The Professional Geographer

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rtpg20

Intersectionality and the Spatiality of Emotions in Feminist Research

Maria Rodó-Zárate

To cite this article: Maria Rodó-Zárate (2022): Intersectionality and the Spatiality of Emotions in Feminist Research, The Professional Geographer, DOI: 10.1080/00330124.2022.2075406

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/00330124.2022.2075406

Intersectionality and the Spatiality of Emotions in Feminist Research

Maria Rodó-Zárate
Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

In intersectionality studies, the lived experience of inequalities has been a central concern since its origins. Crenshaw referred to Black women's experiences of oppression as the phenomenon to be studied and the reason why new theoretical tools, such as intersectionality, were needed. Here I approach intersectionality and lived experience from an emotional and geographic perspective, focusing on how spatiality is lived and constructed through emotions and on their role in (re)producing intersectional dynamics. I rely on Ahmed's (*Feminist Theory*, Vol. 8 [2007], 149–68) conceptualization of (dis)comforts and the inhabitability of places by different bodies to show the genuinely spatial character of emotions. Applying the conceptualization to an intersectional framework, I develop a differentiation of (dis)comforts in relation to geometries of power and argue that emotions and their spatialities can be used as pointers to intersectional inequalities. I illustrate the theoretical proposals through the Relief Maps as a tool for the collection, analysis, and visualization of the social, geographic, and emotional dimensions of intersectional inequalities and reflect on how feminist research methods could consider emotions for studying intersectional dynamics. **Key Words: emotions, intersectionality, methodologies, Relief Maps, spatiality.**

In intersectionality studies, experience has taken a central role in the conceptualization of the effects of power structures such as gender, race, or class in the configuration of inequalities in everyday life. Crenshaw (1991) defined "structural intersectionality" as a central dimension of intersectionality related to the mode in which people experience multiple dimensions of inequality. In this regard, since its origins, experience of oppression has been a crucial dimension for studying intersectional dynamics in relation to Black women, with experience as a source of knowledge and its analysis a way of struggling against structural inequalities (hooks 1981, 1984; Lorde 1984; Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 1990).

Here I approach lived experience focusing on the role of emotions in (re)producing intersecting inequalities from a geographical perspective that considers spatiality as a central element for conducting research on the variability of intersectional dynamics. With the aim of contributing to debates on how to consider the emotional and the geographical dimension in research on intersectionality, I rely on Ahmed's (2007) conceptualization of emotions as embodied experiences of social relations and specifically on her development of the notion of comfort. I consider emotions of comfort and discomfort as pointers to inequalities caused by different axes and their interrelations to show how spaces are inhabitable for some bodies and not others. In this sense, I situate the relationality between places, bodies, and emotions as a central element for understanding the coconstitution of spatiality and sociability in intersectional dynamics.

In the next section I focus on the relation between emotions, inequalities, and spatialities, proposing a differentiation between different types of (dis)comforts based on their different relation to power geometries (Massey 2005). Then I illustrate the implications for intersectional dynamics through some examples of Relief Maps, focusing not only on the oppressive positions but also on the lines of privilege through the emotional maps of silence. I conclude with some reflections on the role of (dis)comforts for social change.

(Dis)Comforts and Power Geometries

The intellectual debate on the conceptualization of emotions in relation to power and the (re)production of inequalities has focused on diverse issues such as the geopolitics of fear (Pain and Smith 2008), the hierarchies of grief (Butler 2004), or the imperative of happiness (Ahmed 2010). In geographical debates, humanistic geography, feminist geography, and nonrepresentational theory have been concerned with emotions in earlier geographies (Bondi 2005), showing the capacity of place to evoke emotions (see Tuan 1979), politicizing emotions through showing their gendered nature (see Rose 1993), and focusing on affect (inexpressible) as a way to go beyond the language of emotions (see Thrift 2004). As Pile (2010) noted, geographers have described a diversity of emotions in a wide range of contexts: anger, anxiety, caring, desire, envy, fear, grief, happiness, injustice, love, pride, or worry, among many others. Emotions have also been

