

# How is the bike made mobile?

Learning from bicycle activism and mobilities in Latin America

Paola Castañeda

Brasenose College  
University of Oxford

Supervisor: Professor Tim Schwanen

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## Abstract

Over the course of nearly thirty years, cycling activism has proliferated throughout Latin America and, from two independent initiatives in opposite ends of the continent, it has grown into a vibrant social movement with manifestations in almost every major city in the region. Still, there is a significant knowledge gap with regards to cycling activism in Latin America, both in the Spanish-language and anglophone literatures. Hence, this research is an exploratory enquiry into the geographies of cycling activism in this region, working through a multi-sited field comprised of Santiago de Chile, Mexico City, and the World Bike Forum in Lima and Quito, to interrogate how the bicycle is mobilised by activists in Latin America today. In asking “How is the bike made mobile?” this research seeks to understand the spatialities, knowledge-practices, and moments of tension and dissent that make up this social movement. To do so, it draws on a wide body of literature, encompassing vélomobilities, the geographies of social movements, and research into the production and circulation of knowledge. Working with a qualitative militant research approach, this thesis unpacks the politics of cycling activism in three moments: first, I conceptualise cycling activism in space as simultaneously territorial and networked, working through multiple scales, and assembling as a regional phenomenon. Situating cycling activism in space lays the groundwork for interrogating the strategies and techniques by means of which activists construct the bicycle as a particularly appropriate vehicle for the city, and how the knowledge they produce is made to circulate. Finally, I examine the challenges and possibilities that Latin American feminism presents to cycling activism, identifying mobility not just as a site where gender inequalities find expression, but also where patriarchal domination and machismo can be resisted. In presenting my arguments, I advocate for a more worldly research practice that meaningfully engages with the scholarship, knowledge, and ambitions of researchers and activists in Latin America.



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## ***Abbreviations***

ABi – Argentina en Bici  
A.C. – Asociación Civil  
BRT – Bus Rapid Transit  
CAF – Corporación Andina de Fomento  
CM – Critical Mass  
COs – Citizen’s organisations  
FAB – Foro Argentino de la Bicicleta  
ITDP – Institute for Transport Development and Policy  
MEMT – Medición de Eficiencia de Modos de Transporte (Transport Mode Efficiency Measurement)  
MFC – Movimiento Furiosos Ciclistas  
ODS – Origin-Destination Survey  
PAR – Participatory Action Research  
PM – Policy mobilities  
SM – Social movement  
USMs – Urban social movements  
WBF – World Bike Forum (Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta)  
WRI – World Resources Institute  
ZMVM – Zona Metropolitana del Valle de México

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1. Cycling activism in Latin America

Over the course of nearly thirty years, cycling activism has proliferated throughout Latin America and, from two independent initiatives at opposite ends of the continent (the organisations Bicitekas<sup>1</sup> in Mexico City [est. 1998] and Movimiento Furiosos Ciclistas<sup>2</sup> in Santiago de Chile [est. 1994]), it has grown into a vibrant social movement that now has expression in almost every major city and in many small and medium-sized cities, from Coyhaique, in the Chilean Patagonia, to Tijuana, on the U.S.—Mexico border. Early cycling activism was about demanding more cycling infrastructure and policy but, over the course of mobilisation, a wider set of discourses, practices and claims have become incorporated. Between and within Santiago and Mexico City, cycling activism has diversified, bringing in new voices, approaches, and concerns. It, however, has also experienced ruptures, alliances, new and defunct organisations, victories both modest and spectacular, and great losses and frustrations.<sup>3</sup> Broadly, cycling activism pursues better conditions for more (and more diverse) people to cycle safely in cities. In doing so, activists articulate a critique of automobility as a system and ideology that is implicated in the (re)production of urban inequalities with deleterious effects on people and cities, as captured by the slogan “cities for people” and the desire for a “human-scale” city where cycling, walking, and public transport are prioritised with the expectation that this will bring about a more just city. In line with this critique, activists frequently claim that the bicycle is a “tool for social change” and an “excuse” to speak about diverse social concerns.

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<sup>1</sup> Today, Bicitekas is a three-part organisation, consisting of a community bike shop (Casa Biciteka), a weekly cycle ride (Paseo Biciteka), and Bicitekas A.C., who mostly work to influence cultural and policy shifts. “Bicitekas” plays on the words “bicicleta” and “azteca” while “A.C.” denotes that the organisation is officially registered as an *asociación civil* – civil society organization.

<sup>2</sup> MFC host the iconic First Tuesday of the Month ride, departing from Plaza Dignidad (formerly Plaza Italia) in central Santiago and drawing anywhere between a few hundred and thousands of cyclists. They also host a weekly pop-in mechanics workshop during Sunday *Ciclocreación*, and a monthly bike-breakfast. The group has undergone significant changes in the years it has been active, and many new organisations have been created by former members.

<sup>3</sup> At the time of writing, the greatest source of grief for cycling activists in Latin America is the sharp rise of cyclist deaths in traffic collisions. These losses are collectively and visibly mourned, and politicised as not-accidental, but the outcome of pro-car policy decisions. A demand echoes in streets across the continent: *No más ciclistas muertos* (“No more dead cyclists”).

Automobility is seen as an expression of class differentiation – the privileged mobility of a few that comes at the expense of other forms of mobilities that are underinvested or made vulnerable by the hegemony of the private car. More recently and owing to the growing tide of feminist mobilisation in Latin America during the past decade, cycling activism has entered into conversation with the feminist movement. This presents a challenge to the dominant discourses and practices of mainstream cycling activism and articulates with a feminist critique of urban space and mobility to create new repertoires of mobilisation and conditions of possibility.

As cycling activism has expanded it has also grown more complex, becoming entangled with multiple other urban actors, such as global NGOs like the Institute for Transportation Development Policy (ITDP) and the World Resources Institute (WRI), universities, policymakers, and government officials who share an interest in positioning the bicycle firmly on the urban agenda. Alongside the proliferation of initiatives within and between cities (cities are frequently home to more than one cycling organisation), activists have undertaken networking efforts to connect with people and organisations in other cities in Latin America (very rarely with activists outside the region). National cycling activist networks like the BiciRed Colombia, BiciRed México, Argentina en Bici, and the União de Ciclistas do Brasil have been formed to strengthen activist efforts beyond the confines of any single city. Furthermore, the massification of the internet and social media have facilitated exchange between activists and provided a valuable platform for the circulation of ‘cycling’, broadly understood. Producing and/or sharing planning documents, inspiring photos and videos, urban cycling manuals, activist texts, and ideas in the form of dedicated media, Instagram and Facebook posts, tweets, and WhatsApp messages are all constitutive of the social movement space and the everyday work of cycling activists.

Among the efforts to connect cycling activist initiatives, the Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta (World Bike Forum; hereafter WBF) is of particular interest. The WBF originated in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2012 as a response to an episode of road violence against Porto Alegre’s Critical Mass (CM)<sup>4</sup> the year before. The first iteration of the WBF drew around 7,000 participants (Lopes, 2012),<sup>5</sup> and it has

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<sup>4</sup> Critical Mass refers to an event originating in San Francisco in 1992, and consists of the practice of gathering to cycle *en masse* and take over motorised streets for cycling as a performative critique to automobility (Furness, 2007). As I discuss in Chapters 2 and 4, CM is not the only expression of this practice, and alternative genealogies exist. However, in many cities around the world, activists have adopted this name alongside the practice.

<sup>5</sup> I have not been able to find information for other WBFs except Mexico City (6<sup>th</sup> WBF), which reported 15,000 participants (Santelices, 2017).

been held in a different Latin American city each year since, with the exception of 2020 when the WBF travelled to Kathmandu (Nepal) and was held virtually. The WBF is a self-described global event for the promotion of urban cycling drawing activists, experts, politicians, and academics with the aim of “[becoming] the true global voice of citizens in favour of sustainable mobility” (Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta, 2015). Although such events exist elsewhere (e.g., VéloCity in Europe), the WBF claims to be “the only event that is completely horizontal: designed, organised, and maintained by citizens of multiple countries” (Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta, 2015). Though each city decides its own organisational structure, hosting the WBF typically requires dividing work into committees, such as the General Coordination, the Financial Committee, Communications, and Programme, to name the most basic. As I discuss in Chapter 6, during the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF, a Women and Sexual Dissidents’ Committee<sup>6</sup> was introduced for the first time. As a space-time geared towards learning and exchange of knowledges and experiences, the WBF typically hosts activities like plenary talks featuring high-profile speakers, such as Janette Sadik-Khan (former New York transport commissioner), Chris Carlsson (US-American activist and creator of CM), and Enrique Peñalosa (former mayor of Bogotá); as well as presentations, art, urban interventions, workshops, and mass cycle rides over the course of four days (see for instance the 6<sup>th</sup> WBF programme in Appendix 2). Held during the last day, the general assembly is the space where activists cast their votes for the next host city. In many ways, the WBF can be read as the space-time in which cycling activism as a regional phenomenon is most discernible, and it is worth examining this process alongside the other, differently-spatialised ways in which cycling activism comes into being and evolves in Latin America.

**Table 1: World Bike Forum host cities**

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>HOST CITY</b>	<b>SLOGAN</b>
<b>2012</b>	Porto Alegre, Brazil	N/A
<b>2013</b>	Porto Alegre, Brazil	<i>Pedalar para Transformar</i> (Pedalling to Transform)
<b>2014</b>	Curitiba, Brazil	<i>Cidade em Equilibrio</i> (City in Equilibrium)
<b>2015</b>	Medellín, Colombia	<i>Ciudades para Todos</i> (Cities for All)

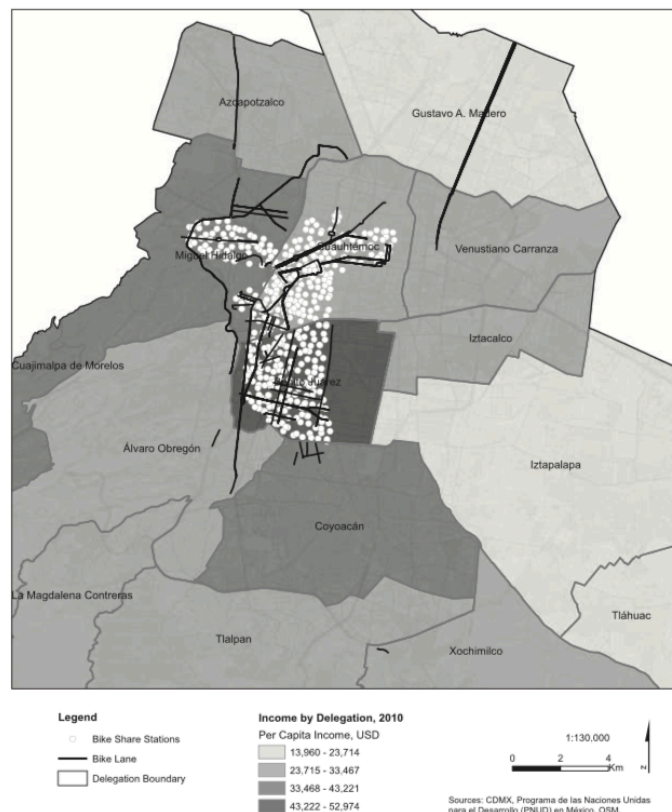
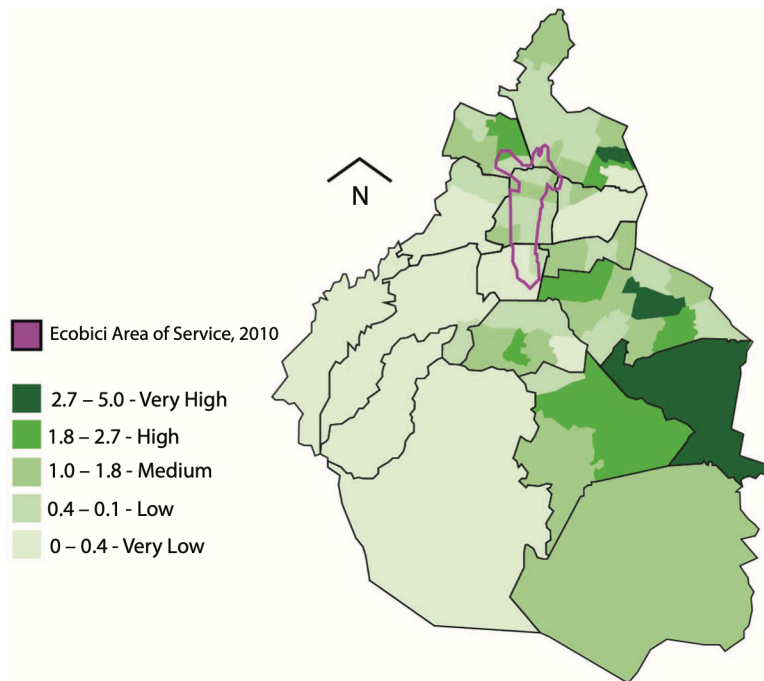
<sup>6</sup> The notion of “*disidencias sexuales*”, sexual dissidents, is widely used in Latin American feminist and trans activism. While in English “*disidit*” and “*disentit*” are both translated as “dissent”, in Spanish the latter refers to a disagreement with someone’s views while the former implies an active distancing from the common doctrine, belief, or conduct. Used in the sense of “*disidit*”, “sexual dissidence” acquires a political connotation of taking distance from heteronormativity to construct diverse forms of relating. See: González Ortuño, 2016.

2016	Santiago, Chile	<i>Energía Humana, Poder Ciudadano</i> (Human Energy, Citizen Power)
2017	Mexico City, Mexico	<i>Ciudades Hechas a Mano</i> (Handmade Cities)
2018	Lima, Peru	<i>Recuperando la Ciudad</i> (Recovering the City or Taking Back the City)
2019	Quito, Ecuador	<i>Mingamos</i> <sup>7</sup>
2020	Kathmandu, Nepal (virtual)	<i>Ciudades Habitables</i> (Liveable Cities)
2021	Rosario, Argentina (hybrid)	<i>Moviendo Masas</i> (Moving Masses)
2022	<i>Manizales, Colombia</i>	TBA

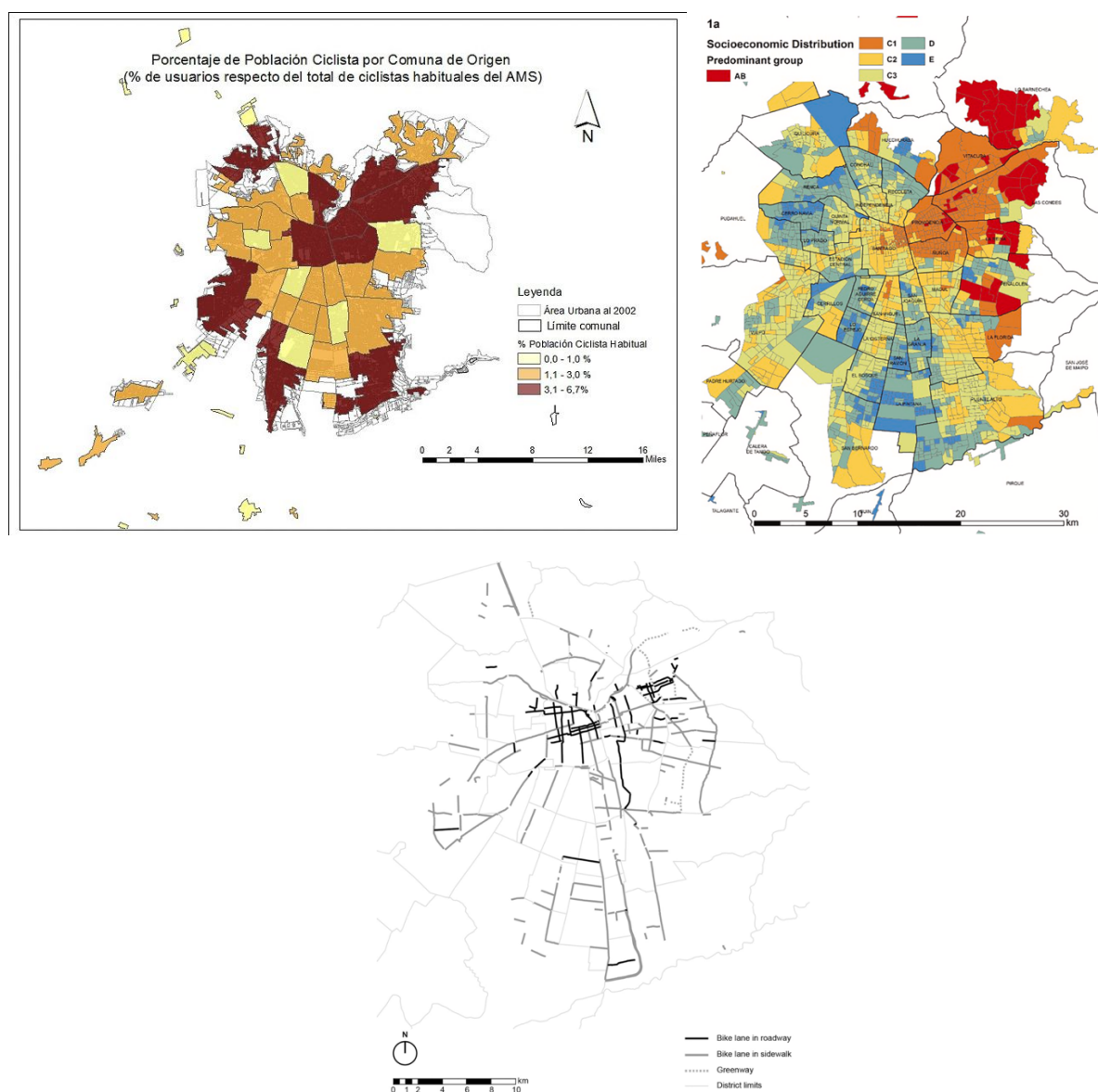
All of these developments have contributed to the formation of a social movement space that is comprised of multiple and over-lapping spatialities, and a regional phenomenon that I characterise in this thesis as Latin American cycling activism. My entry points to studying this movement are the WBF, Santiago, and Mexico City. Both of these cities are characterised by socio-territorial fragmentation, aggravated by controversial transport infrastructures like two-tier and concession highways (e.g., Mexico City’s *anillo periférico* and Santiago’s *costanera norte*). The Zona Metropolitana del Valle de Mexico (ZMVM; greater Mexico City) has a population of 22 million, while 9 million people live in Mexico City proper as of 2020. While Mexico City has a vast public transportation network including a metro, Bus Rapid Transit, bus, informal transit, and public bike sharing, it is also notorious for its near-perpetual traffic congestion and poor air quality. Indeed, in a destructive feedback loop, the authorities sometimes advice people *not* to cycle when the atmospheric conditions reach health-threatening levels. Within Mexico City proper, of the 17.3 million daily trips included in the 2017 origin-destination survey (ODS), 1.4% were undertaken by bicycle (II-UNAM et al., 2017). While Mexico City has implemented a cycling infrastructure network and well-regarded public bike-share scheme, both of these are largely concentrated in the wealthier central part of this gargantuan city, leaving the city’s more peripheral areas (where most bike trips take place) underserved by cycling infrastructure (Sosa López, 2021).

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<sup>7</sup> “Minga” is a form of collective work engaged in by indigenous peoples all along the Andes – from Chile to Colombia. This expression has been adopted by social movements and community organisations in the region seeking to recover Andean practices and cultural identities (López Cortés, 2018). The slogan of the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF, *Mingamos* (as a verb), hinted at the organisers’ vision for the Forum.



**Fig 1.1. Top:** Bicycle trips as a percentage of all trips taken in Mexico City according to the 2007 ODS. Scale bar not included in original. Source: Sosa López, 2021 – reproduced with permission. **Bottom:** Distribution of cycling infrastructure in Mexico City, showing the overwhelming concentration of Ecobici bike-sharing stations and bicycle lanes in the central, wealthier, touristic areas of the city. Source: Whitney et al. 2020 – reproduced with permission.



**Fig 1.2. Top left:** Percentage of people who cycle in Santiago, according to their *comuna* of origin. Source: Arellano Yévenes & Saavedra Peláez, 2017. **Top right:** Socioeconomic distribution in Santiago, where –AB– represents the highest income group, and –E– the lowest. **Bottom:** Distribution of cycling infrastructure (on sidewalks and on the road) in Santiago. Source: Mora et al, 2021 – reproduced with permission.

Meanwhile, in Santiago, the dominance of automobility was engineered during the military regime (1973-1990), “propelled deliberately by the Chilean state and powerful transnationalized economic interests for capital accumulation and profit making” (Trumper & Tomic, 2009, p. 166), and deepened by the coalition government that came to power after the end of the dictatorship. If Chile’s mobility system is a class project (Trumper & Tomic, 2009), this is clearly reflected in the

splintered cycling infrastructure that has – somewhat begrudgingly – been implemented unevenly across the city, concentrated in central Santiago and the ‘high-income triangle’ of eastern Santiago, perhaps creating a new kind of inequality (Mora et al., 2021). In this city of 6 million people, 4% of the city’s daily 18 million trips are undertaken by bicycle, according to the 2012 ODS (SECTRA, 2012).<sup>8</sup> These trips originate in the wealthier central *comunas*<sup>9</sup>, better served by public transport and cycling infrastructure, but just as much in working-class, peripheral parts of the city.

These two cities are home to the earliest expressions of cycling activism in Latin America, they were both hosts to the WBF, and they both continue to see new cycling organisations emerging to push for a change in the politics of mobility that govern everyday life in these two opposite sides of Latin America. Hence, both are appropriate points of entry to examine cycling activism in Latin America today, and how this movement draws these and other cities into proximity through the formation of a diffuse regional social movement space.

As I undertook this project, researchers and planning practitioners were heralding a “cycling renaissance” (Jennings, 2015; Sheldrick et al., 2017). In the years that spanned the completion of this thesis, cycling was on the rise across cities in both the Global South and North, and the bicycle and its associated landscapes were becoming a necessary feature of “world class” cities (Hoffmann & Lugo, 2014). Academics have followed this trend. Over the past five years, publications about cycling have surged, spanning a wide range of topics covered (though not wholly) in Chapter 2. However, although recent work is diversifying the geographical scope of cycling research (e.g., Gamble, 2017; Nixon & Schwanen, 2019a; Soliz, 2021b), *vélomobilities* research remains skewed towards the Global North, such that the frames of reference for what makes a ‘cycling city’, how we conceptualise cycling politics, and how we theorise cycling in cities are informed by a limited set of experiences (Castañeda, 2021a). And while cycling activism is particularly active in Latin America and also exists in Asia (Tan & Martínez López, 2019) and Africa (Jennings, 2015), research into this aspect of the social world of cycling has overwhelmingly focused on North America and the United Kingdom. It is striking that, despite the lengthy history and geographical scope of cycling activism in

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<sup>8</sup> The 2012 ODS is overdue for an update. The 2019 mobilisations in Chile, which resulted in massive transport disruptions, and the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic significantly increased cycling rates in Santiago (Fajardo & Aparicio Ulloa, 2020).

<sup>9</sup> In Chile, *comunas* (singular *comuna*) are the basic administrative divisions into which each of the country’s 16 regions are divided. The Santiago Metropolitan Region is composed of 56 *comunas*, while Greater Santiago is comprised of 32 *comunas*. Each *comuna* is governed by its respective Municipality.

Latin America, the diversity of initiatives that make up the movement, and the impact activists have arguably had on setting the cycling agenda (Sagaris, 2015), cycling activism has not been widely researched by Latin American researchers, either. The few works that exist, published in Spanish, have been ignored in the anglophone vélomobilities literature, indicating the need for cross-fertilisation between regions, languages, and scholarly and activist traditions.

The practices, discourses, knowledges, repertoires of mobilisation, and forms of organising across multiple spatialities engaged in by Latin American cycling activists cannot be taken for granted. Cycling activism is a worldwide phenomenon comprised of the manifold efforts that people undertake to change their environments in accordance with their experiences and aspirations in cities as diverse as Guangzhou, Los Angeles, Quito, Cape Town, and Guadalajara (Gamble, 2017; Jennings, 2015; Lugo, 2018; Tan & Martínez López, 2019; Viramontes, 2013). Examining cycling activism in Latin America offers an opportunity to understand how this phenomenon is being brought into being by people who are envisioning urban futures with, against, and beyond the usual referents – the iconic ‘cycling cities’ of Northern Europe. It also offers scope to theorise the geographies of vélomobility from the Global South, develop new frames of reference for conceptualising cycling politics, and contribute to worlding cycling scholarship (Castañeda, 2021a).

As cities in emerging economies face significant mobility challenges (Kwan & Schwanen, 2016) and city governments turn to global “best practices” in sustainable transport to leverage their cities’ competitiveness (Montero, 2020), how mobility is produced and contested by citizens begets further scrutiny. As Sagaris (2015) argues, in Latin America, citizens’ influence on planning systems and in producing lasting change is more important than has so far been acknowledged in the literature, and how citizen engagement is organised and articulated in society will be crucial to ensure progress beyond the span of single governments. It is my aim in this thesis to centre cycling activism, working with organisations in Santiago and Mexico City to begin to conceptualise the geographies of Latin American cycling activism along three axes: first, their spatialisation at and across multiple scales; second, in terms of the geographies of urban knowledge production; and finally, with regards to the counter-hegemonic discourses and practices advanced by feminist activists. Centring Latin American cycling activism in the way I have done in this thesis – empirically and through a dialogue between Euro-American and Latin American scholarship – is an effort to *provincialise* and *world* vélomobilities. Discussed further in Chapter 2, provincialising and worlding are two strategies suggested by

postcolonial urban scholars to challenge the universalising tendencies of some strands of urban theory whilst leveraging the manifold worlds imagined and crafted by those citizens and cities at the margins of global urbanism. Worlding Latin American cycling activism de-centres Europe and the United States and opens up cycling research to new frames of reference and conceptualisations that build on a dialogue between Euro-American and Latin American Geography. This kind of dialogue, I suggest, is also a means to advance the worlding of Geography.

## 1.2. Research Questions

When I ask *How is the bike made mobile?*, I am wondering about how activists in Latin America construct the bicycle as an object of knowledge, politically position the bicycle, and use it to make claims to urban space. I am also asking about how activists mobilise locally *and also* across multiple scales to advance their claims. As I discuss throughout the thesis, the diverse initiatives that bring the cycling activist movement into being in Latin America do not exist as isolated instances of the same phenomenon, but are brought into the same social movement space through the processes of connecting and exchange that activists partake in, and through the production of a shared common sense. Having previously researched cycling activism in Bogotá (Castañeda, 2020), I was introduced to the cycling movement as a trans-local phenomenon when I became aware of the World Bike Forum (WBF), and the Forum was my lead for undertaking this inquiry into the geographies of Latin American cycling activism. I understood the Forum to be a key site where the bicycle and its associated discourses are mobilised by activists, allowing diverse knowledge-practices to become de-/re-territorialised through activists' mobilities. The trans-local space of the Forum as a methodological point of entry moved me to ask *How is cycling activism in Latin America spatially constituted?* in order to grasp the processes by means of which the cycling activism in Latin America becomes spatialised.

In a second moment, I ask *What knowledge claims about cycling, transport, and the city do activists make, and how are they made to circulate?* In other words, if the first of my research questions pertains to *where* cycling activism unfolds, this second research question asks *what* is circulating through these spaces and through what mechanisms. This is, then, an inquiry into urban knowledge production and the role played by cycling activists therein. Finally, my third research question arose from my encounter

with feminist cycling activists who are challenging the activist common sense and hegemonic knowledge-practices. Asking *What challenges and possibilities do feminist politics present to cycling activism?* is therefore an engagement with the current tide of feminist mobilisation in Latin America and a means to refract cycling activism’s critique of the city through a feminist lens. Doing so also allows me to bring cycling and feminist activism into proximity and make explicit how urban mobility is (or ought to be) a feminist concern – both in theory and praxis.

Each of the research questions maps on to each of the three empirical chapters of this thesis, but they do not stand in isolation. Instead, they are brought together by the theoretical strands I draw upon, and the empirical connections made explicit in each chapter.

**Table 2: Research questions**

How is cycling activism in Latin America spatially constituted?	Chapter 4: Mobilising the bicycle: from <i>territorio</i> to assemblage
What knowledge claims about cycling, transport, and the city do activists make, and how are they made to circulate?	Chapter 5: “ <i>La bicicleta tiene sentido y razón [the bicycle makes sense and is correct]</i> ”: mobilising activist knowledges
What challenges and possibilities do feminist politics present to cycling activism?	Chapter 6: # <i>CiclismoSinMachismo</i> : Feminist frictions and possibilities

### 1.3. Contributions

This research is informed by the mobilities turn in the social sciences (N. Cook & Butz, 2018; Cresswell, 2010; Sheller & Urry, 2006), and it is concerned with both how social movements can form around issues of mobility, and how mobility is constitutive of social movements. This thesis speaks directly to the burgeoning vélomobilities literature which draws on critical scholarship to interrogate cycling practices, politics, and policy to discern power asymmetries and convolute totalising accounts of cycling as inherently sustainable, good, or democratic (e.g. Cupples & Ridley,

2008; Golub et al., 2016a; Hoffmann, 2016; Lubitow & Miller, 2013). This literature has studied how the bicycle becomes mobilised by activists (and advocates, when a distinction is made<sup>10</sup>), engendering a politics of the urban that, on one hand, presents a direct challenge to automobility but, on the other, can (in)advertently reinforce extant inequalities and become aligned with a neoliberal urban agenda (Stehlin, 2019). Scholarship on the intersection between gender and cycling has addressed the barriers women face to use the bicycle, or to do so safely and comfortably, as well as the experience of joy, freedom, and emancipation that many experience when they take up cycling. To date, very few works have analysed feminist cycling activism, but those which have done so shed light on the bicycle's role in forging feminist lifestyles (Cordeiro Maciel, 2020), and the enactment of feminist solidarities through cycling practices (Gamble, 2019).

Research into cycling activism is inchoate in Latin America, but the past five years have seen a growing scholarly interest in this aspect of cycling, dominated by sociological and anthropological perspectives. Here, I offer a geographical account which, drawing on geographers' engagements with social movements, lays the groundwork for future research into the geographies of cycling activism in Latin America. In this sense, this thesis is an exploratory inquiry into the ways in which the bicycle is mobilised trans-locally. Policy mobilities research (Baker & Temenos, 2015; McCann, 2011; Temenos & McCann, 2013) has dealt with similar questions about the trans-local character of contemporary urban processes and offers a useful theoretical framework for understanding how urban knowledge travels. Cycling has been analysed by policy mobilities scholars to draw attention to the myriad human and non-human actors, sites of learning and knowledge exchange, and power-laden processes behind the global circulation of cycling policy and knowledge (Montero, 2017b, 2018; Sheldrick et al., 2017). Furthermore, in studying the South-South and South-North flows of urban knowledge, policy mobilities scholars heed postcolonial urban theorists' calls to theorise from the South and world cities (Roy & Ong, 2011).

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<sup>10</sup> While authors tend to use "activism" and "advocacy" interchangeably, some (e.g., Aldred, 2012a; Balkmar & Summerton, 2017) understand advocacy as the work done to influence policymakers and institutions, while activism refers to "loosely organized, grassroots organizations that initiate recurrent public events such as using bicycles to take over road space" (Balkmar & Summerton, 2017, p. 152). In this thesis, I speak of "activism" for two reasons: first, there is no distinction between "advocacy" and "activism" in Spanish, and the people and organisations I interacted with refer to themselves as "activists". Second, activism is irreducible to contentious or disruptive action, and can unfold in multiple ways. As I show throughout this thesis, the strategies of cycling activists in Latin America are never exclusively policy-oriented or direct action, but often combine or alternate between the two, complicating any rigid categorisation.

This thesis follows a similar agenda. On one hand, the empirical work presented here analyses an under-studied phenomenon where there is an intense South-South circulation of urban knowledge. Existing Northern-centric research affords valuable insights but is limited in its capacity to explain similar phenomena in Latin America where the development of the cycling movement and its relationship to the city stems from distinctive trajectories. In this sense, this thesis proposes the beginning of a conversation that ought to give way to autochthonous frames of reference for critically examining cycling activism in Latin America. In particular, working with Latin American feminism is a novel approach that illuminates not just the barriers women face for taking up cycling, but also shows how mobilities are being drawn into proximity with other feminist struggles and underscoring mobilities as a site of political dispute.

This thesis' analytical framework is significantly inspired by policy mobilities. However, unlike the bulk of current work in this area, I centre activists in my analysis to provide an account of how social movements are implicated in the process of producing and circulating knowledge. In doing so, I extend current policy mobilities scholarship which has largely relied on rigid typologies of actors and failed to account for the possibility of shifting positionalities: urban actors can be activists, academics, government officials, consultants, in any dia- or synchronic combination of two or more of those categories.

This concern with policy mobility agents is also nourished by my methodological approach. Militant research assumes the researcher to be part of the movement under study and, hence, it moved me to consider, as I do in Chapter 3, the possibility of the activist-researcher herself being implicated in the circulation of knowledge. Moving forward, this thesis also contributes to ongoing conversations about the need to enact a research practice that contributes to worlding Geography by engaging with knowledges at the margins of anglophone circuits of knowledge production (Müller, 2021). I do so by, first, staging a dialogue between Latin American and anglophone Geography through a purposeful engagement with Spanish-language literature, and through employing the spatial categories of *territorio* and *cuerpo-territorio* which emerged from the field itself. In addition, I make explicit the processes of translation and translocation that take place when we research from and about Latin America, and which make necessary hemispheric dialogues that leverage Latin American geographic thought.

## 1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organised as follows. In Chapter 2 I review the relevant literatures associated with my research questions, straddling both Euro-American and Latin American scholarship in a deliberate attempt to bring to the fore empirical research about and from Latin America, as well as theoretical contributions from scholars in the region. This chapter is threaded together by mobilities as both a field of empirical enquiry and the main theoretical perspective informing this work. The literature review is organised along three thematic clusters: cycling research; the geographies of social movements, including the Latin American readings of territory (*territorio*) and the feminist contribution *cuerpo-territorio*; and the politics of urban knowledge.

Next, in Chapter 3, I discuss my methodological framework, which is informed by the militant research approach to working with social movements, and the methodological toolbox of policy assemblages and policy mobilities. That is, I employed a flexible ethnographic approach that traces the movements of activists across a field and immersed myself in the lifeworld of cycling activism through participation, collaboration, and co-producing knowledge. Over the course of one year, I undertook a multi-sited militant ethnography (Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019), split between Santiago and Mexico City, and participation in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> WBF. During this time (and guided by my concerns with connections and knowledge exchange) I sought out and interviewed those cycling activists who would have been involved in the WBF, as organisers or participants. Then, through snowballing and tracing on social media, I identified activists and initiatives ‘at the margins’ who could provide different perspectives from those activists who were more centrally located, or better connected to activists within the same city and elsewhere. I complemented my *in-situ* ethnography and interviews with a virtual ethnography, tracking conversations and collating textual and audio-visual materials in a multi-media archive. The heart of this research, however, is my active involvement with a number of organisations, working alongside activists to organise events, produce knowledge (documents, presentations, workshops), and engage in a continuous dialogue to write an account that takes seriously the commitment to working collaboratively with social movements and generate critical perspectives about the movement’s praxis.

Chapters 4 – 6 present the empirical part of the research, mapping on to the research questions outlined above. I dedicate Chapter 4 “*Mobilising the bicycle*” to conceptualising cycling activism in

space and, in doing so, stage a dialogue between Latin American and anglophone Geography. Central to my argument is the premise that social processes are polymorphic, meaning that researchers ought to grapple with the multiple and overlapping spatialities that constitute social movements. Here, I work with the Latin American development of ‘territory’ (referred to here as *territorio* to differentiate it from its use in anglophone political geography) and the Latin American feminist contribution of *cuerpo-territorio* to think about the ways in which mobilities are implicated in the production of and disputes over urban *territorios*. At the same time, the multiple ways of connecting I have referred to above show cycling activism also to be a networked form of mobilisation, whether at the scale of the city, bringing discontinuous territories into proximity through networking and decentralising efforts; or at a national level through coordinated initiatives and national bike forums. In discussing these forms of networking, I also draw attention to the tensions and contradictions that stem from the centripetal pull of city cores and capital cities. I follow my discussion of networks with a geographical reading of assemblage to develop an understanding of Latin American cycling activism as an ongoing process of (re)assembling at multiple scales. I argue that, as a regional phenomenon, Latin American cycling activism is more or less expressive in different moments and at different times and is most intelligible during the WBF.

Chapter 5, “*La bicicleta tiene sentido y razón [the bicycle makes sense and is correct]*”, examines the ways in which activists mobilise the bicycle as an object of knowledge and as a political artefact. I first draw attention to the materials and products of activist knowledge-practices to show how practices of measuring, gathering, and standardising information allow activists to construct the bicycle as an efficient and resilient vehicle for all that is particularly well-suited for the city, in contrast with the private car. Second, I examine the learning processes by means of which activists construct the bicycle as a political artifact. If, for many, cycling activism is “a school”, what is being learnt and how does that learning take place? Drawing on the notions of “pedagogical assemblages” (Kullman, 2015) and “learning assemblages” (McFarlane, 2011), I contend that in the space-times where the bicycle becomes imbued with political meaning there is also a process of critical self-reflection that can steer cycling politics in novel directions. All of these efforts implicate cycling activists in circuits of knowledge circulation where they become entangled with multiple other urban actors in a trans-local dynamic of circulating the bicycle and its associated discourses. The practices I analyse can be read through Manuel Tironi’s (2015) “modes of technification”, delivering a reading of cycling activism that collapses the expert-layperson dichotomy, and allows me to interject in policy

mobilities discussions, arguing that social movements need to be better accounted for in this field's analyses of urban change.

The final empirical chapter, “#CiclismoSinMachismo”, extrapolates some of the themes discussed in the preceding two, and explores the frictions and possibilities generated by the growing presence of feminists in cycling activism. An epistemological challenge as much as a rallying cry for a deep societal transformation, feminism is now at the forefront of political mobilisation in Latin America, and cycling activism has not escaped feminist critique. I argue that, in line with the idea that social movements ought to prefigure the world they want to bring into being, feminist cycling activism generates a double move: first, a critique to the ways in which patriarchy and *machismo* manifest in cities, and the domain of transport and mobility specifically. Second, feminist cycling activists call into question the reproduction of gender violence and inequalities within mainstream cycling activist space-times. However, feminist cycling activists do not stop at identifying and linking forms of patriarchal violence to resist them. They also create the conditions of possibility for other ways of existing in the world. Hence, embedded in feminist cyclists' critiques are possibilities for organising differently, opening up to new alliances, and animating activism towards a more inclusive agenda. Efforts such as feminist cycling collectives, women's cycling schools, the trans-local *Cicletada de las niñas* (Girls' Cycle Ride), and the WBF's Women and Sexual Dissidents' Committee are threaded into the discussion to tease out a feminist cycling politics.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter, where I refer back to the research questions and consider the scope and limitations of this project. I discuss the theoretical and empirical contributions of this thesis and reflect on the methodological approach I have employed in terms of the challenges it presented and the insights it has afforded me. Finally, I outline future research directions that stem from the questions, lessons, and emerging concerns I identified within cycling activism, and the literatures concerned with this kind of urban movement.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.1. Introduction

This project is an enquiry into how the bicycle is mobilised in Latin America – claiming space, constructed as an object of knowledge, and becoming politically positioned. It is situated within a body of critical cycling scholarship which, informed by mobilities thinking (N. Cook & Butz, 2018; Cresswell, 2010; Sheller & Urry, 2006), unpacks cycling politics to reveal how different subject formations and power relations are implicated in cycling mobilities (Ravensbergen et al., 2021). While much of this literature acknowledges a long history of cycling mobilisation, few works centre on cycling activism, and even fewer on Latin American cycling activism. To examine how the bicycle is mobilised, I work in articulation with three other bodies of literature (besides mobilities) that are foregrounded in different moments of the thesis, in alignment with the research questions and themes developed in each of the chapters.

First, in Chapter 4, I situate activism in space by drawing on the geographies of social movements and heeding the call to analytically work across multiple spatialities. I continue to work with social movement scholarship in Chapter 5 where I follow the core tenet of militant research, namely that social movements are sites of knowledge production that ought to be meaningfully engaged with. This motivates my dialogue with the literatures I call “Knowing the City” – work that scrutinises urban knowledge production and expertise and which allows me to unpack how cycling activists arrive at, and mobilise, knowledge claims. Finally, Chapter 6 is informed by feminist perspectives on urban transport and mobility, as well as some strands of Latin American feminist theory and praxis that allow me to make sense of feminist interventions in cycling activism.

Holding this framework together is mobilities as both an object of study and methodological orientation. At the heart of mobilities thinking is the ontological proposition that “movement is primary as a foundational condition of being, space, subjects, and power” (Sheller, 2018, p. 9); and the imperative to interrogate how movement, discourses, practices, and infrastructures of mobility

create both change and stasis. *Mobilities* allows me to trace the contours of this literature review and grounds my theoretical framework for unpacking how mobility (cycling) is mobilised.

## **2.2. From cycling to *vélobilities***

Cities worldwide are witnessing a “bicycle renaissance” (Jennings, 2015; Pucher et al., 2011; Sheldrick et al., 2017): more people are taking to the bicycle for leisure, work, and transport; the bicycle is increasingly part of urban “best practices” (Montero, 2017b); global institutions are advocating for cycle-promotion (UN-Habitat, 2013); a diverse movement of cycling activism is expanding at considerable speed (Pinto Alvaro, 2017); and academic research across disciplines has followed suit. This section reviews work that illuminates why cycling matters – or how cycling is made to matter – for cities today; critical cycling research; and research into cycling activism.

### *2.2.1. Cycling matters: health, economics, and equity*

The sustainable mobility paradigm (Banister, 2008) and public health concerns with obesity and its relation to the built environment (Colls & Evans, 2014) have elevated the status of the bicycle as a form of transport that is efficient, has minimal environmental impact, promotes health and physical activity, and has the potential to advance urban equity. As such, much of the cycling and transport literature has framed the bicycle as a “win-win solution” to myriad urban perils (Aldred, 2012b). This kind of research is part of how cycling is being made to matter in cities, informing the agenda of “getting more people to cycle” (Pucher & Buehler, 2008). In this sense, it has been instrumental for policymakers and planners, but it also finds echoes of celebration in activist circles, for whom reliable studies that position the bicycle favourably are indispensable for advancing their claims.

#### *Cycling and health*

The sedentary lifestyle characteristic of post-industrial economies, sprawling urban forms, and automobile dependence and their effects on public health have concerned officials in the Global North for some time now, and are also raising alarms in Latin America (Jacoby et al., 2003; Sagaris,

2019a). Consequently, active travel and public transport have been framed as key for tackling health issues linked to air pollution (e.g., respiratory disease) and physical inactivity (e.g., cancer and obesity and its associated maladies). Utilitarian cycling is reported to increase physical activity with positive effects on individual and population health (Bourne et al., 2018; de Hartog et al., 2011; Oja et al., 2011). However, such correlations have been established through research in high-income countries, so there remains a need for more analyses in cities of the Global South (Sagaris, Barros, et al., 2020).

A considerable amount of research has studied the public health potential of increased cycling, with ostensibly positive correlations between physical activity and reduced risk of cancer and cardiovascular disease associated to obesity (Dinu et al., 2019; Oja et al., 2011). Numerous studies have quantified the health effects of substituting car trips with cycling (Gomez et al., 2015; Ogilvie et al., 2004; Rojas-Rueda et al., 2011), and even those that considered the risks related to exposure to pollution or traffic collisions have found that the benefits of cycling outweigh the risks (de Hartog et al., 2011; Tainio et al., 2016). In Latin America, policies pertaining to recreation and public space have been evaluated for their positive public health effects, such as Bogotá's *Ciclovía*, Curitiba's *Curitiba Ativa* and Mexico City's *Muévete en Bicicleta*<sup>11</sup> (Díaz del Castillo et al., 2011; Torres et al., 2013).

Yet, the health benefits of cycling may not be equally distributed across the population (Davison & Curl, 2014; Woodcock et al., 2014), and studies suggest that further research is needed into cycling and the social determinants of health, particularly in Latin America where such studies are still inchoate (Chaufan et al., 2015; Sagaris & Lanfranco, 2019). Meanwhile, women are underrepresented in cycling Latin America (Diaz & Rojas, 2017; Sá et al., 2016), and the prevalence of gender violence in transport settings can induce travel behaviour that keeps women from obtaining health benefits, or have traumatic effects on their mental health (Kash, 2019). Furthermore, the rising inequality in coverage and distribution of programmes like *Ciclovía* remains a challenge for a more even distribution of the health benefits of such interventions (Gomez et al., 2015). In short, bringing the health, equity and justice agendas into proximity might yield novel questions and results (see below).

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<sup>11</sup> Inspired by Bogotá's *Ciclovía* (est. 1974), *ciclovías recreativas* are recreational programmes that close streets off to motorised traffic on Sundays, allowing people to cycle, jog, skate, etc. in what is typically automobilised space. In the anglophone world, these programmes are commonly known as "Open Streets".

Most recently, the Covid-19 pandemic added a layer of urgency to research about cycling and health. As city officials scrambled to mitigate the propagation of the virus and concerns emerged about the risk of transmission in public transport (Pardo et al., 2021), researchers and activists alike leapt at the opportunity to position the bicycle as the best – healthiest – transport alternative. Cycling reduces the risk of transmission since it decongests public transport and allows people to maintain social distancing as they continue to undertake everyday trips (Brooks et al., 2020); and it encourages physical activity during a time when the physical and mental health effects of altered (im)mobilities remain uncertain (Guzman et al., 2021; Laverty et al., 2020). Some expressed hope that “these challenges also highlight opportunities to make cities more resilient, by paying more attention to health-transport links and their potential to drive positive change” (Sagaris, Barros, et al., 2020, p. 1), but the scale, scope, and nature of this change remains to be seen.

### *Cycling and the economy*

As a “health-producing” transport mode, cycling is also economically valuable (Flusche, 2012; Jensen et al., 2017). Generally, the health-economic benefits of cycling are assessed via cost-benefit analyses that measure transport investments against the economic gains of prevented disease and death (Cavill et al., 2008; Chapman et al., 2018; Fishman et al., 2015). While traditional methods of transport appraisal value speed and reduced travel times (Standen et al., 2019), “bikenomics” (Blue, 2014) makes an economic case for urban cycling beyond the health-economic effects, for instance in relation to alleviating the negative externalities produced by traffic congestion and pollution (Hamilton & Wichman, 2018). These perspectives are appealing to policymakers and planners, and are believed to be influential when advocating for sustainable transport investments (Blondiau et al., 2016).

Cycling can generate much-desired “green” jobs (Scotini et al., 2017) associated to retail, manufacture, infrastructure, tourism, and services; and while the rise of delivery platforms has paired cycling and economic growth in novel ways, it is also raising concerns about the precarity of cycling gig jobs (Popan & Anaya-Boig, 2021). Nonetheless, “several studies have shown that, besides creating jobs, making cities more cycling-friendly has beneficial effects for e.g. the businesses of local retailers or for property value along traffic-calmed roads” (Blondiau et al., 2016, p. 2307). Hence, the economic benefits of cycling are routinely emphasised during negotiations with retail and businesses

when new infrastructures are concerned, through the argument that cyclists make more frequent shopping trips and spend more at businesses (Arancibia et al., 2019; Poirier, 2018; Popovich & Handy, 2014). In Latin America, cycling organisations like Bicitekas A.C. (Mexico City) and Ciclocidade (São Paulo) have produced documents that extoll the economic benefits of cycling through framing cyclists as good consumers and, therefore, “Good for Busine\$\$” (Ciclocidade, 2015; Tolley, 2015).

In short, cycling is becoming discursively positioned as a mode of travel that can enhance urban productivity and competitiveness, delivering a healthy workforce that moves efficiently through traffic-choked cities (Ibsen & Olesen, 2018; Spinney, 2016). The economic case for cycling has framed it as a way of enhancing shopping districts and neighbourhoods, and it features in revitalisation plans to attract prosperous, environmentally-conscious citizens (Chapman et al., 2018, p. 2). While urban revitalisation via cycling investments has been cast in a positive light (Flusche, 2012), it raises important questions about urban equity. Furthermore, as I later discuss, several critical cycling scholars have started to unpack the political economy of cycling, bridging links between these logics and enduring structures of oppression.

### *Bike equity*

As (im)mobility is recognised as both a cause and an effect of social disparities, questions of equity in and through transport have drawn the attention of researchers in Latin America, where “social disadvantages play a significant role in determining travel costs, especially for low-income populations,” leading to an increase in bicycle ridership (Rosas-Satizábal et al., 2020, p. 2). However, the desire to “get more people to cycle” and concomitant policies are driving scholars to enquire who benefits from these pro-cycling efforts.

As Vecchio et al. (2020) note, socio-spatial inequalities in the region have been tackled through mobility-related interventions (primarily public transport) following from the understanding that accessibility “allows individuals to move and participate in social life, becoming crucial to address the social inequalities that characterize manifold settings across the world” (p. 335). Equity is most often analysed in terms of accessibility, “defined as a person’s ability to perform activities and access services in a given environment or to gain ‘relevant opportunities’ in a given environment” (Mora et

al., 2021, p. 2), and the bicycle has been framed as a vehicle that can advance urban equity when certain prescriptions are followed (Rodríguez et al., 2017).

While Bogotá's cycling policies are celebrated worldwide as enhancing physical activity and social capital (Torres et al., 2013), spatial analyses of the city's cycling policies and infrastructure have revealed contradictory results. Bogotá's cycle path network is unevenly distributed, favouring higher-income residents despite being used primarily by middle- and lower-income people (Parra et al., 2018; Torres-Barragan et al., 2020); and while *Ciclovía* promotes social cohesion through interactions between different socio-economic strata, it does not offer equal access to all (Teunissen et al., 2015). Other studies have yielded similar results elsewhere in Colombia (Cardona et al., 2017), Chile (Salas Venegas, 2018), the United States (Braun et al., 2019), and Brazil (Tucker & Manaugh, 2018). Mora et al. (2020) analysed the distribution of bike lanes in Santiago (Chile), and one of their most striking observations pertains to the normative dimension of cycling subjects and infrastructures. The spatial distribution of infrastructure, they conclude by drawing on previous research (Arellano Yévenes & Saavedra Peláez, 2017; Salas Venegas, 2018), "might have produced a new type of cyclist, one who is more affluent and educated than the traditional cyclist who lives on the poor periphery and for whom cycling is an economic necessity", and has even resulted in making cycling a new kind of urban inequality (Mora et al., 2021, p. 3).

Yet, evaluating access to cycling infrastructure does not reveal much without asking "access to what?". In Bogotá, for example, the centralisation of employment and education opportunities limits lower-income citizens' access to these goods and services (Rosas-Satizábal et al., 2020). The inequality in distribution of access across socioeconomic strata is also manifested in terms of gender disparities, and there remains the need to assess how this disparity relates to ethnicity and other markers of social identity (Rosas-Satizábal et al., 2020). These are important caveats, not least because most studies on transport equity in Latin America tend to assume a 'generic' user, presumably male and able to move autonomously (Vecchio et al., 2020). In other words, asking "access by whom?" calls for a more nuanced understanding of mobility as relational, and the incorporation of different theoretical insights to move beyond accessibility, such as the capabilities approach (Schwanen & Nixon, 2020; Vecchio & Martens, 2021)

Some of these concerns are being raised in the burgeoning field of *critical vélobilities*, which “situates the bicycle in social life, and situates people and places within the world of cycling” (Ravensbergen et al., 2021, p. 1). This approach opens cycling up for scrutiny as a contested practice, where the outcomes of body and machine coming together are always indeterminate.

### 2.2.2. *Critical vélobilities*

Vélobilities is becoming established as a field within Geography (Ravensbergen et al., 2021). This scholarship uses mostly qualitative approaches to unpack the contested meanings and heterogeneous experiences of cycling, and technological developments have animated methodological experimentation to develop novel insights about cycling (K. Brown & Spinney, 2010; Laurier, 2014). Early work analysed mostly North American and European experiences of cycling and place-making on the bike (Aldred & Jungnickel, 2012; Barnfield & Plyushteva, 2015; Spinney, 2007); the meanings and politics of urban cycling (Aldred, 2010; Furness, 2010; D. Horton et al., 2007); and embodied cycling practices (P. Jones, 2005; D. J. Lee, 2015; van Duppen & Spierings, 2013). However, this work often took for granted how cycling is inscribed in “neoliberal, white supremacist, disablism, gendered and ageist hierarchies of value and relations of power” (Davidson, 2022, p. 1). Recent engagements have steered vélobilities towards a dialogue with environmental, transport and mobility justice (Davidson, 2022; Golub et al., 2016a; Soliz, 2021c), and the field has slowly diversified its geographical scope (Castañeda, 2021a). Meanwhile, emerging configurations and technologies like bike-sharing (Nixon & Schwanen, 2019b; Spinney & Lin, 2018), smart cities (Behrendt, 2016; Cerutti et al., 2019), and datafication (Sourbati & Behrendt, 2021) are also attracting critical scholarly interest. These developments sit outside the scope of this research, but they are likely to become more prominent in Latin America as cities in the region adopt these practices and technologies (see: Jirón et al., 2021; Mora & Moran, 2020; Tiznado-Aitken et al., 2021).

As Sosa López (2021, p. 477) argues, “green urban infrastructures materialize and transform regimes of inequality” as they are drawn into greenwashing and pro-market urban policies. Since sustainable transport has come to be regarded as part of what makes a ‘world-class’ city, the cycling renaissance has stimulated efforts to understand cycling’s embeddedness in biopolitical and political-economic regimes to reveal the uneven outcomes of cycling’s insertion into the urban landscape as a *mobility fix*

(Spinney, 2020). Building on David Harvey's (2001) "spatial fix", Spinney argues that, presently, enhancing the efficiency of road transport systems is too costly for municipal governments to embark on a spatial fix, so cycling emerges as a mobility fix to speed up circulation times with minimal capital investment (Spinney, 2016). He also contends that cycling as a mobility fix produces new forms of mobile comportment that place value on "lean", "fit", "flexible", and "autonomous" individuals, and is expected to produce and enhance cultural capital (Spinney & Lin, 2019, p. 529).

Against framings of cycling as an individual, rational choice of sustainable consumption (Stehlin, 2014) and a marker of active and responsible citizenship (Aldred, 2012a), some have shifted their attention to how enduring structures of oppression produce unequal (vélo)mobility landscapes. These analyses show that low-income and minority groups are often captive cyclists, rendered invisible by market-oriented vélomobility (Hoffmann & Lugo, 2014; Lugo, 2018; Stehlin, 2015); very often made vulnerable by emerging configurations of matter, meaning, and power (Davidson, 2022); and left to affront the burdens of gentrification and uneven development (Lubitow & Miller, 2013). These accounts complicate assumptions about who is vélo-(im)mobile, noting how this changes when people migrate (Barajas, 2020; S. F. Law & Karnilowicz, 2015; Nello-Deakin & Nikolaeva, 2021); assessing what 'bike safety' means in shifting power landscapes (Reid-Musson, 2016; Untokening Collective, 2017); and drawing attention to what *culturally-safe* cycling infrastructure and interventions might look like for indigenous peoples experiencing social, economic and transport-related inequities (R. Jones et al., 2020).

Efforts to normalise cycling have included attempts to dislocate cycling from connotations of poverty and precarity in both the North and South (Anantharaman, 2017; Joshi & Joseph, 2015), resulting in the marginalisation of certain bodies and practices, while 'correct', capital-accruing vélomobilities become spatialised through policy and planning (Sosa López, 2021; Stehlin, 2014). Research shows a similar process unfolding in Latin America, where class difference and inequality are salient concerns. Notwithstanding the rich histories and cultures of cycling – urban and rural – in the region, Pino Hidalgo's (2017) critique points to an epistemic marginalisation where we risk "reducing the promotion of urban cycling to importing models and replicating 'best practices'" from the Global North (p.30). *Ciclismo popular*,<sup>12</sup> he argues, remains an unexplored field of enquiry with

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<sup>12</sup> In Latin America, "popular" can mean "of the people", as it does in this context, and is a term evocative of working-class cultures and aesthetics.

significant implications for understanding the social, territorial, and ecological dimensions associated with cycling, often obscured by technocratic rationales. Sarmiento Casas (2018) expresses a similar sentiment and centres *bicifitios*: the working cyclists marginalised by academia and public policy, but who play the central role of transporting passengers, merchandise, and providing commercial goods and services in Mexico. Similarly, Soliz (2021b) reveals the tensions inherent to uneven infrastructural development, coining the term *divergent infrastructures* to capture how low-income and peri-urban cyclists configure their everyday mobilities as they navigate a segregating urban landscape. Grounded in Aguascalientes – a medium-sized Mexican city – hers is a welcome shift from the focus on large and capital cities that characterises cycling research in the region.

Just as transportation exclusions “buttress existing race, citizenship, and class power hierarchies and systems of labour exploitation” (Reid-Musson, 2016, p. 320), they are also cut across by gender differences. Engagements with gender respond to calls for attention to how gender and mobility are co-constitutive (Hanson, 2010; Law, 1999), which have also been embraced in Latin America (Figuroa Martínez & Forray Claps, 2015; Jirón, 2007; Soto, 2017). Bonham and colleagues (2015) contend that it is important to question the assumptions we make about gender categories and cycling, and they unearth the process of gendering through conceptualising cycling objects, practices, and spaces as always in *ongoing-formation*. What makes a ‘woman’s bike’? “[The] re-formation of bikes (with top-tubes) is made possible as discursive practices of anatomy and physiology and biomechanics are distributed into sites of design, manufacture, retail, marketing and research interviews” (Bonham et al., 2015, p. 191). Conversely, “individuals [position] themselves as ‘women’ — or not — by reference to ‘attributes’ of bikes that are specified as ‘women’s bikes’” (p. 192). However, few studies scrutinise gender or cycling in this way, instead “employ[ing] gendering practices to differentiate cycling bodies and link particular bodies to particular spaces” (Bonham et al., 2015, p. 197) and relying on gender as binary (Ravensbergen et al., 2019).<sup>13</sup>

Women’s travel patterns are influenced by gender roles and expectations. However, women’s lives are not static, and Bonham and Wilson’s research shows how women variously stop and start cycling throughout the life course in relation to changes in housing, employment, health, and family status. Bennett (2017) attends to the experience of cycling while pregnant, revealing that cycling is never *just*

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<sup>13</sup> Very little work has explicitly engaged with cycling, men, and masculinities (Balkmar, 2019; Waitt et al., n.d.; Zheng et al., 2020). I was not able to identify any research that centres trans and non-binary people’s vélomobilities.

an individual choice for pregnant women who often depend on social support to become vélomobile. Sersli et al. (2020) and Montoya-Robledo et al. (2020) attend to the mothering-cycling nexus using the concept of *mobilities of care*. This concept refers to the everyday trips undertaken by adults (primarily women) related to the unpaid or underpaid work of attending to minors and dependent others, including trips related to the maintenance of the home, and which often need to be negotiated with paid-work duties (Sánchez de Madariaga & Zucchini, 2020). In both Vancouver and Bogotá, spatial factors (i.e., appropriate physical infrastructure) can facilitate or challenge cycling with children, while the multiple schedules women have to manage entail that social norms and the sexual division of labour circumscribe vélomobilities of care (Prati, 2018; Sersli et al., 2020), as does the persistent gender-based violence women encounter on the street (Montoya-Robledo et al., 2020). Contrary to dominant approaches of how gender shapes mobility, Morrillo Trujillo and Arellano Borja (2014) show how cycling is part of some women's subject-formation *as women* in Quito, contributing to the scarce literature that is explicitly concerned with how mobility shapes gender (cf. Hanson, 2010). Furthermore, intersectional analyses of gender, race, class, and migratory status reveal how the regulation of appropriate cycling, femininity, and class distinction produce embodied outcomes that can affect access to mobility and public space (Ravensbergen, 2020); and call for reckoning with how racism and sexism impact mobilities in ways that individual choice perspectives fail to acknowledge (Lubitow et al., 2019). This kind of intersectional research has yet to be undertaken in Latin America.

The themes of safety, fear, and violence are common in research about women and cycling (Ravensbergen et al., 2019), but they only partially capture women's experience of vélomobility. Díaz Vásquez (2017) developed a framework for analysing barriers to cycling in Mexico City, covering abilities, physical-spatial, socio-cultural, financial, organizational, temporal, and technological barriers. While women develop strategies that enable them to cycle, she identified organisational barriers, pertaining to scheduling and trip-chaining, and socio-cultural barriers as the primary factors affecting gender differences in cycling. Researchers report similar trends in São Paulo, adding workplace expectations of appearance and comportment, stereotypes about girls' and boys' appropriate mobilities, and bicycle ownership as limits to women's cycling (Harkot et al., 2018; Lemos et al., 2017). Yet, cycling is not mainly or exclusively cumbersome for women. In contrast to these accounts, Mella Lira (2021) recently identified how cycling contributes to women's well-being in

four Latin American cities (Santiago, Bogotá, Buenos Aires, and Mexico City), highlighting increased self-esteem, perceptions of freedom, empowerment, and happiness derived from cycling.

How women overcome barriers and use the bicycle to advance their struggles has been the focus of historical work (Christie-Robin et al., 2012; Jungnickel, 2015). However, Soliz' (2021a) research on Mexican women makes a timely call for a decolonial and intersectional feminist approach for assessing the emancipatory power of the bicycle without relying on universalising translations. This thesis echoes her call, and is aligned with others' efforts to analyse how women in Latin America are challenging hegemonic regimes of vélomobility (Gamble, 2019), performing vélomobile feminist lifestyles (Cordeiro Maciel, 2020), and contesting hegemonic patriarchal cycling activism (Garelli, 2017; Pasapera Tupiño, 2020). Notwithstanding the *critical* in 'critical vélomobilities', this literature does not underestimate the bicycle's potential role in bringing about just mobility transitions, and is nourishing discussions around mobility justice (Nixon & Schwanen, 2019a). However, much work is still needed to tease out the specific ways in which cycling articulates with gender, class, race, sexuality, and other markers of difference in Latin America – doing so is fundamental if the bicycle is to be a tool for radical social change, as many cycling activists claim that it is.

### 2.2.3. *Cycling activism*

Movement and mobility are implicated in the production and distribution of power (Cresswell, 2010), and can become political statements articulated with broader struggles. As a rolling signifier (the bicycle's meaning changes in different places and with different people; Hoffmann, 2016), the bicycle has at times been associated with elitism, but has also been a vehicle for making radical claims. For Horton “the case of the bicycle demonstrates how ‘ordinary’ materialities can contribute to the development and performance of antagonistic cultural and political identities” (2006, p. 41). This premise underpins research about cycling and environmentalism (D. Horton, 2006, 2009), socialism (Pivato, 1990), feminism (Hallenbeck, 2015), and anarchism (Ploeger & Oldenziel, 2020).

