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***Who else* are they? Conceptualizing intersectionality for childhood and youth research.**

Maria Rodó de Zárata

ABSTRACT

Intersectionality has been seen as a useful and relevant concept to study children and youth geographies, as it allows research that take into account *who else* children and young people are (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). However, there are missing proposals on how to deal with intersectionality theoretically, methodologically and practically. The ways gender, sexuality, race, class, ability, religion or nationality condition children and youth spatial experiences might be as relevant as their age, but there are no systematic proposals on how to investigate their interrelation. Based on my research with young people in Catalonia, I show how intersectional frameworks can be used for the data collection with children and youth, what an intersectional framework could look like and some of the conceptual implications of conducting an intersectional analysis. Trying to establish links between feminist debates on intersectionality and research on youth and children, I present some conceptual tools to approach both the nature of the relation between intersecting categories and the role of space in intersectional dynamics.

KEY WORDS: experience; Relief Maps; place; feminism; methodology

Introduction

During my doctoral research with young people from Manresa (Catalonia), one of my central questions was whether in this specific medium-sized city youth had restrictions to access public space and if there were gender differences in that access. I was also interested in analyzing how social categories such as sexuality, class or ethnicity affected the access. My research was based on 31 semi-structured interviews with 16 to 29 years old young people differently positioned in terms of gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity, neighbourhood of residence, religion and education.

One of the first conclusions of my research was that young people in Manresa didn't experience restrictions of access to public space due to their age (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014). It was difficult to identify situations in public space where being young was the specific cause of a restriction in the access. Despite the lack of spaces for leisure, the obstacles for emancipation (that keep growing in the situation of crisis) or the restriction of certain uses of public space weren't the elements that affected the lives of youth the most. It seemed clear that age wasn't the most relevant conditioning in their experience of public space. Instead, many of them reported the suffering of an intense repression and social control from their immediate surroundings due to their sexuality, gender or ethnicity. For instance, most of the young lesbians and gays I interviewed suffered everyday discriminations in public space in Manresa, and young women reported cases of aggressions in the streets and an intense feeling of fear at night in the city. Youth from diverse origins also suffered control in public space by their communities, especially women, and this control hugely restricted their mobility in public space. Those were important limitations some youth experienced, but not specifically caused by their age. In this way, an intersectional framework was necessary to capture the complexity of their experiences and identify the way those multiple positions affected them. How could I systematize the data? What tools were available for identifying the specific causes of their situation from a geographical perspective?

The lack of theoretical and methodological proposals for analysing young people's intersecting experiences is what motivated the elaboration of specific methodological and conceptual tools for the systematization of research on youth and children from an intersectional and geographical perspective. Through the Relief Maps as the specific tool I developed, here I show how intersectional frameworks can be used for the data collection with children and youth, what an intersectional framework could look like and some of the conceptual implications of conducting an intersectional analysis. My aim is to apply some developments on

intersectionality to research on youth and children, focusing on methodological tools and approaches, the nature of the relation between intersecting categories and the role of space in intersectional dynamics. In doing so, I aim at contributing to the development of new techniques and conceptualizations for the study of intersectionality within children and youth research.

'Intersectionality' was the term coined by the black feminist and critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw in the late 1980s. It aimed to address the particular experiences of black women in the US, exposing the problems of treating race and gender separately. Her contributions followed claims by Black Feminists to point at the need of new feminist frameworks that could account for the experiences of black women. Even if it is not a new idea that patriarchy is interconnected with other systems of power such as capitalism, racism or nationalism, and indeed had been a central concern for many feminist movements around the world, Crenshaw's development of intersectionality was a turning point to allow feminist theorists to address the multiple relations among gender, race, class, sexuality, age, or ability.

In childhood and youth geographies, intersectionality has been seen as a relevant concept for the study of children and youth, as 'the ways in which age is lived out and encountered are likely to vary according to different markers of social difference; everyday experiences of people belonging to particular age groups are diverse and heterogeneous' (Hopkins and Pain, 2007: 290). In relation to intersectionality and the spatial perspective, it has also been highlighted that '[intersectionality] offers an important potential tool for feminist geography to understand the intimate connections between the production of space and systematic productions of power' (Valentine, 2007; 19). However, despite the importance of intersectionality for youth and children geographies, it was difficult to find systematic tools for the theoretical, methodological and practical research on it.