The Professional Geographer, 0(0) 2022, pages 1–6
Initial submission, August 2021; revised submissions, January and February 2022; final acceptance, February 2022.

addressed in relation to their importance and place in the research process (Widdowfield 2000; Laliberté and Schurr 2016), in relation to the manipulation of emotions by various forms of power (Thrift 2004), or regarding their role in expressing and challenging intersectional inequalities (Schurr 2012). The examination of the relationship between specific emotions with the perception or use of space, such as Valentine's (1989) research on women's fear of male violence, has also shown the importance of emotions as "produced in the interplay between and among people and environments" (Bondi, Davidson, and Smith 2005, 3). Despite the calls, however, for an emotional turn that shows the importance of how "the human world is constructed and lived through the emotions" (Anderson and Smith 2001), Davidson, Bondi, and Smith (2005) argued that human geography "often presents us with an emotionally barren terrain" and that, as many other disciplines, geography "has often had trouble expressing its emotions" (7).

To examine the role of emotions in (re)producing social inequalities, I use the notions of comfort and discomfort as holistic emotions that can include a wide range of specific emotions such as fear, humiliation, or tranquility. As Ahmed (2007) argued in relation to (dis)comforts:

> To be comfortable is to be so at ease with one's environment that it is hard to distinguish where one's body ends and the world begins. One fits, and by fitting the surfaces of bodies disappears from view. White bodies are comfortable *as they inhabit spaces that extend their shape*. The bodies and spaces "point" towards each other, as a "point" that is not seen as it is also "the point" from which we see. In other words, whiteness may function as a form of public comfort *by allowing bodies to extend into spaces that have already taken their shape*. Those spaces are lived as comfortable as they allow bodies to fit in; the surfaces of social space are already impressed upon by the shape of such bodies. (158)

Ahmed related the notion of comfort to whiteness and situated the relationality between places, bodies, and emotions as a central element for understanding the coconstitution of spatiality and sociability. To feel comfortable in the everyday spaces implies an emotional fit and a lack of awareness or worry about one's position in a place, understanding that "spaces are inhabitable for some bodies and not others" (Ahmed 2007, 162). Following Tolia-Kelly's (2006) view that different bodies have different affective capacities, my argument here is that looking at (dis)comforts might be a way to analyze which bodies can (in)habit what spaces. However, do emotions, and specifically (dis)comforts, relate to geometries of power in the same way?

Ahmed (2007) referred to comfort as an emotion that derives from privilege. In the same line, Gökariksel, Hawkins, and Neubert (2021) argued that "comfort feminism often functions as an illusion of sisterhood" (4) that might be complicit with diverse forms of violence. Geographers of sexualities, however, have also shown that comfort can derive from other social processes. Gorman-Murray (2009) argued that comfort "can be seen as the emotional 'fit' between the embodied self and place" (448). In a similar vein, Holliday (1999), in her study on the performance of sexual identities in work, domestic, and social spaces, argued that comfort derives from being "recognizably" queer, from "expressing externally that which one feels inside" (481). Skeggs et al. (2004), regarding the experiences of safety in relation to homophobic violence, argued that comfort is sexualized and defined against danger and insecurity. Held (2015), in her research on emotions in sexualized nighttime leisure spaces, argued that the awareness of comfort is produced in relation to other spaces where lesbians experience homophobia. Moreover, the author argued that these feelings are triggered by sameness and difference and at the same time constitute them (Held 2015).

