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Political-Pedagogical Character of the Collective Actions of the Popular Bars

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Abstract

Barrismo is a complex phenomenon and cannot be defined universally. Social representation is based on deficient conceptions that relate it to the use of psychoactive substances and violence. This article presents qualitative research evidence based on the epistemological assumptions of social constructionism, a hermeneutical phenomenological design and the use of qualitative interview and documentary and audiovisual review, to understand the political-pedagogical character of the collective actions of the popular bars of the city of Medellín, Colombia, as practices that contribute to the transformation of the territories. Categories found: i. Bars as popular movements: transition from the brave bar to the popular bar, and ii. Collective actions: Barrismo Social. The bars have gone from rough bars to popular bars, from political and critical reflexivity, with collective actions for the transformation of the territories, which transcends the experience of stigma and social prejudice.

Keywords

popular barrismo, social barrismo, collective actions, transformation of territories, hermeneutic phenomenology

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Barrismo is a complex phenomenon and cannot be defined universally. Social representation is based on deficient conceptions that relate it to the use of psychoactive substances and violence. This article presents qualitative research evidence based on the epistemological assumptions of social constructionism, a hermeneutical phenomenological design and the use of qualitative interview and documentary and audiovisual review, to understand the political-pedagogical character of the collective actions of the popular bars of the city of Medellín, Colombia, as practices that contribute to the transformation of the territories. Categories found: i. Bars as popular movements: transition from the brave bar to the popular bar, and ii. Collective actions: Barrismo Social. The bars have gone from rough bars to popular bars, from political and critical reflexivity, with collective actions for the transformation of the territories, which transcends the experience of stigma and social prejudice.

Keywords: popular barrismo, social barrismo, collective actions, transformation of territories, hermeneutic phenomenology

In this article we present the results of the qualitative research that aimed *to understand the political-pedagogical character of the collective actions of the popular bars of the city of Medellín, Colombia, as practices that contribute to the transformation of the territories* and that is supported in the epistemological assumptions of social constructionism, while we conceive that social phenomena occur in a particular context, which is crossed by historical and cultural conjunctures. We had the participation of 18 male and female barristas active members of the two Popular Bars of the city of Medellín: *Rexixtenxia Norte* (Deportivo Independiente Medellín) and *Los Del Sur* (Atlético Nacional), with whom qualitative interviews were conducted (Valles, 2002).

Our main motivation for carrying out this research was the social interest in the groups that have been stigmatized historically, as we present later, going to previous studies that place the barristas as consumers of psychoactive substances or practitioners of violent actions, ignoring their historical evolution and the political transformation they have had, due to the processes of collective reflexivity experienced. Two of the three researchers who are part of the study belong to the popular bars and have lived the transformation experiences of these groups. This research then becomes a political commitment and an ethical and moral responsibility of recognition of these groups as part of the transformations that some territories of the city of Medellín, Colombia, have had.

We turn to the documentary tracking of investigative and theoretical background, and to alternative sources of information such as blogs, official pages of the Popular Bars, social networks, and documents that the barristas have been acquiring and elaborating from their experiences as social collectives. We show that the participating Popular Bars have extended

their actions to other activities beyond sporting events, which generate spaces for training, cultural participation and community well-being.

The analysis of the documentary information allowed us to identify three problematic trends in the studies regarding the issue of Barrismo and that served as support for the investigative question: how do the political-pedagogical practices of the popular bars of the city of Medellín contribute to the transformation of the territories?

The first trend shows the relationships between the group dynamics of what are called bars and violent behaviors around the acts of accompaniment to football teams (Bermúdez-Amaya, 2017; Blázquez et al., 2015; Cabrera & Assusa, 2017; Castro, 2019; Garrica Zucal, 2006, 2011, 2016; Miranda Bastidas et al., 2015; Moreira, 2007; Muñoz-Muñoz, 2015; Nepomuceno et al., 2017; Newson et al., 2018; Ostrowsky, 2014; Rivera Rangel et al., 2018; Uribe-Aramburo, 2018; Vélez-Maya & Arboleda-Ariza, 2016).

