba, Argentina, 28-11-2019*



Note . <https://bit.ly/3EaHBxr>

From 2014 there is a collective ethnography around this event, with the purpose of exploring the processes of political subjectivation of these youth regarding the inhibitions and prohibitions that the security device introduces in relation to public space. The methodological strategy deployed is described below.

## **Materials and method**

The study has a qualitative approach, with the purpose of understanding the senses that build the mobilized youth about the regulations in public space exercised by the police, as well as analyzing the new bodily and spatial senses that occur from collective action.

Our research trajectory around this problem extends between 2014 and 2022, whose main empirical reference has been the collective action “Cap March”, in the city of Córdoba. Thus, we carried out a collective ethnography of this event that involved the triangulation of various data construction techniques, including: participant observation and ethnographic record, photographic and film record, and the so-called “ongoing conversations” (Bonvillani, 2018), which constitute bounded dialogs with marchers, in the context of the mobilization. The ethnographic registration sessions concentrated on the dates of the March, as well as on some previous organizational meetings of which we participated as a research group.

In addition, these instruments used *in situ* were complemented by in-depth interviews with young marchers. The final data *corpus* was composed of 28 ethnographic recording sessions, 35 interviews with young people (5 of which were group) and 26 ongoing conversations. The methodological mosaicism (Bonvillani, 2018) that supported the study allowed to articulate different forms of entry to the field, in order to address the complexity of the phenomenon studied.

Around 60 young people, aged between 16 and 31, participated in the different interview stages. We worked with a theoretical sampling, and considered as sampling criteria the balanced composition between men and women, as well as the inclusion of non-binary identities; the general inclusion criterion was to have participated at least once in this mobilization. At the same time, we considered the incorporation of young people from different neighborhoods of the city; and the diverse inclusion of what we call “typologies” of marchers, referring to self-summoned young people; members of

social and territorial organizations; members of student organizations; artists and political party militants. In all cases, the consent of the participants was obtained, after they were duly informed about the purposes of the study. The interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours, and were transcribed for further analysis. They were oriented by a script of topics related to motivations to participate in the March; daily experience in the public space of the city, especially in central areas; and experiences with the police in that space. All the field passages included in this article have been labeled with fictional names, in order to protect the identity of the participants. Also, in each fragment, when local categories appear, they are clarified in square brackets to facilitate the understanding of the stories.

Finally, data analysis was guided by Data-Driven Theory, following its two general strategies: constant comparative method and theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 2006). The data analysis followed a sequential coding, starting with an open coding of the empirical corpus, followed by an axial coding based on the first identified categories, to finally focus on a selective coding based on three main topics: “difficulties to inhabit the public space”, “experiences with the police” and “politicization of public space”, which allowed hierarchizing the information obtained. This process was carried out through the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti (version 8.4.24).

## **Results**

### **Sociospatial and racializing segregation in the city of Córdoba**

In general, in the interviews with young people participating in the Cap March, three narrative lines appear in which the discretion of police control materializes: the class, the territorial registration of the subjects (neighborhood belongings) and the ethnic-racial component. At the same time, the selectivity on these three dimensions operates in a double spatial anchor: on the one hand, the police interceptions (Lerchundi, 2023) in the central areas of the city and, on the other hand, the focused control in the popular neighborhoods. We will review these aspects from the collected youth accounts.

The apparent continuity of the city map quickly shows, in the symbolic and experiential record of these young people, the borders and sensitive gaps that cross a fragmented Córdoba (Boito and Salguero-Myers, 2021). Po-

verty conditions are identified as a central feature that predisposes to police harassment. At the same time, the class is intertwined with the territorial dimension and with the daily experience of growing up in a popular neighborhood, with the conditions imposed by the relations of inequality with respect to other social classes or territories:

We are here because we are against police violence against poor children. Kids from the humblest neighborhoods are always taken by the police. (Conversation underway with a young woman from a neighborhood organization. 20–11–2014)

No matter the government party, poor people are always targeted. There's an insistence on targeting the poor, the black, the marginalized, who are always left out, or not? (Sara, 21, *murguera* and social organization activist. 26–11–2019)

At the same time as the class-territory dyad, the ethnic-racial question becomes fundamental to understanding the directionality of police action. Perhaps the best metaphor in this regard is the “face-bearing”, used colloquially by the youth themselves, as an ironic expression that graphs the weight of phenotypic characteristics in the activation of racial prejudices:

The face-bearing thing, like an appearance of a black *villero* as you're told, which is putting on sportswear, or bright stockings, or bright clothes, or the characteristic dress that all people call “*villero black*” [from the villa]. (Karen, 16, *murguera*, 16-5-2015)

In this way, blackness or brown skin stand as a feared and condemned attribute, in line with racialized imaginaries (Bonvillani, 2019). This spontaneous social phenomenology is anchored in a socio-historical coding that is frequently expressed in everyday exchanges (Caggiano, 2023).

