Mobility Justice: A New Framework

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A Research Report from the Pacific Southwest Region University Transportation Center

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16. Abstract
The purpose of this report is to define and document the origins, definition, and themes of mobility justice. Methods included a literature review of both academic and activist usages of the term and interviews with early mobility justice leaders. Results revealed that mobility justice emerged as a concept simultaneously in academic and activist spaces. The field of critical mobilities studies began conversations in academia. Conversations in the field began among sustainable transportation practitioners who also identify as Black, Indigenous, or people of color, particularly at gatherings of a collective called The Untokening. Interviewees expressed the importance of respecting this genealogy and the definition as laid out by these leaders. They defined mobility justice as a movement towards liberation for all, particularly those most marginalized by systems of oppression. Mobility justice's origins are grounded in past civil rights movements, especially for Black people. As such, it connects other justice-based movements and has strong ties to abolitionism. Practitioners advocate for strong community leadership in future transportation decision-making. They see mobility justice as centering life—of people, the community, and the environment. This requires an understanding of how identity shapes experiences of mobility, particularly in relationship to systems of power. Transportation researchers and professionals are encouraged to engage in further reading and training to better integrate history, local context, and attention to systems of power into their work.

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About the Pacific Southwest Region University Transportation Center

The Pacific Southwest Region University Transportation Center (UTC) is the Region 9 University Transportation Center funded under the US Department of Transportation's University Transportation Centers Program. Established in 2016, the Pacific Southwest Region UTC (PSR) is led by the University of Southern California and includes seven partners: Long Beach State University; University of California, Davis; University of California, Irvine; University of California, Los Angeles; University of Hawaii; Northern Arizona University; Pima Community College.

The Pacific Southwest Region UTC conducts an integrated, multidisciplinary program of research, education and technology transfer aimed at *improving the mobility of people and goods throughout the region.* Our program is organized around four themes: 1) technology to address transportation problems and improve mobility; 2) improving mobility for vulnerable populations; 3) Improving resilience and protecting the environment; and 4) managing mobility in high growth areas.

U.S. Department of Transportation (USDOT) Disclaimer

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Abstract

The purpose of this report is to define and document the origins, definition, and themes of mobility justice. Methods included a literature review of both academic and activist usages of the term and interviews with early mobility justice leaders. Results revealed that mobility justice emerged as a concept simultaneously in academic and activist spaces. The field of critical mobilities studies began conversations in academia. Conversations in the field began among sustainable transportation practitioners who also identify as Black, Indigenous, or people of color, particularly at gatherings of a collective called The Untokening. Interviewees expressed the importance of respecting this genealogy and the definition as laid out by these leaders. They defined mobility justice as a movement towards liberation for all, particularly those most marginalized by systems of oppression. Mobility justice's origins are grounded in past civil rights movements, especially for Black people. As such, it connects other justice-based movements and has strong ties to abolitionism. Practitioners advocate for strong community leadership in future transportation decision-making. They see mobility justice as centering life—of people, the community, and the environment. This requires an understanding of how identity shapes experiences of mobility, particularly in relationship to systems of power. Transportation researchers and professionals are encouraged to engage in further reading and training to better integrate history, local context, and attention to systems of power into their work.

Mobility Justice: A New Framework

Executive Summary

Mobility Justice recently entered the lexicon within transportation studies and transportation work. And yet, many professionals may not know the precise meaning of this term, nor how it differs from transportation justice or transportation equity. Knowing its origins and meaning can enrich the field and offer a new framework from which to address questions of sustainability, climate change, and equity. This report describes what mobility justice is, how it came to be, and implications for the field of transportation.

Mobility justice seeks liberation of life and movement for all people, particularly those subjected to systemic violence. Because of histories of colonialism and racism, those whose lives and mobility are most restricted tend to be Black and Indigenous people and people of color. Attending to this history is crucial to mobility justice, as is understanding how systems of power continue to act on people based on their social identities. This understanding is necessary to bring about new visions for how to create systems that address these inequities at their roots. Mobility justice envisions these new systems as ones that sustain life and center people and the environment.

Mobility justice is an exemplar of praxis between academic research and on-the-ground work. The term arose virtually simultaneously in academia and in activist circles. Key early scholars emerged from critical mobilities studies, the most prominent being Mimi Sheller, who wrote a book titled, Mobility Justice: Politics of Movement in an Age of Extremes, published in 2018. Early documentation of what mobility justice meant to practitioners emerged from a gathering of the Untokening Collective in 2016, who, because of this convening, published the Principles of Mobility Justice 1.0.

Interviews with key early leaders in mobility justice demonstrated strong coherence to mobility justice, as described both by Sheller and the Untokening. Key insights include

- The roots of mobility justice in abolitionism, particularly ending conditions and institutions that limit movement of Black people.
- A recognition of how existing structures, including street design, distribution of pollutants, policing and incarceration, and distribution of resources, inflict violence upon communities of color that lead to premature death.
- The importance of valuing life as sacred in visions for new systems of that end injustice.

Realizing mobility justice goals requires respecting the lived experience of those whose freedom of movement and safety have been most impacted and letting them lead. It also requires recognizing how struggles to move freely through space are intricately connected with other liberation projects and justice-based efforts, and moving in solidarity with these other struggles and visions.

Transportation professionals and researchers are encouraged to become more familiar with mobility justice frameworks by reviewing literature cited in the recommendations and throughout the report. This framework can also be taught in new training opportunities. With this background, transportation researchers and professionals can meaningfully contribute to undoing past and ongoing injustices.

Key recommendations are to respect the intended meaning of mobility justice, understand mobility as the connective tissue of other social justice movements, center racial justice in their work, develop literacy around abolitionist work, learn how to utilize an intersectional approach, and follow community leadership. The combination of these, along with a recognition of the need for personal transformation to accompany systemic change, can lead to the realization of a major goal of mobility justice: the proliferation of life-affirming institutions and practices.

Introduction

Mobility is vital for the day-to-day living and thriving of every community. Therefore, the structural control, restriction, and deprivation of certain peoples' mobility has been a form of violence and oppression. In response, mobility justice has emerged as community-based movement work that centers the experiences and needs of those whose mobilities have been disregarded or whose lives have been devalued by systems in power. It is part of a long resistance of Black, Indigenous and People of color (BIPOC), and other marginalized communities against structural oppression. As "movement work," mobility justice is collective, collaborative work connected to ongoing struggles for justice and liberation.

This project follows the emergence and continual growth of mobility justice as a critical framework within and adjacent to the field of transportation, as well as part of a larger movement for social change for equity and liberation. Justice-based social movements are most effective when people come together to set goals and frameworks to guide and ensure that just and equitable changes occur. This report thus contributes to the efficacy of mobility justice by providing guidance as to what constitutes mobility justice. A sense of shared meaning behind terms such as mobility justice matters because this concept grew out of a need to address power dynamics previously under-discussed. As community leader Tamika Butler puts it, "Words are important, and terminology is important, but part of what's important about it is that when you're doing the work, whoever you are in community with, you all agree [on] what that word means, what those words mean."

Thus, this report can help transportation professionals to develop a common understanding of mobility justice to avoid the term becoming cloudy, vague, and easily appropriated, co-opted or misused.

Table 1: Key Tenants of Mobility Justice

• Rectify structural inequities. Transportation systems, policing, and local environments do harm that disproportionately impact Black, Indigenous, and communities of color. • Prioritize lived experience. Give resources to realize the visions and plans of residents whose safety and freedom is most at risk. • Center racial justice. The roots of mobility justice lie in movements for liberation and abolitionism and remain interconnected with these movements. • Engage in life-sustaining practices. This includes giving all people the conditions to thrive and feel safe, and the ability to move freely and stay in place.

While the movement has traveled and gained traction, literature on mobility justice is emergent. Recent scholarship has described the work of various activist and practitioner groups working within the mobility justice movement (*1–5*) This literature often addresses lived expertise that are frequently dismissed, deemed unfounded, subjective or too close to the issues at hand. This devaluation is enabled by hierarchies of expertise that are founded in

systems of oppression (*6–10*). The result is that academics whose work has extended into the mobility justice movement have faced challenges in legitimizing their work. Interviewee Tamika Butler, a prominent leader among the movement, expressed the difficulties of incorporating their work and knowledge of mobility justice into their doctoral studies, "What's always hard about this as an academic starting to think about this is already getting comments back on things I write that are like "Whoa! This is an opinion. What's the citation?" What is seen as an "opinion" to others is, to Butler and other mobility justice scholar activists, a reality with strong evidentiary support based in lived experience (*11–13*). This logic can also make it hard for those who experience mobility injustice to influence policy, as they face similar invalidation.

This pattern of disbelief or doubt in lived experience also played out in the environmental justice movement. Activists' knowledge of the health impacts of pollutants on their community rooted in their everyday experiences and observations was not enough to instigate change. Direct action, mass organization, and a slew of scientific studies all contributed to actions that have been taken to mitigate environmental injustice, as well as other tactics (*14–20*). What is important to note here is that the experience of people living through injustice was not enough; researchers were often deployed to assess levels of toxicity and health impacts before any policy action occurred. While it is true that research can improve the efficacy of subsequent interventions, one could also argue that this delays improvements to conditions of living. This concern is well-founded by the ongoing persistence of pollutants in many communities despite numerous studies on local toxicities (*21–25*). Local residents experiencing the harm of environmental injustice may understandably advocate for greater investment in interventions rather than research on impacts

Mobility justice has been deeply informed by other social movements such as environmental justice as well as the experiential knowledge of people on the streets and roads. Inspiration goes back even further, from the experience of enslaved Africans brought to the Americas through the Middle Passage. Thus, mobility justice is less indebted to follow academia's formal citation logics but instead follows feminist citational practices where, "Citation is how we acknowledge our debt to those who came before; those who helped us find our way when the way was obscured because we deviated from the paths we were told to follow" (*26*).

Thus, the purpose of this project is to listen closely to the voices of those leading the movement on the ground and privilege the ways in which they make meaning out of the term mobility justice. At the same time, we also respect and acknowledge the work of academics who have conducted work on mobility justice in solidarity with movement leaders.

This format of this report is to first provide a background on how mobility justice emerged as a theoretical concept within academia in close relationship with community practice. Next, we briefly describe the methods used to take on this project that highlights mobility justice leaders. Findings begin with, Coming Together: The Importance of Shared Understandings of Mobility Justice, which discusses the importance of developing and keeping a shared meaning of the term mobility justice as expressed by participants. The next section of findings, Historical and Systemic Roots of Mobility Injustice, examines the challenges mobility justice leaders seeks to

address. They are broken up into three sections. The first, Liberation Requires Abolition, explores the connections between mobility justice and historical struggles for liberation—from the abolition of slavery, to the end of segregation, to the abolition of policing. From there, Death by Design outlines how infrastructure and poor design do more than just limit people's mobility; they also lead to a greater chance of premature death (*27*, *28*). Thus, Valuing Life as Sacred addresses how an orientation towards life rather than capital can produce better mobility futures. The final major section of the report, Moving Forward: Implementation of Mobility Justice describes three key themes on what mobility justice looks like in action. These are to respect lived experience, follow community-led solutions, and build solidarity across movements.

Following our interviewees' lead, we close with recommendations for transportation researchers and practitioners to bring about more just mobility outcomes for communities.

Mobility Justice in Academic Research and Activism

Mobility justice arose from the field of critical mobilities, which attempts to use critical theory to understand mobility, defined broadly. Early theorists of mobility justice sought to attend to inequities and forefront justice in the field of new mobilities (*29*–*32*). New mobilities examines "the complex movement of people, objects, and information," as well as "representations, ideologies, and meaning attached to such movement" (*33*). This work argued for the importance of considering the complexity of inequities when studying and remaking transportation systems, creating sustainable models, planning for disaster management, and imagining low carbon energy transitions (*29*, *32*, *33*).

An edited volume titled *Mobile Desires: The Politics and Erotics of Mobility Justice* (*34*) brought a feminist/queer theory lens to the field that attended to embodiment, affect and governance. Another edited collection came out three years later titled *Mobilities, Mobility Justice, and Social Justice* (*35*). This book explored a wide range of topics that kept sites of injustice and state violence at the center of analysis with examples from around the globe.