These studies coincide in relating these groups with criminal actions, consumption behaviors, destruction of public spaces among others, contributing to the construction of a social representation that prevents the visibility of favorable actions that they manage to carry out in the different cities of the world.

In addition, we find proposals about the construction of collective identity around symbols and chants that encourage their teams and have an impact on the homogenizing representation of the bars (Miranda Bastidas et al., 2015), ignoring that each group contains diverse dynamics, and even that its participants are individuals with differentiated behaviors. Homogenization ignores that bars are complex organizations (Moreira, 2007), which have a structure, according to the interests and agreements of their members.

The second trend is related to barrismo and the consumption of psychoactive substances as ways of identifying the members of these groups, and which in turn, becomes an inciting behavior of violent acts (Castaño-Pérez et al., 2014; López-Quintero & Neumark, 2012; Nepomuceno et al., 2017; Ostrowsky, 2014).

These first two tendencies make other forms of action invisible, reducing their complexity to a deficient and pathologizing look. This also generates other consequences such as the stigmatization of those who practice barrismo (Buarque of Holland et al., 2018).

The third trend covers various ways of conceiving the actions of the Barristas, which imply their collective action from the built identity, the impacts achieved in the political decisions of the cities in which they live, their political participation and the relationships that these bars have woven with the communities. This trend is important, since it breaks with the traditional conceptions of the actions of the barristas, in which the representation of these groups as violent or consumers of psychoactive substances prevails, which are rooted in a form of initial organization of the bars, which followed the precepts of what is known as *hooliganism*, a phenomenon that according to Clavijo (2010) "was born in Europe, where violent fans are recognized as a phenomenon of society and designated with the English word hooligans" (p. 16).

Endurance as an expression of identity (Castro, 2013, 2015; Escobar et al., 2017; Londoño Jaramillo, 2011; Moreira, 2008; Parada Dueñas, 2013; Rodelo Pérez & Armienta, 2009), political participation and social transformation in the cities inhabited by the Barristas (Castillo Castro, 2019; Chaverra & Rodríguez, 2018; Galvis et al., 2014; Patiño Nova & Pertúz Rodas, 2017; Salazar Arana, 2019; Sánchez Guacaneme, 2015), politics and its relationship with bars (Duque et al., 2016; Londoño Jaramillo & Pinilla Sepúlveda, 2009; Preciado Gallego, 2018), are important findings that broaden our understanding of these groups and allow us to move from the first two trends presented, towards the construction of complex and less homogenizing social representations of bars as forms of collective organization, hence the importance of the epistemological support of social constructionism to read the phenomenon, from the elements of the constructivist position: anti-essentialism, relativism, questioning of

truths accepted as absolute, cultural and historical determination of knowledge, and the importance of language in social construction (Íñiguez, 2005).

The understanding of the bars from sociocritical perspectives allows us to reveal that there are prejudices about these groups. Ovejero (2010) points out that prejudices are negative attitudes towards certain groups or human collectives and are composed of three elements: cognitive, which is the configuration of the stereotype from which negative expectations towards the other emerge; affective as contempt, displeasure, fear or aversion towards the other; and the behavioral translated into discrimination, hostile behavior and rejection towards the other. It should also be noted that a social phenomenon such as Barrismo is vulnerable to generating social prejudice not only by the types of research that have been carried out but also by the media. Vélez-Maya and Arboleda-Ariza (2016) carry out a study on how the newspaper *El Colombiano*, constructs a crystallized documentation of violence in football, through an analysis of the discourse of its publications.

It is imperative here to present two conceptual categories that allow us to locate the places of enunciation in which we support ourselves for the analysis of the information collected, with a holistic reading that favors qualitative validation through conceptual triangulation. These concepts are: (i) Bars, popular bars and social barrisms, and (ii) Concerted action and collective action.

Bar, Popular Bars and Social Barrismo

It is important here to describe three concepts that are part of the conceptual refractions of the research: bar, popular bars and social barrism. For the understanding of the concept of *Barra*, we turn to Pardey Becerra, Galeano Yunda and Blanco Sánchez (2001) who define it as a collective of fans, supporters and loyal followers of the same professional sports football team, which are located in the popular stands in the stadiums. They differ from the notion of fan or spectator, by their forms of organization and codes, which determines the functions and responsibilities of the barristas, in order to accompany and support their team. The bars are made up of subgroups, which are named as patch or combo. They are generally grouped by territorial representation: neighborhood, commune or city.