Different from this is cycling activism (hereafter “activism”), where cycling *itself* becomes politically mobilised. Activism ranges from the quasi-anarchic and confrontational, to liaising with the State to influence policy. While infrastructural and policy demands are often activism's central demands, it

also articulates a generalised dissatisfaction with a wider set of meanings, ideas, symbols, and identities surrounding urban mobility (Furness, 2010; Vivanco, 2013). Golub and colleagues provide a useful definition: “Promoting bicycling is a networked practice that includes the act of advocating and participating in transportation planning process and also participation in conferences, email lists, consuming and creating bike-related media, and coordinating advocacy activities across many cities. The result is what we here call *organised bicycling*” (2016b, p. 4; emphasis in original). Yet, as I show in this thesis, in the context of Latin America, this definition is limited in its spatial conceptualisation (limited to networks) and problematically reduces cycling activism to “promoting cycling”. I will return to this critique in the concluding chapter (Section 7.3).

Cycling activism in Latin America dates back to the 1990s and has arguably been instrumental for the development of urban cycling in the region (Sagaris, 2015). However, anglophone researchers have had little to say about Latin America’s cycling movement, which has its own genealogies and trajectories. The panorama is similar when scoping the Spanish-language literature. Only recently have scholars started to study the region’s cycling movement in a sustained manner, with an explosion of dissertations at varying levels of secondary education on this topic, some authored by activists themselves (Cordeiro Maciel, 2020; Martínez Tapia, 2017; Pasapera Tupiño, 2020; Raquel, 2020).<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, research about cycling in Latin America often draws on interviews and ethnographic observations with activists to enquire about various aspects of urban cycling, such as experience, policy, and infrastructure (Soliz, 2021a, 2021b; Sosa López, 2021). In their policy mobilities work, Montero and Sosa López (Montero, 2017b, 2018; Sosa López, 2021; Sosa López & Montero, 2018) write activists into their analyses of how cycling policy circulates in the region, but stop short at conceptualising cycling activism. While this is suggestive of the significance of activists as actors in the urban mobility landscape in Latin America, it also reveals a large gap in the research which this thesis tries to (partly) address.

Despite the current wave of excitement around cycling, the practice continues to be marginalised within a mobility regime that privileges the private car and, hence, most accounts write activism as unfolding in tension with automobility (Blickstein, 2010; Furness, 2007; Rinaldi, 2018). Scholars tend to reinforce activist discourses that frame cycling as political – an act of resistance and a form of

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<sup>14</sup> The Mexican organisation Bicitekas A.C. have created an archive of some of theses and dissertations that can be accessed here: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210812111755/https://bicitekas.org/manuales>

politics of the everyday (Cordeiro Maciel, 2020; Furness, 2010). Still, others are drawing attention to how the normalisation of cycling practice comes hand-in-hand with cycling activism's de-politicisation (Pereira & Prates, 2017; Stehlin, 2014).

While activism has multiple strategies of mobilisation, the mass ride has attracted most scholarly attention. That is, the quasi-ritualistic practice of gathering to cycle *en masse* to occupy motorised space, of which Critical Mass is perhaps the better-known example. CM has been conceptualised as a case of Do-It-Yourself urbanism (Iveson, 2013) and a performative critique to car culture (Furness, 2010). Since its origins in San Francisco in 1992, CM rides have taken place in cities around the world (Carlsson et al., 2012), articulating a politics of scale that has been of interest to geographers. In Blickstein and Hanson's (2001) reading, CM uses scales and networks as strategies in their mobilisation, complicating distinctions between the local and the global. By contrast, Stehlin and Tarr (2017) draw attention to the limitations of CM's hyper-localism in effecting radical social change at other scales.

Not all mass rides are CM rides, however, and the practice acquires specific meanings and significance as it becomes embedded within different milieus and protest cultures. For instance, in Matamoros (Mexico) *Doble Rueda Matamoros* ride to free space and activities from the chokehold of violence and corruption (Meador, 2016) and, as I discuss in Chapter 6, such activities engender a different kind of politics when they are convened by feminist activists (Cordeiro Maciel, 2020). In the context of post-socialist Hungarian politics, Udvarhelyi (2011, p. 122) argues that "the foremost significance of Critical Mass in Budapest is its contribution to the democratization of post-socialist Hungary by creating a unique space of political participation based on both an embodied experience of the city and a distinctive redefinition of both protest culture and civil society". Udvarhelyi is not alone in relating cycling activism, democracy, and political participation: others have drawn on Aldred's (2010) notion of "cycling citizenship" which takes shape as cyclists and activists construct their identity vis-à-vis the natural and social environments as experienced "on the outside" of mass motorisation (Balkmar, 2020; Balkmar & Summerton, 2017; Gamble, 2019). From this, a common discourse can be said to emerge.

Across cycling activist scholarship there is a concern with activism's relationship to urban space (Nikolaeva & Nello-Deakin, 2019). Some have analysed how activists contest space in urban policy

and planning – presumably the key arenas through which the desired change can come about (Aldred, 2012a; Batterbury, 2003; Sagaris & Ortuzar, 2015). Others have studied the spatial practices of appropriation and alternative uses of urban space activists partake in (Furness, 2007; Gamble, 2019), sometimes conceptualised through the lens of play (Williams, 2018) and the right to the city (Castañeda, 2020; Morhayim, 2018). The internet and social media have been identified by most as central to bicycle organising (López León, 2016; Martínez Tapia, 2017; Rodríguez Mera, 2019). Because the space-times of the city and of the internet have become entangled in complex ways, complicating rigid boundaries between offline/online and global/local, “understanding online urban cycling can help us grasp some of the emergent proposals about the re-signification of cities and how they’re lived” (López León, 2016, p. 53). Cycling activism’s relationship to urban space is heavily mediated by the internet which allows for the articulation of multi-scalar politics (Blickstein & Hanson, 2001); the generation and circulation of standards of “proper cycling practice” (Stehlin, 2014); and the circulation of cities packaged into digital materialities which provide sources of information and inspiration for activists (Balkmar, 2020).

One final area of enquiry are the critical perspectives that, in raising questions about difference and justice in cycling movements, form a corpus of “sympathetic critique” (Stehlin & Tarr, 2017). As Golub et al. (2016 p.4) contend, “organised bicycling could be a catalyst for social inclusion of diverse community needs, but in the past its push to ‘normalise’ bicycling has tended to ‘other’ bicycle users who do not participate in organised bicycling’s self-selecting and exclusive social spaces.” In this regard, John Stehlin’s (2014, 2015, 2019) political economic research excavates the long suspected relationship between cycling and gentrification in the United States, and examines the ways in which cycling advocates work to normalise cycling. Framed in a context of regional restructuring and neoliberal urbanisation, Stehlin understands the normative spatialisation of cycling to be a reorganisation of spatial segregation along race and class. A white, male, middle-class bike culture “has become intertwined with accumulation strategies that capitalize on the framing of cycling as one commodity among many which make up the lifestyle of livability” (Stehlin, 2014, p. 35).

Hoffmann and Lugo (2014) offer a similar diagnosis as they disentangle the activist discourses through which bicycle projects become enmeshed in ambitions of global competitiveness. In asking “*Who is World Class?*” they raise the question of who benefits from cycling investments when they

are framed as luxury amenities. Both authors have been critical of the persistent whiteness of US-American activism and its effects on rendering invisible and undermining racialised and working-class cyclists in cities like Minneapolis, Portland, and Los Angeles (Hoffmann, 2016; Lugo, 2018). In one influential piece, Cupples and Ridley (2008) note cycling activism's totalising tendencies that overlook social, cultural, and embodied difference, resulting in tensions with social inclusion. Theirs can also be read as critique of the binary logics of "cycling citizenship" (Aldred, 2010), "which [deploy] a vision for citizenship based on the separation of the virtuous and the vicious" (Cupples and Ridley, 2008 p.257), but it is equally a critique to transport geographers and policymakers' failure to grapple with cycling's embodiment. The homogenising effects of such oversights can result in the implementation of policies and infrastructures that exclude those who are not able-bodied, or whose affective and bodily needs are not met by 'one-size-fits-all' solutions (Nixon & Schwanen, 2019b).

While little work along this line of enquiry has been undertaken in Latin America, Cassián-Yde (2019) critiques cycling activist practices in Guadalajara (Mexico), arguing that the normative model of public space aspired to by middle-class experts results in a hygienist and Eurocentric urban geography that reifies exclusions based on race and gender – a similar conclusion to that reached by Lisbona Guillén and Sánchez Martín (2021) about activism in Mérida (Mexico). Finally, as matters of justice in/through transportation continue to intrigue researchers in the region and a turn to mobility justice animate new scholarly enterprises (Sheller, 2018; Verlinghieri & Schwanen, 2020), Latin America's contested mobilities (Blanco et al., 2018) are a fertile ground for theorising cycling from the Global South. In this vein, Nixon and Schwanen (2019a; 2020) offer a reading of community cycling initiatives in São Paulo and London that challenges straightforward understandings of wellbeing and mobility justice. The authors' engagement with cycling activism allows them to articulate a conceptualisation of mobility justice that carefully considers the scales, temporalities, and emergent nature of justice; and a relational approach to wellbeing that provides a more nuanced understanding of accessibility than that which informs the transport and cycling equity literatures reviewed above. In attending to less visible and non-market-oriented initiatives, this work provides a glimpse into how vélomobility could be configured differently in contexts of acute socio-economic inequality. Indeed, in the under-studied field of Latin American cycling activism, there is significant potential for developing new insights about cycling mobilisation and for undertaking conceptual work to advance our understanding of vélomobile life in cities.

## 2.3. Geographies of social movements

Despite the momentum of Latin American cycling activism, geographic analyses of this phenomenon remain elusive. To situate this movement in space, I review the literature on social movements (SMs) in the city and geographical conceptualisations of SMs. I move forward by discussing Latin American notions of *territorio* and the related concept *cuerpo-territorio*. Because discussions about the spatialities of SMs in anglophone research have been well rehearsed, I will place more emphasis on the latter concepts before finishing with commentary on SMs and knowledge production.

### 2.3.1. Social movements in the city

In the 1970s there emerged a body of literature concerning urban social movements (USMs), influenced by Manuel Castells' *The Urban Question* (1977) and *The City and the Grassroots* (1983), where Castells highlights the importance of space and place for SMs. While previous studies of SMs had paid little attention to space, Castells brought the city into sharp focus by theorising USMs as rallying around issues of collective consumption, territorial identities, and political self-determination. This provoked debates about the distinctiveness of USMs and about the specificity of the city. Subsequent developments have led to a considerable body of work that, turning to Henri Lefebvre (1968), analyses urban mobilisations through the lens of the right to the city (Harvey, 2012). Here, SMs are understood to arise in response to capitalist urbanisation, and mobilisations around housing, public space, poverty, and even urban mobility are examined through Lefebvre's formulation of the right of urban inhabitants to appropriate and produce urban space (Mayer, 2009; Mitchell, 2003; Verlinghieri & Venturini, 2018).

Against this, Uitermark and colleagues (2012) argue that the right to the city does not help us "go beyond the city" as the sole analytical lens through which processes that exceed the city are studied. They propose, instead, a relational approach in which the city is irreducible to a container of social activity, and instead is thought of as an incubator for a dialectic that demands further analysis: contention and control. Similarly, Miller and Nicholls (2013) contest the very term 'urban social movements', arguing that there is not a distinctive urban process around which USMs can cohere.

Rather, SMs in cities rally around issues related to the lived experiences of political actors which may reflect broader systemic processes. These discussions notwithstanding, authors generally agree that certain characteristics of cities (e.g., the concentration of people and resources) facilitate the formation of contentious collectivities and the strengthening of networks.

### *2.3.2. The spatialities of social movements*

Employing frameworks besides the right to the city and USMs can be helpful to disentangle processes of mobilisation in cities and better understand the co-constitution of space and SMs (Nicholls, 2007). Within Geography, SMs have been analysed through the lens of territory, place, scale, and network – what Jessop and colleagues (2008) call the “TPSN framework”. The authors’ framework is a critique to one-dimensional analyses that privilege one spatiality over the others, and a call to account for polymorphism in all socio-spatial relations. Analyses of mobilisation that privilege a single spatiality are necessarily incomplete, so researchers ought to examine the co-implication of spatialities and tease out how they co-exist and co-produce one another (Leitner et al., 2008).

Space and its production are often issues of contention around which SMs rally, for instance in the case of anti-highway movements (Sagaris, 2019b; Sosa López, 2017). The grievances that emerge from the uneven production of space are most commonly witnessed, experienced, and contested in place (Agnew, 1987). Hence, place is crucial for understanding SMs, as it allows us to unravel why SMs unfold where they do, and to account for the geography of political opportunities (Martin & Miller, 2003; Routledge, 2015). Place is also central to the formation of activist identities, claims, capacities, the development of trust, and the formulation of spatial imaginaries and alternatives (Miller, 2000). However, there exists the risk of essentialising place and presenting movements and actors as homogenous (Bosco, 2001). Furthermore, following Massey (1994), places are not self-contained, but are cut across by economic, political, and cultural processes of varying geographic reach (Routledge, 2015), so relations *in* place are also affected by relations *across* place (Davies, 2012). Analyses of solidarity across borders, and of the anti-globalisation movement in particular (Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005; Routledge, 2003), trouble place as the sole analytical category for conceptualising SMs in space and demand other kinds of grammars and vocabularies.

The network metaphor has come to hold a privileged position in analyses of social movements because networking practices connect activists across different contexts and facilitates collective action. Although networks have been important for all social movements to share knowledge and develop identities and imaginaries, the internet has intensified exchange between activists, generated new repertoires of mobilisation, and drawn more attention to this approach (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). However, network approaches do not solely focus on the interconnections between activists, they also attend to how place-based mobilisations operate at a variety of scales (Bosco, 2001; Nicholls, 2009), with varying degrees of success (Uitermark & Nicholls, 2012). Still, others have noted the shortcomings of networks as an “all-encompassing spatial logic of social movements [that] ignores the messy and dynamic ways in which activists engage with space” (Halvorsen, 2012, p. 432). Networks can be uneven, forming distinct socio-spatial structures with their own logics of inequality and conflict (Nicholls et al., 2013), and capturing this complexity requires that we study networks alongside the other spatial processes with which they are implicated, heeding the call to take seriously the polymorphism of all socio-spatial relations.

To speak of networks compels us to consider the scalar strategies activists deploy during mobilisation. Notwithstanding geographical debates about flat ontologies (Marston et al., 2005), SMs *do* engage in scalar politics (MacKinnon, 2011), and indeed *produce* scale in the course of mobilisation (Nicholls et al., 2013). Scale is central to SMs’ strategies of procuring resources, framing issues and solutions, and engagement with State institutions, typically spatialised in nested scales (Hoogesteger et al., 2017; Leitner et al., 2008; Tarrow & McAdam, 2005). Furthermore, multi-scalar strategies require “the development and reconfiguration of social networks and power relations across geographical and institutional boundaries” (Nicholls et al., 2013, p. 9). Doing so involves scale jumping to connect struggles across multiple scales, be that through scaling up and forging coalitions or scaling down to leverage place-specific meanings and attachments (Okechukwu, 2020).

Moving forward, Leitner and colleagues (2008) contend that movement is essential to the strategies and struggles of SMs: people mobilise ideas, knowledge, resources, things, *and themselves* to transform their conditions of possibility. In addition to mobility as a constitutive element of SMs, the politics of mobility can be a source of grievance around which people mobilise. This is most often the case with controversial mega-infrastructure projects (He et al., 2016; Sagaris & Landon, 2017; Sosa

López, 2017), but people have also mobilised for the right to mobility (Verlinghieri & Venturini, 2018) and against automobility (Furness, 2010). My research is concerned with both dimensions of mobility in relation to SMs. Hence, as others have suggested (Miller & Ponto, 2016), it makes sense to theorise mobility among the spatialities to account for how mobilities produce place, scale, networks, and territories. Furthermore, referring to “protest mobilities”, Miller and Nicholls (2013) suggest that movements themselves change as they travel. For instance, as Occupy travelled to different cities, it encountered dilemmas and limitations that entailed negotiations to “overcome local particularisms, globalizing the local and localizing the global” (Miller & Nicholls, 2013, p. 466).

McFarlane (2009) adds to this conversation by proposing that social movements be conceptualised as assemblages rather than networks. The notion of *translocal assemblage* emphasises that social movements are more than connections between sites. This concept captures how place-based movements exchange ideas, knowledges, and resources across sites, and in this sense can be place-focused, but not limited to place. Drawing on geographical thought on assemblage (B. Anderson et al., 2012; Baker & McGuirk, 2017), this approach emphasises the processual and heterogeneous character of social processes, meaning that assemblages are not just a spatial category, but emphasise emergence, performance, and indeterminacy (McFarlane, 2009). Like Actor-Network-inspired accounts of SMs (Rodríguez-Giralt et al., 2018), assemblage allows for writing non-human actors into accounts of mobilisation. This reading is thus both relational and territorial and does away with the rigidity of the TPSN framework, foregrounding instead the ongoing constitution of space as it is actually lived (Conway et al., 2018; Davies, 2012). This troubles the concepts (e.g., collective action) and spatial categories (e.g., scale) dominant in sociological and geographical discussions on social movements and invites researchers to think about emerging compositions (Arenas, 2014; P.-H. Lee, 2017). As such, assemblage “opens up new spaces and spatialities for analysis, spaces formed through a variety of interactions, material exchanges, translations, convergences, and divergences” (Kinkaid, 2019, p. 567).

### 2.3.3. *Territory and territorio*

Alongside the turn to assemblage outlined above, territory is gaining renewed centrality in geographical research (Dematteis, 2019). Yet, anglophone scholarship has paid little attention to

developments of this concept beyond the classical definition that anchors territory to the Eurocentric nation-state (Clare et al., 2018; Halvorsen, 2018; Schwarz & Streule, 2017). While ‘territory’ has undergone important reassessments in the light of broader developments in the discipline (See: Agnew, 1994; Brenner, 1998; Painter, 2010), attending to territory outside this tradition remains important, not least because it serves to interrogate the epistemological basis of ‘territory’, but also to underscore its specificity – the different genealogies that emerge from particular historical and geographical contexts.

In Latin America, *territorio* is a ubiquitous and polysemic concept, and the preferred spatial category in critical geography (Zaragocin & Caretta, 2021). Its use is widespread in the discipline, well beyond political geography, and is often employed in the plural – *territorios* – and framed as contested (Clare et al., 2018; Zibechi, 2012). In his extensive excavation of the concept, Brazilian geographer Rogério Haesbaert (2011, 2013, 2020) has identified three dominant conceptualisations. The first is a reading that, in dialogue with French philosophy (namely, Lefebvre, Deleuze and Guattari, and Foucault), “proposes territory as the most relevant geographical concept for analysing the relationship between space and power, particularly among subaltern groups” (Haesbaert, 2020, p. 269). Here, *territorio* is understood as socio-material and relational; both the site, the stake, and the emergent outcome of power relations and political projects (Clare et al., 2018; Halvorsen, 2018). The second perspective is informed by feminism, and it conceptualises the body as the primordial territory while collapsing any ontological distinction between the two (Cruz Hernández, 2016). Grounded in work about indigenous and Afro-descendant communities, the third – anthropological – approach broadens ‘territory’ to be almost synonymous with *space for life* (Oslender, 2008). Owing to the nature of my research, here I zoom in on the first (and most widespread) of these readings, then follow with a section on the second, framed as *cuerpo-territorio* (body-territory).

Understanding *territorio* as relational, material, and socially produced (hence open to contestation) places the focus on the struggles over the practices, meanings, and tenures of space (Schwarz & Streule, 2017). Geographical theorising of *territorio* in Latin America emerges from dialogues with the myriad indigenous, Afro-descendant, and *campesino* movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries that hold territorial claims at the heart of their mobilisations (Fernandes, 2005; Reyes & Kaufman, 2011). Academic use of *territorio* has responded to the re-signification of the concept by SMs, taking distance from definitions of territory as a technology of power wielded by the State, more prominent

in anglophone geography (Elden, 2010, 2013). *Territorio* is not *tierra* (land), and while it is not anchored to the nation-state, we cannot divorce claims to *territorio* from the racialised histories of colonisation, dispossession, and *resistance* that have shaped Latin American nation-states.

These genealogies speak of the collective basis of *territorio* as the “the experiential assertion of social groups to space through collectivity and appropriation” and “as the space of events and traditions across history” (Sandoval et al., 2017, p. 49). *Territorio* therefore emphasises relations between people and space that do not necessarily rest on concepts of capitalist ownership and productivity, but rather on relatedness and belonging (Clare et al., 2018). As such, *territorio* is tied to subjectivity and identity-formation: in Santiago, writes Francisca Márquez, *territorio* has always been “a source of integration and identification within one’s own group; but also of disintegration/ distinction/ differentiation with relation to the rest of society. [...] In this sense, identity is not just narration, but also capacity for action and mobilisation” (2017, p. 163). *Territorio* is thus imbued with historicity, retaining an internal tension that is a product of the modern-colonial project of nation-building, as well as the tensions between the State’s and SMs’ territorialisation. This tension surfaces when different understandings of power are made explicit.

How power is conceptualised is central to how *territorio* is produced and defined. A Foucauldian-inspired understanding of power as capillary, multi-dimensional, and beyond state authority delivers a broader understanding of the relation between power and space (Sandoval et al., 2017; Saquet, 2015). Analysing SMs in Buenos Aires, Clare et al. (2018) argue that a critical engagement with power as *potencia* – the power-to immanent to SMs – allows for a more nuanced, relational account of how territories are contested and produced through everyday practice, not solely through the sovereign power of state (*poder*, power-over). In their reading, both forms of power are in tension and operate simultaneously, producing multiple, overlapping territories (Clare et al., 2018; Haesbaert, 2011). Clare and colleagues suggest three key themes for understanding the relationship between *territorio* and *potencia*: “(1) the active reproducing of territories by inhabitants [through their everyday actions]; (2) the overlapping and multiterritorial struggle by different, yet interconnected, social groups in solidarity; (3) and the new territories constructed through this process” (2018, p. 309).

As this indicates, there always exist several layers of socio-spatial appropriation in any process of territorialisation (Halvorsen, 2018), so it makes sense to theorise *territorio* in a way that acknowledges

the plural and multi-scalar possibility of territoriality,<sup>15</sup> and the simultaneous and/or successive experience of multiple territories – or, *multiterritoriality* (Haesbaert, 2011, 2013). This development is useful since it allows scholars to bring together *territorio* and mobility, and develop notions such as *territorios-red*, or territory-networks, bringing together spatialities that have hitherto been written as antithetical in anglophone geography (though see: Painter, 2006). In excavating “the myth of deterritorialisation”, Haesbaert (2011) argues against a “zonal” understanding of territory, where the focus was on the control over a bounded areal unit; and against seeing networks and mobility as deterritorialising agents. Rather, Haesbaert explains, “for us, territories can be constituted through the articulation of networks, and so can also be constructed in and by movement. Deleuze and Guattari state that a repetitive movement is a form of territorialisation. If that movement is controlled, if mobility in a given space is controlled, then a territory is produced by means of controlling mobility” (2013, p. 22). For Haesbaert, *territorio* can be produced in and through mobility, and he goes as far as asserting that the predominant form of territorialisation today is the control over flows, networks, and connections.

In delineating a broad definition of *territorio*, Halvorsen builds on Haesbaert and other Brazilian geographers to suggest defining it as “the appropriation of space in pursuit of political projects – in which multiple (from bottom-up grassroots to top-down state) political strategies exist as *overlapping* and *entangled*” (Halvorsen, 2018, p. 5). This broad, vibrant, and flexible framework is useful for research into the spatialities of social movements in and beyond Latin America, but it needs specification to make *territorio* analytically operative. Analyses of urban processes that build on *territorio* can help in this regard (Clare et al., 2018; Halvorsen et al., 2019; Mason-Deese et al., 2019). One example should suffice to illustrate how *territorio* allows us to make sense of struggles over urban space, attending to the material conditions of urban territory, the layers of meaning inscribed in territory, and the representations and regulations that define the production of territory.

Schwarz and Streule (2017) analyse the conflict over the former lakebed of Lake Texcoco in San Salvador Atenco (Mexico), threatened by a controversial airport project intended to be Mexico City’s second air travel hub. They suggest that, as *territorio*, the urban can be analysed in terms of the material conditions and physical transformations entailed in territorial struggles. The Mexican State’s

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<sup>15</sup> Territoriality is a sibling concept, but outside of the scope of this review. For a detailed discussion, see: Haesbaert, 2011.

territorialisation via infrastructural development would threaten the socio-territorial configurations and lives of Atenco's residents for whom "everything comes from the land" (Schwarz & Streule, 2017, p. 9). However, urban *territorio* can simultaneously be analysed in terms of the territorial imaginaries embedded in collective memories of past struggles and identities of the actors disputing *territorio*. Territorial imaginaries refer to "the spatial representation wherein a material base, perceptions of territoriality and collectively shared meanings are intertwined" (p. 7) – hence, practices of material appropriation are closely linked to symbolic appropriations. In the case of Texcoco, this refers to the tension between the government and the architecture firm's vision of modernity and its territorialisation, and Atenco's residents' historic practices of farming and communal land tenure. Finally, they contend that urban *territorio* can be analysed as a technique of spatial regulation and representation. They draw attention to the *ejido*, a traditional Mexican form of organising collective land use protected by the law, which served as the legal basis to resist the airport project and protect the farmer's specific form of territorial organisation. Their analysis allows Schwarz and Streule to conclude that *territorio* "is not a fixed category but an empirically grounded concept; moreover, it can be applied to ascertain how and by whom urban life is shaped and experienced" (p. 14). Taken to the city, *territorio* can illuminate how the urban is produced through the territorial strategies of manifold subjects and provide novel perspectives on urban struggles.

#### 2.3.4. *Cuerpo-territorio & Latin American feminisms*

Researchers and activists commonly identify two recent 'waves' of Latin American feminism: first, the *movimiento de mujeres* of the 1970s and 1980s against authoritarian regimes saw women organising alongside opposition parties and clandestine Leftist organisations around class-based and nationalist causes. However, women were increasingly waging a "specific struggle" for women's rights, forging "new ways of doing politics" different from the masculinist Left, and nucleating around *encuentros* – regional women's gatherings (Alvarez, 1998; L. Horton, 2016). The return to democracy (however fragile) in several Latin American countries in the 1990s ushered in a new era of "vertiginous multiplication of the spaces and places in which women who call themselves feminists act today and a reconfiguration of feminist identities" (Alvarez, 1998, p. 298). Two decades later, 'feminisms' in the plural is better suited to speak of the communitarian, decolonial, indigenous, Afro, insurgent, liberal, and popular feminisms that co-exist (and coalesce) in Latin America today. Notwithstanding

the inadequacy of the periodisation of feminism in ‘waves’, there now exists a *tide* of feminised bodies mobilised against gender-based violence and femicide in a mass feminist movement (Conway & Lebon, 2021), as captured by the movement-slogan *#NiUnaMenos*<sup>16</sup> (Palmeiro 2020), and the geographical grammar of *cuero-territorio*.

*Cuero-territorio* is a key contribution from Latin American communitarian, indigenous, and decolonial feminisms, each of which approaches this notion in particular ways (Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo, 2017). The academic development of this concept has also drawn on the work of Doreen Massey and Linda McDowell, their challenge to space as a neutral category, and the power relations they have shown to cut across bodies and space (Cruz Hernández, 2016). Decolonial feminists ground their conceptualisation in the colonial experience of domination, inextricable from capitalist-patriarchal regimes of accumulation and dispossession. Women’s bodies can thus be seen as ‘colonies’, or territories, from which wealth is extracted through violence (Gago, 2019). However, for communitarian and indigenous feminists, patriarchy and women’s exploitation preceded colonisation. The historical violence inflicted on women’s bodies as a form of control and submission, and extraction of women’s care work and custodianship of life entail that indigenous struggles in defence of their territories must go hand-in-hand with women’s recuperation of their body-territory (Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo, 2017; Cruz Hernández, 2016).

Building on these perspectives, *cuero-territorio* is an emerging concept and method that is being re-worked as its use becomes widespread in Latin American feminist geography. It is thus an unfinished project unfolding through the collective praxis and encounters between feminists of all convictions in critical geography collectives and grassroots mapping workshops (Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo, 2017; Zaragocin & Caretta, 2021). Drawing on such experiences, Zaragocin and Caretta (2021) have recently introduced *cuero-territorio* to anglophone feminist geography to advance the decolonisation of the discipline. As a concept, *cuero-territorio* collapses the ontological distinction between the body and territory to capture how violence inflicted on territory is necessarily felt in and through the body, and that which is experienced by the body is simultaneously experienced by territory (Gago, 2019; Haesbaert, 2020). As a method, “*cuero-territorio*

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<sup>16</sup> Not Another Woman Less.

prioritises the body as the unit of analysis of spatial dynamics, especially those related to extractive activity and gender-based violence” (Zaragocin & Caretta 2020, p. 2). Epistemologically, *cuervo-territorio* prioritises knowledge from the body and embodied experience, and is therefore a situated methodology (Zaragocin & Caretta, 2021).

While the concept has developed around struggles against extractivism, Gago (2019) suggests that we adopt an expanded notion of extractivism to extend the analytical reach of *cuervo-territorio*. Expanded extractivism refers to all forms of dispossession and exploitation, including speculative development in urban territories and the financial extractivism that extracts vitality and labour from popular economies via debt. The effects of all extractivisms are acutely felt primarily by rural, indigenous, and working-class women, whose efforts to sustain everyday life are undermined by increased violence and roll-out neoliberalism. Furthermore, *cuervo-territorio* conceptualises a *collective* body that does not *possess*, but is *part of*, territory. In this sense, the concept “de-liberalises” the body as individual property “and specifies a political, productive, and epistemic continuity of the body *as* territory. The body reveals itself as a composition of affects, resources, and possibilities that are not ‘individual’, but become singular in passing through each body, inasmuch as each body is not ‘one’, but always with others, including non-humans” (Gago, 2019, p. 97).

Thinking with *cuervo-territorio* allows for a different conceptualisation of sovereignty – a concept closely attached to ‘territory’ – displacing sovereignty from the State to the body: “sovereignty over one’s own body (understood as *cuervo-territorio*) to conceive it as a site of pleasure and resistance to neo-colonialism, in a grammar that brings forth a different political economy and a different non-State-centric geography” (Gago, 2019 p.103). Although the concept has been developed on the basis of rural and indigenous women’s experiences, Hayes-Conroy (2018) takes the body-as-territory to men’s bodies in Medellín. There, *cuervo-territorio* is part of a peacebuilding methodology that affirms life after armed conflict and produces new modes of political being and *somatic sovereignty*. She defines this as “the ability to collectively control the structure of territorial relations through which bodily feelings and sensations emerge. [...] A sovereignty that recognises and includes the individual body but only in its intention to lose itself in something larger. It is a sovereignty that occupies through non-violence” (Hayes-Conroy, 2018, p. 1309).

Taking *cuervo-territorio* elsewhere is a useful strategy which Gago (2019) identifies as the feminist movement's ability to territorialise concepts and produce situated translations and reappropriations of different vocabularies. That is, while the concept originates in the indigenous and peasant communities of Central America, it can have analytical purchase and illuminate socio-territorial dynamics unfolding in cities. Working with an expanded notion of extractivism, *cuervo-territorio* offers the possibility to connect struggles unfolding at a variety of scales (for instance connecting cities to the extractive frontiers that make motorised sub/urban life possible), since the ontological collapse implied by the term means that to fight in defence of territory is to defend life itself. The concept thus reveals the “innumerable other scales of oppression and resistance: family, public square, community, neighbourhood, social organisation, indigenous territory, etc” (Haesbaert, 2020, p. 279). If, as discussed in the preceding section, *territorio* can come into being in and through mobility, bodies-territories are also susceptible to the particular dynamics of specific mobile regimes. In cities, configurations like automobility alter the structure of socio-territorial relations in place (Pérez-López, 2019), with deleterious effects on bodies-territories as they are subjected to displacement and dispossession to make space for highways and similar projects; made ill by noise, pollution, and sedentarism; and made vulnerable to slow death through illness, or to sudden and violent death through collisions. In sum, when socio-territorial relations are mediated by mass motorisation, it is not just urban landscapes that are fundamentally altered, but bodies-territories, too.

### 2.3.5. *Knowledge and social movements*

Amongst activists and academics, there exists a concern about the meeting of theory and praxis, dutifully explored by feminist theorists (e.g., Ahmed, 2017), but also motivated by questions around the politics of academic knowledge production (Routledge, 1996). Embedded in this literature are perspectives that see SMs as sites of knowledge creation, reformulation and diffusion (Brem-Wilson, 2014; Bringel & Varela, 2016; Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Choudry, 2015; Choudry & Kapoor, 2010). Starting from the proposition that SMs are knowledge producers in their own right, this literature excavates the politics, processes, sites, and locations of knowledge production and learning (Choudry & Kapoor, 2010).

Casas-Cortés et al. (2008, p.21) examine SMs' *knowledge-practices* – the “stories, ideas, narratives, and ideologies, but also theories, expertise, as well as political analyses and critical understandings of particular contexts” that SMs create, modify, and enact, and which have direct political effects in the world. The hyphenated *-practices* emphasises the concrete, material, embodied, lived, and situated character of all forms of knowledge. Inasmuch as knowledge production might be an objective for many SMs, knowledge-practices are part of activists' everyday activities, and they can encompass claims to truth-making; micro-political knowledges; and reflexive forms of theorizing and analysis (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Yates, 2015). Movements and members are often positioned as subaltern in relation to hegemonic identities, discourses, interpretations, and knowledges. When this happens, the knowledge activists produce can acquire a contentious quality (Brem-Wilson, 2014), or can re-politicise debates closed down by technocratic rationales (McArthur, 2019). In the Latin American tradition, the politicisation of SMs' knowledge has been motivated by the decolonial project of elevating subalternised knowledges and challenge global regimes of knowledge production and coloniality (Bringel & Varela, 2016; Escobar, 1998, 2007). Here, then, “...the importance of knowledge-practices rests on the one hand on the unique sites of enunciation — their situatedness — and on the other, in their engagement with dominant (even repressive) regimes of truth” (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008). This contrasts with Manuel Tironi's perspective (reviewed below) which rejects this Othering of SMs and, instead, positions SMs' knowledge alongside that of professional planning practitioners, rejecting any fundamental distinction between ‘experts’ and ‘laypeople’. In sum, the work on knowledge and SMs invites different ways of engaging with SMs – *thinking* with and *learning from* collectivities – which I will discuss in greater depth in Chapter 3 (methodology). At the same time, this work broaches the question of who has the power to make knowledge claims and dovetails with the following section on ‘Knowing the City’.

## 2.4. Knowing the City

### 2.4.1. *Thinking from the South*

Several voices in Geography have called for the discipline to confront its colonial legacy and adopt a critical stance towards the privileged position of the Euro-American episteme in the field (Jazeel, 2017; Schwanen, 2018; Zaragocin, 2021). Two bodies of work have been influential in the move to

‘think from the South’ – postcolonial and decolonial theory. On one hand, the Latin American school of decolonial thought<sup>17</sup> is mainly concerned with the modernity-coloniality nexus. Coloniality is a model of power that emerged during, but endures far beyond the end of, formal colonial rule in the Spanish Americas and the Caribbean, and which defines culture, inter-subjective relations, the global distribution of labour, and the production of knowledge (Castro-Gómez, 2005; Farrés Delgado & Matarán Ruiz, 2014). Central to this project is the concept of coloniality of power, which refers to a structure of domination based on Europe’s claims to ethnic and epistemic superiority, central to the modern-capitalist civilising project, and resting on four interrelated axes: race; gender and sexuality; economy; authority; and knowledge and subjectivity (Mignolo, 2011; Quijano, 1992).

Though it has not been widely embraced in Latin American urban scholarship, some researchers are building on this tradition to think through urban processes. Farrés Delgado and Matarán Ruiz (2014) propose a “transmodern decolonial urban theory” that critiques the processes of homogenisation resulting from the reproduction of urban models which cement Western perceptions of (and modes of inhabiting) space, territory, and architecture as seemingly universal and untethered. Working in Guadalajara (Mexico), Cassián-Yde (2019) questions *Who gets to tell the ‘truth’ about the city’s problems?*. She argues that citizen participation in processes of revitalisation is mediated by the coloniality of knowledge and power (see: Mignolo, 2011), upholding normative, segregationist, and neo-colonial constructions of public space by reducing it to “automobile-free space”. This view of public space can reinscribe forms of oppression through closing down other ways of “doing public” – for instance through the persecution of street vendors to give way to “Free Sidewalks” for pedestrians. Through a marriage of mobilities and decolonial thinking, Freire-Medeiros and Name (2017) analyse how images and materialities produce ‘exotic’ landscapes and tourist destinations out of the Brazilian favela; and Mansilla and Imilan (2020) turn to decolonial thought to examine processes of urbanisation and the ensuing deterritorialisation of Mapuche indigenous peoples in Padre Las Casas, in southern Chile. Discourses of ‘green’ and ‘bikeable’ cities can be scrutinised through a decolonial lens to disentangle how hierarchies of movement are established, contested, and subverted, including questions of who can ‘tell the truth’ about urban mobility. However, while my thinking has been stimulated by this line of theorising, this research it is more aligned with postcolonial urbanism and its conceptual dyad of *worlding* and *provincialising*.

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<sup>17</sup> A related but distinct decolonial tradition builds on Black, Latinx, Chicanx, and Indigenous thought from North America (Daigle & Ramírez, 2019; Tuck & Yang, 2012), but reviewing it is outside the scope of this work.

Rooted in the work of Said, Spivak, Bhabha, and Chakrabarty, postcolonial theory is part of a broader body of poststructuralist thinking that seeks to “critique, deconstruct, counter and transcend the cultural and broader ideological legacies and presences of imperialism” (Sidaway, 2000, p. 594). In urban geography some have adopted a postcolonial stance to expose and revise urban theory's Eurocentrism through provincialising urban theory, theorising from the South, and re-framing the terms of comparative analyses (Leitner & Sheppard, 2016; Myers, 2014; Robinson, 2016a; Roy, 2016). Lawhon and Truelove (2020, p. 4) synthesise the “southern urban critique” thus: “the global south is empirically different; it has different research and knowledge production genealogies; and the north-south encounter requires rethinking how we theorise”. Postcolonial urbanism interrogates how cities are assembled, compared, and positioned; and questions the ways in which the geographies of knowledge come to bear upon life in cities (Robinson, 2006). These calls are timely: as Africa, Asia, and Latin America are urbanising at unprecedented rates, often in surprising ways (Simone, 2010), the universalising theories developed in the Western capitalist world seem inadequate to conceptualise these processes. The aim, then, is to disrupt conventional approaches to urban theorising that rely on iconic cities of the Global North, and to theorise from the South to advance a more global urban studies (Robinson & Roy, 2016).

Two strategies have been advanced by postcolonial urban scholars to achieve the goal of situating and decentring knowledge in a single move (Müller, 2021). *Provincialising* is a concept borrowed from history and postcolonial studies (Chakrabarty, 1992). In urban studies, it has been used to challenge those theories that treat northern urbanisation as the norm by turning to the peripheries of global urbanism and destabilising claims to universal knowledge (Burns et al., 2021; Leitner & Sheppard, 2016; Sheppard et al., 2013). This requires acknowledging the partiality and situatedness of all forms of knowledge and “empowering other loci of enunciation from which to speak back against, thereby contesting, mainstream global urbanism” (Sheppard et al., 2013, p. 895). The result is the deconstruction of imaginaries of cities, allowing new visions and frames of reference to emerge.

Second, *worlding* is a strategy suggested by postcolonial urbanists, and it has been interpreted and approached in manifold ways. One basic definition sees worlding as “the ways that cities assert their local economy and culture as positioned within global flows of capital, people and information” (Burns et al., 2021, p. 464). Worlding is thus evocative of ‘global cities’ and ‘world-class’ cities and

how they come to acquire worldly status. However, it also refers to efforts to position peripheral and Southern cities as worlding nodes that create connections and global regimes of value, for instance through comparison and inter-referencing (McCann et al., 2013). In some sense, worlding also involves leveraging how postcolonial or subaltern subjects make a place in the world and the tactics they use to do so through everyday practices and creating alternative visions of the world (Ong, 2011; Simone, 2001). Yet, worlding also involves critically scrutinising the world recognition of certain urban models, their circulation, and the making and contesting of ‘world-class’ cities (Montero, 2017b). That is, how people “attempt to establish or break established horizons of urban standards in and beyond a particular city” (Ong, 2011, p. 4).

This conceptual dyad has purchase beyond urban studies, however. Drawing on Heidegger’s concept of “worldview”, McCann et al. (2013) suggest that worlding is also a way to interrogate our scholarly practices and call into question the relationship between the universal and the particular. That is, they raise the issue of seeing the North as the site of Theory, and the South as the site of ethnography and raw data to be analysed by universally applicable Theory (with a capital “T”). Hence, worlding and provincialising invite researchers to critically reflect on their disciplinary practices and how these, too, have an effect on the world – elevating some sites and knowledges while marginalising others. Müller’s proposal for worlding Geography takes these critiques to the issue of language, arguing that much geographical theory used to scrutinise societies everywhere comes from anglophone sources, so linguistic privilege shapes the geopolitics of knowledge production at the expense of knowledge from ‘global anywheres’. Against this, worlding Geography entails “opening up Geography, as a discipline with a capital G, to those multiple unsung and untold places and voices that hide beyond the reach and grasp of current Geography and its privileged medium of English as a language” (2021 p.2). I will return to this discussion in the final portion of Chapter 3.

Notwithstanding the reach of these calls, they are not without limitations. Owing to the genealogy of this line of thought (grounded in the postcolonial experience of France and Britain’s former colonies), postcolonial urbanists have seldom engaged with Latin America, which often becomes “diluted” within the broader term ‘Global South’ (Jajamovich, 2017). This thesis puts Latin American cities at the centre to speak back to Northern-centric cycling scholarship, aiming to provincialise its extant coordinates and world Latin American cycling activism. One technique that has been useful to scholars for provincialising and worlding urban theory is adopting a comparative

methodology (Robinson, 2016b). I have not explicitly used this approach in this research but, instead, I suggest translation (and its refusal) and translocation as possible techniques for worlding research. I briefly discuss comparison and elaborate on my suggested techniques in Chapter 3.

#### 2.4.2. *Policy mobilities*

Building on the theoretical insights of postcolonial urbanism, mobilities, and policy assemblages, policy mobilities (PM) studies policymaking as a “global-relational, social and spatial process which interconnects and constitutes actors, institutions and territories” (McCann & Ward, 2012, p. 328). This research agenda is a framework for understanding how cities are assembled through their relations with other places and scales via the movements of knowledge. Researchers scrutinise the embodied practices, representations, and forms of expertise by means of which knowledges become de- and re-territorialised in different milieus (McCann, 2011; McCann & Ward, 2010). This is a relational-territorial approach to city-making and theorising that draws people, ideas, and materialities into the field of analysis to unpack “the mechanisms through which policies are mobilised, altered, and touched down in various places and how these processes shape cities” (Temenos & McCann, 2013, p. 344).

City models and policy best practices enable compelling stories about urban transformations that become “objects of desire” for policymakers (González, 2011). However, policies are not ready-made blueprints that can seamlessly travel from one locale to another and become successful *because* they are ‘best practices’. Instead, analyses of city models (González, 2011; Jajamovich, 2016), Business Improvement Districts (I. Cook & Ward, 2012; Stein et al., 2017), drug policy (McCann, 2008; Temenos, 2016), Bus Rapid Transit (Wood, 2014, 2015), and cycling best practices (Montero, 2017b; Sheldrick et al., 2017; Sosa López, 2021) show policy mobility to be an intensely laboured-over process of indeterminate outcomes. In unpacking these processes, PM is producing novel concepts arising from empirical work that increasingly focuses on South-South and even South-North directions of knowledge mobilisation (Montero, 2017b; Saraiva et al., 2021; Wood, 2014). Borrowing, re-interpreting, learning, and building networks does not just occur in a one-directional flow from the innovative Global North to the imitative South and it is not just the cities of the North that are nodes of creativity and value creation. PM therefore offers one response to

postcolonial urbanism's calls for a new comparative analytic (McFarlane & Robinson, 2012; Robinson, 2016a; Ward, 2010). To do so, it traces sites and situations, "follow[s] the policy", and makes recourse to the 'methodological arm' of policy assemblages (Baker & McGuirk, 2017; Cochrane & Ward, 2012; Peck & Theodore, 2012; Wood, 2016). While my focus is not on policies themselves, PM as a theoretical-methodological framework facilitates my analysis of how cycling activists mobilise the bicycle. It therefore informs my approach to urban knowledge-production in dialogue with the aforementioned social movements literature. Furthermore, the preferred spatiality of policy mobilities, trans-local space, is particularly well-suited for thinking about knowledge circulation in cycling activism.

PM offers a rich conceptualisation of actors that mobilise urban knowledge, encompassing both human and non-human agents. The latter are understood to be crucial for the circulation of knowledge, as documents, photographs, manuals, models, and "digital materialities" can have powerful persuasive effects and help carry ideas along across physical and virtual space (Montero, 2018; Temenos & Cook, 2019). Nevertheless, most accounts fall back on a conventional focus on humans, and McCann (2011) proposes three broad categories of (human) actors: first, local policy actors and policy entrepreneurs. The latter establish connections with the second category: the "global consultocracy" constituted by the policy consultants travelling the world disseminating policy knowledge across locales. Finally, he speaks of "informational infrastructures" as the educators and trainers who legitimise particular forms of expertise. In addition to these, Montero (2017c) proposes "persuasive practitioners" as a particular type of expert that does not rely on techno-scientific knowledge to relay an idea, but on a simplified narrative of urban transformation, like the Peñalosa brothers working to circulate Bogotá's 'transformation'. This concept challenges the idea of policy agents as rational, optimising decision-makers and shows policy mobility to also be an emotional endeavour. Sosa López and Montero (2017) also speak of "expert-citizens": a kind of actor situated between activists and transport experts that mobilise legitimacy as both experts and citizens, for example ITDP. These concepts – emerging from Latin America, no less – suggest the need to think seriously about non-elite actors as part of how knowledge is mobilised.

Early on, Temenos and McCann identified that "activists hoping to radically change cities can also be transfer agents, by using similar circuits and strategies as business and political elites to spread their own particular 'best practices'" (2013, p. 351). However, as Baker and colleagues note, "non-

elite actors frequently appear as bit players of ‘scene extras’ in accounts of policy transfer or mobility, but rarely as the main focus of analysis” (2019, p. 5), with notable exceptions (Klodawsky et al., 2016; Temenos, 2016; van Toorn, 2021). Baker et al. (2019) note that elite and non-elite are relative positions of power that depend on the ability to access and harness resources to influence policy processes, but claim that the interactions between elites and non-elites offer opportunities of empowerment to both. It is worth indicating here that PM scholarship rarely scrutinises the role of academia in the global policy landscape, despite the centrality of academic institutions in legitimising particular forms of knowledge and expertise (González, 2011; McCann, 2011). Nor does it work through those actors that can inhabit multiple positionalities within the policy mobility process (e.g. scholar-activists. Though see: Sosa López & Montero, 2018). Furthermore, authors rarely disclose their positionality vis-à-vis the subjects, policies and processes they study. Meanwhile, a key element of this research project is my own embeddedness in the field, working alongside cycling activists mobilising knowledges. I will return to this in the following chapter.

Unpacking how knowledge and policy travel requires examining the spaces through which they flow and in which they become fixed. Knowledge actors “create their own spatialities, marked by the circulation of knowledge through certain networks and sites, or ‘centers’, of persuasion and by the creation of specific spatial imaginaries” (McCann, 2008, p. 6). “Conferences, seminars, workshops, guest lectures, fact-finding field trips, site visits, walking tours, informal dinners and trips to cafés and bars” (McCann & Ward, 2012a, p. 47) are examples of networks and sites of persuasion. There, simplified story-telling, face-to-face interaction, relationship-building, producing, exchanging, and legitimising knowledge take place (Montero, 2017c). As Temenos (2016) indicates, these spaces and dynamics are also important for social movements’ long-term sustainability. During, after, and independent from these events, knowledge continues to circulate in the form of digital media, documents, videos, photographs, social media, etc., which later influence policy elsewhere (McCann, 2008; Montero, 2018). Sites like study tours and conferences allow being present and learning through witnessing and first-hand experience (Wood, 2014); and just as they are part of how cities are worlded (McCann, 2008), they help consecrate legitimacy and expertise (I. Cook & Ward, 2012).

Expertise allows certain actors to ‘tell the truth’ about the city, so it is a question of power, often constructed in opposition to its binary ‘Other’: the lay-person. However, there is an increasing recognition of the need to redistribute expertise and account for the ways in which multiple expert

knowledges are brought into being (McCann, 2008; Tironi, 2015; Whatmore, 2009). For instance, Jenny McArthur (2019) shows how transport advocates in Auckland (New Zealand) contested the credibility of technical experts' decision-making tools and the adequacy of economics and traffic engineering to bring about urban change. Using the Internet, they mobilised local public support and transport policy knowledge from abroad, allowing new expertise to gain legitimacy. Because learning is part of how expertise is constructed, knowledge produced, and relations between cities forged, I turn to urban learning to bridge social movements scholarship and policy mobilities.

### *2.4.3. Urban learning*

Learning is a powerful concept for understanding how cities are lived and contested, and an often a black-boxed part of knowing the city. Learning is a central to how policy is mobilised (Wood, 2016) and knowledge produced and circulated (McFarlane, 2011). It is also central to how social movements 'move', develop forms of organisation and political strategies, challenge the existing state of things and produce alternatives (Choudry & Kapoor, 2010). Colin McFarlane's (2010, 2011) framework of urban learning shares much with policy mobilities, including its disposition towards assemblage thinking, comparison, and postcolonial urbanism. Like policy mobility, learning is not static and linear, and is more than the direct transfer of knowledge across bodies and sites. Conceptualised as assemblage, learning is a social, relational, material, and contestable process that brings together heterogeneous elements that are structured through unequal relations of knowledge, power, and resource (McFarlane 2011).

McFarlane (2011, 2010, 2017) contends learning emerges from three processes. First, building on Bruno Latour (1986), translation entails the distribution and comparison of knowledges, ideas, and resources across multiple space-times. Translation emphasises the material, spatial, and practice-based nature of learning, indicating that materialities and spatialities have agentic capacities in producing learning (or inhibiting it). Important here is the notion of comparison, as much urban learning happens through comparison (McFarlane, 2010). Claims about what the city 'is' are implicitly comparative claims that rest on experiences or imaginaries of other urban places, and urban learning as postcolonial critique challenges scholars to 'think cities through elsewhere' (McFarlane 2010; Robinson, 2006). Second, coordination refers to the building of functional systems

that anchor translation. Translation occurs in relation to multiple sites and objects, so it needs “organising devices” to mediate between individual and environment. Urban coordination tools range from the mundane (a traffic light) to the technical (a planning document). McFarlane exemplifies coordinating devices through a new vocabulary: “urban learning forums”, he proposes, are “a particular type of centralized urban learning environment, explicitly geared towards learning between different actors [...]. If such urban forums are often sites of exclusion, managerialism and control, they also embody the historical potential of learning between constituencies to develop not just more democratized urbanisms, but more socially just urbanisms” (McFarlane, 2011 p.20). Finally, following Tim Ingold (2000), learning takes place through dwelling, which emphasises the lived character of learning as the education of attention through practical engagements with the lived environment. Dwelling shows learning to be spatially and temporally distributed, embodied, and haptic – a way of developing forms of relatedness to objects.

McFarlane builds his framework on the basis of his research with Shack Dwellers International – a social movement network targeting urban poverty in the Global South. In this sense, he begins to construct bridges between policy mobilities (which he is in sustained dialogue with) and social movement research, and is able to bring out the power struggles manifest in learning. Defining and delimiting the object of learning is an intensely political process where technical knowledge might become politicised (Kęblowski & Bassens, 2017; McArthur, 2019) – events that have been called “sociotechnical controversies” (Marres, 2007) or “knowledge controversies” (Whatmore, 2009). Clashes around knowledge are central to some social movements and, when this happens, “the battle-lines are often complexly drawn. Rather than government versus community or ‘lay’ knowledge, we often find ‘discourse coalitions’ that cut across different groups that promote particular interpretations of problems and forms of urban learning” (McFarlane 2011 p.65). Again, at stake here is who gets to tell the truth about the city, so the politics of learning are also about whose knowledge is deemed relevant and valuable (McFarlane, 2011). In some contexts, ‘lay knowledge’ might carry more weight than others and its contours can be re-drawn (Sosa López & Montero, 2018). This contingency of when, where, and who produces knowledge deemed valuable (and in what context it is valued) rests on the specific configurations of humans, non-humans, and institutions that variously make knowledges (im)mobile. This calls for a more nuanced understanding of expertise which, rather than continuing to rely on the expert-lay binary, redistributes expertise across a broader range of actors and institutions (Whatmore, 2009).

Tironi's (2015) concept of *modes of technification* proves useful for this task. He critiques radical planning's ontological distinction between expert and lay knowledge and, working with an STS framework, analyses how citizens' organisations (COs) in Santiago succeed by becoming technical entities. Tironi argues that COs challenge the knowledge practices and rationalities of professional planners not by leveraging their knowledge *as Others* to professionals, but by "weav[ing] political strategies that in practice prevent any epistemic distinction between 'us' (non-experts-*metis*) and 'them' (experts-*episteme*)" (p.71). Such strategies are what Tironi calls "modes of technification", and they reveal the contingency of the expert/layperson divide.

The organisational mode shows how COs structure and divide labour and share knowledge and skills across a distributed network of cooperation. People in organisations already have technical capacities, and as COs supply expert advice to each other (or bring in external experts), they become technical by assimilating technical expertise in the organisational field. Next, Tironi contends that to be successful COs must be able to magnify causes, frames, and problematisations. They do so by engaging experts in debates in traditional political arenas, employing their grammar, and arguing on a technical basis. They frame the controversy not as one of ontology or epistemology, but as a debate between two technical entities. In other words, through the epistemic mode of technification, COs position themselves as peers to traditional experts. Finally, the generative mode of technification pertains to the generation of issues and publics that coalesce around them. Doing so requires technical, political, and communicational savvy and can work to enrich debates and open new avenues of contestation. As I have shown in reviewing cycling politics, the organisation of urban mobility is a highly generative issue.

One of the twelve COs Tironi analysed is the Coordinadora No a la Costanera Norte, which has been amply studied by Lake Sagaris (2014, 2019b; Sagaris & Landon, 2017). Sagaris (2019b) offers an analysis of urban learning drawing on complexity theory approaches to urban planning, and it is worth discussing here because of her empirical case study's proximity to the movements I analyse – she documents what in many ways could be regarded as the precursor to the contemporary cycling movement in Santiago. Through the case of Coordinadora-Ciudad Viva (an anti-highway movement turned urban planning laboratory) and the "birth of citizens' urbanism" in post-Pinochet Chile, Sagaris shows that in urban processes it is not just policy elites and government officials that learn,

so do civil society organisations and social movements. In her account, activists and campaigners learn through similar mechanisms as elite actors: forging networks with academics, government, and other organisations; travelling to Bogotá to see TransMilenio and become inspired; bringing Enrique Peñalosa to Santiago for a major seminar; and partnering with a Dutch organisation to learn cycling best-practices (Sagaris, 2009). However, citizens' organisations also tap into community knowledge and, through "doing situations", derive valuable experiential knowledge and lessons from both successes and failures. Her approach is not so much concerned with knowledge-circulation as it is with building robust mechanisms of citizen participation in urban planning, but her detailed, PAR-inspired empirical work compels thought about how multiple knowledges are mobilised in planning controversies and suggests "citizen planners" as yet another category that can help re-distribute expertise.

## 2.5. Conclusion

The large body of work this research draws on allows me to approach the overarching question *How is the bike made mobile?* attending to the spatialities of cycling activism in Latin America, knowledge production and its mobilisation, and the frictions and possibilities that feminism presents for this movement.

I address a large geographical gap in vélomobilities research by focusing on Latin America – a part of the world thitherto underexplored by anglophone cycling scholarship. In centring activism, I am also addressing a lacuna in both English and Spanish language geographic literatures. What work exists has approached the topic from other disciplines, particularly Anthropology. As a result, most research into cycling activism has remained under-theorised in its spatial dimension, prioritising place and networks at the expense of other spatialities and a polymorphic understanding of social movements. My research tries to redress this one-dimensional conceptualisation, drawing in additional, but pertinent, categories: the Latin American elaborations of *territorio* and the feminist *cuerpo-territorio*. Additionally, aided by Latin American feminist theory and praxis, I move the dialogue about women and cycling forward by centring what women do together to resist violence and actualise the possibility of cycling. In doing so, I build proximity and cultivate political transversality between cycling activism and other feminist struggles and show transport and mobility to be sites

where resistance to *machismo* and patriarchy can be exercised. This has the potential to lay the groundwork for future engagements between feminism and cycling. This engagement not only speaks to academic literature – it is also central to this research project’s alignment with militant research and its agenda to augment and transform the movement of which the researcher is part (see: Chapter 3). This commitment cuts across the project but is perhaps most evident in my approach to thinking about cycling activism with feminism – a contribution to the work on I have called here ‘critical vélomobilities’.

Second, my dialogue with policy mobilities questions how knowledge travels in and across the spatialities where activism unfolds and offers an understanding of how the bicycle is constructed by activists as an object of knowledge and a political artifact. I have approached this through a union between policy mobilities and social movement research. However, I also challenge policy mobilities’ persistent focus on elite actors and bring into focus activists and their knowledge-practices. My empirical work shows policy mobilities to be limited in its conceptualisation of social movements as agents of knowledge production and circulation, and suggests that a greater engagement with the fluidity of actors’ positionalities in circuits of knowledge exchange is necessary to better understand how the bike is being made mobile in Latin America and beyond.

Through these moves, I am contributing to the nascent engagement with Latin American geographic thought in anglophone geography (Halvorsen, 2018; Zaragocin & Caretta, 2021), stimulating the kinds of hemispheric dialogues necessary to provincialise and world cycling scholarship. Most obviously, I have achieved this by teasing out the limitations of extant vocabularies (e.g., the TPSN framework) and bringing in concepts (*territorio* and *cuero-territorio*) that are sure to have analytical and political purchase beyond the specific context of Latin America. Engaging with literatures from and about Latin America and with research in Spanish allows for a rich exchange of concepts and ideas, and it is a pathway towards worlding Geography more generally. Doing so, however, entailed a series of translations and translocations, and an epistemological disposition that I will discuss in greater depth in the following chapter, where I lay out the methodology that informs this research project.

# Chapter 3: Methodology

## 3.1. Introduction

I must begin this chapter with a confession: I was not a cyclist when I started researching cycling activism. My process of becoming an academic researcher – of becoming-geographer – is intertwined with the intensely physical process of becoming-cyclist: experiencing changes in my body and exploring its potentialities for movement; being exposed to heat, rain, the hard pavement, and soft breezes; enduring exhaustion; allowing myself to feel joy, thrill, fear, and curiosity whilst riding alone or with others. Becoming-cyclist and becoming-geographer fed into each other: cycling was never *just* my transportation option; it was also a new-found way of living in and sensing the city and asking questions. I am a geographer by virtue of cycling whilst questioning. Becoming-cyclist in the hearth of cycling activism also shaped my sensibilities and disposition towards Latin America: from the sense of hopelessness shared by many of us with different ties to the region, to the vitality we experience when we believe something else is possible and come together with others who share that conviction (Routledge, 2009).<sup>18</sup> This is what happens when “the ability to research [...] becomes part of the experience of life, when it becomes potential to create” (Casas-Cortés & Cobarrubias, 2010 cited in Russell, 2015, p. 222).

As Juanita Sundberg (2005, p. 26) reflects, “collaborating and building webs, networks, or alliances are some of the strategies currently explored to transform the practices of research in ways that self-consciously topple the researcher’s position of authority to create spaces for exchange and surprise, and ultimately, to produce situated knowledge that is accountable for its (political) orientation”. And surprised I was. I arrived at this topic after a chance encounter with cycling activists in Bogotá in 2015, and I quickly found in cycling activism an intellectual and political project I could pursue alongside multiple others. The exercise of navigating between both shores of this (often turbulent) river – activism and academia – is how my positionality comes into being and justifies my intention

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<sup>18</sup> I have written on this matter (in Spanish) on multiple occasions. See: <https://www.ricmo.org/el-cuerpo-como-dispositivo-de-investigacion/params/post/2236209/diarios-de-campo-de-bicicleta> for a personal account of the cycling body as a research tool; and <https://revistapedalea.com/la-bicicleta-mi-compromiso-politico-y-ejercicio-intelectual/> for a brief history of my process of becoming-cyclist, becoming-geographer, and the cycling politics I am committed to.

in embarking on this research project: to write hopeful research that signals towards the possibilities extant in Latin American cities, and that is in continuous dialogue with the cycling movement, inviting reflection, offering sympathetic critique, and helping the movement ‘move’ through critically interrogating its practices and discourses (Apoifis, 2016; Russell, 2015).

In the first part of this chapter, I provide an overview of militant research as the main methodological approach informing this research. A central part of this methodology is the careful and continuous consideration of power relations in research, which I discuss in terms of critical engagement, positionality, and ethics. Next, I describe the methods I employed, including site selection, producing research materials, analysis, and means of maintaining dialogue with cycling activists throughout the project. I close with a discussion on representing research, and on translation and translocation as worlding techniques.

### **3.2. Militant research**

A participatory turn in the social sciences has stimulated interest in approaches to co-production, ‘open science’, participatory, and socially-engaged research (DeLyster & Sui, 2014; Mason, 2021; Ward, 2007). Among these, there exists a long tradition of solidarity research committed to social justice and societal transformation, such as Participatory Action Research (Fals-Borda, 1987), militant research (Colectivo Situaciones, 2003; Russell, 2015), activist research (Choudry, 2013; Hale, 2008), and scholar-activism (Mayer, 2020; Routledge & Derickson, 2015). Bringer and Varella (2016) trace the emergence of militant research in Latin America to the 1960s and the search for an autochthonous social theory that could account for historical inequalities pertaining to knowledge production. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed great academic commitment to social struggles, but the military dictatorships that sequestered much of Latin America during the mid to late twentieth century undermined such politically motivated intellectual projects. Following the processes of neoliberalisation during the 1990s, academic practice became largely depoliticised, but the turn of the century has ushered in a new era of interest in militant research within and beyond the university (Bringel & Varella, 2016).

What sets militant research apart from other approaches to activist research is the deliberate production of partisan knowledge, and the explicit aim of understanding and changing the collective praxis of the movement to which the researcher belongs (Russell, 2015). For Casas-Cortés et al. (2008) the main analytical goal of studying social movements is to engage with activist knowledges that are important or useful for society at large but, most importantly, producing knowledge that is useful and accessible to the communities we work with. Part of this involves disseminating this knowledge beyond fieldwork experience (Apoifis, 2016; Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019). This means “approach[ing] the partisan construction of knowledge ‘exactly like a toolbox’, in the sense that the production of knowledge is literally the production of tools that modify, enhance or create new ways of seeing and enable new ways of affecting the world” (Russell, 2015, p. 225). Hence, the outputs of this project are not limited to the dissertation and academic articles, but also include work intended for an activist audience, such as presentations at the World Bike Forum and other activist spaces (see: Table 3, Chapter 3); written texts (Castañeda, 2018, 2019, 2021b); interviews for activist media (LA Network, 2019; Suau Contreras, 2020a); a document and webinar about mobility justice (New Indie et al., 2020); a podcast (<https://anchor.fm/bicicletafantasma>)<sup>19</sup> and participation in activist podcasts (Pedalea x la calle, 2019; Revista Pedalea, 2020), to name a few.