While these previous publications are notable, the most influential text emerged in 2018 by Mimi Sheller's Mobility Justice: The Politics of Movement in an Age of Extremes (*33*). Here, Sheller locates mobility as a crucial site in struggles for justice at every scale. Her book undertakes an initial examination of the "uneven mobilities" in the aftermaths of disasters such as Caribbean Hurricanes Irma and Maria. Uneven mobilities describe how social vulnerabilities in times of crisis have deep historical roots. These disparities often become routes for new forms of exploitation to spread, as expediency becomes opportunity for those empowered with mobility (*33*).

Mobilities, Sheller argues, are conditioned by structures of power, both historical and contemporary. Therefore, mobilities are accessed and distributed unevenly across social and spatial domains. In a system in which certain people have been structurally excluded from power and resources, it is those same excluded communities that overwhelmingly bear the brunt of the consequences wrought by disaster. Through this critical relationship between

mobilities and crisis, Sheller articulates the tethered implications of mobility justice: the concerns of justice are also concerns of mobility. In this sense, the mobility justice movement is in many ways the nexus of all justice movements, as each is deeply concerned with issues of mobility, whether explicitly or implicitly.

Highlighting the mobility concerns within each movement's broader context allows us to better understand communities' complex needs represented by that movement, and further, how connections form across and between movements with shared concerns for mobilities. Considering the "triple mobility crisis of climate change, migration and urbanization" (*33*), mobility justice functions as both connective tissue and force multiplier, aligning multiple movements by their shared, overlapping struggles, while channeling that coalitional power toward cohesive, unified political action.

Unlike transportation justice or similar concerns, mobility justice deviates from what Sheller calls "sedentary theories of justice," in that it "treats injustice as an unstable configuration that moves across scales and realms" (*33*). Sheller notes,

> [f]rom the emancipation movement to end slavery, to the transit justice struggles that began in the nineteenth century, to the bus rider protests and sit-ins of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA, for example, ongoing social movements have drawn attention to racial inequities in embodied access to spatial mobilities, which are more than simply questions of transportation (*33*).

This urgency of tying mobility justice to more than just transportation enacts a more expansive framework both in terms of history and contemporary social challenges, demonstrating their interconnectedness. This inclination to use mobility justice as connective tissue is shared by mobility justice activists.

While Sheller was writing her book, activists were also organizing around the term mobility justice. This catalyzed in 2016 with the first convening of the Untokening collective and the subsequent release of the Principles of Mobility Justice 1.0 in 2017. The Untokening Collective is "a multiracial collective that centers the lived experience of marginalized communities to address mobility justice and equity" (*36*). This collective has hosted periodic national convenings since 2016, puts on webinars, and releases periodic reports. The Untokening formed as a network for professionals of color working in active transportation to experience solidarity and have a more advanced conversation about equity.

The Untokening created a space "for those justice-oriented advocates, their communities, their needs, and their realities to finally be the starting point of the conversation" (*37*). The first convening took place in Atlanta on November 13, 2016, the day after the presidential election and immediately after the Facing Race conference, a convening on race and policy. Around 100 people attended from across the United States, most of whom were people of color who worked in bicycling or sustainable transportation. During the day, participants discussed their experiences of tokenization and the injustices they witnessed in transportation. Organizers took notes (Dr. McCullough helped plan the program and took notes at this event) with the goal of

turning the collective wisdom in the room into a document that would elucidate the importance of justice when talking about mobility. A smaller group of six individuals systematically reviewed the notes and created a document called the "Principles of Mobility Justice." A draft of this document was sent to all attendees at the first Untokening gathering for feedback and to ensure that the principles sufficiently gave voice to what they said. Nearly a year later, on November 11, 2017, the Principles of Mobility Justice were released (*38*).

While Sheller's scope was international, her key tenets resonated strongly with the Untokening's Principles of Mobility Justice produced by early mobility justice activists. Although she only learned of this work shortly before her book was published, she integrated the Principles into her text. This demonstrated the strong affinity between conversations in academic spaces around mobility justice and the growing activist movement.

Conversations about mobility justice began to spread beyond the field of critical mobilities and included scholars working in fields such as anthropology (Adonia Lugo), cultural studies (Sarah McCullough), communications (Melody Hoffman), geography (Do Lee), and history (Genevieve Carpio). Work at the intersection of environmental justice, racial justice, disability studies and transportation became increasingly germane, as did work on settler colonialism and critical disability studies (*39–42*). Scholars trained in transportation and urban planning already studying equity were also active in the conversation (*4*, *43–45*).

Sarah McCullough, Adonia Lugo, and Susan Handy collaborated to host a gathering of scholars working in mobility justice at UC Davis in November 2019. They described the impetus for the meeting in the call for participants:

> Addressing histories of injustice and ongoing systemic inequalities is crucial to creating lasting sustainable transportation solutions such as bicycling. Mobility justice and racial justice offer powerful frameworks that account for how complex systems of history, power, and oppression affect people's movement and ability to live, work, and play. Mobility justice emerged simultaneously from the field of critical mobilities studies and from a collective of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) working in bicycling and sustainable transportation. Mobility justice examines how the racialized histories of cities and transportation systems limit the mobilities of certain communities in uneven ways. Racial justice scholarship seeks to account for how histories of colonialism and ongoing structures of white supremacy have produced systems of inequality for communities of color. It also examines alternative models that undo harmful practices and foster healing.

At this gathering, a mix of established scholars and graduate students discussed a vision for creating a mobility justice research agenda. Key tensions in the meeting revolved around whether or not it made sense to engage in "field formation" around mobility justice or simply continue to integrate our shared concepts into participant's respective fields. A clear shared thread emerged around the importance of practicing research justice by making the process of research shaped by communities and communicated in accessible ways. The 21 original

participants (see Appendix A) continued to convene in monthly meetings and publish around mobility justice.

Since the convening at UC Davis in 2019, the body of scholarship surrounding mobility justice has continued to expand, along with the increasing infiltration of the language of "mobility justice" into the general conversation in many fields including transportation studies, urban planning, international studies, development, geography, public health, and energy studies (*1–3*, *45*, *45–69*). A mobility justice-oriented research framework requires these fields to attend to the complexities of interconnected systems, stretching traditional disciplinary boundaries. Mobility justice pushes scholars towards a deeper holistic approach that includes elements frequently elided by more traditional research practices. For example, inequitable upstream factors and downstream consequences that are often treated as ancillary to the primary research question are central when using a mobility justice framework.

As an example, geographer Jason Henderson's research amplifies the global possibilities for approaching energy futures more justly by engaging a mobility justice framework to the discourse on Electric Vehicles (EVs). He argues that mobility justice attends to those elements frequently overlooked in transportation and planning projects in order to understand the true costs and consequences of a universalizing push toward EVs (*53*). He we must recognize the full life cycle and the multiple contexts of new technologies so that we can better address 'unintended consequences.' Henderson argues that, "mobility justice offers a totalizing framework for considering deep decarbonization and sustainable transitions in transport by pulling together geographic scale and multiple approaches to justice, from global climate justice, to local environmental and transport justice, to energy justice, and to social and spatial justice in cities (*53*).

While complex, mobility justice offers theoretical and practical framework through which to re-envision approaches to decarbonization, climate change resilience, and sustainable movement that moves between the local and global without unwittingly dismissing or sidelining issues of equity. Instead, justice becomes the central node through which these connections can be made, and better solutions can emerge. The synergy between activist work and academic work demonstrates the power of praxis—moving between theory and practice that mobility justice activates.

Methods

The objective of interviews with mobility justice leaders is to determine the genealogy of the term, mobility justice, as well as its ongoing deployment. We identified and contacted 35 people who are activists, researchers, and/or practitioners playing key roles in today's mobility justice movement to request interviews about their work on mobility justice. Those contacted were identified based on their participation on early mobility justice projects such as the Untokening or related racial justice projects that overlap with transportation. PI McCullough has strong knowledge and relationships within these networks based on her previous research activities.

We heard back from and interviewed thirteen people from seven major metropolitan areas across the United States, as mapped in Figure 1. Five identify as female, five identify as male, one identified as genderqueer, and one identified as non-binary. Six interviewees identified as Black, two as Asian-American, one as Latina, two as mixed race, and one as Native American/Indigenous. They all said they participated in the Untokening and identified with mobility justice. Four were 30-39 years old, seven were 40-49, one was 50-59, and one was 60-69. Interviews were 30-90 minutes and conducted via Zoom. Interviewees were offered a $75 gift card for their participation.

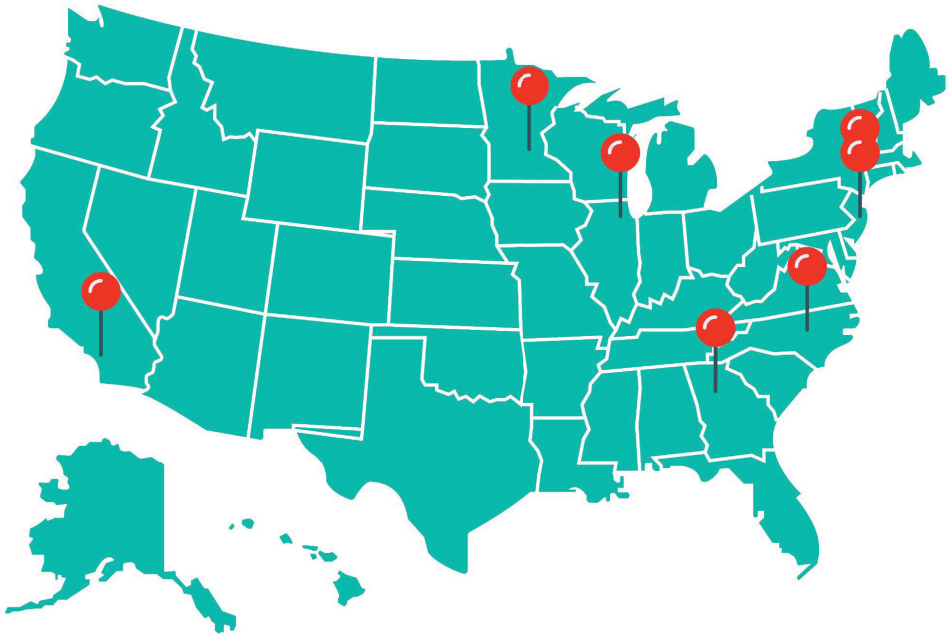

Figure 1. Map of geographic locations of interviewees.

All interviewees declined to be anonymized. Therefore, in the spirit of shining light on their work, we present them in Table 1.

Table 2. List of interviewees.

	Name of Interviewee	Maybe affiliation, or years in the movement?	Location
1	Adonia Lugo	Urban anthropologist. Co-founder and co-organizer for the Untokening.	Los Angeles, California
2	Aidil Ortiz	Organizational and equity engagement strategist. Co-founder and co-organizer for the Untokening 2.	Durham, North Carolina

	Name of Interviewee	Maybe affiliation, or years in the movement?	Location
3	Anthony Taylor	Community development innovator. Co-founder and co-organizer for the Untokening.	Minneapolis, Minnesota
4	Charles Brown	Founder and CEO of Equitable Cities LLC. Host of Arrested Mobility podcast.	New Jersey National/International
5	Destiny Thomas	Founder and CEO of Thrivance Group.	Los Angeles, California
6	Do Lee	Scholar, consultant, and activist. Participant in Untokening.	New York, New York
7	Helen Ho	Urban planning leader and co-founder at the Biking Public Project. Participant in Untokening.	New York, New York
8	Jeffrey Nolish	Public policy and urban planning advocate. Co-organizer at Untokening 2.	Detroit, Michigan Chicago, Illinois
9	Naomi Doerner	Transportation equity and mobility justice strategist. Co-founder and co-organizer for the Untokening.	Oakland, California
10	Ronnie Harris	Transit visionary and founder of Sacred Roots. Co-founder and co-organizer for the Untokening.	Chicago, Illinois Mississippi
11	Rio Oxas	Founder of RAHOK: Race, Ancestors. Health. Outdoors. Knowledge. Co-planner for the Untokening	Los Angeles, California
12	Tamika Butler	Scholar and consultant. Co-planner for the Untokening.	Los Angeles, California
13	zahara alabanza	Founder of Red Bike & Green. Co-founder and co-organizer for the Untokening 1.	Atlanta, Georgia

Interview questions focused on interviewees' involvement with the mobility justice movement, their understanding of the term mobility justice, the genealogy of the movement, and the

different communities with which they are involved. See Appendix B for interview script. We then coded each interview using a coding scheme that consisted of nine categories:

1. Defining or Theorizing Mobility Justice
2. Genealogical Information
3. Personal or Demographic Details
4. Community Relations
5. Backstory or Connection to Mobility Justice
6. Key Moments or Events
7. Allied Movements or Related Projects
8. Discourse on the Relationships between Scholarship, Planning, and Community Work
9. Important or Interesting Quotes

The coding categories were closely related to the questions asked during the interviews. The research team conducted two rounds of norming to ensure that all individuals coding the interviews had a mutual understanding of what each code signified and were coding consistently. Each interview was coded by two individuals. All parts of the interviews tagged with each code were reviewed by the team to identify emerging partners and themes within each topic area. We then compared the major themes across excerpts to inform our findings on the genealogy, meaning, and practices of the mobility justice movement. Results of this process are described below.

