

Interview: Susan Roberts

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*Interviewed in April 2024,
by Igor Venceslau and Maria Fernanda Fossaluzza*

Professor Susan Roberts was in Brazil in April 2024, when she gave a conference at the Department of Geography of the University of São Paulo (USP), entitled “reflections on a changing discipline: geography’s shifting nature and some lessons learned”. In this interview, she discusses the science of geography and the ongoing changes, with examples from her own experience, while reflecting about globalization, gender, barriers to publication in major journals and other controversies.

IGOR VENCESLAU: Thank you for accepting our invitation. We will start with general questions and then we have specific ones from papers you published, some things we want to know. Be free to just have it like a conversation. So, first maybe you can tell us a little bit more about how was your approach to geography. And then to economic geography, to be specific, how did you get there in this?

SUE ROBERTS: Do you mean how did I get into geography and into economic geography?

IV: Yeah, how did you decide or how did you choose?

SUE ROBERTS: Well, first of all, let me just say it is a huge honor to be interviewed by you guys and thank you for inviting me. I got into geography, I think, because I always liked it as a subject in school, because it seemed like one of the few subjects that integrated things. So, it brought together physical and other things, physical and human geography. And I liked maps and I liked looking at maps and figuring out sort of human patterns on those maps. And then, of course, you become curious, like, well, why are those patterns the same? It's a very traditional way to get into geography, I guess. And then, but as an undergraduate, I did not want to just study one subject. But at the time, in England, that's what you had to do, you had to choose one subject. I looked for degree programs that were interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary. I looked at development studies because that brought together different economics, politics, all sorts of things at geography. And I looked at environmental studies because that also seemed to me to bring things together. And in the end, I went on a degree program called "bachelors of social science" with geography as its main subject. So, that is what I studied, human geography as an undergraduate. And I actually do not know that I took any economic geography. I think that somehow there was not a course on that, but I...

IV: You mean undergrad?

SUE ROBERTS: As an undergrad, yeah. I think it was a lot of urban geography and I think that really was kind of economic geography at the time.

IV: But then, during your master's and PhD, how did you get there somehow to research on economic geography? Or was it not clear by the time?

SUE ROBERTS: I was actually, I think, in my master's most interested in political geography. And I looked at urban policy at the time, so I studied for my master's in

New York, but not New York City, New York State at Syracuse University. But at the time, there was a lot of interest in urban policy because cities were, or areas in cities were "dying". And there were a lot of explanations for this phenomenon. And one that was quite common was this organic analogy of cities, they have a life cycle and they are born, they mature and then they die. It is inevitable. And I just thought this is not right. This is a human process. There are decisions made to withdraw services. There are decisions made not to put out fires when they start. And I looked at that for my master's. But it was by necessity both political and economic, really. So, I think I got into economic geography through that.

MARIA FERNANDA FOSSALUZA: Well, during your career, you had direct contact with well-known geographers such as Doreen Massey and Kevin Cox at seminars, courses and events. What is the influence of these authors on your academic trajectory?

SUE ROBERTS: It is huge. I think it is hard to underestimate how influenced you are when you read things that really make sense to you and stimulate your own research as a student. I would say Doreen Massey was one of the absolute most influential people in my intellectual life. I really admire her way of writing. I appreciate the way that she took theoretical issues seriously, but also not for their own sake, not just to be clever in a theoretical sense, but to actually see what difference it might make in policy, in actual readdressing questions of inequality, which is really what she cared about, which was also just a loving person. So, yeah, I really learned a lot from her about just how to be as a woman in geography and to just do a kind of geography that is relevant.

Other key influences? You mentioned Kevin Cox. He was kind of an influence. I read him as an undergraduate and he has a book called something like Urban Political Geography or something. And I tried to do a rural political geography for my undergraduate thesis. It was a disaster. It was a bad piece of research, but it tried to operationalize his same ideas about land, labor, conflict that he developed in an urban setting. I tried to do that in a rural setting. It did not really work, but anyway, he was an influence.

My advisor was John Agnew, who is a political geographer mostly, but he has been a huge influence. And then, of course, the work of David Harvey has been very, very important.