Regarding the *Barra Popular*, Bolaños and Hleap (2007), explain that their conception is mainly related to the place occupied by the group in the stands of the sports scene, which in the case of Medellín are defined as north or south and are called popular. This author relates the concept to celebrations, carnivals, and celebrations. He adds that inside it is shown as a binding interclassist group, which allows to highlight more the passionate action intermingled with sensitive reasons integrated and oriented to constituent purposes.

We understand as *Social Barrismo* what is stipulated in Decree 1007 (Ministry of the Interior of Colombia, 2012), which defines it as the actions carried out by the popular bars that can transform the practices that have commonly had a negative impact on the territories, by actions that resignify individual and collective lives, in such a way that the members of these bars are configured as social and participatory subjects of the positive transformations of their territories. Colombian legislation in Law 1270 (Congress of the Republic of Colombia, 2009), the popularly called *Football Law*, which was born as a response to violent events between the bars, recognizes the model of *Social Barrismo* and its seven dimensions: educational, cultural, economic, political, social, sports-recreational and environmental.

Likewise, Duque et al. (2016) and Londoño Jaramillo and Pinilla Sepúlveda (2009), define *Social Barrismo* as the way in which fans structure their practices, with the aim of resignifying the social representations that society and themselves have built around Barrismo, to become recognized as groups that contribute to social welfare, cultural and political of the city to which they belong.

Concerted Action and Collective Action

Other conceptual references that we define as important in this research are, concerted action and collective action. For the concept of action, we support ourselves in Arendt (2005), who proposes that "Acting, in its most general sense, means taking initiative, starting (as indicated by the Greek word *archein*, <<comenzar>>, <<conducir>> and finally <<governing>>), putting something in motion (which is the original meaning of *agere* Latin)" (p. 207). The importance revealed by the concept of action lies in its ability to initiate ways in which the human being can constantly reinvent himself and the world in which he lives, hence the individual's condition as a political subject as soon as he is able to initiate or transform the course of history. Thus, "politically responsible action consists in seeking a new tradition that allows to bring to life what was dead, petrified, thus avoiding oblivion" (Zapata, 2005, p. 94).

While it is true that there are subjections to which the human being is subjected, such as those that seek to regulate social practices and limit their actions, those same ligatures become incentives for the subject to look for other mechanisms that allow him to face his limitations, there, is precisely where those conditions that configure his political condition at first are located: "the fact that man is capable of action means that the unexpected can be expected of him, that he is capable of realizing what is infinitely improbable" (Arendt, 2005, p. 207), or, in other words, action is the possibility of escaping into oppression.

One of the conditions that allow the subject to transgress the channel of the conditioning, is largely related to his ability to agree with others his actions. Indeed, forms of social organization are translated into political actions, not only because they have the capacity to reconfigure the molds established on acting, but also allow the production and construction of new meanings, both for the subjects that are organized, and for those who are impacted by these forms of organization.

If the configuration of the political subject is given through the actions that are agreed between the subjects and not so much by the rules that regulate what is or is not a political action, this means that the subjects break in different ways on the public, that there are multiple ways to influence the course of events, that the tools used are heterogeneous and that the events of social life are made possible through the ability of the subjects to share and co-create new meanings. According to this, concerted action takes on great relevance in that the forms of organization become not only means of structuring the social, but are in themselves structuring in the subjective configuration of the political actor, that is, that acting together is not only a means, but is an end in itself, it enjoys, therefore, not only the product of doing but of being doing. In the words of Ibáñez (2001), "the value is in sharing more than in what is shared. The part I assume in collective action finds its *raison d'être* in collective action rather than in the result of that collective action" (p. 207). Thus, the sense of life that is achieved in community finds its condition of possibility through doing, which also serves as a compass to guide social development.

