STREET WORLDS: ON BARRICADES, ZONES, AND *QUEBRADAS*
MUNDOS DA RUA: SOBRE BARRICADAS, ZONAS E QUEBRADAS
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Abstract

The current study aims to use the listening-*flânerie* to investigate spaces named by homeless populations as *quebradas*. This methodology lies on listening to different stories, through wanderings around the city, in order to investigate the blind fields of both their narratives and spatialities. The study sought to identify representations, openings, limits and potentialities of *quebradas*, in order to analyze the extent to which they manage counter-hegemonic spatialities. On the one hand, barricades were used as a historical paradigm for the comparative analysis of the process focused on subverting hierarchical power and on replacing winners' discourse order by that of losers. On the other hand, the spatiality of homeless people and the way they take ownership of the city — totally silenced by urban theory — enabled analyzing the likely reconstitution of the hegemonic discourse through erratic street discourses. Thus, we herein confront *quebradas* with concepts, such as Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ), heterotopias and barricades, as starting points to investigate their potential as a differential form of urban struggle. Consequently, bringing *quebradas* to the core of discourse opens room to address the extreme struggle for everyday survival as a peculiar voice in a multitude of struggles against the city's colonizing machines.

Keywords: Barricades, Heterotopia, *Quebrada*, Taz, Zone

1 Introduction

According to Fábio Zuker (2020), fear of emptiness, from the Latin *Horror Vacui*, is an intrinsic feature of Baroque and Rococo styles. No space remains empty; it must always be filled with some element. In these styles, spaces must be occupied in a massive, crowded and even oppressive manner. This is the reason why the fear of emptiness was even more incisive during the European expansion carried out through the Portuguese and Spanish maritime expeditions. Maps of unknown places were filled with imaginary places and monstrous creatures, such as mermaids, sea monsters, exotic animals and legendary civilizations. In essence, fear of emptiness was an aesthetic principle of rejecting an approaching new world. Thus, the new world was born, already conquered and dominated, even before it was known. In this way, any void could be filled with images of the self, which was a form of power based on totalizing assimilation (Zuker, 2020).

Furthermore, Baroque and its fear of emptiness have emerged as counter-reformation instrument. Baroque rebuilt a systemic and totalitarian discourse by ruling out Mannerism's doubts and torments, by restoring the Catholic Church's perspective on the center of power, and by eliminating everything that did not meet to this perspective. The current study presents a simple proposal, namely: inverting the fear of empty space to investigate the empty space of fear, in other words, inverting the fear of emptiness to investigate the emptiness of fear. Thus, we focus on repositioning the excluded and silenced spatialities to reveal their (counter-hegemonic) discourse, as well as the (hegemonic) discourses silencing them.

Accordingly, it is necessary to find structure-related clues and guides of these obscured and silenced spatialities in order to approach them. Moreover, it is necessary to rebuild these spatialities based on the interpersonal relationships, silences and dormant temporalities capable of forming negative spaces in contemporary cities. These spaces — which are popularly known as *quebradas*[1] — are much more than just hiding places for delinquent actions. They are often installed in the ruins of modern civilization, where they subvert its foundations — by opposing pain and enjoyment, desire and insubordination, assimilation and insurgency — based on a logic that is much more one of rebellion, intensification and annulment than of alternative, inversion or difference. We further analyze the features of these spaces — where anything can be more intensely nothing and where anybody can be more fully nobody — in order to investigate both the similarities and the differences between counter-hegemonic aspects of these contemporary *quebradas* and those barricades from the time of Georges-Eugène Haussmann. We will need to take a small detour to approach this comparison.