McCall (2005) offered a classification of three types of intersectional studies based on their use of categories and the positions they adopt with respect to them: the anticategorical – linked to post-structuralism– deconstructs categories and does not use them for the analysis; the intracategorical – linked to Black Feminism – takes specific social groups situated at specific points of intersection; and the intercategorical – a stance the author herself defends– takes the categories in a provisional way and analyses any relations of inequality that may exist between them. Generally, the majority of research that include an intersectional perspective tend to be intracategorical, as they examine specific groups and/or specific intersected oppressions.

In a great variety of fields of research, many studies can be found that analyze specific intersections between gender, ethnicity, sexuality, class, age, religion, ability or nationality. In children and youth geographies there are multiple works that take into account more than one category for the understanding of youth and children's everyday experiences, being gender, race and class the most investigated interconnections with age. The adoption of intersectional approaches in feminist youth geographies is an example of it (see O'Neill and Hopkins, 2015). This is what Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013) define as the application of an intersectional frame to the research, distinguishing it from the development of intersectionality theoretically and methodologically or applying it beyond the academic scope. These works normally focus on case studies and take into account one dimension of the intersection (for instance, in relation to age, youth; in relation to gender, women). However, it is not clear that considering more than one axe of oppression amounts by itself to an intersectional analysis. One of the potentialities of intersectionality is that both privilege and oppression can be taken into account, but rarely the multiplicity of the intersected positions is considered when they are not oppressive. Moreover, even if considering privileged positions, taking two (or more) categories for analysis without analysing the ways these categories affect each other can also be problematic. If intersectionality is meant to account for the dynamics of the intersection of multiple power structures, is the mere consideration of two categories an intersectional study in itself?

Categories are often added to a list of social differences in empirical research on children's geographies (Horton and Kraft, 2008) without pointing at the implications of the intersections (Horton *et al*, 2008). In studies on childhood and youth that take the challenge of relating different categories in the analysis, theoretical work on intersectionality itself is rarely the ground for research. This is not to say that these studies are not intersectional, but empirical accounts of children and young people's everyday lives that endorse an intersectional frame rarely benefit from feminist and postcolonial developments on the dynamics of intersectionality. Taking again Cho, Crenshaw and McCall's (2013) distinction, it seems that the application of an intersectional frame to the (empirical) research isn't generally linked with the development of intersectionality theoretically and methodologically. This is not only the case in childhood and youth studies, as the lack of engagement with theoretical insights on intersectionality can be found in many other fields that conduct empirical research. In childhood and youth studies, this lack of critical engagement with theoretical developments of intersectionality could also be linked with a more general criticism that points at the

disproportion between the production of empirical works on children's geographies and the theoretical engagement (Horton and Kraft, 2005; Tisdall and Punch, 2012).

Trying to shed light on the question of *who else* children and young people are (Hopkins and Pain, 2007), in the following section I present the Relief Maps as an image that helps visualizing the conceptual insights of intersectionality. As a method, I show how they are useful for emotional and participatory approaches to youth research, providing some conceptual insights on the relations between emotions and structural relations of power. Next, I focus on the relations between categories and in relation to experience, offering new conceptualizations that might be useful for disentangling the implications of an intersectional framework: the experience as constituted by different positions and the non-exhaustivity character of intersectional relations. Providing some theoretical clarifications on what constitutes what in intersectionality theory, I try to establish some links between feminist and postcolonial debates on intersectionality and research on youth and children. Finally, I focus on the role of space in intersectional dynamics.