Perhaps the best-known experience of militant research is Argentina’s Colectivo Situaciones,<sup>20</sup> which emerged during the economic crash of the early 2000s and alongside the *movimiento piquetero* – a working-class movement born out of the unemployment crisis (LatinAmericaBureau, 2010). The role of the militant researcher is to “develop the practical-theoretical task of co-producing knowledges and modes for an alternative society on the basis of the power-to of these *subaltern knowledges*” (Colectivo Situaciones, 2003, p. np; emphases in original). The radical praxis of Colectivo Situaciones is highly critical of academic knowledge-production and distances itself from the university and its financial, pedagogical, linguistic, and bureaucratic impositions. The figure of the militant researcher also takes distance from the political militant and their “ideological saturation”. Militant researchers seek to generate a capacity for movements to read themselves, and they look for clues of the possibility for a new social life in movements’ practices. Not all militant research follows the line of Colectivo Situaciones, however, but all readings agree on the first pillar of their research programme: “militant research, as we have developed it, lacks an *object*. We are aware of the paradox

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<sup>19</sup> Created with Camilo Torres Barragán, University of Aberdeen.

<sup>20</sup> Verónica Gago, on whose work I draw extensively in Chapter 6 of this thesis, is a member of Colectivo Situaciones.

in this statement – if we research, we research something; if there is nothing to research, how can we speak of research? – and, at the same time, we are convinced that this is what gives [militant research] its power-to. Researching without objectifying implies letting go of the traditional role of the researcher. This is what the militant researcher aspires to” (Colectivo Situaciones, 2003, p. np).

A militant research framework therefore rejects the division between subject and object at the heart of positivist epistemology, inasmuch as the researcher is part of the movement (Apoifis, 2016; Russell, 2015; Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019). For some (e.g., Russell, 2015), this means there is no critical distance between one’s self and the ‘object’ of the research. Russell likewise eschews the university as a referent and argues that there is no negotiation between roles when undertaking activist research. While I agree with the spirit of re-assessing the division between activism and academia and share a concern regarding what the university can do *with* social movements (Russell, 2015), this research project – as a requirement to complete a doctoral programme with specific demands and expectations – *is* situated within the university and compels me to navigate multiple positionalities, ethical considerations, and the expectations of the communities to which I belong. Moreover, most researchers working within a militant research framework do identify negotiating one’s positionality as a necessary practice to draw attention to power relations in research; and to devise strategies to navigate the politics of knowledge production (Apoifis, 2016; Brem-Wilson, 2014; Juris, 2007; Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019).

A second pillar of militant research are feminist ethics and epistemologies and their critique to disembodied, ‘objective’, and detached research. As a research ethics, this entails recognising connectedness and interdependence as underpinning all human (and non-human) relations and enacting an ethics of care that topples hierarchies and embraces openness towards others and their ways of knowing (see below). It also involves a careful consideration of the power relations that cut across all research projects. Epistemologically, researchers in this vein reject approaches that “explain away” social movements’ disembodied knowledge, as well as those that are sympathetic but not immersed in the organisations (Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019). Instead, researchers seek to have an effect on the world and on the movement they belong to and take a deliberately politicised approach to knowledge production. Doing so demands working with a situated epistemology that recognises that *all* knowledge is partial and incomplete; that movements carry and produce situated knowledge (for some movements, contesting and producing knowledge *is* the goal); that knowledge practices

are shaped by movements' interests and goals; and that solidarity between scholars and activists implicates the scholar in the struggle of the movement (Brem-Wilson, 2014).

This epistemological commitment also involves challenging the reason/emotion dichotomy and incorporating beliefs, values, and emotions as components of the research, recognising both their importance for social mobilisation and as a means to knowledge (J. Anderson, 2002; Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019). According to Brem-Wilson (2014), movements can carry and produce knowledge about an external field of relations, pertaining to the potential for social, political, and economic transformation. For instance, one of the questions I continuously asked myself and others is how cycling activists produce and acquire knowledges about transport and the city – this is part of what I address in Chapter 5. At the same time, movements carry knowledge related to the experiences, identities, and capacities of a particular subject or collectivity – that is, what movements know about themselves and which allows them to raise consciousness, analyse, and theorise steps forward (Brem-Wilson, 2014; Casas-Cortés et al., 2008). This is touched on throughout the thesis but given particular emphasis in Chapter 6 where I discuss the challenges that feminist activism presents to cycling activism. In addition to working with a feminist orientation, this thesis is shaped by my involvement with feminist cyclists. As such, it is not only informed by feminist theory and epistemology, but also nourished by feminist praxis as it unfolds within cycling activism and thus from the concrete political experience of the feminist movement. If militant research seeks to transform the praxis of the movement the research is involved in, it is my intention to augment feminist cycling activism through my field practices, ongoing involvement in activism, and the products of this research.

In this thesis, I work with Casas-Cortés and colleagues' (2008) rubric for recognising, building upon, and engaging with movements' knowledge-practices (see: Chapter 2.3.5). For these authors, excavating knowledge-practices and what movements say about themselves demands a methodology that destabilises the boundary between activist and academic (or other expert) knowledges. This involves immersing ourselves in activists' lifeworld so that we may participate in the intellectual life of the movement wherever it makes itself manifest. This is a relational mode of engagement that follows social actors to map the work that they do to bring movements into being, “going beyond causal explanation, toward description, evocation, and translation” (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008, p. 27).

### 3.3. Fieldwork translations, positionality, and ethics

Cycling is peculiar among transport research in that “whether situated in a mobilities or transport ontology, the vast majority of cycling research is conducted by academics and activists who are often cyclists themselves and wish to see more cycling” (Spinney, 2016, p. 451). However, whether identifying as activists or otherwise, cycling researchers seldom reveal their positionality and how this informs their research agenda (though see: Gamble, 2017; Lugo, 2018). In particular, while policy mobilities draws attention to the myriad actors involved in mobilising policy and urban knowledge across sites and in a power-laden landscape, little reflection takes place around the role of *academics ourselves* in mobilising these knowledges (Whitney, 2020 being a notable exception). Owing to the nature of my research, a significant part of my work involves not just writing about cycling activism for an academic audience, but also leveraging my education, institutional affiliation, and knowledge to advance the activist agenda in the multiple spaces that become available to me across academia, civil society, and government. Furthermore, as I discuss in Chapter 5, it is possible for people to inhabit multiple positionalities in the process of mobilising knowledge, the scholar-activist being one rarely acknowledged example. If policy mobilities research – one of the key literatures informing this thesis – is to have political purchase, it would be necessary to acknowledge the role(s) we play in the processes we study. Meanwhile, “the critical engagement brought about by activist research is both necessary and productive. Such research can contribute to transforming the discipline by addressing the politics of knowledge production and working to decolonize our research process” (Speed, 2006). In this section, I delve further into the topic of critical engagement following militant researchers’ and feminist scholars’ call to attend to the power relations in research by situating my work and critically reflecting on my shifting positionalities and their effects on this research project.

Situating knowledge is a process of recognising and revealing all knowledge as partial and incomplete, always originating *somewhere*, and necessarily marked by those origins. I have adopted the strategy of situating this research in the in-between spaces of translocation (Alvarez et al., 2014). In an edited volume, Sonia Alvarez and colleagues coin for themselves the term *translocas*: “a political project and an episteme for apprehending and negotiating the globalised Américas, one that can potentially be embraced widely across the hemisphere and beyond” (Alvarez, 2014, p. 3). Like myself, these feminist thinkers see themselves as “translocal subjects” that inhabit the Latin/a

Américas as a transborder cultural formation, rather than a fixed locality, with diverse biographies that link “geographies of power at various scales (local, national, regional, global) with subject positions (gender/sexual, ethnoracial, class, etc.) that constitute the self” (Alvarez, 2014, p. 2). Diverse positionalities shape Latin/a American lives across multiple borders and, “because of our manifold circuits, travels, and dis/mis-placements, Translocas are more than diasporic subjects, *we are necessarily translators*” (Alvarez, 2014, p. 5; emphasis added). A *transloca* feminism is a multi-located practice that leverages our multiple locations or shifting subject positions as we move across spatio-temporal localities. Hence, the *translocalidades* project places emphasis on crossings, movements, and travels – a mobile epistemology. Those of us who straddle the in-between spaces of translocation are permanently faced with being “trans/dislocated in a physical sense, and the (resulting) conceptual madness linked to attempts to understand unfamiliar scenarios with familiar categories: women and categories out of place”<sup>21</sup> (Alvarez, 2014, p. 3).

However, the reverse is also true for those of us researching familiar scenarios with concepts acquired in unfamiliar settings: institutionalised anglophone Geography. I adopt the figure of the translator for myself – for articulating my positionality in relation to this project, and the worlds I inhabit. The scholar-activist is a space of translocation, but ‘the self’ I bring to the field is also marked by a biography between hemispheres: I am a woman born in, and uprooted from, Bogotá who has spent a significant part of her life in English-speaking countries, first as a child migrant in the United States and later as a graduate student in the United Kingdom. I inhabit linguistic privilege: I am fluent in Spanish (the language in which I conducted fieldwork) and English (the language in which I write about that fieldwork), but never quite ‘at home’ in either language, or either hemisphere. The various forms of in-betweenness I embody have allowed me to become attuned to the politics of translation when undertaking bilingual research across hemispheres, and enabled important insights in this project, such as the need for dialogue between Anglophone and Latin American geography to advance the worlding of Geography (Müller, 2021). I elaborate on this in the final section of this chapter.

However, first and foremost, *translocas* must translate *themselves* “across our different locales of attachment and commitment” (Alvarez, 2014, p. 5). Inhabiting the worlds of activism and academia

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<sup>21</sup> *Transloca* is a composite word that captures this madness (“loca” is Spanish for “mad woman”).

is the key tension underlying all activist research but, as Speed (2006) argues, rather than attempting to resolve them, we might benefit analytically from bringing to the fore the tensions inherent to critically engaged activist research. Doing so can “mobili[se] places, politics, and hybrid identities to facilitate new combinations of once dualized elements that augment and supplement knowledge production” (J. Anderson, 2002, p. 304). As a doctoral candidate, I had to align my work with the requirements of my institution to meet my personal commitment to completing the academic programme. However, I was also moved to undertake this research because I share with cycling activists a concern for effecting change in Latin American cities, such that my engagements in the field were only not guided by an academic interest in extracting information, but by solidarity, a shared desire for social transformation, and a commitment to ‘doing with’ rather than just ‘giving back’. Hence, I also had to align my work with the expectations of the activist community through active participation and resourcefulness (Derickson & Routledge, 2015). Routledge (1996) suggests five strategies for critical engagement in activist research: adopting a relational “ethics of struggle” in our relationships with those who do not inhabit our same locations of privilege; making theory accessible to those outside the academy; enacting theory as a liberating practice; combining theory and practice; and embodying knowledge through recognising our positionality and making our roles transparent to those we work with. These are all strategies that call for some sort of translation/translocation work to make academic and activist knowledge-practices mutually intelligible, and to bring the dialogue between the two into this thesis in a manner that best reflects the messy process of conducting activist research.

Part of negotiating and translating my role in the field entailed allowing myself to inhabit discomfort and uncertainty, including epistemic discomfort (Zaragocin, 2021), and allowing for insights to emerge there, too. Epistemic discomfort means acknowledging that we are not always the ‘knower’ or the ‘expert’ and allowing our expertise and institutions to be questioned or challenged. Often, I witnessed activists express harsh critique and scepticism towards academia, and an open disposition towards these views allowed me to reflect on what I could do differently in my research practice to maintain the trust and respect of the people I worked with. There were far more uncomfortable moments, however: early one morning, I met the Mexican feminist group *Resiste Pedal* to prepare for a camping trip. As we were standing around waiting for everyone to arrive, some of the women noted they needed to use the toilet, and I suggested we go find one together. “*Vamos con Pao que tiene*

*privilegio de blanca,*”<sup>22</sup> said one of the women, suggesting that accessing a toilet at a gas station would be easier for a white-mestiza (me) than for the other, darker-skinned, women in the group. In addition to my role as a researcher, therefore, my positionality is marked by my social status, race, gender, and geographic location, which influenced not just field work, but indeed the research design itself (Sundberg, 2003). I had, admittedly, given more thought to some of these aspects than others. Being singled out on that occasion forced me to more closely consider my positionality and the privileges I embody and their relational, shifting nature. While I benefit from white privilege in the settler-colonial context of Latin America, this was more salient in some space-times than others; and while I hold distinct privileges that have facilitated my movements to study abroad and conduct fieldwork, I could not escape the anti-immigrant sentiment of Chilean border police. Furthermore, the outcomes of being a woman conducting research in and about a masculinised environment were always uncertain. There were many instances when I felt incredibly vulnerable and afraid cycling alone, and I was harassed and intimidated multiple times whilst out on the street. However, I was able to become part of the cycling feminist movement and cultivate solidarities on the basis of shared experiences of oppression. This engagement with Latin American feminists, it cannot be stressed enough, was fundamental for steering the direction of my research and political practice. Revealing my class position (e.g., when asked where I was staying [by sheer luck, in Santiago and Mexico City’s upper-class neighbourhoods], or asked about my university affiliation) was often uncomfortable, too, as I did not want to be perceived as posh, distanced, or uptight.

Nevertheless, the resources I had at my disposal no doubt facilitated conducting fieldwork over a prolonged period in two cities and undertaking trips to the WBF. They also enabled me to exercise resourcefulness, “channelling the resources and privileges afforded academics to advancing the work of nonacademic collaborations” (Derickson & Routledge, 2015, p. 2). This meant, for example, donating as much of my time and skills as possible to organisations, writing texts, or supporting organisations through purchasing t-shirts, stickers, and other products that activists make to financially sustain their initiatives. As part of my activist work, I helped draft statements, translated documents from Spanish to English, helped organise the 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting of Women and Sexual Dissidents of the WBF (see: Chapter 6), volunteered for tasks like taking minutes in meetings and devising routes for mass rides, and undertook research to put together a presentation with one other

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<sup>22</sup> Let’s go with Pao(la), who has white privilege.

activist at the WBF (see Table 3) and for the development of the gender equity protocol discussed in Chapter 6. This did not go by unnoticed by activists, and it was central to building the relationships that enabled a rich, positive fieldwork experience.

Building relationships and fostering politics of affinity is central to activist research (Choudry, 2013; Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019), however, this is a process fraught with uncertainty, requiring a significant degree of emotional labour from all parties involved in forging a relationship. As a researcher navigating between activism and academia, it was my role to foster relations of trust and reciprocity with others, which I did through the development of affinities and sharing spaces of sociality beyond activism; and by approaching others with a genuine interest in them and their life worlds, beyond my academic motivations. Each relationship evolved differently, and people variously confided in me their knowledge as well as gossip and intimate parts of their life which helped solidify relationships on the basis of friendship, not just research collaboration. I also had frictions with activists which I had to carefully negotiate to avoid them interfering with my project, but I acknowledged these a natural part of social life and the conflicts inherent to mobilisation. The friendships I nourished in the field were personally transformative for me as a researcher and activist, and I maintain close contact with several activists and academics in Mexico and Chile.

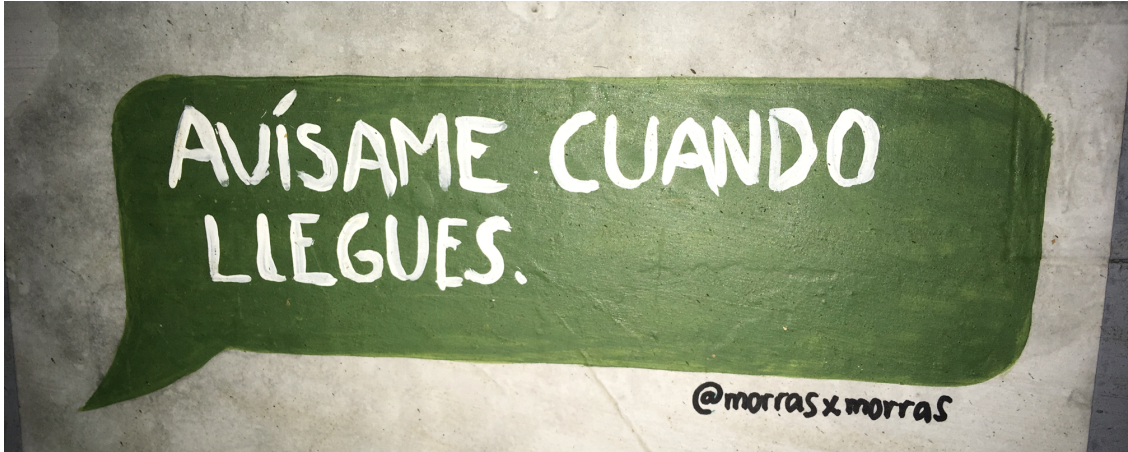
### *3.3.1. “Avisa cuando llegues”: field ethics and care*

This research received ethical approval from the University of Oxford. However, following the tenets of militant research, working with social movements demands that we pay close attention to the often-contradictory positions we might find ourselves in when navigating between the institutionalised approach to ethics of the university and the group ethics and emerging scenarios we might encounter during everyday activist life (Halvorsen, 2015). This means many of our ethical practices and dilemmas spill over the check boxes of universities’ ethical procedures that cannot fully anticipate emergent encounters and situations in the field. For feminist critics, the abstract and distanced character of institutionalised ethics reviews runs counter to situated epistemology and, in upholding the subject/object binary, it precludes the possibility of an inter-subjective position, which is precisely the position we militant researchers embody. Hence, many advocate for a

relational approach to ethics that emphasises emergence, openness and cultivating sensitivity towards the world (Thrift, 2003).

Relational ethics in activist research are “focused on building solidarity, mutual discovery, collaboration, friendship and empathy” (Routledge, 2009, p. 12), and therefore demand that we negotiate each encounter and its specificities. Here, I emphasise the notion of care as a form of ethics that is viable and necessary in a mobilising context, research practice, and everyday life (Middleton & Samanani, 2021). Care, following Puig de la Bellacasa (2011, p. 90), is more than a well-intentioned attitude. *To care* is to intervene and *do* something and signifies “an affective state, a material vital doing, and an ethico-political obligation” that recognises that the things we set out to study and criticise also have their vulnerability. It involves cultivating care through developing cultures of caring for and being responsible; valuing the care that people do; holding sharing and collaboration over individualised successes; challenging systematic oppression, such as racism and patriarchy; and being proactive in forging sustained caring practices (Dowler et al., 2019). As such, there are a number of things that might require care during research. Due to the specific concerns of militant research practice, here I will focus on care in a mobilising context. My approach is in line with Middleton and Samanani’s suggestion that we “[make] geographical research itself more entangled” so that “observation, analysis, commitment, and responsiveness [are reimagined] as a single, entangled process within research encounter” (p.39). Working with a militant research framework already suggests such an entanglement. After all, we are moved to become activists *because we care*.

During fieldwork, I found that it was common practice – particularly among women – to ask others “*avisa cuando llegues*”, or “let me know when you get home”, when saying goodbye. *Avisa cuando llegues* underscores our vulnerability as women moving in the city (particularly at night-time), the persistent uncertainty of not knowing whether one will get home safely, and the strategies women and feminised bodies devise to practice collective care (see the volume ‘*Avisa cuando llegues*’ edited by Melys & Costamagna, 2019). This is a form of care in the city that I take as a referent for exercising care during fieldwork that underscores connectedness, interdependence and responsibilities (Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019) – a research ethics that builds on the feminist movements’ dynamics.



**Fig 3.1.** A graffiti intervention in Mexico City by feminist art collective *MorraxMorrax* (*morra* is a Mexican slang word for young woman) highlights vulnerability in the city and the common practice of using instant messaging to take care of each other.

This kind of care was not limited to women. City cycling in automobilised space-time configures particular forms of vulnerability that extend to all cycling bodies (admittedly some more than others; e.g., Lubitow et al., 2019) the uncertainty of a safe arrival. “*Mañana voy a ser yo*”<sup>23</sup> wrote activist Daniela Suau in response to yet another fatality that shook Santiago’s cycling community. Because so much of cycling activism is prefigurative, it relies on putting activists’ bodies – our bodies – on the street to claim that space for our mobilities and those of others. Suau continues: “*Lo sé. Me despediré de mis perros diciéndoles que regreso pronto y saldré de mi casa en mi bicicleta, sin saber que no volveré. Por los chats grupales, primero sabrán las y los activistas ciclistas, luego más ciclistas*”<sup>24</sup> (Suau Contreras, 2020b, p. n.p.), she writes and points to the networks of cyclists who put their bodies on the street precisely to show that they are vulnerable and need some kind of support to survive (Butler, 2017). Support can come in the form of infrastructures, but also loving connections, and activism can be configured as a web of care where we find friends who text us (or to whom we text) “let me know when you get home”, and to whom we are drawn because we care. Because activism is a world-making practice, we are faced with great responsibility for the worlds and relations we bring into being, and my orientation is that we *must* take care of these worlds and relationships as part of an ethical research practice.

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<sup>23</sup> Tomorrow, it’s going to be me.

<sup>24</sup> I know it. I will say goodbye to my dogs, tell them I will be home soon, and leave on my bicycle without knowing that I won’t be coming back. Through chat groups, cycling activists will be the first to know, and later other cyclists.

I learned from activist ways of caring such as the golden rule of riding at the speed of the slowest, waiting for each other, and other tactics that keep us safe when riding together in traffic (e.g. ‘corking’, see: Ferrell, 2011). From feminist cycling activists I learned about constructing care-full spacetimes designed to be free from sexist violence and, more broadly, it is thanks to my encounter with feminists in the field that I learned about care, care-work, and their politics in the first place. However, there were more subtle, if difficult, moments of learning-to-take-care in cycling activism. Tensions in the activist community came to a head when two Ecuadorian and one Colombian activist were banned from the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF following accusations of gender-based violence. I was an active member of the *Comisión de mujeres y disidencias* that made this decision, and I understood the need to support the other women and stand together behind a collective decision. I also understood distancing myself to be the *unethical* course of action, insomuch as it would render some of the members of the *Comisión* particularly vulnerable. Difficult emotions surfaced: I heard about fear, anger, sadness, and feeling threatened as I sat on the other side of the phone line listening to Ecuadorian activists sobbing and tried to navigate these feelings together. As a researcher, I found it challenging when one of the people I interviewed began crying as she narrated the personal difficulties that she had overcome in the course of becoming-activist. As Middleton and Samanani remark, “researchers are inescapably implicated in the production of their interlocutors’ accounts and worlds” (2021, p.38) and therefore emotionally charged moments like these demand a careful negotiation of our research encounters: pausing the interview (physically pressing ‘Pause’ on the recording device), offering water, and creating a sustaining space to navigate these emotions. What these experiences show is that vulnerability in cycling activism is not just a question of street safety but can arise from the mobilising context itself, and we must be sensitive to the multiple ways in which this may manifest itself in relation to our research (G. Brown & Pickerill, 2009). As Routledge (2009, p.11) remarks, “transformative encounters based on solidarity often come from our deep emotional responses to the world” and, in adopting an open, care-full ethical research practice, the field was in many ways a site of opportunities for learning and for re-making myself and my forms of relating to the world alongside others.

While institutionalised ethics often fail to capture relations of reciprocity by framing ethics as a one-directional flow of affects (Thrift, 2003), it was often the case that *I* was being cared for by activists in the field. I found that for my research project to be successful, others needed to care in some way about my project, too. At a minimum, caring about me and my project meant agreeing to be

interviewed, showing up, and generously sharing knowledge and insight with me. More than this, an offer to ride together at night-time to make my journey home safer; a drink of water; suggesting meeting in places that I would not have difficulty getting to; celebrating my birthday; offering to lend me a spare bike; discussing and providing feedback about my emerging ideas; and cooking a meal for the group at a cyclists' camping trip are all ways in which others cared for me and helped sustain my research practice materially and emotionally. As such, the labour of this work is distributed across many bodies and relations in an “entanglement of the emotions, psychological development, souls, passions, and minds of activist-academic collaborators” (Routledge, 2009, p. 11).

Conversely, getting others to care about my project required demonstrating that I care about them and their world. I once remarked to Gabriela, a Chilean activist, that I found their work and compromise admirable. She replied that, as a “daughter of the dictatorship”, during her adolescence (the end of the military regime and the beginning of the transition to democracy) she found that it was possible to do things differently and there she found her motivation for being a committed activist: contributing to build a society that will never again allow the horrors of the dictatorship. For others, cycling activism has been a life-changing journey of self- and community empowerment. Hence, while everyone has different motivations for becoming involved in this movement, I treat cycling activism carefully not just because I partake in it, but because I know it to be a labour of love that people do and that is intimately tied to their life worlds and histories. In this vein, I am also cognisant that how we represent things matters, and writing and representing our research implies great responsibility and consideration of the power we, as writers, wield over what gets told, silenced, and amplified.

Moreover, I am accountable to the community I worked with, who have repeatedly stated their interest in reading my work and their belief that this is important work for the movement; and who have expectations which I may or may not fulfil (this can never be certain). Disrespectful critique can have disempowering effects, so care ought to be extended to how we represent the world and the effects of this representation on the composition of things (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2011).

Subjecting my ideas to scrutiny and continuously discussing my findings and impressions with activists was one way to proceed carefully in this regard. Furthermore, it is not my intention here to identify and theorise systems of oppression but to think about how “alternative values and political configurations are already being realised, how [to] keep these possibilities in focus and build a new,

broader politics out of them” (Middleton & Samanani, 2021, p. 39) and value the richness of Latin American cycling activism.

My ethnographic rigour, reciprocal relationships with activists, and the manner in which I write and speak about cycling activism have been acknowledged by the community: “valuing other people’s work, citing [activists] alongside academic authors, giving space to their expertise, opening the door to dialogue” was an appraisal I received after I presented Chapter 5 to an academic and activist audience in June 2021. Following my presentation at the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF on challenges to vélomobilities research in Latin America, one Chilean activist reflected on his perception of my research and involvement in the cycling movement:

*Creo que la conclusión es que, si nos damos este espacio de mutua construcción, es la única forma, porque si no vamos a estar enfrascados en estos mismos problemas que ensucian un poco el activismo ciclista, que nos avergüenzan, y que es urgentemente cambiarlo, ciertamente. En el día a día es muy gratificante poder desempolvar los antiguos textos que yo estudié por mucho tiempo mientras estudié antropología, las mismas preguntas que yo me hice anteriormente, volverlas a pensar con alguien más. Ese proceso fue muy constructivo y lo disfruté mucho.<sup>25</sup>*

### 3.4. Methods

#### 3.4.1. Multi-sited ethnography

I approached this project through a qualitative methodology encompassing participation and collaboration with cycling activists, interviews, and a multi-media archive containing photos, videos, and texts produced by activists alongside my fieldnotes. The primary method informing this research is a multi-sited ethnography (Hannerz, 2003) conducted in Santiago de Chile (September 2018 – March 2019), Mexico City (March 2019 – August 2019), and the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> World Bike Forum in

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<sup>25</sup> The conclusion is that if we give ourselves space for co-construction, that’s the only way, because otherwise we’re going to be stuck with the problems that tarnish cycling activism a bit, that may be embarrassing, and that it’s certainly urgent to change. Day to day, it’s very rewarding to go back to the texts I studied when I was studying Anthropology, return to the same questions I asked myself before, and think about them with someone else. It was a very constructive process, and I enjoyed it very much.

Lima (2018) and Quito (2019), respectively. Multi-sited ethnography is underpinned by the premise that social processes may take place across great distances, or on the move, linking disparate entities (Burrell, 2009). The method of “following-the-activists” and “following-the-Forum” (cf. McCann & Ward, 2012b; Wood, 2016) allowed me to weave together a multi-sited field, broadly encompassing the WBF, the two cities, and social media. In employing this approach, my aim was to take stock of a plurality of engagements with cycling politics across a *field* – a series of interrelated sites and situations whose interrelations are traced over the course of a research project (Baker & McGuirk, 2017; McCann, 2011); and to examine how the bicycle is mobilised therein.

While Santiago and Mexico City served as anchors to this research, this enquiry into Latin American cycling activism also draws on my encounters (digital and at the WBF) with activists from across the region, including Argentina, Ecuador, and Colombia. In this sense, ‘the field’ is perhaps best conceptualised “not as a discrete local community or bounded geographical area, but as a social and political space articulated through relations” (Shore & Wright 1997 cited in Baker & McGuirk, 2017). Hence, in asking about a ‘Latin American cycling activism’ and tracing the contours of my field through my research practice, I am assembling a social and political space that I presume can have some specificity and intelligibility. As I discuss in detail in Chapter 4, it is not always clear what the spatialities of cycling activism in Latin America are, but defining a *field* or tracing relations between a set of sites through which to analyse these relations is part of the researcher’s capacity to affect, make cuts, bring together different elements into an analytical plane, and “produc[e] a particular kind of agency while marginalizing others” (perhaps in a manner unintended by the researcher; B. Anderson et al., 2012, p. 186).

I developed my multi-sited method on the basis of the analytical-methodological framework suggested by assemblage thinking (B. Anderson et al., 2012; Baker & McGuirk, 2017) and the way it is made operative by policy mobilities (see: Chapter 2.4.2.). While my concern here is not a specific policy, I am analysing the actors that mobilise a particular imaginary of the city, and the spatialities, discourses, and frictions through which this takes place. Underpinning this methodological approach is a commitment to revealing multiplicity, processuality, labour, and uncertainty in the process of assembling a body of knowledge (Baker & McGuirk, 2017). That is, the presumption of internal coherence and determination is rejected in place of multiplicity and contingency. Attention then is shifted to *what happens* when trying to bring heterogeneous elements into an arrangement,

emphasising both stability and change. This allows researchers to identify “how past alignments and associations have informed the present and how contemporary conditions and actants are crystallising new conditions of possibility” (Baker & McGuirk, 2017, p. 431), and to reveal the labour involved in producing and maintaining assemblages. Here, labour is understood as a more-than-human achievement, distributed across an assemblage of people, materials, techniques, institutions, etc. Finally, Baker and McGuirk (2017) note the commitment to auto-critical disposition and producing accounts that reveal the application of assemblage thinking to research itself: research is “an act of assembling, subject to the same contingencies, fragilities, and distributed agencies as that being researched” (p. 431). This final point is of utmost importance and calls for critical reflexivity that is seldom made explicit and openly discussed in the policy mobilities literature, where the researcher and their practices, choices, conflicts, and decisions often remain obscured.

In order to operationalise these epistemological commitments, Baker and McGuirk (2017) suggest three practices that guide researchers on *how* to look, *where* to look, and *what* to look for. This first practice is adopting an ethnographic sensibility to generate an in-depth understanding of each context, foregrounding the situated character of all forms of knowledge. Second, they reject nationalism and city-ism (see: Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2015) in favour of tracing sites and situations to allow for relations and their spatialities to emerge empirically. Often, this will entail working through multiple sites, such as institutions, places, and events (e.g., Wood, 2016). Finally, they call on researchers to reveal the socio-material process of assembling knowledges, attending to the range of actors that variously cohere or disassemble. Hence, rather than on cities themselves, the emphasis is placed on the processes that bring together and draw apart people, things, and ideas.

### *3.4.2. Site selection*

I selected Santiago and Mexico City to follow the trajectory of the World Bike Forum across Latin America and, hence, to follow the movements of activists within the social movement space of Latin American cycling activism (movements which, simultaneously, bring the social movement space into being). The decision to focus on the WBF followed from the realisation that there exists an event specifically geared towards learning, exchanging, and circulating knowledge and experiences between activists from across Latin America, which are precisely the processes I wanted to study in this

project. Furthermore, as an event that travels between sites, the WBF was also of interest to understand how cycling activism is at once relational and territorial.

While the WBF was an obvious point of departure in this sense, it was necessary to enact cuts, include, and exclude certain sites, people, and processes. There were practical reasons for selecting Santiago and Mexico City as my entry points: because I am not fluent in Portuguese, I decided against Brazilian cities, and I had to narrow down my selection to a maximum of two cities to ensure the project would be manageable and feasible in terms of time and cost. Santiago and Mexico stood out as the cities with the longest trajectory of cycling activism. In Santiago, MFC has been continuously active since 1994, and in Mexico City, the Paseo Biciteka has continued to ride since 1998. This long and hardly examined history gave me compelling reasons to select these sites, beginning with the assumption that the movement would be well-consolidated and diversified within these cities, and well-connected to cities elsewhere, and hence a good point of departure to begin to understand how Latin American cycling activism has come into being.

Multi-sited research like this one is well-suited for comparative urbanism as suggested by postcolonial scholars to build and revise concepts across difference and multiplicity in a ‘world of cities’ (Robinson, 2011). As discussed in the preceding chapter, postcolonial urbanism seeks to disrupt universal accounts of the urban and a universal city form (i.e., the northern city or the ‘global’ city) against which to compare all cities. Comparative urbanism is thus a methodology concomitant with the aim of “understand the urban across its many formations, from a wide diversity of contexts and experiences, resulting in knowledge which is strongly revisable, open, diverse and non-singular” (Robinson, 2021, p. 97). A new comparative analytic moves beyond identifying differences and similarities between cities as bounded units or relying on hierarchical forms of comparison like city rankings, attending instead to difference as a site where conceptual work can be undertaken; and emphasising interconnectedness, openness, and processes that bring cities into proximity and compose the urban (Patel, 2016). A valuable insight has been Robinson’s (2006) call to treat all cities as ordinary, so that we may define the urban from wherever it is we identify it. With this move, comparison can start ‘anywhere’, and we can use different cities to pose questions of each other (Ward, 2010), attend to their singularities and specificities, and derive conceptualisations from these concrete outcomes. I do not explicitly engage in comparative urbanism, but the spirit of comparison is necessarily present in this work which takes Santiago and

Mexico City as the starting points for tracing the composition of cycling activism in Latin America and conceptualising mobile urban politics; and which also brings theoretical insights from Latin America to shed light on a form of mobilisation that, in being global, needs to be accounted for in terms of its specificity in a given context.

### 3.4.3. *Social media*

My multi-sited field incorporated physical as well as virtual spaces. For some time now, digital technologies have become enmeshed with urban processes to the degree that the latter can also be understood as unfolding through, produced by, and of the digital (Ash et al., 2018). For the purposes of this research, the digital encompasses technologies like smartphones and “the genre of socio-techno-cultural productions, artefacts, and orderings of everyday life that result from our spatial engagement with digital mediums” (Ash et al., 2018, p. 26). In this sense, social media is a digital site that mediates engagements with the city, insomuch as imaginaries, narratives, and debates pertaining to mobility circulate through these channels and feed back into how the city is planned, lived, and contested. The internet has been pivotal in the trajectories of most (if not all) social movements (Castells, 2015), and the massification of social media platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter marks a watershed moment in cycling activism (Cordeiro Maciel, 2020; López León, 2017). Furthermore, virtual ethnography (C. Hine, 2000), or netnography (Kozinets, 2010), has been gaining traction alongside other methods that leverage the possibilities afforded by the internet and information technologies to study the social world (e.g., Costello et al., 2017; DeLyser & Sui, 2013; Kitchin, 2013). Much organising, exchange, communication, learning, and challenging and imagining urban futures takes place on social media. If my concerns in this project raised questions about the forging of connections and modes of circulation of knowledge, attending to the internet as a site where activism happens was a mandatory step. Therefore, part of my research also took place online: identifying relevant actors, finding out about events, communicating my ongoing research, and following and participating in local discussions. I did this using Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, and I was later included in a number of WhatsApp chat groups like *Mujeres en bici LatAm*, the WBF chat group, and the coordination group of MFC.

In terms of mapping and delimiting the field, social media worked like a kind of snowball to identify individuals and organisations in each of the cities I would be visiting, and doing so using these tools invariably led me to other people and initiatives. Social media algorithms can both facilitate and hinder this mapping process. Typically, these sites recommend similar accounts to follow, and the algorithm will populate one's feed with content relevant to one's patterns of digital engagement. This allowed me to identify multiple organisations and individuals ahead of time, as well as during my time in the field (sometimes people identified and reached out to *me* wanting to show me their work and initiatives). However, social media algorithms are notoriously opaque and known for their bias, creating echo chambers, and amplifying some voices whilst marginalising others (Are, 2021; Gillespie, 2018). For instance, I quickly noticed how my Twitter feed became dominated by accounts, news, and information about the city I was in and limiting content from other locales and/or themes of my interest besides cycling. Hence, I could not entirely rely on these tools, and asking people in the field about others to whom I should reach out remained necessary. There is also the risk of “going down a rabbit hole” of never-ending content when undertaking digital ethnography. Soon after beginning the research, I identified Twitter as the key platform where relevant conversations take place, bringing together a diversity of actors and facilitating the exchange and discussion of news and content. While Facebook is instrumental for communicating events to a wide audience, it was Twitter where I found the kinds of interactions that I was interested in tracing: the movement of ideas, knowledges, and imaginaries exchanged among activists and others who also mobilise the bicycle, such as celebrity urbanists and academics (on this, see Chapter 5).

It was not interested in a data-driven approach to social media, but in immersing myself in the life world of cycling activism, of which social media is part of day-to-day activities. Hence, I approached Twitter as another site, alongside Mexico City, Santiago, and the WBF, where I could follow and participate in conversations that often straddled both the online and offline realms through daily “catching up, sharing, exploring, interacting and archiving” (Postill & Pink, 2012, p. 128). Being able to join these discussions and bring them with me to offline encounters enriched my understanding of how knowledge is produced, circulated, and contested in cycling activism. I therefore treated social media content as ethnographic materials, and I kept track of my observations in these spaces in my multi-media field diary (see below). I have largely abstained from directly quoting social media content in this thesis but, where I have done so, I have obtained explicit consent from the author of the post.

I also leveraged social media as a tool that allowed me to communicate my research practice to activists throughout the research process. Building on Tricia Wang’s (2012) experiment with “live field notes” and open ethnography, I kept an Instagram account (@phdenbicileta) that allowed me to pair photos with text that reflected on the research process, gave others insight into my activities, and facilitated building rapport with activists. The nature of this exercise was purely experimental, and in the spirit of building channels of communication with research participants that would allow them to feed back into the research process as it was unfolding. Typically, I would post a photo and a lengthy reflection on what I was observing, the activities I was undertaking, the challenges I faced, or the insights I was deriving. Yet, not only did the platform allow others to provide feedback, comment, or critique of the content I shared; it also became, at times, a trigger for in-person conversation, reflection, and identification (“you’re @phdenbicileta! I follow/enjoy your account/posts”). This account also allowed me to, temporarily, keep my research and personal lives separate – a difficulty researchers engaging in online ethnography often face as they use their personal accounts to engage with others online. Nevertheless, as relationships in the field evolved and became solidified on the basis of friendship and collaboration, maintaining this divide became difficult, at times awkward, and, ultimately, unnecessary.



**Fig 3.2.** A screenshot of my Instagram research account showing a post about the 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting of Women and Sexual Dissidents.

### 3.4.5. *Militant ethnography*

An ethnographic approach is compatible with, and the method most often employed in, militant research, which benefits from a flexible approach that allows for adaptation to changing circumstances and needs in the field (Fonnegra, 2020; Russell, 2015). An ethnographic approach involves the researcher in the everyday work of the movement, allowing for both the commitments of militant research and of assemblage thinking to be realised. As an orientation and a process, militant research demands that one does “what needs to be done” to transform and augment the movements one is involved in (Russell, 2015). This might mean, for example, cycling to a distant borough to support an inclusive cycle ride, put together a presentation about gender and cycling for an organisation that wants to learn about such topics, or work collectively on a feminist manifesto that raises the uncomfortable issue of machismo within the movement. After all, militant research does not uncritically reaffirm the movement’s goals but, instead, interprets and transform the praxis of the movement to make the movement move, including through critiques of particular struggle(s) (Halvorsen, 2015; Russell, 2015).

Owing to this methodological flexibility, Russell (2015) cautions, one’s participation is contingent on the nature of the specific political milieu of which one partakes. Hence, it would be dishonest to say that I engaged with *all* groups and activists in both Mexico City and Santiago in the manner aspired to by militant research. The time scales and demands of a one-year long, multi-sited, and physically demanding research project put limits on the degree to which I could immerse myself in the movement. Building relationships of trust and affinity takes time and involves a significant degree of (emotional) labour. Therefore, the development of the kinds of affinities required by this research approach is always uncertain and cannot be secured *a priori*.

It was difficult to establish close ties to any one organisation in Mexico City, but I was able to develop relationships with individual activists with whom I am in contact to this day – for example, with members of Bicitekas A.C. and Bikenepantla. Mexico City is a challenging field site: it is an enormous city with a large but dispersed cycling movement, and participating consistently in repeated events places great demands on a researcher undertaking a physically-demanding research project like this one. Practical matters (like reaching a distant location) and issues of safety were also a concern in Mexico, where violence against women in public spaces and transport is a particularly

salient concern. Yet, repeated participation is perhaps *the* key way to develop the ties that characterise a militant research project. As a result, in Mexico City, I had to rely mostly on interviews to gain an understanding of cycling activism in the city.

By contrast, the configuration of the cycling movement in Santiago (with many overlapping events, histories, and spaces between organisations) facilitated a more sustained participation in activist spaces. For example, I always attended the iconic first Tuesday of the month cycle rides organised by the MFC as well as their Sunday pop-up mechanics workshop and monthly meetings. However, it was Colectivo Muévete that I developed closest ties with, particularly the member organisations New Indie, Indepeclata, and FoCo Migrante. As a ‘collective of collectives’, Muévete brings together and leverages diverse initiatives from across Santiago. Its constitutive members range from organisations that focus on specific territories (e.g. Indepeclata), develop territorial initiatives (e.g. a reforestation project in the hills of Renca, a working-class *comuna* in northern Santiago), or target vulnerable populations (e.g., FoCo Migrante and the Laboratorio de Cambio Social, which work with low-income women, children, and migrants); to individual members that variously liaise with government and academia with the overarching goal of influencing policy and planning. I was an active participant in all of the assemblies held by the Colectivo between September 2018 and March 2019 and took part in as many of their events as possible, including informal and non-activist space-times (e.g., meals and parties), the development of the gender equity protocol (with Argentina en Bici, see Chapter 6), a joint presentation at the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF with FoCo Migrante (on the topic of cycling, migration, and platform labour), and even sharing a house with the Colectivo during the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF. I continued to work with New Indie well beyond the end of my fieldwork, until the dissolution of the organisation following a mobility justice project we developed between October 2019 and December 2020.<sup>26</sup>

As this suggests, the temporality of militant ethnography during the post-fieldwork stage differs from more traditional research designs and defies the conventional fragmentation of research into the discrete space-times research design, fieldwork, and writing up – typically marked by a physical re-location of the researcher (Mason, 2021; Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019). Like Valenzuela-Fuentes

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<sup>26</sup> Working with members of the US-American organisation, The Untokening, we translated their Principles of Mobility Justice into Spanish and held a virtual discussion open to the public. See the document: [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1P1Sc9tF\\_8IHgse9RyO0kFZbUwuhgCtcz/view?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1P1Sc9tF_8IHgse9RyO0kFZbUwuhgCtcz/view?usp=sharing) and the recording of the virtual discussion: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DN8GmIFfQ-A> .

(2019), I also encountered difficulties stemming from the institutional requirement of returning to England and having to stop my involvement in everyday activities, and the unforeseen events that followed the formal end of my fieldwork have also convulsed the cycling activist community (first, the wave of social unrest in Chile in October 2019, followed by the outbreak of Covid-19 in March 2020). Still, I have been able to continue to collaborate in activities held online, including delivering talks, writing for activist media outlets, and supporting online activities during the first months of the Covid-19 outbreak – a period during which cycling activism was particularly active in webinars and similar spaces of discussion about pandemic mobilities. Furthermore, the academic relationships I fostered with colleagues in Chile and Colombia afforded me the opportunity to present and discuss drafts of my research with activists who regularly attend academic talks (held online). I also continue to participate in online activist spaces and discussions held on social media (e.g., the Latin American cycling women’s WhatsApp chat group) and, indeed, continue to have important political and personal relationships with members of the cycling activist communities in Mexico, Chile, and elsewhere.

Table 3 provides an overview of my fieldwork. This table is not intended to be exhaustive, as it would be impossible to systematise in this manner each activity that I took part in and, while the table lists the organisations I liaised with, I also spent a lot of time ‘hanging out’ with individual activists, having casual conversations, cycling together, and exchanging ideas. Particularly in Santiago, a number of people offered to ‘show me around’ different parts of the city, and these were valuable space-times during which I could gain insights into people’s ways of seeing, sensing, and imagining the city (see: Chapter 4). These encounters were also opportunities to put my impressions to the test and gage the narrative I was building on the basis of my work against activists’ experiences and diagnoses. Similarly insightful were all those informal spaces in between WBF presentations or immediately following meetings and events.

**Table 3: Fieldwork Activities**

<b>DATES</b>	<b>FIELDWORK ACTIVITIES</b>
<b>January 2018 – December 2019</b>	<p><i>Digital ethnography</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mapping organisations through social media (Facebook and Twitter)</li> <li>- Open ethnography (open documentation of research process via Instagram)</li> <li>- Following/engaging in activist discussions through social media (Twitter)</li> <li>- Participation in WhatsApp chat groups:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* World Bike Forum;</li> <li>* Mujeres en Bici LatinAm</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>22-26 February 2018</b>	<p><i>Lima (Peru)</i></p> <p>7<sup>th</sup> World Bike Forum</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ethnographic observations and participation</li> <li>- Presentation of previous research in Bogotá, Colombia</li> <li>- Establishing initial contact with Mexican and Chilean activists</li> </ul>
<b>September 2018 – March 2019</b>	<p><i>Santiago (Chile)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ethnographic observations and participation</li> <li>- Participation in meetings, events, cycle rides, informal meetings with Colectivo Muévete (and member organisations Indepelecta, New Indie, Team Mapu Pudahuel, FoCo Migrante), MFC, Vive la Bici, Pedalea x la calle, Bicultura, Cicletada de las niñas, Map8 NGO.</li> <li>- 19 interviews</li> <li>- Participation in the bi-national gender equity roundtable (Chile and Argentina), drafting a protocol against gender violence in activist spaces</li> <li>- Organisation of the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting of cyclist women and sexual dissidents (remotely)</li> <li>- Writing for local bicycle media outlets</li> </ul>
<b>March 2019 – July 2019</b>	<p><i>Mexico City</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ethnographic observations and participation</li> <li>- Participation in workshops, events, cycle rides, informal meetings with Bicitekas (Paseo Biciteka and Bicitekas A.C.), Bikenepantla, Clitoral Mass, Resiste</li> </ul>

25-28 April 2019	<p>Pedal, Cultural Vial A.C., Ometeotl, Centrico, Extinction Rebellion, Rodada Ciudadana - 22 interviews</p> <p><i>Quito (Ecuador)</i></p> <p>8<sup>th</sup> World Bike Forum - Ethnographic observations and participation - 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting of Cyclist Women and Sexual Dissidents - Presentation: “Vélobilities in Latin America: research challenges and opportunities” - Presentation (with FoCo Migrante [CL]): “Migration and mobility: Cycling and precarious work” - Workshop (co-facilitated with Múevete [CL] and Argentina en Bici [AR]): “Strategies to change patriarchal culture in civil society organisations: Gender equity roundtable”</p>
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The organisations I liaised with as part of my ethnographic work tended to be those that convened activities and meetings in more central locations, given the challenges of moving from my place of residence (in central-eastern Santiago, a 20-minute cycle ride from Plaza Dignidad, and central Mexico City, a 20-minute bike ride from downtown) to distant locales. This does not mean that these organisations seek to intervene city cores as part of their work since, contrary to those I call ‘territorial organisations’ (i.e., they focus on specific territories), these are groups that have a city-wide focus and want to intervene in mobility at large through influencing policy and planning. Instead, that seminars and meetings to discuss city-wide issues are often held in city centres responds to the dynamic of centralisation that I discuss in depth in Chapter 4. Organisations with a territorial focus are typically comprised of people who live in these territories and have developed a strong territorial identity, which they channel through their discourses and activities. On the other hand, organisations with a city-wide focus draw activists from across the city, typically middle and middle-to-working class areas, and very infrequently higher-income areas.

On some occasions, I found opportunities to ride together with others to distant places to attend activities. For instance, I once led the initiative for a small group of activists to ride together to the family-oriented and inclusive cycle ride convened by Team Mapu in Pudahuel (the western-most

*comuna* in Santiago, roughly 18km from my residence). The ride convened by members of Bicitekas A.C. to cycle to Faro Tláhuac similarly facilitated my attendance to an event held 20km from the meeting place in Parque de los Venados (already 7km from my place of residence). Conversely, activities held in central sites but drawing activists from diverse parts of the city also allowed me to come into contact with people who work in more peripheral territories. Such was the case with the Rodada Ciudadana, organised by several organisations from diverse parts of Mexico City, and which drew cyclists from across the city to celebrate World Bicycle Day on 1<sup>st</sup> June 2019; and it is the case with the MFC's first Tuesday of the month ride, which always gathers in Plaza Dignidad (central Santiago) and mobilises people from all over Santiago in an event that draws anywhere from a couple of hundred people to thousands of cyclists on special events (e.g. their 200<sup>th</sup> ride, or the ride convened on the occasion of the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF) .

#### *3.4.6. Interviews*

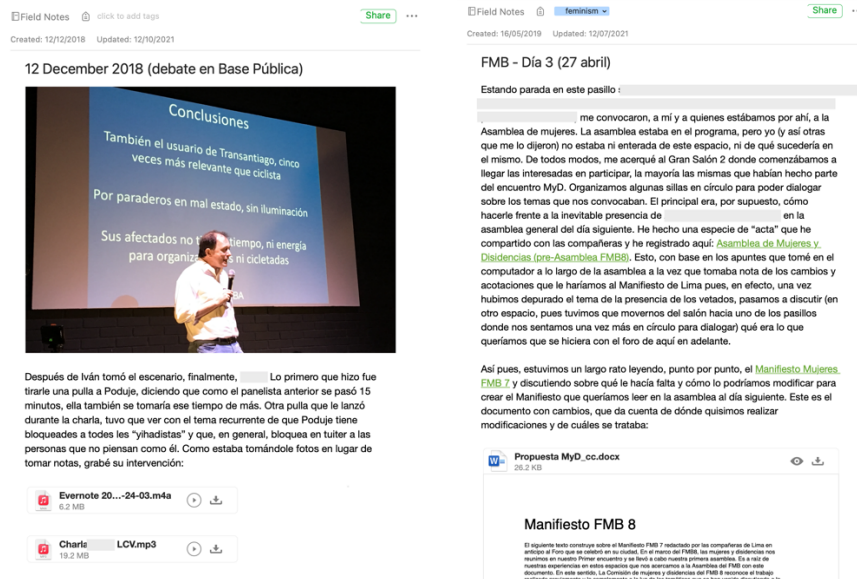
In addition to ethnographic work, I conducted 43 interviews between Santiago and Mexico City (see: Appendix 1). Most of the activists I interviewed belonged to organisations that have a city-wide focus, but I also sought out activists from peripheral areas and/or with a territorial orientation. Furthermore, many activists (particularly long-term activists) previously belonged to other organisations, many of them now defunct. Hence, for example, a number of people in Santiago left MFC and formed Arriba e' la Chancha (defunct), and later dispersed into Vive la bici and Pedalea x la calle. Meanwhile, in Mexico City, the 'revolving door' of activism I describe in Chapter 5 meant that some activists had moved on to government and/or consultancies and NGOs. In Mexico City, more so than in Santiago, I met a number of non-affiliated activists who nevertheless participate in the social movement space of cycling activism as commentators or influencers.

Most interviews were held in public places, like parks or cafés, and recorded using a dedicated tape recorder, or by taking notes when interviewees declined to be recorded (one interviewee). Sometimes, interviews were accompanied by cycling together before or after, and the conversations that ensued often enriched the interview encounter. In the beginning, I brought with me consent forms for interviewees to sign. However, I soon realised the form introduced an element of discomfort in the interaction, and it ran counter to the kinds of logics fostered by militant

ethnography by materially affirming my role as a researcher vis-à-vis the researched. Instead, I opted for requesting and recording verbal consent at the beginning of the interview. Whilst I had a set of topics I was interested in exploring, these interviews were open-ended, flexible conversations that allowed me to inquire into people's trajectories in cycling activism and excavate emerging themes (e.g., ongoing campaigns, current debates, or questions specifically designed for particular people) whilst allowing my own perspectives to be discussed, challenged, and developed. All interviews were conducted in Spanish and transcribed verbatim by me using oTranscribe. I subsequently coded the interviews using NVivo.

#### *3.4.7. Multi-media field archive*

I compiled and produced a wealth of materials that I filed in my 'field archive': an Evernote notebook that included jottings (one or two key words to jog the researcher's memory; Emerson et al., 2011), my field notes, my reading notes, documents (e.g., minutes from meetings, statements, etc.), and clippings from social media and the internet. Second to my bicycle, my smartphone was the most important tool I used during my research. It felt close to a tragedy when I accidentally left it in an Uber car in Quito, and I was amazed when I was able to retrieve it in Mexico City thanks to the web of cycling activist connections that ties together Ecuador, Chile, and Mexico. My smartphone allowed me to find my way in cities I did not know how to navigate, take photos and videos, record audio (when I did not have my dedicated tape recorder), and take notes using the app Evernote synced with my computer. Evernote was crucial for gathering the field materials, as it facilitates putting together multi-media elements as shown in Figure 3.3 below.



**Fig 3.3.** Screenshots of my field notes in Evernote show how I combined multiple elements to create my “field archive”. Left: A combination of photos, text, and audio recordings reconstruct a debate around the recent modifications to the road safety law in Chile. Right: Evernote allowed me to build a multi-layered archive with dynamic links (green) to other notes and files, in this case those related to feminist cycling activism in the World Bike Forum.

### 3.5. Data analysis

It is widely acknowledged that the phases of research often fold on to each other, and we do not need to wait until we ‘leave’ the field to begin analysing the materials we have gathered and produced (Mason, 2021; Middleton & Samanani, 2021). Particularly in militant research, discussing one’s ideas and thought processes with others is part of producing knowledge together, which means that some of the analysis takes place in the field alongside others. As discussed above in relation to making academia and activism mutually intelligible, this entailed a process of translations and transformations of the ‘raw’ information I had gathered so that I could relay it to others and receive feedback. For instance, I often sought out activists I trusted to share my ideas, and speaking about them was a way to achieve clarity and precision, as well as opening myself to new questions and aspects I had not previously considered. This allowed me to discard some concerns (e.g., the weight I had initially given to the WBF as one of the central themes of the research) and embrace new ones (e.g., the work that territorial organisations do).

Building my field archive was a way to put together elements drawn from different sources and weave together a field narrative through multiple layers of asynchronous materials (WhatsApp chat logs, photos, documents, news clippings, links, field notes, social media content, etc.), the curation of which already implies some analysis. The outcome was a series of multi-media entries that brought together disparate materials that nevertheless complemented one another to give way to a coherent narrative with detailed explanations, illustrations, and ‘raw data’ I could refer back to, such as minutes from meetings and multiple versions of documents that captured processes (alongside a textual description of these processes) and not just finished outcomes. Rather than a ‘snapshot’, these entries were dynamic outputs that allowed for new elements to be incorporated. For example, Fig 3.4. shows how I added further reflection from January 2019 (text in grey) to an entry written in November 2018 (text in black) on the basis of new and emerging conversations around cycling gig work, a topic I was exploring alongside one activist to discuss at the WBF. Gathering my materials in this way meant that I was continuously reflecting on these materials, and therefore some form of re-construction or re-presentation was already taking place. These iterative engagements with the data allowed me to identify particularly salient themes and concerns, in dialogue with geographic scholarship and staying close to my research questions while allowing for their re-formulation.

To analyse the interview data, I combined deductive and inductive coding, starting with categories derived from the literature and with relation to my research questions (e.g., “networks”, [inter-city] “referencing”); and later allowing the codes to emerge from the texts themselves (e.g., “machismo”, “territorio”). The coding process was one such moment during which the madness of understanding familiar scenarios with foreign categories made itself apparent, as I had to navigate the nuance of language to arrive at codes and categories that translated well, as well as those that refused translation (e.g., *territorio*). As new themes emerged, I re-assessed my initial categories, subsuming children codes under parent codes. For example, “networks” and “territorio” became children codes of “spatialities”, while “democracy” and “efficiency” were filed under the parent code “bicycle discourse”. Many parts of the transcripts became richer with codes as themes surfaced, since these emerging themes forced me to go back, re-read, and code accordingly. Hence, from a large number of codes in a mixture of English and Spanish, the iterative process of working through the interviews resulted in a shorter list from which I was able to identify the more salient concerns. In turn, the parts of the text with thicker layers of coding facilitated the identification of links between themes.

In the process of re-reading and editing my entries; reviewing interview transcripts and re-coding; discussing my ideas and learning with activists; and continuing to engage with the academic literature, the question of networks that had initially intrigued me transformed into a broader concern with centralisation and territories, and I found the ‘network’ trope to have significant shortcomings. This, in turn, compelled me to read for spatiality in my materials and broaden the theoretical referents that inform Chapter 4 (but are present throughout the thesis). Meanwhile, through my engagements in the field, a vague interest in “gender and cycling” became narrowed down to feminist cycling activism. Among the materials I collected, certain (digital and physical) materialities moved<sup>27</sup> me to pull at certain threads that unravelled into the themes I explore and weave together in Chapter 6. Similarly, what I call “the stuff of activism” allowed me to reflect on the theme of knowledge, which I was interested in analysing at the outset of this project and discuss in Chapter 5. The emphasis on the socio-material character of knowledge-production present in my main theoretical referents stimulated a reading of the data oriented towards unpacking the process of producing these documentary representations (McFarlane, 2011). Working with a broad body of data also allowed me to scrutinise how this knowledge and its representations became embedded in specific discourses and mobilised with certain political motivations. In this way, I was able to analyse the politics of cycling activism and its knowledge-practices and understand them as intertwined.

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<sup>27</sup> In these sense of “to prompt, actuate, or impel to some action”, “to arouse or excite the feelings or passions of; affect with emotion”, and “to affect with tender or compassionate emotion; touch” (Dictionary.com, 2021)

## 12 Noviembre 2018 (29 Oct - 12 Nov)

Esa misma tarde estuve reunida con [redacted]

[redacted] Desde el techo de su edificio, hablamos un poco sobre la ciudad, sobre el barrio donde vive, sobre su trabajo, etc. Al final de la tarde me acompañó a mi casa. Luego, a través de mensajes de instagram y whatsapp acordamos realizar una postulación conjunta para el FMB8. Estuvimos hablando sobre la precariedad laboral, les migrantes, y las aplicaciones como Rappi, Glovo, Uber Eats, etc. Desde su trabajo con la migración, y con algo de contexto/teoría podemos pensar en el papel de la bici en una economía neoliberal precaria que depende del trabajo migrante y de las necesidades de los migrantes. [enero 17] A través de mensajes de instagram y whatsapp estuvimos discutiendo que le interesa a cada uno sacar de esa postulación: qué temas quisiéramos ahondar; el fenómeno diferenciado de la migración en América Latina (más visible acá que, por ejemplo, en Colombia. Me dijo que en Chile siempre ha habido la misma proporción de población migrante... en Colombia el tema es un poco diferente, y por ende la experiencia de cada uno con el tema es diferente). Me dijo que a él le llama la atención ver cómo estas plataformas ayudan a las personas a solventarse en los primeros meses después de llegar a Chile. Después algunos se cansan, encuentran trabajo más estable... pero es necesario hacer una mayor indagación al respecto de qué pasa luego con ellos, para poder forjar nuestro argumento. Acordamos en la idea de que la bici puede pasar de la liberación a la explotación y la precarización, pero lo *importante* es vincular estas ideas a las experiencias reales vividas por los migrantes — a sus realidades. En suma, sería bueno poder entrevistar a los trabajadores de estas plataformas. Cuestioné qué posición toma el biciactivismo frente a estas cosas — nos quedamos callades? Me cuestionó de vuelta, diciendo que si acaso ir al foro, traspasar las culturas de un lado al otro, y forjar redes, eso no es a su vez migrar? No quedarse callades? Me dijo: "yo voy al foro porque aprendo de otra gente y puedo traer cosas de otros lados hacia acá. y eso me hace desgranar el territorio nacional a través de la diversidad cultural internacional". Fue enfático en no precarizar la migración, un "trote" familiar del cual debemos cuidarnos. Eventualmente me dijo, tienes razón, el rollo es "¿cómo hacemos de la bicicleta una herramienta que además interfiera positivamente dentro de esta migración obligada que se está dando? Ya sea en el contexto de Siria, o en el contexto venezolano, o lo que sea". Es bueno también mostrar una propuesta de movilidad *para* la migración y temas de trabajo

**Fig 3.4.** Several layers of reflection combined in one text: November 2018 in black and returning to the same topic in January 2019.

However, and in line with my concerns around knowledge-production, analysing materials and representing research in a project like this one, demands we ask whose knowledge is being represented. Casas-Cortés et al (2008, p. 723) recommend "listening and acknowledging the participants' cartographies, vocabularies and categories of analysis". Hearing activists repeatedly speak of *el/mi/nuestro territorio* (the/my/our territory) allowed for this category to emerge out of the field itself and moved me to engage with Latin American geographical theory (e.g., Haesbaert, 2011; Zaragocin, 2021). This and other concepts and concept-metaphors (e.g., *el puente que falta*) employed by activists were central to the elaboration of my argument in Chapter 4, whilst the categories of *machismo* and violence I discussed with feminist activists informed Chapter 6. Working with them was thus a way of "[elaborating] theory based on the reflections people make about social life" (Reyes Cruz, 2008, p. 656), in line with the prescriptions of militant research.

### 3.6. Writing and worlding bilingual research

The question of “whose knowledge?” is not limited to how I write about and represent cycling activists in this text. It is also a concern with how I engage with geographical theory and with the literature to which this project speaks. The question then becomes *whose disciplinary knowledge?* If (at least part of) this thesis is concerned with how activist knowledges travel, there is also scope for interrogating the global movements of those theories and vocabularies (largely produced in the anglophone circuits) used to scrutinise societies everywhere (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010). In dialogue with disciplinary conversations about provincialising and worlding Geography (see: Chapter 2), I take cues from the *translocas*’ epistemology and approach to translation that “take[s] on critical analyses of representation and power and the asymmetries between languages and, on the other, to examine knowledge formations and institutional processes in/through which these theories and concepts travel” (Costa, 2014, p. 19). One dimension of this is attention to the politics of translation, and to our theoretical engagements and disciplinary dialogues. Underpinning this discussion is a concern with how we navigate the worlds we inhabit, and with challenging the hegemony of English as the *de facto* language of academic representation – particularly when undertaking bilingual research.