Of the most powerful mechanisms used by the community or social groups to express their discontents or their particular forms of subjectivity, it is precisely the use of public space, there symbolic expressions are concretized and make sense for the subjects that participate directly or indirectly in these actions, which do not necessarily require a recognition that legitimizes said action, but the action itself consolidates a bond, forming, through this social integration, a space conducive to the emergence of the political subject.

These concepts allow us to make a process of triangulation that favors the construction of the results, showing that there are broad reflections regarding the processes of *Barrismo*, but there are no field studies that can demonstrate that there are collective actions of these groups with political characteristics. Hence, a study such as the one presented in this article can expand knowledge about the collectives known as popular bars, while we locate their actions beyond

the courts, to show that in these human groups pedagogical processes are configured with political characteristics that become actions that contribute to the political transformation of the territories.

As researchers, we are interested in the unveiling of what happens in the daily lives of human groups. In this sense, the popular bars, because they are organized social groups that go beyond the accompaniment of football teams on the pitches, become subjects of interest in study, recognizing that in their daily actions there are political characteristics, which favor the configuration of pedagogical spaces for the social transformation of the territories. Our interest is to reveal that, in organized human actions, there can be transformative political principles as in this case. Likewise, we intend to transcend the stigmatizing social representations that Barrismo has had in Colombia and Latin America, showing that there are also daily pedagogical and political actions in social barrismo, which contribute to the political and social construction of just worlds.

Methodology

The methodological route is raised epistemologically from social constructionism, as it allows us to understand how social phenomena occur in a particular context, crossed by historical and cultural singularities, in which language reigns as an articulator, which is coherent with qualitative research, which provides the tools to know human phenomena and realities, focusing on the collective experience, how it occurs and how it gives meaning to human life. For Sandoval (1996), the importance of this approach lies in the fact that it takes into account the researched, the researcher and the context in constant relation.

We turn to the hermeneutic phenomenological design proposed by Van Manen (2003), which allows us to trace those experiences that the Barristas have lived in the community. Phenomenology is interested in "the world as we immediately experience it in a pre-reflective way, and not as we conceptualize or categorize it, nor as we reflect on it" (Van Manen, 2003, p. 27), which authorizes understanding the phenomenon from within, that is, from those involved, understanding intersubjective practices as forms that emerge in the relationship and from there to be able to grasp the meaning and intention of their actions, that is, to interpret it from the perspective of the social actors themselves.

Selection of Key Informants

We use the selection process known as convenience sampling (Mendieta Izquierdo, 2015). We have the participation of 18 *active* barristas among men and women members of the two Popular Bars of the city of Medellín: *Rexixtenxia Norte* (Deportivo Independiente Medellín) and *Los Del Sur* (Atlético Nacional), of which three are leaders in their bar, five are members of the different work teams in charge of the elaboration and execution of social projects in both bars, and 10 are barristas who have participated in the design, development and implementation of collective actions, either for the community in general or for the bars themselves.

Ethical Considerations

The research included the pertinent ethical considerations and contemplated in Resolution 8430 of 1993 of the Ministry of Health of Colombia. We use informed consent with each of the participants. The research was endorsed by the university to which the authors belong, through the Research Line Contemporary Psychosocial Problems, recognized by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation of Colombia.

Instruments and Analysis of Evidence

We use the qualitative interview, from the perspective of Valles (2002), as it allows us to know directly the symbolic and subjective dimension of those investigated, since we sought to approach their experience lived in the bars and reveal the qualities of the phenomena, from the conversation with those involved. This technique enriches the construction of knowledge from the participants, who contain the specific knowledge about their experience (Taylor & Bogdan, 1992).

The analysis is carried out in a transversal way, with constant fieldwork, through participant observation, interviews and documentary and audiovisual review, which is consistent with the underlying pretensions of a study with an epistemological basis such as social constructionism, which requires systematicity in the process to account for the dynamics of the phenomenon or realities.

We use the recording with the consent of the participants for the detailed recording of the information provided. This audio material and the audiovisual review was transcribed, in such a way that the written text of the oral data could be accessed, and with it delve into its content whenever it was necessary to return to its reading. It is important to name that fidelity was kept to the words and expressions of the participants, using the expression *sic*, to indicate that it is taken as it is from the story.