Participatory and Emotional methods for research on youth and intersectionality

Several spatial metaphors have been developed in order to describe the functioning of intersectionality, being the crossroad (Crenshaw, 1991) the most known. However, as Garry (2011) shows, the metaphors that have been used do not really serve to explain intersectionality, as they either do not take into account privilege and oppression at the same time, or they do not allow for one oppression to modify another. Even if the functioning of intersectionality has been examined by different authors regarding the nature of the relations between categories, the levels of analysis, the political implications or the methodological complexities, it is difficult to find specific proposals, methods or tools that help the process of research on intersectionality. It has been widely pointed out that the development of research methods is needed within intersectionality (McCall, 2005; Hancock, 2007; Davis, 2009; Brown, 2011; McDowell, 2008; Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006; Verloo, 2006), and even if the lack of methods for the study of intersectionality is not specific for children and youth, its complexities also apply to this research field.

Next to it, the interest on methodological issues for research with children and youth has been diverse, focusing on ethical issues and the suitability of different approaches and techniques for the research (Tisdall and Punch, 2012). The valuing of their voices and their active

participation in research processes are central in childhood and youth studies, and some specific techniques and methods have been developed and applied to enhance their participation and comfortability during research (Punch, 2002; van Blerk and Kesby 2007; Mattingly, 2001; Travlou *et al*, 2008). However, there are no specific techniques or methods for the study of intersectionality within children and youth geographies. For my fieldwork, I needed some concrete tools that were suitable for collecting data with youth, that were coherent with the theoretical developments on intersectionality and that could be used for the systematization and analysis of data. Also, space had to be a central element, even if in intersectionality theory it is normally missing. This is the reason why I created the Relief Maps in order to collect data, analyze it and conceptualize intersectionality from a geographical perspective.

The following figure (Figure 1) is a Relief Map, a visual and symbolic depiction of the spatial distribution of intersectional relations, in this case, of lived experiences with respect to five power structures. The name 'Relief Maps' highlights two of the meanings that 'relief' has in English. 'Relief' as 'distinctiveness due to being accentuated' –which would be the hills, the curves that rise up and show the places of oppression– and 'Relief' as 'alleviation or removal of pain, anxiety or distress' –which would refer to the valleys, to those places where oppressive experiences decline and culminate in the 'places of relief'. The specific development of the Relief Maps as a method has been developed elsewhere, focusing on the steps to follow for collecting empirical data, the analytical tools it proposes and the conceptual implications of it (see Rodó-de-Zárate, 2013, 2014). My aim here is rather to show why they can be useful as a method for applying intersectional approaches to youth and childhood studies, and to use them as a visual image that will illustrate the conceptual developments that will be presented in the following sections.

Figure 1

Figure 1. Relief Map of Adriana, 16 years old, Manresa (Catalonia).

As it can be seen, Relief Maps are organized on the basis of three dimensions, the geographical (places, situated at the bottom)), the social (power structures, drawn as five different lines) and the psychological (emotions, the grades from comfort to discomfort). They provide an image, drawn by hand by the interviewees, where the curves and reliefs of oppression and privilege show the dynamics of intersectionality on a spatial basis. As regards the geographical dimension, places are classified according to four typologies: places of oppression (where one has an important experience of discomfort even if only caused by one identity), places of

controversial intersections (where one feels discomfort due to one specific identity but that are a source of comfort or relief due to another identity), neutral places (where no identity is accentuated) and places of relief (places that are sought or created because they provide release from an identity that is oppressed elsewhere or because they generate significant comfort). These are not closed classifications but rather they are situated in a continuous line that ultimately ranges from places where oppression is experienced more strongly (left side) to places of 'relief' (right side).

The social dimension in this case is depicted through the five power structures (represented through five different colours that draw several lines): gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class and age. Other research that have used this method have changed these five categories in order to be adapted to specific contexts or questions of research, showing the flexibility of its applicability. Religion, for instance, was introduced for a research on the intersectional experience of gay men in the Brazilian city of Ponta Grossa (Hanke, 2016) where, on the contrary, gender and ethnicity were not taken into account.

The psychological dimension appears through the dots and lines that show the level of comfort (downward) and discomfort (upwards) they experience for every place and for every power structure. In this case, the light blue line draws a curve with diverse dots situated upwards. This indicates an accentuated feeling of discomfort that is elaborated in the interview that accompanies the Relief Map. The lines show movement in the direction of escaping or creating new places and create some sort of 'contour lines' (Katz, 2001, 2011) that relate distinct places to particular processes. The arrows between dots show tensions between feelings caused by different power structures and help to think about the causes of specific oppressions and how categories relate to each other. To distinguish the arrows in the Relief Maps, those that intensify the oppression are directed upwards and those that mitigate it, downwards.