I conducted this fieldwork in Spanish: I immersed myself in a Spanish-speaking society, all conversations (in person and online) took place in Spanish, all the materials I gathered were in Spanish, and I wrote all my fieldnotes in Spanish. However, I had to make sense of this using the geographical frameworks and vocabularies of Anglo-American Geography – my disciplinary coordinates. Throughout this research, then, I was staging translations between worlds and words, even if sometimes I did not notice I was doing so. Translating is a profoundly meaningful act which always creates something new and unique, and while it is “an essential everyday problem of multilingual geographical research”, it is often taken as given and rarely discussed in terms of its political implications for geographical scholarship (Müller, 2007, p. 207). Yet, the translator is always faced with the decision to exclude some meanings while fixing others, often obscuring the polyvalency of concepts in different languages and with potentially homogenising and de-politicising effects.

Müller thus suggests geographers work through critical translation, the aim of which is “not to fashion ‘better’ translations through achieving a higher degree of equivalence, but rather to

destabilize and denaturalize the hegemony of the translated text” (2007, p. 209). I have operationalised critical translation by offering this discussion, as well as *suggesting* a possible translation of interview text in the thesis rather than treating translation as *fait accompli* (Müller, 2007). In the main body of the text, interview quotes are included in Spanish with the suggested translation into English in the footnotes, noting where meaning is particularly ambiguous or where words/meanings are difficult to translate. This is a strategy in de-familiarisation: it makes the political act of translation visible while refusing to fix one meaning to the text as it travels from Spanish to English, meanwhile de-naturalising the latter as the *lingua franca* of academic representation. This also allows readers who are familiar with Spanish to make their own interpretations and potentially challenge my translation (and my analysis!). While placing the Spanish alongside the English discussion might inconvenience other readers, this interruption might be an opportunity to, precisely, reflect on and destabilise translation and the hegemony of the English language, and draw attention to the contingency of meaning.

Refusing to fix meaning and critically engaging with translation also had one productive, if unintended, outcome: it drew me to explore Latin American geographical theory, particularly work on *territorio*, and Latin/a American feminist thought (see: Chapter 2). While developed to address the hemispheric travels of Latin/a American feminist theories, *transloca* perspectives can also serve to question the relationship between Latin American Geography and its anglophone counterpart. “[W]hen a theory travels,” argues Claudia de Lima Costa, “it disfigures, deforms, and transforms the culture and/or discipline that receives it” (29). What effects might the travels of Latin American thought have on anglophone Geography?

In a recent piece, Martin Müller (2021) calls for worlding Geography through challenging anglophone linguistic privilege and its geopolitics of knowledge. Here again arises the question, *whose disciplinary knowledge do we engage with and on what terms?* In the same article, Müller proposes “engaging with multiple knowledges by citing and reading authors from global everywhere” (2021, p.2). Because most research into cycling activism is informed by experiences of the Global North, working with the inchoate body of vélomobilities research from and about Latin America (alongside my own empirical work) was necessary to provincialise existing, northern-centric, accounts and develop appropriate readings and frames of reference of local cycling movements as this thesis tries to do (for a lengthier discussion on this topic, see: Castañeda, 2021a). However, such engagements

with “global everywhere” are necessarily mediated by some kind of translation and translocation work, and I want to suggest that purposeful translation and translocation can be valuable worlding techniques. Translocation emphasizes movements, crossings, and the travels of theory as embodied by researchers, and foregrounding translocation can help to “confront [Geography] with the variety of ‘places’ which contextualise other geographies; with the variety of alterities making up the discipline” (Minca, 2000, p. 289). Making translocation, its politics, and tensions visible in our writing can reveal how theory does not seamlessly travel from one locale to another, retaining its explanatory capacity owing to its ‘universality’. Rather, this move draws attention to the laboured-over processes and power relations that allow knowledge to travel and become intelligible elsewhere.

Much of this work is translation work. One of the key obstacles to the travels of knowledge are the asymmetries between what gets translated (or not) into what languages, with anglophone privilege facilitating the movement of certain theories over others. As bi- or multi-lingual geographers, working with and critically translating the work of non-anglophone scholars are practices conducive to “worlding the canon” – that is, “acknowledging and valuing these textual fabrics, these texts from multiple parts of the worlds in multiple languages that, taken together, form the fabric of a much wider, often invisible canon of the discipline” (Müller, 2021, p. 20). Yet, as I discussed above, if we adopt a critical translation practice, we might find that, sometimes, *refusing* translation can open the door to the kinds of dialogues necessary for worlding geography. Indeed, “acknowledging” and “valuing” are not enough if the textual fabrics we draw upon do not speak back to other scholarly traditions, and to the world. In this thesis, working with *territorio* alongside other spatial categories (see: Chapter 4) allowed me to build a spatial framework for cycling activism on the basis of a hemispheric dialogue that worlds Latin American thought while speaking back to “territory” as a modern, Eurocentric concept (Halvorsen, 2018). While for Sam Halvorsen (2018; 2019) and Sofía Zaragocín (2021) bringing “territorio” to anglophone Geography is a decolonising strategy, I take one step back and contend that paying attention to the *processes* of translating and translocating knowledge are valuable worlding strategies that could, eventually, nourish the decolonial project.

In addition to “worlding the canon”, I understand these strategies as part of an ethical research practice. I have purposefully searched for, read, discussed, and cited the work of local researchers, including masters’ and doctoral theses (see: Chapter 2). While in Chile and Mexico, I met a number of researchers and graduate students working on similar research topics as my own, and I want to

suggest that these are also relations in the field to which we should extend practices of reciprocity and care. In other words, ethical practice is not restricted to our encounters with research ‘subjects’ and how we represent them, it also entails recognising and meaningfully engaging with the work of local scholars through a conscious politics of citation (Ahmed, 2017) and continuously asking ourselves, *whose disciplinary knowledge?* Here, then, the bicycle is an “excuse” to enact a worldly research practice which renders visible work in different languages, from multiple parts of the world; to reflect on the cartographies of knowledge-production; leverage Latin American geographic thought; and for working through the in-between spaces of translation/translocation and staging the kinds of dialogues necessary for worlding Geography. My goal here is, as I have suggested elsewhere (Castañeda, 2021a), to contribute to writing a truly global geography of vélomobility.

## Chapter 4. Mobilising the bicycle: from *territorio* to assemblage

### 4.1. Introduction



**Fig 4.1.** An illustration of Aztec deity Coyolxauhqui based on the stone monolith found in Mexico City's Templo Mayor. Source: Julio Emilio Romero for *Arqueología Mexicana* vol 102, 2010.

Nearing the end of my fieldwork, I met Adriana in the vicinity of El Caminero MetroBus station – the southernmost terminal of Line 1 of Mexico City's Bus Rapid Transit in the borough of Tlalpan. In the year of fieldwork I undertook, very rarely did I make a journey on any mode different from my bicycle or on foot, but the immensity of this city and the treacherous (sometimes unsurmountable) routes that on occasion separated me from my informants and/or their activities sometimes forced me to use public transport. The first thing Adriana told me when we met, was that Mexico City is not unlike Aztec deity Coyolxauhqui. The myth tells of an enraged goddess plotting to give death to her pregnant mother, Coatlicue, and her ill fate when her new-born brother,

Huitzilopochtli, throws her off Coatepétl hill, leaving her body in the dismembered position that is characteristic of Coyolxauhqui in Mexica iconography (Fig 4.1). The torn limbs of Coyolxauhqui, Adriana explained, are an appropriate metaphor for the splintered territories that constitute the vast Mexican metropolis. Hence, she clarified, part of the task of cycling activism is to mend the broken body/city, tracing connections between territories so that people may safely move through the interstices of the unstitched limbs/territories.

Such a metaphor is grounded in the histories and experiences of the city as lived by Adriana, but it should resonate with activists elsewhere in Latin America. What is true of Mexico and Santiago can be said of Quito, Lima, and Bogotá; and while all of these cities express inequalities in different ways, the legacy of coloniality and the more recent entrenchment of neoliberal urban development are stubbornly etched upon the urban fabric of cities across the region (Hidalgo & Janoschka, 2014). Metaphors like this one are useful to begin to conceptualise cycling activism in space, which is the task I undertake in this chapter in line with the first of my research questions (see: Chapter 1). Fleshing out the spatialities of cycling activism entails understanding how this movement is geographically constituted, strategically working in and through various spatial registers that enable the possibility for learning, exchange, collaboration, solidarity, and the mobilisation of a series of discourses and practices in space and through time.

As discussed in Chapter 2, geographers researching social movements have elaborated upon sociological theories of mobilisation by applying the insights and vocabularies of the discipline to social movement studies. Seeking to entertain dialogue between mobilities and socio-spatial theory, some have drawn attention to mobility as both constitutive of social movements, and a source of grief around which people can mobilise. In this thesis, I am concerned with a movement that holds mobility itself at its core and, hence, I wish to examine how we might push further both discussions – on mobilities and social movements – by looking at how the mobility of mobilities is spatially configured.

Seeking to advance a polymorphic account of cycling activism, my first argument is that this movement can be conceptualised through the notion of *territorio* as theorised by Latin American geographers (see: Chapter 2), and the premise shared by anglophone geographers (e.g., Steinberg, 2009) that territories can be brought into being through and for mobility. My second argument

follows this line of thought, raising the question of how activism maps onto, and tries to redress, territorial fragmentations. I use the notion of territory-network to speak of the attempts to bring into proximity discontinuous territories and dispersed activisms at the urban scale. Then, I examine the different logics and outcomes of networking at the national scale. Finally, I turn to the World Bike Forum as a key moment in activism, and argue that the notion of assemblage is better suited to conceptualise the emergent, precarious, trans-local connections between heterogeneous organisations and individuals than the network trope which has had great influence in the study of the geographies of social movements (Bosco, 2007; Leitner et al., 2008; Nicholls, 2009).

## 4.2. Locating mobile territories in La Chimba and the Borderlands



**Fig 4.2.** I have adapted this “Popular map of La Chimba” produced by the Chilean Ministry of National Assets (Available from: [https://issuu.com/prensabiennesnacionales/docs/atlas\\_5a8f8268d94147](https://issuu.com/prensabiennesnacionales/docs/atlas_5a8f8268d94147)) to provide visual context of the territory I discuss here. I have amended the map to include the sites referenced in this section. **A:** Av La Paz and Santa María, where Emilio and I met on 27 November 2018; **B:** the site of the former Independencia National Theatre; **C:** Central Park, where I “formally” interviewed Emilio. The **dashed white line** cutting across the map is the proposed *Ciclovía de la Chimba* (I thank H.T. for providing me with detailed maps of this project).

North of Santiago’s Mapocho river are the *comunas* Independencia and Recoleta. Together, they are the territory of La Chimba.<sup>28</sup> Since colonial times, La Chimba has been the land of *indios y mestizos*, cemeteries, hospital wards, the effervescent *Vega*<sup>29</sup>, and a diverse migrant community (Márquez, 2017). La Chimba has connotations of periphery, owing to the historical material disconnect from the land south of the river, but also on account of the kinds of marginal peoples and activities that flourished on the north bank. Emilio and I met on the corner of Avenida La Paz and Avenida Santa

<sup>28</sup> “On the other side of the river” in Quechua language.

<sup>29</sup> Santiago’s central market

María, a stone's throw away from the river, and the city centre on the opposite shore. We had agreed to meet early one morning to conduct an interview, and he had also suggested showing me around Independencia and La Chimba – his *territorio*.<sup>30</sup> Over the course of the morning, Emilio led me through Independencia, generously sharing his intimate knowledge of the territory in which he and his organisation, Indepeçleta,<sup>31</sup> seek to intervene through community cycling projects. We took our bicycles inside *la Vega* and, sitting at one of the fruit stalls, I took notes as Emilio explained that Indepeçleta's motivation was not cycling for cycling's sake, but a concern with the inequalities that manifest in their *territorio*. "The Virgin Mary has her back turned to us!", he exclaimed, invoking the adage wherein the statue of the Virgin Mary atop San Cristóbal hill faces towards the lawful, civilized central Santiago and away from "barbaric" La Chimba (Márquez, 2012).

We left *la Vega* and cycled north bound on Avenida La Paz, keeping to a faded two-way cycle lane littered with food residues, crates, and parked trucks that deliver the fruit and vegetables sold at the market. Lined by medical facilities and institutions, Avenida La Paz culminates at the General Cemetery where impressive mausoleums make apparent that, even in death, Chile's elite continue to enjoy luxuries not afforded to those who rest in modest graves. It is possible to transverse the Cemetery by bike and connect Independencia with neighbouring Recoleta through a peaceful corridor – one of the many 'safe routes' Indepeçleta have identified in the cycling guide they produced (see: Chapter 5). We came out on the Independencia end to continue with our exploration, and he guided my attention to the architectural heritage and changing ways of life of Independencia's residents. Our mobile interview-cum-reconnaissance of the area culminated in a small park, where we settled into a more traditional, sedentary dynamic of me eliciting thoughts about cycling activism in Independencia, Santiago, and beyond, mediated by my recording device.

A decade before our meeting, Emilio had taken note of the demolition of an old, historical theatre (see: Fig 4.3), part of the architectural heritage of the area, which he likened to the death of Independencia. The event triggered a response in him – a yearning for a tool, *un aliado*, that would allow him to render visible the changes this territory was undergoing. He found said ally in the

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<sup>30</sup> There is a slippage that results from translating "mi/nuestro territorio" (my/our territory) from Spanish to English. Here, the use of the possessive does not denote ownership, but belonging and interdependence (See: Gago, 2019 p. 98).

<sup>31</sup> "Indepeçleta" is a mixture of *Independencia* and *bicicleta*.

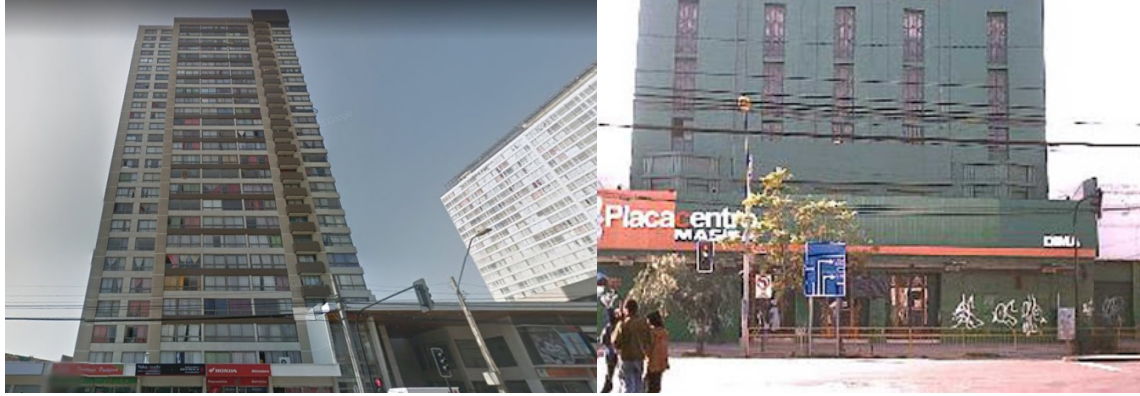
bicycle, and with this ally came many more: at the 200<sup>th</sup> *cicletada*<sup>32</sup> organised by MFC, the members of what became Indepeçleta found each other and gelled together through a shared sense of territorial identity, and the desire to showcase the heritage of the *comuna* and the issues they identified. Another member recalled, “*Indepeçleta yo creo que lo entendía en su inicio como algo comunal. Como nuestro territorio que podemos intervenir de inmediato. Así donde— el espacio donde vivimos y habitamos. Aquí. Como después, y todas nuestras acciones fueron en nuestro territorio. Convocadas siempre abiertas, pero quienes llegaban, la gente de nuestro territorio*”<sup>33</sup> (emphasis mine).

Indeed, there are plenty of changes underway north of the river. A combination of deregulation and state-entrepreneurial speculative development have allowed for the mushrooming of high-rise apartment blocks, housing thousands of (often migrant) families in tiny flats with turnstile-controlled access (see Inzulza-Contardo, 2012 for an analysis of ‘Latino gentrification’). Towering over existing residential forms, these developments threaten to change the face of La Chimba, with the demolition of Emilio’s beloved theatre being a clear sign of the change afoot. In light of these transformations, it is significant that one of the primary axes of Indepeçleta’s *trabajo territorial* – “territorial work”, the expression they use to refer to the actions and appropriations they stage – is related to *patrimonio*, or heritage. As Halvorsen (2018) notes, in Latin America, memory (and, I would add, heritage) is one of the symbolic dimensions of territory marginalised in anglophone conceptualisations. Both memory and heritage are politically contested domains, especially in post-colonial societies, and acutely so in the post-dictatorial contexts of the Southern Cone (Márquez et al., 2014). Heritage has been significant for projects of modern nation-state-building (not unlike the notion of territory itself), carrying with it heavy political baggage and becoming subject to political claims, including *what* is valued as heritage (Guerrero Valdebenito, 2012).

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<sup>32</sup> Across Latin America, there exist various terms to refer to what in the English-speaking world is known as a “Critical Mass” bike ride. *Cicletada* in Chile; *bicipaseo* in Colombia; *rodada* in Mexico; *cleteada* in Costa Rica, to name a few.

<sup>33</sup> Indepeçleta, I think in the beginning I understood it as something from the *comuna*. Our territory, which we could intervene immediately. Somewhere where—the space where we live and that we inhabit. Here. And then, all our actions were in our territory. They were open calls, but the people who came, always people from our territory.



**Fig 4.3.** A block of apartments now sits where Teatro Nacional de Independencia used to be. Sources: Google Streetview and <https://urbatorium.blogspot.com/2008/11/carta-de-adis-al-patrimonio-de-barrio.html> . I thank M.G. for providing me with these contrasting images.

The bicycle has been a powerful ally for Indepeçleta to challenge the de-/re-territorialising force of capitalist urban development and contest the territorial transformations that threaten the sites of memory and heritage that have been central for constructing La Chimba as a distinctive *territorio*. Emphasising La Chimba’s histories and associated sites is central to this groups’ territorial work, which includes strategies of material and symbolic appropriations where historical legacies, collective memories, and past struggles are territorialised through mobile interventions (Schwarz & Streule, 2017). Indepeçleta’s efforts are in line with what Zúñiga Carvajal (2014, p. 116) identifies in her ethnography of heritage in La Chimba, where “the local history, memory, trades, and *multiculturalidad* are key values in the constitution of the neighbourhood and its recognition as the citizens’ heritage”. Hence, their first activity, organised with San José Hospital’s Heritage Unit, drew over 60 participants to cycle along one of the routes mapped by another organisation, La Cañadilla, in their publication *Rutas patrimoniales de la comuna de Independencia*.<sup>34</sup> The route traced some of the medical institutions whose presence contributed to make La Chimba the ‘underside’ of the city (Márquez, 2012). Most recently, in the context of the social mobilisations of late-2019,<sup>35</sup> Indepeçleta worked with other territorial organisations to host a cycle ride following the theme “Sites of memory

<sup>34</sup> Heritage routes of the *comuna* of Independencia

<sup>35</sup> A hike in Santiago’s metro fare in October 2019 triggered a wave of protests that persisted until March 2020 (but has continued to ebb and flow since the easing of Covid-related restrictions, in the context of significant social and political changes in Chile). The protests were spearheaded by secondary school students calling to evade the metro fare by jumping its turnstiles. A few days later (on 18<sup>th</sup> October), millions of Chileans took to the streets to make demands centred around dignity, equality, and the end of neoliberalism. The brutally repressive response of the government only served to intensify the unrest. Chile’s *estallido social* occurred after my time in Santiago, but its effects on the cycling community were significant, and are noted in this thesis where necessary.

through the lens of human rights<sup>36</sup> – an effort to reterritorialize the memory of Chile’s 20<sup>th</sup> century history of dictatorship and human rights violations through a mobile exercise that emphasised the lesser-known sites of memory in the area; and the placement of a memorial mosaic with a QR code containing openly-available information about each visited space.



**Fig 4.4.** Digital flyer for the “Sites of memory through the lens of human rights” cycle ride.

In addition to these symbolic appropriations, struggles over *territorio* also involve the production of representations and regulations of space (Schwarz & Streule, 2017). With this in mind, a number of organisations (including Indepeleto), working with allied municipal authorities, have come together in the *Mesa de Movilidad de Independencia*<sup>37</sup> – an activist-led working group that seeks to become an agent in the production of *territorio* in a way that is sensitive to the existing socio-territorial dynamics of La Chimba. When I visited Santiago, Independencia and Renca both had formally constituted roundtables, and they were working towards replicating these experiences in other nearby *comunas* with the goal of producing an integral mobility plan for Santiago’s northern zone (encompassing the *comunas* Independencia, Renca, Recoleta and Conchalí). Owing to governance structures in Chile, and following a “zonal” logic of territory (Haesbaert, 2011), each *comuna* in Santiago has its own mobility plan. By contrast, the aim here was to forge a common plan for cycling, walking, and public transport for the whole of La Chimba – a way of regulating space that moves from a “zonal” to a

<sup>36</sup> For documentation of the event, see: <https://web.archive.org/web/20211130193136/https://indepeleto.cl/cicletada-sitios-memoria-una-mirada-desde-los-derechos-humanos/>

<sup>37</sup> Independencia Mobility Roundtables.

“networked” vision of territory (see: Chapter 2). As the control over mobilities, flows, and networks is the dominant strategy of territorialisation today (Haesbaert, 2011), these efforts amount to the production of La Chimba as *territorio* through governing mobility beyond the confines of any single *comuna*. Interestingly, the alliance with municipal authorities shows how the territorialising force of the State – its *poder* – can become aligned with social movements’ *potencia*, such that, contra Clare et al. (2018), the relationship between the two need not always be antagonistic.

As part of these efforts, the Independencia Mobility Roundtable had prioritised a set of actions, including a diagnostic of mobility in Independencia to have a clear picture of the patterns of mobility within the *comuna*; the production and dissemination of mobility-related information; and the organisation of a widely attended seminar in March 2019 entitled “Producing mobility in La Chimba: towards an integral mobility plan for northern Santiago”, in which government representatives, academics, activists, and members of the public participated. Another project prioritised by this working group is the *Ciclovía de La Chimba*.

Working between the material and the social, the *Ciclovía de La Chimba* is a proposal to build a cycle lane connecting three of the northern *comunas* –Recoleta, Independencia, and Renca– in a concerted effort between the three municipalities. This would re-distribute cycle connectivity (a luxury primarily enjoyed by the wealthier central *comunas*. See: Mora et al., 2021) to Santiago’s northern, lower-income neighbourhoods where a large and growing migrant population overwhelmingly rely on walking and cycling for their everyday mobility, often in precarious conditions (La Tercera, 2015). Infrastructural development is one form of territorialisation through controlling movement that can fundamentally alter existing socio-territorial dynamics and threaten the ways of life of residents by territorialising certain group’s specific visions and imaginaries of *territorio*, as in the case of airports (Schwarz & Streule, 2017) and highways (Pérez-López, 2019; Sagaris, 2019b). The *Ciclovía de La Chimba*, as envisioned by activists, delivers a material substrate that articulates with the extant mobility practices of residents, producing *territorio* through the creation of a physical network that strengthens the unity or “integration” of this territory (Haesbaert, 2011, p. 243). Moreover, it is a project that materialises the territorial imaginaries of cycling activists in the north of Santiago, who have also moved away from a zonal to a networked understanding of territory that broadens their sphere of action and demands the formation of coalitions to produce La Chimba as *territorio* through interventions in mobility:

Paola: *Ab sí, cuéntame del tema de La Chimba, que eso es...*

Natalia: *La Chimba es al otro lado del río, así como... lo literal. Entonces hoy día, claro, en realidad ya no, no pensamos como en Independencia solamente sino que es como, lo que queda al otro lado del río: Independencia, Renca, Conchalí, Recoleta... por eso hoy día como que el armar las mesas de trabajo, ojalá armar cosas intersectoriales, que nos unan con las otras comunas, eh, entonces el territorio se nos amplió. ¿Cachai? Pero que también es difícil porque, es difícil abarcar más territorio, eh, ampliar reuniones, o ir a reuniones en Renca, ir a reuniones en Independencia... o sea, es bien loco también. Pero efectivamente la, ya como que políticamente, los alcaldes, los equipos territoriales, están como pensando también en que esto tiene que ser territorial, po. No, nos podemos ver por separado. O sea, si pensamos una ciclovía nos unimos. Por eso pa'l día mundial sin auto fue el esfuerzo de tres comunas, ¿cachai? Porque ya es un intersector el que tenemos que pensar y no un territorio no más aislado. Es la unión ¿cachai? Eso es como ha sido como el vuelco hoy día de ya el territorio más amplio de La Chimba.<sup>38</sup>*

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<sup>38</sup> – Oh yeah, tell me about La Chimba, that's...

– La Chimba is the other side of the river. Literally. Today, of course, we no longer think about Independencia alone, but on what's on the other side of the river: Independencia, Renca, Conchalí, Recoleta... that's why in forming working groups, hopefully inter-sectorial groups, that can connect us to the other *comunas*, our *territorio* has expanded, you know? But it's also difficult because it's hard to cover more territory, widen our meetings, or go to meetings in Renca, in Independencia... it's crazy. But, in fact, politically, the mayors, the territorial teams, they're also starting to think that this needs to be [a territorial effort]. We can't think ourselves in isolation. Thinking about the cycle path connects us. That's why for World Car-Free Day the effort was between three *comunas*, you know? Because we need to work across [*comunas*], and not isolated territories. That's connection, you know? That's been the process of thinking about an expanded territory of La Chimba.



**Fig 4.5.** Territorio as a social and material achievement. **Left:** Experimental cycle lane demarcated by activists in the context of the National Car-free Day in Chile (28 September 2018). The experimental lane ran along one of the streets where the proposed Ciclovía de La Chimba is projected. **Right:** Signs to the meeting of the Independencia Mobility Roundtable, held at San José Hospital on 25 October 2018.

Stepping outside of the two capital cities that guide the narrative of this thesis helps me further excavate how *territorio* is disputed in and through mobility by cycling activists. Near the Mexican border with the United States, mobilities and *territorios* intersect in ways that generate distinct dynamics of mobilisation. As Martha, who is originally from the city of Chihuahua, explained to me: “*Chihuahua está en el norte, está pegado a los Estados Unidos, entonces todo lo ves así ¿no? Las calles son súper amplias, es desierto, entonces son las calles como súper anchas, todo mundo viendo a ver quién tiene la pickup más grande... entonces pues la bici era como algo muy raro ¿no?*”<sup>39</sup> The bicycle was invisible among wide avenues and pickup trucks, but it nevertheless thrived beneath the surface, and would emerge when civil society reacted to renewed waves of violence in the country and their encroachment of public space (see also: Meador, 2016).

In 2009 and 2010, the re-entrenchment of violence in northern Mexico (product of the US’ war on drugs) derived in the militarisation of public space and consolidation of a “narrative of fear” with

<sup>39</sup> Chihuahua is in the north, close to the United States, so you see everything that way. The roads are very wide, it’s the desert, so the roads are wide and everyone is looking to see who has the biggest pickup [truck]... so the bike was a very weird [sight], right?

relation to the city. In Martha's words, "*Entonces por un lado empiezan a secuestrarnos la calle, nos la toman, este, las fuerzas públicas y por el otro lado pues nos la toman los malos ¿no? Y entonces la gente desaparece de la calle, se acaba la vida nocturna*".<sup>40</sup> Former experiences of violence, such as the femicides in Ciudad Juárez (between 1993 and 2005 hundreds of women working in maquiladoras [sweat shops] were murdered in this border city. See: Segato, 2013), had already moved civil society to organise around women's and migrants' struggles. This time, a group of friends – later organised as Chihuahua en Bici – began staging activities to challenge the impossibility of public space, including a bi-weekly cycle ride which continued to be held for eight more years.

Cycle rides are a staple of cycling activism everywhere. As indicated in Chapter 2, the genesis of this practice is often located in San Francisco in 1992, when the first Critical Mass (CM) ride took place (Furness, 2007). However, a more global perspective alerts us to the almost simultaneous and independent emergence of this practice in both Santiago (the first *Cicletada del primer martes* took place in 1994) and Mexico City (*Paseo Biciteka* first took the streets in 1998). Cycling *en masse* is a tactic intended to disrupt the everyday rhythms of traffic in car-dominated cities and can be thought of as an exercise in territorialisation through mobility, insomuch as it challenges the ongoing de-/re-territorialising tendencies of automobilities and entails the material appropriation of politically contested space. The practice is irreducible to a single phenomenon and, in the process of being de/re-territorialised, it has exceeded its original content and expression. It is flexible enough so that it can be deployed towards any number of aims, spilling over into other political domains, such that cycling politics – the purposeful presence of bodies and bicycles on the road – become articulated with other struggles and demands.

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<sup>40</sup> So, on one hand, they begin to seize the streets. They're taken by the [military and police] and on the other hand they're taken by the bad guys, right? And people disappear from the street, night life is over.



**Fig 4.6.** Two different appropriations of the mass ride. **Left:** The *Cicletada inclusiva y familiar* (family-friendly and inclusive cycle ride) organised by Team Mapu in Pudahuel (Chile) as a community initiative inclusive of the elderly, children, and people with disabilities in this impoverished and peripheral *comuna*. **Right:** A group of men ride their “chola”-style bicycles (an aesthetic born in the US-Mexico border) during the *Rodada Ciudadana* (Citizens’ Ride) convened by several organisations from across Mexico City to celebrate the World Bicycle Day, in direct opposition to the city government’s official event.

In Chihuahua, this practice acquired a distinctive significance:

*O sea, estamos disfrutando andar en bici, pero, pues, el punto aquí es que no tenemos que dejar que nos quiten la calle porque... pues es el espacio de los ciudadanos y era como desafiar toda la narrativa del miedo ¿no? Decir, no es que no se puede andar en ... no se puede salir en esta ciudad, y menos de noche, y no se puede andar en bicicleta, entonces era todo lo que hacíamos ¿no? Todo lo contrario. Salíamos el domingo en la noche a andar en bicicleta.*<sup>41</sup>

This experience speaks the all-familiar language of mass rides, where enjoyment and re-appropriation are part of the discourse that holds together both the practice and the movement, since “territory is the space in which to build new social organisations collectively, where new subjects take shape and materially and symbolically appropriate their space” (Zibechi, 2012, p. 19). Yet, the particular case of Chihuahua alerts us to a different kind of struggle. Here, the stakes are not solely the dispute over urban space, but also the ability to control the territorial relations that produce distinctive bodily feelings, sensations, and affects – what Hayes-Conroy (2018) calls

<sup>41</sup> We’re enjoying riding our bikes, but the point here is we can’t allow for the streets to be taken away from us because... well, it’s citizens’ space, we had to defy that whole narrative of fear, right? Saying you can’t ride... you can’t go out in this city, much less at night, you can’t ride a bike, well it was everything we were doing, right? The opposite. We went out on Sunday night to ride a bike.

“somatic sovereignty”. Here, then, the struggle over territory plays out in a dual material register: the appropriation of the physical infrastructures of mobility by bodies that resist violence.

Chihuahua en Bici responded to territorialised violence through an exercise in popular sovereignty – an assembly of bodies that “says something” about the precarity of those same bodies – as encapsulated in the slogans “Chihuahua libre y sin temor” and “Chihuahua sin temor en bicicleta”.<sup>42</sup> This struggle over *territorio* brings to the fore the embodied dimension of socio-territorial relations. Where the possibility to occupy space – to move in and through the city – is curtailed by violence perpetrated on (often feminised) bodies and territories, Chihuahua en Bici staged a mobile intervention that brought together an assembly of bodies on bicycles to exercise popular sovereignty. The Latin American feminist concept of *cuervo-territorio* (discussed in Chapter 2) has foregrounded struggles for safety and survival in contexts of extractivism and violence, but I argue the conceptual work *cuervo-territorio* does can be extended to analyses of urban conflicts. Here, I see *cuervo-territorio* operating in at least two ways. Most obviously, *cuervo-territorio* is a site of struggle to wrest control over the structure of territorial relations, away from State and non-State actors producing territories of fear that are lived, felt, and experienced in and through the body. Equally, it speaks to the wider struggle of cycling activism for survival in automobilised territories, where the cyclist body is made vulnerable by regimes of mobility that privilege private automobility over other forms of movement and transportation.

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<sup>42</sup> “Chihuahua free and fearless” and “Chihuahua fearless on the bike”. Coincidentally, these slogans remind us of the feminist cry “Vivas y libres nos queremos” (“We want us alive and free”) that Verónica Gago (2019) skilfully links back to *cuervo-territorio*.



**Fig 4.7.** A poster for a Chihuahua sin temor en Bicicleta cycle ride on 12 September 2010. This ride was specially designed to facilitate the participation of young children. Source: <http://chihuahuasintemor.blogspot.com/2010/09/de-nuevo-en-bicicleta.html>

Moreover, the case for understanding infrastructure as relational and dynamic has been amply rehearsed in the literature (see: Schwanen & Nixon, 2019), and moments of experimentation and/or interruption generate tensions that foreground how, rather than an unmovable and given form, infrastructure requires the continuous reproduction of given meanings and practices for its stabilisation (Gamble, 2017, 2019). In other words, automobilised territories are irreducible to roads and highways, and require that these cohere with specific practices, meanings, and representations – all of which can be (and are being) contested. If repetitive movement has territorialising effects (Haesbaert, 2013), then the ritualised staging of mass rides creates a kind of rhythm that allows for new territorial relations to come into being and (potentially) endure beyond the moment of the ride.

Thinking with and about *territorio* entails shifting our attention to struggles over the practices, meaning, and tenures of space – a fruitful framework for further interrogating urban politics (Clare et al., 2018; Mason-Deese et al., 2019; Schwarz & Streule, 2017). The cases I have discussed empirically ground the proposal that *territorio* can be disputed and produced in and through mobility,

as others have argued. For instance, Ruth Pérez-López has examined the relationship between mobility and *territorio* in urban megaprojects like the Supervía Poniente highway in Mexico City. These are “projects that raze the urban fabric to give way to radically different development models: they do not seek to integrate with the existing environment, nor accommodate existing *socio-territorial dynamics*” (2019, p. 15, emphasis added). Instead, they “*substantially transform the territory* where they are implemented; tend to exclude citizens from decision-making processes; are often imposed via evictions, expropriations, and the use of public force; and are promoted as ultra-modern projects that will stimulate the local and national economy” (2019, p. 16, emphasis added). Yet, as discussed in Chapter 2, the conceptualisation of power associated with the Latin American reading of *territorio* works to de-centre the State from our analyses. It is not just the State that controls territorial relations, *territorio* can be produced and disputed by different groups in multiple ways. Hence, Jirón and Imilan (2018, p. 32; emphasis added) contend, “understanding mobile dwelling entails understanding the complexity of the relations involved in inhabiting, which includes multiple people, technologies, scales, and time-spaces that, in short, *produce mobile territories*”.

Likewise, practices like bike rides or mobile technologies (e.g., QR codes) can articulate with questions of memory and heritage to contest *territorio* in its symbolic dimension. *Territorio* is intimately tied to the development of group identities emerging from the symbolic valuation or appropriation of the space they inhabit (Haesbaert, 2013). Whether groups wield control over territory or not, territorial imaginaries influence the practices of actors who act in the name of these imaginaries (Clare et al., 2018; Márquez, 2017; Sandoval et al., 2017), as Indepeclata do through their use of the bicycle as a means to recover memory and heritage Independencia and La Chimba. However, insomuch as *territorio* is both social and material, we ought to consider how the material basis for movement is part of the production of *territorio*. Physical infrastructure creates opportunities and barriers to movement within determinate boundaries and infrastructures can serve to define territory (Miller & Ponto, 2016). Infrastructures also have the capacity to profoundly reshape socio-territorial dynamics, and they motivate great mobilisations when communities perceive their territories (and hence themselves) to be under threat (Pérez-López, 2019; Sagaris & Landon, 2017). Mobility activism often seeks to materially transform territory through re-distribution of space, claiming that this will allow for more diverse and inclusive uses of roadspace (Schwanen & Nixon, 2019). However, the material basis of mobile territories is more than infrastructure. Thinking the body as (the primordial) territory allows us to think mobile territories as embodied sites of

resistance and sovereignty (Cruz Hernández, 2016; Hayes-Conroy, 2018). Bringing mobilities into dialogue with the body as territory recognises that “in moving, bodies work to shape the precedent of movement for particular spaces, which has profound implications for the body itself as territory as well as for the interrelation between the body (and what is capable within it) and territory (and what is capable within it)” (Hayes-Conroy, 2018, p. 1302).

*Territorio* has much in common with mobilities thinking (Cresswell, 2010; Sheller, 2018; Sheller & Urry, 2006). They share a similar concern with power relations and struggles; they are both grounded in a relational ontology, attending to both the social and material dimensions of these struggles and their outcomes; and they share a common vocabulary to describe the constitutive elements of each, mobility and *territorio*. While authors like Miller and Ponto (2016) have suggested the co-implication of mobility and spatialities like place, networks, and scale, their approach to territory remains wedded to the understanding of territory that is most associated with anglophone political geography that places the State at the centre of territorial relations (see also: Havice, 2018; Hyndman, 2012; Smith et al., 2016). Meanwhile, *territorio* remains at the margins of anglophone geography (though see: Halvorsen, 2018; Zaragocin & Caretta, 2021) and largely untouched by the lens of mobilities. For Haesbaert, “today, to become territorialised means also to construct or control flows/networks and create symbolic referents within a space in motion, in and through movement” (Haesbaert, 2011, p. 231). He similarly contends that, rather than opposing *territorio* and network, “we can think of the network not just as another form of (abstract) composition of space, [...] but also as a fundamental component of territory that highlights its mobile-temporal dimension and, together with the territorial ‘surface’, makes explicit its dynamism, its movement, its connecting perspective” (Haesbaert, 2011, p. 237). This form of spatialisation, the territory-network, is also present in cycling activism, as I will discuss in the next section.

### 4.3. *El puente que falta: cycling connections*

“Se había generado así un proceso que no se interrumpiría hasta nuestros días. Por ser más rica, la ciudad de Santiago atraía población; por ser más poblada, atraía más capitales y comercio; por ser el primer centro comercial del Reino, atraía riqueza.”<sup>43</sup>  
Francisca Márquez, *Relatos de una ciudad triizada: Santiago de Chile*



**Fig 4.8. Top:** The Acceso Sur highway cuts across some of southern Santiago’s most peripheral and impoverished territories, the *comunas* La Granja, La Pintana and Puente Alto. Few possibilities exist to overcome the highway on foot or bicycle, and access to jobs and services concentrated in central Santiago, Providencia, and Vitacura is a source of grievance. See: Sagaris and Landon (2017). **Bottom:** Impossible mobilities in Naucalpan (State of Mexico), where the infamous *periférico* two-tier highway and its feeding infrastructures leave no room for non-motorised mobilities. In Ecatepec (State of Mexico), the Mexicable cable car line transports residents over the Mexico-Pachuca highway that sharply divides one of the most impoverished, violent, and disconnected territories in the ZMVM. See: Pérez-López & Landín Álvarez (2019).

<sup>43</sup> There began a process uninterrupted to this day. In being wealthier, the city of Santiago attracted more people; in being more populous, it attracted more capital and commerce; in being the commercial hub of the Kingdom, it attracted wealth.

If *territorio* is produced in and through mobility, then we can read territorial inequalities in the register of mobilities. Inequalities between territories find expression in everyday mobilities and, conversely, uneven mobility regimes produce territorial inequalities (Pérez-López & Landin Álvarez, 2019). In Pudahuel, the western-most, working-class *comuna* in Santiago, the city's international airport facilitates the fast circulation of people, goods, and capital in and out of Chile; and is directly connected to the “Sanhattan” business district in Las Condes (see: Fig 4.9) via the controversial Costanera Norte privatised expressway. The journey, of roughly 23km, takes approximately twenty minutes. Meanwhile, Camila poignantly summarised everyday (im)mobility within the *comuna*:

Camila: *Nuestra comuna físicamente está muy dividida. Y las soluciones siempre han sido construir carreteras a lo largo de la comuna, entonces la comuna está dividida por las dos grandes carreteras de Santiago. Para llegar de un lado al otro no podemos cruzar.*

Paola: *No hay un puente, un pase para peatón...*

Camila: *Hay uno. Uno en toda la comuna. [...] No tene— a nosotros no se nos construyen puentes, se nos construyen carreteras.*<sup>44</sup>

This case further emphasises the implication of mobilities in the production of *territorio*. It compels us to think about mobility's role in producing territories of abundance and territories of need, where the complex entanglement of discourses, practices, subjectivities, and infrastructures – including both excess and lack of thereof – produce uneven territorial formations and forms of (im)mobility and (dis)connect. It also moves us away from a “zonal” understanding of territory and towards a networked vision: it is not just mobility *within* a spatial unit that is productive of territory, as the cases I discuss in the preceding section might suggest; mobility can also bring together topographically discontinuous territories into territory-networks (Haesbaert, 2011). While flows and networks are more often associated with deterritorialisation, Haesbaert's proposal (drawing heavily on Deleuze and Guattari) is that they *also* territorialise, and are therefore a constitutive element of

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<sup>44</sup> – Our *comuna* is very physically divided. And the solution has always been to build more roads across the *comuna*, so the *comuna* is divided by Santiago's two main highways. We can't cross to the other side.

– There's no bridge... no pedestrian crossing.

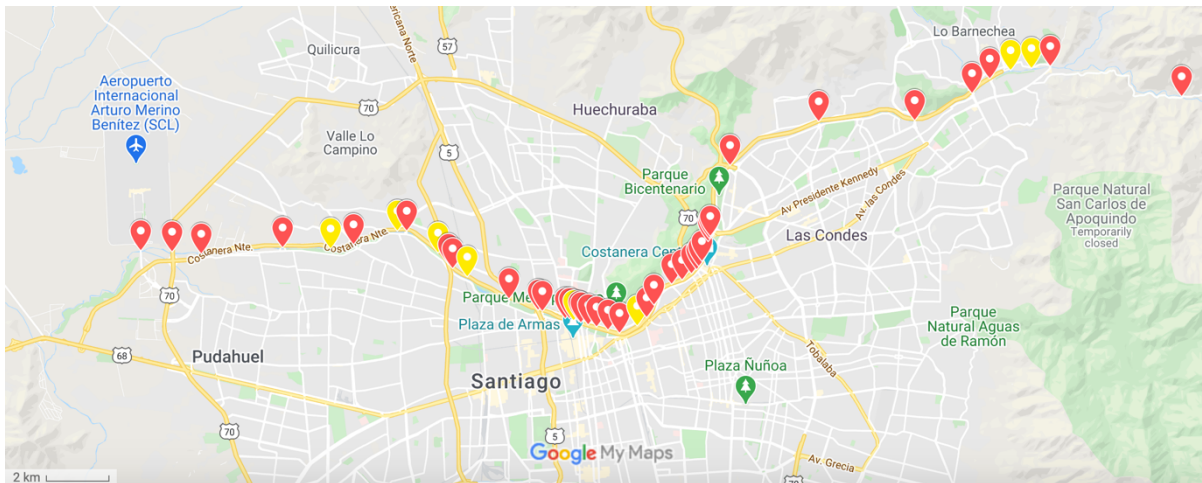
– There is one. In the whole *comuna*. [...] We don't ha—we don't get bridges, we get highways.

*territorio* (Haesbaert, 2011, 2013). As a social movement struggling over the politics of mobility, part of what is at stake in cycling activism are precisely the terms under which this (de/re)territorialisation takes place – the control of space through the control of flows and connections.

For Marcelo Lopes de Souza (1995) territory-network is a “conceptual bridge” between more traditional, topographical, notions of territory as a continuous and the discontinuity of networks, forming a territory-network that articulates two or more territories. The bridge metaphor here is useful and, in addition to Camila’s mention above (admittedly more literal than metaphorical), it appeared a second time in my research. Felipe, in Santiago, often speaks of *el puente que falta*, the missing bridge. “*Eso es descentralización*”, he explained when I asked him what, exactly, he meant by this. “*Es una idea de un proyecto material, pero principalmente en la metáfora ¿cierto?*”<sup>45</sup> Of the seventy-four bridges that cross over the Mapocho river, he elaborates, only eight privilege pedestrian or cycling access (see: Fig 4.9). *El puente que falta* is therefore a metaphor to speak of socioterritorial inequalities in Santiago, and Felipe uses a sibling idea, “the invisible bridge”, to speak of activism’s potential as a kind of connective tissue. Hence, the metaphor serves an additional purpose: it brings to the fore the relationship between activism and the city. I think Adriana would find echoes of her Coyolxauhqui metaphor in this imagery, which speaks of a kind of infrastructure, human or physical (see: Lugo, 2018), to mend together the territories of the body-city.

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<sup>45</sup> It’s decentralisation. It’s the idea of a material project, but mainly a metaphor, right?



**Fig 4.9.** Of the seventy-six bridges that cross the Mapocho River, only eight are pedestrian access-only (yellow). One has been closed for reparations since 2016, and at least one is not universally accessible. Source: Personal elaboration using Google Maps and [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anexo:Puentes\\_sobre\\_el\\_río\\_Mapocho\\_en\\_Santiago\\_de\\_Chile](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anexo:Puentes_sobre_el_río_Mapocho_en_Santiago_de_Chile)

Thinking with Coyolxauhqui and the missing bridge, we can discern two forms of ‘connecting’ at play in cycling activism: an aim and a form of spatialisation. First, and most obviously, forging connections refers to the struggle to overcome the physical and social disconnect (both productive of, and a product of territorial inequalities) activists perceive during the course of everyday life in the city. In this regard, the bicycle occupies a privileged position on account of the qualities and virtues activists ascribe to this vehicle – a topic I discuss at length in Chapter 5 –, and it is mobilised accordingly, as a ‘tool’ to promote urban and societal transformations. Second, and what I want to emphasise here, there is also an effort to connect activists to form a “social movement space constituted by and through uneven networks” (Nicholls et al., 2013, p. 12). I will examine this in two scalar registers – the urban, and the national – and make note of the tensions that complicate network-building. This reading moves beyond accounts of social movements that rely either solely on territory or on network to spatially conceptualise activism (see also: Halvorsen, 2012), and I suggest we think about cycling activism in terms of ‘mobile activism’ – a dynamic movement that engages with space on the multiple registers implied by the notion of “territory-network”.

Most evidently, forging connections entails creating space-times of convergence where geographically dispersed activists have opportunities to establish or reinforce connections (Nicholls, 2009). For instance, mass rides, an enduring strategy of the movement, are a space-time ripe for

encountering like-minded others (recall Emilio at MFC's 200<sup>th</sup> *cicletada*) while enacting a distinctive politics of mobility. Furthermore, as one long-term Chilean activist recalls, "*claro, ahí ya empieza con las redes sociales, todo el tema empieza a masificarse, la cicletada 200, que fue hace tres años, que fueron 9000 personas*".<sup>46</sup> Like him, most long-term activists I interviewed pointed to the massification of the internet and the emergence of social media as watershed moments in the movement, increasing participation, facilitating exchange of knowledge and ongoing dialogue between actors, and giving way to new, sometimes web-based, initiatives.<sup>47</sup> The internet (first mailing lists and modest websites, more recently social media) is also a means to identify initiatives elsewhere and easily reach out to activists in distant locales. My own reliance on these technologies and participation in digital spaces during fieldwork (see: Chapter 3) is testimony to their more-than-connective role – they are a fundamental social space-time of cycling activism where learning, coordinating, campaigning, and support take place (López León, 2017; Martínez Tapia, 2017).

Nevertheless, at the scale of the city, face-to-face interactions between activists and encounters with the city itself are still necessary to bring about a local activist milieu, and to generate the kinds of connections between territories that concern cycling activists. In Santiago, organising and participating in seminars, talks, meetings, events, and interventions is a means to connect, disseminate knowledge, and mobilise the bicycle. However, this kind of network has its own distinctive geographies. As Nicholls and colleagues (2013, p. 12) have observed for activist networking elsewhere, "because certain places within this networked space are more powerful than others in terms of their material and symbolic power, they become a structuring driving force (i.e. hub) within the broader social movement network." Hence Camila's observation:

Camila: ...*estas charlas o foros que siempre se hacen en Providencia o en Vitacura [upper and upper-middle class areas] donde yo he ido muchas veces, y la gente de acá no, no tiene los espacios pa escuchar estas cosas. [...] Los grandes seminarios no se hacen en comunas más periféricas. [...] nuestras oportunidades no son las mismas que quizás se dan pa otro lado. Y esos grandes recursos de pagarle a*

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<sup>46</sup> Of course, now with social networks, the whole thing became massified. The 200<sup>th</sup> *cicletada*, three years ago, had 9000 attendees.

<sup>47</sup> A number of specialised digital media outlets exist, such as Revista Pedalea (Chile) and Cletofilia (Mexico); as well as emerging types of activist-influencers on platforms like Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube (e.g., Maya en Bici in Mexico City. See: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCtbT00AYPEbNyPPxFEiROfw>).

*grandes charlistas, quizás siendo que igual tenemos nosotros algunos espacios. Yo les he dicho, hagamos unas charlas allá... quería llevar cosas pa'llá y me ha costado mucho.*

Paola: *¿Qué has querido llevar para allá, por ejemplo?*

Camila: *Por ejemplo, charlas de conversación, conversatorios... nosotros no tenemos eso. Nuestras autoridades no, no tienen, no escuchan a nadie, porque no... las soluciones, bueno, además de lo, de lo deportivo, lo social, también yo me encargo de, de quizás generar un impacto vial en nuestra comuna, que no tenemos nosotros soluciones de tránsito.*<sup>48</sup>

Accordingly, it is increasingly seen as important to move actions and conversations away from the city core and draw other activists and territories into the same social movement space – what activists refer to as “decentralising”. My time in Chile coincided with the consolidation of two territorial mobility roundtables, in Renca and Independencia,<sup>49</sup> taking the cycling and sustainable transport agenda to the peri-central northern zone in dialogue with local residents and authorities. Figure 4.10 illustrates other instances in which this was happening, and points to another dimension of local networking: supporting individuals and organisations through diffusion, promotion, and participation in their activities.<sup>50</sup> This kind of connecting work can best be observed in one organisation, Muévete, which defines itself as a “collective of collectives”. Muévete gathers individuals and organisations, mainly in Santiago but also elsewhere in the country (e.g., Concepción, Valparaíso, and Puerto Montt) to collaborate and leverage each other’s projects. On specific

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<sup>48</sup> – These talks or forums they’re always in Providencia or Vitacura [upper and upper-middle class areas], where I’ve been many times, and the people here don’t have the space to listen to these things. The great seminars are not held in peripheral *comunas*. Our opportunities are not the same as those on the other side. Those resources to pay big speakers, even though maybe we do have some spaces [for this]. I’ve told them, let’s have talks [in my *comuna*]... I wanted to take things over there and it’s been very difficult.

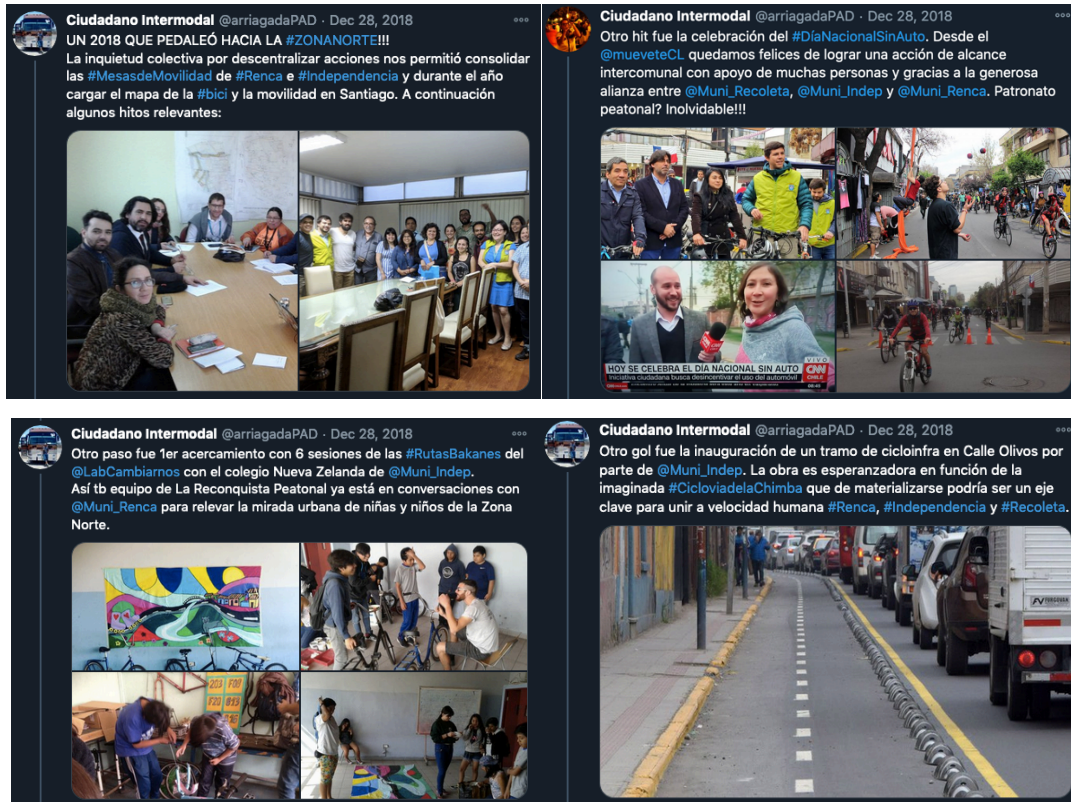
–What have you wanted to do there, for example?

– For example talks, we don’t have that. Our authorities don’t have... they don’t listen to anyone...the solutions, well, apart from sports and the social aspect, I also want to generate an impact on the streets of my *comuna*, because we don’t have transport solutions.

<sup>49</sup> As of 2021, in the context of a process of reconfiguration of governance structures in Chile, new roundtables are being established in Santiago’s peripheral *comunas*. In central Santiago, a “Mobility Justice Roundtable” is being constituted, drawing inspiration from the work undertaken by New Indie (Chile) and The Untokening (USA) to think mobility justice in Latin America.

<sup>50</sup> During the late-2019 social mobilisations in Chile, cycling groups proliferated across Santiago and activities and sites diversified far beyond what I was able to observe in 2018 and early 2019. Discussing this massification is beyond the scope of this research, but is worth signalling as an avenue for future enquiry.

occasions, this space has served to coordinate collective action around particular initiatives at a metropolitan scale, drawing the support of other actors and organisations, as was the case with the Mapocho Pedaleable<sup>51</sup> project (discussed in Chapter 5), and, most notably, the WBF.

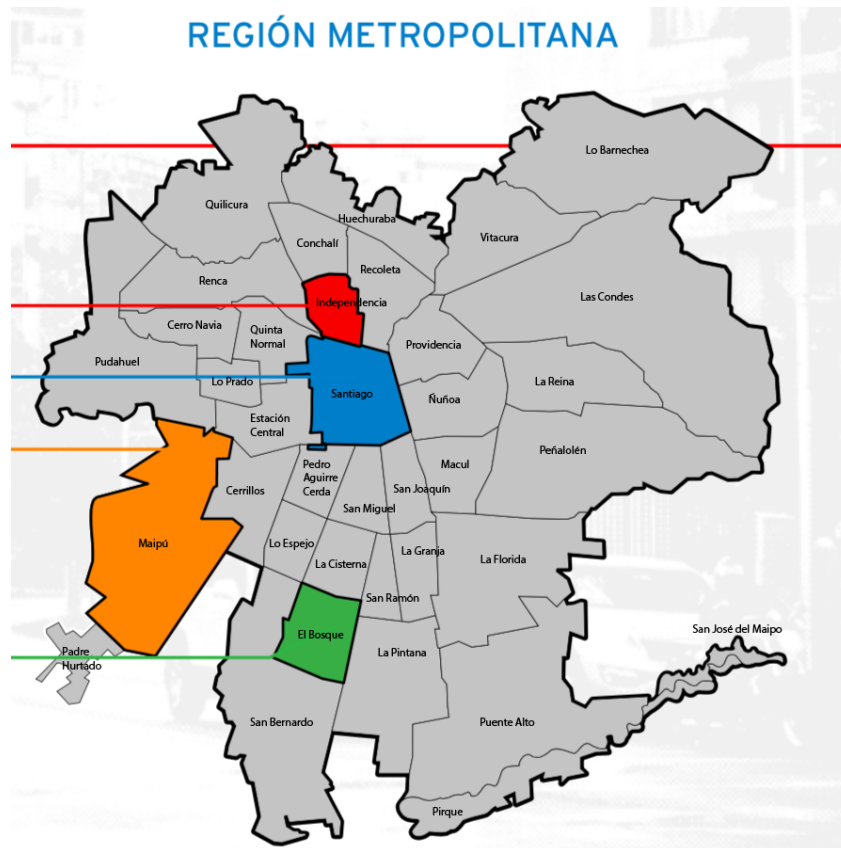


**Fig 4.10.** In this Twitter thread (reproduced with permission), one activist makes a balance of the steps taken in 2018 to decentralise activism towards Santiago’s northern zone. In these selected tweets, he makes note of the Renca and Independencia mobility roundtables; the celebration of National Car-Free Day in a concerted effort between Muévete and the Renca, Recoleta, and Independencia municipalities; the *Rutas Bakanes* project in Independencia (Safe/"Kool" routes to school. See: Sagaris & Lanfranco, 2019); and infrastructural achievements for the *Cicloviá de la Chimba*. Source: <https://twitter.com/arriagadaPAD/status/1078677596899020802> , included with permission.

Hosting the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF was a crucial moment for trying to forge connections between activism and territories, and for rendering visible the ‘other’ Santiago – that which most tourists and visitors will not be familiar with. This effort brought together forty-two organisations who avoided hosting the Forum in spaces like convention centres and dislocated the *comuna* of Providencia as the site where

<sup>51</sup> An ambitious project to turn the Mapocho riverside into a flood park with a 7km stretch of cycling infrastructure.

infrastructure, meetings, efforts, and knowledge are concentrated. Put differently, the dominant core of cycling activism was being exploded to create a polycentric forum that attempted to de-centralise the conversation and geographical focus of cycling interventions. The result was a forum that travelled within the city, from Santiago to Maipú, Independencia, and El Bosque.



**Fig 4.11.** Map of Santiago Metropolitan Region depicting the *comunas* where 5<sup>th</sup> WBF activities were held (Independencia, Santiago, Maipú, and El Bosque). Adapted from the programme of the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF. Source: <http://www.fmb5.org> (no longer available).

This effort, though certainly laudable, had significant drawbacks. On one hand, having multiple, distant venues made it difficult for some to *fully* participate owing to disability, lack of knowledge of the city, or confusion. Moreover, as some of the organisers I interviewed lamented, it was difficult to get the *local*, cycling *and* non-cycling community involved in Forum activities, meaning the Forum's reach was limited to those already involved in activism. Finally, during my fieldwork, two years after the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF, the more mobile, networked, and politically visible forms of activism continued to

gravitate around central Santiago, while more peripheral areas remained disconnected from conversations about cycling politics and policy, with notable exceptions (see Section 5.4. for a discussion of the legacy of the WBF in Santiago).

Despite the recognition of and attempts to address the core-periphery dynamic of the city in two registers (as an aim and as an organising strategy), the pattern described by Márquez in the epigraph to this section remains difficult to escape. While activists in Santiago have been somewhat successful in bringing splintered territories into a territory-network through the creation of space-times of convergence, the availability of resources and strategic allies in centralising hubs (e.g., academics and university venues, NGOs, sympathetic transport authorities) means that certain territories (i.e., central Santiago and Providencia) continue to exert a centripetal force that makes for an uneven activist network structure.

A similar tension as at the urban level in Santiago can be observed at the national level. Activists in multiple countries have established national networks to articulate their efforts on a national scale, such as BiciRed Colombia, Argentina en Bici, and União de Ciclistas do Brasil. Further north, the BiciRed-México was born in Mexico City after the first National Urban Cycling Congress in 2008, when the realisation that activist efforts were underway across the country made apparent the need to form a national network. The members of the network (up to 65 organisations at one point) meet twice a year: first, in a camping trip where they discuss the year's activities and strengthen ties; and later, in the National Congress held in a different city each time. During the national forum in Monterrey (2019) issues of legislation, cycling-related gentrification, and community-building with the bicycle in indigenous contexts were some of the themes on the agenda.

Having a national network has allowed Mexican activists to leverage resources and coordinate campaigns that help create a common agenda and vocabulary, even across diverse territories. Following Miller and Nicholls, “as local actors participate in the discourses of geographically extensive networks (through mediating organizations, mainstream media, and/or social media), the ways in which those actors perceive and conceive of their own struggles becomes entangled with distant others. Social movement space expands, whereby activists in diverse places believe that they

are part of a much broader struggle” (2013, p. 464). To illustrate, the 2012 campaign *Hazla de Tos*<sup>52</sup> was a nation-wide effort to denounce automobile-centred urban planning and its deleterious effects on air quality, pollution and, ultimately, people’s lives. This national-level collective action brought into proximity distant locales on the basis of a shared grievance and under a common discursive frame. Belonging to the network also has important effects on individual organisations, as suggested in the passage by Miller and Nicholls quoted above. For Martha, from Chihuahua, participating in the BiciRed entailed coming into contact with and learning about ‘mobility’ as a political issue. In her words, “*pues nos involucramos con la Bicired entonces ya entramos más como al tema de la política de movilidad, como tal. [...] trabajando con la BiciRed pues empezamos a, a... a ubicar esa... esa vía, ¿no? De la política pública de la movilidad y sus conexiones con salud, con calidad de vida, con bienestar, con equidad, etc.*”<sup>53</sup> This echoes the themes I discuss in Chapter 5, where learning and the notion of “activism as a school” emerge as key moments in mobilising the bicycle.



**Fig 4.12.** Mexican activists staged 26 simultaneous die-ins (a form of protest in which participants simulate being dead) as part of the *Hazla de Tos* campaign. Source: <http://www.bicired.org/hazla-de-tos-la-cancion/>

<sup>52</sup> “Hacerla de tos” is a Mexican expression translatable as “to complicate” or “to protest”. “Tos” means cough, hence, in this context, it is a play on words calling for people to complicate/challenge/protest car-induced air pollution and its related respiratory ailments. See the campaign video here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OiCe46v-CHM>

<sup>53</sup> We got involved with the BiciRed so then we got more into the topic of mobility policies as such. Working with the BiciRed we started to go down that road, right? Mobility policy and its connections to health, air quality, wellbeing, equity, etc.