These notions of comfort differ in some relevant ways regarding their relation to geometries of power: Whereas Ahmed's (2007) and Gökariksel, Hawkins, and Neubert's (2021) conceptualizations relate to privilege, geographers of sexualities point at processes of resistance and transgression derived from oppressive positions. In this regard, I distinguish three different types of comforts regarding their relation to power dynamics. Ahmed's (2007) notion of comforts would be the *systemic/systematic comforts*, which would be those related to a privileged position in a power structure (systemic), those that allow bodies to fit in the spaces of daily life (systematic). They are the expressions of the fit between the body and a place that is already shaped by the presence (or the inherited presences) of certain bodies. The comfort felt when being able to express what is felt inside, or when experiencing safety in a place in comparison to suffering violence or discrimination in another, however, would be another type of comfort: the *relief comfort*. It can be seen as the result of political struggles, both collective and organized struggles for the construction of safe spaces, and also the everyday struggles to create places of relief. There would also be *normalizing comforts*, which would be caused by the naturalization of discomforts that are not expressed as such and that shape and are shaped by processes of normalization. Politics of passing could also be related to such comforts.

Therefore, comfort is intimately linked to discomfort, which at the same time differently relates to power dynamics. In the same line, then, there are different types of discomfort that point to geometries of power (Rodó-Zárate 2017, 2021). First, *systemic/systematic discomforts* are those related to situations where a social position is a source of

discomfort in many of the places of the everyday life (systematic) or point to inequalities that are related to oppressed positions in power structures. This would be the other side of the coin of what Ahmed (2007) described in relation to whiteness, because these would be the discomforts felt for not fitting in specific places. An example of this kind of discomfort would be the previously mentioned fear in public space suffered by women. Second, *circumstantial discomforts* are sporadic discomforts that are not systematically related to an oppressed position. It would be, for instance, feeling discomfort as a cisheterosexual man in a gay pub. Although this can be felt as a discomfort, it is circumstantial for a specific social configuration where a minoritized social group is hegemonic in a certain space. Third, *ethical discomforts* would be discomforts due to political views, empathic feelings, or ethical positions. An example would be feeling anger for a homophobic comment at work while being heterosexual. This last type has an important political potential, because it opens the door for alliances and solidarities based on empathic emotions that go beyond identity politics.

Intersectional (Dis)Comforts

As an illustration and visualization of the emotional dimension of intersectional geometries of power, I present an example through Relief Maps. Relief Maps are a conceptual and methodological model for working on geographies of intersectionality. First developed as a handmade tool for collecting, analyzing, and visualizing geographic data on inequalities, emotions, and intersectionality (see Rodó-Zárate 2014), its development as a digital tool (www.reliefmaps.cat) has boosted its potentialities as a tool for research. The data are collected through an online form that asks the participants in the research process for their subjective experience in different places and for different social positions through various means of expressing emotions: responding to an open question about their feelings in each place or social position; selecting from a list of emotions such as fear, humiliation, acceptance, or tranquility; and situating a dot in a gradation of comfort to discomfort. The final figure shows the curves of (dis)comforts due to intersecting social positions in diverse spaces of everyday life, and the comments and emotions attributed to them are interactively displayed (see Rodó-Zárate [2021] for a development).

As can be seen in Figure 1, a Relief Map relates three dimensions: the social (intersecting power structures), the geographical (places) and the psychological (emotions). With a spatially organized image, it visualizes the ever-shifting social geometries of power through the subjective perception of inequalities of people differently positioned.

This example illustrates Sara's subjective perception of discrimination and inequality through diverse emotions. Sara is a bisexual fifteen-year-old woman who migrated from South America when she was a child. She lives in a medium-sized village near Barcelona and studies at a public high school.[1] As Figure 1 shows, she situated multiple dots upward in relation to diverse axes. The discomforts she identified would be the systemic/systematic ones, because she expressed that they were linked to racist and xenophobic attitudes against her (as seen in Figure 1 for origin, religion, and nationality at home) but also to gender-based violence, sexist comments, and homophobic discrimination both at home and in public spaces. Instead, the comfort she experiences in virtual spaces in relation to her sexual orientation could be seen as a normalizing comfort, as it is related to her avoidance of disclosing such information in social networks.