However, the conditions and prejudices that shape this police objective (Rodríguez Alzueta, 2014) delineate a spatial dimension in the regulations that are established on bodies and practices. Due to the urban location of Cordoba, most of the popular neighborhoods are located on the margins of the city, away from the center of the provincial capital (Boito and Salguero-Myers, 2021). This directly affects the subjective senses (González-Rey, 2013) of the possibilities of access to the city, taking into account that the physical and geographical barriers imposed by distance, the symbolic – and psychological – barriers introduced by police control. These difficulties ge-

nerate feelings of fear, avoidance or apathy that end up discouraging their movement in the city:

Imagine, since I was 13 years old, I've been on the street, and I've been stopped more than fifty times. Now it's been a couple of days since the police hasn't stopped me, but because I don't go out, but whenever I went out, they would always stop me. (ongoing conversation with Rodrigo, 29. 28–11–19)

Numerous studies have suggested that security policies have a marked territorial vocation with a deployment of specific actions in the popular neighborhoods (Daroqui and López, 2012; Kessler and Dimarco, 2013; Caravaca *et al.*, 2023). These are geo-crime prevention strategies aimed at specific territories (Hernando-Sanz, 2008). This territorial characteristic of surveillance strategies is denounced in various slogans of the March. For example, the 13th edition (2019), whose official slogan was “Your State is not scary, in my neighborhood I do not lock myself up”, in a challenging tone.

The issue of police harassment and its systematicity is part of the content of the artistic productions that young people create and replicate in collective action:

I walk along the pavement; I get stopped by the police. They ask me for a document. I don't have it, I'm sure they'll take me. Being cold and hungry I remember you. Just one phone call they let me make. I want to go home. On the way, a police officer asks me, 'Hey, black, tell me where you're going.' (mobile sound recording of the 9th Cap March, young man rapping on the microphone. 18–11–2022)

The limitations of police intervention for free movement in the city are being experienced with great discomfort. These difficulties are especially highlighted when they try to arrive or stay in the city center, as well as when returning to their neighborhoods:

They took me to Alto Alberdi, they took me to Observatorio, Bella Vista, Villa Páez, Alberdi [neighborhoods of the city of Córdoba]. Alberdi was where I lived a lot of things with the police, they went there, on those streets, in those places. There I met a lot of guys, there I lived a lot of things, that's where I got up most of the time. (Luis, 24, territorial militant. 16–10–2015)

Selective surveillance sets up a spatial sensitivity in which some places are presented as habitable, while others appear closed. Although it is not a

legal system, but rather a symbolic operation, it exhibits significant effectiveness. To understand this operation, it is necessary to integrate the dimension of sensitivities into the analysis, since a powerful subjective effect of these regulations on access to public space leads to fear, demotivation and inhibition of young people from popular sectors to circulate in territories other than their neighborhoods.

And leaving the neighborhood is almost impossible. I'm from Los Cortaderos and the kids just stay there, locked up, because you don't know if you're coming back. Once me and a group of boys had gone on a trip, and when we returned, when approaching the terminal, there were already like two police vehicles. When we were going to get off the bus we said: Oh, man! We can't get there because the police is already there. And it's a problem, you know? (ongoing conversation with Javier, a friend of a young trigger-happy victim. 20–11–14)

The administration of public space involves a series of regulations on bodies and the relationships they display with each other and with the space. Lindón (2015) has highlighted the fundamental role that emotionality has in these experiences. Thus, the amount of psychic discomfort that involves living with an image of oneself that is known to be feared and rejected in the public space, permeates the processes of self and hetero recognition among these young people. The allusions to the way they are seen and valued by other social sectors introduce the question about how segregationist processes permeate the constitution of subjectivities, with important subjective effects and on the level of sensitivities.