In addition to coordinating campaigns like *Hazla de Tos*, the BiciRed has also been a space for generating valuable knowledge about cycling in Mexican cities in order to formulate policy recommendations. In Mexico City, the Mexican office of the global non-profit ITDP maintains close connections with activists and has collaborated with the BiciRed on a number of occasions, including the production of the 6<sup>th</sup> WBF. Thus, when ITDP wanted to produce the *Ranking Ciclociudades* (updated every year), it relied on the BiciRed to collect the data necessary to compare Mexican cities' performance with regards to cycling policy.<sup>54</sup> When I interviewed Beatriz, a former ITDP employee and active member of Bicitekas A.C., she identified this as one of the strengths of the BiciRed:

*Pero creo que, por ejemplo, para nosotros el que la BiciRed fuera aliado del Ranking Ciclociudades le daba mucha fuerza a nivel nacional. O sea, porque esto era un esfuerzo nacional. Entonces el sentir el apoyo de una red que está, y que sí es una red, sí es una red, o sea, porque sí son diversas organizaciones, una red de redes, de diversas organizaciones. [...] creo que el valor agregado de la complejidad de BiciRed es que sí son muchos grupitos en muchas partes de la ciudad, y que la BiciRed ha servido como para disminuir las brechas en el activismo. O sea, ya muchos empezaron con rodadas y ya ahorita están haciendo más de, cosas de reglamento, de financiamiento, y eso es como muy valioso. Pero entonces sí es importante tener esta red nacional para también en estas solicitudes que a lo mejor se hacen aquí en el centro de la Ciudad, garantes que reflejas la realidad o las necesidades de muchas partes del país. O sea, sí tienes que tener acuerdos comunes, o agendas comunes mínimas, y que sí se sienta la fuerza de que no son los chilangos. O sea, son todas las ciudades ¿no?*<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> The ranking can be viewed here: <http://ciclociudades.mx/>

<sup>55</sup> I think that, for example, having the BiciRed as an ally in the *Ranking Ciclociudades* gave it a lot of strength at the national level. I mean, it was a national effort. So feeling the support of a network that exists, that does exist, it's a network because it's different organisations, a network of networks, of diverse organisations. [...] I think the added value of the BiciRed's complexity is that there are many groups in many parts of the city, and the BiciRed has helped to close gaps in activism. Many started with mass rides and they're now doing things more to do with regulations, financing. It's very valuable. But it's also important to have a national network so these requests that come from here, the centre of [Mexico] City, you can guarantee that they reflect the reality and needs of different parts of the country. You need to have a common ground, a common agenda, and feel a strength that isn't just the *Chilangos* [slang word for people from Mexico City]. Like, it's all cities, right?

Coordinated action on a national level gives additional strength and legitimacy to activists' claims beyond Mexico City through the development of shared agendas and agreements. It also confers legitimacy to ITDP's ranking which relies on data that, in being collected by activists in their cities, is sensitive to "the realities and needs" of each locale. However, since its inception, a tense push-and-pull dynamic between the capital and the rest of the country characterised the BiciRed. For instance, when the funds to have a paid general secretary became available, the position was given to an activist in Mexicali (on the US-Mexico border). On this, Beatriz commented: "*La verdad tu incidencia se ve muy reducida, pues porque estás lejos de donde están pasando las cosas. Y yo sí creo que, o sea, sí entiendo la idea detrás de eso, pero también siento que pues se desaprovecharon, o sea, como oportunidades muy importantes para tener mucha más incidencia en lo que pasa.*"<sup>56</sup>

One founding member of Bicitekas also noted that the secretary should live in (or be able to travel to) Mexico City, since there is where all important decision-makers are located. Once again, an extant governance structure of centralisation generates frictions for spatial strategies that seek both to connect and to re-distribute agency within activist networks. Furthermore, as a worlding node (McCann et al., 2013), Mexico draws people and capital in ways that other Mexican cities do not: "*como ciudad, que es una ventaja global muy grande, que pues México tiene una gran reputación en el mundo, o sea, es muy fácil que la gente como que reconozca México, y si a un ponente internacional le dices, oye te invito a México [...] te dicen sí, sin pensarlo dos veces. [...] O sea, la ciudad como atractivo, no el gobierno, pero la ciudad. México, la Ciudad de México*",<sup>57</sup> remarked Beatriz. But where does that leave other Mexican cities? What about innovations and activism in Guadalajara, where a strong cycling activist movement also exists (Montero, 2017a; Viramontes, 2013), or the worldly ambitions of Mazatlán-Culiacán, who bid to host the WBF in 2021? The tensions generated by the opposing forces of (de)centralisation resulted in the BiciRed expelling Bicitekas during the 6<sup>th</sup> WBF. That, in effect, constituted the expulsion of Mexico City.

Efforts to connect cycling activists in Santiago and Mexico constitute two processes of forging networks at different scales – the urban, and the national. In the case of Santiago, the logic of the

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<sup>56</sup> Honestly your influence is reduced because you're far from where things are happening. I do think that, like, I understand the idea behind this, but I also think they missed very important opportunities to have much more influence in what's happening.

<sup>57</sup> As a city, it's a big global advantage that Mexico has a great reputation in the world, like, it's easy for people to recognise Mexico, and if you tell an international speaker, hey, I'm inviting you to Mexico, they say yes without thinking twice. Like, the city as an attraction, not the government, but the city. Mexico. Mexico City.

network inadequately captures the spirit of the movement, so the notion of territory-network is useful to understand, first, that territorialisation happens through movement; second, that the terms of this movement are what is at stake in cycling activism; and third, that the territorial inequalities extant in the city exert a force difficult to escape, such that the resulting activist networks remain uneven, despite activists' best intentions. The logic of networking at the national level, by contrast, is more concerned with connecting and coordinating simultaneous action than with stitching together fragmented territories. Hence, while a centralising tendency also exists, it is easier to escape and, even without Mexico City, the BiciRed continues to operate and host its annual meeting. Having examined cycling organising at the metropolitan and national scales, I now turn to the World Bike Forum to examine the possibility of a regional (i.e., Latin American) cycling activist movement.

#### **4.4. From *territorio* to assemblage**

Having evolved through nine iterations, the World Bike Forum today is a self-described global event for the promotion of urban cycling drawing mostly activists, but also draws participation and support from policy-makers, politicians, and academics. Typically, the Forum consists of three to four days of talks, seminars, activities, and urban interventions; and culminates with the general assembly, where the next host city is selected by majority vote (see: Chapter 1). At the beginning of this research project, I sought out the WBF believing that it represented a node in a network of Latin American cycling activism; I sensed that hosting the WBF meant a city's activist movement was both well consolidated, and well connected to activism elsewhere. Following this logic, Mexico and Santiago – WBF hosts in 2016 and 2017, respectively – would themselves be nodes in a web of activist connections. However, in time, I realised that the network trope dominant in social movements studies (whether informed by social network analysis [see: Diani & McAdam, 2003; Nicholls, 2009]; or inspired by Manuel Castells' [2015] totalising account of the network society) could not quite capture the phenomenon at hand. While it is true that activists sometimes speak of “networks” (e.g., the national networks discussed earlier) and “networking”, I encountered contrasting perspectives amongst activists pertaining to the existence of a *Latin American network* of cycling activism. Nevertheless, there exists an empirical phenomenon – Latin American cycling activism – which, though elusive for the spatial frameworks I have employed thus far, can be traced

and observed in specific moments. One such moment is the WBF, but we can also glimpse it in less-obvious forms of interaction, such as the modal race I discuss in Chapter 5. Ethnographic and following-the-activists approaches (Baker & McGuirk, 2017) allowed me to discern this phenomenon, but how to conceptualise it? The following testimony is suggestive:

Diana: *El Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta no puede verse como un Lollapalooza [an annual music festival] de las bicicletas.*

Paola: *¿En qué sentido?*

Diana: *En que nosotros no somos desarrolladores de eventos. Nosotros estamos viviendo un proceso. Yo creo que el Foro es un proceso, y que hay que entenderlo como un proceso: una instancia de encuentro, pero parte de un proceso latinoamericano en torno a la movilidad urbana. Yo creo que hay que verlo así. Y desde ese punto de vista, por eso es importante estrechar vínculos con los distintos países. Para entender la naturaleza los problemas de cada uno, cómo podemos ayudar ¿No? Y como en estos momentos de encuentro mejoramos lo que pasa en cada uno de esos países, en el fondo. Para mí, la mayor experiencia del Foro es esa.<sup>58</sup>*

Diana's analysis points to a series of simultaneous, multi-scalar processes of learning about and organising around urban mobility that are related in different ways. Within the literature on the geographies of social movements, some have approached the processual (re)configuration of mobilisation in different spaces and at different times through the lens of assemblage as appropriated by geographers and policy researchers (Davies, 2012; Davis, 2017; Kinkaid, 2019; McFarlane, 2009). Broadly, these appropriations understand assemblages as purposeful gatherings of heterogenous elements, drawn together as an identifiable terrain of action and debate which work together and produce specific spatialities for a certain time (B. Anderson et al., 2012; Baker & McGuirk, 2017; Müller, 2015). Latin American cycling activism is of course irreducible to the WBF,

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<sup>58</sup> – We can't think of the World Bike Forum as the Lollapalooza [an annual music festival] of bicycles.

– In what sense?

– In that we're not event producers. We're living a process. I think the Forum is a process and we have to understand it as a process: a space of encounter but also part of a Latin American process around urban mobility. I think we have to look at it that way. From that perspective, that's why it's important to strengthen links with other countries. To understand the nature of each other's problems, how we can help, right? And through those meetings, improve the situation in each country. For me, that's the main takeaway from the Forum.

but it is there that cycling activism as a regional movement is most discernible. I therefore suggest that we define Latin American cycling activism as a simultaneous and indeterminate process of (re)assembling in different moments, and which finds expression, stability, and becomes territorialised in different moments, but most vigorously in the WBF. In this way, we can understand cycling activism as more than a networked practice (as Golub et al., 2016b have defined it), and grapple with the multiple discourses, knowledges, materials, bodies, institutions, and formations that come together and draw apart to produce specific spatialities.

Here, I focus on three elements to comprehend the cycling activist assemblage: first, the historicity of cycling activism through which we can account for a multiplicity of component parts and trajectories. Second, the work involved in de/re-territorialising activism through the socio-material labour of (re)assembling the WBF. Finally, the emergent formations and trans-local connections that result from these encounters between people, ideas, and materialities, and which can facilitate the proliferation and continuity of cycling activism, but also exacerbate frictions and produce discontinuities – the outcome is always uncertain.

Though the WBF had always been held in Latin America, during a controversial general assembly in 2018 in Lima, it was decided that in 2020 the Forum would travel to Kathmandu, despite some resistance to the Forum ‘leaving’ Latin America. A year later, in Quito, the Assembly voted for Rosario (Argentina) to host the event in 2021, defeating Bogotá’s bid. Later that evening, I found myself catching up with Emilio and discussing the outcome of the vote. He had voted for Bogotá whilst I had voted for Rosario. He argued that the bid from Argentina en Bici (ABi) did not reflect a city in *need* of hosting the Forum. The video<sup>59</sup> they had produced to support their bid showed a beautiful city, with beautiful people who seemingly had all their problems solved already. Meanwhile, Bogotá’s cycling movement, he reminded me, was facing a difficult struggle against the official government image branding it as the “Cycling Capital of the World”, just as cyclist deaths and robberies were on the rise.

Our disagreement reflects different ways to interpret the WBF. While some see the Forum as a means to leverage claims specific to the host city and as a political opportunity, for the Argentinean

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<sup>59</sup>Available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iGLASXwZH1k>

delegation, the city itself was less important than the process and politics they proposed to the General Assembly. The following transcribed excerpt from their bid illustrates this approach:

*Argentina en Bici existe gracias a este foro que en 2016 en Santiago de Chile nos unió por primera vez. El consenso es una parte fundamental de nuestra identidad. Gracias a ese consenso logramos elegir una ciudad para postular, ser sede, en el año 2021. Estamos apoyados por 35 organizaciones del país. Sabemos que desde Santiago de Chile hemos atravesado ciudades capitales ¿sí? Pasando por Lima, por Quito, por Ciudad de México y ahora Katmandú. Por eso hemos elegido una ciudad que no solamente no es capital, sino que además es una ciudad intermedia. La pregunta es: ¿estamos listos? ¿Estamos listas y listes para volver a descentralizar el Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta? Así como nosotres aprendimos y nos inspiramos muy fuerte en el año 2016 en Chile, creemos que nuestra propuesta de sede en Rosario va a favorecer los movimientos regionales de organizaciones y redes ciudadanas. Pensamos en una ciudad mediana, pero de igual manera tiene conexión y conectividad con el mundo. Y también se preguntarán ¿por qué sentimos que hoy es nuestro momento para postular? Sabemos de la responsabilidad que significa tomar el desafío de organizar un Foro Mundial, y lo asumimos con confianza. Ya hace tres años que organizamos foros nacionales a través de un trabajo colectivo.<sup>60</sup> (Emphasis added)*

The video they projected drove home the point about collective work through images of social and political movements in Argentina, from Eva Perón, the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, and the recent feminist mobilisations, to their own efforts organising the Foro Argentino de la Bicicleta (FAB). The speech delivered for the second round of voting<sup>61</sup> addressed their ambitions for the Forum in terms

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<sup>60</sup>Argentina en Bici exists thanks to this Forum, which brought us together for the first time in Santiago in 2016. Consensus is a key part of our identity. Thanks to this we have picked a city for our bid to host the WBF in 2021. We're supported by 35 organisations from across the country. We know that, since Santiago, we have travelled to capital cities, right? From Lima, Quito, Mexico City, and now Kathmandu. *That's why we've picked a city that not only isn't a capital city, it is also an intermediate city. The question is, are we ready? Are we all ready to decentralise the World Bike Forum? Just as we learned and were inspired by 2016 in Chile, we believe our proposal to host the Forum in Rosario will be favourable to regional movements of citizen's networks and organisations. We picked an intermediate city, but one that has connections and connectivity with the world.* You might be wondering, why do we feel it's our moment to bid? We know the responsibility entailed in hosting a World Forum, and we are confident we can take this on. For three years we've been organising national forums through collective work.

The full speech can be watched here:

<https://www.facebook.com/ForumMundialDaBicicleta/videos/466437577432151/>

<sup>61</sup>The first round of voting was between Rosario, Bogotá, and the two-city bid from Mexico's Mazatlán-Culiacán who obtained a minimal fraction of the vote (131, 59 and 19, respectively).

of accessibility, gender parity and racial diversity, inclusion of children, sustainability, and open participation in the organisation of the Forum through the use of digital technologies. As a whole, the pitch demonstrated a historical sensibility that framed the current moment as part of multiple trajectories of social mobilisation, relating Argentina's political histories to a Latin American process of urban transformation, thus writing their activism as both Latin American and distinctively Argentinean. Referring back to my previous discussion on de-centralising activism, it is worth noting how ABi's organisational ethos, which emphasises equity, de-hierarchisation and decentralisation (Argentina en Bici, 2018), was extended to their vision of what spatial politics the Forum ought to enact: a move away from capital cities and towards medium-sized urban centres to leverage the specificities of cycling in these kinds of cities;<sup>62</sup> and foster connectivity between these locales, the rest of the region, and the world. Their persuasive and emotive pitch and their know-how in navigating Forum politics, paired with the overwhelming support of the women attendees (ABi appeared to embody the feminist sentiment that was taking hold in the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF as I describe in Chapter 6), secured Rosario a landslide victory.

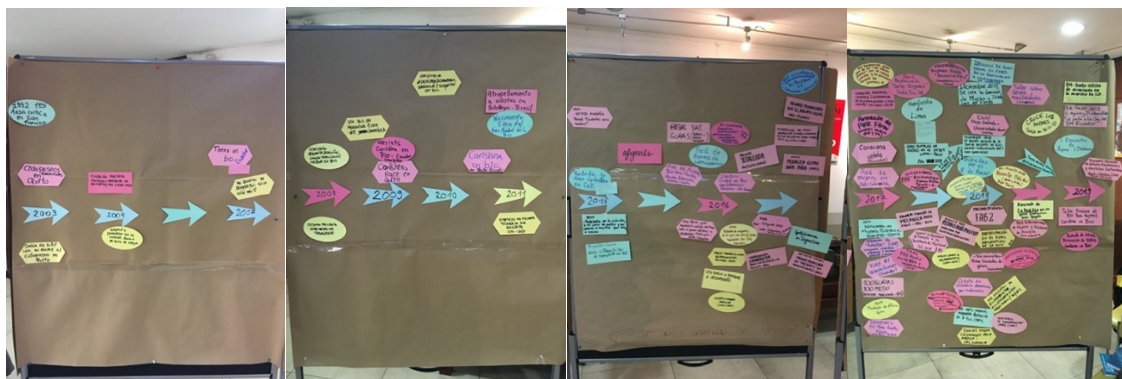
ABi/Rosario's success challenges my original intuition about cities as nodes in activism since, again, what was important here was not the city itself. Rather than *where*, the General Assembly was moved by *how* the Forum would come together, and by what it would make possible for both Rosario *and* for the WBF and activism. Moving forward, in bringing awareness to the historical sensibility of ABi's pitch, I signal the need to think about cycling activism as more than connections between sites and instead account for the multiple and indeterminate trajectories that intersect and cohere into specific space-times to bring the movement into being. Tellingly, in the prelude to the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF, as part of the *1er Encuentro Interseccional de Mujeres y Disidencias*,<sup>63</sup> attendees worked on constructing a timeline of women's cycling activism, using coloured paper to differentiate personal, local, and international milestones in the movement. This collective effort included histories from Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Costa Rica, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Puerto Rico, Canada and Germany; it marked personal milestones such as a solo crossing of the Andes on bike; foundational

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<sup>62</sup> Pablo Frontalini from Rosario en Bici in an interview for Bicivilizadxs Radio. Source: [https://ar.ivoox.com/es/pablo-frontalini-rosario-bici-fmb10-audios-mp3\\_rf\\_35559623\\_1.html](https://ar.ivoox.com/es/pablo-frontalini-rosario-bici-fmb10-audios-mp3_rf_35559623_1.html)

<sup>63</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Intersectional Meeting of Women and Sexual Dissidents. This was a whole-day event taking place the day before the official start of the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF, and it was separatist space where cis-gendered men were not allowed to participate.

moments like the first *Carishina*<sup>64</sup> ride in Quito; dates seemingly irrelevant to cycling, like the 2018 feminist May in Chile; and it signalled future events, like the First National Meeting of Gender, Dissidence, and Sustainable Mobility in Cali (Colombia) later that year.



**Fig 4.13.** Timeline of women’s cycling activism from 2003 – 2019 showing the simultaneous unfolding of cycling activism throughout the region.

<sup>64</sup> *Carishina* is a Quechua-derived Ecuadorian slang word referring to women without ‘domestic competence’. *Carishina en Bici* is a feminist cycling collective from Quito that embrace the term to challenge patriarchal notions of women’s rightful place in the home, and has been amply studied by Julie Gamble (2016, 2019).

Importantly, this exercise purposefully de-centred the dominant narrative of a male-dominated organisational history, weaving in women and dissidents' histories into the tapestry of Latin American cycling activism. However, it also drew attention to multiple activist efforts, places, moments, memories, and desires that operate in different spatialities and temporalities, and explicitly brought them into relation with one another. The final product is a visual representation where Latin American cycling activism is once again discernible as a regional phenomenon, irreducible to the Forum and the logic of the network, but existing as the articulation of activists, sites, trajectories, artefacts, ideas, etc. that are assembled in particular configurations in specific moments before dispersing again, or creating new associations that can endure beyond that particular moment (B. Anderson & McFarlane, 2011).

Returning to the broader picture of the WBF, we can speak of the Forum as a formation where discourses, people, and 'stuff' become territorialised through the work of activists in negotiation with the specificities of each city (its cyclescapes, institutional arrangements, and activist assemblages), and in articulation with their own trajectories and desires. This is an intensely laboured-over process: to host the Forum, activists must win the bid by means of appeals to other members of the collective – the General Assembly. This involves 'lobbying' throughout the Forum in both formal and informal spaces through word-of-mouth and the distribution of materials. It also involves the use of persuasive language and emotional narratives and images of urban transformation – at once the critique and the promise of cycling activism. Finally, it also implicates the 'baggage' all activists and cities bring with them, as Bogotá above, and previously established alliances and relations of friendship and collaboration across locales. The case of Rosario/ABi at the beginning of this section shows how specific political and socio-material alignments, associations past and present, and contemporary conditions and actants engender new conditions for possibility (Baker & McGuirk, 2017).

With a bid secured, activists must then work to establish alliances with other organisations and sponsors that will facilitate the territorialisation of the Forum. Additionally, a special effort is required to guarantee the support of city authorities through tasks ranging from mundane paperwork to the translation of ideas that will result in the correct political alignments. That is, making the *promise* of a *World Bike Forum* attractive to authorities requires skilful persuasion to

secure a political commitment to the cycling agenda. Thus, organising the Forum creates an arrangement of actors that do not necessarily belong to a ‘network’ in a strict sense, but are drawn together for this particular effort and may remain in association beyond this specific moment. In Santiago, activists created a corporation (a legal figure to facilitate the organisation of the WBF) consisting of 42 organisations, including non-cycling groups like Greenpeace; and in Quito, many of the women who belonged to the Women’s and Sexual Dissidents’ Committee were not cycling activists, but members of the feminist platform *Vivas Nos Queremos*<sup>65</sup> who happened to cycle. In addition to these actors, the Forum also depends on enrolling<sup>66</sup> capital, venues, bicycles, microphones, projectors, and a long list of human and non-human elements that, in coming together, can either allow for the smooth functioning of the Forum, or truncate the process of learning and exchange when they are misaligned (Callon, 1984).

At the same time, also working to territorialise activism are the hundreds of individuals who arrive at the Forum site, bringing with them their experiences, knowledges, and stories, either embodied and ready to be told in the formal (panels, pecha-kuchas, workshops) and informal (hallways, meals, parties, hostels) spaces of the Forum; or in the form of images, videos, booklets, stickers, pins, t-shirts and other such artefacts that are exchanged during the Forum and which I call “the stuff of activism”. Through the stuff of activism circulate many of the discourses and knowledges that are the subject of Chapter 5 of this work. The stuff of activism ‘makes the bike mobile’ by allowing ideas and discourses to travel from the site of their production to the Forum, and off to other sites in the suitcases of activists, packaged into materialities that ‘stand in’ for these discourses and ideas.

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<sup>65</sup> “We want us alive” work to make visible and condemn femicides in Ecuador.

<sup>66</sup> Though I frame this discussion in terms of assemblage, I borrow from the vocabulary most commonly associated with Actor Network Theory (a related though distinct body of work) following Müller and Schurr’s (2016) suggestion to cross-fertilise assemblage and ANT and to draw carefully and selectively on ANT’s conceptual toolbox to provide better accounts of the stabilisation of relations in assemblage.



**Fig 4.14.** Attendees to the 7<sup>th</sup> World Bike Forum in Lima gather around a model of cycling infrastructure brought by Bicistema, from Colombia.

However, these processes are fraught with tensions that reflect the challenges of giving coherence to a heterogenous formation riddled with the messy politics of mobilisation, and with conflicting views of urban politics. In Mexico, conflict arose from the organisers' Faustian bargain of receiving much of the funding for the WBF from a mayoral government criticised by activists 'at the margins' for its repressive and neoliberal approaches to the management of public space.<sup>67</sup> In Quito, the tensions that had been building up around harassment and gender violence<sup>68</sup> since the 6th WBF in 2017 came to a head in the months prior to the event, resulting in the ban of two central figures of the Ecuadorian movement and one from Colombia from the Forum. These instances reveal fissures that make social movements fragile emergent formations. Yet, tensions can also be generative of change and open up the possibility for things to come together differently, such that the terms of assembly change, but the formation does not fall apart. For example, the feminist intervention in activism (discussed at length in Chapter 6) is generative of new vocabularies, forms of relating, symbols, discussions, and acts of resistance as it tries to re-frame what cycling activism is or ought to be about, thereby re-composing the elements of the assemblage in a different way.

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<sup>67</sup> See: 1<sup>st</sup> National Forum of the Anthropology of Cycling available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ-f3yQh5yg>

<sup>68</sup> Since Mexico, feminist activists had been denouncing instances of sexism and violence in the activist community. Then, in 2018 (in Lima) an episode of assault on the final day of the Forum was poorly handled by the organisers. I discuss these processes further in Chapter 6.



**Fig 4.15.** An anonymous group of dissenting voices challenged the 6<sup>th</sup> WBF and ‘hack’ their imagery. Here they play on the Forum’s logo and slogan “Ciudades hechas a mano” (Handmade cities) and re-write it as “Ciudades deshechas a máquina” (Cities unmade by machines). Source: <https://pedalayataca.wordpress.com/>

In the process of assembling, the elements that are drawn into relation have the capacity to enter into new arrangements that persist even after the Forum assemblage disperses, and they can reterritorialize in different configurations. Returning to Argentina en Bici, it was the encounter between Argentinean activists in the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF that prompted the creation of their organisation; meeting again during the 6<sup>th</sup> WBF was decisive for the creation of their national forum (the FAB); and the experience of organising three iterations of the FAB laid the groundwork for pursuing the 10<sup>th</sup> WBF host bid. By contrast, Chilean activists spoke to me of the exhaustion and fractures the Forum left behind, meaning that *staying together* is not always the outcome of coming together. In other cases, the Forum enables the generation of new alliances, organisations, friendships, and forms of relating that exceed activism, but nevertheless work to lubricate the channels through which the bicycle circulates translocally.

The notion of *translocal assemblage* proposed by Colin McFarlane emerges as an appropriate way to think of Latin American cycling activism. These are “composites of place-based social movements which exchange ideas, knowledge, practices, materials and resources across sites” (McFarlane, 2009, p. 562) where more than connections between cities, the emphasis is placed on doing, performance and events. McFarlane elaborates on this notion to conceptualise learning in social movements and refers to *urban learning forums* as “a particular type of urban learning assemblage in that it signals the

production of a centralised and organised environment specifically geared towards learning between different actors” (McFarlane, 2011, p. 20). These forums can at once be sites of exclusion, managerialism and control, *and* embody the potential for more socially just urbanisms. Learning in cycling activism is a topic I pick up again in the next chapter. For now, I suggest that, working with assemblage can be useful to grapple with ‘Latin American cycling activism’ as a diffuse regional phenomenon that becomes territorialised and finds expression in, among others, the WBF. Assemblage, and learning assemblages in particular, capture the multiple processes of coming together and drawing apart with the purpose of learning and exchanging knowledges that are fundamental to making the bike mobile beyond any one specific city, and for giving continuity to the ongoing processes of mobilising around the bike.

## 4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the spatialities of cycling activism in Latin America by examining processes unfolding in a number of scalar registers. Whilst the spatialities of social movements are widely researched, cycling activism is particular in that, in addition to claiming space, ‘making the bike mobile’ entails centring mobility and understanding it as that which renders space political. As others have remarked, studying social movements demands engagement with more than a single spatial register, and the kind of activism I analyse demands a more refined understanding of the interplay between mobility, mobilisation, and space. I have rehearsed a conversation between mobilities and *territorio* to develop a reading of cycling activism that is sensitive to activists’ spatial imaginaries and vocabularies, incorporating the Latin American geographical conceptualisation of territory. I suggest that *territorios* are produced and contested by activists in and through mobility in the widest sense – movement, yes, but also infrastructures, governing mobilities, imaginaries of mobility, and the mobile body.

I have also examined how territorial inequalities are (re)produced in and through mobilities, including activist mobilities. Tactics aimed towards redressing these inequalities include the *trabajo territorial*, territorial work, I encountered in La Chimba, or the networking efforts of Mexican activists to bring distant locales into a common social movement space whilst resisting the gravitational pull

of Mexico City. Efforts that foster sustained and purposeful engagements with activism beyond centres of power, and the commitment to de-centring privileged actors and sites are certainly welcome, but in both instances the question of (de)centralisation and equality between territories remain elusive, with specific sites (i.e., central Santiago and Mexico City) acting as centralising hubs. I have shown that territorial inequalities also exist in those moments where violence imposes itself on bodies and creates territories of fear where mobility becomes near impossible. The case of Chihuahua en Bici brought to the fore the body-as-territory as way to understand how (re)territorialisation takes place through the repetitive movement of bodies in collective resistance, struggling to engender new forms of territorial relations.

Finally, while *territorio* delivers a useful analytical lens for thinking about how contestation and claims to the city are made in and through mobility; and while thinking in terms of territory-networks proved helpful to analyse cycling activism at the city and national scales, these two concepts fall short in their capacity to articulate the multi-temporal and spatially dispersed forms of activism that constitute 'Latin American cycling activism'. Cycling activism finds expression in La Chimba, Independencia, Santiago, Mexico City, Chihuahua, the BiciRed Mexico, and the World Bike Forum – all forming distinct spatialities and following particular trajectories that sometimes come together and draw apart. Capturing the convergence of these trajectories and accounting for them as constitutive of a dynamic process that is unfolding across the region and finding its most vigorous expression in the WBF is best achieved through assemblage. It is true that processes at all scales could be analysed through the lens of assemblage, but certain spatial grammars and vocabularies are better suited for capturing different elements at different scales, and employing different spatial frameworks emphasises the commitment to read social movements as polymorphic. For instance, *territorio* lends itself to analyses of identity-formation, everyday life in the city, and struggles over the politics of space; and territory-network is more appropriate than assemblage for understanding the relationship between mobility and territory. Meanwhile, assemblage's emphasis on processuality and emergence is better suited for grappling with contingent phenomena like the WBF and the myriad human and non-human agents that make up the social world (while notions of *territorio* emphasise its material dimension, they fall short in their conceptualisation of the non-human).

Though the Latin American cycling movement is irreducible to the WBF – with its composite parts always retaining their relations of exteriority –, it is in this moment that it is most discernible as a

regional phenomenon. The notion of assemblage as reworked by geographers and policy scholars provided a useful framework to account for the process of bringing together a multiplicity of elements into both temporary (e.g., any one specific iteration of the WBF) and potentially enduring formations (e.g., Argentina en Bici); and to capture the work, actors, and forces that are bringing Latin American cycling activism as a regional phenomenon into being. With this in mind, I now turn to the knowledges, discourses and practices that are produced in and circulate amongst these spatialities in the words and bodies of activists, and in the materials they produce as part of their practice. If in this chapter I have addressed the question of *where* cycling activism unfolds, the next chapter turns to my second research question to answer *what* is circulating through these spaces and through what mechanisms.

## Chapter 5: “*La bicicleta tiene sentido y razón*”: mobilising activist knowledges

### 5.1. Introduction

Early during my fieldwork, Santiago-based Bicipaseos Patrimoniales<sup>69</sup> organised a bike ride and a set of activities to commemorate the life of Víctor Jara. Jara was a Chilean protest singer and political activist, infamously tortured and assassinated by the military during the dawn of Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship in Santiago’s Estadio Víctor Jara — a sports complex in central Santiago, previously named “Estadio Chile”. The event convened cyclists to the Museo de la Memoria y de los Derechos Humanos, a memorial museum that pays homage to the victims of the dictatorship’s brutal violation of human rights between 1973 and 1990. On the Museum’s esplanade – a vast open space where in 2016 the 5<sup>th</sup> World Bike Forum was inaugurated – a group of over 200 cyclists gathered to enjoy a musical and theatrical intervention before rolling out on to the streets of Santiago’s historic Barrio Yungay, on our way to the Universidad de Santiago to watch a short film about the life of Víctor Jara and the University (where he taught at the time of the military coup).

The following stop along *la ruta de Víctor*<sup>70</sup> was *población* Los Nogales,<sup>71</sup> the neighbourhood Jara lived in upon his arrival in Santiago, now largely populated by Haitian migrants. With all 200-some cyclists gathered in a tiny square in the heart of Los Nogales, the Colectivo Mestizaje delivered a biographical narrative about the singer’s life before giving way to the organisation Una avenida para Víctor, who spoke about the struggle to re-christen nearby Ecuador Avenue, Víctor Jara Avenue. Back on our bikes, we cycled together to Estadio Víctor Jara, where thousands of so-called enemies of the state were held detained and tortured during the dictatorship. There, Jara was assassinated on 15 September 1973, four days after the coup that set in motion Chile’s ‘miracle’ – a euphemism that masks the brutality with which neoliberalism was made to colonise all aspects of life in Chile, the

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<sup>69</sup> Heritage Cycle Rides organise thematic cycle rides to draw attention to and celebrate Santiago’s history and heritage (cultural, architectural, gastronomic, etc.). Bicipaseos Patrimoniales is a member of Muévete.

<sup>70</sup> Víctor’s route

<sup>71</sup> In Chile, *población* (pl. *poblaciones*) is a fuzzy category that generally refers to low-income neighbourhoods, often ones grown out of *tomas de terreno* (land squats).

crippling effects of which can be felt to this day. Making our way into Arturo Godoy Passageway, where the entrance to the stadium is located, we broke with the silence that falls over central Santiago each evening as we lit candles and sang along to Víctor’s words:

<i>Yo no canto por cantar</i>	I don’t sing for the sake of singing
<i>ni por tener buena voz,</i>	Nor because I have a good voice
<i>canto porque la guitarra</i>	I sing because the guitar
<i>tiene sentido y razón</i>	Makes sense and is correct <sup>72</sup>

“¡La bicicleta tiene sentido y razón!” exclaimed one of the organisers through the megaphone that rarely leaves his hands and which he so skilfully commands – the bicycle makes sense and is correct. What is it, though, that “makes sense” and is “correct” about the bicycle? How does cycling become discursively constructed as such in articulation with other elements of the city? How are such knowledge claims made to circulate, and to what effect?



**Fig. 5.1.** The cultural magazine “La bicicleta” published a series of editions dedicated to Víctor Jara. I thank S.R. for bringing this publication to my attention.

<sup>72</sup> *Manifiesto* by Víctor Jara. There are multiple meanings and interpretations of “sentido” and “razón”. For the former, the dictionary of the Real Academia Española lists at least 20, while the latter ascends to 18. Among those that fit in the context of the song and the discussion I present here, “Tener sentido” can be translated as “to make sense” or “to be meaningful”. Meanwhile “tener razón” can refer to having a *raison d’être*, to be righteous, or to be correct about something.

Cycling activism is no longer just concerned with making cyclists visible and their demands for infrastructure heard, as it was in its infancy. It is also about framing the bicycle as part of the solution to a number of urban perils – sometimes *the obvious* solution to transportation planning and justice, resilience, and alienation, to name a few (Nikolaeva & Nello-Deakin, 2019). Through a dialogue between social movements research (Brem-Wilson, 2014; Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Valenzuela-Fuentes, 2019) and policy mobilities (Baker et al., 2019; Sosa López & Montero, 2018; Temenos & McCann, 2013), in this chapter I argue that cycling activists are a key part of a circuit where knowledges, discourses, and practices concerning cycling, transport, and the city itself are (re)produced and made to circulate. That is, cycling activists make *knowledge claims* about the city. What these claims are, how they are formulated, challenged, and disseminated warrants attention inasmuch as the shared, performative visions of the cycling city “may lead to the mobilisation of resources and actions towards desirable futures” just as much as they have the power to exclude *other* possibilities and imaginaries (Nikolaeva & Nello-Deakin, 2019, p. 2).

I elaborate this argument by unpacking the obviousness of the bicycle – that which “makes sense” and “is correct” about it – by addressing the knowledge-practices (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008) through which cycling activists produce, reproduce, and challenge particular discourses and knowledge claims. The chapter unfolds as follows: first, the bicycle can only “make sense” in the city once it is stabilised enough to be an object of knowledge. It is to this process that I turn in the first instance, following a wide body of literature that shows how measuring, gathering, standardising, and creating documentary representations are practices central to the production of knowledge, its validation, circulation, and mobilisation (Espeland & Stevens, 2008; Latour, 1999; McFarlane, 2011; Turnbull, 2002). Second, I approach the bicycle’s “correctness”, or its production as a political artefact, by attending to processes of learning in cycling activism. Learning and teaching are “an important political and practical domain through which the city is assembled, lived and contested” (McFarlane, 2011, p. 1). They are also knowledge-practices through which values such as democracy, freedom and autonomy become attached to the bicycle in discursive and embodied ways.

In working through these processes, I draw on the literatures I introduced in Chapter 2 as “Knowing the City” – policy mobilities and Colin McFarlane’s framework of urban learning – in dialogue with Manuel Tironi’s concept of *modes of technification*. Working with these frameworks allows me to articulate a broader conceptualisation of expertise in the production of cycling cities

which, I contend, confronts us with questions of who wields the power to know the city; reanimates discussions of policy mobilities; and underscores the imperative to redistribute expertise (Whatmore, 2009). This is necessary to better conceptualise the role of social movements within urban knowledge circuits, move beyond the persistent focus on elite actors (Baker et al., 2019), and more clearly elucidate how cities are assembled and contested.

## 5.2. Making sense of urban cycling: measuring, gathering, and standardising cyclist knowledges



**Fig 5.2. Right:** Bicitekas A.C. tweet about cyclists’ interventions in Mexico City during world car-free day. Their banners read “You would have already arrived by bike” and contrast average bike speed in the city (16 km/h) with average car speed (12 km/h). **Left:** Chilean activists from Pedalea x la calle and Vive la bici display a similar banner in Plaza Dignidad, on national car-free day. This intervention was replicated in multiple other Latin American cities.

On 19<sup>th</sup> September 2017 the earth rattled 55km south of Puebla (central Mexico), placing the epicentre of the now infamous 19S earthquake 120km from Mexico City. Yet, “*unos cuantos segundos de un sismo de 7.1 de magnitud bastaron para derrumbar 38 edificios y dejar dañados 5,765 inmuebles, sólo en la Ciudad de México*”<sup>73</sup> (Acopio en bici, 2019). The effects of the earthquake persist: cycling in late June

<sup>73</sup> Just a few seconds of a 7.1 magnitude earthquake were enough to bring down 38 buildings, and damage 5,765 properties in Mexico City alone.

2019 along Canal Nacional towards Faro Tláhuac, a cultural centre in the southern periphery of Mexico City, a long-term activist pointed out to the group of about 20 cyclists a massive, if derelict, sports complex. Badly damaged, and badly needed in the less-affluent Xochimilco, which is one of the *alcaldías*<sup>74</sup> most affected by the tremor, the complex does not feature in any plans for reconstruction.

Still, the earthquake's force was not solely destructive. Rather, it served to catalyse the generation of a sophisticated network of cycling solidarity and logistical organisation. Building upon an already-existing network of cyclists as first respondents in traffic collisions, Mexico City's cyclists quickly organised to provide post-disaster relief across the city, transporting medicine, tools, and water to wherever they were needed. They also collaborated in mapping and verifying information about the destruction left behind by the earthquake: collapsed buildings, trapped bodies, and gathering points, were all identified and systematised using the hashtag #Verificado19S and on <http://www.verificado19s.org> (no longer available). Through other social media platforms it was possible to document “*el esfuerzo y dedicación de cientos de ciclistas que recorren día y noche la ciudad, algunos empiezan a contabilizar viajes, kilómetros y materiales trasladados, se calcula que un ciclista voluntario recorre al día 50 km*”<sup>75</sup> (Acopio en bici, 2019).

This concatenation of efforts is not unique to Mexico City, nor is it merely incidental to the earthquake. Indeed, Latin American cycling activists are remarkably creative and productive, pooling together knowledge, efforts, and resources to advance their causes. Here I want to draw attention to the materials – physical and digital – that activists produce and take them as a point of departure to discuss the practices of measuring, gathering and standardising cyclist knowledges involved in assembling these “documentary representations” (McFarlane, 2011). Inasmuch as they bring together a corpus of knowledge and information, these materials are key for making knowledge claims about the bicycle as a technology that makes sense in the city. Equally important, however, is considering the process of producing these representations as part of how these organisations develop and refine their technical expertise.

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<sup>74</sup> Mexico City is divided into 16 *alcaldías*, or municipalities. Each is, in turn, divided into a number of *colonias*, neighbourhoods.

<sup>75</sup> The effort and dedication of hundreds of cyclists that cycle across the city day and night. Some begin to record trips, kilometres and materials moved. It is estimated that a volunteer cyclist covers 50 km each day.

As the quote above indicates, Mexican cyclists quickly started to quantify their movements through the city and, shortly after the 19S earthquake, Bicitekas A.C. took to the task of surveying the people involved in cyclist brigades. The information provided by over 500 surveyed individuals and the experiences shared by volunteers in two workshops held in the summer of 2019 is synthesised in a 30-page manual entitled *Bicisismo: Manual de voluntarios en bicicleta*<sup>76</sup> (Acopio en bici, 2019).



**Fig 5.3.** Activists from Bicitekas A.C. moderate a discussion around cyclists’ experiences of post-earthquake organisation. The workshop was held as part of a community event organised at Faro Tláhuac on 30 June 2019 called “Innovation on wheels: Mobility, sustainability, accessibility”. Members of the audience were prompted to reflect on what went right and should be repeated; what went wrong; and how to solve what went wrong.

The *Bicisismo* manual is one of the many documents in which activist knowledge is gathered and presented in such a way that it presents the bicycle as a stable object of knowledge – an accomplishment achieved through the deployment of techniques of quantification that allow activists to construct particular discourses about cycling, transport, and the city, even within a context of post-disaster uncertainty. Underpinned by the sense of urgency extant in Mexican memory, the document writes the bicycle into the post-earthquake city in a manner that is worth quoting at length (emphases added):

*La bicicleta demostró ser una verdadera opción de movilidad rápida y a prueba de fallas. Su eficiencia frente al sismo se debió a su agilidad para llegar a puntos de difícil acceso, su bajo impacto en ruido, sobre todo a sitios con colapsos en donde el silencio era indispensable para que equipos de rescate pudieran*

<sup>76</sup> Bike-quake: a manual for volunteer cyclists.

*identificar a víctimas sepultadas bajo escombros. En zonas en donde había fugas de gas, fue el vehículo que pudo entrar sin temor de causar una explosión. Otras características que la hicieron un vehículo eficiente y popular fue su alta flexibilidad para transitar entre escombros, personas y vehículos aún con carga; su baja emisión de contaminantes y baja vibración; su independencia de combustibles cuyo costo podría haber prevenido a algunas aportar esta ayuda. La cantidad de voluntarios para brindar respuesta en traslados cortos, hicieron de la bicicleta el vehículo más ágil para la recolección y entrega de materiales para rescate y ayuda. La bicicleta es un vehículo con gran resiliencia que complementa los servicios de emergencia y posibilita movilidad a prueba de fallos, en ausencia de energía, electricidad, combustible, caminos en buen estado o a lugares que por cataclismo pudieran prevenir el acceso de vehículos de gran peso y tamaño<sup>77</sup> (Acopio en bici, 2019)*

The place of the bike in the post-disaster city is defined in relation to the (im)mobilities of other bodies and vehicles in scenarios where the system of automobility sees itself compromised by the unruly behaviour of infrastructures (Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2000). The slow governmental response and the limitations of motorised vehicles are invoked to emphasise the bicycle's relational qualities of speed, efficiency, and flexibility. However, the bicycle also becomes entangled with a new host of actors that permit its exaltation as a 'fool-proof', resilient, technology: the city's soundscape, gas and its volatile properties, and the fragile post-earthquake cityscape, vulnerable to the vibrations of larger vehicles.<sup>78</sup> These qualities are further emphasised through a series of figures included in the manual, like the proportion of cyclists that cited 'speed' as their reason for choosing the bicycle on 19

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<sup>77</sup> The bicycle proved to be a true option for fast and fool-proof mobility. Its *efficiency in an earthquake scenario* was due to its ability to reach inaccessible parts of the city; its low impact on noise levels, particularly important in collapsed areas where silence was necessary for rescue teams to identify victims buried under rubble. It was the only vehicle that could venture in areas where gas leaks were present without fear of explosion. Other characteristics that made it an efficient and popular vehicle were its *high flexibility* to move amongst the rubble, people, and loaded vehicles; its zero emissions and low vibrations; its independence from fossil fuels, the cost of which prevented others from providing aid. The number of volunteers to provide aid relief through short trajectories made the bike the most agile vehicle for the collection and delivery of rescue and relief materials. *The bicycle is a highly resilient vehicle that complements emergency services and enables fool-proof mobility in the absence of energy, electricity, fuel, paved roads, or places that in the case of a disaster could be inaccessible by heavy-duty vehicles.*

<sup>78</sup> This notion of "fool-proofness" re-emerged in the context of the Chilean protests of October 2019. Researchers and activists in Santiago measured and documented a doubling in cycling trips after the 18 October events severely disrupted public transport (see: Echiburú et al., 2021). This is the second time disruptions to public transport triggered an uptake in cycling: many activists identify the clumsy implementation of Transantiago in 2007 (see: Ureta, 2015) as a watershed moment for cycling in the city. In 2020, with the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic, the bicycle's resilience was further underscored by activists across Latin America who saw here an 'opportunity' to firmly position the bicycle as the ideal vehicle to continue to mobilise people whilst minimising risk of transmission and reducing crowding in public transport.

September (a staggering 90.7%), and the load sizes carried by the majority of cyclists (between 5 and 20 kilograms).

The construction of the bike as an efficient and resilient vehicle is not limited to its relative capacities in extreme scenarios, however. Most often, the bike's efficiency in the city is framed in terms of its *average* performance in comparison to other modes of transport by placing the bicycle alongside other vehicles and mobilising it as an object that can be subjected to measurement and calculation. These techniques and grammars, as others have noted (Popan, 2019; Stehlin, 2019), are commonly invoked by policymakers to frame the bicycle within neoliberal growth-oriented logics and as a mobility fix (Spinney, 2016; Spinney & Lin, 2019). It is therefore worth scrutinising how activists construct narratives of efficiency, and what this says about their vision of cycling, transport, and the city.

How efficiency is constructed and mobilised by activists is best exemplified in the *Medición de eficiencia en modos de transporte* (MEMT).<sup>79</sup> In the context of everyday rather than exceptional states of mobility, Santiago-based Vive la Bici<sup>80</sup> stage the MEMT race to compare modes of urban transport at peak hour according to time, speed, cost, and emissions – the constitutive elements of “efficiency” as defined by this organisation (Vive la bici, 2019). Similar races are organised elsewhere. In Bogotá, for example, it is organised yearly by the Engineering Department at Universidad de los Andes.

Since 2008 cycling, walking, the metro, bus, motorcycle, *colectivo*,<sup>81</sup> private automobile, and bike-metro combination have featured in a race where volunteers simultaneously navigate the city from diverse starting points towards a common destination (see Figures 5.4 and 5.5), following the logic of competition as the means to ascertain the superiority of one vehicle over the rest. To conduct the measurement and disseminate the results through multiple media channels, Vive la Bici enrolls the support of other cycling organisations, the Universidad Católica's Centre for Sustainable Urban Development, as well as the Ministries of Transport and Communications, and of Science and Technology. While the race was originally held only in Santiago, it has progressively expanded to

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<sup>79</sup> Measurement of Efficiency by Mode of Transport

<sup>80</sup> “Live the Bike”. This organisation was formed by long-term activists and former members of MFC and, in addition to conducting the MEMT, they host talks and seminars and organise mechanics workshops.

<sup>81</sup> Essentially a “shared taxi”, the *colectivo* is a mode of transport that operates within an established route and schedule, using a small vehicle to complement routes not covered by Transantiago or the metro system.

other Chilean cities through the informal network of activism in the country.<sup>82</sup> These strategic alliances are also forged in efforts to show authorities the strengths and challenges of urban mobility *in situ* (Vive la bici, 2019), and as such they afford an opportunity for learning and co-constructing knowledge about cycling and mobility.

Importantly, the 2019 iteration of the MEMT crossed borders into Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, and Mexico for a total of 11 cities, including small urban centres like Salta (Argentina) and Ambato (Ecuador); as well as Lima, Quito, Buenos Aires, and Chilean newcomers Rancagua, Curicó, and Concepción. The move towards smaller cities is important, not least because it de-centralises the production of knowledge about cycling away from capital cities, heeding to the claim that “*Santiago no es Chile*”<sup>83</sup> and the concerns for decentralisation discussed in the previous chapter (Section 4.3). Furthermore, the possibility to compare within cities by specifying diverse points of departure, including 10 widely distributed points in Santiago alone, enables activists to draw conclusions such as rectifying the belief that the private car will take you to your destination faster, and across longer distances. These comparative tactics help create a common sense shared among activists who can readily point to the results table (Figure 5.6.) as evidence that the bicycle is an efficient vehicle compared to other modes, and also when compared across different kinds of cities. Hence, the MEMT also helps strengthen ties between organisations, and it is another moment in which Latin American cycling activism is discernible as a regional movement, assembling momentarily for a specific purpose.

At the same time, this exercise echoes Tironi’s (2015) description of an organisational mode of technification. Here, technical expertise is assimilated in the organisational field through the formation of a complex distributed arrangement of international and interorganisational collaboration, and through sharing knowledge and skills. Also drawn into this arrangement are other actors implicated in urban knowledge production – such as universities, whose participation and endorsement serve to legitimise this form of knowledge—, as well as the grammars and techniques of measurement and comparison.

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<sup>82</sup> At the time when I conducted this research, there was no official national network of cycling organisations in Chile, but initiatives were nevertheless loosely connected. A national network was finally constituted in November 2021.

<sup>83</sup> Santiago isn’t Chile



**Fig 5.4.** This table compares nine years of MEMT results from a single point of departure in Santiago over a distance of 7km. The bicycle succeeds at being the speediest and least costly mode of transport. The indicators compared are pollution, cost, speed, and average time. Source: Vive la Bici.

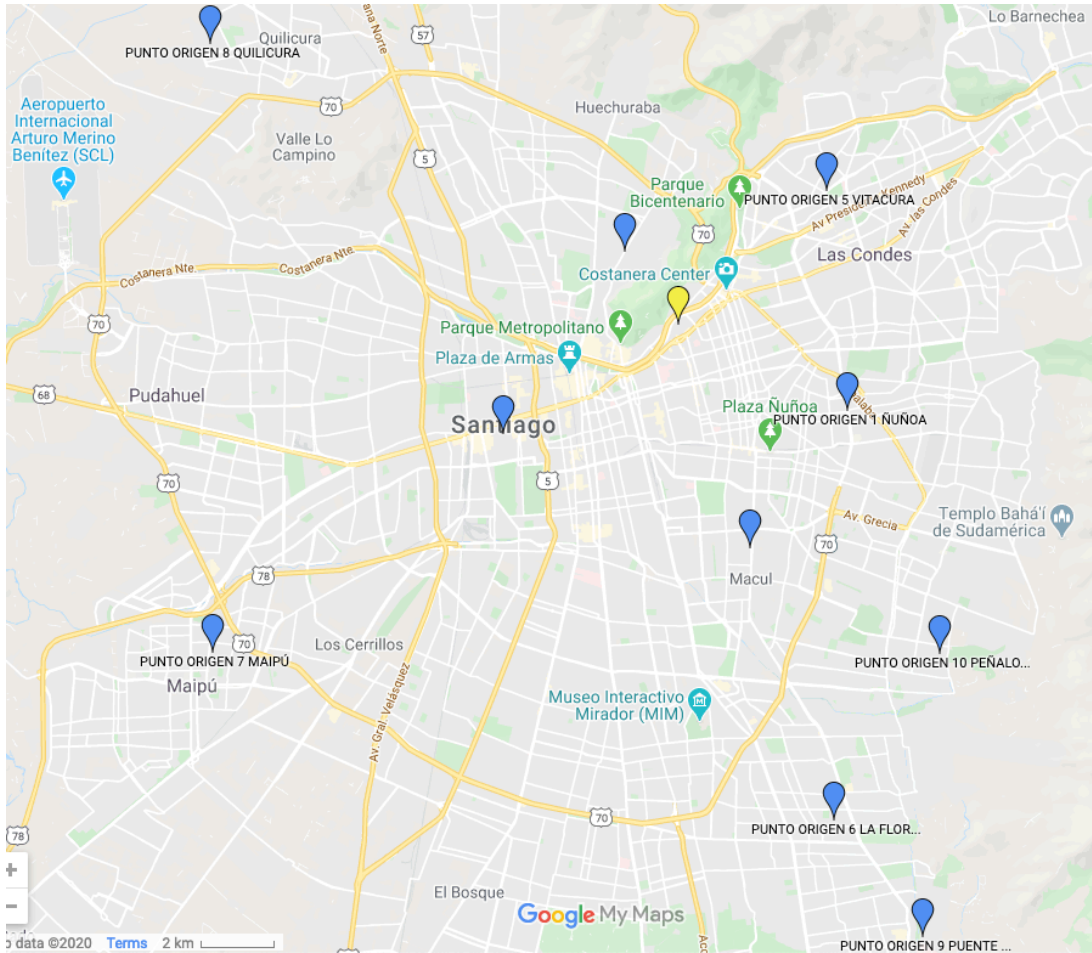
Unsurprisingly, the bicycle has been triumphant year after year, for even when it fails to be the speediest vehicle, its success is built into the design of the MEMT which assumes zero cost and zero emissions for the bicycle, allowing Vive la Bici to fulfil their intention: “*posicionar a la bicicleta como el medio de transporte más eficiente en términos de ahorro de tiempo, dinero y que a la vez, no contamina*”<sup>84</sup> (Vive la bici, 2017). However, it is evident that Vive la Bici do not always fulfil their aim of comparing modes across the board (see Fig 5.6.). Failure to recruit volunteers to participate and having experienced cyclists racing calls their experiment into question: it is not just vehicles that race, but *bodies with vehicles* with different capacities and affordances that are not differentiated in the MEMT. *Who* is racing is not made explicit in the results table (but we can learn who the participants were through documentation on social media and on Vive la Bici’s website), and efficiency remains an abstract category that rests on the erasure of bodily difference and neoliberal rationales of competition.

However, when interpreting the results, a new element is brought into the race: the bicycle does not just make sense as an efficient vehicle, it also makes sense as part of an *equitable* transport system.

<sup>84</sup> To position the bicycle as the most efficient mode of transport in terms of time and money saved without polluting.

Although these exercises aim to produce a common-sense drawing partially on the vocabularies that inform “fast cycling futures” –innovations that keep cities on the move while enhancing economic growth (Popan, 2020)–, they also unfold in a mobilising context where walkability and public transport are leveraged to challenge the inequities (re)produced by automobility. Hence, while the results table may show the private car to be faster than the bus, this is interpreted in the public debate (i.e., traditional news coverage and social media) not as a *triumph* of the car, but as evidence that public transport needs to be prioritised and strengthened by authorities, for instance by allocating bus-priority corridors and de-incentivising driving.

This reflects what activists are always keen to point out: that the bicycle is an excuse to advance a new mobility paradigm, that is, a renewed vision that moves beyond transport and towards mobility, foregrounding how people inhabit the city in motion (Muévete Santiago, 2013). This vision includes a rejection of automobility, in addition to pressures for better conditions for walking and public transport (Vive la bici, 2018), and universal accessibility for diverse bodily needs, framed within a discourse of equity and a more democratic urban life. A more conscientious organisation of the race to discern in what specific ways these needs are (not) met by the different modes of transport could enrich the MEMT and give more weight to activists’ claims. Nevertheless, by broadening the conversation beyond just cycling and efficiency in this way, activists create atmospheres of concern that enrich debates and overflow the technical parameters set by governments and technocrats. Producing new technical issues to be debated is what Tironi calls the *generative* mode of technification, and the bicycle is indeed a great excuse to mobilise new concerns and agendas for the urban transport debate. In other words, the bicycle and cycling experiments are used to disrupt technical discussions and business-as-usual debates (Sagaris, 2014), generate issues, and articulate a position within a debate surrounding transportation justice and urban equity.



**Fig 5.5.** The 2018 MEMT race points of departure within Santiago (in blue; the destination is flagged in yellow). Source: Vive la Bici. <https://bit.ly/38qBOOJ>

# Resultados oficiales ciudades latinoamericanas MEMENT 2019



CIUDAD / PUNTO DE ORIGEN									PUNTO DE DESTINO	DISTANCIA
	BICICLETA	PEATONES	METRO	BUS	MOTO	TAXI COLECTIVO	BICI/METRO	AUTO		
<b>ARICA (CHILE)</b>										
Colegio Andino	26	s/i	no aplica	s/i	s/i	s/i	no aplica	22	Teatro Municipal	4,9
Ex Cine Tacora	12	22	no aplica	17	11	s/i	no aplica	12	Teatro Municipal	1,6
Villa Pedro Lagos	23	s/i	no aplica	s/i	17	22	no aplica	28	Teatro Municipal	4,2
Liceo Miramar	17	31	no aplica	21	s/i	s/i	no aplica	13	Teatro Municipal	4,0
Inicio Ciclovía Renato Rocca	28	s/i	no aplica	s/i	s/i	48	no aplica	25	Teatro Municipal	2,3
<b>RANCAGUA (CHILE)</b>										
Norte	21	no aplica	no aplica	32	no aplica	18	no aplica	18	UOCT O'Higgins	4,2
Poniente	17	no aplica	no aplica	35	no aplica	42	no aplica	45	UOCT O'Higgins	3,3
Machali	35	no aplica	no aplica	69	no aplica	69	no aplica	69	UOCT O'Higgins	7,4
Machali El Polo	34	no aplica	no aplica	79	no aplica	s/i	no aplica	60	UOCT O'Higgins	7,5
<b>CURICO (CHILE)</b>										
San Sebastián de Rauquén	18	60	no aplica	31	no aplica	no aplica	no aplica	28	Plaza de Armas	5,4
<b>CONCEPCIÓN (CHILE)</b>										
Av. Collao 1202	16	no aplica	no aplica	27	17	no aplica	no aplica	25	Aníbal Pinto 1170 Plaza de la Independencia	4,8
<b>SANTIAGO (CHILE)</b>										
Ñuñoa	25	s/i	30	69	25	no aplica	41	42	UOCT RM	7
Macul	30	73	75	s/i	no aplica	48	s/i	UOCT RM	7	
Santiago Centro	24	s/i	s/i	18	no aplica	s/i	46	UOCT RM	7	
Recoleta	27	64	37	21	no aplica	s/i	30	UOCT RM	7	
Vitacura	22	s/i	47	19	no aplica	64	26	UOCT RM	7	
La Florida	53	no aplica	75	34	no aplica	s/i	s/i	UOCT RM	16	
Maipú	s/i	no aplica	s/i	s/i	no aplica	s/i	50	UOCT RM	19	
Quilicura	83	no aplica	102	48	no aplica	s/i	s/i	UOCT RM	21	
Puente Alto	55	no aplica	s/i	no aplica	63	s/i	UOCT RM	19		
Peñalolén	39	no aplica	66	35	no aplica	66	s/i	UOCT RM	15	
<b>SALTA (ARGENTINA)</b>										
Rotonda Limache	22	no aplica	no aplica	28	25	no aplica	no aplica	20	Juramento 26	6
<b>BUENOS AIRES (ARGENTINA)</b>										
Av. Caseros 2618,	31	no aplica	28	no aplica	no aplica	no aplica	no aplica	47	PlazaGuemes	7
Barrio Parque Patricios (CABA)	31	no aplica	28	no aplica	no aplica	no aplica	no aplica	47	PlazaGuemes (Madrando est, Manilla)	7
<b>LIMA (PERÚ)</b>										
Plaza Central, Residencial San Felipe	10	36	no aplica	44	no aplica	no aplica	no aplica	38	Av. Juan de Arona 900, San Isidro	5
<b>SAN LUIS DE POTOSÍ (MÉXICO)</b>										
Plaza de Aranzazú	36	s/i	no aplica	69	s/i	s/i	s/i	19	Sierra de Miguelito	6,7
Calle Plata, Colonia Morales	10	s/i	no aplica	15	s/i	s/i	s/i	s/i	Av. Niño Artillero 150 Agenda Ambiental UASLP	2,5
Calle Filabres, LÓmas 4ta Sección	10	s/i	no aplica	s/i	s/i	s/i	s/i	8	Manuel Nava 200 Agenda Ambiental UASLP	2
Plaza Ciudadina, Distrito Soledad de Graciano Sánchez	10	no aplica	No aplica	s/i	s/i	s/i	s/i	15	Manuel Nava 200 Agenda Ambiental UASLP	9,7
<b>QUITO (ECUADOR)</b>										
Plaza de Toros, Jipijapa	14 / 30	no aplica	no aplica	39	no aplica	no aplica	no aplica	24	Caja de Seguro El Espejo	5
Parque de los Enamorados, Villaflores	24	no aplica	no aplica	31	no aplica	no aplica	no aplica	28	Caja de Seguro El Espejo	5
<b>AMBATO (ECUADOR)</b>										
Estación de Tren Ingahurco	8	17	no aplica	28	no aplica	14 (Taxi)	no aplica	15	Parque Cevallos	2

\* En la ciudad de Lima el scooter se demoró 22 min.



COORDINA: ASOCIACION VIVE LA BICI | MediciónEficienciaTransportes | @MEMT\_Scl

**Fig 5.6.** The collated results of the 2019 MEMENT where cities beyond Santiago and Chile participated in a regional effort. Not all cities were able to participate in the same capacity and hence the results are not comparable in the strictest sense. Source: Vive la bici, 2019.

Evidently, conducting the MEMT demands a generous amount of work: devising the race, securing financial resources and institutional collaborations, recruiting volunteers, promoting the event, coordinating the measurement, gathering the data, producing documentary representations, and disseminating them are only a brushstroke of the tasks involved. This reflects a degree of sophistication that allows organisations to stand on equal footing to municipal and ministerial experts, speaking their language and grammar – what Tironi calls the *epistemic* mode of technification. That is, “by accepting the ‘rules of the game’, assimilating the epistemic logic of their opponents and arguing against the official actors’ views on a technical basis” (2015, p. 82), organisations position themselves as *peers* in relation to municipal and ministerial technicians – speaking their language, but also challenging their diagnoses and expertise.

Yet, it is not just through measurement that the bicycle becomes an object of knowledge. Through practice, repetition and dwelling (McFarlane, 2011), cycling becomes stable enough to be knowable by virtue of experience. In other words, it becomes known through everyday negotiations with the urban environment – an experience cycling researchers will be all too familiar with – in an entanglement of bodies, vehicles, norms, sensations, gadgets, data, and trajectories. The embodied and experiential dimension of cycling has been repeatedly addressed by scholars (D. J. Lee, 2015; Ravensbergen, 2020; Spinney, 2006), and it is no less valued by activists themselves for whom the authority to make claims about the bicycle’s place in the city often derives from the practice of cycling itself, often over other, “formal”, credentials. Indeed, there is a sense shared by some activists that there is a privileged kind of knowledge accessible only through embodied experience: “*Quien conoce realmente cómo, cómo funciona el tráfico es quien lo utiliza a diario,*”<sup>85</sup> one veteran activist expressed.

Hence, some have taken to the task of bringing together people’s experiences of cycling practice to create a common sense about the bicycle not easily captured by the kinds of techniques I previously discussed. They instead mobilise and combine skills in design and audio-visual technologies, communications, and qualitative research to produce attractive and rapidly circulating narratives in the form of podcasts, book(let)s, zines, blogs, videos, and specialised media outlets. As early as 1998

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<sup>85</sup> Those who know how traffic really functions, are those who use it on a daily basis.

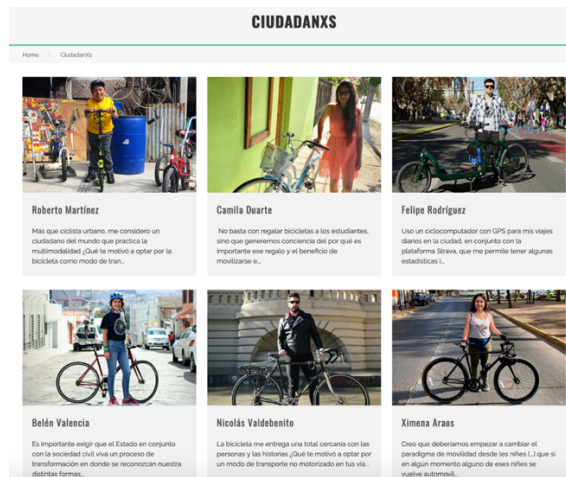
– with Bicitekas’ *Velo* magazine – efforts to capture the experience of cycling in different Latin American cities gelled into narratives about a shared experience of finding joy and personal benefits through cycling, even in the hostile context of the automobile city, and the belief in the bicycle’s transformative potential for cities and society at large. These personal and collective narratives serve to articulate the discourse of a *vehicle for all*.

