

Intersectionality for and from Queer Urban Activism Viewed through Lesbian Activism in Barcelona

Maria Rodó-Zárate
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

By 2020, it will be 25 years since the publication of *Mapping Desire* (Bell and Valentine, 1995). It was the first book and, probably still today, one of the most important works on geographies of sexualities. It laid the foundations for an understanding of sexualities as configured through places and in places and made it visible that the spaces were both built and organized according to specific ways of understanding sex, gender and sexuality. Since then, geographies of sexualities have grown as a field of research that covers a great variety of topics, approaches, identities and that ranges across different continents and contexts. For the development of the field, intersectionality could be identified as a driving force in geographies of sexualities, in the sense that making evident the exclusions and biases within the field has made it grow and expand in relation to the topics, approaches and settings covered. If early studies within geographies of sexualities focused predominantly on the experiences of white gay men in urban settings and on issues such as the territorialization in gay neighborhoods (Lauria and Knopp, 1985; Knopp, 1990), lesbian geographies appeared to question the territorial assumptions of these studies regarding sexual identities (Valentine, 1993a, 1993b; Peake, 1993; Podmore, 2001, 2006). Studies on bisexuals (Hemmings, 2002) and on trans geographies (Doan, 2007) have also called into question the earliest papers on sexualities and urban studies, as well as the discussion of biases and exclusions within the LGTB community in relation to race, age, religion or ability among others. Also, the predominance of studies on urban environments in the Global North has highlighted the need to take into account the intersectional perspective, that is, to consider various axes of inequality but also diverse contexts as a way to render visible the biases and hegemonies in the field.

With this viewpoint I want to argue that taking into account an intersectional perspective is key for understanding the spatialities of sexualities, and especially queer urban activism, in their diversity of contexts, identities and experiences. But also that queer urban activism is key for understanding the development of intersectional thought and practice. In the following lines I will develop some ideas in

* Maria Rodó-Zárate, Internet Interdisciplinary Institute, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Castelldefels (Barcelona), Spain.mrodod@uoc.edu

relation to a situated and geographic understanding of intersectionality and then I will show how the intersectional lens is key for the understanding of queer urban activism. Taking the case of lesbian activism in Barcelona from the 1970s to the 1990s, and their development of nuanced understandings of intersectional politics, I argue that lesbian activists have been key and pioneer in developing intersectional discourses and practices to comprehend and struggle against multiple discriminations. I also show how activism was the site of the development of such understandings from a situated perspective, in a minority language and in a peripheral context.

INTERSECTIONALITY, SEXUALITIES AND GENEALOGIES

Firstly coined and elaborated by the black feminist and critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw, the term “intersectionality” emerged in the late 1980s to address the particular experiences of black women in the United States. Crenshaw (1989, 1991) exposed the problems of treating race and gender separately in the legal context and developed an analytical frame that allowed the multidimensionality of the experiences of oppression and the complexity of the interconnections between different axes to be understood. Her contributions followed what Hancock (2016) calls ‘intersectionality-like thought’, the black feminism’s political and intellectual tradition in the United States that called for new frameworks that could account for the experiences of black women (see Hancock, 2012, 2016; May, 2015; Collins and Bilge, 2016).

Intersectionality is nowadays an important field of research in a wide range of social sciences and a central concept for social movements and for the development of public policies in many different contexts. It has been said that it is the most important theoretical contribution of feminism to date (McCall, 2005, 1771), as it is a concept that can address the multiplicity of social categories (such as gender, race, social class or sexual orientation) and their interactions. It has been seen key for understanding the ways in which inequalities are lived and produced in complex ways and also as a means to make visible the differences among specific social groups and the power relations within them. There has been a huge amount of work that has highlighted its potential, shown its limitations, and analyzed the theoretical and empirical work on it (Bilge, 2010; Garry, 2011; Carastathis, 2014). The concept has also been introduced into geography (see Valentine 2007; Brown 2011) and has been seen as a fruitful field of research, pointing at the importance of considering intersectionality in geography studies and space as constitutive of intersectional relations (Rodó-de-Zárate and Baylina, 2018).