In short, the youth narratives reflect daily difficulties to leave their neighborhoods, circulate in the city center and access certain urban areas. The mechanisms of control and regulation of the habitability of public space, with a strong emphasis on the protection of private property, can be thought of as an expression of state policing (Roldán, 2023). These regulations are based on unequal class, territory, and ethno-racial belongings, as we have discussed. Likewise, the experiential record indicates that the perception of police control and the way of experiencing the city are strongly imbricated in spatial aspects. But what happens to the experience of space and the city center during their participation in a collective action that claims their right to *appear* in public?

## Managing the street: psychosocial production of space in collective action

In our ethnographic transit through the March, in the 8th edition (2014), when arriving at Plaza San Martín – the culmination point of the mobilization, where the closing festival is held –there is a big stencil painted on a column, with the slogan “They always stop me here”, and an arrow pointing to the square. The imagery of the March presents a highly symbolic and graphic content. This example also suggests the inauguration of freedom margins facilitated by mobilization, which enable the enunciation and stamping of slogans on public spaces. At the same time, it highlights a paradox that becomes political due to the power plot involved: during the massive occupation of the main square, the denunciation of the daily interdiction that supposes its habitability for the youth of popular sectors is stamped there. The following year, in the 9th edition, on the stage of that same square, a young man took the microphone and exclaimed:

We are in our square that today we were denied. This square belongs to the youth of Córdoba. This square is the one they take us every day and today we say: Plaza San Martín is ours, comrades! (Ethnographic record at the closing festival. 18–11–2015)

At these coordinates, mobilizing is itself a disruptive action. *Taking the street* for these groups presents, at least, a double valence: on the one hand, the public space is the place shared by a society and, as such, it constitutes a privileged *locus* for conceptions of demonstrations with the purpose of making a conflict visible. On the other hand, in the case of this march, the massive influx of thousands of young people into the streets of the center represents in itself a disruption of the previous arrangements that delineate that same space as closed. As we have clarified, if one of the facets of policing is expressed in the unequal regulation of public space, the March constitutes a collective operator that (d) enunciates these mechanisms and establishes a sensitive twist in the uses and participations in said space:

It is the day when the caps, which are not those of the police, leave the Center. Like black faces, stigmatized faces, come out to the Center and stop the city to say ‘here we are’, right? And for me it is very important and I like to share it with the Wachos [young people], there, from the neighborhood and the pi-bas [young people]. (Jonás, 25, neighborhood artist El Tropezón, 17-6-2020)

It is also a take-part in culture: to make visible, to connect affectively and to recognize oneself in the cultural productions and consumptions that they practice daily. The Cap March represents not only the power-being in the city center, but also a power-saying, being able to enunciate in the public space. This exercise of the right to appear and the implementation of a capacity for enunciation that was not recognizable in that *topos* – the Center, the street – implies an opening to new sensitivities. A collective operation is launched that invents and activates new developments, and it does so in places common to the instituted power that it seeks to counteract.

How can we interpret the esteem these young people feel for the Cap March and their drive to participate and mobilize? If etymologically *participating* means taking part in a matter, the possibility that opens the collective action is precisely that of counting as one more part in the sensitive organization of the community. Take-part in the deliveries of the public thing, *appear* where they are not expected. In this sense, the dimension of corporeality constantly emerges as the territorial inscription of the protest (Zibechi, 2022): bodies in the street. Likewise, the political potential of action seems to be linked to the affective production that is shared there: magnetized bodies.

My hands were shaking, my body was shaking, I was sweating everywhere, it was a [formidable] sailing body burst! And, that, we also nourished ourselves from that to be able to continue. It's crazy. (La Cholo, 24, member of social organization. 26–9–2020)

I feel very happy and happy to have lived that experience [...] so that we can be there and represent a lot of young people from the city of Cordoba, with our rap, with our being as we are, with our accent, with our humor, with our joy. And so, too, with all the pain that is coming from the neighborhood, from a very vulnerable and hostile place, and being able to return to another climate, another response, another alternative that is art, music, the truth that was fierce [phenomenal].