Take, for example, *Por mi ciudad en bicicleta* (Pérez López, 2011), a colourful book written by Mexican academic and member of Bicitekas A.C., Ruth Pérez López. Published by Bicitekas A.C. with the support of ITDP-Mexico, the Dutch and Spanish Embassies, and bicycle manufacturer Brompton, the book compiles 41 diverse testimonies that showcase the bicycle as a transportation option for everyone – men and women of all ages, from retirees to construction workers, teachers, and engineers–, and frames cycling as part of a collective struggle to transform Mexico City into a ‘more humane’ city. “They’re all different, but they have the bicycle in common... to go to school or work, go out with friends or shopping; to move quickly and comfortably to any destination of their choice, navigating traffic and enjoying the city. These 41 testimonies show that the bicycle is a mobility choice for everyone” (Pérez López, 2011, p. 11).

Meanwhile, New Indie’s *Ciudadanxs* project started in 2014 with the intention of showing the diverse kinds of people who cycle in Santiago and inspire others to take up cycling. The incorporation of an anthropologist into the team brought new concerns and skills that gave the project a new purpose – that of generating data that would be useful to potential cyclists, but also to anyone who wished to make use of the interview data made publicly available. These interviews and cycling biographies produce subjective accounts of peoples’ rationales for, and perceived benefits of, cycling for transport that can be systematised to elucidate why *choosing* the bicycle makes sense in both a personal and collective register: “*pasando desde una razón práctica y funcional como ir al trabajo o hacer ejercicio hacia una razón personal al entender que moverme en bicicleta también me da beneficios de todo tipo, los que van desde mayor energía a una mejor calidad de vida. Así finalmente con esta transformación se logra entender que hay una razón social de la cual soy parte por lo que promuevo y comienzo a concientizarme y entenderme como un actor capaz de generar cambios sociales y ser activistas de esta nueva forma de entender la ciudad. Esa transformación es la que se logra usando la bicicleta*”<sup>86</sup> (Ibarra, 2019).

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<sup>86</sup> Moving from a practical and functional reason, like cycling to work or exercising, towards a personal reason upon realising that moving by bike gave me all kinds of benefits: from having more energy, to a better quality of life. With this



**Fig 5.7.** A screenshot of the latest entries of the Ciudadanxs database. Source: <http://www.newindie.org>

Several critics (e.g., Golub et al., 2016a; Lubitow et al., 2019) have commented on the idea that the decision to cycle is a rational one, as the emphasis on ‘choice’ (see above) indicates. As these discourses circulate in a context where ‘who actually cycles’ has historically been cut across by gender, class, and racial differences, whose cycling practices are encouraged and facilitated ought to be more closely examined (Pino Hidalgo, 2017) in order to unpack the ways in which transport options are differentiated in complex ways. This information is crucial if the goal is equitable cycle-inclusion. In some locales, the work to subvert the hardwired association between the private car and social status has at times entailed dissociating cycling from poverty and precarity with potentially disempowering effects on captive and working-class cyclists (for commentary on cycling and distinction, see: Anantharaman, 2017).

Furthermore, there is an enlightenment-style logic embedded in these discourses, whereby people who take up cycling will realise the bicycle’s virtues and consciously become part of a project of societal transformation. As Cupples and Ridley (2008) point out, not everyone will take up cycling in a non-consumerist way, and the ethical sensibilities of cycling emerge not rationally, through discursive advocacy, but through non-representational affective processes and practices. Informed by the context of popular and subsistence cycling in Xochimilco, Ricardo Pino Hidalgo (2017)

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shift you begin to understand that there is a social reason. I am part of that which I promote. I gain consciousness and begin to understand myself as an actor capable of enacting social change and become an activist for a new way of understanding the city. That is the transformation the bicycle enables.

rightfully questions: why have cycling organisations not included cyclists at the margins in their mass rides? How do we account for their absence in urban cycling forums?

Producing accounts of the diverse experiences of cycling is tremendously important to dislocate commuter-focused planning for cycling and incorporate a variety of cycling bodies and practices. For instance, by dislodging the assumption that people commute from the home to the workplace, and considering the non-linear care-giving trips undertaken mostly, though not exclusively, by women (Jirón & Gómez, 2018); or by attending to “those of low-wage laborers navigating shift work and social services or underemployed youth riding within estates and locales” (Spinney, 2016, p. 456). Indeed, there is good reason to be attentive to the multiple expressions of cycling that are often neglected by the geographies of the cycling renaissance in both Santiago and Mexico City. How does the bicycle make sense in the starkly unequal cities of Latin America?



**Fig 5.8.** Some of the manuals produced by activists that write the bicycle in as a vehicle at place in the city and in constant negotiation with other vehicles, bodies, practices, and infrastructures.

Economic rationales for promoting cycling have become increasingly prominent, whether to justify the construction of infrastructure, or framing cyclists as good consumers. Moreover, countless organisations have produced their own cycling guide – documents where experiential knowledge is coupled with a translated legal framework and basic mechanical tips to advise new cyclists on how to safely get started in urban cycling. Among the materials I collected, one guide to cycling stands out among similar texts (see Figure 5.8.), and among dominant narratives of economic rationales for cycling. *Pedaleando se ahorra: una estrategia de economía familiar*<sup>87</sup> (Indepelecta, 2017) is a guide produced by Indepelecta, in Santiago, and it is “*el puente entre Indepelecta y la sociedad.*”<sup>88</sup> Concomitant with the organisation’s territorial work (see: Chapter 4), the guide writes cycling in as a territorially embedded practice. It offers a historical overview of Independencia that exalts the transformations the *comuna* is undergoing, emphasising cultural and demographic changes through a Creole translation included in the same document. In this sense, one activist explained, “*también es un proyecto de integración. Entonces como hay mucha población, eh, haitiana acá en Independencia que ha llegado, y que se moviliza en bicicleta porque... tiene que aborrar plata ¡los haitianos! O sea, no se van a subir a una micro que es muy cara, ni al metro. Y van a trabajar ojalá por aquí cerca. En la Vega... en el centro...*”<sup>89</sup> Alongside information found in other cycling guides, this text contains activists’ observations about the changing mobility landscape of Independencia, and an overview of ‘safe routes’ in the *comuna*, weighing the pros and cons of each thoroughfare.

As in the MEMT above, the guide compares the bicycle with the private car and Transantiago in terms of travel costs in a quantitative manner. It also discusses statistics regarding the burden that transport expenditure exerts on families living on minimum wage that dovetail with concerns about migrant mobilities: a person earning minimum wage is expected to spend approximately 30% of their salary on public transportation.<sup>90</sup> The economic rationale for cycling mobilised in the guide is therefore distinct from others where economic growth is emphasised, often as a strategy for urban competitiveness and to attract foreign capital. Rather than “good for business”, cycling emerges as

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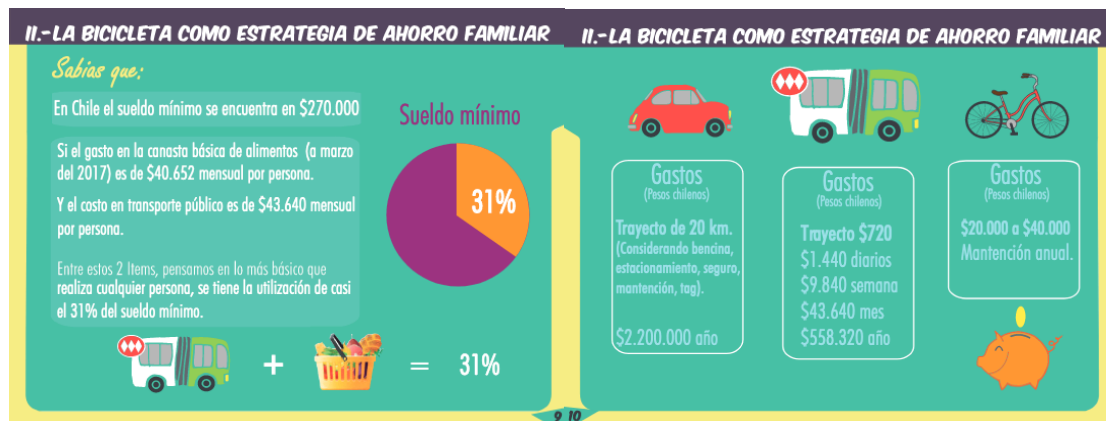
<sup>87</sup> Cycling saves money: a family economics strategy.

<sup>88</sup> The bridge between Indepelecta and society.

<sup>89</sup> It’s also an integration project. Because there’s a large Haitian population, here in Independencia, that has arrived, and moves by bike because... they have to save money, the Haitians! They’re not going to ride the bus, it’s too expensive, or the metro. And they work nearby. In la Vega... downtown...

<sup>90</sup> It is not insignificant that the 2019 protests in Chile were triggered by a 30-peso hike in metro fares (the standard adult tariff at peak travel time increased 3.75% from \$800 to \$830), and a widespread call to evade the metro fare (“*evadir, no pagar, otra forma de luchar*” – “evading and not paying is another way to fight”) was met by the cyclist chant “*evadir, pedalear, otra forma de luchar*” (“evading and cycling is another way to fight”).

“good for the home economy”, and hence makes sense for the livelihoods of Independencia’s residents – 56% of whom already walk or cycle (Indepelecta, 2017). Hence, the guide anchors the bicycle to the territorial make-up of Independencia as a means to recover and reterritorialise knowledge about Independencia, and to create spaces that strengthen territorial ties through context-sensitive cycle-inclusion.



**Fig 5.9.** The *Pedaleando se ahorra* guide illustrates the proportion of a person’s minimum wage income that is typically spent on transport. The costs of the private car, the bus, and the bicycle are compared. Source: Indepelecta, 2017

Indepelecta’s guide can be read through Tironi’s organisational mode of technification. First, to produce the guide, Indepelecta secured resources from Chilean Ministry of Social Development. It is not uncommon for activists in Chile to fund their activities by competing in governmental funding programmes, which requires skills and experience developed over the years or brought from other experiences in social organising. Moreover, translating the guide into Creole, illustrating it, and researching and systematising the information included in the text all speak of a distributed network of cooperation necessary to produce the final guide. Yet, Indepelecta’s territorial work and the focus of the guide also point to the generative mode of technification, insomuch as the emphasis on *territorio* draws new elements into the discussion about cycling, centring the ways of lives and specificities of their *territorio*. The guide, for instance, problematises assumptions about who can access information about transport and mobility, and the translation provided generates concerns for migrants’ mobilities. Furthermore, the guide’s preface draws attention to change and movement as forces constantly re-making *territorio*, remarks on the challenge of forging a multi-cultural territory, and invites readers to be a part of this process. In this way, beyond replicating ‘tips’ for safe cycling

(as most other guides do), *Pedaleando se aborra* mobilises new issues and publics by refracting cycling through the lens of their territorial work.



**Fig 5.10.** Measuring vehicular speeds in Av. Fermín Vivaceta, Independencia (Santiago, Chile).

Producing the materials I have discussed requires a generous amount of work from activists who must acquire the resources (financial, material, and human) to undertake the activities by means of which they attempt to stabilise cycling. I have shown how the bicycle's performance can be quantified in different scenarios to mobilise the bicycle as a vehicle that makes sense in cities insomuch as it outperforms other vehicles both in exceptional and quotidian states of mobility. I have also discussed how subjective accounts of the experience of cycling are gathered and represented in such a way that the personal benefits perceived by people who cycle are part of a widely circulating narrative of why the bicycle makes sense as a transportation choice. Finally, I have elucidated how the economic case for cycling need not be anchored to profit-making logics of inter-urban competition, but can derive from a territorial sensibility such that the bicycle becomes knowable in articulation with the histories, needs and socio-material realities of territories and their inhabitants. In this way, it makes economic sense as a territorially embedded practice in a context of economic disadvantage.

Yet, activism is not only a site for making knowledge claims about cycling to rationalise its place in the city; it is also an important pedagogical space in which individuals learn and reproduce cycling politics. Hence, having dealt with the production of the bicycle as a vehicle that makes sense in the city via examining practices of knowledge production, I now turn to teaching and learning to scrutinise cycling politics: the bicycle makes sense, but how is it “correct”?

### 5.3. Learning and teaching cycling politics

*“Abí comenzamos a desarrollar más un... una organización políticamente incorrecta con respecto a lo que dice el ‘establishment’, pero políticamente correcta con respecto a lo que nosotros pensábamos de... de cómo era la bicicleta como medio de transporte”<sup>91</sup>*

Activist from Pedalea x la calle<sup>92</sup> (Santiago, Chile)

The bicycle’s fluid material arrangement finds its match in its discursive appropriation as a vehicle that embodies (or is made to embody) the values of myriad political constituencies. For example, in writing about their experiment in anarchist pedagogies with the trans-European radical activist project Cycling Alternatives, Stenglein and Mader (2016, p. 225) note “the choice of the *bicycle* as [their] means of moving as the obvious one” (emphasis in original). Their justification, and hence the obviousness of the bicycle as *the* choice for embarking on a pedagogical cycling tour, rests on three arguments familiar to cycling activists and already introduced above: economy (it is a cheap means of transport across considerable distances while carrying a load), flexibility (it is widely used by diverse kinds of people to mobilise themselves, and for educational and political purposes), and freedom (“next to walking, the *ordinary materiality*, the bicycle poses one of the most autonomous and least cost-intensive ways to move around in cities and between cities” (p. 228)). The authors go further by affirming that no machine is better suited to the anarchist lifestyle than the bicycle. And,

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<sup>91</sup> We began to develop a politically incorrect organisation, with regards to what the establishment says. But politically correct regarding how we envisioned the bicycle as a mode of transport.

<sup>92</sup> Pedalea x la Calle is another organisation formed by former members of MFC. The name “Ride on the road” is indicative of how this group constructs the bicycle within the mobile city, affirming its place on the road and rejecting, as members told me, a disproportionate focus on cycling infrastructure.

indeed, it is not just anarchism that the bicycle is ‘suited’ to. It is also mobilised to make all manner of political claims:



**Fig 5.11. L-R from the top:** “Streets need feminisms”; “Run over patriarchy” Photo: Yamila Riego, reproduced with permission; “Pedalling is political” Photo: Cristóbal Ibarra, reproduced with permission; “This machine kills fascist fuckers!!!!”; “This bike runs over cops”. These stickers and t-shirts are some of the “stuff of activism” that circulate from Argentina to Mexico, and one of the ways in which cycling and its constitutive elements can be enrolled into other political causes.

Hence, materially *and semiotically*, the bicycle can be mobilised towards myriad aims. This is best captured by Melody Hoffmann’s (2016, p. 6) description of the bicycle as a rolling signifier: “the bicycle’s meaning changes in different spaces, with different people, and in different cultures. [...] The bicycle has cultural understandings embedded in it, and these understandings are seen as natural

by those in power positions.” In this section, I analyse how the bicycle is mobilised by activists as a political artefact, imbued with meanings, values, and a form of ‘correctness’ that inform cycling politics. If as researchers we work with the premise that social movements produce knowledge and are sites of learning “theories, expertise, as well as political analyses and critical understandings of particular contexts” (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008, p. 21), we might enquire into how and where this political education takes place. Stenglein and Mader’s experiment in *mobile* pedagogy allowed them to visit and learn from sites where alternatives to hierarchical living were being enacted and, importantly, it was a tool for learning through practising anarchist principles in the organisation of their mobility. The “cycling machine”, as they call it (2016, p. 224), was a tool for political education, and I contend there are multiple forms of learning-with-the-bicycle we might enquire into.

Part of constructing the bicycle as a ‘correct’ vehicle entails the development of a shared, hegemonic discourse of how the city *ought* to be. Though the specifics are debated amongst activists, few would challenge that one of the overarching goals of cycling activism is to create ‘cities for people’ – a discourse that is reproduced in all manner of documents and in everyday on- and off-line conversation. When I asked Felipe, an activist from Santiago, what cycling activism is ultimately about, he responded that it is about reclaiming the right to the city and spaces for people. This, he clarified, means recovering the human scale in cities and for this purpose the bicycle is the privileged tool, as it is the one closest to the human body.

Felipe was not alone in voicing this argument: activists across the region, both in formal interviews and casual conversation, expressed similar views. These ideas circulate fast and far: each iteration of the WBF between 2015 and 2018 has followed on the theme of cities for people through slogans that in various ways hint at the possible relationship between the bicycle and the cities of the region: *Ciudades para todos*, *Transformando la ciudad*, *Ciudades hechas a mano*, *Recuperando la ciudad*<sup>93</sup> (see also Table 1, Chapter 1). Generally, these visions share a rejection of automobility by calling for re-allocation of road space to privilege non-motorised forms of transport: ‘taking back space for people from cars’ is the simplest expression of cycling activism’s spatial politics. Activists often also call for improvements to public transport and walking infrastructures, and the integration of cycling and public transport. Sometimes these visions explicitly address accessibility, understood here in terms of

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<sup>93</sup> “Cities for everyone”, “Transforming the city”, “Handmade cities”, “Recovering” or “Taking back the city”.

dignified conditions for the disabled or the elderly to move in the city. These discourses concerning the city and the bicycle often rest on a metaphysical notion concerning the bicycle's 'humanity' in contradistinction to the car's destructive capacity, felt at the scale of the vulnerable walking or cycling body, and witnessed in the uneven geographies of automobility.

Indeed, the highly embodied practice of urban cycling has been noted by scholars as a means to know the city differently (P. Jones, 2005; D. J. Lee, 2015; van Duppen & Spierings, 2013), and it is not least appreciated by cyclists and activists who readily identify a link between taking up cycling and a shift in perception and manner of relating to the city. I can attest from my experience researching urban cycling that 'learning cities' with and through the bicycle entails the ongoing education of attention through *dwelling* – a concept that draws attention to how learning emerges through everyday, multi-temporal, encounters with the city, and emphasises the embodied ways in which the city is first and foremost known (McFarlane, 2011). The practice of everyday cycling is central to cycling mobilisation: it is in these moments that people are exposed to the joys and pains of urban cycling; the common ground from which affinity can emerge and a social movement gel; ultimately, the arena that activism seeks to intervene.

In addition to dwelling, McFarlane (2011) contends learning happens through translation and coordination. As explained in Section 2.4.3., the former draws attention to the intermediaries, spaces, and actors implicated in producing and mobilising knowledge, while the latter refers to the different phenomena that serve to organise the process of translation. In translating and coordinating, the bicycle is again used by activists to learn the city, this time as an 'excuse' to access discussions about transport, mobility, and urbanism. While coordinating can happen through 'organising devices' or 'mediating structures' like the different documents I discussed in the preceding section, it can also take place through urban learning forums (McFarlane, 2011). Space-times like talks, workshops, national forums and the WBF bring together activists and cyclists, decision-makers, practitioners, and the general public in specific configurations with the explicit purpose of learning and exchanging experiences and knowledges. Arriving by bicycle, more often than not, actors also bring with them narratives about the bicycle and the city packaged in speeches, photographs and video, clothing, and other 'wearables' (see Fig 5.11.). Increasingly, these narratives are becoming entwined with questions about disability, gender, urban inequality, participatory

governance, and even Buen Vivir<sup>94</sup>, allowing cycling politics to be learnt through encounters and collaborations between actors who exchange ideas, experiences, and knowledge; and (re)produce discourses and narratives that imbue the bicycle with ‘correct’ political values.

These space-times also bring activists into close contact with persuasive practitioners – gifted storytellers who deliver inspiring stories of urban transformation (Montero, 2017c). Indeed, notions of ‘cities for people’ may ring familiar: with roots in the thinking of Jane Jacobs (1961), they are part of the discourses that celebrity urbanists have popularised, and which have been keenly picked up by cycling activists. Notably, Enrique Peñalosa (former mayor of Bogotá, credited with the city’s ‘transformation’) delivered the inaugural speech at the 4<sup>th</sup> WBF in Medellín, while Janette Sadik-Khan (commissioner of the New York City Department of Transportation) featured as a keynote speaker during the 6<sup>th</sup> WBF in Mexico City. Danish architect Jan Gehl (famous for his urban design firm and his book, titled *Cities for People*) visited Santiago in October 2018 to deliver a lecture hyped up and attended by a number of activists and pro-cycling authorities. I attended this event seeking to understand how these sorts of ideas gain currency amongst non-urbanists and listened as Gehl took the audience through Melbourne, Copenhagen, Moscow, and New York to articulate a critique of modern urban planning. Santiago did not feature once in his talk on ‘cities for people’ – nor did any city of the Global South, for that matter. Nevertheless, these ideas are not passively received at face value by activists. As someone expressed regarding the related concept of ‘human scale cities’, “whenever a concept becomes mainstream, we have to untangle it. I’m bothered by how manuals that appeal to this notion have homogenised urban centres. Perhaps a territorial lens could help to see how neoliberalism influences how it materialises.”<sup>95</sup> In this sense, the political education that takes place through translation and coordination becomes entangled with that which is the product of dwelling. All three interrelated processes entail a creative process of knowledge production and learning.

As Choudry and Kapoor (2010, p. 1) note, “the intellectual work that takes place in movements frequently goes unseen, as do the politics, processes, sites, and locations of knowledge production

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<sup>94</sup> Buen Vivir derives from the Ecuadorian and Bolivian indigenous philosophy of a harmonious and respectful interaction with nature, premised on the interrelation and interdependence of all forms of life. The notion has been proposed as an alternative to current development models based around extractivism.

<sup>95</sup> This was a response to a Tweet I published asking “what does ‘human scale cities’ mean to you? What do we mean when we invoke this idea?”. See: [https://twitter.com/paola\\_please/status/1185183381216284673](https://twitter.com/paola_please/status/1185183381216284673). See also Chapter 4 for a discussion on cycling activism and territory.

and learning in activist settings”. These creative processes mobilise the bicycle as an issue, and require “political savvy, but also highly expert skills relevant to the media industry, the technical aspects of the controversy and, increasingly, the use of social networking technologies” (Tironi, 2015, p. 84). These skills are acquired over the life course, for instance through formal university education, but also through *doing* activism (Sagaris, 2019b). Hence, activism can be thought of as a pedagogical assemblage (Kullman, 2015) that pools knowledges and skills from a variety of life stories and disciplines such that, in addition to transport expertise, conservatively understood, it capitalises on the skills of architects, artists, journalists, social workers, bike messengers, other activists, educators, academics from various disciplines, and – quite simply – cyclists. Insight from experience in other social movements and political organisations (e.g., student, environmental, and political activism) also nourishes cycling organisations, and it is therefore unsurprising that some people characterise activism as a school, and participation as a learning process: “*Entonces ha sido una escuela, po. Entonces ponte tú, decís ya, ¿por qué participai del Muévete? Es por eso, porque es una escuela,*”<sup>96</sup> expressed an activist during an interview, referring to participation in a collective that brings together other individuals and organisations to leverage one another.

Cycling politics are learnt and (re)produced through everyday space-times of activism and through “[cycling] while questioning” (Casas-Cortés et. al. 2008 p. 38), and just as important as the knowledge social movements carry about an external field of relations (in this case, transportation and the city), is the knowledge related to the social movement itself (Brem-Wilson, 2014).

Developing this knowledge involves “interrogative and reflective practices” (Casas-Cortés et. al. 2008 p. 38) in which the movement reflects on itself to produce valuable insights and re-articulation of goals and strategies. For example, one Muévete meeting I participated in featured an extensive discussion about the benefits and the drawbacks of partnering with a university to measure what happens to cyclists’ bodies as they cycle in Santiago. What if the results were damaging to the cause? Questions about scientific rigour, such as adequacy of comparison with other modes of transport, emerged as a drawback. However, the political angle framing the discussion could be used to activists’ advantage – it is not about whether cycling itself is healthy or not, but about underscoring that more measures to tackle pollution are necessary. Following this reflection, we discussed different studies, news pieces, and anecdotes pertaining to the relationship between mode of

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<sup>96</sup> So it’s been a school. And so you say, ok, why do you participate in Muévete? That’s why, because it’s a school.

transport and exposure to pollution. Although no conclusion was reached, these kinds of moments are noteworthy inasmuch as they engender a moment of learning through critical reflection, first, on the movement and its political strategies; and second, on the politics of knowledge.

Michal Osterweil's (2008) draws attention to these critical moments during which social movements gaze inwards to reflect on themselves, and where reflection and interrogation produce new understandings of social movements and their knowledge-practices. As a central part of how mobilisations unfold and political identities come to be inhabited, these moments can often re-cast what the movement is about. Take for example Karen's explanation during an interview on how feminist sensibilities came to be embraced by many in Santiago's cycling movement through ongoing discussion and women's obstinate efforts:

*Karen: [...] hoy en día, 2019, todos los grupos ciclistas hablan con lenguaje inclusivo, con temática inclusiva, y yo te digo, hace tres años atrás eso era impensado.*

Paola: *Ya.*

*Karen: Pero no... no pasaba. Fuimos nosotras las que posicionamos, porfiadamente, quedando como las locas, como las conflictivas, como las complicadas. Posicionamos una visión que hoy en día es masiva, y yo creo que también nuestro receso tiene que ver con que ya despertó la cosa. El feminismo apareció, es normal, ahora todo el mundo lo habla.<sup>97</sup>*

To finish, I want to highlight one particularly generative space-time that is part of cycling activist repertoire the world over – that in which practical skills, namely cycling and mechanics, are taught by activists to the general public (Abord de Chatillon, 2021; Batterbury & Vandermeersch, 2016; Schwanen & Nixon, 2020). It is there that bicycle's purported freedom and autonomy are most emphasised and performed, and it entails a kind of knowledge circulation different from those I

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<sup>97</sup> – Nowadays, 2019, all cycling groups use inclusive language, have inclusive themes, and I'm telling you, three years ago that would've been unthinkable.

– Ok.

–But no... it wasn't happening. We positioned it, stubbornly. We were told we were crazy, conflictive, complicated. We positioned a vision that nowadays is massive, and I think our break also has to do with that. Feminism is here, it's normal, everyone is talking about it.

have previously described. Even in cases where teaching takes on a top-down (if at times patronising) approach, these sorts of spaces are discursively linked to myriad values: *mecánica participativa*, *mecánica social*, or *mecánica popular* are some of the epithets that frame these spaces as democratic and good for society. “*Íbamos a la tele, y en vez de uno decir: oye vamos a reparar tallere-- vamos a reparar bicicletas, uno decía, no aquí uno está reparando relaciones sociales urbanas*”<sup>98</sup> Felipe recalls. They are, in other words, space-times of learning where values of autonomy, democracy, autogestion and freedom are emphasised through the practice of teaching others how to be self-sufficient with their bicycles; and where inclusion and horizontality are held as the organisational and operational ideal (even in cases when they are not realised).

Gendered as mechanics generally are, some have taken notice of the need to generate pedagogies that are sensitive to difference and inequalities, such as classes for women by women, devising safe spaces for asking questions and ‘getting it wrong’, and a conscientious commitment to challenging gender roles and stereotypes (Abord de Chatillon, 2021; Schwanen & Nixon, 2020). However important, though, spaces for learning bike mechanics often take for granted that people have mechanical needs, and that the space-times of learning these skills are often gendered and sometimes exclusionary (Schwanen & Nixon, 2020). Meanwhile, many women, particularly those above 40, never learned to cycle in the first place, often as a result of how mobilities are gendered from a young age (Bonham et al., 2015; Díaz Vázquez, 2017): “*No, porque en mi casa había una bicicleta y la ocupaban mis hermanos y mi papá me decía que no, porque las mujeres no andan en bicicleta’. Y ese discurso se empezó a repetir, a repetir, a repetir, a repetir... que no era de mujeres. Era de hombres*”<sup>99</sup> is a story Karen heard time and time again as an instructor for Macleta – one of the oldest women’s cycling schools in Santiago and Latin America. It is because of this that women’s *biciescuelas* – cycling schools – are valuable political space-times that make activism expansive, and it is to them that I now briefly turn, before delving further into feminist politics in cycling activism in the next chapter.

No activist *biciescuela* in Latin America enjoys the status of Macleta who, although on an indefinite hiatus since 2018, have taught close to 900 women how to cycle since 2006, and have become a

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<sup>98</sup> We’d go on television and instead of saying, hey we’re going to repair worksh—we’re going to repair bicycles, we’d say no, here we’re repairing urban social relations.

<sup>99</sup> ‘No, because there was only one bike in my house and my brothers used it, and my dad would say no, because women don’t cycle’. And that discourse was repeated again, and again, and again... that it wasn’t for women. It was for men.

referent for other such initiatives. Their work entails more than teaching the practical skill of cycling, however. As one member explained:

*Eeb... aprender conceptos. Por ejemplo, en Macletas las instructoras-- se hace una capacitación. Eeb... la mecánica pa nosotras es una clase más, no más. No es lo que nos convoca en la escuela. En la escuela a nosotros mucha gente—“oye pero enseñen a cambiar rueda”. Es que no es tan importante saber hacerlo. Es importante porque te puede salvar, pero sí, pero es también importante tener una posición política frente a la ciudad. Esa es la postura que-- que, digamos, me llamó la atención de Macleta.<sup>100</sup>*

What might this political disposition towards the city be? Macletas quite vocally advanced a feminist agenda mindful of girls' unequal opportunities to develop cycling skills, and the needs and desires of adult women, such as the possibility to cycle for recreation with (grand)children (see: Sersli et al., 2020). In keeping with prior discourses that link the bicycle to women's emancipation (Ebert, 2010; Garelli, 2017; van der Kloof, 2015), Macleta emphasised empowerment through assisting others in developing new affordances in mobility which entail an intense bodily and affective experience (Kullman, 2015):

*Mujeres que han trabajado en oficina años... eeb, o dueñas de casa, trabajando por otro, de repente, eh, encontrarse y moverte, y que una máquina se mueva por ti, y conocer tu cuerpo, y vivirlo de otra manera, y equilibrarte que es la sensación más rica, yo creo, que hay. [...] Y eso, ver a las alumnas conociendo eso, llorando, abrazadas de nosotras... porque es demasiada la emoción, demasiada la felicidad, demasiada la alegría... no tiene precio. Por eso seguimos siendo activistas.<sup>101</sup>*

In elaborating the Deleuzian-inspired concept of *pedagogical assemblage*, Kim Kullman (2015, p. 257) suggests that the teaching and learning of mobilities can be “a collaborative and inventive practice

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<sup>100</sup> Learning concepts. For example, in Macleta the instructors—we're trained. Mechanics to us is just another class. It's not why we're gathered in the school. At the school a lot of people [ask] “hey teach us how to fix a puncture”. It's not that important to know how to do that. It's important because it can save you, but yes, it's also important to have a political position towards the city. That's the position that drew me towards Macleta.

<sup>101</sup> Women who have worked in offices for years, or homemakers, working for others, suddenly finding themselves and moving, and having a machine move for you, and getting to know your body, and inhabit it differently, and finding balance is, in my view, the most delightful sensation there is. Seeing the students learning this, crying, hugging us... because it's so overwhelming, so much happiness, so much joy... it's priceless. That's why we're still activists.

that generates new ways of shaping movement” such that, more than transfer and reproduction of skills, pedagogy is a creative practice of shaping mobility and the world in new ways. Understood in this sense, women’s *biciescuelas* do not only exist to impart practical skills but, through their explicitly feminist outlook, are generative space-time for doing mobilities differently. On one hand, they generate a shift in the physical movement of women in the city by enabling new affordances through the use of the bicycle. On the other, they intervene in the ways in which mobilities are imagined and represented, first, by questioning the mobility assemblage through a critical feminist lens; and second, by constructing the bicycle as a feminist vehicle and creating new narratives of mobility in which the bike is discursively articulated *and experienced* as ‘correct’ – empowering and liberating (see also: Mella Lira, 2021 and the discussion on empowerment in Chapter 6). “*Es una herramienta que te da libertad de tu tiempo, de moverte, de decidir, de tomar decisiones [...]. Que la bici es un instrumento que te da libertad, que no necesitas depender de nadie para ir de un lugar a otro y pues ir más allá, de que tú sola puedes arreglar un desperfecto,*”<sup>102</sup> asserted a Mexican activist during an interview. In one of the *Ciudadanxs* profiles produced by New Indie, a cyclist from Ecuador reflected on her experience: “*en mis ser mujeres [sic] encontré en la bicicleta una herramienta de libertad, autonomía y sobre todo consciencia plena de lo que es habitar los lugares por los que transitas, habitarlos integralmente y no solo como lugares comunes de paso*”<sup>103</sup> (Equipo New Indie, 2019). If “learning to ride a bicycle for the first time is about asserting political and personal agency” (Gamble, 2017, p. 171), the freedom, empowerment, and agency women find in cycling can eventually translate into strong political identities that reinforce these narratives of the bicycle as emancipatory. In short, these are valuable space-times through which mobilities are recast along feminist lines, and they engender a pedagogical assemblage in which women are explicitly taught feminist ideas and politics – such as autonomy and liberation – which become attached to the bicycle through the embodied and affective experience of learning to cycle alongside others in the context of a feminist cycling school.

“*Y ahí empecé a conocer un lenguaje diferente. Que aquello que a mí me importaba que era como, no sé, por decir algo la distancia entre un auto y la berma tenía nombre. Que mis intereses tenían un nombre*”<sup>104</sup> – recounted Karen

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<sup>102</sup> It’s a tool that gives you freedom over your time, your movement, your decisions, your decision-making. The bicycle is an instrument that gives you freedom, you don’t depend on anyone to go from one place to another and, beyond that, you can fix any issue yourself.

<sup>103</sup> In my becoming-woman, I found in the bike a tool for freedom, autonomy, and above all, full consciousness of what it means to inhabit the spaces you cycle through. To inhabit them thoroughly, not just as common spaces of transit.

<sup>104</sup> And there I started to learn a different vocabulary. The things I cared about had a name, for example the distance between the car and the shoulder had a name. That my interests had a name.

when explaining how she became involved in cycling activism. Her words express latent concerns that come to fruition, mature, and are debated, reworked, and mobilised within a social movement space. This can happen in ways such as those I exposed in the first section of this chapter, and through the pedagogical space-times that activists generate as part of their work. Cycling activism can generate pedagogical assemblages in which the bicycle participates and mediates in different ways. Most obviously, it is a material artefact that enables new forms of moving and dwelling but, at the same time, it is an object that generates different affective engagements between people and the city, thereby eliciting reflection, curiosity, and acting as an ‘excuse’ to talk about broader problematics. As such, it also participates as a rolling signifier, standing in for the ‘humane city’, freedom, and autonomy.

Circulating materials and staging interactions through urban learning forums, meetings, and cycling schools facilitates the reproduction of the kinds of discourses through which the bicycle comes to be imbued with meaning and produced as a ‘correct’, indeed *righteous*, vehicle. Both of these techniques of knowledge (re)production have been singled out by policy mobilities scholars, for whom the way in which urban knowledge travels is a central concern (see: Chapter 2.4.2). Yet, while militant researchers have long been advocating for taking seriously social movements as knowledge producers in their own right (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Choudry, 2015), this proposition remains to be thoroughly engaged with in fields explicitly concerned with questions of how urban knowledge circulates. Specifically, policy mobilities has scantily addressed activists as central to the processes it studies. To recover activism from this marginality, the next section engages with this body of literature, building on the arguments I have rehearsed throughout this chapter.

#### **5.4. Conceptualising cycling activism with and beyond policy mobilities**

Cycling is ripe for policy mobilities scrutiny. The kinds of questions, processual thinking, and methodological approach underpinning policy mobilities scholarship I discussed in Chapter 2 have significantly informed this research and, in particular, the development of this chapter. Still, with a few recent exceptions (e.g. Baker et al., 2019; Lauermann & Vogelpohl, 2019; McArthur, 2019; Temenos, 2016; van Toorn, 2021), policy mobilities’ persistent methodological focus on elite actors risks reifying the hierarchies of knowledge that critical scholarship consistently calls into question.

Yet, as the empirical findings I discussed above show, and as Tironi's modes of technification framework has allowed me to argue, cycling activists are not fundamentally different from other actors mobilising the bicycle in Latin America. Hence, it seems inadequate to continue to differentiate social movements and transport experts on the basis of the tactics they employ – disruptive and contentious in the case of the former, and technocratic in the latter case (Sosa López & Montero, 2018). We need better accounts of how knowledge is mobilised that recognise activists as part of a complex ecology of actors that employ a diverse range of tactics by means of which the city is contested, but also mobilised and (re)assembled. In this section, I rehearse such a conceptualisation whilst testing the affordances and limitations of policy mobilities for thinking about cycling activists as agents of knowledge circulation.

Prior to arriving in Santiago, I had heard about the Mapocho Pedaleable project during Tomás Echiburú's keynote address at the 7<sup>th</sup> WBF (Lima, 2018), titled "*Recuperando la ciudad: de la protesta a la propuesta*".<sup>105</sup> Already, the title of his talk resonates with the argument that activism is irreducible to protest and disruptive action, but is also tremendously inventive. Later, I had the opportunity to interview Tomás – who is an activist in Muévete, architect, PhD candidate in transport engineering at Universidad Católica de Chile and, at the time of our meeting, councillor<sup>106</sup> in the municipality of Providencia – , speak to other activists in Santiago, visit the Mapocho river, and learn more about how Tomás' master's dissertation<sup>107</sup> in architecture became one of the most ambitious projects mobilised by Santiago's cycling activist community.

Mapocho Pedaleable is a project to transform the Mapocho's riverbed into a vibrant public space in the form of a flood-park with a 7km stretch of cycling infrastructure.<sup>108</sup> In his (rather well-rehearsed) narrative, Tomás speaks of a "snowball" to refer to the process of enrolling multiple actors to support the project – creating alliances, articulating different sectors, and making the snowball grow

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<sup>105</sup> "Recovering/Taking back the city: from protest to proposal". "*Recuperar*" means "to recover", but in this context it is better translated as "to take back".

<sup>106</sup> A political position (elected by popular vote) within the executive branch at the level of the *comuna*.

<sup>107</sup> Co-developed with Osvaldo Larraín.

<sup>108</sup> While this process started in 2011, a number of bureaucratic barriers and political conflicts have stood in the way of the full implementation of the project. The visits to the river activists organised between 2013 and 2016 relied on provisional ramps to allow visitors to descend to the riverbed and access the 3km of pilot cycling infrastructure. In September 2021, the recently elected governor of Santiago, Claudio Orrego (former Mayor of the Metropolitan Region and supporter of the project since its early days), gave the green light for the river to be provisionally opened to the public and works to implement the project in full are scheduled for 2022.

through the work of activist organisations. Then, “*si bien el Mapocho Pedaleable surgió como una idea de un par de arquitectos jóvenes, con el tiempo, a medida que fue creciendo, cada vez más actores sintieron que el proyecto era de ellos.*”<sup>109</sup> Eventually, the project rallied the support of Providencia’s municipal authorities, who facilitated the visits to the river organised by activist organisations between 2013 and 2016 (access is normally restricted); the Universidad Católica’s Centre for Public Policy developed a pilot technical study on the basis of which the Chilean Ministry for Transport agreed to conduct a large-scale viability study; press coverage made the project circulate widely; and international recognition in the form of a CAF (Corporación Andina de Fomento-Banco de Desarrollo de América Latina) grant to refine the design further propelled the project. Beyond this, Tomás emphasised in his keynote lecture, it was necessary to extend the excitement over the project to the non-activist public through activities that created a shared imaginary about the need to recover<sup>110</sup> the river for public enjoyment.

As another activist remarked, however, “[*los activistas*] *no sólo mueven gente, son capaces de mover cosas.*”<sup>111</sup> This capacity to “move things” allowed activists and their coalitions (including a local NGO – Corporación Pedaleable –, and then-Mayor of the Metropolitan Region, Claudio Orrego) to present a proposal for a sustainable mobility programme to then-President Michele Bachelet. On the final day of the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF, the Forum’s organising committee cycled into La Moneda – Chile’s presidential palace –, where Bachelet announced that the Mapocho Pedaleable project would be given presidential priority.

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<sup>109</sup> While the Mapocho Pedaleable started as the idea of two young architects, in time, as it grew, more and more actors started to see the project as their own.

<sup>110</sup> The Mapocho is a central feature of Santiago’s landscape. However, for decades, the water running along the Mapocho was filthy and the foul smells emanating from the river created a particular imaginary of what the river was, and what it was for. During the dictatorship, some of the bodies of those detained and disappeared began to wash up on the shores of the river. While the river was eventually cleaned, this imaginary persisted. This is what Tomás refers to when he speaks about the need for a new imaginary to recover the river.

<sup>111</sup> Activists don’t just move people, they’re capable of moving things.



**Fig. 5.12. Left:** The Mapocho river and existing cycling infrastructure seen from street-level. **Right:** During the summer of 2018, activists continued to visit the river and appropriate this space for leisure and enjoyment, despite no formal visits being organised.

This is, of course, a rather simplified and condensed version of the story,<sup>112</sup> but it serves as a point of departure for my argument and confirms what Sosa López and Montero (2018) suggest: that sustainable mobility is a *fluid* field where actors move across organisations and scales. This means that actors can inhabit several positions at once in a combination of some or all: activist, academic, politician (like Tomás); pass through the revolving door of activism, government, and NGOs that exists in places like Bogotá and Mexico City; and mobilise other actors to align their efforts towards a common goal. I refer to this as the ‘shifting positionality’ of actors. In Chapter 2, I discussed the rich vocabulary that the policy mobilities literature offers to conceptualise agents in knowledge mobilisation. However, thinking in terms of ‘shifting positionalities’ delivers a more careful reading of the *relationships* between these actors and, like the notion of ‘expert-citizens’ (Sosa López & Montero, 2018), it captures the movement of actors within the fluid field of sustainable mobility and how these movements are necessary to advance certain agendas. ‘Shifting positionalities’ also moves beyond the dichotomy implied by ‘expert-citizens’, and beyond any essentialist notions of what activism is and what activists do. Activism, in the sense that I describe here, is relationally defined by the practices, connections, and positions inhabited by individuals and, as such, it is an open field of action that often leverages this complexity to achieve its aims.

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<sup>112</sup> For a more detailed account, see Tomás’ full keynote address here: <https://www.facebook.com/ForoMundialBici/videos/1671193446279276/>

One way in which this manifests itself is in the non-negligible number of academics who liaise with activists and/or belong to activist organisations. I discussed two instances (the *Ciudadanxs* project and the book *Por mi ciudad en bicicleta*) in which academic research skills were used to produce narratives of the bicycle as making sense in the city, but examples abound. Academics from the Universidad de Chile's Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism, for example, frequently write for the activist media platform Revista Pedalea. In the case of Mapocho Pedaleable, Tomás believes that enrolling the support of the Ministry of Transport would not have been possible without first having the support of the Universidad Católica – an elite institution with significant influence over Chilean politics and policy. While academics might be regarded as elite actors, the part they play in the process of mobilising policy remains obscure even though early on McCann (2011) recognised their importance in legitimising particular forms of knowledge and expertise. For example, partnering with universities lends legitimacy to the MEMT race as the way to establish the 'best' mode of transport in Chile, and the Chilean Society of Transport Engineering recently awarded Muévete and Map8 with its annual project prize (I return to this in Chapter 7). It is clear from their role as knowledge-generating actors, and from the connections I was able to trace in the field, that academics' influence in the networks that mobilise vélomobility is worthy of attention. Not least, my own activist efforts leverage my dual positionality as activist and academic to mobilise the bicycle in specific ways (see: Chapter 3).

However, the shifting positionality of actors is not limited to activism and academia. Relationships with government are also part of the complex ecology of actors I describe. For instance, Mexico City's Secretary for Mobility, Andrés Lajous, is a former cycling activist, frequently chastised for 'betraying' the movement (Político MX, 2021); Mexican Deputy Javier Hidalgo is a familiar presence at certain activist events; and transport authorities in Bogotá often work with cycling activists to develop projects and programmes. These connections can work in activists' favour (as they did for Mapocho Pedaleable) and, conversely, activist organisations can support or lend legitimacy to government programmes. Yet, as Cassián-Yde's (2019) decolonial account of urban planning in Guadalajara (Mexico) demonstrates, cycling activists can also play a problematic role when they defend *specific* forms of citizen participation and expert knowledge as a guarantee of objectivity in urban planning. This can legitimise splintering models of urban development and resistance to such processes exists within different factions of the movement. In Mexico City this entailed a ferocious critique of the WBF by more 'peripheral' activists (i.e. distanced from the centre of power of the

Mexican government and the ‘global consultocracy’ with whom other activists are cosy – see below) who denounced the unholy marriage between the WBF and the repressive administration of then-mayor Miguel Ángel Mancera (Pedalea y ataca, 2017).

As the above suggests, attending to these shifting positionalities will also demand that we enquire into the sometimes-uncomfortable relationships between activism and elite actors, which can augment some activist efforts while undermining those that do not align with elite actors’ agendas. In the Mexican case, NGOs like ITDP and WRI “worked to professionalize civil society around sustainability and mobility using the latest global best practices in urban mobility” (Whitney et al., 2020, p. 5). As mentioned in Chapter 4, being a part of and collaborating with the BiciRed-México allowed ITDP to capitalise on the existing network of activists across the country to collect survey data, endowing the cycling city ranking with the legitimacy conferred by liaising with civil society at the national level. Likewise, because some members of Bicitekas A.C. are *also* academics or work(ed) for ITDP, it is not uncommon for these actors to work in partnership to produce outputs like the book *Por mi ciudad en bicicleta* discussed above, or a public policy proposal for a city-wide network of cycling infrastructure for Mexico City.

Meanwhile, the increasing presence of BYCS, the Dutch-based Bicycle Mayors & Leaders Network, in Latin American cities – from Havana to Rio, Mexico City to San José – also hints at processes of formalisation and professionalisation. “[Bicycle Mayors] are the human face and voice of cycling in a city. And by connecting these changemakers across a global network – creating greater visibility, rapidly sharing ideas, challenges and solutions – we can create a truly radical shift” (Bicycle Mayors and Leaders Network, 2019, p. n.p.). While this programme endows its Mayors with the legitimacy conferred by an international institution, the programme may not be welcome by some activists who critique the eurocentrism and verticality of BYCS and a “Mayor” figure. Nevertheless, owing to these kinds of relationships, some activists and organisations are becoming professionalised, as reflected in their capacity to acquire State or private funds to finance, and sometimes even profit from, their activities (not without controversy); contracts to provide services; or moves to consultancies and NGOs. In sum, these entanglements between elite global actors and cycling activists are important inasmuch as they underscore what I have been arguing: activists are implicated in knowledge circulation in ways that call for a more sustained engagement with social movements, and a more nuanced, relational, conceptualisation of the work they do alongside others.

A move in this direction is useful to dissolve the elite/non-elite dichotomy that has characterised much policy mobilities research (Baker et al., 2019).

In addition to reconsidering the complex interplay between actors, my findings suggest that richer spatial analyses can be made of social movements' trajectories through circuits of urban knowledge exchange. Early on, Temenos and McCann (2013, p. 351) indicated that “activists hoping to radically change cities can also be transfer agents, by using similar circuits and strategies as business and political elites to spread their own particular ‘best practices’” (see also: Baker et al., 2019). During my time in Mexico and Chile, it became apparent that cycling activists frequently occupy the *same* spaces and use the same circuits to circulate knowledge. Programmes like the Danish Embassy's *in situ* Cycling Cities Mastercourse<sup>113</sup> are not too distant from a study tour (Wood, 2014), and they help cycling activists learn and bring lessons from ‘successful’ experiences back to their home cities. Earlier, I remarked on Jan Gehl's visit to Santiago, and on the presence of celebrity urbanists at the WBF. Rather than ‘exclusive’ to either professionals or activists, spaces like seminars, talks, conferences, meetings, and social media frequently bring diverse actors into proximity and allow them to enter into conversation and forge alliances. They also do indeed allow activists to circulate their own particular ‘best practices’, spatial imaginaries, and stories of transformation that become objects of desire (González, 2011). In circulating through the 7<sup>th</sup> WBF's main stage, the story of Mapocho Pedaleable becomes a simplified narrative of persistence and coalition-building that underplays the difficulties and amplifies the elements of success (Montero, 2017c); and it contributes to circulating particular notions about public space as an idealised site of democratic citizenship and encounters with difference (for a critique, see: Delgado, 2016; Valentine, 2008). As told by Tomás, this narrative became an exemplary tale that inspired Forum attendees, and it piqued my own curiosity such that, when I arrived in Santiago, I was more than eager to go and experience first-hand what it is like to cycle alongside the river.

As such, just as important as these sites of knowledge circulation are the ways in which activists produce spatial imaginaries and spatialised narratives of cycling utopias that can have the powerful effects of persuading others and mobilising people, capital, and institutions. These imaginaries can be forged by making recourse to those “parts of elsewhere” (Allen & Cochrane, 2007, p. 1171) that

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<sup>113</sup> See: <https://cyclingsolutions.info/embassy/bikeable-city-masterclass/>

circulate quickly and widely through social media channels and can be news pieces about the transformation of the banks of River Seine (Paris, France) to elicit support for Mapocho Pedaleable, or images of closer locales that show that cycling cities are also possible in Latin America – Bogotá’s *Ciclovía*, for example. They can also be photos, videos, and commentary about cycling and public transport experiences during leisure travel. Translating and coordinating (McFarlane, 2011) experiences to compare or inspire, in other words, is part of the everyday work of activism. However, spatial imaginaries that help make the bike mobile can be crafted in other ways, for instance through dwelling.

Harnessing public support for Mapocho Pedaleable relied on creating alternative imaginaries of the river by allowing people to experience first-hand the possibility of the Mapocho as a public space. Hence, activists liaised with government authorities to secure permissions and logistical support to organise yearly visits to the river. Around 500 people participated in the first visit in 2013, and this figure ballooned to 60,000 people in 2016, when the river opened to visitors for six days in the context of the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF (Martínez Gaete, 2017). Experiencing urban transformations *in situ* is one powerful way to mobilise policy and knowledge (Montero, 2017a), but this case is best conceptualised as an ‘experiment’ – “small-scale and achievable actions that aim to transform regimes but largely operate outside of them and do not require upfront large-scale governance and economic transformations” (Sosa López, 2021, p. 479). The language of experimentation, as employed by Sosa López (2021), is suitable because it signals the need to engage with a range of actors and institutions to forge the alliances and networks necessary to ensure the success and long-term impact of these kinds projects (Castañeda & Montero, forthcoming). Thinking in these terms “moves away from a bottom-up vs. top-down approach” and instead provides “a nuanced examination of the role that networks of policy agents play in current urban policymaking” (Sosa López, 2021, p. 480).

Yet, self-referencing and mobilising one’s own city in a space like the WBF can have purposes different to learning and inspiring. It can be a way for activists to tell their own stories of the city to others in order to *challenge* the spatial imaginaries and narratives circulated by policy elites. In one striking example, the delegation that travelled to Medellín seeking to take the WBF to Santiago

developed a pitch that strategically contrasted the postcard image of neoliberal Chile<sup>114</sup> with the ‘real’ Santiago:

*Esa imagen exitosa neoliberal no es la que se vive cotidianamente. Todas las mañanas en Santiago de Chile son miles de personas que pierden más de dos o tres horas de su vida por moverse en la ciudad. Eso no puede seguir sucediendo. Eso sucede en toda nuestra metrópolis. Tenemos la imagen neoliberal que se vende, y tenemos esta realidad. Pero, además, hay una alternativa. Hay una alternativa que cada uno de nosotros vive de manera individual. Cada uno de ustedes. Cada que nos subimos a la bicicleta vamos transformando nuestras ciudades. Vamos transformando de cierta manera el mundo también. Pero ¿qué pasa? Esa transformación individual es energía humana que cada uno de nosotros mueve. Si nos organizamos, si nos juntamos en el espacio público, si hacemos propuestas, nos transformamos en la imagen que viene. En la imagen que nosotros manifestamos*<sup>115</sup> (Araos, 2015).

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<sup>114</sup> Typing “Santiago de Chile” into a Google images search will invariably yield a homogenous set of images of a glass skyscraper in the “Sanhattan” business district with the snow-capped Andes in the backdrop.

<sup>115</sup> The successful neoliberal image is not the one we live on daily basis. Every morning in Santiago de Chile thousands of people waste two or three hours of their lives to move across the city. This can’t continue, and it happens in the whole of our metropolis. We have the neoliberal image that sells, and we have this reality. But there is also an alternative that each of us lives individually. Each of you. Each time we get on a bike we’re transforming our cities. We’re also transforming the world in some way. But, what happens? That individual transformation is human energy that we each move. If we organise, get together in public space, make proposals, we become the following image. The image we manifest.



**Fig 5.13.** The neoliberal postcard of Santiago (**top-left**) is contrasted with everyday life in the city (**top-right**) in the WBF pitch. The alternatives are then shown: individual human energy (**bottom-left**) harnessed to create citizen power (**bottom-right**, an image of the well-established *Cicletada del primer martes* – First Tuesday of the month cycle ride). Sources: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PE4Kr-PJRT0> and Claudio Soto (reproduced with permission).

The pitch mobilised a narrative comprised of persuasive, emotional language; a PowerPoint of heavily contrasting images of a birds-eye-view city versus the highly embodied experience of the commute; and cultural tropes familiar to a Latin American audience in the form of a music video<sup>116</sup> geared towards convincing the 4<sup>th</sup> WBF audience that Santiago *needs* the “human energy and citizen power” to transform the city through a shift in public policy, and the mobilisation of the bicycle as a means to advance social equity in the neoliberal city (Araos, 2015). The persuasive story of a city in need of cycling politics to overturn four decades of neoliberal planning not only won Santiago the bid to host the Forum, it also hinted to the ways in which cyclists’ narratives serve to mobilise people and capital within the city *and trans-locally* in ways that facilitate the enrolment of other, local, actors to mobilise cycling policy (see Chapter 4 for a discussion on the work involved in assembling the WBF). Taking the Forum home to Santiago, in turn, helped mobilise the actors and alliances necessary to leverage Mapocho Pedaleable, bring it to the attention of the President, and secure the

<sup>116</sup> The second half of the pitch displayed “*Mi equilibrio espiritual*” (My spiritual equilibrium), a song where a popular puppet character bombastically sings about the quasi-spiritual experience of cycling without training wheels. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QOQ1CHBjxIU>

status of presidential priority – what activists in Santiago identify as the main legacy of the Forum for their city.

Earlier, in Chapter 4, I described how Argentina en Bici bid to host the WBF in a manner not dissimilar to how I just described Santiago's bid: an emotional and persuasive use of language, images, and cultural tropes that moved the General Assembly to support their ambitions. Later, in Chapter 6, I discuss friendships between women as part of what lubricates the channels through which feminist cycling activism circulates. As McKenzie (2017, p. 188) notes, however, policy mobilities has neglected how “what moves us collectively and individually is also important for what moves policy”. Many of the spaces and interactions I have discussed are mediated and held together by relationships of friendship and intimacy (see also: G. Brown & Pickerill, 2009), and hopes, dreams, and desires have carried the WBF from Brazil to Medellín, around Latin America, and all the way to Kathmandu for its 9<sup>th</sup> iteration in 2020. In this sense, while coalition-building, negotiation, and brokerage are necessary to secure the resources to territorialise the Forum, considering how friendship, love, and care mobilise activists is necessary to understand how these spaces of circulation are themselves able to circulate. These forms of relating are not quite captured by the ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ tie typology currently used in the literature (Baker et al., 2019), but friendship is often the basis for the formation of activist organisations, and it also gives shape to the networks that facilitate learning and the circulation of knowledge across locales. Additionally, it is worth emphasising once more what I discussed in Chapter 3: people are moved to become activists *because they care* about something, and this affective state compels them into action. While policy mobilities underscores the importance of ‘professional’ circuits of knowledge circulation, greater engagement with these affects and less ‘formal’ relations (which are not exclusive to activists) might produce a richer, more embodied and situated account of how urban knowledge and policy travels (see for instance: McKenzie, 2017; Pitton & McKenzie, 2020).

In sum, what both Santiago and Mexico City show, is that the entanglement of activists and other actors in the production and contestation of the city is far more complex than has been recognised and scrutinised. Baker and colleagues (2019) note that the elite/non-elite divide in policy mobilities is merely a heuristic device, but they do not delve much further into the dissolution of this binary. Yet, apart from the fuzziness of all binary concepts, a glance at the Latin American cycling movement shows that continuing to rely on a rigid typology of actors risks underplaying the

dynamism that characterises cycling activism. Hence, researchers should remain wary of rigid demarcations of activist/technocrat, expert/lay-person, elite/non-elite and instead consider how dynamic positionalities aid in the mobilisation of policy. Following these considerations, we should not shy away from conceptualising certain actors within social movements as “embodied members of epistemic, expert and practice communities. They are sociologically complex actors, located in (shifting) organizational and political fields, whose identities and professional trajectories are often bound up with the policy positions and fixes they espouse” (Peck & Theodore, 2010, p. 170).

The move to dissolve these binaries entails rejecting an essentialist definition of activism and, instead, embracing a relational understanding of what activism is and how it operates. The processes, complex arrangements, relationships, and shifting positionalities I discussed in this section speak of a form of ‘professionalisation’ and ‘expertisation’ of cycling activism, and can be subsumed under Tironi’s modes of technification. This concept effectively dissolves any rigid distinction between experts and lay people and, indeed, what these experiences point to is the need to reassess the ways in which ‘expertise’ is conceptualised within policy mobilities scholarship and *redistribute* expertise (Whatmore, 2009) in our analyses. This manoeuvre is useful to provide richer accounts of how the city is contested, lived, and assembled by social movements, beyond simplified understandings of activism as disruptive and contentious.

## 5.5. Conclusion

This chapter started with the premise that, for cycling activists, “the bicycle makes sense and is correct”. This proved a useful entry point to enquire into how knowledge is produced and made to circulate within cycling activism, allowing me to unpack the processes, actors, spaces, and work implicated in ‘making sense’ of the bicycle in cities; and to develop an account of how cycling politics, that which is ‘correct’ about the bicycle, are learnt and taught by activists. In the first section, I looked at the many techniques of measuring, gathering information, and standardising knowledge about the bicycle through which cycling is stabilised and circulated as an object of knowledge in the form of documentary representations. In these representations – tables, maps, documents, guides, books, databases – the bicycle is written into the city as a speedy, cost-efficient vehicle suitable for a diversity of uses and users, one that makes sense in the city relative to other

modes. These documents circulate through the hands and social media feeds of authorities, other activists, and broader civil society, creating a common sense about the bicycle shared amongst myriad actors who promote its use in urban context.

Yet, it is not just through rationalising its use that activists mobilise the bike. Framed as ‘correct’ artefact, it is worked into the urban assemblage as a signifier of freedom, autonomy, democracy, and ‘humanity’. In the second section, then, I examined how cycling politics – the discourses in which the bicycle is imbued with ‘correct’ meanings and values – are learnt and taught. Following McFarlane’s framework of learning the city, I analysed the sites and processes of (re)producing cycling politics. Learning among activists takes place with the bike as a tool for political education: materially and semiotically, the bicycle allows the learning and teaching feminist mobilities (a theme carried forward into the following chapter); discursively, it is an emblem of the ‘cities for people’ activists and celebrity urbanists envision; and as an object of knowledge, it can trigger important moments of reflection on the political nature of knowledge-production.

The entanglement of sites, actors, materials, and processes implicated in the production of the bike as a vehicle that ‘makes sense and is correct’ in the city hints at a complex arrangement that has so far been absent in the deluge of scholarly analyses of cycling that have accompanied the global ‘cycling renaissance’. I have pointed to some of the ways in which policy mobilities scholarship can better engage with civil society mobilising cycling, and social movements more generally.

Specifically, I have argued in favour of thinking in terms of ‘shifting positionalities’ and analytically redistributing expertise to actors hitherto overlooked by most analyses. Indeed, my arguments here point to civil society as pivotal in producing and circulating knowledge about cycling, transport, and the city.

Moving forward, in the following chapter I break with the narrative of the ‘obviousness’ of the bicycle as a vehicle ‘for all’ to examine the tensions and possibilities that surface when a feminist lens is brought to bear upon cycling activism. If the bicycle can be used as a political artefact to drive social change, feminist interventions are challenging what vision of change is being advocated for,

poignantly raising the question: “¿Cómo reclamar ciudades más equitativas si en el interior de nuestras organizaciones reproducimos las violencias de las que somos objeto en las calles?”<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> “How can we claim more equitable cities if within our organisations we are reproducing the same kinds of violence we are subjected to on the street?” This question is raised in the opening statement of the Lima Manifesto, a document drafted by feminist activists in the prelude to the 7<sup>th</sup> WBF, and which I will discuss at length in the following chapter.

## Chapter 6: #CiclismoSinMachismo: Feminist frictions and possibilities

### 6.1. Introduction

Over the past decade, a seismic wave of feminist mobilisation has replicated through Latin America, and Santiago and Mexico City have felt it to their core. Multiple trajectories of feminist thought and praxis are converging in a historical moment characterised by massiveness, radicality, heterogeneity, and transnationalism (Gago, 2019). The current feminism moment has found massive expression in the struggle for the legalisation of abortion – the feminist “green tide”<sup>118</sup> that spilled over the Andes into Chile and to the rest of Latin America, triggering successive waves of increasingly larger feminist manifestations, and becoming a referent for feminist activists across the world (Martin & Shaw, 2021). Meanwhile, in Mexico, an urban intervention dubbed *La monumenta*,<sup>119</sup> installed and fiercely defended by feminist collectives in front of Mexico City’s Palacio de Bellas Artes, sits as a permanent reminder of the ten feminicides that take place in the country each day. Moreover, when navigating Mexico City by public transport, pink carriages and gender-segregated buses (intended to transport Mexican women in relative safety from sexual aggression) remind us of the alarming levels of violence women face in public transport (Soto, 2017). It is not difficult to see why feminism has also taken hold further north in Latin America, where women have also taken to the street *en masse* to denounce patriarchal violence and affirm their feminist politics. As Silva, Ornat, and Mason-Deese (2020, p. 270) diagnose, “public spaces have been taken over by women’s bodies and, at the same time, women’s bodies have become spaces of struggles, creating urban landscapes that Latin American geographical sciences have had to negotiate, especially with younger generations.”

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<sup>118</sup> The green tide is called so because of the symbol it found in the green scarf feminists carry around their necks, wrists and, why not, bicycles.

<sup>119</sup> Here, feminists exercise linguistic disobedience by refusing to refer to their monument as “monumento”, the ‘correct’ masculine noun referring to a structure that typically depicts or commemorates men, coining instead the feminine form *monumenta*. *La monumenta* is one of many *anti-monumentos* that have been installed by Mexican activists. Rather than rejecting monumental representations, as the prefix *anti-* suggests, these are forms of inscription that symbolise ongoing popular struggles and publicly decry human rights violations. In addition to *La monumenta*, anti-monuments in Mexico City pay homage to the 43 victims of the Ayotzinapa mass disappearance; the children victims of the ABC Kindergarten fire; and the victims of the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre, amongst others. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HMoNJNeZfBM>



**Fig 6.1.** *La monumenta* in downtown Mexico City. The inscription reads “We demand a national gender alert. No more feminicides”.