We also went to the field diary, in which we recorded those expressions, occurrences, first analysis of relationships in the interviews and the observations that could not be captured by the recorder, which allowed to expand the analytical context for the construction of the emerging categories through the process of inductive analysis.

For this analytical process we contemplate the process proposed by Martínez Miguélez (2004) and its moments: categorization, structuring and contrasting, which allow to analyze in detail and in an integral way all the information collected. The first is categorization, in which, according to Martínez Miguélez (2004), the information collected in relation to the whole is categorized or encoded. It was carried out in a cyclical way in such a way that it could be immersed in the meanings that were tracked in the information obtained, and thus, inductively, the emerging data were related to the conceptual supports of the research, in addition, it is important to understand the holism of the phenomenon from those narrative atoms that were the clue to account for the experience of the members.

In a second moment, the process focuses on structuring. For Martínez Miguélez (2004), "The best way to begin structuring is to follow the process of integrating minor or more specific categories into more general and comprehensive categories" (p. 276), for this, we were knotting the narrative contents that had degrees of relationship in categories that could contain them, and then creating universes or sets that included those categories in global units. "The structure could be considered as a "great category," broader, more detailed and more complex, like the trunk of the tree that integrates and unites all the branches" (Martínez Miguélez, 2004, p. 276). This process, it should be clarified, we carried out in the first instance with the units that emerged in each individual and later those of all the sources of information were spun, this categorical union, consolidated the information collected and gave rise to the process of contrast.

Subsequently, we carried out a documentary contrast (Martínez Miguélez, 2004) with the constructed background and conceptual references, which are defined as initial categories and an exchange with researchers of the line of research to which the authors belong. This moment was named as triangulation with secondary sources. From these triangulations, the final categories were constructed, which constitute the findings of the research, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1.
Analysis process

| Initial categories | Emerging categories. Results |
|--|--|
| Popular football bar | Bars as popular movements: transit from the barra brava to the popular bar |
| Barrismo Social | |
| Concerted action and collective action | Collective actions: Social Barrismo |

Source: own elaboration

Results and Discussion

We present the two emerging categories, resulting from the analysis process described and in which the Barristas participated, as a way to validate the interpretations we made of their stories and the other sources of information of their belonging.

Bars as Popular Movements: Transit from the Barra Brava to the Popular Bar

It is imperative to begin with the understanding of the turns that the concept of popular movements has had to support the denomination of the bars as such. For this we return to Palumbo (2014), who shows how this concept has become a broadening of the spectrum of action, of characteristics of the people who integrate them and of the intentions that arouse these collectives, displacing what was classically called a social movement, which was directly related to the struggles of the labor movements against the oppressions that began to be felt with the rise of industrial capitalism.

This perspective, still rooted in the struggles of American and European urban collectives, is critically taken up in Latin America (Palumbo, 2014), recognizing that the conditions of the region differ from the cities where those social movements of resistance that had been studied have been building. This is where the importance of this conceptual shift lies, since it is not only a change in the word, a semantic change, but it disrupts the meanings of collective struggles, since it is understood that Latin America has a history of colonialism, subalternity and submission, even in the face of Eurocentric knowledge and theories. that have prevented him from understanding himself from within, with the historicity, complexity and diversities in a broad way that are found in this part of the planet.

The understanding then of the evolution in movements called as popular, is crossed by the recognition that the struggles here are collective and contain an interest in the formation of consciousness regarding the own, the lost and the colonized, that is, the movements do not stop at the demands of social justice, but they become collectives of pedagogical and political initiative, which favors emancipation and transformation. For Palumbo (2014), popular movements then have a political-pedagogical character, which "challenge in a diverse way the state institutionality and imply in themselves prefigurative practices of future education" (p. 33).