The Relief Maps were specifically thought for the research with young adults with the aim of spatially understanding their intersectional experience. One of the main interest was to develop a tool that could systematize the complexity of the intersectional experience and that at the same time was a useful tool for the youth interviewed, a tool that could allow a deep reflection on their experience and that fostered the process of raising consciousness. Explaining what intersectionality is and making people think about their everyday experiences through the separation of various aspects can be a very difficult process. Asking a sixteen years old, through an interview, how her experience is like because of her being a woman, lesbian, white, young and middle class, and how it varies from the different places of her everyday life

might take hours and be very ineffective. However, if the aim is to understand the intersectional experience of youth through places, information regarding their feelings in relation to their different positions was needed. And not only for those that are more salient, but also for those aspects that usually would remain unnoticed. The role that a place might play in experience might have a contradictory character depending on the perspective that is taken. For instance, a hidden park (see 'Park' in Figure 1) can be at the same time a shelter where she goes with her girlfriend (light blue dot, for sexuality), a fearful place as a woman (orange dot, for gender) and a place of freedom as a young, out of the adult gaze and the police (dark blue dot, for age). This contradictory situation is partially explained by her intersecting positions, and gives relevant information about the role of places in everyday experience.

The usefulness of the Relief Maps is mainly the possibility of collecting complex data on the geographies of intersectionality through simple steps and providing a visual image that operationalizes the information to be analyzed. This has important implications for the conceptualization of intersectionality in itself, as will be shown in the next section, and also as a method. As an example, I will show how they were used in a research with a group of young feminists on fear in public space in Catalonia (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2015), highlighting their usefulness as a participatory method and for research from an emotional approach.

The study was conducted within the frame of a participatory approach that aimed at considering young women as co-researchers, starting from their everyday experiences and turning them into political and social issues. The research process itself was emphasized, with the intent of converting personal experience into a collective political consciousness through a feminist Freirian model¹ (Freire, 1970; hooks, 1994). Through the participation process, the aim was also to show how young people, and these young women in particular, already had their own ways of managing their identities and thinking about overcoming the oppression they suffered, specifically emphasizing how they managed discomforts in public space.

The Relief Maps were a very relevant tool in this process for the reflective process it requires of respondents. Making a person think about how she feels in some places she frequents in her everyday life implies a deep reflection on the social positions she occupies. Through the distinction of different power structures, this process of thinking is systematized and allows a

¹ As Cahill (2004) states, this process departs from a critique of the sexism involved in Freire's language and ideas of liberation.

precise reflection of experiences of oppression that might remain normalized. This allows the communication of feelings, something that sometimes is difficult to get at and to analyze when conducting research. As Bondi *et al.* (2007) argued, “although highlighting the emotionally troubling hardships and injustices caused by inequalities and oppressions, researchers have not generally considered how emotions might underpin them”. Through the reflection on every position and every place, the Relief Map gives emotions the possibility of pointing at unequal relations through expressing them in a non-verbal way.

However, not all emotions of discomfort might refer to a situation of oppression. In order to distinguish between different ‘discomforts’ I identify the *systematic or systemic discomforts*, caused by a position that is a source of discomfort in many of the places of the everyday live, repeatedly (systematic) and that points to inequalities that are related to oppressed positions in power structures (systemic), and the *circumstantial discomforts*, sporadic discomforts that are not systematically related to an oppressed position (see Jorba and Rodó-de-Zárate, 2016 for a development). An example of this distinction would be between a young lesbian that cannot express her sexuality in a club and a young heterosexual that feels excluded in a gay venue. The feeling of discomfort might be very intense in both cases, but it is useful to have analytical tools that help differentiate them in relation to structural processes of oppression and creation of difference. Another type of discomfort that is also found could be labelled as the *empathic discomfort*. Through the research process with the group of young feminists, Gemma drew an accentuated dot for sexuality in the ‘car’. She used to go to the university by car, sharing it with some other students from the same city. She spent many hours there every week and it was a relevant place for her. She self-identified as heterosexual and explained that she felt a deep discomfort due to her colleagues’ homophobic comments. This type of discomfort is not a systematic or systemic one, and is something different from a sporadic discomfort too. Feeling discomfort because of a political position, ideology or in front of a discriminatory situation entails a potential for transformation that can be worth identifying separately. In the Relief Maps, the diverse types of discomforts can be highlighted by different shapes of the dots, for instance. This can be useful when working with diverse youth to show possible complicities and reinforce empathic attitudes among them.