This environment has provided a fertile ground for a growing interest in women’s mobilities (see: Chapter 2), and for the increasing participation and visibility of women in the city. In turn, a feminist intervention in cycling activism has raised challenging and potentially divisive questions about a movement that has historically been dominated by men and carried forward by forms of leadership that have not been strangers to homophobia and sexism. This chapter discusses how women in Latin America are bringing cycling and feminist activism into conversation with one another, turning on their head many of the dominant and taken-for-granted narratives in cycling activism: *en la bici todos somos iguales*, *la bicicleta es una herramienta de transformación social*, and *la bicicleta no tiene género*<sup>120</sup> are met with *Ciclismo sin machismo*, *No sin nosotras*, and *Atropella el patriarcado*.<sup>121</sup>

This chapter situates feminist cycling activism with the social movement space of Latin American feminism by tracing connections and mapping a number of sites and situations. This move is

<sup>120</sup> “On the bike we’re all the same”, “the bicycle is a tool for social change”, “cycling doesn’t have gender”.

<sup>121</sup> “Cycling without machismo”, “Not without us [women]”, “Run over patriarchy”.

fundamental, as the massive and radical character of the current feminist tide is partly achieved by building proximity between different struggles and cultivating political transversality (Gago, 2019). This is elegantly represented by the intervention on Santiago’s metro system staged by the Coordinadora Feminista 8M ahead of the 2020 International Women’s Day mobilisations. For the second year in a row, feminist activists physically and graphically replaced the signage of the city’s metro stations, creating a map of interconnected struggles that are understood to be feminist issues. These include dignified housing, collective joy, mutual aid, and the feminist city.



Fig 6.2. Metro map “A network of struggles. The feminist strike is on!”, zooming in on a portion of Line 3. Source: Coordinadora Feminista 8M.

This chapter takes the metro Line 3, from *Que no te achiquen la calle* to *Niñez en rebeldía*.<sup>122</sup> Their placement on the same line on the map is incidental, but welcome, as it allows me to trace the contours of my argument. In a first instance, I analyse three kinds of spaces where feminist cycling activism unfolds, drawing public, digital, and trans-local assembly space into the discussion in Chapter 4 regarding the spatialities of cycling activism. I follow with an analysis of mechanisms to institutionalise social change by discussing the creation of a protocol against gender violence in two partner organisations, delving further into the core themes of Chapter 5 – learning and knowledge-production. Finally, I present the *Cicletada de las niñas* (“Girls’ Cycle Ride”) as a case that elicits reflection around the gendering of cycling, and the ways in which this is contested by feminist cycling activists. Threaded throughout the narrative is a double movement: on one hand, it engages with the gendering of mobilities, emphasizing how patriarchy and *machismo* manifest in and around cycling. On the other, it foregrounds a critique of what two Argentinean activists call “low-quality biketivism” (Salvador & Pérez Marchetta, 2020, n.p.), which is to say, the manifestation of violence against women and sexual dissidents<sup>123</sup> within cycling activist spaces.

Importantly, as Verónica Gago (2019) argues, the feminist movement does not stop at identifying and linking forms of patriarchal violence. Mapping violences simultaneously creates the conditions of possibility for other ways of existing in the world. Hence, embedded in feminist cyclists’ critiques are possibilities for organising differently, opening up to new alliances, and animating activism towards a more inclusive agenda. While a wealth of research addresses why women do or do not cycle, often focusing on issues of harassment or fear (Díaz Vázquez, 2017; Lemos et al., 2017; Lubitow et al., 2019; Ravensbergen, 2020), very little work has enquired into the spaces for women by women that actualise the possibility of cycling (Coyotécatl Contreras & Díaz Alba, 2018; Gamble, 2019; Pinto Alvaro, 2017). While continuing to research women’s experiences of immobility is important, it is equally necessary to study how women are challenging the impossibility of cycling by opening a new arena of political action. It is this turn towards possibility that I want to emphasise as a response to the gender and cycling literature this project builds on (see: Chapter 2). I present my

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<sup>122</sup> Roughly, “Don’t let them encroach on your right to the street”, and “Rebellious childhood”.

<sup>123</sup> While the feminist spaces and organisations I worked with are inclusive of sexual dissidents (e.g., *Comisión de mujeres y disidencias*), in practice, the overwhelming majority of people participating are cis-women. To reflect this, in this text I write about ‘women’ and make explicit the cases where trans and/or non-binary people were involved. On the notion of “sexual dissidents”, see Chapter 1 (footnote 6).

arguments in a way that follows from these observations – mapping violence but also the worlds being brought into being by feminist activists. Following Gago (2019), feminism is as much about #NiUnaMenos as it is about #NosMueveElDeseo,<sup>124</sup> and our theorising ought to follow suit: denouncing violence and foregrounding desire and possibility in a single move.

Finally, I want to draw attention to internationalism as a common thread in the cases I discuss. The contemporary feminist movement “has become a global phenomenon *and* it has emerged from the global South. It is firmly rooted in Latin America [...], running through multiple layers of histories, struggles, movements, and organisations. From there, it has nourished an *internationalism* that disrupts the scales, reach, and forms of organisation of a movement that does not cease to expand without losing its [situated character]” (Gago, 2019, p. 191 emphasis in original). The implications of this are significant. Writing about Chilean feminist collective LasTesis,<sup>125</sup> Martin and Shaw argue that “the US should not be taken as the single origin point of global women’s activism. This spotlight on [LasTesis’ performance], and thus on the transnational impact of Latin American feminist activism, is also part of a decolonising project” (2021, p.720). Following this reading, I argue that thinking about urban transformations through a feminist lens will *need* to consider the experiences, experiments, and theories of Latin American feminists and their engagements with the city as a key site of feminist struggle. This will require a challenge to anglocentric feminist geography (Zaragocin, 2021), and the intensification of hemispheric dialogues and translations in the style suggested by Sonia Alvarez and colleagues (2014). My intention here is to attempt such a challenge and dialogue.

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<sup>124</sup> #Not Another Woman Less, #We Are Moved By Desire

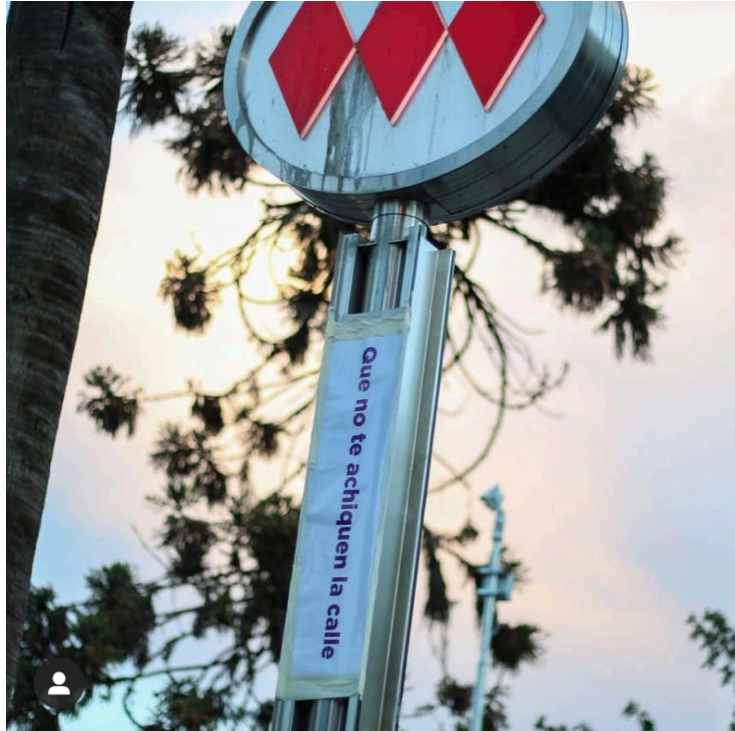
<sup>125</sup> A feminist theatre collective, LasTesis rose to global fame with their performance “*Un violador en tu camino*” (“A rapist in your path”) that literally points to the State’s complicity in perpetuating gender violence. The performance was translated into dozens of other languages and the choreography replicated by women across the world.

## 6.2. *Que no te achiquen la calle*: finding each other on common ground

*Que no te achiquen la calle* is a statement mobilised by Chilean feminist cyclists as a rallying cry on 8<sup>th</sup> March 2020<sup>126</sup> in defiance of the sexist violence that curtails women's access to, and unmediated appropriation of, city streets. Yet, it can also be read as a diagnosis and rejection of the forms of violence that limit women's full participation in social and political life, including cycling activism. Creating space-times of encounter – of being together – is a necessary practice to resist the encroachment of space and participation captured by this mobilising slogan. In this section I first explore how practices of *entre mujeres* ('among women'; Gutiérrez Aguilar et al., 2018) allow women to contest the gendering of public spaces whilst developing an "embodied sense of agency" that many associate with the notion of empowerment. Coming together also serves to break out of individualised isolation through the realisation that personal and territorialised experiences are shared by women across the region, and that collective resistance is possible. This process has been facilitated by digital technologies which enable mapping, denouncing, and challenging sexist violence in novel ways. Turning to digital spaces is also a way to mediate between territorialised initiatives and the trans-local encounters that have taken place in the World Bike Forum. Hence, in a final moment, I focus my attention on the women and sexual dissidents' assemblies that marked a watershed moment in WBF history. The entanglement of these spaces and processes shows that feminist cycling activism has a way of cohering that is distinct from its mainstream counterpart, constituting itself as a faction within the movement that is able to work trans-locally in ways that mainstream activism has not yet achieved.

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<sup>126</sup> The organisation that convened this ride, Revolución Ciclista Fem, did not exist when I visited Santiago. It emerged in the context of the 2019 protests in Chile, alongside dozens of other new organisations. Over 1,500 women, girls, and sexual dissidents joined the 8M bike ride in 2020.



**Fig 6.3.** The Santiago metro signange physically intervened to replace station names with feminist slogans and demands. Shown here is the station intervened by feminist cyclists from Revolución Ciclista Fem. Source: Facebook, Revolución Ciclista FEM.

### *6.2.1. Finding each other in public space*

Public space matters greatly for cycling activism, as it is the key space that the movement seeks to transform through occupation, appropriation, or policy change. However, the gendering of public space has been scarcely dealt with by activists who, in shaping their agendas, often neglect that “safety is more than protection from cars” and experiences of violence, vulnerability, and safety are mediated by gender, race, class, migratory status, etc. (Untokening Collective, 2017). The assumed ‘neutrality’ of the bicycle with relation to these forms of difference can often serve to reproduce and naturalise attitudes that undermine women’s presence, participation, experiences, and leadership, resulting in highly masculinised repertoires of mobilisation. Speaking about working-class women’s experiences in Santiago, Camila explained:

*en las zonas periféricas, o zonas de, de más riesgo social, de menos recursos, las mujeres todavía están en la-- en las casas. Cuesta mucho que la gente se quite el machismo que esta instalado en las*

*familias. [...] Entonces, lo mismo, quizás las chiquillas de otras comunas tienen más oportunidades, ya pasaron por la universidad, donde ellas tienen otra, otra parada ante la vida. Acá no porque la mujer todavía está, está en su casa, o la mujer se— es dueña de casa y las agrupaciones de mujeres allá en Pudahuel se hacen para que las mujeres salgan un ratito de la casa, a tomar onces, a conversar... entonces todavía pasa eso. Como que hay que hacerlas entender de otra manera. Entonces las chiquillas del grupo también les cuesta mucho, eh, les costó mucho empoderarse en el tema de la bicicleta. Entonces yo les doy responsabilidades también. Y ahora ya las chiquillas son, son más aguerridas que yo. Más callejeras que yo.*<sup>127</sup>

The intricate relationship between gender and mobility is implicated in the gendering of public space, and obdurate dualisms like public/private, mobile/immobile, productive/reproductive, man/woman stand at the core of gender constructs, codifying feminised bodies as in or out of place in specific times and spaces (Hanson, 2010). “The ideology that ties women to the private sphere and men to the public one impacts how female cyclists are perceived and how they experience their domestic and public lives” (Montoya-Robledo et al., 2020, p. 9), and as Camila notes, these constructions are transversed by class differences. Furthermore, if “traditional gender ideologies [are] infused with notions of space, place and mobility” (Hanson, 2010, p. 9), it follows that public space takes on distinctive connotations for feminist cycling activism. Fear of violence is one of the main factors affecting women and girls’ mobilities and their use of public space, involving complex negotiations and strategies to circumvent vulnerable or threatening situations, and even resulting in immobility (Lemos et al., 2017; Soto, 2017). Yet public space is not mainly or exclusively violent, it is also where women can exercise resistance to violence, and forging spaces to come together in the city is the most straightforward way in which women find each other and coalesce around the bicycle. Key here is the premise of appropriating public space *together*.

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<sup>127</sup> “In peripheral areas, areas of greater social risk, of fewer resources, women are still at home. It’s difficult to shed the *machismo* from within the family [...] So, likewise, perhaps the women from other *comunas* have more opportunities, they went to university, and they have another perspective about life. Not here, because women are still in their homes, they’re homemakers and groups there in Pudahuel exist so women can leave the house for a bit, have a meal, have a chat... so that’s still happening. It’s like you have to get them to change their understanding of the world. And the girls in the group, they still struggle with that, they struggled to empower themselves with the bicycle. So, I give them responsibilities, and now the girls are fiercer than I. More street-wise than I”.

Many activists have identified and acted on the need to create organisations and space-times free from sexist violence and behaviours, and that are exclusive for women and sexual dissidents, though not without resistance and accusations of wanting to ‘divide’ the movement. Already in Chapter 5 I discussed some of the politics at play in women’s cycling schools, and I want to bring these initiatives into the discussion once more to argue that, in these instances, the basic fact of gathering in public space takes on a new political connotation, different from the politics articulated in the familiar repertoires of cycling activism (Castañeda, 2020; Furness, 2010). As an activist from La Rueda Violeta<sup>128</sup> – a Mexican feminist organisation – explained:

*Todas las actividades que hacemos son en espacios públicos. [...] porque lo que queremos también es eso, que las mujeres se adueñen de estos espacios en los que hay poca presencia femenina. O sea, se nos dice que las mujeres no debemos estar o no hemos estado en los espacios públicos, entonces pues tratamos también de que se apropien del espacio público.*<sup>129</sup>

Echoing this, Karen, from Macleta, remarked: “*Nosotras nos juntamos a pedalear como nos podríamos juntar a bordar. O sea, siempre decíamos eso. La bicicleta es una excusa para juntar mujeres en un lugar público para pedalear,*”<sup>130</sup> employing the widespread rhetoric of ‘the bicycle as an excuse’ for articulating issues that spill over the silos of traditional cycling or transport policy and planning. The bicycle helps to purposefully bring together women in spaces they do not normally occupy, seeking to instill a sense of belonging through their use (Fenster, 2005), and to denaturalise the gendered fragmentation of the city (Coyotécatl Contreras & Díaz Alba, 2018). Cycling schools organised by groups like Macleta (Santiago), La Rueda Violeta (Mexico City), or Carishina en Bici (Quito) allow women to develop competence, skills, and practical experience as urban cyclists. Moreover, finding each other in these spaces also provides an opportunity to talk, learn about, and trace connections between issues pertaining to feminist cycling, like women’s right to the city and street harassment. These practices function as a kind of consciousness-raising (Mason-Deese, 2018) where the city, transport, and

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<sup>128</sup> The name “La Rueda Violeta” (The Violet Wheel) pays homage to *Violetas de Anáhuac*, a feminist newspaper that ran between 1887 and 1889 in Mexico.

<sup>129</sup> All our activities are in public spaces. [...] because what we want is for women to appropriate public spaces where there is little feminine presence. We’re often told that women shouldn’t be, or haven’t been, present in public spaces, so we try to appropriate them.

<sup>130</sup> Yes, we got together to cycle just as we could have gotten together to do embroidery. We always said that. The bicycle is an excuse to gather women in a public place to cycle [together].

mobility are explicitly drawn into the constellation of women's issues. In this context the bicycle is framed by activists as a tool for women's empowerment (a matter I will return to), achieved through renewed knowledge of one's body, the possibility of autonomous mobility, and the development of self-esteem and trust through participation in group organising. As Karen recalls, women who were initially shy when approaching Macleta experienced a physical transformation, and renewed dreams and desires:

*comenzaban a llegar arregladas, el corte de pelo, labios rojos. Y como que empezaban a empoderarse y... empezaban a soñar con qué bicicleta comprarse; que me voy a ir al trabajo; y ya no iban con buzo ancho, sino que empezaban a ir con ropa más... pantalones cortos. Como que se notaba un cambio físico en la mirada, en todo.*<sup>131</sup>

Julieta, in Mexico, further remarked, “*no es sólo el proceso de andar en bicicleta, es como el proceso en el que te liberas de un miedo, en el que te empoderas en la calle, te tomas la calle como tuya... es muy cabrón.*”<sup>132</sup> Yet, while many do experience the bicycle as a liberating form of mobility (Mella Lira, 2021), and although several women spoke to me about embracing the bicycle as a means to escape vulnerability in public transport and while walking, cycling remains a mode of travel where the body is exposed to inappropriate touching, cat-calling, lewd glances, and physical attack. Against cycling safety norms that emphasise cyclists' responsibility to make themselves visible (Reid-Musson, 2016), women and other vulnerable groups sometimes employ strategies to become ‘invisible’ and mitigate the risk of violence when undertaking everyday cycling trips. However, feminist cyclist space-times of encounter seek to achieve the opposite: to assert women's right to be in public without harassment and become visible by virtue of being together, building community and resisting patriarchal violence in public space, as captured by the popular feminist chant:

*Abora que estamos juntas,  
abora que sí nos ven.*

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<sup>131</sup> They started showing up looking nice, with a new haircut, red lipstick. It's like they started to become empowered and... they started dreaming of what bicycle they would buy; of cycling to work. They no longer wore oversized jumpers but started going with clothes like... in shorts. You would notice a change in their eyes, in everything.

<sup>132</sup> It's not just the process of riding a bicycle, it's the process of getting rid of fear, of becoming empowered on the street, of taking the street as your own... it's very powerful.

*Abajo el patriarcado,  
se va a caer, se va a caer.  
Arriba el feminismo  
que va a vencer, que va a vencer.*<sup>133</sup>

The idea of being together is emphasised continuously in feminist discourse. Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar (2018, p. np) coined the term *entre mujeres*, “among women”, to denote “the intentional practice of generating bonds of trust between diverse women to generate force and clarity, with the goal of challenging the many forms of violence and negation through which everyday patriarchal domination is exercised in private and public spaces”. This is not exclusive to women’s cycling activism. The anti-rape movement (Martin & Shaw, 2021); the pro-abortion movement (Barros & Quintana, 2020); the feminist strike (Gago, 2019); and the multiple *Encuentros de Mujeres* that take place in Latin America (Alvarez, 1998), such as Argentina’s annual meetings (running since 1986), all rely on bringing women and feminised bodies together to make women’s issues public and exercise collective resistance. Among women enables self-awareness and, in relation to cycling, organised rides are “ritualised acts of solidarity [that] produce new gendered lived realities of urban space” (Gamble, 2019 p.3) where creating a safe environment free from fear of violence, “mansplaining”, stereotyping, and harrasment enables the collective enjoyment of the city and its surroundings. Hence, while among women is not without frictions and negotiating both political and personal difference is often necessary for feminist mobilisation, many women expressed both a need for women’s-only spaces, and “feeling differently” in these kinds of environments.

I once met with Resiste Pedal – a Mexican feminist group – to join their cycling camping trip to Ajusco, a hilly site on the southern outskirts of Mexico City. Sitting around the campfire sharing a meal generously prepared by some of the campers, one of the women remarked on just how different it felt to cycle in a group of women and sexual dissidents, and expressed gratitude for the safe, caring space we had built, which made her feel comfortable and held. Another group in Mexico, Bellas Bielas, organised a picnic and a long cycle ride to celebrate their anniversary. At the picnic, reflections surrounding the experience of cycling with only women were part of the

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<sup>133</sup> Now that we’re together, now that you finally see us, patriarchy will fall and feminism will triumph.

conversation. When I interviewed one of the group's founders, she confirmed this sentiment: *Bellas Biel* exists to ride together, safely, and learn from one another, just as *La Rueda Violeta* is “*un espacio para nosotras. Un espacio seguro, donde te sientas a gusto [...] Y nosotras estamos aquí siempre en un espacio de, estamos aquí, estamos juntas, te apoyamos, nos apoyamos entre todas.*”<sup>134</sup> Still, women and sexual dissidents' resistance in public space can become sedimented in other ways. I had first approached *Resiste Pedal* during a gathering the collective convened to cycle to *La Cañita* – an LGBTIQ+ bar in the working-class *colonia Doctores* that had been the target of a homophobic attack. In solidarity, that day *Resiste Pedal* installed a bicycle rack at the entrance of the business, physically intervening in public space in a way that articulated feminist cycling with LGBTIQ+ resistance.

Bringing women together “creates a space for transformation of individuals into collectives and (potentially) docile bodies into resistant ones, producing an ‘embodied sense of agency’” (Martin & Shaw, 2021, p. 720). Many of the women I came into contact with expressed this sense of agency in terms of ‘empowerment’ – a common narrative amongst Latin American women cyclists (Mella Lira, 2021). I argue that the notion of ‘empowerment’ vis-à-vis women and cycling ought to be scrutinised against neoliberal development agendas that have coopted and depoliticised this concept, focusing on personal growth and often exacerbating the precarity of women's lives in the Global South (Federici, 2020). In contrast to this ‘liberal empowerment’, Cecilia Sardenberg (2008, p. 19) suggests ‘liberating empowerment’, the goal of which is to destabilise and transform the order of patriarchal domination through collective action, whilst remaining mindful of the importance of the empowerment of women at a personal level.

The space-times I have described offer a reading of empowerment as a collective achievement – one in which recognising patriarchy's ordering of urban space (Soto, 2014) is the first step towards challenging patriarchal relations in cycling. ‘Empowerment’ is not arrived at through a linear trajectory undertaken by individual women. Rather, it is the outcome of multiple processes, group efforts and encounters unrolling in a spiral form, based on the exchange of experiences and collective reflection upon them for change (Sardenberg, 2008). As I have shown, this can take place through the practice of among women and occupying public space, effectively making women's issues public issues; and through breaking the confines of ‘domestic violence’ to give way to a new

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<sup>134</sup> A space for us. A safe space, where you feel comfortable [...] We're always here in a space that... we're here, we're together, we support you, we all support each other.

cartography of women's struggles: where they unfold and, indeed, *what* women's issues are. Articulating these encounters around the bicycle draws mobility and feminism into proximity and contributes to the transversal composition of the contemporary feminist movement (Gago, 2019), while also raising pertinent questions about gender and urban cycling.

The question of 'how to get more women cycling' continues to puzzle planners and policymakers (Diaz & Rojas, 2017; Lemos et al., 2017). Likewise, many women in and between Mexico and Chile expressed that the rationale behind creating women's only groups is, precisely, to get more women cycling: to create safe spaces to ride together and learn from one another, developing the confidence and practical skills necessary to use the bicycle on a regular basis and indeed experience autonomous mobility. While many of these spaces also cater to gender non-conforming people and sexual dissidents, trans and non-binary cyclists remain under-represented in cycling activist space-times, and their vélomobilities are still understudied. The inclusion of a greater diversity of women (working-class, migrant, indigenous, Afro-descendant) was not a concern I heard often amongst activists, and though intersectionality features discursively in some spaces and discussions, few activities purposefully incorporated an intersectional outlook.

Yet, 'getting more women to cycle' will necessitate solutions that take seriously the complex entanglements between gender, intersectionality, and mobility (Hanson, 2010; R. Law, 1999), while also recognising urban space as disputed by feminists and other political constituencies in myriad ways. Writing about Femibici (a group from Guadalajara, Mexico), Coyotécatl Contreras and Díaz Alba (2018, p. 26) critique the emphasis on access to services over women's active participation in the production of urban space, noting that "neoliberalism translates into a series of standards to meet and checklists to go through while building infrastructure. This process depoliticises struggles over the city through making them about technical requirements targeting ideal individuals (instead of differentiated social groups)". Hence, encouraging women's vélomobility ought to involve dismantling hard-wired associations implicated in, and reproduced through, the gendering of mobilities and space and their effects in different contexts of intersectional oppression (Ravensbergen, 2020). As Camila's words earlier in this section reflect, "women's empowerment must be thought and acted upon not only in terms of gender inequalities, but also in terms of inequalities of class, race, ethnicity and other social determinants" (Sardenberg, 2008, p. 20).

As such, continuing to rely on the individual as the subject of the ‘social transformation’ that activists claim the bicycle can bring about remains problematic, as do behavioural-based interventions that fail to tackle automobility and facilitate cycle-inclusion across diverse communities and needs (Untokening Collective, 2017). Feminism, I suggest, could be one possible practical-discourse through which cycling politics can be re-articulated in defiance of individualised approaches to social change; the instrumentalisation of cycling by neoliberalism (Spinney, 2020; Stehlin, 2019); and in rejection of *machismo* and patriarchal violence in all spheres of life – from the home to the cycle path. However, as feminism takes hold in cycling activism, it will need to confront its limitations in terms of what women it targets, what women are excluded, and the absence of an intersectional sensibility.

### 6.2.2. *Digital spaces*

“The interplay between the digital and the physical has allowed for creating new connections between women and between struggles that [are] able to challenge violence in new ways” (Mason-Deese, 2020a, p. 2). Hence, encounters in public space and at the WBF cannot be divorced from the digital spaces by means of which activist networks and Latin American cycling activism are also sustained. The channels that facilitate the circulation of cycling discourse, politics and policy are also lubricated by feminist sensibilities, and they have been key in the development of feminist cycling activism as a regional assemblage (see: Chapter 4). Not least, chat groups and social media (mainly Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and WhatsApp) are means to build bonds of friendship and camaraderie with people both local and at-a-distance. These relationships aid to make the bike mobile, but female friendships have also acquired a political connotation in Latin America: “*El Estado no me cuida, me cuidan mis amigas*”<sup>135</sup> is another popular feminist chant that underscores the practice of among women as a means to combat the patriarchal State’s complicity in women’s oppression.

In this regard, the WhatsApp chat group *Mujeres en bici LatinAm* should not be underestimated. I was invited to join the group by a Chilean activist early during fieldwork, and while the nature of my

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<sup>135</sup> The State doesn’t protect me, my [women] friends do.

involvement has shifted (being more or less active depending on the discussions taking place), I continue to participate to this day. Created during the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF (Santiago, 2016) seeking to “bring together women from the region that are transforming their communities with the bicycle” (Pinto Alvaro, 2017, p. 29), the group of 131 women at the time of writing (December 2021) largely serves the function of providing a channel of communication where news, publications, events, and initiatives are shared. Often, it serves as a medium to discuss issues of cycling and transport policy which, in circulating through the chat group, become subject to debate through a gender lens. It also works to mobilise support for individual members’ local actions, exchange knowledge and experiences, and discuss feminist politics.<sup>136</sup> On occasion, it has also been a platform to articulate collective efforts to resist sexist violence, effectively bringing into being a regional *network* that is made intelligible by staging coordinated actions in the name of the *Red de mujeres en bicicleta de Latinoamérica* (Network of Latin American Women Cyclists). Specifically, between December 2018 and April 2019, the group acted as an organisation that responded to a series of aggressions, namely, an episode of sexual assault involving a male cyclist from Bogotá; and one of sexual harassment involving a Belgian competitor in the Vuelta a San Juan road cycling race in Argentina. Both instances were brought to the attention of the group by individual members seeking support from the group, and members quickly organised to draft letters and mobilise allies (e.g. securing support for our statement from the WBF, or that of Argentinean feminist journalist Luciana Peker, who could bring visibility to the case in San Juan). This put into practice what activists Mariana Salvador and Jimena Pérez Marchetta (2020, p. n.p.) identify as a key strategy of resistance: “collective construction, nucleating groups of women to collectively denounce [violence] and name these practices but, above all, to support each other when the violence is not evident enough to make our *compañeros* react”.

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<sup>136</sup> In the context of social mobilisations in Chile (2019) and Colombia (2021), the group was also a valuable source of international solidarity and support, helping to disseminate news and information in the face of censorship.

## RED DE MUJERES EN BICICLETA DE LATINOAMERICA



Como integrantes de la Red de Mujeres en Bicicleta de Latinoamérica, y con el apoyo del Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta (FMB8), nos comprometemos con la erradicación de la violencia de género dentro y fuera del movimiento ciclista.

Por lo que, queremos manifestarnos ante el grave crimen, suscitado la semana pasada, a mujer bogotana de diecinueve años quien fue torturada y violada por un hombre integrante de la comunidad ciclista.

Así rechazamos la violencia machista dentro de nuestros espacios de encuentro, tanto físicos como digitales.

**#LoQueEsConUnaEsConTodas**  
**#VivasNosQueremos**  
**#SinSerAcosadas**  
**#MiráCómoNosPonemos**  
**#SororidadCiclista**  
**#LibresdeViolencias**

## RED DE MUJERES EN BICICLETA DE LATINOAMERICA

### Vuelta a San Juan: Otra vez, la violencia machista

Ante la noticia del acoso sexual realizado por el ciclista belga Iljo Keisse, y la complicidad de sus compañeros del equipo Quick Step, la Red de Mujeres en Bicicleta Latinoamérica se solidariza con la víctima y repudia este lamentable hecho sucedido en el marco de la 37ª Vuelta a San Juan, Argentina.

Tomando conocimiento de que la asociación "Pedal Club Olimpia" ha decidido expulsar de la competencia Vuelta a San Juan al ciclista belga, quien acosó a una mujer de la ciudad de San Juan, y habiendo leído detenidamente los comunicados de la organización del evento ante el hecho sucedido, nos pronunciamos en favor de que este tipo de situaciones sean tratadas con los términos y la gravedad que ameritan, refiriéndose a los mismos como hechos de violencia de género.

Consideramos que los comunicados oficiales respecto de lo ocurrido, han tratado el tema invisibilizando las prácticas patriarcales, machistas y misóginas que son necesarias nombrar sin eufemismos, debiendo aclarar que lo que existió fue acoso sexual perpetrado por Iljo Keisse, que esta actitud radica en violencia y discriminación hacia la mujer por considerar que puede ser tratada como un objeto, con inferioridad y de manera descalificativa, que sus compañeros de equipo han actuado en total complicidad ante esta actitud machista, y que la organización, ha enfatizado su preocupación en resguardar el "honor" y la reputación de la Vuelta a San Juan, la UCI y el ciclismo en general" en lugar de demostrar preocupación por la víctima de acoso, quien hizo inmediatamente la denuncia en la comisaría local.

Por todo esto, y teniendo en cuenta que actualmente participan de la competencia exclusivamente varones, manifestamos nuestro profundo repudio y exigimos que en la próxima edición de la Vuelta a San Juan se incorporen categorías de competencia para todas las personas y facilidades para que estas puedan participar de este reconocido evento internacional en igualdad de condiciones con los varones.

Solicitamos el compromiso de todas las agrupaciones, asociaciones y organizaciones que realizan competencias de ciclismo deportivo, para que propicien los canales necesarios en la promoción de la participación de mujeres y otros géneros no hegemónicos de manera activa, entendiendo y considerando firmemente que todo espacio o evento que no les contenga en su organización y participación, es un espacio que predispone y potencia el machismo y la misoginia que matan en Argentina a una mujer cada 30 h, ya que permite la perpetuidad de la complicidad entre varones machistas, muchas veces refugiados en escenas de humor y códigos internos de la cultura patriarcal.

30 de enero de 2019  
Red de Mujeres en Bicicleta de Latinoamérica integrada por: Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, México, Perú, Puerto Rico y Venezuela.

**#LoQueEsConUnaEsConTodas**  
**#VivasNosQueremos**  
**#SinSerAcosadas**  
**#MiráCómoNosPonemos**  
**#SororidadCiclista**  
**#LibresdeViolencias**

**Fig 6.4. Left:** The abridge version of the statement regarding the Bogotá case issued with support from the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF (see Appendix 3 for the full version [in Spanish]). **Right:** The statement released regarding the Vuelta a San Juan race (see Appendix 4 for the English version).

Drafting the first of these statements involved a series of discussions and negotiations between women from across the region who volunteered to work on this effort. First, we were unsatisfied with the idea of ‘leaving this to the justice system’ since scepticism towards patriarchal justice is widespread in Latin America (Justo von Lurzer, 2020; Mariasch, 2017). More importantly, and in line with the key argument of this chapter, we considered the need to critically interrogate how we are perpetuating *machista* attitudes within our organisations. We discussed and denounced ‘silent complicity’ as a pervasive mechanism of violent non-action; and criticised responses that fall back on the ‘bad apple’ narrative of individual responsibility, rather than acknowledging gender violence as a public issue that permeates all spheres of life, including cycling activism, and which manifests itself through a range of practices – “from *micro-machismos*, abuse, and harassment, to rape and its regrettable extreme: femicide” (Red de Mujeres en Bicicleta de Latinoamérica, 2018).

An additional strategy involved mobilising a series of existing hashtags relevant to feminist activism, such as *#VivasNosQueremos* and *#MiraComoNosPonemos*; and we adhered to the hashtag mobilised by the feminist collective La Poderosa (from Bogotá) in response to the case, *#LoQueEsConUnaEsConTodas*.<sup>137</sup> I contend that doing this was a way to position the Women’s Network within a wider, global, feminist struggle against violence: “these are actions that [involve] using strategies of online agitation and the dissemination of hashtags (keywords) through social media in order to mobilise large numbers of people, and to activate a new political subject – the feminist global tide” (Palmeiro, 2020). Digital spaces allow women to express themselves individually, but also connect to other women and name their experiences in a collective voice (Mason-Deese, 2020a). In stating that if you mess with one woman, you mess with all women, this hashtag and ethos “produces a form of resonance, and the implication is the composition of a common body: a politics that makes the body of one, the body of all” (Gago, 2019 p.31).



**Fig 6.5.** Feminists pasted a *#VivasNosQueremos* sticker on the cycle path signage, delivering the message: “We want ourselves alive on the cycle path”. Quito, April 2019.

As these actions were unfolding, there emerged a new vocabulary: we coined *ciclomachismo* and devised our own hashtag, *#CiclismoSinMachismo* (Cycling Without Machismo), to name cycling as a

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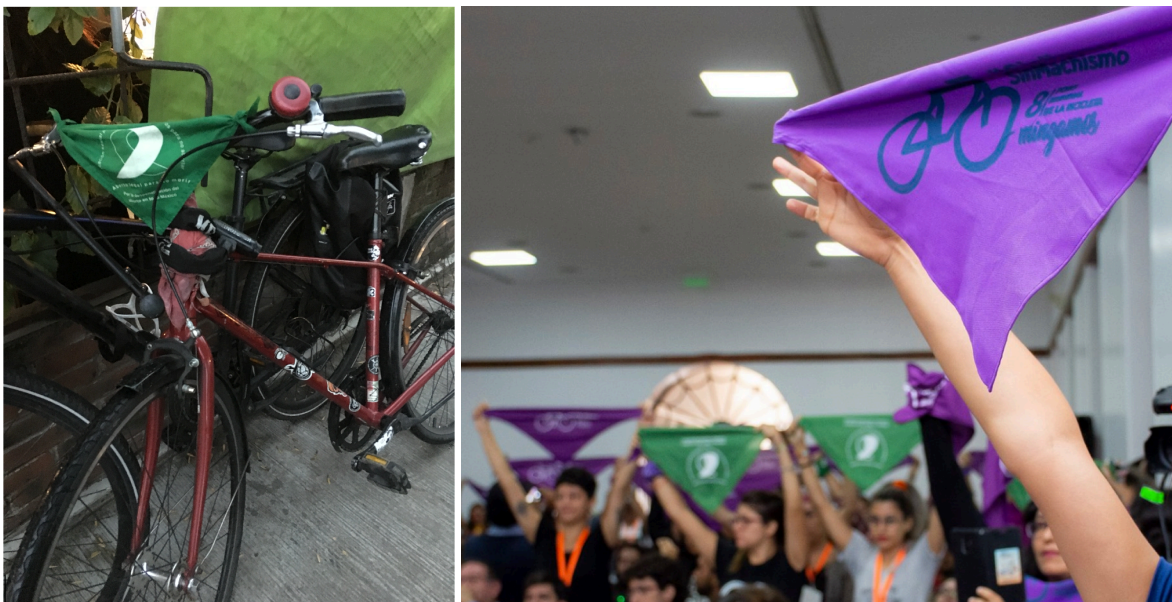
<sup>137</sup> “We want ourselves alive”; “Watch how we react” (the Argentinean equivalent of *#MeToo*); and “If you mess with one woman, you mess with all women” (a variant on the more popular “*Si tocan a una, nos tocan a todas*” – If you touch one woman, you touch all women).

site where sexist violence is reproduced – be that complicit silence within activist organisations, the gender roles prevalent in professional cycling, all-male panels, and, of course, the harassment we experience when cycling in the city. The *#CiclismoSinMachismo twitteratón* (a form of campaigning involving a deluge of simultaneous tweets mobilising a specific hashtag) was a way to gather the different experiences of *machismo* in bicycle-related contexts under a unified label and in a Twitter account (@meTooCiclista) created to support the campaign and make visible gender violence in cycling. As Mason-Deese (2020) elaborates, digital actions that focus on everyday forms of harassment and violence help to denaturalise this violence, find a commonality between experiences, and place them on a *continuum* of male violence.

While the hashtag continues to be used (albeit sparingly), the sentiment it evoked became sedimented in one particular artifact which further writes feminist cycling activism within an overarching context of feminist mobilisation: the purple *#CiclismoSinMachismo* scarf (Fig 6.5). The scarf is a tangible, material, and lasting artifact that has circulated widely. Activists in Quito printed one hundred scarves ahead of the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF (sold for USD\$1 at the Forum to cover the costs of production), and they were visible on the wrists, necks, and heads of women and non-binary participants throughout the duration of the Forum. Furthermore, while I have since lost track of the photo, I once stumbled upon a picture of a woman I did not know sporting the scarf during a 25<sup>th</sup> November mobilisation in Colombia – a testament of its reach and durability. The scarf, I contend, is part of the ‘stuff of activism’ that I discussed in the preceding chapter that comes to represent a set of processes, discourses, and politics.

Our purple scarf is a nod to the green scarf that has become the unequivocal symbol of the Argentinean campaign for legal, safe and free abortion, and which has been adopted by Latin American feminists elsewhere seeking to advance abortion rights in their own countries. Green scarves have inundated the streets of Latin America, worn by women as a form of identification with feminism and creating the visual effect of a ‘green wave’, the magnitude of which has given way to a ‘green tide’ (Felitti & Ramírez Morales, 2020). *La marea verde* “has become one of the key conceptual tools produced by the movement to reflect on itself; and to do so in ways that are very different from the periodization of feminist waves in the global north which neglects feminist movements that originated in peripheral countries” (Palmeiro, 2020, p. 2). The scarf is part of a specific genealogy that allows feminists to articulate the movement as an inter-generational struggle for the

right to life, tracing explicit connections to the Madres de Plaza de Mayo<sup>138</sup> through an intertextual gesture that ties the Madres' distinctive white scarves to the younger generations' green scarves (Barros & Quintana, 2020). The green scarf has been described as a “floating signifier that [...] partially fixes its meaning, at the same time that it denotes a disputed, fluctuating and polysemic character” (Barros & Quintana, 2020, p. 176), but it has also been conceptualised as a boundary object (Star & Griesemer, 1989). Understood in this way, the scarves “are not merely icons, they also afford cooperation among very different communities of practice, thought, and belonging” (Dicenta, 2019), allowing for the articulation of a range of actors, notwithstanding their differences and particularities.



**Fig 6.6.** Scarves, green and purple, have become a symbol of feminist activism in Latin America and have been incorporated into feminist cycling activism in different ways. On the left, a green scarf adorns a bicycle parked at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, belonging to anthropologist and cycling researcher Luisa Fernanda Grisales. On the right, feminist cyclists stage an intervention during the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF using the purple and green scarves. Source: Pepe Guimaraes for Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta.

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<sup>138</sup> The Madres de Plaza de Mayo are a social movement that started during the Argentinean dictatorship (1976-1983). Mothers and grandmothers of those forcibly disappeared by the State started gathering in Buenos Aires' Plaza de Mayo to demand the return of their sons and daughters, defiantly occupying public space and creating a ritual that endures to this day. See: Bosco (2001, 2007).

The scarf's journeys across Latin America are telling of the transnationalisation of feminism and reveal the reach of Latin American feminist networks (see: Felitti & Ramírez Morales, 2020 for an account of the scarf's travels from Argentina to Mexico). In the process, multiple other scarves have proliferated, including the light blue scarf of anti-choice activists; the purple *NiUnaMenos* scarf that, taking the colour historically associated with the feminist struggle, demands the end of feminicides; and our purple *#CiclismoSinMachismo* scarf. "Because boundary objects bring different social worlds together without requiring consensus, understanding the green scarves as boundary objects allows us to rethink the tensions of complex social movements when pursuing policy changes" (Dicenta, 2019), and it also allows us to grapple with the co-existence of green and purple *#CiclismoSinMachismo* scarves during the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF inauguration ceremony as shown in Figure 6.5. The purple scarf bridges our feminist activism and our cycling activism, and it crystallises in physical space the actions and discussions that took place in digital spaces. In this manner, the scarves take space in the WBF, claiming the right to appear as a collective and make visible our demands to the cycling movement; and they take space on the street, bursting into the scene to claim visibility in public space while rejecting the threat of sexist violence.

### *6.2.3. Our Manifesto: Coming together at the World Bike Forum*

During the inauguration ceremony of the 8th WBF in Quito, attendees sat through a short clip produced by two Mexican activists in which – in alternating black and white scenes – women from across Latin America took turns to give voice to the 'Women, Territories, and Sustainable Mobility Manifesto' (hereinafter, Lima Manifesto, see Fig 6.7), written one year earlier. The video started with two women explaining:

*En septiembre de 2017 durante el primer pre-foro del Séptimo Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta nos reunimos mujeres de distintas ciudades de América Latina en el titulado "Mujeres, territorios y movilidad sostenible". Desde la ciudad de Lima coincidimos en que las luchas por espacios más inclusivos son urgentes y necesarias en nuestros contextos. ¿Cómo reclamar ciudades más equitativas si en el interior de nuestras organizaciones reproducimos las violencias de las que somos objeto en las calles? Es por esto que decidimos formular el*

*siguiente manifiesto, y exigimos que se incorpore a los estatutos del Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta de ahora en adelante.*<sup>139</sup>

As the video jumped scenes from one activist to the next reading out the eight points that constituted the Manifesto, the women and sexual dissidents in the auditorium began to rise from their seats, holding up #CiclismoSinMachismo scarves along with the occasional green scarf (Fig 6.5). The cited text already hints at the origins and rationale behind the Manifesto: to reject sexist violence within cycling organisations just as we, in mainstream cycling activism, reject harassment and other forms of violence on the street as part of an urban equity agenda. However, the Manifesto does not just act through negation. In demanding it be incorporated in to the WBF's statutes,<sup>140</sup> it is also expressive of the feminist tide's *potencia*<sup>141</sup>: its collective power-to and capacity for creation, and the desire to change everything, "to find new ways to be together, to transform all the spaces we inhabit on a daily basis, to create new forms of life" (Mason-Deese, 2020b, p. n.p.). The first point of the Manifesto reads "*Somos activistas ciclistas y queremos transformar positivamente tanto nuestras relaciones interpersonales como nuestros territorios con empatía, inclusión, respeto y cuidado para todxs*"<sup>142</sup> indicating that the desired change is not circumscribed to relations between activists but also implies territorial transformations, cognisant that patriarchal violence is not only inflicted upon women and feminised bodies, but also upon *territorio* (and hence *cuerpo-territorio*). The Manifesto, I argue, is both a point of departure for, and a result of, practices of among women that have been taking place in the WBF. As a form, the manifesto has a *power to affect* (Colman, 2010): it is the outcome of one encounter, but

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<sup>139</sup> In September 2017, during a pre-forum event leading to the 7<sup>th</sup> World Bike Forum, women from different Latin American cities gathered around the topic "women, territories, and sustainable mobility". Since Lima, we agreed that the struggles for more inclusive spaces are urgent and necessary in our contexts. *How can we claim more equitable cities if within our organisations we are reproducing the same kinds of violence we are subjected to on the street?* This is why we formulated the following manifesto, which we demand be henceforth incorporated into the statutes of the World Bike Forum.

<sup>140</sup> Despite having been through nine iterations, at the time when I conducted this research the WBF did not officially have a set of statutes to govern it as an organisation, or as an event. This has been amply discussed in the general assemblies, as well as in internal meetings between previous Forum coordinators. An international committee, coordinated by the 10<sup>th</sup> WBF, worked to develop the governing principles of the Forum, which were approved by the General Assembly during the (virtual) forum in September 2021.

<sup>141</sup> "...*potencia feminista* is the power of the body as always an individual and collective body in constant flux: that is, singular. What is more, *potencia feminista* expands the body as it is reinvented by women's struggles, by feminist struggles, and sexual dissidents' struggles who time and time again actualise this notion of power [...]. *Potencia feminista* is desiring capacity" (Gago, 2019 p. 14).

<sup>142</sup> We are cycling activists who want to positively transform our interpersonal relations as well as our territories through empathy, inclusion, respect, and care for all.

it also has a particular kind of agency that feeds on a moment of feminist effervescence and generates novel trajectories and collective subjects.

Women have been attempting to carve out space for feminist politics in the WBF since its 6<sup>th</sup> version (Mexico City, 2017), where the topic of *machismo* became a source of strife. In response, Forum organisers arranged a ‘gender workshop’ for themselves with a ‘gender specialist’ – an attempt to close down the controversy and de-politicise feminist problematisations through technocratic rationales. Furthermore, when trying to bring a feminist agenda to the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF, we were often met with statements like “when are we going to talk about bicycles?”, suggesting that the politics we were trying to articulate were, at least for some participants, wholly unrelated to cycling and therefore ‘divisive’ and ‘out of place’. This attempt to undermine feminist demands is widespread – a counteroffensive that runs through the State, the Church, and even the so-called progressive movements of the Latin American left (Gago, 2019). For Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, it is power’s “indication that it does not understand what a collective or a movement wants, seeks, or attempts to conquer, if it does not enunciate them according to power’s own rules of speech” (Gago, 2019 p. 175).

Nevertheless the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF (2019) was a watershed moment for Latin American feminist cycling activists: for the first time since its inception, the Forum included a Women and Sexual Dissidents’ Committee as part of its organisational structure. As activist and researcher Nohelia Pasapera (2020) has documented, the Committee is the outcome of a series of multi-scalar processes that generate an atmosphere of emergency (B. Anderson, 2017) – the ‘gender alert’ inscribed in the *monumenta* (Fig 6.1). The tidal force of Latin American feminism, which leaves ‘no aggression without response’, met two high-profile cases of gender violence in Ecuador in late 2018 – the murder of a pregnant woman, Diana, in broad daylight by her partner, and the violent gang rape of ‘Martha’ – just as the Ecuadorian National Assembly was beginning to discuss the decriminalisation of abortion.

Meanwhile, the WBF had been tainted by an episode of sexual aggression the year before, raising questions about how violence against women and feminised bodies was being addressed in activist spaces. Part of the answer was the creation of the *Comisión de Mujeres y Disidencias* which, anchored in the Lima Manifesto, vowed to “make the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF a gathering free of *violencia machista*, and to encourage the active participation of people of diverse identities in the Forum, and in cycling

activism more broadly” (Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta, 2019), echoing the Manifesto’s call to foster diversity in participation and decision-making through concrete actions. The Committee drew activists from Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, Mexico, and Bolivia, many of whom were also members of the *Mujeres en bici LatAm* group, affirming internationalism as one of the defining characteristics of contemporary feminism which also finds expression in cycling activism.

Most importantly, the Committee organised the *1er encuentro de mujeres y disidencias en bicicleta*<sup>143</sup> as a pre-Forum event. The 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting was held on 24 April 2018, drawing around 60 participants, all of whom identified as women, except for one non-binary participant. It was an all-day event of activities geared towards “promoting a space of horizontal, intersectional and collective reflection among women and dissidents in all their diversity, *to think about ourselves as political subjects* in the use of public space and with an active mobility” (Comisión de Mujeres y Disidencias, 2019; emphasis added). This was a process of situated thinking: a feminist form of enquiry that is embodied, always partial, processual, and international (Gago, 2019); one that “[opens] up new forms of knowing and inventing new political tactics by weaving together different know-hows and knowledges based on a multiplicity of heterogenous concrete bodies and experiences” (Gago & Mason-Deese, 2019, p. 202). We proceeded, first, by historically situating ourselves and reflecting on the nature of the feminist-cyclist present through the elaboration of a timeline which, as I discussed in Chapter 4, recognised individual achievements as part of a shared history that did not limit itself to organisational milestones.

Another activity geared towards our collective politisation was the *minga*<sup>144</sup> in which we discussed each of the thematic axes of the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF cast through a feminist lens. (1) *Active and sustainable mobility*, (2) *Participatory governance*, (3) *Technology, work, and transformative economies*, (4) *Ethnic and gender diversity*, and (5) *Ecology of the city and territory* were all subjected to our thinking-together to produce a feminist diagnosis of cycling. For instance, Group 5 elaborated an analysis that centred the body as the first territory. In the meantime, Group 3 touched on the topic of domestic, low-wage, and non-remunerated labour. Both of these questions are central to Latin American feminism. Issues of care and social reproduction are fundamentals of the feminist strike, which calls into question what it is that we call *work*, and how this is implicated in women’s oppression by the deadly alliance of

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<sup>143</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting of Cycling Women and Sexual Dissidents

<sup>144</sup> See Chapter 1 (footnote 7).

patriarchy and capital (Federici, 2018; Gago, 2019). These matters are drawn into the domain of cycling activism via the notion of ‘mobilities of care’. Meanwhile, the notion of *cuero-territorio* has allowed women to make intelligible the ways in which capitalist and patriarchal violence reinforce one another. In our *minga*, cycling and sustainability were drawn together through this vocabulary which defines sustainability not just in terms of external relations, but also in terms of embodied resistance.

Later in the day we took part in the *teatro de las oprimidas* – theatre of the oppressed –, facilitated by Diana Barragán, who defines it as “a political-theatrical methodology that situates the oppressed as the protagonist of the transformation of her oppressions through collective and continuous organised action” (2020, p. ix). This results in a feminist praxis that elevates women’s struggles, “situates their bodies as the first territory of liberation from masculine mandates and, ultimately, contributes to strengthening and multiplying an anti-patriarchal organisational logic that enables women to live free from gender violence” (Barragán Soto, 2020, p. ix). In the context of our 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting, this was a highly embodied way of reflecting on and representing our experience of urban cycling; and for thinking about masculinity and femininity as they unfold through vélomobility. Cued by Diana, we brought our bodies together to make three moving “machines” – of the city, of male cycling, and of female cycling –, thus engaging in a form of knowledge-production where concrete bodies and experiences converge in a mode of collective intelligence. Following Gago (2019), these forms of collective intelligence prompt new trajectories, questions, political diagnoses, and calls to action. Immediately following the exercise, we discussed how we would confront the issue of gender violence during the following Forum days – a discussion that made evident not just what we all had in common (our activisms and their expressions), but also our desire to be together and care for each other. We resolved on staging a performance that would underscore the centrality of the Lima Manifesto for this WBF. This materialised in the inauguration ceremony, in the form of the intervention with which I opened this section.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting was crucial for solidifying the relations between feminist cycling activists, many of whom had only been in contact through social media, and were meeting face-to-face for the first time. While digital communications have significantly aided the growth of the cycling movement, meeting face-to-face remains a privileged form of interaction that facilitates trans-local learning and coalition-building (McCann, 2008; Montero, 2017c). Gago offers a different account of the importance of meeting face-to-face. She refers to “assembleary materialism” to denote “that

concrete site where words cannot be detached from the body. [...] Being together in assembly, as a laborious way of being with others, removes us from a passive or cynical relation with the cruelty with which sexist violence crushes us as it seeks to make itself into the everyday landscape” (Gago, 2019, p. 171). On the afternoon of 27 April, the final day of the Forum, we once again came together around the question of how to move forward and give continuity to the processes we had set in motion. Sitting in a tucked away corner of the Forum’s venue, we resolved to work on the basis of the Lima Manifesto to articulate a renewed document (Appendix 5) that drew on our experiences of the past few days to make concrete demands to the General Assembly the following day.



**Fig 6.7.** Activists from Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, Peru, and Brazil volunteered to proclaim the Women and Sexual Dissidents’ Manifesto that the larger group had worked on, on the final day of the 8th WBF. Source: Pepe Guimarães for Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta.

The renewed Manifesto added four points to the previous document that had moved us to come together, for a total of twelve points. By way of summary, the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF Manifesto can be said to span four key claims. First, it explicitly interpellated the WBF, demanding to institutionalise feminist politics by making the Committee and the Women and Sexual Dissidents’ Meeting permanent fixtures of the Forum; adopting an intersectional perspective that contemplates gender parity, diverse modes of expression and knowledge-production (other than written and spoken word); and an active pursuit of the participation of historically excluded subjects. Second, the Manifesto centres

*care for all* (people and territories) as an ethos underpinned by empathy, inclusion, and respect. Intimately related to this is the third core claim: a care-full vision of sustainability that centres the body-as-territory, and therefore spans care for the environment, but also fair economies, and social equity. Finally, the Manifiesto rejects sexist violence and claims respect for different bodies, territories, and mobilities. It contemplates mechanisms such as safe spaces, community agreements, and gender violence protocols as means to prevent the objectification of women and feminised bodies (see section 6.3. for a lengthier discussion of such mechanisms); and it points to non-sexist language, non-binary signage, and universally accessible facilities as necessary for the full participation of non-hegemonic individuals.

Our refusal to *just* talk about bicycles was necessary to broaden the scope of Latin American cycling politics in the way affirmed by the Manifiesto. “Let’s talk about what *hurts*”, I vividly recall Julieta saying during our interview shortly after my return to Mexico City from the WBF in Quito: “*Yo no voy a venir [al FMB] a presentar mi biciescuela si Macletas hace una biciescuela, y en Bogotá hacen otra biciescuela. No. Hablemos de los retos. [...] No sé, o sea... no estamos hablando de lo que nos duele.*”<sup>145</sup> Precisely, the different laboured-over spaces created to talk about what hurts, but also about our desires, was a way to re-politicise cycling activism and defy discourses that reduce the movement to “bikes”, opening new political agendas and lines of intervention. Furthermore, the different spaces I have reviewed here – public spaces, digital spaces, and trans-local assemblies – echo other women’s accounts of coming together as a way to break free from individualised and feminised feelings of guilt and shame through the realisation that “what hurts” is shared amongst women, and yet “one of the most insidious elements of patriarchal oppression is having been taught to blame ourselves for our experiences of abuse and to not speak about what happens to us” (Mason-Deese, 2018, p. n.p.).

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<sup>145</sup> I’m not going to come and present my cycling school [at the WBF] if Macletas have a cycling school, and there’s another cycling school in Bogotá. No. Let’s talk about the challenges. [...] I don’t know, I mean... we’re not talking about what hurts us.

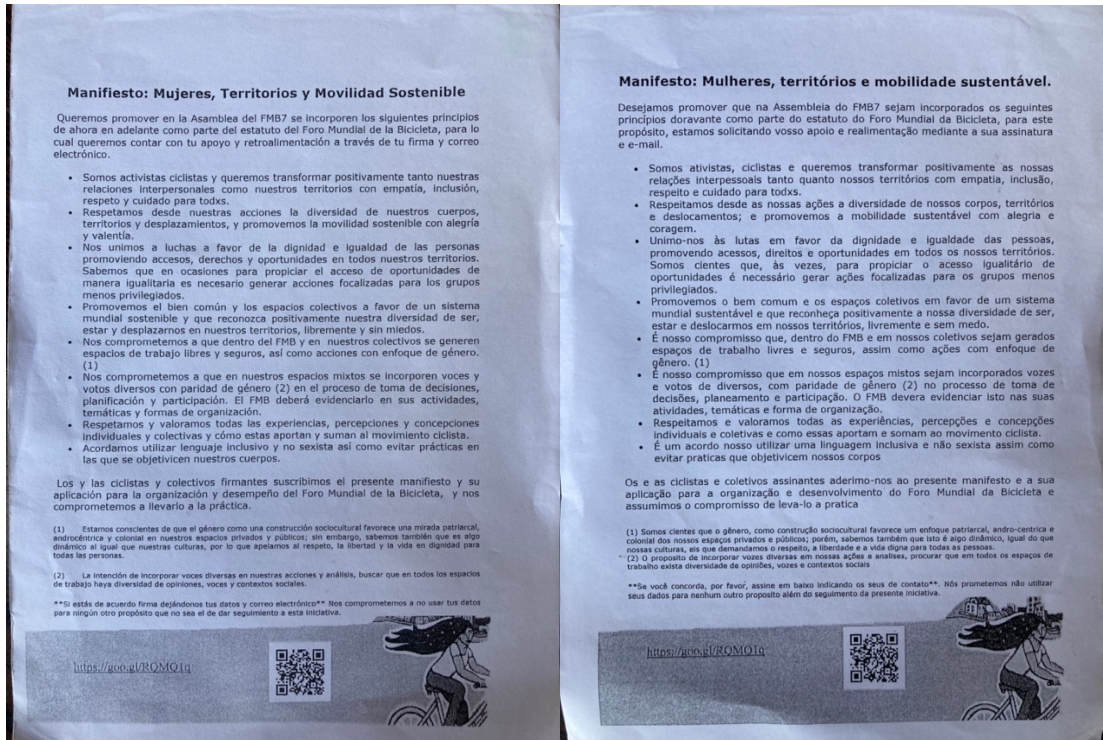


Fig 6.8. The print version of the “Lima Manifesto” in Spanish and Portuguese, distributed at the 7<sup>th</sup> WBF.

### 6.3. Institutionalising social change: the bi-national gender equity protocol

The need to develop internal mechanisms to deal with all expressions of sexist violence is acknowledged by social and political organisations sympathetic to feminist struggles. The State’s lack of recognition of the continuum of male violence, along with systematic failures to address even the most violent expressions of misogyny have given way to what Mariasch (2017) calls the “denouncing turn”, defined as “the discussion around strategies of denouncing, particularly public shaming on social media and institutional spaces as a means to render visible situations of violence. [It has become] a key element in the construction of feminist struggles, and a point of contention within women’s movements” (Justo von Lurzer, 2020, p. 71). Since 2017 and the advent of #MeToo, the discussion of how to deal with violence has intensified as trust in the State has eroded, and feminist non-punitivism demands alternative forms of conflict resolution. These concerns, paired with two episodes of harassment within each organisation, pushed Muévete, from Chile, and Argentina en Bici (ABi) to collaborate in creating a mechanism that advances both organisations’ commitment to

creating safe spaces and activities; and ensures there is a procedure in place to deal with gender-based violence in a manner that is “impartial, transparent, and compassionate” (Muévete & Argentina en Bici, 2019), with clearly defined steps and consequences.

The “Gender Equity Protocol” (Appendix 6, included in this thesis with the permission of the two organisations) encompasses the protocol as a digital document, as well as a bi-national committee created as an impartial body to mediate conflicts that might arise in either organisation. The protocol consists of an introductory text, a glossary of key terms, a flow chart, and a procedure detailing how to handle different scenarios. However, rather than focusing on the protocol itself, I want to centre the *process* of creating this instrument to unpack further some of the themes I have developed in this thesis, specifically, learning and knowledge-practices. McFarlane’s (2011) framework of urban learning is useful, but here it works best paired with the insights of social movement studies (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Russell, 2015; Yates, 2015) to analyse not just how movements assemble, live, and contest the city, but also how learning is implicated in institutional change with a feminist orientation. Learning is “central to political strategies that seek to consolidate, challenge, alter, and name new worlds” (McFarlane, 2011, p. 6). So are micropolitics and prefiguration (Yates, 2015). Interrogative and reflexive practices allow activists to question “how each of us is disciplined and socialized via multiple institutions and apparatuses of our societies” (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008, p. 37) and experiment with how this could be otherwise. If the city of feminists’ desires is one free from sexist violence, then so should the spaces where the city of the future is being envisioned.

The protocol was developed by two men and four women from Muévete and ABi, and members of Muévete extended an invitation for me to participate in this process. Over four months in late-2018, the *Mesa de Equidad de Género* (Gender Equity Roundtable) worked using technologies like Zoom and Google Drive to organise our work and systematise a wide range of information as we researched, read, wrote drafts, and discussed exactly how we wanted the protocol to operate. The Roundtable acted as a coordinating device, centralising and translating the multiple forms of knowledge each of us brought to the discussion (McFarlane, 2011), including activists’ embodied and relational knowledges about patriarchal oppression, sexist violence, and feminism. In some sense, this kind of knowledge is captured by McFarlane’s notion of “dwelling”. However, since his framework is grounded on *learning the city*, it remains overly outward-focused, failing to consider people’s relating to *each other* (as a sensed, embodied, practiced fact) as a means to learning. Yet, our concern with

interpersonal relations made this kind of micropolitical knowledge central to the process, where feminism as a “way of seeing and inhabiting the world” (i.e., dwelling) cut across our analyses, diagnoses, and solutions.

With the overarching goal of challenging patriarchal culture within cycling organisations, the protocol draws attention to the ubiquity and diversity of aggressions faced by women and people of dissident gender identities in everyday mobility. This move pushes further the premise that gender and mobilities are co-constitutive (Hanson, 2010) to map gender violence on to the space-times of mobility *and* the institutions that variously produce, govern, and transform mobility – including activism. In declaring “*el cambio empieza por casa*,”<sup>146</sup> the group echoed the concerns raised in the Lima Manifesto and adhered to prefiguration as one of the means to bring about social change with a feminist perspective (Tadros, 2015; Yates, 2015).

Accordingly, part of the process of drafting the protocol included mapping where and how such aggressions take place. This was a critical moment of self-reflection that entailed “*observar cómo nuestra propia organización podría estar restringiendo, inconscientemente, la participación de las mujeres y de otras identidades de género no hegemónicas*”<sup>147</sup> (Muévete & Argentina en Bici, 2019). It also involved drawing on a number of documents that aided our diagnosis of the problem, including references from the Chilean Observatory on Street Harassment (OCAC) and UN-Women. We devoted a significant amount of time to defining key concepts that make operative the protocol, such as ‘gender’, ‘gender identity’, and ‘sexism’, aided by similar protocols developed by other organisations (e.g., the Galician General Secretariat), and studying the legal framework in different locales (e.g., the Argentinean legislation on violence in the media). Bringing together these multiple material and embodied inputs is what McFarlane (2011) calls “translation”, that is, the distribution and comparison of knowledges, ideas, and resources across multiple space-times; and it allowed us to develop a typology of violence that encompassed a wide range of aggressions – from the reproduction of sexist stereotypes in the digital spaces that increasingly gather cycling activists, to the kinds of damage that can derive from relations based on domination. In other words, it amounted to a process of trans-local learning in which

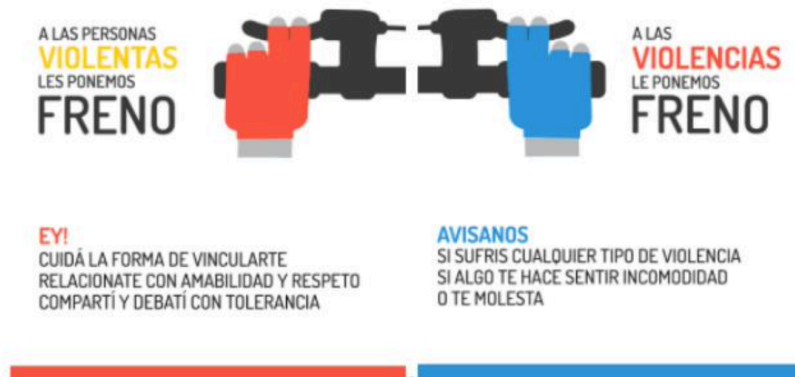
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<sup>146</sup> Change begins at home.