Coming Together: The Importance of Shared Understanding of Mobility Justice

Interview participants expressed concern that the term mobility justice has been appropriated. Appropriation, in the words of Dr. Thomas, "involves the capture and redefinition of a term or practices of an oppressed group by those in the majority." Dr. Thomas shared, "I'm often troubled when I see municipal agencies naming themselves in that way, because I'm not sure that justice can be actualized in the hands of the people causing harm." Thomas points toward the practice of how dominant groups co-opt terminology created by oppressed people to give voice to an experience or practice that previously went un-labeled. One can look to other terms such as decolonization to understand this dynamic (*70*). Through appropriation, the broadly understood meaning of these terms becomes non-synonymous with their original intended meeting, thus undermining the original creation of the term. Dr. Thomas also questions whether agencies who hold significant power to enable or transform systems, can claim to be practicing justice when they continue to maintain injustice to the detriment of those most vulnerable and who have coined and led the struggle.

Dr. Lee shares this concern,

> You come up with a concept that tries to address some collective and structural oppression and then it gets basically watered down in the process of mainstreaming it—it becomes a new MLK quote to use while ignoring its politics,

> right? I think it's just the way it works, the power structures—when they internalize [a radical concept] they will always water down. They will always make it palatable to the existing power structure.

Lee notes how radical, subversive concepts that gain popular currency or traction, become appropriated or tempered to become "palatable" for those in power may agree to. For this to occur, the word or words are often decontextualized from their original placement. This is a common occurrence when using quotes from Martin Luther King, Jr, which serves to flatten the deeper meaning to serve purposes counter to the goals of racial and economic justice he held (*71*). Participants sought to avoid this fate for the term "mobility justice."

Appropriation of meaning has similar outcomes to the political strategy known as tokenization. Tokenization means treating a person in the minority as a representative and symbol of an entire minoritized group (*72*). Here, minoritization refers to access to power more so than population numbers (*73*). Tokenization can also refer to inclusion of a representative minority person(s) without engaging in the political or systemic change needed to include that person's perspective, knowledge, and lived experience to(*74*).

Rejecting these dynamics was a key motivation for organizers of the first Untokening convening, which led to the creation of the Principles of Mobility Justice 1.0. As interviewee and organizer of the first Untokening convening alabanza put it,

> That's how we became The Untokening… so, folks being tokenized in their everyday job, not being able to show up as their fullest self. And then needing space where you can show up as yourself. And what we learned, because we had this convening [is that] there's a whole bunch of BIPOC folks in positions at organizations around transportation and biking, but we never were given the space to talk about it in its totality.

At the Untokening, attendees were able to have a more advanced conversation about equity and explore problems, framings, and visions that would give rise to a shared conception of mobility justice. This conception sought to give space for those "doing the work" to share their experiences and form community relationships with each other.

alabanza recalled the process of how the attendees came together to collectively develop a roadmap for their work,

> There was no blueprint, which allowed for mistakes and missteps. (...) Anybody who plugged into The Untokening had grace for all of us figuring out how to stand in this place that has never existed before. And how to contribute to the unlearning of all the ways that transportation advocacy and that field—gentrification—tell us a way to be.

Lacking a blueprint, those in attendance explored their mutual interests and desires for sustainable and active transportation, as well as racial, economic, and environmental justice, police abolitionism, racism in the workplace and other inequities in their communities. They also offered visions of what they would like to see for their communities.

The resulting Principles of Mobility Justice by The Untokening offers a set of guiding propositions as a blueprint for mobility justice work. Each principle is followed by a statement of the problem addressed, the principle itself, and an example of what the principle looks like in practice. For example, the first principle describes the problem as how "historical disenfranchisement, disinvestment, disproportionate exposure to pollution, and repressive policing in communities of color continue to negatively impact our collective health, wealth, mobility and security." This leads to the principle: "Seek to repair harm, not erase history." In practice, this means that proponents of mobility justice must "fully excavate, recognize, and reconcile the historical and current injustices experienced by communities—with impacted communities given space and resources to envision and implement planning models and political advocacy on streets and mobility that actively works to address historical and current injustices." The principle also points out "how oppressed communities have survived and thrived in spite of systemic neglect." The result is a succinct explanation of the importance of knowing history and fostering community power to achieve equitable outcomes.

The principles cover the following topics: the importance of listening to communities and valuing qualitative methods, the need to allow people to stay in place as community improvements are instituted, the need to end policing, the ties between environmental justice and mobility justice, and the need to attend to history and local context.

An additional piece, "Untokening Mobility: Beyond Pavement, Paint, and Place" was published on January 27, 2018 (*75*). This longer document gave voice to the experiences of participants in the first Untokening gathering, naming the problems mobility justice seeks to address in greater detail. It also provides a more expansive collective vision for change.

The Untokening hosted subsequent annual gatherings in Los Angeles (2017), Detroit (2018), and Durham, North Carolina (2019). They also hosted a webinar series titled, Transformative Talks, in collaboration with Pueblo and People for Mobility Justice. Pueblo is a consulting firm founded by Shalem Lopez, an ethnographic artist who is also trained as a planner (*76*). People for Mobility Justice is a nonprofit BIPOC collective dedicated to providing people with the resources to move about public space freely with love and dignity (*77*). These talks were designed to help those within the Untokening and allies to actualize the principles of mobility justice in their work. Topics included new mobility, bicycling as medicine, organizing new mobility workers, moving planning from colonialism to liberation, and working in government. With the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, they hosted webinars on community resilience and supporting essential workers. They also released two reports: one providing initial recommendations on how to respond to COVID from a mobility justice lens and a second on "COVID-19, Uprisings, and Mobility Justice."

In 2020, the Untokening conducted a strategic planning process to determine the future direction of the collective. McCullough was a part of the planning team. The process included both an assessment of past membership and impacts and future direction. They surveyed past participants and found that over 75% of attendants at their four national gatherings were BIPOC. The most important work of mobility justice identified was the lack of safety for Black

people in public spaces, changing and healing from harmful systems, and centering BIPOC visions. Another key impact was the creation of a community that centers racial justice and where participants could have a deeper conversation about "the intersectional nature of transportation, housing, workforce, education, etc." They also saw "honoring the sacred continuity between our past and what's to come" as central to their work. Finally, they deeply appreciated how mobility justice is movement work, emerging not just from active transportation, but also from previous civil rights struggles (*78*).

In just a few years, mobility justice gained traction among various advocates and practitioners. Some of these, such as Equicity founded by Olatunji Oboi Reed and People for Mobility Justice, centered their work in the stated principles (*79*, *80*). Others began to use the term mobility justice without demonstrating a full understanding of the original connotations and meaning embedded into the term and/or not acting on the implications of the principles. Interviewees voiced this as an ongoing challenge. Doerner shared her concern about organizations claiming to seek mobility justice without changing their composition, practices, or outcomes,

> You've got agencies and organizations, maybe either in the sort of traditional agency or traditional advocacy or what have you, that are using the term. But are they really changing? Like, does their membership look different, does their leadership look different, do the decisions look different? What is different there? (...) If we're saying something, do we mean it? And do we mean it in measurable ways?

Her questions point towards the original impetus for the Untokening–to address tokenization and other forms of inequity in transportation. She also points towards the need for action. If something is being done in the name of mobility justice, there should be visible change in the composition of an organization as well as their practices.

Furthermore, in answering these questions Doerner speculates as to whether these organizations deeply acknowledge that mobility justice is *relational* and requires forming and valuing relationships which have been severed,

> How to keep people accountable to their own goals of equity, even when they say that they want to pursue equity or mobility justice. If they say they want [it], like really getting them to understand, "What does that mean, and who do I need to be in relationship with to do that?"

Mobility justice involves the labor and practice of doing the work while following closely the vision of those who started the movement. For instance, Brown shared,

> I have a ton of respect for the mobility justice movement (...) I think it just needs to be better exercised. And I think it needs to ensure that the purity of thought behind the original mobility justice movement is carried through.

As we see in the next two sections, although mobility justice is a large, wide-encompassing movement to overturn oppressive systems, our interviewees spoke to the significance of

following the vision that other abolitionists and Civil Rights activists dreamed of and naming these genealogies, values, and frameworks.

What is important to note is that the genealogy of mobility justice both in academia and as framed by practitioners is external to traditional transportation planning, advocacy, and research sources and genealogies. We asked interviewees who were some of the people or thinkers that most influenced them. Many shared that other social justice movements have influenced their work and how they understand mobility justice. They also mentioned numerous radical thinkers such as the Black Panther Party. Along with Black Panthers such as Assata Shakur, other influential thinkers mentioned by the interviewees included abolitionist W.E.B. Dubois; anti-segregation and anti-war activists Martin Luther King Jr. and James Baldwin, anti-apartheid activist Desmond Tutu; Black feminists Audre Lorde and bell hooks; anticolonial thinkers such as Arundhati Roy; environmental advocates such as Rachel Carson; and speculative fiction scholars Octavia Butler and Adrienne Maree Brown. The majority of these authors and orators are part of a lineage dedicated to Black liberation. This indicates that for one to have a deeper understanding of the meaning behind mobility justice, such reading is required.

Historical and Systemic Roots of Mobility Injustice

This section describes the historical and systemic roots of mobility injustice. First in "Liberation requires abolition," mobility justice is situated as part of a long legacy in the struggle for liberation against system that deny freedom of movement, particularly for Black people. Then in "Death by design," the need for change to current transportation infrastructures is described by illustrating how current systems lead to premature death for many people of color. Finally, in "Valuing life as sacred," we discuss how current systems of capital uphold violence and why mobility justice calls for a shift in values towards the sacredness of life.

Liberation Requires Abolition

"Mobility justice, inherently, is abolitionist practice," -Destiny Thomas

While mobility justice as a movement has solidified recently, many of our interviewees reflected on how their work in mobility justice continues and builds upon historical struggles for freedom of movement—namely, the free movement of Black people in America. As Thomas traces back, "The spirit of mobility justice… derives from a very long-standing legacy of various justice movements all the way back to slave rebellions." Thomas articulated how these generational connections guide today's struggles. Mobility justice challenges tools, policies, and institutions that continue to systematically prevent Black people from moving and existing freely in society. Therefore, mobility justice is an extension of abolitionist movements that began with the struggle to end slavery. The common end goal of these movements is to abolish mechanisms of control over Black bodies and to therefore open up paths toward liberation. While we focus in this section on the struggle for liberation of Black people, the sentiment and practices extend and include all those in struggle whose movement is limited via systems of

power, including the forcible removal of Indigenous people, deportation of people from US soil, and the exclusion of people with disabilities.

The ability of Black people to physically move and exist in the US and across the Americas has been constrained since the purchase and shipment of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas by Europeans during the colonial period. In the US, enslavement and movement of Black people has been central to the country's history and identity (*81*, *82*). This, the assertion of interviewees is backed up by historical research.