IV: I want to ask you something related to your doctoral thesis, because by the time you researched offshore financial services it was relevant research. Of course, because of the contents in the late 1980s, globalization, end of Soviet Union, end of this transformation. We found it interesting that some of your first articles warned the geographers by the time they still carried out few research on financial centers. Although the subject became popular, not many geographers were interested in that by the time. How do you evaluate geographic production on this topic since then? I mean, especially concerning offshore financial centers. Did it change the interest of geographers on these issues?

SUE ROBERTS: You are right. When I did it, it was not typical for a person to do field research on finance. It just was not. There were maybe two other people who had done something similar. Linda McDowell was doing work about that same time on workers in finance. And Barney Warf was doing some things on financial centers. But I do not think anyone had looked at offshore finance at that time. And it was difficult to get funding. In fact, I did not get any funding for my fieldwork. I had to basically save up my stipend as a teaching assistant to do my fieldwork.

IV: Did you travel to the Cayman Islands?

SUE ROBERTS: I did. What I was really interested in was why those spaces existed and what kind of difference they made for the folks who lived in the Cayman Islands, for example, but also what kind of consequences they have for people interested in holding capital accountable and having some kind of, at that time, state regulatory power over mobile capital, basically. Because this was an escape valve. This was a way for capital and individuals to escape the state, basically.

To me, it was very interesting. But at the time, I should have just continued. I should have kept on with offshore finance, gone to other offshore financial centers, figured out different ways that offshore finance was operating in Asia, blah, blah, blah, blah. But I kind of thought, well, I sort of figured it out. I mean, in my mind, I had not figured everything out. But I had kind of addressed some questions that I felt I wanted to address. And I did not keep wanting to just repeat the same research. I would have found it quite boring. I think, in a way, that was not a great decision. Because I think academia does prefer people who stick with one thing and keep going in that same area. To switch topics is not necessarily a great strategy, if you are going to try and get tenure, for example, in an American university, as I was. But it was just what I decided to do. And I still retained an interest in offshore finance. And I did look at it in other areas. I, for example, have a chapter on what was going on in Ireland at the time. Because Ireland was kind of a quasi-offshore center for some activities. And I have still maintained it. I am still kind of interested in that, the way these centers operate.

IV: Well, in an article you published with Anna Secor and Matthew Sparke called *Neoliberal Geopolitics*, at the beginning of the 21st century, you criticized the simplistic division of the world into functioning core and non-integrated gap propagated by Barnett and influenced by the Pentagon view in the context of the Iraq war. How would you regionalize the world today, considering the various complex coexisting situations? For example, do you think the Global North – Global South binary classification somehow also simplifies it?

SUE ROBERTS: Yeah, I mean, this is an enduring, probably forever, issue for geographers and for students. How do you imagine the world? How do you differentiate the spaces and populations of this planet? And I think we are always looking for classifications that make sense. And there could be many. There could be many, many. In terms of Global South and Global North, the way it makes sense is if people understand it in a relatively nuanced way. It is a simplification. But if it is understood as something rooted in history and rooted in colonialism and the enduring shadow of those, and in fact, enduring colonial processes in some parts, then it might make sense. But you have to remember that there are parts of the Global North that are quite similar to parts of the Global South because in a relational space sense, they are in a similar relation, perhaps, to another space within the Global North. And you could say the same thing of the Global South. I think as long as it is about relational space and it is about understanding the history of those relations, it might make sense.

MFF: You told us earlier, and we can find this in your work, that you have relations with David Harvey, that you use his ideas on your work and everything. We would like to ask you if you could summarize the main points of the critique that you made when you commented on the *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism* from Harvey.

IV: Sorry. And also, if you know, how does David Harvey himself respond to it, to this kind of critique you have done?

SUE ROBERTS: First of all, I should be really clear that that was one of the most painful experiences of my professional life to give that talk because it was at an AAG [American Association of Geographers], I think, and the panel was, I think it was about his book, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, which is a really good book. Everybody on the panel was extremely complimentary. And, of course, David Harvey, like no one else, has made a critical geography. I do not think there is any disputing that, right? My contribution that day was to point out that acknowledge all of that.