Following a *situated intersectionality* perspective (Yuval-Davis 2011), the role of context and specific social and historic configurations are central to examining intersectional dynamics. Domination is differently

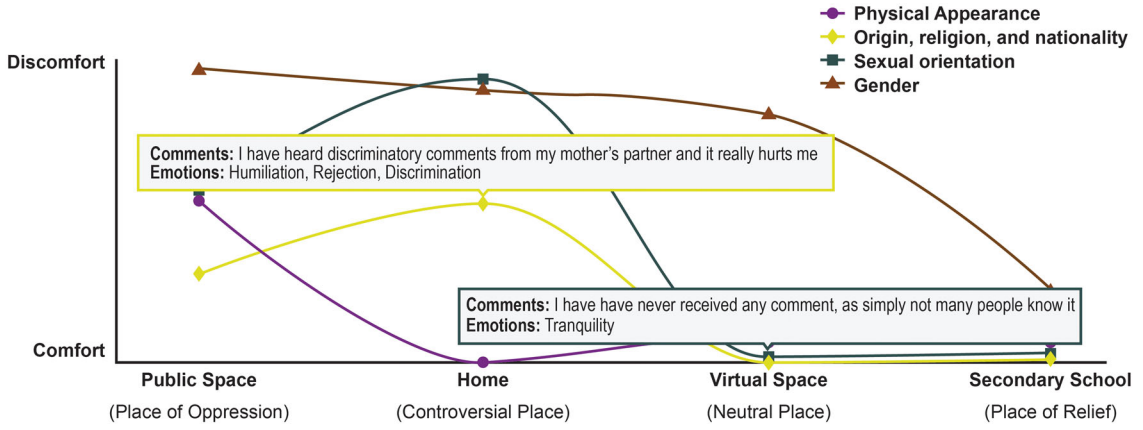

Figure 1 *Sara's Relief Map.*

structured in different places and thus intersectionality acquires different meanings depending on specific social contexts (Collins and Bilge 2016). In this sense, for example, Sara's experience in relation to her origin, skin color, or sexual orientation, among others, is contextually configured, and the specific social relations in place condition the ways in which she suffers discrimination and also in which she struggles and resists it. The contextualized analysis is beyond the scope of this article, but through Sara's lines it can be seen how emotions point at structural intersecting discriminations and inequalities. In this case, her (dis)comforts point at situated social processes and power relations such as the heteronormalization and adultification of private, public, and virtual spaces for youth with nonnormative sexualities and the gendered and racialized processes that produce those spaces, too. Thus, the relation between emotions, space and place, and intersecting power dynamics is rendered visible through her lived experience in places of her everyday life. Discomfort here is not only the effect of social relations of inequality but is also productive of inequalities in the sense that it restricts, limits, and denies the use, access, participation, and enjoyment of the spaces of her everyday life.

This would be an example of the relation between emotions, spaces, and intersectional dynamics from nonnormative or oppressed positions. But what about privilege? Figure 2 is the Relief Map of Marc, a white, heterosexual young man, fifteen years old, living in Barcelona and going to a private high school in a wealthy neighborhood of the city. His Relief Map consists of four flat lines, no comments written, and few emotions expressed. It shows systemic/systematic comfort as the privilege to move through places and across the social, physical, and legal lines and borders without experiencing spatially situated emotions.

Behind these flat lines there is privilege and there is silence. These are lines and dots empty of words and of emotions, silent dots that point to privilege and express the fit between social positions and places. They visualize the privilege of not being conscious of one's social position and of not worrying about one's position in a specific place. It is not only "not feeling fear" but not even wondering whether one feels afraid. This silence is the sound of *feeling in place*, which is an unnoticed emotion.