In relation to geographies of sexualities, some authors have highlighted the necessity of making visible the heteronormativity present in feminist geographies and the masculinity in geographies of sexualities (Browne, 2007), and also their relation to other processes of signification (Nash and Bain, 2007; Oswin, 2008). Past

works had also focused on sexualities and their relation to other axis of oppression from a spatial perspective (Jackson, 1994; Peake, 1993). In the edited collection *Theorizing Intersectionality and Sexuality* (Taylor et.al., 2010), intersectionality appears as a complicated but useful paradigm for sexuality studies both for the necessity of considering sexuality in the study of the multiple dimensions of power and for considering class, ethnicity, age or gender in sexuality studies. Recently, many other works point at the importance of considering intersectionality for geographical research on LGTB and queer people in relation to issues of religion, class, race or gender (Johnston, 2016, 2018; Schroeder, 2014; Valentine et al 2010; Hopkins, 2017). Therefore, intersectionality appears as a necessary perspective to account for lived experience and to avoid exclusions of groups who remain on the margins.

In a context of racism and within a tendency to marginalize issues related to racial discrimination in the application of intersectional frameworks (see Alexander-Floyd, 2012; Hancock, 2016; Carastathis, 2016), it is crucial to position the roots of intersectionality in Black Feminism in order to maintain its transforming potential and its radicality. It is necessary to highlight that these theoretical contributions emerged from the Black Feminist movement and were developed by Black Women as a way to understand how inequalities were configured and conditioned their experience.

Following the aim of tracing intersectionality origins, one of the most common references to the ‘intersectionality-like-thought’, previous to Crenshaw’s articles, is the Combahee River Collective, a black feminist lesbian organization from Boston, US. When referring to the Combahee River Collective, scholars generally point at the intersection of race and gender in their developments, but in their statement, their identity as lesbians was a central aspect of their struggle and their conceptualizations. They highlighted that the experience of oppression of Black lesbians could be addressed neither by the white feminist movement nor by the civil rights movement, as they encountered racism and homophobia in such spaces and none of them could account for their intersectional experience. As they stated, “we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking” (Combahee River Collective, 1981, 213). This shows how their struggle was against different systems and how heterosexual norms were also part of it. In this sense, this statement is a clear example of both the importance of activism and lesbianism in the production of knowledge on intersecting inequalities. Therefore, the Combahee River Collective appears not only as central for the genealogies of intersectionality theory in the US for its relation between race and gender but also as a relevant example of intersectional lesbian activism.

It is crucial to show the emergence of intersectionality theory in relation to the Black Feminist movement and, at the same time, it is also important to see it from a global perspective. Intersectionality theory emerged in a specific location, in the United States, in a context of economic, political and cultural imperialism and of

Anglo-Saxon hegemony in the production of knowledge. This situation has allowed the dissemination of certain authors and ideas, and has contributed to the invisibility of other proposals in more peripheral contexts or in minority languages (see Viveros Vigoya, 2016 in relation to the Latin American context). In the following lines, I will show some examples of lesbian activism occurring in Barcelona, Catalonia, from the 1970s to the 1990s that related sexual liberation with gender, race, age, class and national identity as an example of an early development of intersectionality-like-thought. The aim is not to redo the origins of intersectionality, as they are clearly situated within the Black Feminism of the US, but to argue for situated intersectionality. It is to show how in different contexts, political groups that were situated in an intersection of various forms of oppression, developed understandings that have many similarities to intersectionality theory developed by the Black Feminists.

INTERSECTIONAL LESBIAN ACTIVISM IN BARCELONA

The late seventies were a moment of intense political struggles in Barcelona. The Spanish dictatorship ended in 1976 and in the years after there was an explosion of civil and political movements. As an example, the LGTB collective organized in 1977 a demonstration in Barcelona, in Les Rambles, that was the first public mobilization for sexual liberation in the Spanish context and was itself an act of civil disobedience that ended up with riots against the police (Ramajo, 2019). As an example of the transcendence and internationalization of such mobilization, in the film *Harvey Milk*, released in 2008, Clive Jones argues that Barcelona's demonstration was the model to follow to make the revolution. Lesbians were present in Les Rambles and were also an important part of its organization and development, which was already brewing in *Primeres Jornades Catalanes de la Dona* [First Catalan Meeting of Women] the year before.