The movie *Stalker* (1979), by Soviet filmmaker Andrei Tarkovsky, tells the story of a parallel reality of our planet - in a non-defined timeline - that, for some unknown reason, was used as a landing field for extraterrestrial spaceships. These landing

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[1] Colloquial expression used to refer to occupied and decaying city zones or buildings.

areas produced a place with strange events that do not follow the laws of physics and logic. These places are called zones. The stalker — Alexander Kaidanovsky — is a kind of collector of objects that were abandoned by visitors; he leads people around the zone. Both the writer (Anatoly Solonitsyn) and the professor (Nikolai Grinko), who are escorted by the stalker, travel towards the room: a room that would fulfill any desire of those who entered it. However, in one of the main scenes, after an incomprehensible incident, the stalker explains to his companions that the zone has a complex operation since it is full of traps that always change. Sometimes, going to this room is easy, whereas at other times it can be a hard task to be accomplished. He believes that the zone only lets in those who have lost hope, i.e., the unfortunate ones. Thus, the room only fulfills the desires of those who no longer have them, in a condition that is very similar to that of contemporary *quebradas*.

The uniqueness of *Stalker*'s science fiction does not lie on the planet's territory invasion by aliens, as seen in so many other science fiction works, but on the fact that this visit did not even generate a first contact event. As a stopping point for another destination, our unimportant planet turns into a void, an area already mapped and dominated, a void where everything comes true for those who want nothing. However, the great conflict of *Stalker*'s characters is the torment of realizing the existential void of what they desire rather than the quest to actually fulfill their desires.

When one watches *Stalker*, it is inevitable to compare the zones to the concept of Temporary Autonomy Zone (TAZ) created by Peter Lamborn Wilson, also known by the alias Hakim Bey (1985). This concept emerged after the author identified and analyzed — in the stories of pirate utopias, creeds of medieval assassins and in the literature — strategic temporary spaces that would be used to organize lootings and information networks. These utopias were "intentional communities, whole mini-societies living consciously outside the law and determined to keep it up, even if only for a short but merry life" (Bey, 1985, p. 77). On the one hand, although the zone reveals the insignificance of hegemonic desires bursting into the void, at the same time, this void is pure power. On the other hand, TAZ is the pure subverted (inverted) hegemonic desire consciously living out there, in a parallel world. The specificity of *quebrada* lies on exploring the pure power of subversion by unconsciously living within an insignificant void. *Quebrada* is neither zone nor TAZ; it still requires a theoretical formulation so that its power can be explored as a counter-hegemonic force.

Based on these assumptions, the "floating observation", described by Colette Pétonnet (2008), was the method adopted to select the individuals to be heard. This methodology lies on making oneself available while walking uncompromisingly, and on letting the events taking place by chance to provide encounters through the crossings of happenings. The proposed encounters are supposed to happen between individuals who have never interacted with each other, rather than between individuals who previously knew each other; thus, the expected encounters "consist of addressing a word to someone of whom one does not know where he comes from or what he does, of whom one knows nothing. At the same time, the dimension of anonymity would be evacuated, as if it was negative or harmful." (Pétonnet, 2008, p. 101, our translation). Therefore, mediation is promoted by the city, by removing the institutions and creating a first anonymous encounter. According to Pétonnet, in a context of "perfect anonymity, the speech is as free as the air; it does not have ties or guardians. [...] It is the reason why whatever part individuals choose to reveal of themselves, be it real or fanciful, is true" (Pétonnet, 2006, p. 257, our translation).

The "floating observation" took place simultaneously to the listening-*flânerie*, since the encounter demands individuals' availability to start a disinterested journey. This is a "quite particular journey into the meaning given by others to what they are doing there" (Simões, 2008, p. 195, our translation). However, this disinterested stroll is not a purposeless action. By inviting individuals to go on a stroll, we can get to know their stories about relationships and meanings extracted from their own life factors, namely: mourning, traumas, ancestry, conflicts, remembrances and philosophy of life, among others (Pétonnet, 2006). Thus, the intention of getting lost to discover obscure and silenced urban ways of life must start from a disinterested walk and gradually reveal ways for individuals to find themselves once and again. Therefore, listening-*flânerie* was featured by conducting several free-association interviews with seven homeless individuals; these interviews were followed by on-the-spot observations conducted over twelve months, when the reported themes and spatialities were investigated, both concomitantly and in separate. The focus lied on observing the counter-hegemonic potential of their ways of inhabiting the street; consequently, we will initially establish the historical scenario of the counter-hegemonic potential of taking ownership of streets based on the paradigmatic example of Parisian barricades and of their counterpart, i.e., Haussmann's counter-reformation.