But I found it still, and I still do find it troubling, that is to say, that he has never really engaged with feminist critiques of his work from the get-go. And I am not talking

about the ones that came out in the early 90s from Doreen Massey and Rosalyn Deutsche and others about *The Condition of Postmodernity*. I am talking about since then. Cindi Katz and others, many others, have tried to engage him, in a very friendly way, about seeing beyond class. And I am not saying throw class out. I am not saying I want to get into some abstract debate about that. But I think you have to recognize that people's experiences in the world are different, and that identities structure those experiences in ways that can be perhaps fundamental in some sense. And it seems to me that he does not, that Harvey's theories do not quite allow for that, really. They do not allow for that.

And I think worse than that, they kind of do not even consider that that is something that has seriously being proposed. So, for example, his dismissal of Gibson- Graham's work. That, to me, there should have been a debate. There should have been a back and forth and a conversation, but there never really was a conversation. And I think that is what's upsetting in a way. It is just that I think the feminist geographers, we wanted to have that conversation, but we were not allowed to have that. And I think that's what really was upsetting at that time.

IV: How was this panel at AAG? Did people respond to what you were proposing to think? How was that for you?

SUE ROBERTS: Yeah, I think, I mean, obviously lots of people were very relieved that I had brought these matters up. Mostly feminist geographers, younger geographers who were wanting someone to make those points, perhaps, on their behalf. Or to give voice to some thoughts they had been having. Yeah, there was a lot of support. But it was not that I was looking for support. I just felt that I had to point this out. Because it is like if you go to a seminar and you have read the book, you have got all the notes in the margin.

IV: That's your intellectual work, right? You were there for that.

SUE ROBERTS: Yeah, exactly.

IV: Well, let us change a little bit the point. Between 2012 and 2013, you were editor of *Progress in Human Geography*, one of the most important journals in the field of geography. Despite the growing presence of Chinese and Indian authors in international journals, we still notice that contributions from Latin American and African geographers are quite a minority. To what factors do you attribute this absence, and how could it be overcome in your opinion?

SUE ROBERTS: I think that is a really good question. And it is one that really did not, I will be totally honest, did not occur to me fully until I was in that editorial role. And then I saw how reviews work. And I saw how papers, because I had no insight really into what happens to a paper when it comes to a journal like that. And where it gets sent and what the reviews come back, what form they come back in and so on. And I was surprised. Well, I just learned a lot, let us put it that way. Maybe I was not



surprised. And it is very hard for folks who are not writing, for geographers, scholars who are not writing in their native language of English, in this case, and worse than that, academic, and I would almost say British English, in that journal. It is very hard for them, because reviewers

are primarily native speakers, native writers, and have established expectations of a paper. And they are busy people. They feel impatient when they read a paper that they find it challenging to read.

And I saw that firsthand, because in 2012-13, I was a Fulbright Scholar in Finland. And I know this is not what you were asking about a European country, but I will get to that in a minute. But Finnish is a language that is very different from English. Very different. And it is quite challenging for a Finnish speaker and learner to write in English and write in academic English. It is quite challenging. Finnish geographers, just like Brazilian geographers, just like, you name it, geographers are, of course, super smart, have lots of things to contribute. But I noticed that their papers were not succeeding. Or at least were succeeding at lower rates than had I been at a university in Ireland or in England or somewhere like that. That whole year I was in Finland, we had a writing group, basically, where I helped the postgraduate students and postdocs take papers that they had had from their research that were first drafts in English. And I got them from – we together got them from those first drafts to something that I knew would be more successful at a journal. But it took a year. Each paper had to work on it a year in these intensive working groups to get those papers to not kind of fall at the first hurdle

in this rather brutal review process, which has very unstated but very real barriers for people who are not writing in their first language.

When I think about my experience at *Progress in Human Geography*, the editors, they were very good editors, and we dealt with a huge amount of work. I mean, it was a very busy journal. It still is, I am sure. And we had many debates about this and many discussions, but I am not sure that we really changed things. As a policy, we did not, I do not think, have any kind of set agenda that was kind of public about this. We individually did things and collectively did small things, but it was largely reacting to things that came through rather than, let us say, soliciting or doing workshops or, I do not know, helping reviewers understand how to be a reviewer of a paper from somebody whose first language is not English. And I would just say this was in the early days of Google Translate, so Google Translate did not help then. It was too clumsy tool. It might now be easier, and there is AI [artificial intelligence] and all sorts, so it might now be easier for folks writing in a language other than their first language. Okay, but to get to your question about representation, yeah, it is highly, highly particular. There is not a representation in that journal or in any other, I would say, premier English language journal of the breadth and wealth of geographical knowledge. It is just not there. And I think it partly has to do with this language issue.