Ahmed (2007) noted, "We might only notice comfort as an affect when we lose it, when we become uncomfortable" (158) and related this lack of feelings to whiteness. The author considered "whiteness as a category of experience that disappears as a category through experience" and described it as "an ongoing and unfinished history, which orientates bodies in specific directions, affecting how they 'take up' space" (Ahmed 2007, 150). She also argued that "colonialism makes the world 'white', which is of course a world 'ready' for certain kinds of bodies, as a world that puts certain objects within their reach" (Ahmed 2007, 154) and defended that these objects could be physical objects but also capacities, aspirations, or habits.

From a spatial perspective, these objects could also be thought as spaces, places of the everyday life that are reachable for some bodies and not for others, and this reachability is central for intersectional geometries of power. In Ahmed's (2007) conception of space, "spaces acquire the 'skin' of the bodies that inhabit them … spaces also take shape by being orientated around some bodies, more than others" (157). In the Relief Maps, places are configured by the dots of (dis)comfort that shape them and, at the same time, are shaped by the social relations in every specific context.

From an intersectional perspective, the comfort of whiteness could be applied (considering the different configurations of it) to being cis, heterosexual, or adult, among other socially privileged positions. As "white bodies do not have to face their whiteness" (Ahmed 2007, 156), heterosexual bodies do not have to face their heterosexuality. Privileged positions are felt as neutral, as not even social positions. In relation to heterosexuality, for instance, Nast (1998) argued that "heterosex's normative public expressions are seen as innocent, natural, or

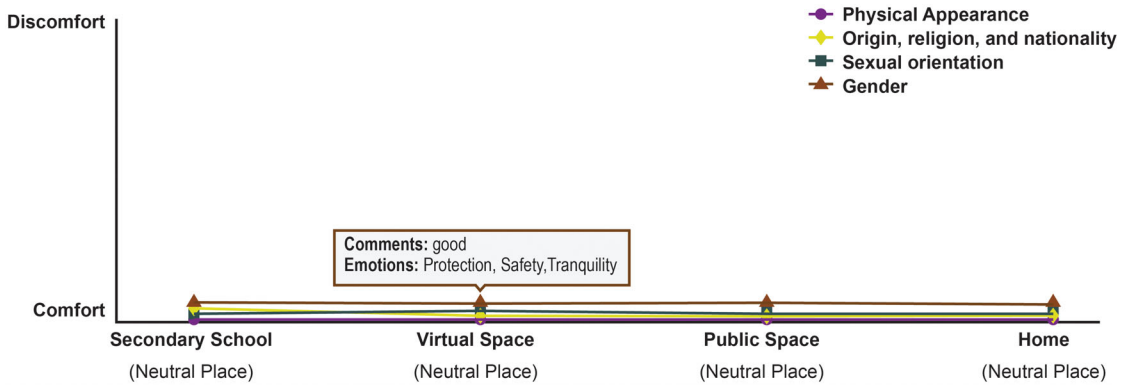

Figure 2 *Marc's Relief Map.*

unremarkable" (192), that those practices and the bodies that perform them are not marked. The focus on these privileged positions is thus central for the denaturalization of the apparent asexuality of everyday spaces and for showing the social power of people who pass as "normal" (see Bell and Valentine 1995; Hubbard 2000).

In this sense, acknowledging that people are simultaneously in oppressed and privileged positions, some white bodies might suffer heterosexist discomforts and some heterosexuals might suffer racism. As Collins (1990) noted, "Each individual derives varying amounts of penalty and privilege from the multiple systems of oppression which frame everyone's lives" (229). From a geographic perspective, it could be added that the effects of these amounts of penalty and privilege vary across space and time (Valentine 2007). This conceptualization of the complexity of the emotional dimension of inequalities moves away from dichotomist and absolute conceptions of the oppressed and the oppressor and shows that there might be different configurations of (dis)comforts depending on intersecting positions but also on time and space. In this sense, in some places, some social positions will be salient and some others will not even be noticed, configuring complex geometries of power that can be identified through emotional geographies.