The conception of collective and concerted action makes sense here, since the Barristas understand the importance of the transition to other modes of action on the territories for the transformation of the same and the social representations that have prevailed over the Barrismo. The action as a possibility of initiation (Arendt, 2005), is what favors the transit from barras bravas to popular bars. This transit, through processes of reflexivity of the members of these

groups, is crossed by the interest of social contribution for the transformations of the territories, in addition, these findings allow to expand the understanding of the social phenomenon of *barrismo*, beyond the deficient and pathologizing looks shown in the first two trends found in the studies that served as investigative antecedents, namely, relationships between the group dynamics of what are called bars (Bermúdez-Amaya, 2017; Blázquez et al., 2015; Cabrera & Assusa, 2017; Castro, 2019; Garrica Zucal, 2006, 2011, 2016; Miranda Bastidas, Urrego Sáenz, & Vera Erazo, 2015; Moreira, 2007; Muñoz-Muñoz, 2015; Nepomuceno et al., 2017; Newson et al., 2018; Ostrowsky, 2014; Rivera Rangel, Duque Gil, & Agudelo Padilla, 2018; Uribe-Aramburo, 2018; Vélez-Maya & Arboleda-Ariza, 2016), and the relationship between *barrismo*, consumption of psychoactive substances and violence (Castaño-Pérez, Uribe-Aramburo, & Restrepo-Escobar, 2014; López-Quintero & Neumark, 2012; Nepomuceno et al., 2017; Ostrowsky, 2014). In this regard, Barrista 12 relates:

We realized that we can not be another actor of violence, but one that generates tranquility and confidence towards the *barrista* as such, so what we handle here in the commune 13 in terms of *barrismo* with the rival fans, with her opposite, is the respect for the difference we know that they have their murals us, ours a place where they are maintained and so and so. today with those of the front we do projects we play matches we make mural events. we already have respect for each other.

This significant finding is not only crossed by the change of name, but also transversalizes the configuring discourse of ways of being and being of the *barristas*, who propose, even, a definition of popular bar from their feelings and experiences in these groups, with the purpose of transforming the social representations built from the anomie that had marked their history as *barras bravas*.

A popular bar is a group of people, a collective that does not discriminate gender, race, social class, profession, in the popular bar covers everyone as it says because its popular term is for the whole people, it is for the whole community, it can be from the illiterate person to the doctorate and postdoc in the bar, because finally our goal is to encourage the team we love and is to support it, and if it is a person whatever their socioeconomic status or beliefs they do it ends up being part of our collective (Barrista 07).

The fact of achieving a transit in the way of naming oneself, going from being a *barra brava* to a popular bar, is an indication that from the symbolic it transcends the action, since it has an impact on the representation of being a *barrista* transforming the organization and projection of activities, as expressed by the *barristas*:

The same peeled and peeled [sic] between the bars have had some very interesting reflections and somehow matured, then the product of maturation has been many problems a lot of blood and many deaths even. But I think they have been able to move forward and today 20 years later I think that *barrismo* in Medellín is much more mature than in any other city in Colombia. (Barrista 05)¹

It is important to emphasize that this transit is not only discursive, this also affects the appearance in the public of the members who begin to show their faces and their names in the different media, which allows them to recognize themselves as valid actors in the dialogues and processes they carry out with the different governmental organizations and with the

¹ Popular expression in Colombia to refer to young people or children.

community in general. According to Arias Rodríguez and Villota Galeano (2007), one of the characteristics of political subjects is to transcend from the individual to the collective or from the private to the public sphere, which also allows us to reveal that there is a reflective attitude of these subjects, who assume themselves as agents of their realities and in their territories.

In this sense, the appearance in the public is a manifestation of a configuration of political subjects as soon as they recognize themselves as part of a society integrating discourse and action, with specific faces and names that no longer hide behind the hoods or handkerchiefs that initially covered their faces. Likewise, it is a pedagogical proposal to transform the territories and the ways in which they have been inhabited, with a deep conviction that actions must contain an intention to contribute to the daily struggles for collective well-being. In the expression of Barrista 09, the process of internal reflexivity that involved the transformation to appear in space as part of societies and contribute to their transformations is evident:

I think that the work of those in the south with the social part, has been including about eight long years or so; leaving the concept of barra brava brought from the Argentine bars where the barra brava are very violent, vandal or antisocial subjects, as we have included those of the south starting from the fact that their main leaders are in the field of social sciences ... that is why I think that, undoubtedly, you see the effects that this is having today, in the dynamics of the bar as such with respect to society.