IV: In your opinion, what would help authors from non-English-speaking countries to publish in worldwide known journals, like *Antipode* or *Progress in Human Geography*?

SUE ROBERTS: Well, I think the sorts of things I was suggesting, but here is the thing, that is all on them, then. Why is not it also on the reviewers and the editors? Why is it, why do not we try and change the culture of reviewing and of editing? I think that is another thing entirely.

MFF: Well, now moving on to a more general question. You have been a professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Kentucky since 1991. What is your balance of geography over the last 30 years? And what has changed and what remains? I think the Department of Geography at the University of Kentucky is a nice place to be around when trying to see those differences, because we have a lot of places with different kinds of geography happening there.

SUE ROBERTS: That is a big question.

IV: That is a whole conference, right?

SUE ROBERTS: Yeah, exactly! It is a really big question. The Geography Department at Kentucky has been my home, as you say, for a really long time, and in part that's been because it has been very welcoming and receptive to new ideas, to different kinds of geographical scholarship. That is not maybe typical of every department. In fact, I do not think it is typical. I think it is quite atypical. Full credit goes, I think, to some of the folks who were senior when I was brand new and were supportive, even though they did not understand what I was doing. And they sort of trusted that it was something interesting. That was partly about the culture of the department and its commitment to intellectual openness, I would say. Because you can get departments where it is all about policing boundaries and it is all about sub-disciplines and orthodoxies of different kinds, and Kentucky was never like that. I am so glad that I landed up there.

How has it changed? Well, as a field, geography has changed radically since the early 1990s. I mean, there are whole new branches of geography that did not exist in 1991. I think, for example, political ecology. Yeah, sure. I think some of the early papers may have been published by then on soil erosion and things like that, but it was not a field that lots of students were working in. It was not something where there were big debates about nature and society and so on. And now it is a huge, very vibrant field. And including people at Kentucky who have been hired to do that work. Same thing with black geographies. That really was not, I do not think that existed, at least in my knowledge. I am sure it did exist in some forms in the early 90's. But now it has become a very important field in geography and contributing not just to geography, but more generally. Those are just two examples.

MFF: And the things that you think that are still happening in geography, the remaining that did not change in this period? What did not change?

SUE ROBERTS: Well, I just think we have had an enduring interest. And you are talking about the department in Kentucky. I think we have still got an enduring interest in economic geography, I would say, very broadly speaking. There is quite a subset of folks there who are just genuinely interested in different facets of the global economy or urban economy in some cases. What else? Political geography. I think there is still very vibrant political geography coming out from colleagues in Kentucky. I mean, I think also a commitment to critical thought is still present in Kentucky. A lot of people are interested, students and faculty are interested in, I guess, looking for alternative ways of thinking about or rethinking accepted ways of approaching problems. Let us put it that way.

IV: Well, you have presented yourself many times as a feminist geographer. In a more recent article from 2016 entitled *Feminism and Economic Geography: what difference does difference make?* That is a very nice title... You and other two geographers talk about the foundation of a feminist economic geography. What would this shift in economic geography consist of?

SUE ROBERTS: That is a big question, but it kind of comes back to the question you asked me about David Harvey's work. I think if you start by thinking that difference is a factor, and I do not just mean labor versus others. If you admit that we are in an economic system in different ways because of our gender, because of our race, because of how we are racialized, because of how we are gendered, etc. Maybe we are able-bodied, maybe we are not. All these things are factors in our experience of economic life. Why should they not be in our theories of the spatiality of economic life? Because it is not a separate thing. It is not an outcome of that. It is kind of a condition in which we inhabit those worlds. I think that is the difference that it makes, the difference that difference makes. And sometimes I think economic geography sticks to its roots, which are very much in this kind of abstract, more of an abstracted approach, which treats the economy like it is a thing, a separate thing somehow, or it got rules somehow. And this is outside of society, but it is not. It is something that humans have created, and it in turn shapes humans. It shapes social life. But I think you have to have that relational understanding of the economy from the get-go. And then once you do, I think differences can come into play. And I think that was a big contribution of Gibson-Graham, by the way. I think that was one of the major contributions to geography.