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## 2	When the Streets Reinvent the Way, or Barricades Against Colonial Machines

Insurgencies, insurrections, rebellions and uprisings are words often used by historians and social scientists "to label *failed* revolutions — movements which do not match the expected curve, the consensus-approved trajectory: revolution, reaction, betrayal, the founding of a stronger and even more oppressive state — the turning of the wheel, the return of history again and again to its highest form: jackboot on the face of humanity forever" (Bey, 1985, p. 79). However, according to Rita Velloso (2017), insurgency plays a special role in transforming the power installed in the space: "[...] each insurgency is an experience of transitory rupture with the place; each insurgency destabilizes the spatial hieroglyphs, monuments, streets and buildings around which it takes place. Each and every insurgency explodes the logic underlying the designed and planned urban space" (p. 45, our translation). Thus, insurgencies, even the occasional ones, could be understood as practical transformations of the path traced by streets.

Besides being pragmatic, barricades have a ready-made nature; they are built based on any material available in the surroundings that can be quickly stacked, depending on factors such as street size, and the association with both the buildings and their height (Löwy, 2019, p. 90). They refer to the transformation of dominant spaces by those who have nothing, based on using the remains of what — for a bit — no longer belongs to anyone. Thus, barricades depict how uprisings carried out by the oppressed subvert urban geography in its complexity. These uprisings are inscribed in people's subjectivities since, although they are often defeated, they change the historical flow through the brief ownership of streets, avenues and squares. This is how Walter Benjamin pictures barricades as places of utopia, when he mentions that Fourier considers their construction as "an unsalaried, but passionate, work" (Benjamin, 2002, p. 256, our translation).

The rupture in the structure from salaried to passionate work creates an affinity relationship model, which Hakim Bey (1985) called band. Members of the band have a social contract with a generosity bond; they are not part of a larger hierarchy, but rather part of a horizontal pattern of habit linked to the expansion of spiritual alliances, kinship, specific mutual interests, among other linking networks. Walter Benjamin (2002), in his book titled *The Arcades Project*, emphasizes that the barricades of Paris turn the urban space into a strategic field for the agency of desires, angers and of what is common between classes — the handling of feelings takes place through the blockade of streets and urban geography. According to Velloso (2017), the barricades in Paris involved this process of desire delimitation and geographic blockade. They were first erected in 1827 and, again, in 1830 to block the path from *Hotel de Ville* [City Hall] to *Place de la Bastille* [Bastille Square]. This method was adopted again in 1832, when an area comprising almost a third of the entire City was bordered by barricades that were almost exclusively erected by workers in order to block an external zone and to defend an internal one.

Furthermore, the French Revolution of February 1848 has introduced a greater complexity, namely: the socialist ideology was widespread among proletarians and, at the same time, it hardened the nationalist sentiment. Agendas claiming for better democracy and more demonstrations against corruption, as well as the Catholic population discontentment with a Protestant prime minister, were part of that scenario. Therefore, a provisional government was established, but it failed to respond to the public outcry. Thus, in June of that very same year, approximately 400 barricades, which transformed both the internal and external parts of the city, were built. This movement became a paradigm to all European countries and it influenced subsequent struggles around the world (Benjamin, 2002; Pinheiro, 2011). However, after the 1848 revolution, a major intervention, headed by Georges-Eugène Haussmann, was carried out in Paris, from 1853 to 1870. Although these reforms have used a beautification speech, they can be featured as counter-reforms. They were a creative city space-destruction process, which comprised changing local dwellers' habits and customs, expanding capital reproduction through investments in infrastructure and luxurious dwellings, as well as expanding the roads to enable the circulation of goods and, most of all, of barricade-repression troops. Thus, this urban counter-reform was used to establish a new order and to neutralize popular uprisings (Pinheiro, 2011; Velloso, 2017).