Slavery denied Black people, who were rendered chattel, ownership and control over their bodies and movement. Rebecca Ginsburg notes,

> In antebellum America, controlling the movement of enslaved people was an almost obsessive priority of [white] planters and planter's agents. They used passes, patrols, shackles, runaway posters, and curfews, among other means, to regulate and restrict when and where human chattel traveled over public and private lands. (*83*)

The political economy of the US was deeply dependent on controlling the movement of Black people and denying their fundamental humanity. Many scholars have explored this connection between policing Black people, white supremacy, and capitalism as an ongoing thread in American culture from slavery to the present day (*84*, *85*). Early networks of those hunting enslaved people would give rise to structures of policing (*86*, *87*). Resistance networks widely referred to as the Underground Railroad and maroon communities emerged from the powerful need to counter these early policing efforts and struggle toward the possibility of Black movement (*88–91*). As interviewee Taylor reflected,

> the reality of white supremacy has actually been to control the mobility of Black bodies [and] that's what [the struggle for] mobility justice means: that we have the internalized, normalized ability or understanding that we can move through space freely, that we can move through space safely, and that we have a right to be there.

After emancipation, restriction of movement continued through "Jim Crow" laws, which enforced segregation via the formal division of the public sphere, and were reinforced by both vigilante and state-sanctioned violence (*92*, *93*). Black Southerners were frequently imprisoned under flimsy pretexts such as "vagrancy," and other minor offenses, then sold as forced labor while they paid off their "debt" incurred by their own imprisonment (*93–96*). Thus began the long tradition of using incarceration as a way to exert continued control over Black communities.

Racial segregation functions as another instrument to restrict the free movement of Black bodies in transportation and through control of space. This includes the existence of "sundown towns," which formally or informally banished Black people from the city limits on threat of imprisonment or violence (*97*, *98*). Segregation also extended to transportation systems including buses, streetcars, and trains. For instance, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) ruling upheld the mythical "separate but equal" doctrine of racial segregation that upheld the legality of

segregation (*99*). While driving a car offered more freedom, this was still hampered by "racial right-of-way laws" that required Black drivers to yield to White drivers and refrain from passing them (*94*). Travelers faced the challenges of gas stations that would not serve them and hotels that would not lodge them. Humiliation, physical assault, and terror were common occurrences for Black people while moving about in public space during the Jim Crow era and severely curtailed freedom of movement. Given the dangers of travelling while black, Victor Hugo Green annually published The Negro Motorist Green-book guidebook between 1936 and 1967 to help identify services and "friendly" places Black travelers road tripping (*100*). Subsequently, segregation remained enforced via redlining policies that restricted homeownership as well as the social and physical movement for Black people and people of color (*101*).

This deprivation of the right to movement contributed to igniting the Civil Rights Movement. For instance, the Freedom Riders and the Montgomery Bus Boycott protested racially segregated bus transportation (*102*, *103*). The right to freedom of movement was protested alongside the right to enter eating establishments, pools, and public restrooms. Activists from Martin Luther King, Jr. to the Black Panther Party sought to protect Black people's right to space and movement (*104–107*). Today's mobility justice advocates call upon that history as a site of inspiration and origination. Interviewee Thomas recalled,

> I remember giving a speech somewhere… I went through this whole presentation and everyone's like "Wow, how did you come up with this?" and "These are great goals for us to coalesce around." And I'm like "Oh yeah, this is from The Black Panther Party." (...) So I almost see mobility justice as a repackaging of concepts that already exist. And maybe strategically that's great, but as someone who honors the ancestors, we should find a way to acknowledge where the energy itself comes from to do this work.

This attention to history, lineage, and genealogy was consistently important to interviewees.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act ended some overt forms of segregation and discrimination. However, new forms of control and repression have emerged. Immediately after the Civil Rights Movement, the War on Drugs began in the early 1970s bringing the over-policing and disproportionate incarceration of Black, Latine, and Native communities, particularly for non-violent offenses. This trend continued in the ensuing decades, resulting in rapid growth of prisons and corollary industries of surveillance (*28*, *92*, *93*). Vigilante violence was also an ongoing threat, particularly for young Black men. These carceral political structures have continued to severely impact the freedom of mobility for many Black people.

The abolitionist movement has grown through the pursuit of liberation for Black and other marginalized peoples from oppressive systems such as the prison-industrial prison complex and policing (*108*). Although historically, the abolitionist movement amounted to a struggle seeking to destroy the institution of slavery in America, in its modern formulation "abolition" generally refers to the abolition of prisons and the carceral systems that surround them (*109*). This frequently includes the abolition of police and the institutions that carry out and support the functions of policing (*110*). Policing is interwoven with virtually all forms of transportation, with some transit agencies having their own police forces that takes up a sizeable amount of the

budget (*111–114*). Reallocating these resources towards other safety measures in a process led by marginalized communities could lead to safer streets for those most vulnerable.

Interviewees talked about the challenges of over-policing and often mentioned the murder of Black men such as Oscar Grant in Oakland and George Floyd in Minneapolis as clear examples of why we need mobility justice—and that racial justice is a key component. Naomi Doerner worked with a youth cycling program and at first had trouble recruiting youth because of fears of police. She shared, "the youth would talk about you know, like be harassed by police because they were hanging out in parks…Parents weren't sure that they wanted their kids to be in the program because they've been run out of the park just across the street from their house by police for being young and Black…So they were calling asking, "What is this going to mean to have like our kids on bikes be even more noticeable?" Though she overcame this obstacle, her story exemplifies ongoing legacies of police harassment of Black youth.

This importance of an abolitionist approach is reinforced in the Principles of Mobility Justice 1.0 in the principle, "Reject policing as a street safety solution." They acknowledge the relationship between the history of policing and racism described previously to explain why policing makes "public space unwelcoming, unsafe, and deadly." Instead, they advocate for the Movement for Black Lives platform (*115*). This extensive document advocates for an end to numerous modes of policing, detainment, incarceration, and circumvention of Black lives. Its creation emerged from decades of activism and was sparked by the uprisings against police violence against Black people in the summer of 2020, most viscerally expressed in the murder of George Floyd by a police officer in public space, on the street in North Minneapolis.

The killing of so many Black men and women, including the murders of Trayvon Martin while walking back to a relative's home in Sanford, Florida in 2012, Ahmaud Arbery while jogging around his neighborhood in Brunswick, Georgia in 2020, Philando Castille during a traffic stop in Falcon Heights, Minnesota in 2020, to name a few, have all brought more visibility to how anti-Black racism restricts Black people's freedom of movement and existence, and frequently erupts in deadly violence performed by agents of the State (as we see with Floyd and Castile), or by vigilantes ostensibly functioning as deputized agents of the State (as with Martin and Arbery) (*116*, *117*). Acknowledging historic racial struggles for freedom of movement and basic civil rights and furthering the plight that Black Lives Matter, Lugo notes,

> There is a really strong connection between freedom of mobility and civil rights. When you bring a bunch of Black people together on bikes, civil rights are part of what people are thinking about: the very real history of a lack of freedom of mobility, enslavement, economic exploitation, and extreme marginalization… A bicycle can symbolize liberation and freedom.

This sentiment was also present in Naomi Doerner's work with youth. In this sense, biking for some can be more than a mere form of transportation or exercise, but a representation of liberation and freedom. Thus, mobility justice seeks to abolish the shackles, barriers, and other limitations that restrict and deprive Black and other communities of color the freedom to move.

Death by Design

The design of space and transportation infrastructures constrains the movement of many people, particularly in communities of color. The investment (or divestment) in transportation has disproportionately impacted poor and communities of color across the country's uneven geographies. Highway construction, road design, public transportation, and so forth, are all ways in which power inequity (and violence) are built into our infrastructures to maintain a social order that spreads out benefits and burdens highly unevenly.

Riding bikes and walking is a form of transportation open to most and is relatively accessible. And yet, infrastructure to support active transportation is not widely available, particularly in communities of color, low-income communities, and among migrant communities. Instead, safe infrastructure is impeded by wide lanes, high speed limits, and missing facilities such as bike lanes, curbs, pedestrian crossings (*118*, *119*). Interviewee Adonia Lugo pointed out,

> People get killed while riding bikes and walking and in a region where a lot of the people who ride bikes are people who don't have other options because they're so poor. That means…people who are living on the margins are being treated like their bodies don't matter, their lives don't matter.

In Los Angeles City, where Lugo lives and organizes, unhoused pedestrians and cyclists are killed at a rate of 45.2 times the national average (*120*). Thus, accidents are not mishaps but built into the systems through neglect or carelessness. The report, *Decarcerating Transportation: A Mobility Justice Framework,* offers a detailed account of how infrastructure and policy contribute to higher rates of pedestrian, cycling, and traffic deaths within communities of color (*121*).

Mobility justice calls out how infrastructure (or the lack of) is instrumental in the systemic killing of lives deemed unworthy or disposable. This devaluation is reinforced through terminology such as "invisible cyclists," used in the mid-2010s as a shorthand for cyclists of color, working class riders, and others not represented in the historic white majority of bike advocacy (*118*, *122*, *123*). Dr. Lee points out how this invisibilization is systemic: "We set up systems not to see the cyclists or to ignore them. And to not plan for them, to not include them in the power structure, in terms of allocating benefits in space, and designing that space." In other words, they are made invisible by spatial and social design. Thus, mobility justice seeks to contribute to more inclusionary planning. Researchers have written on best practices in inclusionary planning, particularly when working with communities subjected to injustice (*124*–*128*). One particularly notable intervention is the Thrivance Group's Dignity-Infused Community Engagement trainings, led by Destiny Thomas (*129*). This unique training centers community dignity, which resonates with mobility justice principles.

Also pointing out how harm and injustice can be witnessed and experienced in the infrastructure and urban design (or lack of), alabanza reported,

> You get to see the lack of infrastructure, like the lack of crosswalks, or the unsafeness of the light separation, and the fact that we don't have sidewalks in some of our communities. You get to see the landfills, or how trash is just dumped everywhere in our communities.

As alabanza points out, the feeling of danger, unsafety, and disposability is experienced through the infrastructure. Infrastructure, in of itself, can be violent as it threatens the possibility and promotion of life. Prison abolitionist scholar Ruth Wilson Gilmore defines racism as "the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (*28*). Indeed, the premature death (or lower life expectancy) of people of color is not due to "natural causes" but to, for example, higher traffic crashes due to poor infrastructure, urban planning and street design; exposure to poor air quality due to pollutants including vehicle exhaust from nearby highways and/or trucking routes; the lack of access to transportation to receive health care or to find refuge in a natural disaster; among others (*19*, *42*, *130–133*).

Premature death is perpetuated in large part by environmental injustice (*134*). Environmental injustice refers to the disproportionate pollution burdens communities of color shoulder. Poor air quality from traffic, distribution center sitings, ports, incinerators, and industries lead to higher rates of asthma and other health conditions (*19*, *123*). Effluvia from industries, pesticides, or toxins from superfund sites lead to higher rates of cancer and birth defects, with poisons leaching into otherwise life-sustaining necessities such as soil, food, and water (*135*, *136*). These conditions lead to shorter life spans and is highly predictable. Thus, Nixon refers to this phenomenon as "slow violence," arguing that the impacts of environmental injustice can be as harmful as war and other forms of direct violence (*130*).

The Principles of Mobility Justice 1.0 call out this environmental racism, which cuts off communities from green space and creates toxic environments (*38*, *42*). They demand improvements without displacement, pointing out how allowing people to remain in place is as important as freedom of movement. They also support principles of environmental justice, such as those outlined by the First National People of Color Environmental Justice Leadership Summit (*17*). These well-regarded principles were in part the model for the Principles of Mobility Justice and arose from similar first-time convenings.

Interviewees argued for the need for new infrastructure to center those most vulnerable to environmental harm and displacement. For example, alabanza proposes,

> Infrastructure should be built for families and people with different abilities to be able to move through space and time. So, all those things need to be considered for mobility justice to be upheld. (...) Infrastructure and culture should center the most marginalized communities. So, I need a trans Black person to be able to feel safe in any mode of transportation they're using, anywhere they're going, not just where they're familiar.

Arguing for the importance of safety for Black trans individuals makes their knowledge and perspective particularly valuable. This exemplifies standpoint theory, which argues that one's

knowledge is shaped by one's social position in the world and how systems of power (and violence) operate on them (*7*, *137*, *138*). Thus, mobility justice privileges marginalized standpoints to understand how vulnerability or oppression are socially manufactured and how they can be undone.