“If you admit that we are in an economic system in different ways because of our gender, because of our race, because of how we are racialized (...) All these things are factors in our experience of economic life.”

MFF: Well, in addition to your doctoral classes covering the Caribbean, you have been doing research on Oaxaca in Mexico and have traveled to several other countries in Latin America. What is your contact with Latin American geography, including Brazilian geography?

SUE ROBERTS: Okay, so I did have, together with colleagues, a project in southern Mexico, in Oaxaca, for a number of years. It was really about the globalization of NGOs [non-governmental organizations]. At the time, there was a lot of attention to globalization of corporations, but the NGO sector was exploding, really, in terms of numbers of folks employed in it, in terms of projects, in terms of money flowing through those networks. We were really interested in that issue. We worked with a geographer in Oaxaca, in southern Mexico, to investigate these phenomena. But we

did not have a partnership with – he was at a kind of alternative institute; he was not part of the formal university system in Oaxaca.

Our contact with that was, I would say, light, at best, with Mexican colleagues. We presented a few times, we had discussions a few times, but it was not a collaborative project with a formal Mexican university at that time. It could have been stronger if we had pursued that, but I do not know. At the time, we did not, we do not know quite what our excuse was. But it is just that we did not need to, I think that we felt we had these networks that sufficed. But it would have been richer if we had had more Mexican colleagues involved. My contact with Brazilian geography is, again, very light. I mean, I feel I have learned a lot just being here. This is my first time in Brazil, I have learned a lot just even in this week or so that I have been here. I would like to be more engaged with Brazilian geography than I have been.

IV: Well, this is your first time in Brazil and we cannot avoid to ask you, geographically, what have you found interesting, or the most interesting points you have found in your trip around these weeks here in Brazil.

SUE ROBERTS: This interview has not mentioned it yet, but I am now fully in administration at the university. For about seven years now, my mind has mostly been focused on more administrative work than academic work. And my trip here, my time here in Brazil was because of that role. I feel very fortunate that I was invited by colleagues here at USP to



come visit the department and to, for example, take part in this interview. But that was not the main reason that I was here, so my time here has not been spent meeting other geographers apart from today. I cannot say that I have a good sense of geography as a discipline, I do not. I am very much still learning in a baby way about that, very early stages.

But my sense of Brazil's intellectual life, just from interacting with colleagues on this kind of more administrative visit and at a conference this week in Sao Paulo, has been that it is to be expected, very lively, very much has universities as centers for debate and discussion about hard political issues. This is very much a source of tension right now in the United States, so that contrast this week is strikingly quite hard, because I

am reading on my newsfeed about students being arrested in Columbia University in New York for protesting investments and other aspects of the university's relationship to the war in Gaza. And it is quite a contrast, or at least it is not a contrast, but it is something that I am aware of here. It seems to me that there is a much different tradition of, maybe it is not different, but anyway, it seems there is a distinct maybe tradition of political involvement on the part of students and faculty. I would love to know more about it. That is just a very, perhaps a shallow impression, but that is my impression.

MFF: I would like just to end up this question, if you could point out some of the barriers to make those relations stronger, that you feel like in this time that you worked in Mexico, and like now, I do not know if you could explain this a little bit more, point out some of the barriers that we can find.

SUE ROBERTS: I think there is a lot. I think you are talking about interactions, basically between geographers in places. Well, there is an obvious one, which is

“I think the monolingual nature of anglophone geography is kind of one barrier (...) another barrier is resources (...) Not everyone can travel to those conferences with the frequency of others. And that includes people in the Global North.”

language. So many geographers in the Global North defer, or either English is their native language, or they will defer to English, right? That automatically makes it harder for people who are not comfortable in English or have not had the opportunity, perhaps, to practice English, to be part of a conversation, if that conversation is monolingual. If it is

monolingual. I think the monolingual nature of anglophone geography is kind of one barrier. I think another barrier is resources. People are differently resourced around the world, can travel to conferences, which is where a lot of this exchange happens. Not everyone can travel to those conferences with the frequency of others. And that includes people in the Global North who do not always have the resources to go to conferences. Conferences have gotten quite expensive.