In addition, these counter-reforms implemented in Paris were a class dispute that manifested themselves as a struggle to produce different voids. On the one hand, a quite specific fear of emptiness has destroyed the blind fields impregnated in the old tissue of the city, those where the spots power could not reach. On the other hand, it produced new voids dominated by the hegemonic power: the large boulevards.

Having, as they do, the appearance of walling-in a massive eternity, Haussmann's urban works are a wholly appropriate representation of the absolute governing principles of the Empire: repression of every individual formation, every organic self-development, 'fundamental hatred of all individuality'. (Benjamin, 2002, p. 122)

It is possible saying that Haussmann was one of the forerunners of a mechanic form of metropolitan colonization that, according to Habitantes da ZAD (2021), is a contemporary phenomenon of exploration and agency of territories and bodies, worldwide. This colonization is an attempt to erase heterotopies (other territories) in order to transform the metropolitan space into homotopy (equal territories). Thus, it forces the integration of all social dynamics to the market, by depreciating other forms of life on behalf of commodity fetishism.

[...] To admit once and for all, without flinching at the consequences, that the decisive actors here are the adventurer and the pirate, the wholesale grocer and the ship owner, the gold digger and the merchant, appetite and force, and behind them, the baleful projected shadow of a form of civilization which, at a certain point in its history, finds itself obliged, for internal reasons, to extend to a world scale the competition of its antagonistic economies (Césaire, 2000, p. 33).

Paradoxically, even if it enlightens obscure areas or fills the void with new symbols, the fear of emptiness always creates fictional zones where other heterotopias can emerge. According to Foucault ([1984] 2013), in a lecture given to the Paris Architectural Studies Circle, in 1967, the lights of new utopias always create shadows that are the seeds of other heterotopias founded in practical and everyday life:

There are countries without places and histories without chronologies. [...] Certainly, these cities, continents and planets were born, as they say, in the minds of men, or, actually, in the interstice of their words, in the thickness of their narratives, or even in the placeless place of their dreams; in the emptiness of their hearts; in one word, it is the sweet taste of utopias. However, i believe that there are – in every society – utopias that have a precise and real place, a place that we can find on the map; utopias that have a determined time, a time we can fix and measure based on the every-day calendar (Foucault, [1984] 2013, p. 19, our translation).

Thus, heterotopies are located utopias, against spaces: "places opposed to all others, meant — in a certain way — to erase, neutralize or purify them" (Foucault, [1984] 2013, p. 21, our translation). "overall, as a rule, heterotopia overlaps, in a real place, several spaces that would often be, or should be, incompatible" (Foucault, [1984] 2013, p. 24, our translation). Therefore, the Haussmannian urban project was incapable of avoiding the blind fields and obscure areas taken again by precarious classes. Despite all the light and splendor, it only took a few gaps for the crowds to enact new tactics and practices for subverting this state power and scope. In 1871, once again, the crowds organized themselves, took over the alleys and built barricades using the new boulevards paving stones; this process has resurrected old autonomy zones, since these new streets were once again transformed into (self)construction sites.

Again, these barricades were erected by free labor and turned into a common territory, a defense zone for the poor that was also an open-air dwelling (Velloso, 2017). Overall, the rite of building these barricades resembles a party. According to Hakim Bey (1985), party can be defined as a group of individuals who combine efforts to fulfill and manage mutual desires (whether for excitement, conversation, endorphins, or food), to create a communal work of art or, maybe, even for the erotic pleasure of social organization, for the life drive that emanates from the ecstasy of being together.