This meeting was the first popular and massive event after Franco's dictatorship, where more than 4.000 women gathered in Barcelona to discuss their experiences and strategies in relation to gender oppression. It was the evidence of an existing network of a feminist movement during the dictatorship around consciousness-raising groups, community-based associations and 'vocalies de dones' (women's groups) within them. There were a wide range of topics covered during the meeting in relation to work, neighborhoods, family, education, media, politics, laws, rurality and sexualities. And the central final demands revolved around the socialization of domestic work, general amnesty¹, and recognition of labor rights or public education. Specifically, in relation to sexuality, there were the following demands: suppression of crimes of adultery; the right to the own body; sexual education and contraceptives for both men and women provided by the public health system; legalization of abortion and its provision by the public health system and the elimination of the

law on dangerousness and social rehabilitation that persecuted homosexuals and sex workers - among other groups considered morally or socially dangerous (VVAA, 1977). Specifically, in relation to the inclusion of lesbianism in the meeting, Pineda (2008, 33) argues that “feminist groups were tremendously welcoming... lesbianism was the topic of several conferences and debates, for our own surprise and joy”.² This shows how lesbians were an active and important part of the feminist movement in which they related issues of gender and sexuality and it also shows the importance of sexual politics in the seventies in Catalonia, after decades of repression, invisibilization and violence against dissident sexualities, bodies and desires.³

However, the relation between sexual liberation and gender issues was not always an easy path. Actually, one of the most salient issues in lesbian activism has historically been the relation between the lesbian movement and gay and feminist movements. As Osborne (2008, 104) notes in relation to the Spanish state in general, “lesbians organized as a movement have swung between the approach and the distance, alternatively, from the gay and the feminist movement”. She argues that misogyny and invisibilization were problems lesbians faced within the gay movement and that it was the source of multiple tensions and conflicts. As Maria Giralt also notes in an interview:

Within the FAGC (*Front per l'Alliberament Gai de Catalunya* / Gay Liberation Front from Catalonia), we had to face a latent and patent misogyny on the part of some of its members with which it was difficult to live. They were 100 and we were 10. We were the minority of the minority. We fought for things like posters design for the parties we organized that did not represent us. We asked them to stop being so phallocratic. For them, everything was a phallus and we understood the phallus as the representation of power (*El Periódico*, 27/06/2017).

There were also conflicts within the feminist movement, where lesbians had to face invisibilization in an attempt to prevent a hipersexualized image of the movement (Osborne, 2008). The tensions between sexual orientation and gender, as intersecting identities, were present in the feminist and gay movements and drove the emergence of groups specifically for lesbians (even if with strong connections to the feminist movement) such as the *Grup en Lluita per l'Alliberament de la Lesbiana* (GLAL – Group in Struggle for Lesbian Liberation) in 1979. In 1986 three different groups were created that were central for lesbian activism: *Grup de Lesbianes Feministes de Barcelona* (Group of Lesbian Feminists from Barcelona), that edited the journal *Tribades: Comissió de Lesbianes de l'Eix Violeta* (Commission of Lesbians of the Purple Axis), a group of young lesbians that edited the journal *Mate Lila* and *Red de Amazonas* (Network of Amazons), that edited the journal *Laberint*. In the same year an only women space was also opened, *La nostra illa* (Our Island). From an intersectional perspective, it is interesting to analyse how these groups related to different axis of oppression in their action and discourse.

In relation to race, it must be acknowledged that in the 1970s, in Catalonia, the racial issue was not a central aspect for political struggle. The Romani people have suffered discriminations and exclusion in Catalonia for centuries, and there were also discriminations and expressions of xenophobia against people who migrated to Catalonia from other regions of the Spanish state due to the intense rural exodus of the 1960s. However, it was not until the migratory movements from North Africa and South America in the 90's that the racial issue started to be present in the political agenda, even if only in some spaces⁴. This situation was reflected in the European Lesbians Conference (ELC) that was celebrated in March 1991 in Barcelona, organized by three different groups of lesbians from the city and ILIS (International Lesbian Information Service). More than 300 lesbians from different countries participated and a great variety of topics were covered: from lesbian maternities to lesbians for peace or erotism. Other topics were the debate on the consequences of unification in Europe, as well as issues such as antisemitism or the invisibilization of lesbian activism in Southern Europe. To carry on discussions on such issues, they argued in the proceedings that three principal groups were invited to contribute with their perspectives and with the aim of allowing their participation with financial help: European black lesbians, who faced a triple discrimination because of being black, women and lesbians; lesbians from Eastern Europe, that faced economic instability and had difficulties for getting their visas, and lesbians from Southern Europe, who also faced economic problems and that had generally been forgotten in pan-European meetings (ILIS, 1991).