Conclusions

Discomforts are unevenly distributed, and this unevenness is "rendered invisible or insignificant by capitalist, imperialist, and patriarchal processes" (Gökariksel, Hawkins, and Neubert 2021, 8). The antiuniversalist perspective on geographies of emotions presented here points at the importance of the geometries of power for acknowledging that "affective capacities of any body are signified unequally within social spaces of being and feeling" (Tolia-Kelly 2006, 214). In this sense, the spatial and emotional perspectives are crucial for understanding intersectional dynamics of power. Focusing on who suffers (dis)comforts, where and how, could be a very fruitful path for rendering visible this unevenness that is in the base of structural inequalities.

The question that remains open, however, is what the political implications of comfort for social change are. Here I have analyzed how the emotional silence that derives from comfort and privilege, the lack of worry about one's position in the social environment, is also a lack of knowledge of how sociospatial relations work. The question that arises is this: What are the political implications of comfort? Holliday (1999) labeled comfort as social and personal atrophy, "a kind of social detachment, a kind of separation from real connections with others," and defended that "it is discomfort, displacement, disruption which moves (queer) politics (and selves) forward into a more complex and less exclusive or complacent place" (489). In the same line, Ahmed (2007) argued that "every experience I have had of pleasure and excitement about a world opening up has begun with such ordinary feelings of discomfort" (163). Also, Gökariksel, Hawkins, and Neubert (2021) explained that, although "there is nothing inherently productive or transformative about discomfort" (9), it can boost a questioning of power structures. So, despite the pain and the exclusionary dynamics that discomfort implies, discomfort is also a door to political consciousness and a door opened to the creation of bonds of solidarity and empathy among vulnerable groups.

Gökariksel, Hawkins, and Neubert (2021) argued that discomfort haunts feminist scholarship (in field research, university hallways, and conference rooms) but that it is rarely analyzed in research. Examining the uneven and embodied geographies of (dis)comforts could contribute to the understanding of social processes and structural inequalities that too often remain invisible. So opening up the discussion on the role of emotions in intersectional geometries of power could also be a path for social change. ■

Funding

PID2020-118661RA-I00, MCIN/AEI/ 10.13039/501100011033

ORCID

Maria Rodó-Zárate http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0633-4856

Note

[1] The examples shown are based on the project "Multifaceted Views of Gender Violence: Proposals for Prevention at Secondary Schools from a Holistic and Intersectional Perspective," funded by RecerCaixa (Principal Researchers: Gerard Coll-Planas and Maria Rodó-Zárate). The specific examples are part of the empirical work conducted with eighty-eight students aged fourteen to sixteen years old from four different high schools in the Barcelona province with diverse sociodemographic characteristics. In relation to the Relief Maps, each of them did their own digital map through the Web site in the classroom.

Literature Cited

Ahmed, S. 2007. A phenomenology of whiteness. *Feminist Theory* 8 (2):149–68. doi: 10.1177/1464700107078139.

Ahmed, S. 2010. *The promise of happiness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Anderson, K., and S. Smith. 2001. Editorial: Emotional geographies. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26 (1):7–10. doi: 10.1111/1475-5661.00002.

Bell, D., and G. Valentine, eds. 1995. *Mapping desire: Geographies of sexualities*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bondi, L. 2005. Making connections and thinking through emotions: Between geography and psychotherapy. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30 (4): 433–48. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2005.00183.x.

Bondi, L., J. Davidson, and M. Smith, Eds. 2005. Introduction: Geography's "emotional turn." In *Emotional geographies*, 1–116. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Butler, J. 2004. *Precarious life: The powers of mourning and violence*. London: Verso.

Collins, P. H. 1990. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, power and the politics of empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Collins, P. H., and S. Bilge. 2016. *Intersectionality*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140:139–67.

Crenshaw, K. 1991. Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6):1241–99. doi: 10.2307/1229039.