Under current conditions, infrastructure can make everyday life violent and oppressive for those whose social position is marginalized and whose knowledge is discounted. To exemplify this, interviewee Harris shared the story of Shamika, from the South Side of Chicago, and how the limited transportation system impacts her life,

> She's got a family of three, single mother, gets a job, but the job requires travel clear cross town to O'Hare. And so that requires for her to get up at four o'clock in the morning, because her voucher for her kids' daycare is on the other side of town. (...) She takes a bus to the train to go to that side [of town] to drop off the kids, and then she gets back to the Red line, gets on the Red line, goes to the center of the city. Catches the Blue line and rides 45 minutes out to O'Hare, and quite often she's late.

In addition to a long and exhausting commute, Shamika probably also must wait in between buses and trains, and deal with frequent delays and schedule changes over which she has little control. All this increases the chances of her being late to work. Harris continues,

> Quite often she's changing jobs. And quite often she's given up, and she had nothing to do with the fact that the job centers (...) social economic status are way out there (...) and the investments in all of the mobility structures, construction, is nonexistent, other than what we continue to in our world pour into roads, repaving roads. (...) So my vision for the world to come is one where Shamika don't have to do that much, Shamika don't have to do that.

As we see in Shamika's case, transportation systems affect essentially every aspect of our daily life. Lacking the sense of agential mobility makes for a situation that can feel hopeless. For Harris, the daily toil required to simply navigate geographies between home, labor and childcare speaks to how infrastructure—specifically, public transportation—is not designed to facilitate or uplift the lives of those who would most benefit from its use. The racial distribution of transportation systems, care, urban planning, housing, and access to services such as child care, are all steeped in histories of racism (*39*, *101*, *139*, *140*). Similarly to how Harris envisions a different world, mobility justice seeks freedom of movement and the ability to escape structural violence and arrive at more liberating places and ways of living.

Taking this a step further, Doerner shares,

> Mobility justice, what it's come to mean, for me, is the ability for me, or an individual specifically of politically, racially, physically marginalized identities, to be able to move myself through place and space of my own volition, and in the way that I want, free of harassment, free of judgment, just free.

This quotation as well as the words of alabanza shared earlier points towards how important it is to pay attention to the intersectional nature of oppression (*141*, *142*). Intersectionality, a term first coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, points out how multiple vectors of oppression shape one's unique experience in relationship to systems of power. She originally created this concept to point out how a Black woman could not sue for the specific form of discrimination she experienced, since it was aligned with neither the "typical" experience of (White) women or Black people (implicitly men). Rather, her experience was different and based on how people treated her based on the combination of her Blackness and womanhood (*141*). (This is now referred to as misogynoir (*143*).) Similarly, the experience of a Black trans person, as referred to by albanza, is specific and different than that of someone who shared one or two of those social identities. She implies that a person who is Black and trans is particularly vulnerable to violence while using systems of transportation, an observation that is backed up by research (*144–147*). In referring to political, racial, and physical marginalized identities, Doerner calls on the intersections of migration status, race, gender, and ability as necessary factors to account for if we wish to provide freedom of movement for all.

Just as importantly, what constitutes "freedom" is not universal or decided by people with power. Social position matters in this case too. Butler states,

> True mobility justice is, yes, freedom to move, you know, getting rid of the barriers, but it's also allowing there to be self-determination, allowing for people to decide what mobility justice looks like for them and then having the resources and the tools and the agency to be able to do that.

Removing barriers and seeking self-determination, mobility justice is a *collective* project capable of liberating possibilities. As a framework for large-scale change, mobility justice compels us to escape violence and seek worlds that are necessarily *better* for those whose lives and needs are currently decentered or devalued.

Valuing Life as Sacred

Mobility justice is a collective sense of love in the way we move in our public spaces and in our private spaces. – Destiny Thomas

For many interviewees, mobility justice opens pathways toward more life promoting futures. Building more livable futures through mobility justice involves, as participants repeatedly described, calling to change not just transportation, but all systems and institutions that impede or facilitate the movement of people both through space and to new opportunities. By systemic change, we mean significant and deep transformation of institutions, norms, and power. As the interviewees expressed, changing systems requires radically changing our values.

Research participants spoke of extractive practices that pervade in our systems. alabanza shares that "if we were really concerned about climate change, we'd be doing things a lot differently, and we're not. We're still concerned about the bottom line being green, and not environmentally green, but money green." Policy and civic investment outcomes are not

incidental or neutral, but rather are often determined by capitalist ventures that seek the accumulation of capital and profit. This tends to allow for the exploitation of the natural world and other people, often people of color (*148*, *149*). These decisions determine whose lives, community spaces, mobility needs, and livelihoods are preserved and whose are decentered or sacrificed (*130*, *150*, *151*).

Similarly, the Principles of Mobility Justice 1.0 demands that we "prioritize people over profit, property, or placemaking." Instead, they argue that "successful development should be defined by effects on people, not economic efficiency" (*38*). Many interviewees spoke of the over-valuation of profit, development interests, and those with greater capital. Lower income and/or immigrant communities who are often people of color and longtime residents of communities have been historically disinvested, neglected, and over-policed, and disproportionately incarcerated (*93*, *110*, *134*, *152*). Against capitalist notions that center "capital," visions of mobility justice are fundamentally based in a deep value for life—both human life and the non-human life of the planet. This is particularly important in contesting our current dominant modes and infrastructures of mobility—largely dependent on fossil fuels—which have damaged our ecosystems (destruction and pollution of our land, water and air, and contributed to the loss of innumerable species). Therefore, a more just mobility would also be liberating to non-human life, our climate, and our Earth.

Moreover, several of our interviewees deemed life as "sacred," and "dignified." For instance, Lee envisions what mobility justice futures might look like by asking,

> What does a wise, sacred mobility look like? Something that is not just this mindless acceleration of speed. Sometimes we do need to go fast, and we need to be wise about that, but I think oftentimes we need a lot more space and permission to move slowly in the world.

Valuing slowness, rather than fastness, being thoughtful and intentional, can be an alternative way of moving and being in the world which contests notions of productivity and scarcity. By moving slowly through the world, time spent traveling can be time *being* and *existing* (*153*–*156*). Numerous interviewees specified this sort of experience as liberating. They also noted how moving at slower speeds enables greater connection and awareness. This can improve one's sense of who is left behind, who remains out of reach, and who or what gets trampled.

Dwelling on their oppositions, Lee further compared the meaning of sacrifice against capitalism's pillars:

> [Capitalism doesn't] uphold a sort of mobility that promotes and upholds life. (...) the Latin root [of sacrifice] basically means 'to make sacred.' It's an act that makes something sacred or holy. And we, in a system of racial capitalism, pervert and transform sacrifice into something that ends lives prematurely in the generation of profit, of capital for some. And it's far from sacred.

As a religious act, sacrifices are offerings to deities to show worship and devotion. For Lee, what is perverse in our society is how we 'sacrifice' racialized bodies in order to venerate racial capitalism (*157–159*) as our "God", so to speak.

Delving deeper into the value of the sacredness of our lives and planet, Lee invites us to imagine what mobility justice can look like,

> When I think about mobility justice, it is a sort of struggle, it's a striving towards something more sacred, something more that upholds life. (...) I ask people "What is delivery work that is sacred?'' You know, what does that look like? And it's far different from what we see now. You know, what is mobility for disadvantaged communities? (...) "What is mobility that addresses a climate catastrophe or climate crisis," you know? I think it's something that's far different. It brings joy to our lives and brings us in alignment with our planet's environment and ecology. I think that's a different goal than one we often have, which is [to] get us richer, get us more wealth, move up the economic class, you know?

Rather than capital, mobility justice embraces nourishing life. In this manner, mobility justice complements movements to address climate change, particularly climate justice, environmental justice, and indigenous rights to land and sovereignty (*160–163*).

Through a mobility justice lens, we can reimagine projects like urban planning and transportation as what Gilmore (*109*) calls "life-affirming institutions". Lee explains how he understands how mobility justice as promoting life:

> Mobility justice is work that strives for a collective mobility that upholds and… promotes life, basically. And life in a way that's just, that promotes more life and relationships. (...) Ruthie Gilmore talks about racism as something that prematurely causes death, right? And so much of our mobility injustice, in so many different ways, whether it's pollution, whether it's climate change, whether it's who bears the risk [of] fatalities from our car-based culture, right? Who doesn't have the safety to ride a bike, you know, whether it's from car traffic or just other factors in our neighborhoods, right? Who doesn't have the infrastructure? Who bears policing that prematurely ends lives in various ways? Who is forced to work to the bone, and oftentimes through their own mobility, you know? As part of the uncompensated workday, whether it's the longer commute or delivery workers who are forced to move as quickly as possible, as far as possible?

Mobility justice is a project that promotes life and overlaps with other movements that seek to improve quality of life, such as racial, housing, and labor justice, immigrant rights, environmental and climate justice and other movements.

Mobility justice as aligned with life-affirming practices tends to de-center car culture, while also acknowledging the necessity of private automobiles for many in the current transportation

system. alabanza calls us to revalue certain lives are made vulnerable while calling out the tremendous weight of the automobile in our society,

> [mobility justice] is… being able to move through space and time safely in any method that you choose to, but prioritizing more vulnerable methods that don't involve an automobile. So being able to walk safely as a woman, as a child, as a queer person, these most vulnerable populations should be able to move through space and time without worry for their safety by the police, by their neighbors, by motorized vehicles. Yeah, that's basically it: being able to move through space and time safely, no matter where you're at in any given city, with the same protections that, I think, we give automobiles, the same consideration we give automobiles.

Here, questioning the systems that uphold automobiles (i.e., oil industry, automotive industry, urban planning, infrastructure industry, city planners, individualism) would also undo vulnerability and the sacrificing of life for a car-centered system (*39*, *164–167*).

Interviewees pointed out the connections between the personal and the professional to make space for the dignity and sacredness of life. To change policy often requires being open to change within ourselves and in our relationships with others. This is something many in our society are reluctant to do, as described by Ho:

> Making racial equity changes is partially about making rules, like HR policy rules. But a lot of it stems [from] opening your hearts and minds, and that you can't force anyone to do. So, if people are not willing to be open and listen and learn then it's not going to be a successful project.

Ho's insights are particularly important: inequities and injustices are often categorized as simply the natural order, impossible to change, or problems are simply deemed "technical". However, change requires challenging the status quo's openness to transform our ways of living. In other words, as with any other movement for transformation, there must be a change of consciousness that values the lives of those who have been disregarded.

Moving Forward: Implementation of Mobility Justice

Above we described the core principles of mobility justice that advocates referred to in the interviews. In the following, we articulate three ways in which mobility justice is put into gear and reached by planners. This section provides broad guidance on how to implement mobility justice. First, "Respect lived experience" describes the importance of embodied knowledge, healing, and lived experience in determining future actions. The next section, "Follow community-led solutions" explains why communities need to lead planning efforts going forward. The final section, "Rallying solidarity across movements" points towards the need to recognize the interconnectedness of different justice projects and relatedly, silos of government and academia.

Respect Lived Experience

Transportation is not theoretical; it's happening to your body.
Justice is not theoretical; it's happening to your body. – Aidil Ortiz

Mobility injustice involves the control and restriction of movement of marginalized bodies and is therefore a lived experience. Put differently, mobility (in)justice is experienced and known through people's bodies. Ortiz reminds us,

> Audre Lorde's "Uses of the Erotic," I think, is really helpful at the intersection of something like transportation and justice, because there's a usefulness in locating in the body, and not dismissing the body as the site. (...) We can have all the theory in the world, but ultimately this is going to have to come down to the bones, and to the muscle, and the veins, and the skin. We have to reckon with what happens to the body (...) It reminds me to stay in my body as the most reliable technology for where I am in the work, and staying honest about it. Transportation is not theoretical; it's happening to your body. Justice is not theoretical; it's happening to your body.