The central topic, brought by European groups, was lesbianism and racism. The topic was chosen by the National Conference of Lesbians where they decided to struggle against racism. As they argue: "Celebrating our differences through the work to strengthen our independent communities, we will be able to establish solidarity among lesbians as lesbians" (ILIS, 1991, 4). Here it is interesting to see how Catalan lesbians described the event and their reactions. *Comissió de Lesbianes de l'Eix Violeta* stated that the conference "was developed in different debates: racism and black lesbians; racism and white lesbians and a joint debate where all lesbians could participate regardless of their race" and explain that "around 30 Black and Asian lesbians came and explained that they wanted to be called 'THAMIS'⁵... they also wanted a permanent space during the meeting... and during the first plenary they started to show their arguments ... in the first moment, we felt attacked and were defensive, until we understood... their demands" (Comissió de Lesbianes de l'Eix Violeta, 1991, 8). They also explain that the last plenary of the conference was very tense and that the discussion on racism provoked intense discussions, although it finished with a collective catharsis and an explosion of emotions through an activity led by a Zamie.

Another of the organizing groups, *Grup de Lesbianes Feministes de Barcelona*, explain in their journal that "actually, many of us did not understand what they wanted and we took their critiques very badly until, after the first confrontation,

we realized that it was not about that. We were in front of an absolutely unknown situation for us and that, because of our ignorance, we needed to profoundly revise our attitudes regarding racism” and they conclude saying that the most obvious fact was the evidence of their “ignorance, as white lesbian women, of the triple social and cultural marginalization of being woman, lesbian and of color. A reality that is dramatic in some countries and that we, white lesbians, have known about for the first time and about which we have opened an internal debate of self-consciousness” (Grup de Lesbianes Feministes de Barcelona, 1991, 6-7). These reflections show how intersecting identities and differences among lesbians were negotiated during the conference. The international environment and the diversity of participants was an extraordinary context for Catalan lesbians, who politically faced their privileges as white for the first time. Their reaction in the beginning shows their surprise for an unknown situation in Catalonia before the migratory processes and their posterior reflections shows the potential of the meeting in relation to the collective process of consciousness-raising and collective production of knowledge on intersectional inequalities.

In relation to age, the existence of *Comissió de Lesbianes de l'Eix Violeta*, a group of young lesbians, shows the importance of life cycle for lesbian activism. It was created in parallel with *Grup de Lesbianes Feministes de Barcelona* as they identified the need to organize in a different space to address their specific situation. In their argumentations, they show how youth suffer specific oppressions because of their age but that their own experience, as lesbians and women, is different. One interesting issue they reflect on is the repression they suffer in private space, due to their parents' position against their sexuality. They also examine the difficulties as youth to emancipate due to housing prices and the limitations of the welfare state that don't recognize them as beneficiaries of state aid because, even though they are women, they do not fit in the standard woman profile (heterosexual, adult). For all this, they argue that repression against young lesbians still exists behind a language of equality and permissiveness (Comissió de Lesbianes de l'Eix Violeta, 1991). Although their position was situated in terms of their gender, sexual orientation and age, their activism was not only about their specific situation but about different struggles that were taking place in their context. For instance, the same year 1991, they participated in antimilitarist demonstrations against the Gulf War that ended up with their own declaration of insubordination, in mobilizations for the right to abortion or in the International Day of Gays and Lesbians. They also gave support to a variety of actions in defense of the liberation of Núria Cadenes, a leftist pro-independence activist imprisoned for her alleged involvement in a failed action led by Terra Lliure.

It is also interesting to note that in the European Lesbians Conference there was a specific panel on young lesbians where three groups (from Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao) explained their reflections. In their communication, *Comissió de Lesbianes de l'Eix Violeta*, the group from Barcelona, analyse their situation in relation to urban ecology, arguing that they were forced to live in the periphery of the city because