The transformation of territories from the appearance in the public with discourses and actions that have been proposed by the popular bars of this study, coincides then with one of the dimensions proposed by Palumbo (2014) to understand what popular movements are and that coincides with the location of these bars in public spaces and in the reflection on peaceful coexistence in daily life. The first dimension that deals with the sense of the territory that is inherent in social movements, is one of the motivations narrated by the barristas to consolidate themselves as popular bars, while they recognize the city as their space they inhabit and in which daily life occurs, which resignified, when they recognize that they have the resources to contribute to a better life and question themselves regarding their actions than what they came. The proposing was to confine the city to violence of no return.

Precisely this pedagogical-political interest that the Barristas have, converges in actions in public spaces and within the two organizations that are included in the next emerging category.

Collective Actions: Social Barrismo

We find multiple forms of collective actions that the popular bars have, from which those aimed at the formation and training of their members are rescued, the design of social and cultural projects, taking into account the political-pedagogical character of social movements, which makes them part of what is recognized in Decree 1007 as Social Barrismo (Ministry of the Interior of Colombia, 2012).

Let's say that all these projects were born from the heart of the bars, then some institutions intervened and others and currently they do, but it must be clarified that these projects were born from the bar, because we are the same barristas who detect how all those shortcomings and vulnerabilities that exist in the communes finally it is we who inhabit them, we realized that there were sectors where children did not have a Christmas gift, in some sectors where from schools violence was enhanced between football, caused by this phenomenon

of bars, then a break in a school was full of children fighting for the team to which they swelled beyond sports, it is when we begin to make visible all these actions and begin to rethink them to generate a more social, responsible and positive consciousness, I think that the beginning of all these projects is given and we begin to believe in that idea that from us a popular bar that supposedly its function is only to encourage a team you can do great things for the community. (Barrista 10)

This type of process contributes to the appropriation of the neighborhood spaces where the members of the subsidiaries (or combos) of the bar live. They are actions aimed at both the care and ornament of public spaces, as well as the processes of coexistence in the territories where there are fans of both teams. These actions seek to solve social and structural deficiencies, and also account for the participation as citizens of the Barristas in their political actions based on the appearance of the public. It is important to emphasize that the processes arise due to the marginalization and social precariousness suffered by many sectors of the city and that these practices emerge from the same community bases subverting the power relations between the government and the population. In this sense, the configuration on the political is given in an intentional and autonomous way, transcending welfare practices and configuring emancipated subjects in favor of social transformation.

There is also a configuration of historicized subjects who recognize the events of a city marked by violence and from a reflective process decide not to promote or reproduce those dynamics of violence that have structured beliefs and practices in the young people of the city, therefore, many of their collective actions are proposed to deconstruct those subjectivities produced in violent contexts and to resignify for example, the idea of the opposite, recognizing it as part of a horizon of shared symbols that should not be eliminated for the simple fact of being different. In addition, a commitment is reaffirmed, both with the spectacle of football, and with society in general, where it is promoted, through talks, projects, events and dialogue with control entities, processes for coexistence and the exercise of citizenship, as well argued by the third trend of documentary findings regarding political participation and social transformation in the cities inhabited by the barristas (Castillo Castro, 2019; Chaverra & Rodríguez, 2018; Galvis et al., 2014; Salazar Arana, 2019; Sánchez Guacaneme, 2015; Patiño Nova & Pertúz Rodas, 2017).

Over the years we have realized that power of convocation that football has and what it generates in the peels that are part of the bar, which generates a greater level of commitment than can be aroused only by living in its territory and with the friends of its neighborhood, this undoubtedly already leads to the bar then using this in its favor, not only in the sports field to support a football team, but also to seek to transform and build a city, in this case through the social actions that we have been performing thanks to that level of ordering that the bars have, young people organized under clear structures and with that level of commitment that they also have for them, which has led the bars to realize that this type of intervention is important to try to give something back to the city that has given us so much. (Barrista 13)

Those social movements that arise within this group are in defense of something and at this moment the right to education is one of the rights that is moving us the most, we participate in public marches, the right to work, the right to life, because we are defenders of life so I think we are faithful bearers of how to defend this right; I believe that there are the basic rights because it presents the

community to a dignified life, we are also defending it from our actions and also from our thoughts and policies in some personal way, so I believe that we do defend those rights. (Barrista 07)

Both collectives have characteristics of social movements, although they themselves are not called in that way, precisely because they recognize the vulnerability to which they can be exposed when recognized as such, however, many of the collective actions are intended to accompany popular movements and struggles because they are recognized as part of a society to which they can contribute from their own forms of organization and synergies produced within the bars.