As mentioned, the processes of control and discipline are directed to the territory and to the bodily energies. In this way, it is expected that the resistance processes will also find their agency capacity there. In youth narratives, the body is characterized as a political instrument devoted to action. This offering of the bodily energies to the struggle is materialized in the syntagm “to put the body”. A first dimension that stands out refers to the body as a force field. Faced with the different antagonists defined discursively and

affectively: the police, the State, society in general, the sensitive trench of resistance is the body, in the singular, and the collective body, that which is gestated and empowered in the mass gathering.

## **Photo 2**

*Artistic intervention with caps*



Note . <https://bit.ly/3EaHBxr>

According to Jasper (2012), collective solidarity, interaction rituals and other group dynamics that occur within collective action give rise to the production of affective loyalties that underpin the sustainability of political actions. This is even the case with shared emotions linked to sadness or anger, since they can strengthen mutual affectations tending to collective creation and the power to act. In the Cap March, anger, far from being denied or postponed, are incorporated into the text of the protest, and even in non-discursive elements, such as artistic interventions and the body repertoire of those who march:

We transform anger into strength, and sadness into anger. The anger and the strength, and I think that force is seen as very accompanied by what Carnival generates, say, that joy. (Sara, 21, *murguera* and social organization activist. 26–11–2019)

Group and community associative practices constitute a gesture of resistance as they tend to reduce the areas of precariousness and death imposed by government techniques (Valenzuela, 2019), and form communities of struggle in order to conquer space. The shared experience in the space of the street allows to verify subjectively and collectively the possibility of inhabiting the city in another way, outside the daily restrictions:

I think that the idea of the Cap March is to be able to be in the center without being discriminated against. That you can walk without being discriminated against by the clothes you wear, or by the color of your skin. That the children of the neighborhoods can leave their neighborhoods also to know other neighborhoods, that they do not stay alone in their neighborhoods, only because they are afraid of the police. (ongoing conversation with a youth from a territorial organization. 23–11–2018)

We notice an irrevocable centrality of the body as a *locus* of resistance to the discourses and practices that pretend to govern it. In the March, the juvenile bodies dance, climb up walls, stencil prints, color graffiti, leave their marks there. They spontaneously move from the sidewalk to the street, moving on the asphalt with the caps and locker rooms for which they are usually detained. In this sense, they constitute corporeal acts of creation, insofar as they inaugurate a universe of meaning that was previously obscured by the very limits that the security device imposes on public space. In the words of Butler (2017), these are performative acts of appearance. The sudden advent of thousands of juvenile bodies implies an instance of visibility, both of the sustained demand, and of the bodily and aesthetic traits that constitute the vehicle of their persecution. In the massive and coordinated call of bodies in the street, the performative exercise of the *right to appear* is materialized, which is, in short, a subjective and collective reaffirmation of the right to the city.

## Conclusions and discussion

The analysis of ethnographic records and youth stories has allowed us to draw some lines of meaning in which the subjective transformations that collective action brings about are expressed. In this sense, we warn that the experience of participating in the Cap March brings with it the emergence of new spatial senses regarding those places that are daily restricted by police surveillance. Thus, there are at least three processes that nourish what we call the psychosocial production of space within the collective action: first, the production and staging on the street of repertoires and artistic and cultural interventions especially valued by these young people. As a second point, the centrality that the body-space relationship acquires in the protest. And, third, the deeply collective record exhibiting the March-experience, where, alongside political alliances, affective coalitions are woven. It is worth noting that in practice, these three dimensions operate in a synergistic and articulated way, in this sense, they are separable only for analytical purposes.

As for the first dimension identified, the March operates as a platform for the circulation of the cultural productions of these young people —murguera practice, rap improvisations, stencils, artistic interventions— who find, through collective action, a space for staging in the center of the city: “And it was like resisting from art. You can march and show that you can respond with art” (Jonah, 25 years old). Therefore, this entry into public space also implies a take-part in culture, giving rise to a powerful vehicle of political expression.

In a large part of these interventions, the bodies of the marchers are presented as the materiality from which the claim is raised, giving rise to the creation of verbal and non-verbal senses in an anti-repressive way. Intervention in the public space is presented as a quality and power of *coming-between* the streets and bodies: appearing in the public sphere exhibiting and resignifying their discursive, aesthetic and expressive productions. Likewise, the power of mobilization, to a large extent, lies in the permeability of its borders, i.e., the ability to question and affect both those who are convened there and those who become witnesses of its occurrence. Hence, the value of artistic interventions as a way of political enunciation, as expressive resources (Scribano, 2009) that challenge not only those who count themselves within the demonstration, but also those who observe it.