of the rent prices, which involve difficulties regarding the possibilities of meeting other lesbians. They conclude arguing that their 'specific reality as young makes us say, discuss and go deep in many different aspects of lesbian struggle' (Comissió de Lesbianes de l'Eix Violeta, 1991, 7). In a similar vein, *Lesbianas de Matarraskak*, the young lesbians' group from Bilbao, also developed a nuanced conceptualization of the intersection between sexual orientation and age as young lesbians. They write about the spaces where young lesbians meet, how space conditions them, aggressions against young lesbians and their sexuality. In relation to the examination of their everyday spaces, they analyse their situation at home, the street, education centers, work and also what they call 'the ghetto', their meeting spaces where they can protect themselves from aggressions and provide them with a free space where they live their lesbianism. However, they also point at the normativities and exclusions they face on such spaces because of their age and economic status. Finally, they state that they want to be "Free young lesbian women In a Free Society" and argue against the triple marginalization as women, lesbian and young (Lesbianas de Matarraskak, 1991).

Their reflections show an interesting intersectional analysis that relates sexual orientation, gender, age and class and shows their understandings of multiple axis of discrimination. Their analysis is situated, departs from their lived experience and is genuinely geographic. This is another example of how lesbian activism was an important site of development of intersectional thinking and action.

And finally, in relation to national identity and class, it is interesting to show how the LGTB movement related the sexual liberation struggle with the Catalan subordination to Spain and class issues. Even though it was mainly a collective of gay men, the *Front per l'Alliberament Gai de Catalunya* (FAGC, Gay Liberation Front from Catalonia) was a central actor for the LGTB activism in Catalonia in the seventies and it is still nowadays a reference. In 1977 the collective elaborated their manifesto and the association's flag that they describe as the following:

An inverted pink triangle in memory for the gay people killed in Nazi extermination camps, where they were marked with that triangle; from its inside another triangle emerges with the four bars as a reference to our country; and, finally, a closed fist as a symbol of class struggle (Rodríguez and Pujol, 2008, 24).

Nationalism and national identity have been seen by feminist scholars as detrimental for women's rights and feminism (Seodu Herr, 2003). National projects have historically used, controlled and disciplined women's bodies and work and heterosexism is in itself fundamental for state-making and building national identity (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989; Peterson, 1999; Mayer, 2000). However, most of the research focuses on hegemonic nationalism and neglects the practices and discourses from feminists and LGTB activists from stateless nations and within struggles for self-determination (Rodó-Zárate, 2019). The FAGS's example shows how

the LGTB, class and national struggle can be related and how activism was the place where such relations were developed.

Another example is Maria Mercè Marçal's (Ivars d'Urgell, 1952 – Barcelona, 1998) work. She was a Catalan poet, writer, and a political and cultural activist that showed in her poems and political writings her complex and multidimensional vision on intermeshed inequalities. As a lesbian feminist activist, she wrote in relation to gender, sexual orientation, social class and national identity as inseparable political identities that she saw as a source of knowledge for her activism and literary production⁶. Marçal is considered one of the most recognized poets of Catalan literature from the twentieth century, honoree with a wide range of literature prizes and translated into various languages. She has always been recognized as a feminist pro-independence and Marxist activist. However, her identity as a lesbian has been widely made invisible although her poems explicitly refer to lesbian love and sex (Marçal, 1989). As the author stated in an interview in 1995 regarding how the critics talked about lesbianism present in her works:

There was a strange 'protectionism' towards myself ... to force poem interpretations in an incredible way: pure myopia or a will to neutralize a 'dissonant' discourse? I do not know. The worst thing is how this fact interferes with your (own) fears, self-restraint, self-censorship. How does it contribute... to invisibility, if not to non-existence (Marçal in Mérida Jimenez, 2011).

Marçal's reflection on lesbian invisibility is a key issue for what I have tried to show here. Lesbians have been active agents in a wide range of social movements, especially in the feminist and LGTB movement. Their position as women and lesbians created a fruitful tension that brought them to develop complex understandings of social inequalities and the multiplicity of axis of discrimination. Their role in the development of intersectionality theory can be seen in activist groups such as the Combahee River Collective but also in many of the authors that created the foundations of intersectional thinking within the Black Feminist movement in the US. Their experiences were sources of knowledge and action, as they were so for Catalan lesbian activists that related their experiences in relation to gender, race, age, class or national identity and show how lesbian activism has been crucial for the development of intersectionality thinking and political practice and also for the advancement of both women and LGTB rights.

INTERSECTIONALITY AND QUEER URBAN ACTIVISM

With the example of lesbian activists from Barcelona I wanted to show the relation between intersectional perspective and queer urban activism in two senses: in relation to the importance of situated intersectionality for understanding queer urban activism and in relation to the importance of queer urban activism for the development of intersectional thought and political action.