This is linked with the potentials of developing collective Relief Maps or sharing the individual ones in a group, which allows the possibility of relating personal experiences with broader social and spatial processes and transforming them into collective political consciousness. During the discussion of their Relief Maps, places of comfort and relief were also made visible. Most of them were places created by themselves, specially the feminist group in itself. It gave

strength to the group as the personal and political potentials were made explicit. They were able to create a space where they all felt confident and comfortable in the middle of lines of accentuated discomforts. Differences between them also appeared, as the intersectional analysis was also applied to the political agenda and personal relations between them. There is often a tendency to victimize young people with (or about) whom research is done, treating them as vulnerable persons who must be empowered (Hopkins, 2010) or who must be given theoretical or practical knowledge of collective liberation processes. In this case, the combination of the PAR approach and the Relief Maps allowed the participants to show how themselves were already carrying out collective processes of empowerment. Obviously, this would be possible through other tools and approaches, but in this case the reflection was made through an intersectional perspective and through places (see Rodó-de-Zárate, 2015b).

In relation to research with children, the suitability of such method is less clear. The ability to distinguish and critically think about their own experience in every place might be difficult to do with children of an early age. Also, the benefits of using the structure of the coordinates, which is a widely recognizable model, might be an obstacle in this case. In such cases, when working with very young children, one option would be for the researcher to draw the Relief Map based on the narratives of an interview. Asking questions such as 'how do you feel at school for being a girl?' or 'do think your brother/older sister/ feels the same here?' could point at getting similar information and then presenting it in the form of a Relief Map. However, there are ways of using the Relief Maps with children in a different manner that can be also applied. Changing the words by pictures of the home, the park or the school; simplifying the number of power structures taken into account and focusing on specific venues and social configurations might make possible the use of the same model with some of the variations suggested.

Despite the obstacles the method may imply for research with children of an early age, the conceptualization where it is grounded can be applied in the same way. So, even if the research on intersecting dimensions of children and youth's lives has focused on older young people and young adults (Kustatscher *et al.* 2016), the intersectional framework provided here could also be suitable for young children. In the following section I will present the conceptual tools that can be illustrated through the Relief Maps and that might be useful for the operationalization of intersectionality with both children and youth studies.

Conceptual tools for operationalizing intersectionality

The analytic shift Black Feminists' accounts proposed on intersectionality showed the necessity of understanding multiple categories not as separate but as related to each other. This was crucial for avoiding additive models of intersectionality: the experience of black women couldn't be accounted through the addition of sexism to racism, as their interconnection resulted on a specific and distinct configuration. In general, the importance and relevance of intersectionality as an analytic shift from additive conceptions is not questioned and it is widely assumed that categories such as women or black can't be treated as separate and added to each other. Currently, the concept that is normally used in opposition to 'addition' is *constitution*. The idea behind this kind of relation is that intersecting categories *constitute each other* (Crenshaw 1991; Collins, 1990; Brah and Phoenix 2004; McCall 2005; Phoenix and Pattynama 2006; Lutz et al 2011; Davis 2008; Garry 2011; Carastathis 2014). As Anthias argues,

"Intersectional approaches have tried to move away from this additive model by treating each division as *constituted* via an intersection with the others (Collins 1993, 1998, Anthias and Yuval Davis 1992, Crenshaw 1994, McCall 2001, Anthias 2002a, 2005 to name a few). In this way classes are always gendered and racialised and gender is always classed and racialised and so on". (Anthias, 2008: 13, my emphasis)

Despite the importance of this expression, it is normally used without further development or examination, or instead mutual constitution is used in various ways that point to different implications and concrete relations: as 'mutually shaping' (Walby et al, 2012; Anthias, 2013), 'changing nature' (Garry, 2011), as 'forming new categories' (Hancock, 2007) or 'fusion' (Lugones, 2007)².