We experience ourselves and the environment through our bodies. As bodies move through space and time, Ortiz recognizes that mobility justice is not an abstract concept but materialized through experience, the way we know and feel in the world. Her reference to Lorde's piece, "Uses of the Erotic," is notable (*168*). In this short essay, Lorde argues for the importance of the erotic as a site of power which can help us to "become less willing to accept powerlessness, or those other supplied states of being which are not native to me, such as resignation, despair, self-effacement, depression, self-denial." This site of power is the body and comes from internal knowledge. From this knowledge comes "the ability to be scrutinize all aspects of our existence, forcing us to evaluate those aspects honestly in terms of their relative meaning within our lives." Mobility justice then involves safeguarding life; that is, ensuring the lives of people in the margins matter. And to reach this requires listening to embodied knowledge.

Mobility justice advocates regard attending to what our bodies tell us. For Lee, this bodily presence involves trusting the body and how we come to make sense of the world,

> Being a colonized body means we're taught to never trust our own body. Taught not to trust what we see in the world, what we hear in the world, what we think about the world, what we smell about the world.

The 'colonized body' refers to a person who has been subjected to harmful colonial practices and their legacies. These include slavery, exploitation, dispossession, and as well as oppressive discourses and ideologies, such as eugenics, a formerly legitimated scientific practice based in logics of White Supremacy (*169–173*). Simultaneously, these logics invalidated, excluded, and silenced their experiences and ways of being. Mobility justice professionals eeks to undo these forms of embodied violence and demands spaces "where the vulnerable and marginalized feel comfortable and have power" (*38*) The Untokening explicitly provided such space through the

convenings and through online Transformative Talks on topics such as "Moving from Harm to Healing" and "Moving Planning from Colonialism to Liberation." These talks center embodied knowledge and lived experience as key to realizing goals of mobility justice.

Various feminist scholars have illuminated how the knowledge of subordinate groups, located at the intersection of various systems of oppression, is critical in understanding social relations of domination and resistance (*6*, *10*, *174*). In other words, knowledge is situated in our subjective experiences, and taking the standpoint from oppressed positions reveals hidden aspects of social relations; that is, how power operates (*6*, *137*, *175*). As we will see in the next section *Follow Community-Lead Solutions*, several interviewees identified that we must support and follow the lead of those rendered most vulnerable in the design and implementation of our transportation systems.

One of the Principles of Mobility Justice is to "Value community voices as essential data." They point out that "The experience and input of marginalized communities are often disputed or disbelieved by institutions of power" (*38*). Community member's input should be taken as primary data "while also accounting for the deep and lasting trauma from the erasure of social, cultural and economic networks." This point loops in the enduring harm by historical oppression and cultural gaslighting that continues today.

The authors of the Principles of Mobility Justice demand that we fully excavate, recognize, and reconcile the historical and current injustices experienced by communities. Data collection should focus both on past harm as well as the resiliency and desires of the communities facing neglect and exploitation. Their experiences can be cross-referenced and deepened with already-collected quantitative data such as number of traffic collisions (which can be categorized by race, gender, class, age, housing situation, mental health condition, and so forth); or for instance, looking within a particular area at air quality, life expectancy, health statistics such as asthma incidence, and so forth. People's voices add depth and nuance and provided additional vital data.

Those we interviewed suggested listening to voices often less heard that belong to people of color, immigrants, disabled, people in defunded communities. Community members can relay issues in their communities, but policymakers often exclude them in the process. Including these voices enriches the data, making the results more accurate.

Follow Community-Led Solutions

Interviewees reported feeling that current transportation systems and planning processes are designed to exclude and disadvantage minoritized and marginalized people with little recourse to correct their situation. To follow the lead of communities requires seeing communities as knowledgeable actors capable of exposing how inequity and violence are built into systems. It also requires seeing communities as capable of re-imagining and re-designing more equitable and just solutions. Impacted communities should be given space and resources to envision and implement planning models and political advocacy on streets and mobility that address historical and current injustices.

Rather than focusing on a community's "deficits", In *Beyond Pavement, Paint and Place*, The Untokening suggests that we "respect and value the assets inherent and abundant in marginalized communities" (*75*). This is an example of what Indigenous scholar Eve Tuck calls moving away from "damage-centered narratives" (*176*). While attending to harm is vital, oppressed communities are much more than just victims. They have immense strengths, solutions, and assets that bear witnessing and supporting. Speaking of these relations, Lugo refers to "human infrastructure" as the local networks and relationships, elders and youth, place-centered knowledge, lived experience, historical context, and residential social dynamics (*75*). She argues that human infrastructure is as crucial to transportation as physical infrastructure and policy. This framing centers people and attends to how everyday use of a space is as reliant on these human relations as it is on the physical layout, sometimes even more so.

As interviewee Helen Ho states, "It's problematic for policymaking to have white advocates and white transportation planners kind of talk to each other in a vacuum." And "it's really alienating not to have any diversity like age diversity, no income diversity, like there is no like ethnic diversity. I think it's really worrisome whenever decisions get made in a vacuum like that." Without representation in decision-making, predominantly white leaders are making uninformed decisions for communities of color and other marginalized groups without understanding the needs of those communities.

Government agencies sometimes contract with consulting firms with little to no expertise on community engagement, particularly within oppressed communities. Unfamiliar with how to form connections, they often argue that the community is "hard to reach." Ortiz commented,

> The sad thing that I'm really clear about is that I get paid to do what predominantly white-led institutions refuse to do because they're still scared of those constituents and don't understand them. (...) To say that they're hard to reach is laughable. One would only have to sit in the lobby of a social service office or at a bus station or a bus stop, to easily get hundreds of surveys in their hands within a matter of days and a few hours. It's actually an insult to say that they're hard to reach. It's uncomfortable for you to be that close to poverty, and you don't like it. Just say that.

Seeking to engage all communities the same way, and in a manner that is convenient to planners and consultants, tends to perpetuate the status quo in planning, which devalues the voices of communities of color.

Therefore, mobility justice advocates for involving those most marginalized in the decision-making process of community planning. This involvement is not an afterthought, but central to the process. Details on how to do meaningful community-led planning was not addressed in this study, but is addressed by other studies (*23*, *43*, *128*, *129*, *177–179*).

This coincides with one of the key Principles of Mobility Justice: "Mobility Justice (...) demands that new decision making systems and structures are created by and for these communities to

center their visions and cultivate operating principles that align with their values and lived experiences" (*38*).

Being sensitive to how justice entails considering the needs of those most disregarded, Ho puts it succinctly, "We have to design for the most vulnerable people in our society." In this sense, a mobility justice framework involves attending to the standpoint of those most oppressed to undo oppressive structures. Those with lived experience and bodily knowledge of what it is like to experience safety or un-safety while moving about. Doing this necessary involved working with these communities.

Rally Solidarity Across Movements

Mobility justice is the arteries of all the social justice movements. – Rio Oxas

Coming from a long struggle for freedom of movement, mobility justice as a concept is connected to justice-based movements such as environmental justice, climate justice, indigenous rights, racial justice, economic justice, the labor movement, immigrant rights, reproductive justice, and housing justice. Oxas explains how they see mobility justice interconnected with other liberatory struggles,

> [Mobility justice] is intrinsically tied with abolitionist movements. Without a doubt in my mind I know mobility justice is also intrinsically tied with the environmental justice movements and as well as people who are fighting at the pipelines, who are fighting to make sure the water stays protected, who are fighting to make sure that also the Indigenous communities of the very places we're in are not forgotten, who are fighting to make sure that the people who should be leading mobility justice fronts are the people who are most exploited and affected in brutal ways.

As Oxas points out, mobility justice is politically committed towards collective struggles rooted in the shared conditions of multiple, overlapping forms of injustice experienced by similarly impacted communities with shared subjectivities.

Struggles against oppressive structures are all intertwined. Mobility justice as a movement emerges from a need to address multiple and intersecting forms of oppression that control and limit access to services, education, civic engagement, and other resources. For instance, Butler mentions how mobility justice overlaps with a greater struggle for *being* in space,

> "Mobility" allows us to talk about both movement [and] staying. "Mobility" allows us to talk about transportation, allows us to talk about economic mobility, educational mobility… And so, for me, mobility justice is this intersection of this multitude of social justice issues that impact—and I think Charles Brown uses the term "arrest"—the mobility of folks. And the justice work is to fight against that arresting.

In his podcast, interviewee Charles Brown defines arrested mobility as the ways in which, [Black people and other people of color's] inalienable right to move or be moved or simply exist in

public space has been denied by legal or illegal authority. Unfortunately, this has resulted and continues to result in adverse social, political, economic, environmental and health effects that are widespread and intergenerational (*112*).

Thus, he sees mobility justice as deeply attentive to one's capacity to live and occupy public space. In this manner, the "multitude of social justice issues" that "arrest" people's mobility is tied to abolishing or dismantling the risk and fear of being arrested or detained. A change in these conditions can lead to much broader impacts that help to rectify other injustices.

Similarly, Oxas explains how mobility justice not only refers to movement through time and space but also through social spaces, barriers and borders, "It is about how people travel, but it's also about how people travel through society, how people travel through the economic ladders, how people travel through the Earth." Referring to this travel or movement through society, Oxas describes, [Mobility justice] is part of a constellation. Mobility justice is doing work of all the orders for every single movement, you know? It's literally how things move—from movement to movement or from space to space. In this sense, we can also see that social life and social movements rely on people's ability to move through socially limited spaces.

Following how issues are interwoven, Taylor described the importance of cultivating solidarity among marginalized communities as a way to transform our world.

> One of the outcomes we also work towards is this idea of cultural solidarity, where we're all marginalized communities. Realize that they are not each other's enemies, and that's really critical, right? That once they are all able to identify who really is the enemy, what really is the challenge, then they can move in solidarity. And again, that's a vision for the future, of the world, that just is absolutely compelling, and I think that is difficult for us to imagine.

This complements the vision the Principles of Mobility Justice put forth–the cultivation of collective, cross-community power. They recognize that "divide and conquer approaches to governance and resource distribution have pitted marginalized communities against each other." Thus, the principles describe mobility justice as committed to "multiracial organizing" engaging in processes that "foster communication, build trust, and forge a common vocabulary and agenda." (*38*)

Recommendations: Spreading the Movement

In this section, we present recommendations for researchers and professionals who wish to engage a mobility justice lens in their work. These will begin as a description of an approach, followed by a list of what enacting this approach may look like in practice.

Respect Terminology

The term mobility justice was created with intention to give voice to a concept previously unspoken. Thus, mobility justice is not interchangeable with terms such as transportation

equity or transportation justice, each of which has their own meaning (*180*). If one uses the term, "mobility justice," as a descriptor, it should align with the framework described by those interviewed and the academic research reviewed in this report. This is to respect the practitioners and scholars who conceived of this terminology. The term was created with intention and great deliberation that came from collective lived experiences of many knowledgeable transportation professionals.

- Read key literature that defines mobility justice (*33*, *38*, *75*).
- Give credit to and/or cite professionals and scholars who have done the work to define and apply mobility justice (*1*, *31*, *33*, *38*, *51*, *75*).
- Define what you mean by "mobility justice" when using the term. This is helpful because then its meaning for you is clear to others. This action also helps to educate others on the meaning of mobility justice
- Refrain from using the term "mobility justice" if this is not an accurate descriptor of the work.

Utilizing accurate terminology is a sign of respect and a way to be precise about meaning. This is an important practice for researchers and professionals.

See How Transportation Impacts All Aspects of People's Lives

The concept of mobility justice demonstrates the linkages between transportation and all other areas of people's lives. Thus, those working in transportation should work to account for this complexity. This can be done in several ways

- Work with professionals and community leaders who are expert in other areas such as housing, economic development, energy, education, youth development, water, pollutant reduction, health, childcare, food access, etc.
- Consult with these professionals/community leaders to understand how transportation impacts their work and their constituencies. When considering new transportation interventions, speak with them about potential impacts. Work directly with community members most impacted.
- Grow awareness of other justice-based movements in areas such as health, environment, climate, housing, food, reproduction, etc. (*14*, *16*, *18*, *158*, *181–188*).
- Apply lessons learned from other justice-based movements to transportation work.

Center Racial Justice

Racial justice is central to mobility justice, particularly racial justice for Black people. For centuries, the experience of Black people has been shaped by how society placed limitations on their movement. This continues to be true today, as evidenced by the ongoing murder of Black people for existing in public space and moving through transportation systems. Actions one can take to center racial justice include the following:

- Listen to Black people and people of color when they describe their experiences.