First, in relation to intersectional dynamics, the examples show how one of the driving forces of lesbian activism in Barcelona were intersectional dynamics. As it has been seen, issues related to gender, race, age, class and national identity were central elements in lesbian activism and the exclusions and differences in lived experiences were a key element for their struggle.

Also, the intersectional perspective that I have tried to defend here adds context as another axis, it is, adds geography as a central element to consider in a situated intersectional analysis. In this sense, the intersectional perspective in queer urban social movements is not only necessary in order to highlight the diversity of experiences and practices of the LGTB community but also to show how these experiences and practices vary in relation to context. Authors such as Garcia Ramon (2012) have highlighted that the Anglo-American hegemony in Geography not only situates English as the hegemonic language but that also establishes the guidelines for intellectual debate, dignifying only certain academic traditions. This is also the case of geographies of sexualities, where, as Misgav and Hartal (2019, 58) argue, “Most of the existing writings on queer geographies, and queer political and spatial activism in particular, is theoretically and empirically grounded in English-speaking countries”. The importance of situated intersectionality in relation to queer urban activism, then, relies on the necessity of decentering the view and focusing on people, discourses, places, and languages that are rarely studied. Expanding the view to the margins is important as a way of breaking boundaries in relation to knowledge production but also as a way to better understand the center, its biases and its situation in a global context. In this sense, the example of Catalan lesbian activist contributes to decentering the view and also shows another central issue: the importance of lesbians for the development of intersectional thought and practice.

So, in relation to the second issue, the importance of activism for the development of intersectional thought, it is important to consider that the divide between academia and activism and the hegemony of the first as *the* place of knowledge production, often silences the proposals developed by activists. Here I have tried to show that lesbian activists have been central for the development of intersectional discourses and practices through their struggle against multiple discriminations, not only in Barcelona but also in the United States.

Currently, the rise of extreme right parties, organizations and political groups around the world has meant an extension and normalization of homophobia, racism and sexism. Actions, discourses and political proposals with the objective of limiting the rights of the LGTB community, racialized people and women must be seen as highly problematic for the wellbeing of such groups, for inclusion and for the advancement of social equality. Also, in many different contexts, new forms of protest and political struggles against authoritarian regimes and violation of rights are taking place: from protests in Chile against the increase of public transport rates to Hong Kong protests against plans to allow extradition to mainland China, massive demonstrations in Argentina for the right to abortion, marches and riots in

Catalonia against the imprisonment of activists and politicians and for independence and also longstanding struggles such as Kurdish women struggling against ISIS and the Turkish invasion of Northern Syria. Women and LGTB people are having a leading role in many of these mobilizations and have also faced repression and fought for recognition across different contexts. In a time of new threats and the return of old ghosts, the intersectional perspective has to be seen as essential for queer activism, for developing alliances between groups and for struggling against exclusions within political movements too.

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NOTES

1. Mobilizations for amnesty after the dictatorship mainly focused on those ‘crimes’ committed by (heterosexual) men. Women and LGTB people were excluded as they were convicted for adultery, abortion, contraceptive dispensation or ‘homosexual acts’ which were seen as going against the ‘common good’ (see Gómez Beltrán, 2018). The feminist movement demanded general amnesty arguing that women and LGTB people that were convicted for their sexual practices were also political prisoners.
2. All translations from Catalan and Spanish are my own.
3. Later on, the creation, within the Coordinadora Feminista de Catalunya, of the Grup de Lesbianes Feministes de Barcelona in 1986, was a key point for the relation between feminism and lesbianism. Born to be an only lesbians space within the feminist movement, this struggle and reflection was based on feminism and lesbianism and their connections with other social movements.
4. Just as an example, the external immigration, by continent of origin, in Catalonia was the following. In 1988: 491 from Africa, 840 from America and 77 from Asia. In 1992: 2,844 from Africa, 1,748 from America and 234 from Asia. And in 2018: 23,350 from Africa, 68,128 from America and 17,811 from Asia. (Idescat)
5. The correct word is *Zamis*, not *Thamis*, as spelled by the collective.
6. See Rodó-Zárata, 2019 for a development on Marçal’s work in relation to national identity, gender and intersectionality.

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