The second dimension, referring to the body-space relationship, takes center stage in the experiential register of the marchers. The March is ex-

perienced as a kind of temporary desecration, as an interruption of a daily life tied to situations of police harassment in the public space: “Transform, at least for a while, these spaces that are guarded. You can indulge yourself in walking around the center, in the March, playing a drummer, singing with your friends” (Lucas, 28 years old). In the temporal-spatial coordinates that the collective action inaugurates, staying on the street becomes a moment for enjoyment, liberation and celebration, as opposed to the fear and apprehension experienced the rest of the year. At the biopolitical level, emotion control mechanisms operate as demobilization and fear strategies, tending to the inertial reproduction of power relations and to discourage transformation options (Valenzuela, 2019). In this sense, the eruption of this youth protest not only destabilizes the daily sensitive regimes, but also pushes the limits of the forbidden, the sanctionable and the feared. Likewise, the affective displays that it provokes enable the proliferation of new senses about public space. Despite the exposure that the occupation of space can entail, the bodies in the street express stubbornness and persistence, they insist on *being there*. Initially, this implies a reconfiguration of the subjective senses with which the space of the street has been previously incorporated, especially of the city center. The diminished possibility of freely inhabiting the central space constitutes the core of the demand for this collective action. Thus, *marching* configures a performative act that makes the satisfaction of that demand effective in the experiential record. The latter highlights the power of the tool-body as a constructor of social significance that, in this case, also involves a resignification of the spatial senses.

Along with the above, the third dimension refers to the collectivized experience in the street. The practices that we have described so far do not constitute maneuvers staged in solitude, on the contrary, they continually open the game to their collectivization. The shared occupation of space gives rise to the creation of new singular and collective senses regarding their bodies and their presence there. The young people involved in the folds of this problem confirm, from the collective formulation of the lawsuit, that it is not a conflict that concerns them individually, nor is it a trademark of their biographies: “It is like all neighborhoods come together. Not only does it happen in one place, but in all Córdoba. I think it’s good that neighborhoods come together like this, and march for their rights” (Leonardo, 22 years old). Collective action entails the possibility of registering a discomfort experienced singularly in a process of collective development. It is a sensitive opening to

the collectivization of sufferings, as well as to the strategies of resistance. In this sense, the congregation of these bodies in the street refers to a praxiological exercise of the right to the city, an exercise that allows revalidating the public character of the space.

In summary, the conjunction between the corporatization of protest, the deployment of artistic-expressive interventions in the street and the collectivization of conflict, gives rise to a psychosocial production of space within collective action. Such psychosocial production is supported by the sensitive triangle *bodies-collective action-public space*. As a shared geography, public space becomes a polyphonic canvas capable of housing and replicating a myriad of messages that are inscribed on its walls, sidewalks, streets, urban furniture, etc. There, the capacity of youth bodies to signify, interpret and represent their own existence is amplified. In this way, the Cap March tests the effectively public character of the space, temporarily restoring the injured right to inhabit it. In the exceptional and eventful time that collective action inaugurates, the occupation of the streets enables an entrance to the public as such, a collective reaffirmation that this space also belongs to them.

To conclude, we hope that this study can contribute both theoretically and practically to discussions regarding public space, inequalities and public policies. Although there is a valuable proliferation of social studies about the production of public space, there is not abundant research from the *psi* field, with psychosocial approaches capable of accounting for the effects of security policies and the regulation of public space on the level of subjectivities. Thus, this work aims to complicate and contribute to the theoretical discussion, especially in the intersections between social psychology, critical urbanism and the field of collective action. Likewise, it can provide guidance to design public policies, both in the field of security and those aimed at the young subject. Contemplating the psychosocial dimension and the subjective effects of control policies would make it possible to formulate security programs that do not harm the rights and habitability of the public space of some population groups, in this case, popular and youth sectors.

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Author	Contributions
<b>Macarena Roldán</b>	Roles: conceptualization, methodology, software, validation, formal analysis, research, resources, data curation, original draft-writing, review-writing and editing, visualization, supervision, project management, fund acquisition.