Davidson, J., L. Bondi, and M. Smith, eds. 2005. *Emotional geographies.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Gökariksel, B., M. Hawkins, C. Neubert, and S. Smith. 2021. Introduction. In *Feminist geography unbound: Discomfort, bodies, and prefigured futures*, ed. B. Gökariksel, M. Hawkins, C. Neubert, and S. Smith, 1–24. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.

Gorman-Murray, A. 2009. Intimate mobilities: Emotional embodiment and queer migration. *Social & Cultural Geography* 10 (4):441–60. doi: 10.1080/14649360902853262.

Held, N. 2015. Comfortable and safe places? Gender, sexuality and "race" in night-time leisure spaces. *Emotion, Space and Society* 14:33–42. doi: 10.1016/j.emospa.2014.12.003.

Holliday, R. 1999. The comfort of identity. *Sexualities* 2 (4):475–91. doi: 10.1177/136346099002004007.

hooks, b. 1981. *Ain't I a woman? Black women and feminism*. Boston: South End Press.

hooks, b. 1984. *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. New York: South End Press.

Hubbard, P. 2000. Desire/disgust: Mapping the moral contours of heterosexuality. *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (2):191–217. doi: 10.1191/030913200667195279.

Laliberté, N., and C. Schurr. 2016. Introduction. *Gender, Place & Culture* 23 (1):72–78. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2014.992117.

Lorde, A. 1984. *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.

Massey, D. 2005. *For space*. London: Sage.

Mitchell, D. 2003. *The right to the city*. New York: Guilford.

Nast, H. J. 1998. Unsexy geographies. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 5 (2):191–206. doi: 10.1080/09663699825287.

Pain, R., and S. Smith. 2008. *Fear: Critical geopolitics and everyday life*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Pile, S. 2010. Emotions and affect in recent human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (1):5–20. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2009.00368.x.

Rodó-Zárate, M. 2014. Developing geographies of intersectionality with *Relief Maps*: Reflections from youth research in Manresa, Catalonia. *Gender, Place & Culture* 21 (8):925–44. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2013.817974.

Rodó-Zárate, M. 2017. Affective inequality and heteronormative discomforts. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 108 (3):302–17. doi: 10.1111/tesg.12234.

Rodó-Zárate, M. 2021. *Interseccionalidad. Desigualdades, lugares y emociones* [Intersectionality. Inequalities, places and emotions]. Barcelona: Bellaterra.

Rose, G. 1993. *Feminism and geography: The limits of geographical knowledge*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Schurr, C. 2012. Thinking emotions from an intersectional perspective: The emotional geographies of Ecuadorian electoral campaigns. *Revista Latino-Americana de Geografia e Genero* 3 (2):3–15. doi: 10.5212/Rlagg.v.3.i2.003015.

Skeggs, B., L. Moran, P. Tyrer, and K. Corteen. 2004. *Sexuality and the politics of violence and safety*. London and New York: Routledge.

Thrift, N. 2004. Intensities of feeling: Towards a spatial politics of affect. *Geografiska Annaler* 86 (1):57–78. doi: 10.1111/j.0435-3684.2004.00154.x.

Tolia-Kelly, D. P. 2006. Affect—An ethnocentric encounter? Exploring the "universalist" imperative of emotional/affectual geographies. *Area* 38 (2):213–17. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4762.2006.00682.x.

Tuan, Y.-F. 1979. *Landscapes of fear*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Valentine, G. 1989. The geography of women's fear. *Area* 21 (4):385–90.

Valentine, G. 2007. Theorizing and researching intersectionality: A challenge for feminist geography. *The Professional Geographer* 59 (1):10–21. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9272.2007.00587.x.

Widdowfield, R. 2000. The place of emotion in academic research. *Area* 32 (2):199–208. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4762.2000.tb00130.x.

MARIA RODÓ-ZÁRATE is a Serra Húnter Fellow in the MIDE Department, University of Barcelona, 08035 Barcelona, Spain. E-mail: maria.rodo@ub.edu. Her research interests include feminist geographies and geographies of sexualities, with a special focus on intersectionality theory.