Besides the specificities of this expression, the common assumption would be that mutual constitution means that one category constitutes, or is made of, another one. For instance, that gender constitutes race or that class is made of age. But considering such a relation without further inquiry poses some relevant questions. If the relation between categories is mutual constitution, then the experience of 'whiteness' would be *made of* 'childhood' for a white child. Would does it mean that white privilege itself is differently constituted depending on age? Or that 'whiteness' is constituted by the positions a white person occupies in relation to gender, sexuality, age, nationality or class? How can the relation of constitution be examined for multiple positions? Mutual constitution as the relation among categories is a difficult concept to apply to empirical research. In order to acknowledge that the experience of

² For a detailed examination of the different types of relations between categories see Jorba and Rodó-de-Zárate, forthcoming.

a white girl might be different than the one of a white boy, focusing on the experience, and on how it is constituted by different positions, might be more useful to tackle intersectional dynamics than focusing on the relation among categories.

This conceptualization is visualized through the Relief Maps. Every 'column' (the dots drawn in relation to a specific place) shows the experience in one place, constituted by different positions in power structures. This goes beyond additive understandings of intersectionality as both oppression and privilege are shown and the whole experience is not 'more' or 'less' oppressive but configured by a multiplicity of positions that change in time and space and that might be related differently between them. Moreover, the consideration that the intersection is something else than a sum and that this relation has specific effects (one of the central aims of mutual constituting models) is also maintained with this conceptualization. As it can be seen in Figure 1, Adriana's experience at home is constituted by her different positions. She reported experiences of confinement at home by her parents and an important repression due to her sexuality (light blue dot). In relation to gender, her responsibilities in relation to domestic labour and the treatment she received from her parents was the cause for the accentuated orange dot. Also, being young and not having any economic autonomy prevented the possibility of living outside her parents' home, what is indicated through a dark blue (age) and red (class) arrow pointing towards the sexuality line. The green arrow (for ethnicity) is related to her status as immigrant (she was born in Colombia), which also plays a role in negotiating her relationships at home. She understands the repression as a cultural fact due to her parents' origins, which makes her feel compassion toward them and increases her feeling of guilt.

All these different positions and relations between them configure the specific experience she has at home. In this case, sexuality plays a central role, but her everyday experience at home cannot be understood only through her sexuality but requires an intersectional analysis of her experience, as her other positions also constitute it. Moreover, the situation at home has implications for her experience in public space. The possibility of being seen by someone who could tell her parents that she is in a relationship with a woman could imply a new situation of violence and repression at home, making her absolutely cautious in public space. The street appears then as an extension of home, showing the importance of the relational analysis between spaces, not only between categories.

The visualization of the Relief Maps shows that from an intersectional frame it is also possible to individuate each power structure, even if in relation with others. The sexuality line (light blue) can be individuated and analyzed next to other 'sexuality lines'. This is an important feature as it highlights the possibility of taking into account concrete oppressions while considering them in a broader understanding of experience as intersectional. Considering only one category wouldn't amount to an intersectional analysis. Actually, this is what the intersectional framework tries to overcome. As the Relief Maps illustrate, this individuation should be considered relationally. Even if one line can be specified and deeply examined, the experience cannot be accounted through a single framework, as all dots play a role in the constitution of the experience in a place.