And I think we may be even a little slow to learn lessons from COVID. We could have learned more lessons about virtual exchanges. We could, and maybe this is happening, and I am just not aware, but we could have more virtual colloquiums, more virtual conferences, more virtual symposia, things where folks could exchange ideas and research without having to travel. And perhaps those things could be multilingual. I do not know, perhaps AI could help with, perhaps technology could help with sort of simultaneous translation overcoming some of the language barriers. I do not know what the answer is, but I think everyone benefits from the free exchange of ideas. It is a shame that it is not happening more. And I think we just maybe need more imagination about how to make it happen.

IV: This is the last question. I wonder if you could talk a little bit more about the future, what you have already started talking about. What, after the pandemic, we could imagine new ways of doing science, conferences, sharing knowledge. What do you think are, in your opinion, the main challenges for geographers in this next decade? Or at least for geographers from the United States, from where you talk about, but what do you think is challenging for science?

SUE ROBERTS: Okay, I think there are a couple ways to answer that. I am not sure which way you meant exactly, but there are kind of, there are the big basic, existential challenges. What are we going to do about climate change? Actually, really, what are we going to change? Who is going to change? Doing what? When? And how will policies be developed around mitigating some of the effects of climate change? Because it is happening. And there are big existential issues like that. I think animal rights is another one, or interspecies relations, let us call it that. How are we as humans going to take seriously other species on the planet? It is kind of related, actually, but there are those kinds of questions. How will geography respond to that, to those kinds of giant challenges that we face as human beings? And then I think there is the challenge of how do we make, remake geography as a discipline. It is a different challenge. How do we do geography differently? Maybe it is connected to these big questions. But it is also just about how do we have a more inclusive geography community that takes voices from the Global South, let us say, seriously, and gives equal platform to ideas coming from marginalized spaces and peoples. And I think that is something that we are going to have to work very, very hard at. Very, very hard.

Because you can say “well, we have changed a lot”, and this is actually part of what I will talk about this afternoon. We have changed a lot, and it is true. We have, geography has, in the United States anyway, has changed quite a lot. But in another way, not really. Not really. There is a lot of discussion among folks about, it is one thing to be invited to the party, right? So, you are at the party. But it is another thing to be invited to dance. And it is another thing to be the one inviting someone else to dance. There are many ways to be at the party. You can, and to be fully there, to have the same interest, not the same, but to have a kind of equality of interest would be ideal. But I think we are very, very far from that.

IV: Well, finally, you have this administrative position at the university, and you have been a professor for many years. How do you think artificial intelligence will be changing universities in the future? You talked about, for example, a possibility of instantaneous translation using a kind of software that could help online conferences. But what do you think would be changing our ways of doing, teaching, learning?

SUE ROBERTS: Okay, I am not going to speak a lot about artificial intelligence because I am not an expert. I really am not. And I think that it is a very complicated

thing that is happening. It is happening. What I have noticed is happening so fast, so rapidly. I hesitate to offer any observations, actually, because I think it is happening way faster than I have even observed, let alone understand. But it seems to me it is kind of revolutionary in the sense that we are knowledge producers. That is what universities are. AI seems to offer that machines can also be, not just that they can learn, but that they can produce new knowledge. I think I will just leave it at that. If that is the case, which I think is what is happening, then it is not just going to impact our communications and our teaching in this technical sense, it is going to kind of perhaps change the nature of learning and of knowledge, and of knowing. It is kind of an epistemic challenge, I think.

IV: Thank you very much for this interview.

SUE ROBERTS: Thank you.

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About the interviewee

SUSAN M. ROBERTS, known as Sue Roberts, is a British geographer. She is professor of Economic Geography at the Department of Geography of the University of Kentucky (USA) since 1991, and currently associate provost for internationalization. She has bachelor's degree from the University of Leicester (UK) and master's and PhD from Syracuse University, New York (USA), under the supervision of the geographer John Agnew. Sue Roberts has conducted research in Southern Mexico, the Caribbean, Ireland and Australia. Between 2012 and 2017, she was editor of the *Progress in Human Geography*, one of the most prestigious journals in the field.

About the interviewers

IGOR VENCESLAU is PhD in human geography at the University of São Paulo. Between 2015 and 2016, he was a visiting scholar at the University of Kentucky, under the supervision of Prof. Sue Roberts.

MARIA FERNANDA FOSSALUZA is an undergraduate student at the Department of Geography of the University of São Paulo. Between 2023 and 2024, she was a visiting scholar at the University of Kentucky.

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