Definitely a bar even if it is not homogeneous if it is gregarious, group, communal, there are forms of resistance to that individualism, we do not want to be, we do not accept to be in individuals, we are a group and we are a group that acts as a group, defends itself as a group, tries to have group identities (...) Los Del Sur is not only the sum of individuals but tries to be a group with some elements that it tries to expose socially and politically, that is where we can find (...) there is a sector of the bar that identifies with the positions of the gregarious, from the group and from feeling identified with other groups of society with which it shares a solidarity (...) then in a bar that tries at least from solidarity to be framed in the problem of social movements, and it may not be yet [a social movement] but at least it has an intention to show solidarity as a social group with social movements that do have political and vindication disputes in society. (Barrista 15)

It should be noted the importance of the conception of collective in contemporaneity, since its practices of belonging, identity and cohesion try to restore the social disarticulation that individuals currently face, an individualism that is highlighted through advertising, the market and contemporary ideals is vindicated by rescuing values named as precarious in the society of consumption and globalization, for the simple fact of belonging, congregating and acting collectively transcends the act itself towards actions that contribute to the construction of social fabric, solidarity and emancipation in community life.

With the appearance in the sixties of feminist collectives, students, environmentalists, human rights defenders, among others, the interest of the academy in them also arises (Palumbo, 2014), which implies the expansion of the understanding of the struggles of various collectives, which were no longer reduced to the labor movement or working conditions, rather, it is revealed that there are multiple modes of inequities that different societies live. "These movements proposed new actors, identities and repertoires not associated with a strictly class character nor with an irrational character as the classical perspectives proclaimed" (Palumbo, 2014, p. 30). In this political perspective are the collective actions carried out by the popular bars participating in this study.

Final Considerations

It is important to bear in mind that the social prejudices around Barrismo have generated negative attitudes about the phenomenon, downplaying the importance of possible collective actions that can potentiate the subjects that are part of it, while a social group where its members are considered as criminals, vandals or drug addicts, evokes the delegitimization of these as social actors that can contribute to the transformations in their territories, therefore the interest

of investigating other practices that occur in the popular bars that could evidence collective actions with a political-pedagogical character.

The view from social constructionism, favors the expanded understanding of a phenomenon that is not homogeneous, both in the different sports scenarios, and in historical trajectories. The experience of violence and the threat against the integrity of the Barristas, allows the reflective action to move from Barra Brava to Barra Popular, in the very sense of the expansion of its pedagogical-political action towards the territories, which transcends towards social barrismo. This transit is not only a change of name, but a political action in itself, which allows them to appear in the public without hoods, which begins to legitimize their collective and concerted actions for the transformation of their territories. The value of this action is found in the reflexivity that allowed them to understand that a beginning was possible, the birth rate when saying Arendtian.

From various collective actions, the popular bars participating in the study, show the capacity for transformation that they have as popular movements. The ability to accompany and transform territories is based on the conviction of its social projects, framed in the formation and training of its members and the design of social and cultural projects, framed in the political-pedagogical character of social movements, which allows to define their actions as Social Barrism.

We can conclude that both *collectives*, *Los del Sur* and *La Resistencia Norte*, have characteristics of popular movements, concretize collective and concerted actions that favor configurations of political subjects and resort to reflexivity for collective decision-making for the social transformation of communities, neighborhoods and cities.

It is important to continue with these investigations with the popular bars of the whole country, because each one has cultural and social particularities according to the region of the country. The stigmatizations that the barristas have received on account of some research that has focused on highlighting behaviors of consumption of psychoactive substances, for example, has made their daily actions in the territories unknown and that have contributed to the transformation of subjectivities of young people who are now dedicated to replicating learning with children, girls and adolescents.

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