Situating the constitution in experience and not between categories also allows the possibility of accepting that the relations between categories might be plural (see Jorba and Rodó-de-Zárate for a development). Specific relations such as intensification (one category intensifying the effects of another) or mitigation (one category mitigating or cancelling the oppressive effects of another) have been identified and developed in diverse studies (Verloo, 2009; Silva and Ornat, 2015; Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014), showing the concrete forms in which categories are related and produce different effects through the interaction. In order to exemplify it, the Relief Maps show these two different directions of the intensity (intensification or mitigation) through the arrows that link different dots. Adriana's (Figure 1) situation at home shows intensity in the sense of intensification of a discomfort, illustrated through the arrows. In relation to mitigation, even if it is normally identified when a position of privilege mitigates an oppression (for instance, how class may mitigate the effects of gender oppression in certain circumstances), it can be also found between oppressive positions, especially when they are used strategically to resist oppressions (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014).

Looking for these specific relations in empirical research on youth and childhood might be useful for the understanding of the complexity of intersectional dynamics and also to counter the dangers of 'the oppression Olympics' (Hancock, 2007), where people is considered through the number of oppression they suffer in an additive way. Acknowledging that mitigation is also possible and that not all oppressive positions are related through intensification allows a more complex and critical understanding of power relations.

In the case of childhood and youth studies, this conceptual approach that is visualized through the Relief Maps can be useful precisely for clearly separating an analysis of youth or childhood from one of age or generation. In Figure 1, the line for age (in dark blue) is only accentuated at

home and in the street. As explained above, for the majority of young people I interviewed, the age line was not the most accentuated one. Instead, the lines for gender and sexuality were heavily accentuated for some of them. An analysis of the data should then be differentiated: even if children and youth might be oppressed or discriminated, it may not be mainly caused by their age but by another position. This is relevant as it highlights that through an intersectional analysis some oppression might be seen through the functioning of another one. In relation to the empirical work I conducted, it was mainly through gender and sexuality that some of young people's oppressions were made visible. The power relations they suffered at home, the control in public space or the consequences of the economic situation couldn't be easily identified through an analysis of age alone. It was through the negotiations in relation to sexuality that they arose.

In this way, an intersectional analysis implies the acknowledgment that children and youth are always *something else* than those being positioned in a certain age. It is currently assumed in childhood and youth studies that childhood and youth are socially constructed. However, it is also necessary to highlight that other social markers always condition the meanings and experiences of age. This could be expressed as the *non-exhaustive character* of the term 'young' or 'child', which should be considered as one of the main aspects of an intersectional approach. As Butler (1990) states in relation to *woman*:

"if one is a woman, that is surely not all one is; the term fails to be exhaustive, not because a pregendered person transcends the specific paraphernalia of gender, but because gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts and because gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constitutive identities. As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out gender from the political and cultural intersection in which it is invariably produced and maintained" (Butler, 1990: 3, my emphasis).

The author didn't develop this statement in relation to intersectionality theory, but the non-exhaustive character is of great importance for a systematization of an intersectional approach. Changing 'woman' for 'child', for instance, renders visible that *being a child is not all one is*, and that it is not possible to separate it from her race, class, ethnicity, or sexuality. As one cannot imagine a woman without age (there are no representations or meanings of 'womanhood' that are neutral for age), one cannot imagine a child independently from gender, ethnicity or class. This is a relevant aspect not only because it makes necessary the consideration of other aspects more than age, but also because it situates age as an important aspect for any other study. Relating this with the constitution of experience by the different

positions, there would be two sides of the same coin: a) *children are not only positioned in terms of age* and, at the same time, b) *age is always a constitutive part of experience*.

The image of the Relief Maps also reflects this distinction. It is visualized in the image that just one line (age, in dark blue, for instance) is not exhaustive of the experience, while at the same time, the same line should be considered as always playing a role in the constitution of the overall experience, even if it is a salient one or not. As Hopkins and Pain note, “some markers may intersect with age in very powerful ways; others may make age far less significant in relation” (Hopkins and Pain, 2007: 190). The relevance of age might then be an open empirical question, as it would be the case with other markers, but it would still have a role as constituting the experience. Taking this into account may show how an intersectional analysis should consider the significance of all positions in the everyday experience of childhood in youth. It could help understanding the way age operates for children and youth differently positioned, and how the dynamics of intersectionality matter in that experience.