The spatial void created by barricades is a potency emerging from the element of spontaneity and temporariness featured in that communion of forces. [...] The streets' appropriation happens as a creation mostly materialized in political desire rather than in political need (Velloso, 2017, p. 55, our translation).

Could these barricades be expressed in the 21st century not only through the material condition of a popular uprising taking ownership of the urban fabric, but also through the immaterially claiming of what escapes planning, as repressed desires for acknowledgement and through a dispute for appropriating the cities' everyday life?

3   *Quebradas*: Spatialities of a Different Barricade

On the one hand, how would it be possible approaching contemporary colonization machines and their control structures? Since their scope is unimaginable due to technological advancements, their structures are both corporate and military, their surveillance, tracking and control projects are increasingly efficient and hidden behind the everyday life in cities. According to Stephen Graham (2016), it is important emphasizing that the function of this metropolis colonization process lies on dominating complex social issues, by concentrating political violence in public spaces and in social life, by using fear as a driving force to besiege cities based on technology and state belligerence. On the other hand, how is it possible for absolutely excluded populations to escape these control structures? Those who no longer fear danger survive in the (under)world of the streets; they mainly survive due to boldness rather than to courage, by dwelling in their own fears. Thus, the proposal to address this dilemma lies on investigating invisibility as tactic, as well as how it clandestinely occupies areas in order to suspend a visibility regime, even if only for a short period-of-time, and by creating ways of organization, even if only at the minimum amount to survive.

3.1   For a Listening-*Flânerie* and a Floating Observation of *Quebradas*

According to Benjamin (2018), storytellers relied on the oral transmission of their experiences, through popular sayings, fairy tales or simple knowledge transmission invested on the authority of being an old person. Based on the aforementioned author, the art of storytelling is close to an arts and crafts communication form. The important thing is not fact itself, as in documented bureaucracy or pure information. It is a matter of carrying about the experiences of storytellers themselves, as if life could engrave a mark in history, "just like the potter's mark on the clay vessel" (Benjamin, 2018, p. 149, our translation). Storytellers were divided into two groups, namely: travelers and those who worked the land with their hands. Both groups shared experiences; however, there were differences in the ways they experienced them (Benjamin, 2018). In addition to this, a new aspect of the modern city was the emergence of the *flâneur* character, whose core is a floating observation mode going against the grain of society rhythms, since it allows pauses in, and re-elaborations of, the way of thinking, and enables us to develop other ways of experiencing things.

By exploring these contemporary aspects, by revealing speeches and developing re-elaboration against the grain, Rio de Janeiro-born journalist João Paulo Emílio Cristóvão dos Santos Coelho Barreto, popularly known as João do Rio, describes an urban ethnography process, according to which, it is not enough just using the street to understand the city. "It is necessary having a wandering spirit", full of curiosity and an incomprehensible desire to experience the city. Thus, we must do the art of wandering (Rio, 2016, p. 12, our translation). Therefore, in its simultaneously obscure, muted and fleeting dynamics, the *quebrada* demands a new way of listening as the researcher digresses and wanders. It demands a flâneur approach, not only as a way of ethnographing an uncommitted walking, but also as a way of being the one who is available to investigate other territorialities. These territorialities should be experienced through the obscure other, including its other discourses and stories. Thus, the listening process must be linked to the experience of places in the city. It is done based on the understanding that the narrative itself constitutes a territoriality that, in its turn, is a living experience. This sensitive listening to both the voice and the territoriality of the obscure other is what we call listening-*flânerie*.