- Become familiar with the work of the Movement for Black Lives and other projects of Black liberation (*115*, *189*).
- Partner with scholars and professionals trained in ethnic studies and related disciplines dedicated to the study of race and power.
- Explore the relationship between environmental injustices and racism (*42*, *182*, *183*, *190*).
- Examine how one's workplace and professional settings can have more open and informed conversations about race.
- Look for new solutions to create a more inclusive workplace that recruits, retains, and promotes Black professionals, Indigenous professionals, and professionals of color.

Develop an Understanding of Abolition Work

Mobility justice is, at its center, about liberation. Liberation is freedom of movement, an autonomy based in respect for relationality, the ability to define "the good life" for oneself, and the means through which to realize that while limiting the liberation of others. To achieve liberation requires abolition of systems that impede this. Thus, the genealogy of mobility justice comes from a long line of abolitionist movements such as ending slavery, dismantling Jim Crow laws, and abandoning segregation. Today, abolitionist work centers on ending policing, prisons, and systems of surveillance designed to limit movement. This may also include ending migrant detention centers, deportation practices, and even border enforcement. For transportation researchers and professionals, moving in solidarity with abolitionism may look like the following:

- Learn about the relationship between policing and the oppression of Black people and people of color (*87*, *93*, *112*, *134*, *186*, *191*). Key recommended reading is a recent report on decarcerating transportation (*121*).
- Limit or remove the role of police enforcement in maintaining transportation safety (*113*, *192–195*).
- Advocate for the reallocation of funds currently going towards enforcement and allocating resources towards community-generated safety solutions.
- Support and study community-generated safety solutions in collaboration with community leaders.
- Read about and explore alternatives to policing and incarceration (*110*, *121*, *196*, *197*).

Account for History in Transportation Work

Current circumstances did not arrive from nowhere, or surface as a neutral starting point from which decisions can now be made. If one treats existing conditions as neutral, then they are highly likely to perpetuate past inequities. Doing things in a "status quo" manner is antithetical to mobility justice. Instead, a practitioner of mobility justice must know the uneven histories of transportation and oppression and local histories. Actions reflecting this framework can include the following:

- Read existing research on histories of transportation racism (*39*, *101*, *123*).
- Read accounts of related histories of oppression (*93*, *105*, *182*).
- Read past reports regarding the community both in transportation and related areas such as housing, economic development, education, etc.
- Work with historians and other researchers trained in archival work and oral histories to document local histories not yet recorded.
- Analyze and connect past histories and broader contexts with how planning projects affect the everyday living experiences of disempowered communities.
- Integrate these histories into continuing education training for professionals.
- Integrate these histories into educational curriculum for new professionals.

Utilize an Intersectional Approach

Accounting for the operation of social identity in transportation work is crucial to a mobility justice approach. Doing so in a formulaic way that only considers one aspect of identity such as race, class, or gender, often leaves out those most vulnerable. Taking an intersectional approach can forefront the nuances of these marginalized social experiences. Remember, as Nolish tells us, “Every identity has a different experience moving throughout the world.” Actions that can enable the use of an intersectional approach include the following:

- Learn more about what intersectionality is (*141*, *198*).
- Utilize an intersectional approach. Looking to examples from related can guide these efforts (*199*, *199–202*).
- Work with scholars and professionals trained in intersectionality from fields such as gender studies and ethnic studies.
- Engage in methods that surface the experience of those most marginalized. These may include interviews, ethnography, and youth/community participatory action research.
- Examine representation in the workplace and on projects using an intersectional lens.

Follow Community Leadership

Traditional planning processes have been described as Decide, Announce, Defend (DAD) (*203*, *204*). When planning for projects that impact communities of color, a white majority that usually do not represent the community decide what is best for the community, inform them, and then defend their decision rather than engaging in genuine dialogue. While this approach is still common, many planning departments have improved their processes to include community voices earlier and more often in the process. Contracts and grants more often are calling for community engagement and/or working with local community-based organizations (CBOs) in their requirements. This is a step in the right direction. Mobility justice urges continued movement in this direction. This includes creating space for the community to set their own agenda around issues of safety, transportation needs and priorities, involvement mechanisms, frameworks, and goals. Actions that support these efforts include the following:

- Increase funding for community-led processes.
- Develop relationships with community leaders.
- Relinquish power and give communities the autonomy to decide what is best for them.
- Give communities resources to hold spaces and lead processes.
- Let communities make decisions around engagement such as how to:
    - Reach their constituency
    - Select methods of engagement that are appropriate for their community.
    - Select a time and place for meetings that accommodate the schedule of local residents.
    - Decide when translation is needed.
    - Determine what needs must be met to facilitate participation, such as serving food, providing childcare, or offering other incentives.
    - Decide how to spread the word about events or recruit participants.
- Compensate CBOs for their services (knowledge, labor, and relationships) accordingly.

Foster Life-Affirming Actions and Institutions

Interviewees repeatedly pointed out how existing conditions in transportation stifled life, growth, and the fullness of one's humanity. This occurred in their workplaces, which led to the Untokening gathering. They saw this embedded within standard transportation practices, both as professionals and researchers. They saw this in project prioritization, displacement, and the pollution permitted in their communities. A mobility justice framework advocates for moving towards life-affirming institutions (*28*). One model of growing prominence mentioned by mobility justice leaders is the Just Transitions Model, which advocates for moving from an extractive economy to a regenerative economy (*205*). This demonstrates the compatibility of mobility justice with efforts towards addressing climate change, something also reinforced through the use of the term, "sacred" by some interviewees. To cultivate life-affirmation, one can take the following actions:

- Read work that advocates for the centering of life, the environment, and humanity (*109*, *163*, *196*, *206–209*).
- Learn about models for centering the dignity of people and the environment and apply these in one's work (*129*, *205*, *208*, *210*).
- Grown one's understanding of the relationship between the personal and political (*174*, *206*, *211*).
- Work towards creating more human-centered policies and practices.

Conclusion

A mobility justice framework aspires to bring about systemic change through freedom of movement for racialized and other marginalized communities. Like with any other social movement, as mobility justice grows both in academia and in the streets, reaching and bringing

in more people, interviewees fear it can lose its sense of direction. This report takes a moment to listen closely to fourteen advocates who are at the forefront of the mobility justice movement across the country in order to redirect and align our collective efforts.

As we listened to and engaged in conversation with fourteen leaders, we identified principles to help orient professionals toward mobility justice. We were reminded that at the core of mobility justice are the historical struggles led by Black peoples to abolish systems of control and achieve freedom of movement. Interviewees also helped us uncover how given the racist and capitalist logics of our systems, violence and injustice are 'by design' but can be re-designed to promote more livable and just built environments, especially for those most marginalized.

Interviewees provided specific guidelines on how we move towards a mobility justice framework. This requires valuing communities' own knowledge and perspectives, and following their contributions in re-designing the built environment. At the same time, as a social movement for justice and liberation, mobility justice is tied to other issues and thus, requires interweaving solidarity across movements with various groups. Like any social concept, the contours of what mobility justice means and looks like in practice may change. To maintain integrity and coherency, such changes should follow the leadership within Black, Indigenous and communities of color working to create a more just world.

Core to many of the closing recommendations are calls for continued education. Future work can examine training in the field and how existing gaps in training are being addressed. These gaps center on understanding how to account for history, power, and local context in transportation. Further research can also examine what changes are needed within institutions to bring about greater power sharing. Much work is still needed to understand what processes and practices are most promising, and the more this work is led by those most impacted by injustice, the better.

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Data Management Plan

Products of Research
Transcripts for all those interviewed were collected.

Data Format and Content
All transcripts are saved as docx files and txt files.

Data Access and Sharing
The general public can access the data by contacting Dr. McCullough and sharing for what purpose the data is desired. Dr. McCullough will reach out to the interviewee to ask if they wish to grant permission to the request.

Reuse and Redistribution
Data can be reused with permission from the person interviewed.

Appendix A: List of Participants in Mobility Justice Research Network

Affiliation and biography are at the time of the workshop in November 2019.

Jesus Barajas

www.jmbarajas.com

Jesus M. Barajas (he/him/his) is an assistant professor in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His research focuses on understanding the transportation needs of marginalized communities and how planning and policy shape travel behavior.

Madeline Brozen

www.lewis.ucla.edu

Madeline Brozen (she/her/hers) is a transportation researcher and serves as deputy director for the UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies. Her research focuses on understanding the travel and mobility needs for under-studied groups of people and modes, with the goal of connecting academic research with decision-makers and advocates alike.

Genevieve Carpio

https://www.genevievecarpio.com

Dr. Genevieve Carpio (she/her/hers) is Assistant Professor of Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, where she works on questions related to spatial theory, relational racial formation, and 20th century U.S. history. She holds a PhD in American Studies and Ethnicity, a Masters in Urban Planning, and a graduate certificate in Historic Preservation. She has published in American Quarterly, Journal of American History, Journal of Urban Affairs, and Information, Communication and Society, among other venues. She currently serves on the editorial board of Geohumanities, a journal of the American Association of Geographers, and as a reviewer for several academic journals. Carpio is author of *Collisions at the Crossroads: How Place and Mobility Make Race* (University of California Press, 2019).

Tim Choi

https://www.linkedin.com/in/timothy-choi-a6578626/

Systems-based thinker working on inside-outside strategies to build community wealth, health, and public safety. Pronouns: he/him/his.

Gordon Douglas

www.diyurbandesign.com

Gordon Douglas (he/him/his) is an assistant professor of urban and regional planning at San José State University, where he also serves as director of the Institute for Metropolitan Studies. Gordon's research, teaching, and community work focus on questions of social equity and cultural identity in urban planning and development. He is the author of *The Help-Yourself City: Legitimacy and Inequality in DIY Urbanism* (Oxford 2018) and his writing and photography have appeared in publications such as City and Community, Urban Studies, the Journal of Urban Design, and a variety of magazines, newspapers, and blogs. Gordon received his doctorate in sociology from the University of Chicago and also holds degrees from the University of Southern California and the London School of Economics. He lives with his family in Oakland.

C. Sequoia Erasmus

Sequoia (she/her/hers) is a current Master's student in the Community Development and Transportation Technology and Policy Graduate Groups. An urban dweller by circumstance, Sequoia's love for nature is what motivates her to pursue research that helps reconnect all people to land and natural cycles. Working at the intersection of policy, planning, landscape design, and public health, Sequoia aims to continue collaborations that make the world a better place by promoting community-based, justice-oriented solutions that improve equity promote peace. Sequoia loves exploring the world on her bike, meeting new plants, and lifelong learning.

Jaimy Fischer

I (she/her/they/them) live as a grateful guest on the traditional territories of the Coast Salish people, in British Columbia, Canada. I am a PhD student in the Faculty of Health Sciences at Simon Fraser University, training as an epidemiologist interested in the link between health, transportation, and city design. My graduate work will investigate how investment in All Ages and Abilities (AAA) bicycle infrastructure impacts ridership, safety, and equity outcomes. A major focus of my work will be to critically interrogate the equity impacts of investing in bicycle infrastructure for different population groups, specifically, how urban Indigenous communities experience and perceive bicycling in the built environment. My research interests include Indigenous quantitative methods, decolonization in practice, community based participatory research, citizen science, and GIScience.

Peter Garcia

https://medium.com/@garciapr25

I (he/him/his) am a graduate student in urban planning at UCLA studying transportation policy and planning. I grew up in the predominantly working-class city of Santa Ana, California, which inspired me to study transportation and power structures involved in the planning process through the lens of race and class. My main research delves into the relationship between race

and pedestrian collisions in Orange County, California and how that racializes space in the region.

Sarah Grajdura

Sarah (she/her/hers) is a Ph.D. candidate in civil and environmental engineering. Her background combines both civil engineering and applied economics, and she is interested in incorporating qualitative data into engineering planning and design, and exploring the equity impacts that engineering has had on communities both historically and in the future. Her current research looks at wildfire evacuation modeling and the resilience of disaster-prone populations, including equity considerations. In her free time she co-runs the transportation equity and justice reading group at UC Davis and enjoys swimming, camping, and traveling with her dog Einstein.