Space as constitutive in intersectional relations

As it has been seen, theoretical approaches to intersectionality, when focusing on *what constitutes what*, have been concerned with the relations between categories and the way they are co-constituted, leaving without deep exploration the role of space (and also time) in this dynamics. Some researchers have stressed the importance of place for intersectionality (Valentine, 2007; Brown, 2011; Anthias, 2013), but the theoretical development of this relation from a geographical perspective is missing.

As Valentine points out, ‘the ability to enact some identities or realities rather than others is highly contingent on the power-laden spaces in and through which our experiences are lived.’ (Valentine, 2007; 19). In the same line, Anthias argues that, in addition to operating in the context of each other, social categories articulate in relation to place and time in a variable way (Anthias, 2013). The importance of the specific spatial and temporal configurations for intersectional dynamics and the variability of these articulations can be visually seen through the Relief Maps. As it is shown in Figure 1, the experience in a ‘column’ varies depending on the specific place and temporality (even if time is not explicit in the image). The significance of every marker differs, as well as the relation between them. What it shows is that space and place have a central role in the dynamics of intersectionality and that asking ‘where’ in intersectional relations provides something else than just situating the context. Social categories may intensify each other, one can be mitigated by the effect of another, or they can be experienced as primary sources of oppression or as sites of resistance depending on space

and social configurations. This variability shows that intersectional relations are dynamic, situated and multiple not only through the relation between categories but in a contextualized way.

Even if the way in which the social and the spatial are bound up has been largely studied, theorizations on intersectionality lack the spatial perspective, which renders the geographical approach underexplored. Following Massey claims, 'identities/entities, the relations "between" them and the spatiality which is part of them, are all co-constitutive' (Massey, 2005; 10). Relating this statement with the literature on intersectionality, it could be argued that place is also constitutive of intersectional relations, not only that categories (within an intersectional framework) are co-constituted (as it is generally argued) or constitute experience. This opens the possibility of directing the focus from the relation between categories to spatiality, offering a more contextualized and dynamic view of intersectional relations. In this way, the specific relation between categories is dependant on the context. As it can be seen in the Relief Maps, there are diverse relations between categories in different places, and the meaning of specific places, and their use, varies depending on the different positions one occupies.

The importance of the geographic dynamics of intersectionality can also be found in the relation that is established between spaces. Even if in the Relief Maps places appear as separated from each other, the lines that link them through every power structure show the importance of their relations and reinforce the dynamism of intersectional relations. As it has been seen, the homophobic situation Adriana experiences at home (Figure 1) has implications for her experience in public space, rendering visible that spaces are interconnected through the lines of oppressions and privilege, and that the power relations at home also have a role in the configuration of the experiences in other places. This example shows the importance of considering the multiplicity of places and positions, and the co-constitutive relation between them when accounting for youth and children. Situating the focus on the everyday experience, this relational constitution links spaces between them, categories between them and spaces with categories.

Concluding remarks

The theoretical developments on intersectionality could provide fruitful insights for research on diverse children and youth. Here I have offered some tools and conceptualizations that try to relate both fields of research. Through the Relief Maps, an image to visualize intersectional

relations from an emotional and spatial perspective, I have provided some methodological and conceptual insights that can be useful for operationalizing research on intersectionality in childhood and youth studies: the development on the relations between intersecting power structures and emotions, the experience as constituted by different positions, the 'non-exhaustivity' as a central feature for understanding intersectional dynamics and the constitutive role of space in intersectionality. More generally, the relationality that the Relief Maps illustrate through positions, feelings and places provides a conceptual model with which intersectional relations can be analyzed. It is a framework that may contribute to the systematization of intersectionality for youth and childhood studies, as it necessarily goes beyond the listing of social markers and may allow developments of specific intersectional dynamics in youth and children's lives. The geographical perspective also provides a different approach for intersectional relations, so it is not only that childhood and youth geographies could benefit from feminist and postcolonial theoretical developments on intersectionality but the contribution also goes in the other direction: children's and youth geographies have a lot to offer to the theorizations of intersectionality, mainly because youth and children are not normally the groups of intersectional inquiry and because the spatial perspective is generally missing.

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