According to Tânia Ferreira (2018), listening is based on the assumption that there is knowledge in any individual who talks to us. This knowledge is based on the reality stated by these individuals' experiences and in the act of stating. They take ownership of what they say and, in doing so, they make a move towards renewing and recreating themselves. Thus, the *flâneur* character merges with the archaeological metaphor. Acting in a pace different from the one proposed by metropolitan colonization machines would enable excavating the city by listening to obscured territorialities — in order to reveal the marks registered in statements from individuals who wander and dwell in the city's own wandering — to the same extent as one seeks to both observe and hear how these territorialities simultaneously become body, house and city. This listening model not only enables researchers to receive information, but also to territorialize the meanings of the exposed symbols. Next, we present what we were able to identify in the street population, so far. First, we outlined three different types of *quebradas* (i.e., direct ways of living in the city), namely: *mocó* [hiding place], *favela* [slum-like] space and house with open doors. More than the partial picture represented by these typological images, we herein intend to establish the field of a new way of mapping these obscure and empty city spaces.

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3.2   *Mocó*

Based on the example shown in Figure 1, *mocó* is the *quebrada* with the most dystopian aspect. This pejorative, dehumanizing and dangerous heterotopia is the space associated with times of despair and endless escape; it is a zone for full isolation, detachment and (self)deconstruction. "Rat hole, it is a rat hole!"', was the answer to the question about what a *mocó* would be. This questioning came from an imaginary construct, according to which, *mocós*, in an informal language, would be places used to hide something, like purses and objects, as well as abandoned spaces used as shelter and/or hiding place by the homeless population.

Fig. 1: House in Goiânia City (GO) used as *mocó*. Source: The authors, 2022.

The origin of the term *mocó*, associated with the idea of hiding place, was not found in the literature. However, the statement made by the street population appears to be the most accurate description of it, since *mocó — Kerodon rupestris —* is a rodent mammal belonging to family *Cavidae*, who lives exclusively in the Brazilian semi-arid and *Caatinga* regions, a fact that makes it highly adaptable to scarcity conditions. *Mocós* live in cracks in rocks and stone slabs, which provide them with shade and high humidity levels, as well as protect them from both the weather and predators. Faced with these conditions, these rodents have developed adaptive features that play a key role in their survival (Sousa, 2006). Another situation pointed out by the street population lies on the fact that calling these places *mocós* makes the State feel free to use excessive force, since the name is associated with a pejorative context that links it to places for drug use, as well as for hiding weapons and stolen objects. According to Dias (2007), this double association discredits human life, since it animalizes individuals who take shelter in these spaces and depicts them as plagues. This idea that there is a life that really matters triggers the discourse against the lives of these individuals.

3.3   *Favela* Space

Favela spaces refer to disused buildings occupied by the street population; they are often not linked to occupation movements. However, although these occupations are not associated with housing movements, according to Urpi (2019, p. 391, our translation), they share a "temporary-permanent paradox", since these dwellers can be removed from the occupied buildings, at any time, due to lack of legal security. Thus, these individuals suffer from constant insecurity, which leads to contingent improvements, partial appropriations, temporary rooting, solutions featured by ephemeral, temporary, improvised measures, as observed in Figure 2, which shows the occupation of the ruins of Brazil's Institute of Architects headquarters, in Goiás State.

People have nowhere to go; homeless people have occupied that space. Therefore, it is a *favela* space, a space without basic sanitation, electric power. [...] there is not even a bathroom there, but it is a space that keeps them away from dew; they are protected by walls and things like that (Interviewee).

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Fig. 2: Ruins of Brazil's Institute of Architects headquarters – Goiás State. Source: The authors, 2022.

The street population, as well as society popular layers, want to live in a good location due to several reasons. These reasons can encompass proximity to work, which is often associated with collecting recyclable materials and begging for money, or the construction of a protective network comprising family, friendship and neighborhood bonds. Thus, oftentimes, slum-like spaces are preferably formed within centralities.

[...] For the guys to work at the traffic light, too. So, it is like that. Most of the guys who live there, in that area, they work there by washing cars. [...] they do something, they sell candy, water, so they also beg for money, right? To keep up with themselves. So, for me, man, it is a quite strategic space [...] (Interviewee).