Susan Handy

https://its.ucdavis.edu/people/susan-handy/

Susan Handy (she/her/hers) teaches in the Department of Environmental Science and Policy at the University of California at Davis. Her research focuses on the relationships between transportation and land use, particularly the impact of land use on travel behavior, and on strategies for reducing automobile dependence. Her recent work includes a series of studies on bicycling in Davis, a study of the effects of the opening of the first "big box" store in Davis, the development of a method for estimating vehicle trip generation for "smart growth" development projects in California, and an assessment of the available evidence on the effects of land use and transportation strategies on reducing vehicle travel and greenhouse gas emissions. She serves on the Committee on Women's Transportation Issues and the Committee on Transportation Education of the Transportation Research Board.

Josephine Hazelton

Josephine K. Hazelton (she/her/hers) is a PhD Student of Public Administration at the University of Nebraska Omaha. Her research interests center around questions of social justice in transportation planning and policymaking. Specifically, Josephine is interested in the role transportation administrators play in advancing mobility justice in car-centric urban environments. Her current research explores issues of gender equity in public transit service provision. Josephine is originally from Northern California and holds a BA in Political Science and Master of Public Administration from California State University, Stanislaus.

Melody Hoffmann

https://www.anokaramsey.edu/academics/departments-faculty/communication-studies/faculty-profiles/communication-dr-melody-hoffmann/

Dr. Melody Hoffmann (she/her/hers) is a mass communication instructor at Anoka-Ramsey Community College near Minneapolis, Minnesota. She is the author of Bike Lanes are White

Lanes, a book about how racism and gentrification intersect with urban bicycling culture. Her most recent writing and activism focuses on how policing impacts bicyclists via citations and Vision Zero policies. More generally she is energized by studying and advocating for neighborhoods and communities (we can blame Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood for this).

Do Lee

www.intersectionalriding.com

Dr. Do Jun Lee (he/him/his) is an Assistant Professor and Graduate Advisor at the Department of Urban Studies at Queens College. His research has focused on a participatory action research project with immigrant food delivery cyclists in NYC to examine the mobility and working experiences in the NYC streets from the food delivery perspective. This work investigated the intersections of low-wage informal employment, delivery and logistics, bicycling and electric bikes, immigration, policing and Vision Zero, street planning, and social justice activism and advocacy.

Amy Lubitow

https://www.pdx.edu/sociology/amy-lubitow

Amy Lubitow (she/her/hers) is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Portland State University. She teaches courses and conducts research on issues related to transportation justice, environmental justice, and social sustainability. Her most recent research projects examine: 1) gendered and sexual harassment and racial discrimination experienced by bicyclists; trans and gender nonconforming public transit users experiences riding transit; and 3) exploring ways to make household transportation surveys reach broader populations.

Adonia E. Lugo6

https://www.antioch.edu/los-angeles/faculty/adonia-lugo-phd/

Cultural anthropologist Adonia E. Lugo (she/her/hers) is Interim Chair of the Urban Sustainability MA program at Antioch University Los Angeles. Adonia is also an advisory board co-chair with People for Mobility Justice, board president of the Beverly Vermont Community Land Trust, a core organizer of The Untokening, and a team member at social justice planning firm Pueblo. Her book, *Bicycle/Race: Transportation, Culture, & Resistance*, was published in 2018.

Alejandro Manga Tinoco

https://www.heureux-cyclage.org/?lang=fr

I (he/him/his) have participated with People for Mobility Justice in Los Angeles and I just started a PHD focusing on how to promote alternative mobilities with a mobility justice perspective with Mimi Sheller. I have participated with advocates in France, the US, Switzerland and Colombia.

Sarah Rebolloso McCullough

https://fri.ucdavis.edu/people/sarah-rebolloso-mccullough

Sarah Rebolloso McCullough (she/her/hers) is the Associate Director of the Feminist Research Institute, a Lecturer in Science and Technology Studies and an affiliate of the Institute for Transportation Studies at UC Davis. She is conducting sociocultural research on mobility justice and transportation equity, particularly as it relates to sustainable and active transportation. Areas of expertise involve the influence of culture on science and technology, with a focus on technological innovation. She is finishing a book on the role of privilege, pleasure and the appropriate technology movement on the innovation of mountain biking.

Susan Pike

Susie Pike (she/her/hers) works at the intersections of environmental policy, travel behavior and sustainable transportation. Dr. Pike's doctoral work focused on social influence in transportation mode choice as a potential tool for sustainable transportation programs. She currently studies the adoption of on-demand ride-hailing services and the impacts of these services on the use of other modes of transportation; stakeholder perspectives on policies that would increase the use of ride-splitting or pooled on-demand service; and public transportation partnerships with ridehailing companies to identify best practices for demand responsive public transportation programs.

Dana Rowangould

https://www.uvm.edu/cems/cee/profiles/dana-rowangould

Dana Rowangould (she/her/hers) is a Research Assistant Professor in the Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering at the University of Vermont. Drawing from the fields of engineering, economics, and the social sciences, Dr. Rowangould's research focuses on transportation and land use policy and planning, environmental justice, energy use, active travel, transportation accessibility, air quality and health. Dana is also a founding principal of Sustainable Systems Research, an independent consulting firm that works with nonprofit organizations and public agencies to evaluate the health, environmental, and equity impacts of transportation systems.

Mimi Sheller

https://mimisheller.wixsite.com/myresearch

https://drexel.edu/coas/academics/departments-centers/mobilities/

Mimi Sheller, Ph.D. (she/her/hers) is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Mobilities Research and Policy at Drexel University in Philadelphia. Before coming to Drexel she began her career at Lancaster University in the UK (1999-2006), and was Visiting Associate Professor at Swarthmore College (2006-2009), and is past President of the International Association for the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility (2014-2017). Her most recent book

is Mobility Justice: The Politics of Movement in an Age of Extremes (Verso, 2018). Sheller's research began in Caribbean Studies, focusing on historical and comparative study of democratization, popular political participation, and colonial cultural political economies. This includes her books Democracy After Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica (University Press of Florida, 2000, CHOICE award 2002), Consuming the Caribbean: from Arawaks to Zombies (Routledge, 2003), Citizenship from Below: Erotic Agency and Caribbean Freedom (Duke University Press, 2012), and Aluminum Dreams: The Making of Light Modernity (MIT Press, 2014). Her recent work addresses the coloniality of Caribbean climate change in the forthcoming book Island Futures: Caribbean Survival in the Anthropocene (Duke University Press, 2020). Secondly, Sheller helped to found the new interdisciplinary field of "mobilities research", focusing on how power is exercised through im/mobilities, differential mobility regimes, and uneven infrastructures that (re)produce social inequalities. In addition to foundational articles such as "The New Mobilities Paradigm" (Sheller & Urry 2006) and "Mobilities, Immobilities Moorings" (Hannam, Sheller & Urry 2006), she published a series of co-edited books: Tourism Mobilities (Sheller & Urry, 2004), Mobile Technologies of the City (Sheller & Urry 2006), The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities (Adey, Bissell, Hannam, Merriman, Sheller 2014), Mobility and Locative Media (De Souza e Silva & Sheller 2015), and Mobilities and Complexities (Jensen, Kesselring & Sheller, 2018).

Xiatian (Summer) Wu

https://www.linkedin.com/in/xiatianwu/

Xiatian Wu is a Ph.D. student in the 3 Revolutions Future Mobility Program at the University of California, Davis's Institute of Transportation Studies. Xiatian got her concurrent Master's degree in Urban Planning and Civil Engineering from the University of Washington, Seattle. She has been working on several research topics including travel demand management policy, travel behavior, the evolution of new mobilities and their VMT impacts. She also had an internship in Washington State Department of Transportation for two years where she worked on WA State Human Services Transportation Plan and WA State Active Transportation Plan.

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me. I'll be recording this interview. If at any point, you do not wish to answer a question or you want to discontinue the interview, you are free to do so. I'll be asking you some demographic questions, followed by questions about your professional history and your experiences with mobility justice and racial justice.

A. I'll start out by asking you some demographic questions. If you do not wish to answer any of these questions, that is fine. We're asking so that we can show identity sensitivity in the results. When we finish the interview, you will have the option to remain anonymous if you wish.
   1. How would you identify your gender? What are your pronouns?
   2. How would you identify your race and ethnicity?
   3. How old are you?
   4. Are there any other aspects of your identity that you wish to share with me?

B. To get started, can you tell me a bit about your professional background and lived experience with mobility justice or racial justice?
   1. What is your expertise in mobility justice and racial justice?
   2. Which communities do you serve, or who are your major stakeholders? What is your relationship to those communities or stakeholders?
   3. What key projects have you done relating to mobility justice or racial justice that you are most passionate about?

C. Now, I'll ask you some questions about your relationship to the mobility justice movement and its emergence.
   1. How would you define "mobility justice" and/or "racial justice"? What do they mean to you?
      a. What are some key figures/texts/inspirations for you around mobility justice and/or racial justice?
   2. How were you involved in formative conversation(s) around "mobility justice" and/or "racial justice"?
      a. How have you continued your engagement with those conversations?
      b. What were some of the original goals of mobility justice, as a movement or approach?
      c. How have those goals grown or changed?
   3. What does the term "mobility justice" do? Is it still doing that?
      a. How does "mobility justice" differ from "transportation justice"?
      b. Are there other terminologies that might be equally or more useful? Why?
   4. What does the world you're working toward look like, and how can the work of mobility justice and/or racial justice bring us closer to that world?

Closing

D. Thank you very much for taking some time to speak with me today, I really appreciate and value your input. After we complete our interviews, we will reach out to you with our transcript to ensure that we accurately captured your perspective. The goal of this project is to compile it into a report and research paper that can be utilized by transportation professionals and researchers.
   1. Is there anyone else you recommend I speak with?
   2. Are there any other final comments you would like to share before we wrap up?
   3. Are you comfortable with your name being included in this project, or would you prefer to remain anonymous?

Thank you!

Appendix 3: Selected Mobility Justice Resources

History

- Barajas, J. M. The Roots of Racialized Travel Behavior. *Advances in Transport Policy and Planning*, Vol. 8, 2021, pp. 1–31.
- Bullard, R. D., G. S. Johnson, and A. O. Torres. *Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism & New Routes to Equity*. South End Press, 2004.
- Thomas, D. N., N. Heer, I. W. Mitchell, A. Karner, K. Levine, J. Shuster, and K. Ma. *Racial Equity, Black America, and Public Transportation, Volume 1: A Review of Economic, Health, and Social Impacts*. Transportation Research Board, Washington, D.C., 2022.

Theories of Mobility Justice

- Cook, N., and D. Butz. *Mobilities, Mobility Justice and Social Justice*. Routledge, 2018.
- Karner, A., and R. A. Marcantonio. Achieving Transportation Equity: Meaningful Public Involvement to Meet the Needs of Underserved Communities. *Public Works Management & Policy*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2018, pp. 105–126.
- Sheller, M. *Mobility Justice: The Politics of Movement in an Age of Extremes*. Verso, London; Brooklyn, NY, 2018.

Practice of Mobility Justice

- BIPOC Mobility Justice Lab. *California Mobility Justice Advocates Guiding Principles*. 2020
- Budech, K. There Is No Mobility Justice Without Racial Justice. *Transportation Choices Coalition*.
- Creger, H. *Making Racial Equity Real in Research*. Greenlining Institute, 2020.
- Lugo, A., D. Lee, N. Doerner, S. McCullough, S. Sulaiman, and C. Szczepanski. Untokening Mobility: Beyond Pavement, Paint and Place. *The Untokening*.
- Thomas, D. Dignity-Infused Planning. *Thrivance Project*.
- Untokening Collective. *Principles of Mobility Justice 1.0*. 2015.

Environmental Justice

- First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. *Principles of Environmental Justice*. United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, New York, 1996.
- Just Transition | Movement Generation.

- Pulido, L. Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 90, No. 1, 2004, pp. 12–40.
- Whyte, K. Indigenous Climate Change Studies: Indigenizing Futures, Decolonizing the Anthropocene. *English Language Notes*, Vol. 55, No. 1, 2017, pp. 153–162.

On Decarceration

- Bharoocha, H., and J. Burch. *Decarcerating Transportation: A Mobility Justice Framework*. Anti-Police Terror Project, 2023.
- Brown, C. Arrested Mobility podcast
- Gilmore, R. W. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. University of California Press, 2007.