3.4   The Doors of the House Are Open

Once, when we asked a homeless person to give an interview, he replied, "I live over there, in that mattress; the doors of the house are open." This speech shows the homeless population's relationship with the territory: a space where intimacy and spatiality are mediated by temporality since, given the lack of physical enclosure, territory ownership is featured by individuals' presence. This territory is featured by the occupation of a given space and by relationships built from these temporalities and from their elements, be them a sidewalk, a body on the floor, a cardboard forage and a blanket, a camping tent, a sofa, or a chair (as shown in Figure 3). All these elements feature territories of struggle and life in the city.

Fig. 3: Street ownership as home in Goiânia City (GO). Source: The authors, 2022.

These elements disturb the "show" by bringing out an often-numb reality. These small eschatological territory concessions can, oftentimes, have the size of a body (distant, contrasting, disgusting). This body may be either moving or resting, and its territory, which lacks meaning or stability, moves as it establishes new displacement and permanence relationships. Moreover, this body is only featured by its ability to affect, and to be affected by, other bodies. The barricade is herein featured by its minimum element – i.e., it is a barricade of bodies. Furthermore, territoriality itself is formed by these bodies; its determining factors comprise the way the elements of each territory, the distance between bodies, as well as the seizure and body composition forms taking place through established distances – be them head-to-head or lateral distances - are managed. These bodies are always featured by relationships with nearby materials; thus, they are always and simultaneously multiple. Barricades are not a defensive architectural structure in this context; they are overlapped to create other ways of dwelling (Cervantes, 2021).

4   Final Remarks

According to Hakim Bey (1985), since 1899, when the last land space was claimed by a nation-state, there is no land actually outside the known borders[2]. Even the solar system is allegedly delimited. However, vast territories hide within the complex dimensional meshes of geography that escape Cartesian measurements. As we have seen, *quebrada*'s territoriality has an obscure, traumatic, opaque, excluded and silenced dimension. Moreover, it recreates limits, as well as releases voids,

[2] *Terra nullius*, such as Bir Tawil (Africa) and Marie Byrd Land (Antarctica), are, consequently, conflicts of claims (i.e., two countries claim a given land at the same time) or a space not claimed by any sovereign nation.

imagination and new ownerships. Understanding these spaces as contemporary barricades against metropolitan colonization processes requires much more than a new method and much more than an excavation carried out against the grain. It is necessary overcoming the hegemonic maps, as well as understanding how they are used as devices to explore deviations, at the time to approach *quebradas* as barricades. It is necessary to perform an act of listening that simultaneously rambles and imagines, since its speech has never been formulated. It is necessary floating among other knowledge types while one observes, since their utopias and dreams have never existed, because the emptiness of these spaces is actually featured by the sublimation of desires.

As previously mentioned, maps not simply have invisible spaces inside cartographies of power (Bey, 1985), but maps also produce new invisible spaces inhabited by strange and excluded beings. However, although our maps have never reproduced the world's totality, it is possible to investigate the power operations and potentials hidden behind their creation. The movie *Stalker* depicts an operation that creates voids and releases desires; it is similar to that of TAZ, which shows an operation that detaches a given zone from hegemonic structures. More than counter-hegemonic formulations, the listening-*flâneurie* of *quebradas* enabled perceiving the installation of non-hegemonic spatialities. The question that remains lies on how *quebradas* can set free an imagination zone capable of de-territorializing and re-territorializing other temporalities, by clandestinely occupying and speaking about these places. Future studies to be conducted should focus on the creativity factor: how can these voids intentionally guide the production of other territorialities?

Finally, an approach focused on moving forward and building this floating tour through *quebradas*, and focused on wandering territorialities that emerge from sensitive listening, can enable us to approach the gaps of the hegemonic world and to observe the obscure void found even in the most enlightened and controlled territories of contemporary cities. Thus, more than finding answers about *quebradas*, this journey has enabled us to overcome the *horror vacui* syndrome and to observe the limits of the hegemonic city by looking with the *horror vacui* as a lens in itself.

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