<sup>147</sup> Observing how our own organisation could be unconsciously restricting the participation of women and other non-hegemonic gender identities.

insights into how the current dominant system is perpetuated and reproduced were being developed (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008).

This coordinated learning allowed us to escape narrow definitions of violence, instead tracing connections that help make feminist diagnoses of the subtle ways in which patriarchal domination operates. Indeed, as we discussed the intended outcome and process codified by the protocol, it also became necessary to invent new vocabularies. For example, rather than the (re)victimising ‘*víctima*’, we defined “*afectade: persona que recibe acoso, violencia, malestar o agresión perpetradas por otra/s persona/s. Puede corresponder y coincidir con la persona que denuncia el hecho, o no*”<sup>148</sup> (Muévete & Argentina en Bici, 2019). Similarly, owing to the nature of these organisations, it seemed necessary to include a definition of “*acoso sexual callejero*”<sup>149</sup> as a systematic form of violence perpetrated on women, or people read as women, in public spaces, including transport.



**Fig 6.9.** ABi brought with them a wealth of experiential knowledge, having created a ‘safe spaces’ toolkit for their national bike forum months prior. The image above was part of the signage used during the event. The text is a play on the word “freno” ([bike] brake): “frenar” means to break or stop, and “poner freno a las violencias” means “to put a stop to violences”. This alerts the reader to be mindful of how they relate to others, and signposts them to seek help from the organisers if they suffer any kind of violence. Source: Argentina en Bici (2018).

These instances generate and act upon critical understandings of the world and develop “reflexive conjunctural theories and analyses that go against more dogmatic and orthodox approaches to social

<sup>148</sup> “Affected: the recipient of harassment, violence, unwellness, or aggressions perpetrated by (an) other(s). The affected may or may not be the same person that raises the complaint.” Note that we opted to incorporate neutral language in the form of an “-e” ending, rather than defaulting to the generic masculine “afectado” or its feminine form “afectada”.

<sup>149</sup> Street (sexual) harassment

change. They contribute to ethical ways of knowing” (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008, p. 22), and ethical ways of mobilising. In this regard, the protocol sought to experiment with non-punitive approaches to violence, in line with many feminists’ critiques of both the State’s failure to grapple with (and complicity in perpetuating) systematic gender violence (LasTesis, 2021), and carceral approaches to such aggressions (Arbuet Osuna, 2020). Rather than focusing on punishment, it defined as part of the Bi-national Committee’s role the creation of content and activities to generate awareness about gender violence, “building ideology, imagination and reflexivity into the daily practices of [activists]” (Yates, 2015, p. 14). It also meticulously considered different scenarios and mechanisms to craft a process of conflict resolution without re-victimisation, vilification, or breaching confidentiality. The outcome of the protocol always contemplates facilitating spaces for reflection, reparation, and deconstruction of violent behaviours.

These critical perspectives, experiments, and norms were consolidated in a document that coordinated multiple situated knowledges (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Yates, 2015). However, in being situated this knowledge is no less able to travel and become intelligible and actionable in other cities or organisations through multiple situated processes of translation (Gago & Mason-Deese, 2019). As we wrote in the introduction, “*a través de un diálogo entre dos contextos de aplicación distintos se buscó transversalizar la mayor diversidad de perspectivas posibles a ese acuerdo en común que se pretende lograr, de tal forma que se concrete un protocolo ecuánime y replicable en otras organizaciones?*”<sup>150</sup> (Muévete & Argentina en Bici, 2019). Indeed, a key concern from the beginning was for the protocol to be adaptable to other cycling organisations’ needs, and we quickly identified the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF as an opportunity to “take the debate to other porous places” (Yates, 2015, p. 9).

In a workshop titled “*Taller de estrategias para cambiar la cultura patriarcal en organizaciones de la sociedad civil,*”<sup>151</sup> attended by roughly two dozen people, we explained the rationale for the protocol and detailed the process of crafting the document. We then worked in small mix-gender groups, using hypothetical scenarios which allowed for a vibrant discussion that tested the limits of the tool in terms of how it would articulate with extant laws and practices in different countries and individual cycling organisations. This stimulated a debate around dissatisfaction with State-sanctioned forms of

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<sup>150</sup> Through a dialogue across two different contexts of application, we sought to be transversal in the widest sense in the development of this common agreement. We wanted to deliver an even protocol, replicable by other organisations.

<sup>151</sup> Workshop: strategies to change patriarchal culture in civil society organisations.

justice, with contributions that laid bare the generalised (and simultaneously specific) forms of institutional violence that women in Latin America face. Hence, it was important to underscore that the protocol, more than a ready-made tool for cycling organisations to implement, is a travelling artifact that, in being translated in a new context, can stimulate a process of *unlearning*, questioning, and de-naturalising gender violence within specific national and organisational milieus.

In sum, these efforts amount to a trans-local process of learning crystallised in a digital document that can travel easily, carrying not just a set of steps and definitions to be strictly followed, but also critical analyses of the ways in which power operates, and feminist-inspired mechanisms to destabilise it. Alongside the documentary representations discussed in Chapter 5, the protocol is part of the material life of cycling activism which works through multiple repertoires of mobilisation to bring about social change – including direct action, prefiguration, and knowledge-practices that yield knowledge about cycling and the city; but also involve interrogative and reflective practices through which the movement reflects on itself to produce knowledge that “makes the movement move”.

#### **6.4. *Niñez en rebeldía: Cicletada de las niñas***

Earlier, in Chapter 4, I mentioned mass cycle rides as a staple of cycling activism everywhere and signalled towards the appropriation of this tactic by diverse groups for different purposes. Still, there is a gendered dimension to be reckoned with in this practice that most commentators have failed to acknowledge (Blickstein & Hanson, 2001; Castañeda, 2020; Furness, 2007), and remains to be explored in depth. Its appropriation by feminist cyclists highlights the shortcomings of mass rides as convened by mainstream cycling activism and delivers a critique of the masculinised space-times of activism and of the city that are unavailable to women, girls, and sexual dissidents due to issues of violence, fear, and time constraints. In her research on working-class women’s experiences of cycling in Mexico City, Díaz Vázquez (2017) notes that the majority of the women she interviewed expressed interest in participating in the activities convened by cycling collectives. However, “time constraints due to the activities they undertake (mainly taking care of children, housework, and paid work) do not allow it” (Díaz Vázquez, 2017, p. 121). By contrast, the feminist collective Femibici, in Guadalajara (Mexico), deliberately chose Saturday afternoons to stage their rides, concluding that this is a time that enables a greater number of women to participate, “unlike other groups that ride

during the week and at night, when women feel less safe being on the street” (Coyotécatl Contreras & Díaz Alba, 2018, p. 29).

Fear of night-time notwithstanding, some women deliberately stage night-time rides with the purpose of *reclaiming* the urban night. In February 2019, the dramatic wave of kidnappings in the vicinity of Mexico City’s metro stations and the staggering rate of feminicides in Mexico prompted one (female) deputy to suggest a 10PM curfew for women to curb gender violence. The suggestion was met, amongst others, a series of nation-wide cycle rides<sup>152</sup> in defiance of norms and beliefs that continue to curtail women’s mobility in particular places at specific times – notably, the city at night-time (Soto, 2012). This speaks directly to the literature that explores the ways in which gender and mobility are mutually imbricated, in a complex entanglement wherein mobility and immobility reinforce the meanings and practices that constitute gender; whilst gendered processes and power asymmetries give shape to distinctive patterns of mobility (Hanson, 2010; R. Law, 1999). As mentioned in the preceding chapter, many women’s cycling schools cater to women who never learned to cycle as children, often because of gendered ideas about what kinds of mobilities are appropriate for girls and women. “*En general a un niño le compran una bici y lo alientan a que haga cosas en la calle, deporte, moverse, mientras que a las niñas es, ‘no, no se ensucie, no se mueva...’*”<sup>153</sup> explained Patricia, regarding the rationale for creating *Cicletada de las niñas*.

In Santiago, the *Cicletada de las Niñas* (CN), or Girls’ Cycle Ride, is an initiative somewhere between organisation and event (a common arrangement in cycling and walking activism. See: Nixon & Schwanen, 2019a). As an event, CN is a discrete space-time, exclusive for women and girls but allowing fathers chaperoning their daughters to participate. As an organisation CN worked to facilitate the Ride during the 8<sup>th</sup> WBF in Quito and coordinated its simultaneous organisation in over forty other Latin American cities in 2019 – including cities in Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, and Costa Rica, effectively drawing Central America and the Caribbean into cycling’s trans-local feminist social movement space. The first CN ride took place in September 2018, nurtured by the spirit of Chile’s ‘Feminist May’ mobilisations earlier that year (see: Zerán & Cabello, 2018), and with the

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<sup>152</sup> In Mexico City, this was co-convened by Clitoral Mass, La Rueda Violeta, Berraca Sorora, and Luchadoras. A short clip documenting the event can be accessed here:

<https://www.facebook.com/LuchadorasMX/posts/2023778061041766>

<sup>153</sup> In general, boys get gifted bikes and are encouraged to do things on the street, to practice sports, to move, whilst with girls it’s ‘no, don’t get dirty, don’t move...’

intention of making girls, women, and sexual dissidents visible in public space. The ride is, in fact, quite short, but activities such as science demonstrations, arts and crafts, music, and yoga purposefully take over public space before and after the ride. This is intended to leave a mark on girls' memories through an activity that goes against the grain of the hegemonic gendering of public space as it takes place through the disciplining of girls' mobilities (Bonham et al., 2015), rewriting the rules, uses, and meanings of gendered public spaces by affirming women and girls' presence (Martin & Shaw, 2021).



**Fig 6.9.** *Cicletada de la Niñas* gathered at the Monumeto a la Revolución in central Mexico City in 2019. Source: Facebook, *Cicletada de las Niñas*.

CN enables us to consider a number of issues related to feminist politics in cycling activism. Most obviously, as a separatist space, it draws attention to the issues many women express with relation to mixed spaces: they have not been purposefully designed to be safe, inclusive spaces, free from sexist violence. As discussed earlier in this chapter, experiences of misogyny, harassment, exclusion, and invisibilisation sometimes motivate people to create organisations and spaces exclusive for women and dissidents. What is at stake is not just who can cycle (and where and when), but also who can fix

a bike, what kind of bike one ought to ride, and indeed, what kind of role one ought to play in cycling activism (i.e., the gendered division of labour in social movements). Women’s only mechanics workshops are exemplary in this regard, as they purposefully challenge assumptions about gender categories and cycling (e.g., “aren’t you better off making soup?”, a man once asked me while I was fixing my bike in a community bike shop in Mexico) and provide a space for learning where women feel comfortable and supported, even when they ‘get it wrong’ (see also: Schwanen & Nixon, 2020). The ongoing-formation of bikes, bicycling practices and cycling spaces as gendered “objects” is always open to becoming otherwise (Bonham et al., 2015). “*Los hombres siempre tienen las herramientas, literal y metafóricamente. Los dueños de las herramientas, de cómo hacer las cosas, del conocimiento*”<sup>154</sup> expressed Patricia with regards to bike mechanics – a critique I would extend to transport as an object of knowledge and governance in Latin America. The gendering of bike mechanics as masculine entailed that, for many women, the mechanics workshop organised by Patricia delivered them with their first set of tools. Learning and teaching basic bike mechanics has been a crucial space to emphasise feminist politics that value women’s autonomous mobility, understood here as the knowledge and skills necessary to address basic mechanical needs without having to depend on a male figure (and a man’s tools) to repair a bicycle.



**Fig 6.11.** Ahead of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (25<sup>th</sup> November 2018), Muévete partnered with the Chilean Network Against Violence Towards Women to deliver a bike mechanics workshop in a park in the middle class *comuna* of San Miguel. The day’s activities also included an *arpillera* workshop (a form of community burlap crafting developed during the military dictatorship), a group discussion about gender violence, and a self-defence workshop.

<sup>154</sup> Men always have the tools, literally and metaphorically. They’re the owners of the tools, of how to do things, of knowledge.

Nevertheless, separatist spaces can be controversial, particularly as they can reproduce forms of violence and discrimination against non-binary and trans people through policing and mis-gendering. Likewise, “the formation of bikes, practices and spaces as ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ assists in making particular formations of ‘men’ and ‘women’ durable” (Bonham et al., 2015, p. 188). The gendering of cycling objects can reinforce gender norms or disrupt them, and it became apparent during my fieldwork that trans-inclusion is a shared concern (albeit with varying degrees of concern) amongst some feminist cycling activists, and efforts to this end are being made in certain locales.<sup>155</sup> As CN travelled to other cities in Latin America, local discussions and engagements with trans activism variously shaped the activity to explicitly target trans children and women. “*El objetivo es visibilizar a niñas, mujeres y disidencias en el espacio público. Las definiciones, hilando fino, están en proceso.*”<sup>156</sup> I follow Bonham and colleagues (2015), and contend it is useful to engage with these ongoing processes of questioning and gendering (in) cycling activism, inasmuch as they can unsettle (or reify) categories naturalised in transport literature, such as gender, man/male, woman/female; and opens them up for scrutiny in line with repeated calls to grapple with the richness of both ‘gender’ and ‘mobility’ (Díaz Vázquez, 2017; Hanson, 2010).

As an event, CN acts as a performative critique to the violence of erasure as enacted by mainstream cycling activism which seldom considers children (much less girls) as part of the agenda. Hence, in putting girls at the centre, CN enables us to question what bodies and mobilities are rendered visible and prioritised in cycling activism, and what norms and social structures inform the agendas of cycling activists. As a movement that speaks directly to transport and mobility, cycling activism often mirrors the same kinds of issues that feminist commentators have highlighted about transport as a field of knowledge and governance: it is mostly dominated by masculinist epistemologies “premised on a universal, disembodied subject” (Hine & Mitchell, 2001, p. 321). It is this premise that allows some activists to problematically assert that “the bicycle doesn’t have gender” and resist feminist interventions by asking “when do we get to talk about bikes?”. Yet, as feminist sensibilities are

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<sup>155</sup> ‘Trans’ and ‘trans-inclusive’ are the terms employed by trans-rights and sex work activists in Latin America. While I have used the concept of ‘sexual dissidence’ throughout this thesis, here I deliberately employ ‘trans-inclusion’ to explicitly discuss this group of people.

<sup>156</sup> The aim is to render visible women, girls, and dissidents in public space. Definitions, on closer scrutiny, are an ongoing process.

taking hold in Latin America, the taken-for-granted assumptions of cycling activism are being convoluted, and the contours of what it means to “talk about cycling” are being re-drawn. To ‘talk about cycling’ ought to entail talking about mobilities of care (Sánchez de Madariaga & Zucchini, 2020; Sersli et al., 2020) and interdependence (Jirón & Gómez, 2018), both of which continue to take space in Latin America’s transport disciplines, in no small part thanks to the persistence of feminist transport researchers and activists; and they are significant contributions to our understanding of gender and mobility’s mutual constitution. A crucial next step is the incorporation of these challenges by male activists, such that the question of ‘gender and cycling’ can become dislocated from women’s bodies and experiences and cycling masculinities can be critically scrutinised (Montoya-Robledo et al., 2020; Zheng et al., 2020).

CN starts from a concern with girls’ mobilities and empowerment, challenging patriarchal notions of where girls belong and the kinds of mobilities that are available to them; and problematising the adult-centric priorities of cycling activists. Whilst many women *do* learn how to cycle as girls, their movements are restricted to the neighbourhood where the bicycle takes on the role of a toy (Díaz Vázquez, 2017). Against this, the first CN, in 2018, took over La Alameda, Santiago’s main traffic artery. In general, CN rides organised in cities elsewhere are meant to be held in central or important streets, with the purpose of generating an impact on girls’ awareness of what kinds of spaces they can occupy. This resonates with a reflection made by an Argentinean activist, who remarked that that gender parity in spaces of activism is irreducible to a quota but is also a matter of how spaces of participation are hierarchically coded and gendered. Specifically, she and others noted that, at events like the WBF, women are often relegated to the ‘cycling and gender’ panel, or 15-minute presentations. Relatedly, research by Brazilian scholar-activist Roberta Raquel (2018) showed that in seven iterations of the WBF women had only accounted for 30% of interventions. Meanwhile, the main stage and keynote addresses of the WBF over the course of nine years have been dominated by male voices, and the quest for parity is only a recent concern. “*Basta de que den este espacio para los proyectos de mujeres: esta es la mesa de las mujeres, las mujeres vienen a platicar de sus biciescuelas, de sus viajes en bici, y lo que sea. Basta. [...] Todas las mesas deben ser la mesa de las mujeres ¿sabes?*”<sup>157</sup> expressed a long-term activist from Mexico City, articulating the grief shared by many: leveraging the importance of women and girls’ mobilities is also about challenging the hierarchies of space they are coded as

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<sup>157</sup> Stop it with dedicating this one space to women’s projects: this is the women’s panel, the women have come to talk about their cycling schools, their cycling trips, whatever. Stop it. [...] All panels should be women’s panels, you know?

'belonging' in. As Koleth and Temenos (2021 p. 4) ask, "women have been given a space to speak, yet if they are talking only to themselves, how can their voices and perspectives meaningfully be incorporated into action?"

## 6.5. Conclusion

The feminist tide continues to rise across Latin American territories, permeating all spheres of life and challenging machismo and patriarchy from the seats of government to the streets, from the bedroom to the bike path. The desire to be alive and free from femicidal violence is moving women to organise at all scales, bringing awareness to the ubiquity of patriarchal violence and the multiple, often silent, mechanisms that perpetuate women's oppression. Cycling has not escaped feminist scrutiny: not only have feminist cyclists and transport researchers earnestly scrutinised the gendered nature of cycling practice, activists have drawn cycling *activism* into these problematisations, articulating a double critique of how gender violence in the city is mirrored within cycling organisations. Feminist cyclists challenge the activist common-sense that the bicycle is a tool for social transformation by asking what forms of exclusion are reproduced therein: what kind of social change can come about if we are constantly facing sexist violence within activist spaces? Against this, women have employed practices of among women, facilitating space-times of recognition and calls to action to challenge the encroachment of our right to occupy streets and fully participate in political life.

These moves and critiques have been met with resistance from both men and women in the movement who do not consider gender or feminism to be relevant to cycling, and who see separatist spaces as attempts to divide the movement. The frictions and violent behaviours resulting from these tensions have led some feminists to abandon cycling activism altogether. Nevertheless, the feminist agenda is unevenly taking hold in cycling activism – becoming more prominent in some locales than others – thanks to the stubborn efforts of activists and groups like those I describe here. Furthermore, gender mainstreaming in urban policy (Koleth & Temenos, 2021) and the globalisation of feminism (alongside the NGOisation of feminism; see: Alvarez, 1998) have also aided in positioning gender on the cycling and transport policy agenda. Hence, in cities like Bogotá, programmes to achieve gender parity in cycling are not just the victory of feminist activists, but the

result of a concatenation of interests from the multiple actors that influence the urban process. In line with the concerns I raised in Chapter 5, I suggest that understanding the circulation of concepts like mobilities of care will need to consider how feminist activists are implicated in the uptake and mobilisation of these ideas.

In proclaiming *no sin nosotras* – not without us –, feminists are not just demanding a greater number of women cycling, they are equally raising questions about the ways in which cycling and its space-times are hierarchically coded and gendered in ways that circumscribe women’s vélomobility. Against the attempt to flatten out difference encapsulated in the rhetoric “the bicycle has no gender”, activities like *Cicletada de las niñas* and the Lima and 8<sup>th</sup> WBF Manifestos foreground different kinds of bodies and their mobilities, demanding to be seen, recognised, and taken seriously. Still, there remain significant limitations pertaining to an intersectional outlook and understanding of gender. While the inclusion of trans and non-binary people is emerging as a concern amongst feminist cyclists (albeit unevenly across sites), there is minimal reflection around the differences between women. The attention given to girls and children by some feminist cyclists has yet to be extended to the elderly; and the differential mobilities of migrant, working-class, indigenous, or Afro-descendant women are very seldom considered (exceptions include the Black feminist group La Frida Bike in Brazil, and the migrant-focused organisation FoCo Migrante in Santiago).

At the same time, feminist cyclists are taking space by, for example, appearing before the WBF General Assembly wearing feminist symbols on our bodies, or demanding the creation of mechanisms of inclusion and eradication of sexist violence. The process of generating diagnoses and formulating such demands shows how learning and knowledge-production operate along feminist frameworks, delivering knowledges that, while situated and embodied, are nevertheless intelligible and actionable across multiple sites owing to the shared nature of women’s experience with *violencia machista*. In doing so, feminist cycling activists draw feminism and mobility into proximity to show that mobility is not just a site where gender disparities are reproduced, it is also a site where resistance to patriarchy and machismo can be exercised. Connecting struggles is a central move for the advancement of feminist mobilisation and, in this chapter, I have attempted to do analytically what the Santiago metro map (Fig 6.2) achieves graphically: to build proximity between feminist demands and show their convergence in the city as both that which is struggled over, and the site where multiple connected struggles can be waged under the banner of feminism.

The scale and reach of patriarchal oppression is finding a worthy opponent in the massive, radical, and transnational feminist movement that finds its roots in Latin American women's bodies and territories. What this means for cycling activism is that feminists have been able to work trans-locally in a coordinated manner that mainstream activism has struggled to achieve. The shared experience of sexism and gender violence has catalysed concerted action that allows feminist cyclists to make claims that go beyond the specificities of transport and mobility in their cities. While trans-local solidarity between organisations exists, and regional exchange is a defining characteristic of the movement, only feminist cycling activists have managed to act as a transnational constituency that responds to sexist violence and makes demands that interpellate the cycling movement as a whole. As such, while important limitations remain to be addressed, Latin American feminism has the potential to reinvigorate cycling activism in novel directions, renewing its discourses and repertoires of mobilisation; drawing in new subjects and collectives into strategic alliances; introducing concerns about care and interdependence; and developing alternative imaginaries of urban life.

## 7. Conclusions

### 7.1. Introduction

Four years after I embarked on this research project, cycling continues to take space in the urban agenda across the world, and cycling activism in Latin America has not ceased to grow and expand towards new horizons, indicating both the relevance and timeliness of this research. While some organisations no longer exist, others have become strengthened, and emerging concerns have moved new people to mobilise with and around the bicycle. The size and reach of the movement alongside the specific processes unfolding in each territory are also indicative of the need to develop new frames of reference for cycling activism that are grounded in empirical analyses of the specific contexts of cycling mobilisation. That is, while work derived from the experiences of cities in the Global North has paved the way for this research project, the observations I have laid out throughout this text demonstrate the need for accounts of cycling activism that are in dialogue with, but also move beyond, extant narratives and explanations. To deliver such an account, and guided by the overarching question “How is the bike made mobile (in Latin America)?”, I sought to answer three main research questions: (1) *How is cycling activism in Latin America spatially constituted?* (2) *What knowledge claims about cycling, transport, and the city do activists make, and how are they made to circulate?* And (3) *What challenges and possibilities do feminist politics present to cycling activism?*

To this end, I spent one year conducting fieldwork in Santiago de Chile and Mexico City – the two cities with the oldest cycling activist community in Latin America, boasting a well-consolidated, diverse movement that is well-connected to activism elsewhere in the region. I also travelled to the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> World Bike Forum in 2018 in Lima (Peru) and in 2019 in Quito (Ecuador), respectively, and was part of the Women and Sexual Dissidents Committee that staged a number of interventions and events during the Forum in Ecuador. During this time, I adopted a militant research framework for undertaking my field ethnography. This methodological orientation guided my engagements in the field such that, more than being a participant observer, I became part of the cycling activist movement and worked alongside activists in various initiatives, producing partisan knowledges oriented towards augmenting and transforming the movement (Russell, 2015). I also took part in,

and tracked, discussions and conversations taking place in social media, and constructed a ‘field archive’ comprised of the digital materials (texts, video, tweets, etc.) that activists produce in the course of doing cycling activism. Additionally, I interviewed a number of activists, many of whom occupied more than one role within the circuits that mobilise the bicycle (e.g., activist *and* consultant). Finally, following the prescription that the knowledge one produces ought to be accessible and useful to the movement, the outputs of this project are not limited to this thesis, but encompass a number of products (some co-produced with others) geared towards an activist audience.

## 7.2. Key Findings

In Chapter 4 I discussed the question *How is cycling activism in Latin America spatially constituted?* During fieldwork, in everyday interactions with cycling activists, there emerged the category of territory, which I have referred to as *territorio* (in Spanish) to differentiate it from its use in anglophone political geography. Exploring this concept as it has been elaborated by Latin American geographers afforded me a spatial vocabulary that is closely linked to broader social movements in the region, and which was particularly well-suited for conceptualising the topic at hand. In close dialogue with Brazilian geographer Rogério Haesbaert (2011, 2013, 2020), I argued that cycling activists employ mobile practices to make territorial claims and bring territories into being. The control over flows and mobilities is a means to produce territory, for example through infrastructural development or through the production of knowledge about patterns of mobility with the aim of better governing that mobility. However, mobility, inasmuch as it has territorialising effects, can also be a means to dispute territory, as I illustrated through the cases of Indepeleta and Chihuahua en Bici.

The latter case also allowed me to explore the analytical purchase of *cuerpo-territorio* beyond the indigenous and rural-communitarian contexts in which this concept was elaborated by Latin American feminists. Bringing *cuerpo-territorio* to the city to bear upon cycling activism revealed how cycling interventions can be a means to dispute somatic sovereignty, that is, the ability to control the territorial relations through which bodily feelings and sensations emerge. It also worked to understand cycling activism as a struggle for survival in a mobility regime that privileges automobility

over other forms of movement, threatening bodies made vulnerable by the dominance of the private car and engendering its own socio-territorial configurations.

Yet, while my analysis underscores the openness and usefulness of *territorio* as an analytical category for understanding the politics of mobility in Latin American cities, I moved beyond an exclusively territorial reading of cycling activism and argued that networks are also constitutive of the spatialities of this movement, in line with the call to understand social processes as polymorphic (Jessop et al., 2008; Leitner et al., 2008). The concept of territory-networks underscores the relational character of *territorio* and was useful for rendering visible territorial inequalities as well as efforts to remedy them by bringing discontinuous territories into proximity. In Santiago, both excess and absence of infrastructures to connect the peripheral and peri-central parts of the city revealed how mobility is constitutive of territorial inequalities that facilitate certain kinds of movement between territories, whilst undermining cycle mobilities within and between peripheral *comunas*, and the rest of the city. In turn, networking is both an aim and a form of spatialisation: as an aim, it refers to the struggles to overcome the physical and social disconnect that characterises this highly segregated city through facilitating vélomobility. As a form of spatialisation, it refers to efforts to decentralise cycling activism, and forge a social movement space that brings into proximity discontinuous territories.

Still, analysing cycling activist networking across scales revealed the persistence of certain network formations, with a tendency towards centralisation that can render obdurate asymmetries between territories and mobilities. Mexico's national cycling network, the BiciRed México, showed how the pull of Mexico City reinforced a centralising tendency in cycling activism that activists were nevertheless able to overcome. It is in the Mexican capital that resources, powerful actors, and decision-making are concentrated and, for some activists, this meant that Mexico City was the obvious site from where to leverage the network's goals and exert more influence. Though I have not discussed them in depth in this thesis, other cases of networking at the national scale in Latin America may show different patterns. Of particular interest is the case of Argentina en Bici as an organisation that explicitly works with a decentralised, non-hierarchical ethos, resisting the gravitational pull of Buenos Aires and, effectively, treats all Argentinean cities as ordinary (Robinson, 2006).

While working through *territorio*, networks, and scales, there remained the question of how to account for cycling activism as a regional phenomenon that finds expression in specific space-times, such as the WBF. Geographical elaborations of assemblage are well-suited for grappling with Latin American cycling activism as an emergent formation that draws people, discourses, materials, knowledges, bodies, and institutions into proximity for a given purpose in specific moments before dispersing again. Assemblage thinking allowed me to account for cycling activism as a process, rather than existing in a pre-given spatiality, that is the emerging outcome of multiple intersecting histories and trajectories rather than just connections between sites.

My polymorphic analysis shows that cycling activism is best thought of not as confined to the particular cities where *some* interventions take place, but as a trans-local movement that needs to be accounted for in multiple spatial registers. However, while “assemblage” is analytically useful, describing cycling activism in this way may not resonate with cycling activists’ goals, since pre-given categories (e.g., networks), the scales at which resources can be procured (i.e., the pre-defined, nested scales of government), and the concrete, lived experience of territory are better suited for dialogues with government, policymakers, and other decision-makers. To give one example, negotiating with local authorities to raise support to host the WBF might benefit from framing the Forum as an “event” (as colloquially understood), rather than a process.

In Chapter 5 I attended to the knowledge-practices that are part of everyday activist work, and which allow cycling activists to construct the bicycle as an object of knowledge and political artefact in articulation with other elements of the city. Guided by the question “*What knowledge claims about cycling, transport, and the city do activists make, and how are they made to circulate?*”, I unpacked the processes involved in constructing the bicycle as a vehicle that is particularly well suited for the city and aligned with certain values and specific visions of society. Producing a shared common sense amongst cycling activists requires practices of measuring, gathering, and standardising both quantitative and qualitative information within a city, and of producing documentary representations that allow this knowledge to circulate widely in a manner that is persuasive, instructive, and actionable and comparable elsewhere. For instance, the MEMT race was designed to compare the performance of different modes of transport within Santiago, and it later expanded to include comparisons between cities like Ambato (Ecuador), Salta (Argentina), and Concepción (Chile). In this way, activists are able to position the bicycle as a resilient and efficient vehicle, both in the face of disruption (e.g., the

2017 earthquake in Mexico City or, more recently, the disruptions caused by the 2019 protests in Chile) and in everyday scenarios. Gathering testimonies about people's experiences of cycling also allows activists to construct the bicycle as a democratic vehicle that everybody can use, and which can yield both personal and collective benefits. Yet, these discourses often verge on what Cupples and Ridley (2008) call "cycling fundamentalism" inasmuch as they tend to neglect bodily difference and, in efforts to normalise cycling, they can further marginalise and disempower working-class and subsistence cyclists.

However, the bicycle does not just "make sense" in the city as a utilitarian vehicle for transportation. Drawing on Colin McFarlane's (2011) framework of urban learning, I have shown how knowledge about cycling, transport, and the city is articulated into political claims through everyday encounters with the city, and through translation and coordination. The bicycle is framed as a virtuous and 'correct' vehicle through the widespread idea about 'human scale cities', popularised by celebrity urbanists and made to circulate further by cycling activists through space-times like the World Bike Forum. As Temenos and McCann's (2013) acknowledge, activists can spread their own particular 'best practices' through similar circuits and strategies as business and political elites, and in Santiago and Mexico City it was common to see activists alongside these and other policy actors at seminars, forums, workshops, and talks. Indeed, the circuits through which cycling circulates are not just 'similar' to those of policy elites, they are frequently the same ones.

Equally important are the processes of learning *activism itself* through self-reflective practices that help the movement interrogate its political practices, evolve, endure in time, and even re-cast what the movement is about. As lessons have been learnt over the course of mobilisation and emerging concerns become incorporated, activists have moved beyond infrastructural demands to incorporate questions of social justice, territorial inequalities, and gender, such that activist claims are no longer *just* about cycling. Particularly when working with a militant research framework, as I have done, the question of what movements know about themselves is a key concern that can inform strategies and new directions to "make the movement move" (Russell, 2015, p. 226). While the effects of the current wave of feminist mobilisation in Latin America are discussed in depth in Chapter 6, they are also brought into the analysis in Chapter 5 to illustrate this aspect of learning. I have shown how feminist cycling politics are taught in women's cycling schools through highly embodied and

affective experiences that open up new ways of shaping movement, rendering the act of cycling political and re-framing the politics of mobility along feminist lines.

Over almost thirty years of mobilisation, cycling activism in Santiago and Mexico City has incorporated people with diverse life stories, skills, and knowledge, facilitating learning among activists and the technification (Tironi, 2015) of organisations. During this time, cycling activists have also made alliances with (and, in some cases, enrolled into their organisations) academics, technocrats, government officials, and consultants. This has had the effect of generating a rich ecology of actors that variously work to mobilise the bike, blurring the distinction between elite and non-elite that is commonly upheld in the policy mobilities literature – one of the main bodies of work informing this research. Policy mobilities is a body of scholarship well-suited for understanding how the bike is made mobile, and it has provided the grammars and vocabularies I have used to make sense of the processes described in Chapter 5. However, to date, researchers in this field have neglected social movements in favour of elite policy actors, with a few exceptions. Yet, my empirical analysis offers compelling reasons to engage with activists as knowledge producers in their own right. Their technification, professionalisation, and the shifting positionalities of actors I identified ought to stimulate researchers to more meaningfully engage with urban movements to understand how cities are assembled and contested. Moreover, I have touched on the bonds of friendship and intimacy that are formed amongst activists, and remarked on their role in giving shape to, and sustaining, networks of learning and exchange and recurring events like the WBF.

Finally, my encounter with feminist cycling activists moved me to ask, “*What challenges and possibilities do feminist politics present to cycling activism?*”, and it is this question that guides my discussion in Chapter 6. The massiveness and radicality of the Latin American feminist movement has reached all spheres of life, including cycling activism. In the Lima Manifesto (7<sup>th</sup> WBF, 2018), feminist cycling activists raised the question of what kind of change we can expect to see on city streets if gender violence and inequalities are reproduced within cycling organisations. I have called this the ‘double critique’ of feminist cycling activism, and it rests on the idea that social movements ought to prefigure (enact in the present) the society they want to bring into being. Through a number of examples, I have shown how this critique unfolds through the actions and initiatives of feminist cycling activists; but, just as importantly, I draw attention to how these critiques also generate new conditions of possibility.

First, feminist cycling activists are creating space-times for finding each other, being together, and generating shared diagnoses and strategies of resistance. In Mexico and Chile (but also Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil), women's cycling schools and mass rides assert women's right to be in public space free from harassment. These encounters amount to a kind of consciousness-raising where many women experience transformations that some describe as "empowering". Furthermore, they are a means to reproduce feminist politics by drawing transport and mobility into the constellation of feminist issues alongside concerns like women's right to the city. I have also discussed digital spaces, like the chat group *Mujeres en bici LatinAm*, which brings together over one-hundred women and serves to circulate information and discuss cycling in relation to feminist concerns. At times, it has also been a platform to coordinate trans-local action in response to specific episodes of sexist violence. Digital spaces have allowed women to create new connections, challenge violence in new ways, and name their experience in a collective voice. Nonetheless, it is also clear that the trans-local connections facilitated by digital technologies are strengthened in spaces of face-to-face encounter like the World Bike Forum.

Over the years, feminist cyclists' concerns have been mounting and have found collective expression in the Lima Manifesto (7<sup>th</sup> WBF, 2018) and Women and Sexual Dissidents' Manifesto (8<sup>th</sup> WBF, 2019). These manifestos have been mechanisms to make demands to the World Bike Forum's General Assembly, and they articulate a feminist vision for cycling activism across all territories (i.e., they are not limited to the Forum) that includes meaningful inclusion and participation of women and sexual dissidents, and an intersectional perspective; care for all people and territories; a vision of sustainability that encompasses fair economies and social equity; and the adoption of mechanisms to curb gender violence in cycling activism. In line with the latter, some organisations are already incorporating protocols to address these issues. In discussing *Muévete* and *Argentina en Bici*'s bi-national Gender Equity Protocol, I delved further into the themes of learning and knowledge-production introduced in Chapter 5 and unpacked the process of generating diagnoses and creating a tool that brings together multiple situated knowledges and concrete experiences, but is able to travel and become actionable elsewhere. The protocol further underscores prefiguration as one of the mechanisms through which feminists act to bring about social change, and it experiments with non-punitive mechanisms to address gender violence within cycling organisations.

Furthermore, socially-constructed ideas about who can ride a bike, fix a bike, and know about urban cycling are understood by activists to be cut across by gender differences that make cycling – and hence cycling activism – distinctively gendered. Inasmuch as cycling activism is a response to how urban mobilities are configured, its agendas and solutions will be mediated by the diagnoses activists make, and the latter will be informed by the categories activists deem relevant. Failing to see the centrality of gender in the urban experience is often conducive to the reproduction of gender inequalities, good intentions notwithstanding. I brought the case of *Cicletada de las niñas*, which puts girls at the centre of cycling interventions, to illuminate how feminist cyclists reinvent the most common strategy of cycling activism – the mass ride – to highlight how vélomobilities are gendered and spaces hierarchically coded. In doing so, this initiative is at once a critique to mainstream activism’s erasure of girls and women, and it opens a pathway of possibilities for new subjects of cycling activism.

I have been emphatic regarding the conditions of possibility that a feminist sensibility can enable with regard to everyday cycling as well as cycling mobilisation. Rather than centring experiences of violence, I have chosen to focus on mobility as a site of resistance, and underscore the feminist *potencia*, or power-to, that is building up in Latin America. This translates into a narrative about what women are doing to overcome barriers to cycling and defy the norms and forms of disciplining that circumscribe their vélomobilities and participation in activism. Cutting across the cases I discuss is the theme of internationalism. Feminist cycling activists have succeeded in cultivating a kind of trans-local organising not yet achieved by mainstream activism, and I argue that this has been the case because of their capacity to draw explicit links between cycling and wider feminist struggles that spill over the specificities of cycling mobilisation in any particular city.

### **7.3. Contributions to academic knowledge**

In focusing on cycling activism in Latin America, this thesis contributes to provincialising and worlding critical cycling research – a conceptual dyad I discussed in Chapter 2 as part of the postcolonial urban project. As they have been put to work in urban studies, worlding and provincialising call for both situating and decentering knowledge in a single move. While provincialising works to challenge the universalising tendencies of certain strands of urban theory

(Derickson, 2014; Sheppard et al., 2013), worlding calls for opening up to, and leveraging, the multiple worlds being brought into being in cities everywhere and how these come to occupy a place within global flows of capital, people and information (Burns et al., 2021). Worlding is also a call for geographers to question our own disciplinary practices and their effects of reproducing a global cartography that treats the North as the site of Theory, and the South as the site of ethnography. Additionally, worlding Geography entails opening up to the plurality of (non-Western, non-anglophone) sites and texts where the discipline is also taking shape. In this sense, while my project builds on a wide range of literatures, its contributions sit within three of the bodies of work I reviewed in Chapter 2: critical vélomobilities, the geographies of (urban) knowledge production, and policy mobilities.

First, this thesis decentres the iconic cities and cartographies that have shaped imaginaries of cycling cities, best practices, and, crucially, the vélomobilities literature. In anglophone research, cycling activism has been theorised on the basis of the experiences of Europe and, most prominently, the United States. Meanwhile the inchoate Spanish-language literature is informed primarily by anthropology and social movements studies, with minimal engagement with mobilities thinking, and focusing on single cities and/or initiatives. My multi-sited and empirically rich analysis works to provincialise existing research, acknowledging its explanatory capacity but also testing its limitations, and contributes to worlding Latin American cycling activism by elevating the initiatives, desires, and trajectories of cycling activists in the region, seeking to provide appropriate frames of reference for the movement in Latin America. In this sense, this thesis makes a substantial contribution to laying the groundwork for future research into cycling activism in Latin America by providing a geographical conceptualisation of the movement, and a Latin American feminist reading of the worlds being brought into being by feminist activists.

In dialogue with the geographies of social movements, I propose a geography of cycling activism in Latin America that contributes to an interdisciplinary understanding of this movement. I developed a territorial-relational analysis of how cycling activism is spatially configured which, rather than privileging one single spatiality, showed the complex organisation and polymorphism of the movement. Working with *territorio* gives nuance to narratives that portray cycling activists as homogenising agents that replicate ‘best practices’ from elsewhere following a specific blueprint of what a ‘cycling city’ is or ought to be (Hoffmann & Lugo, 2014; Stehlin, 2014). When the focus is on

*territorio*, cycling is not an end in itself, but a means to produce and dispute territory through context-sensitive interventions. As a concept that emerged from the field itself, and which has distinctive genealogies in Latin American geography, working with *territorio* became a strategy in worlding the canon (Müller, 2021), bringing concepts that open up cycling research to scholarly traditions that sit at the margins of hegemonic, anglophone Geography. While I have been emphatic about the distinctiveness of *territorio*, this concept is not just useful for scrutinising Latin American societies. As Halvorsen (2018) suggests, engaging with Latin American thinking on *territorio* can also contribute to existing debates on territory in anglophone Geography and help expose the limits of territory as a modern, Eurocentric concept.

My geographical analysis also speaks back to Golub et al.'s (2016a) definition of cycling activism as a networked practice of promoting cycling, which I introduced in the literature review (Chapter 2). It does so not only by challenging their network-centric conceptualisation, but also through showing that cycling activism in Latin America entails more than cycle-promotion and includes, amongst others, claims to territory (Chapter 4); disputes over who wields the power to tell the truth about the city (Chapter 5); and feminist resistance (Chapter 6). Many initiatives fell outside the scope of my research, either because they are unfolding in cities different from those I studied (e.g., in Brazilian cities), or because they emerged in the years after I conducted fieldwork. However, as cycling activism continues to expand in Latin America, organisations and activities geared towards homeless youth, migrants, the elderly or small children, women and sexual dissidents, and in articulation with broader social movements challenge many scholars' often-simplified critique of cycling activism as a white, male, middle-class enterprise.

Furthermore, inspired by my encounter with feminist cycling activists, I contribute a reading of feminist cycling that departs from conventional narratives of barriers and victimhood. Instead, I focus on the creation of conditions of possibility. While historical research has identified the link between the bicycle and women's emancipation (Jungnickel, 2015), and while this Eurocentric narrative is widespread even in Latin America (Soliz, 2021a), my effort to conceptualise cycling activism with and through Latin American feminist thought (most notably, Verónica Gago's political theorising) affords a new reading of the cycling-feminism nexus. This reading cannot be understood except in the context of a massive tide of global feminist mobilisation that was birthed by Latin American women, and in the hearth of which new concepts (e.g., *cuerpo-territorio*), grammars (e.g.,

conceptualising sexist violence as part of a continuum and seeing all struggles as interconnected), and practices (such as the feminist strike) are emerging to enable new diagnoses and moves of resistance. In explicitly drawing the links between feminist cycling activism and the wider feminist movement, I have contributed to academic and activist debates by suggesting that vélomobility does not just express gender inequalities, it is also a site of struggle where new associations between gender and mobility can be crafted. In Chapters 5 and 6, I have shown how this is achieved through practices of *entre mujeres* (among women), such as teaching older women how to cycle, drafting a Manifesto that proclaims a feminist politics for cycling activism, or hosting an event for girls that foregrounds their presence in cities and rejects the hierarchies of space assigned to children by taking over and occupying major thoroughfares (La Alameda in Santiago) and symbolic sites (Monumento a la Revolución in Mexico City).

Second, dislocating the focus of analysis and site of enunciation from which cycling is theorised from Europe and the United States to Latin America was not just a geographical move, it was also an intellectual one: I have purposefully engaged with Latin American thought, drawing on the work of geographers and feminist activists and theorists from the region seeking to broaden the voices, and sites, that inform how we make sense of cycling. While Müller (2021) has called for and suggested ways of worlding Geography by challenging Anglophone linguistic privilege, I move this agenda forward by suggesting translation and translocation as worlding techniques. Translations and dialogues between places, scholarly traditions, and interlocutors are necessary to work through the tensions inherent to doing bilingual research across hemispheres (i.e., researching Latin America from within institutionalised anglophone Geography). Rather than trying to resolve these tensions, I brought them to the fore by embracing a *transloca* epistemology (Alvarez et al., 2014) that critically interrogates how disciplinary knowledge travels embodied in those of us who are constantly navigating the in-between spaces of our alignments and positionalities. Generating dialogues between Latin American and Euro-American thinking proved highly productive, and was a way to introduce novel ways of thought to the research through exploring what happens when two place-based systems of thought encounter one another (Zaragocin, 2021). To illustrate, rather than seamlessly translating “territorio” as “territory”, I grappled with the polyvalency of the former in Spanish in order to open the door to a dialogue between Euro-American and Latin American geographic thought. I suggest that meaningfully engaging with translation and exploring what

happens when knowledge travels between languages can be a generative moment that paves the way to a more worldly research practice.

Third, this thesis draws on policy mobilities scholarship to inform the ethnographic approach of ‘following the activists’; and to grasp the circulation of knowledge in which cycling activists are implicated. In working with this framework, I was able to test its affordances and limitations for understanding cycling activism in Latin America. I have shown that cycling activists are in continuous exchange with the elite actors that have been privileged in the policy mobilities literature (e.g., government, NGOs, and urbanism consultancies), occupying overlapping spaces, and employing similar strategies to mobilise the bicycle. In this sense, while policy mobilities afforded me a rich vocabulary and analytical categories, I have also pushed these categories’ explanatory capacity. My main argument is that activists are not fundamentally different from the ‘elite’ actors that have been the focus of policy mobilities, so researchers ought to be more attentive to social movements to better account for the ways in which the city is contested, but also imaged, produced, mobilised, and assembled by these kinds of actors alongside multiple others.

I suggest the notion of ‘shifting positionalities’ (Section 5.4) to highlight how urban actors can occupy multiple roles within the circuits of knowledge exchange, sometimes simultaneously. It is important to attend to these dynamics inasmuch as they can facilitate the mobilisation of the bicycle in multiple circuits, with relevant actors strategically leveraging their different positions to meet different goals. For instance, in Santiago, leveraging the Mapocho Pedaleable project entailed mobilising a wide range of actors through diverse strategies and creating alliances across government, civil society, and academia. This process complicates rigid definitions of activists as solely disruptive and contentious and shows how actors move across roles, organisations, and scales to achieve their goals. The project was given presidential priority during the 5<sup>th</sup> WBF and, in circulating through the 7<sup>th</sup> WBF, it became an inspiring narrative of activists’ capacity to mobilise and transform their cities. It is nonetheless worth highlighting how inhabiting multiple positionalities can be a source of tension requiring negotiations and compromises that can variously (im)mobilise specific discourses and agendas.

Hence, I have laid the groundwork for future enquiries in policy mobilities research that take social movements seriously as agents in urban knowledge production and circulation. As discussed in

Chapter 2, while some have made similar calls encouraging researchers to engage with non-elite actors (Baker et al., 2019), only a handful of analyses follow this orientation (e.g., Klodawsky et al., 2016; Temenos, 2017; van Toorn, 2021). In relation to cycling specifically, research in this vein might engage more deeply with the ecology of actors implicated in mobilising the bicycle and move beyond the dichotomies of elite/non-elite, and expert/layperson. Research would also benefit from a more rigorous spatial analysis of the spaces in which activists mobilise urban knowledge alongside other actors. In particular, more sustained attention to friendship, intimacy, love, care, and other less ‘formal’ modes of relating is needed in policy mobilities to better account for the affective forces that hold together spaces and processes like the WBF, and ultimately facilitate the circulation of policy and knowledge.

Furthermore, detailed examination of the processes of professionalisation and technification taking place in cycling activism can lead to a reconsideration of how expertise is distributed in analyses of social movements. The latter has important implications for democratic life and participation in the city. Redistributing expertise is a way to recognise the multiple ways in which people know, and dispute, the city, and challenges existing hierarchies of knowledge. Finally, reflecting on my own methodological orientation, motivations for undertaking this research, and knowledge-practices, I encourage policy mobilities researchers to discuss their positionality more openly with the aim of being accountable for the knowledge, narratives, and policies we contribute to circulate or render immobile.

#### **7.4. Methodological Reflection**

As indicated above, language came to the fore as a critical site from within which I could challenge hegemonic practices of academic knowledge-production, but translation proved to be necessary in more ways than one. Adopting a militant research practice also forced me to stage translations between the two worlds I inhabit vis-à-vis the topic I studied to make academia and activism mutually intelligible and generate thought from the encounter between the two. While this afforded me with rich insights and invaluable experiences, it also presented difficulties that I had to navigate in order to uphold an ethical research practice where I could be held accountable both to my academic institution, and to the communities with which I was working. Certainly, militant research

and other forms of activist research are not the only approaches available for researching social movements. There is significant scope for undertaking work about cycling activism without being an activist, which may facilitate a more critical stance inasmuch as one is not theorising from the movement's positionalities.

Different kinds of questions and epistemological commitments could reveal elements that I have not identified owing to my research orientation, and which could nevertheless offer sympathetic critique to advance the movement's cause. Alternatively, different questions and commitments could expose the more insidious ways in which cycling is increasingly being co-opted by growth-oriented, neoliberal agendas, and the role that cycling activists have played in this process (see for instance: Cassián-Yde, 2019; Sosa López, 2021). Nevertheless, inasmuch as many cycling researchers are often activists themselves, and in line with the research agenda I have developed in the course of becoming-geographer, I suggest an approach like Participatory Action Research could be well-suited for future enquiries where knowledge co-production is the principle guiding the research (e.g., Sagaris, Berríos, et al., 2020; Sagaris & Lanfranco, 2019), and where producing knowledge that augments the movement's cause takes precedence over academic commitments.

Moreover, the methodological framework and orientation of this work moved me to be in continuous dialogue and exchange with activists, testing my ideas and allowing my thinking to be challenged and developed during interviews and informal conversation. Also important was the use of social media, which I used to generate discussions relevant to the issues I was thinking through, interject in debates, and communicate my research in accessible language using tools like Twitter threads, or accepting invitations to write for activist media. I experimented with open ethnography (Wang, 2012) by documenting my fieldwork in a dedicated Instagram account. This was a worthwhile effort and applauded by many who took interest in this research, but sustaining that approach throughout the year of fieldwork proved challenging as I had to find a balance between writing my open ethnography, writing my field diary, and grappling with the large volumes of data I was perceiving and generating in the course of everyday ethnographic work. Nevertheless, these experiments in communicating research have allowed me to develop professional skills that have been useful beyond this specific project, drawing me into conversation with multiple others and into different epistemic communities that have a stake in cycling and the city.

Being able to socialise my ideas and receiving feedback contributed to the robustness of my empirical work and to hold myself accountable to activists, but it was also fundamental for maintaining motivation during a long research project that at times felt exhausting and overwhelming. Worth mentioning here is the highly embodied nature of the fieldwork I undertook. While all research is embodied, some projects place greater demands on the researcher's body than others. Depending on the kinds of questions one is looking to address, not all cycling research will make *necessary* that the researcher takes up cycling. However, doing so certainly affords insights that may not be evident if one opts for a more static approach. As I have argued, following McFarlane (2011), dwelling is a means for activists to learn the city, and it was equally central to the education of *my* attention, allowing me to become attuned to the particularities of each city as it is experienced on the move by the activists I worked with.

While I have not made recourse to mobile methods (e.g., K. Brown & Spinney, 2010; Merriman, 2014), this work is on-the-move in more ways than one. In addition to practicing cycling itself, 'following the activists' through a multi-sited approach was particularly well-suited for answering my research questions through the optic of mobilities, which involves both mobility *and* stasis. Shifting research sites but allowing myself to remain in Mexico City and Santiago for a prolonged period of time facilitated identifying how mobility is implicated in spatial formations, and I was able to draw comparisons, identify connections, and derive generalisations while still being attentive to the particularities of each city. That said, while one year of fieldwork was necessary for the ambitions of this particular research, it was also demanding in ways that forced me to reign in my expectations to keep the work manageable.

Managing my expectations also entailed accepting that some things simply did not work. For instance, the messy organisation of the World Bike Forum in Quito kept me from joining the sessions in which I wanted to conduct observations, and I lost my mobile phone (where I took notes and photos) on the second day of the Forum. This meant that the ethnography I had hoped to conduct in the Forum could not be realised as I had expected, and I had to limit my analysis to the data I was able to gather through other means and in other spaces. Furthermore, the large volume of data produced by social media also proved difficult to manage. I treated social media as a site where activism happens and, rather than adopting a data-driven approach, I extended my ethnographic sensibility to social media platforms. Social media was helpful for identifying activists and

organisations, generating conversations, and complementing my interviews and ethnographic work *in situ*. However, because I already had multiple sources of data and because web-based research was not my central strategy, future work would benefit from identifying specific activist media and narrowing down the scope of the ‘digital field’. Doing so would facilitate tracing flows of knowledges and the analysis of a well-consolidated body of data. As I have approached it, the work of consolidating social media content places additional demands on the researcher, who is responsible for weeding out noise and repetition, identifying more or less relevant information, and systematising the content included in the field archive.

Methodologically, entering the field of Latin American cycling activism through the WBF also shaped my research questions and engagements in the field: because my main concern pertained to connections and exchanges, then those expressions of cycling activism that are *not* well connected or indeed immobile, or those that do not participate in these spaces of trans-local exchange often fell through the cracks not covered by my questions. Indeed, while I tried to approach more ‘peripheral’ activism and touch on this topic in Chapter 4, one limitation of this research results from not asking about who or what does not travel or connect. In this sense, this research largely reflects the experiences of a select group of people and organisations: those who are better connected, more centrally-located, and with the resources to travel to events like the WBF and mobilise particular kinds of knowledge. These gaps suggest a number of avenues for further research.

## **7.5 Avenues for further research**

This was a largely exploratory research project, owing to the absence of a significant volume of pre-existing literature to guide my enquiry on the topic of cycling activism in Latin America. As a result, there were many possible questions, threads to pull, and avenues to explore that had to be discarded to reign in the ambitions of this project. The boundaries I placed on the project worked well for producing an account that deals with the particularities of both Santiago and Mexico City, but that is able to bring other sites (e.g., the WBF) and cities into the conversation and derive generalisations. Still, there is the potential to dive more deeply into each of the three broad themes I explored in the dissertation and, in particular, into questions of power and difference.

I have centred my enquiry on the question of gender but, as I discussed in Chapter 2, class remains a thorny issue that neither cycling researchers in Latin America, nor cycling activists, have sufficiently addressed. While age, disability, sexuality, and other forms of differentiation also remain to be accounted for, we have compelling reasons to focus on the entanglement of race and class as they manifest in Latin America. While class is perhaps the most salient marker of difference in Latin America, processes of colonisation, *mestizaje*, independence, and nation-building have given way to racial configurations distinct from those in North America (Leal & Langebaek, 2010), where the cycling-race nexus has been a more prominent line of enquiry (Lugo, 2018). With the exception of some Brazilian activists (e.g., the Black feminist group La Frida Bike), race is not yet a salient concern amongst cycling activists. However, its overlap with class suggests that an intersectional analysis is overdue to tease out the specific ways in which cycling is a gendered, racialised, and classed practice in Latin America.

While this thesis has drawn primarily on the experiences of activists in Santiago and Mexico City, and while it has been nourished by my exchanges with activists elsewhere, future work should steer away from capital cities to examine processes in secondary cities, as well as small and medium-sized cities, and cycling activism beyond the city limits (e.g., Cooper & Leahy, 2017). Small and medium-size cities present particular challenges *and* opportunities to deter automobility and foster vélomobility. For instance, 86km south of Santiago, the city of Rancagua is advancing towards cycle-inclusion and is frequently referenced by cycling activists in the Chilean capital as an example of good practice. Attention to these dynamics of core-periphery exchange is necessary for worlding vélomobility not just through leveraging the South, but also through a move away from the centres of power that continue to pull people, resources, and scholarly attention. For example, what might research in Medellín and Rosario reveal about the WBF, which they each hosted in 2015 and 2021? What can we learn from Argentina en Bici's de-centralised, horizontal form of organising? What kinds of knowledges are *not* circulating through the circuits I focused on; and what alternative discourses, sites, practices, and worldly ambitions exist beyond the WBF?

Likewise, what would research in a border city like Tijuana contribute to our understanding of the spatialities of cycling activism? The entanglement between the complex mobilities of Tijuana-San Diego and the politics of cycling featured during the 2019 edition of *Bike! Bike!*, an annual gathering of North American community bike shops which fell beyond the scope of this research. Language

justice – the principle that people should be able to communicate in the language they feel most comfortable in – was a central concern during the 2019 gathering in Tijuana and is an issue that dovetails with my own questions about translation and translocation. There is scope, then, for considering how language and border mobilities can articulate with ongoing conversations about mobility justice, which is an increasing concern in the cycling literatures and among certain activist groups.

In this sense, mobility justice presents a horizon of enquiry for both researchers and activists. Already, some have started to work through this concept from Latin America (e.g., Nixon & Schwanen, 2019a), and there is an opportunity to push mobility justice to its limits when grappling with the specificities of cycling mobilities in the region. In particular, a cursory glance at the class differentiation articulated in cycling politics reveals the need for a critical analysis of how cycling activism in Latin America has dealt with (or failed to deal with) already-existing working-class cycling practices, which are widespread on the continent and the cornerstone of a significant amount of informal work (Pino Hidalgo, 2017; Sarmiento Casas, 2018). Attention to these concerns ought to move activists and researchers to examine the deepening inequalities and injustices that can be reproduced through uneven infrastructural development (Mora et al., 2021); the criminalisation of certain cycling practices such as street vending on tricycles (Animal Político, 2020) and cycling protest (The Clinic, 2019); and emerging economic configurations centred around platform labour (Popan & Anaya-Boig, 2021).

Furthermore, the events – global and national – that unfolded during the course of this research have convoluted the world of cycling, making more pressing the need for situated analyses that can account for the specificities of cycling mobilisation in Latin America. As I have indicated in a number of footnotes throughout this text, the 2019 mobilisations in Chile catalysed the emergence of new cycling organisations in response to, and articulation with, the wider social protest. These new organisations may signal the emergence of a new kind of actor and political discourse, and present an opportunity for further exploring how cycling activism spills over demands that centre solely on cycling. It is significant that the events in Chile were triggered by a hike in transport fares that were the tipping point after thirty years of roll out neoliberalism (Arias-Loyola, 2021). How does cycling activism speak to this context and to the wider concerns that moved millions of Chileans to the streets between October 2019 and March 2020?

As Chile's Constitutional Assembly works to draft a new constitution, cycling activists are organising at a national level for the first time to push for the inclusion of the right to mobility in the country's new *carta magna* – a move that was also conquered by cycling and sustainable mobility activists in Mexico in 2019. As part of this effort, the First Chilean National Bike Forum was held in November 2021, a few weeks after the Chilean Society of Transport Engineering (SOCHITRAN) awarded two organisations – Muévete and Map8 – their biannual project prize for the initiative 'Emergency cycle lanes: citizen infrastructure for sustainable mobility'. The project was cycling activists' response to the Chilean government's reluctance to act in response to the Covid-19 crisis and consisted in experimental cycling infrastructure "self-managed and born out of users', cyclists', and volunteers' technical and human capacities to intervene directly on the territory of the city on a 1:1 scale" (Inostroza Villarroel, 2021, p. n.p.). While institutions like SOCHITRAN embody a particular – white, masculinist, technocratic – vision of what constitutes 'good' transport knowledge and infrastructure, this recognition speaks to the arguments I raised in Chapter 5 pertaining to activists' technification, shifting positionalities, and to the need to complicate traditional understandings of expertise. Additional research is needed that is not only able to account for this expertise but also motivated by the desire to strengthen collaborations between civil society and academia to meet current and emerging urban challenges.

Moreover, the Covid-19 pandemic catalysed an explosion of cycling activist activity: webinars; schemes to collect food and medicine for community kitchens and people who could not leave their home or could no longer afford supplies; experimental infrastructure; and conversations that brought together activists, academics and planners were among the ways in which Latin American activists responded to the crisis. In this period, new activist discourses, practices, and ambitions emerged that are likely to endure beyond the crisis, and to which cycling researchers ought to remain attentive. Covid-19 has also stimulated new debates about cities, inequalities, and mobilities, calling for new understandings of life in cities that can illuminate a way forward out of the crisis (Valenzuela-Levi et al., 2021; Vecchio et al., 2021). Among these debates, the future of transportation featured prominently, catalysing the roll out of hundreds of kilometres of cycling infrastructure in cities like Paris and Bogotá (Fenu, 2021). Whatever the outcome of these processes may be, I propose that we – researchers and activists – turn to the desires, imaginaries, ambitions, politics, and solutions being crafted by urban activists in Latin America and take seriously the

premise that the bicycle – in articulation with wider struggles – can be a vehicle towards meaningful social transformations. Doing so is a necessary strategy for worlding research, and for envisioning urban futures beyond the usual referents.

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## Appendix 1: List of interviewees

### Santiago

(All names have been changed with the exception of two interviewees, who are public figures)

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Organisation(s)</b>	<b>Date of interview</b>
<b>Claudia H.</b>	Bicultura, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	30 January 2019
<b>Sergio A.</b>	Pedalea x la calle, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	19 January 2019
<b>Felipe A.</b>	Bicipaseos Patrimoniales, Muévete, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	11 November 2018
<b>Natalia L.</b>	Indepeleta, Muévete, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	15 November 2018
<b>Camila M.</b>	Team Mapu Pudahuel, Muévete	29 November 2018
<b>Diana S.</b>	New Indie, Muévete, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	13 October 2018
<b>Karen A.</b>	Macleta	29 January 2019
<b>Patricia C.</b>	Cicletada de las niñas, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	12 November 2018
<b>Jaime T.</b>	Muévete, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	3 November 2018
<b>Carlos I.</b>	New Indie, Muévete	16 February 2019
<b>Emilio G.</b>	Indepeleta, Muévete, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	28 November 2018
<b>Isabel L.</b>	Vive la bici, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	2 November 2018
<b>Lucía H.</b>	Muévete, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	11 December 2018
<b>Helena P.</b>	Movimiento Furiosos Ciclistas	10 October 2018
<b>Vicente Q.</b>	Pedalea x la calle	1 November 2018
<b>Gabriela A.</b>	New Indie, Muévete, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	1 October 2018
<b>Rodrigo S.</b>	Lost Bicitantes	13 November 2018
<b>Patricio G.</b>	Map8, Muévete, 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	24 October 2018
<b>Mónica A.</b>	Pedalea x la calle	2 February 2019
<b>Tomás Echiburú</b>	Muévete, Municipalidad de Providencia, Universidad Católica de Chile (ex- Corporación Pedaleable), 5 <sup>th</sup> WBF	12 November 2018
<b>Lake Sagaris</b>	Laboratorio de Cambio Social, Universidad Católica de Chile, Muévete	24 November 2018

Mexico City

Interviewee	Organisation	Date of interview
<b>Adriana R.</b>	Ometéotl, 6 <sup>th</sup> WBF	25 July 2019
<b>Martha Z.</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> WBF (ex-Chihuahua en BiciI)	2 July 2019
<b>Beatriz L.</b>	Bicitekas A.C., 6 <sup>th</sup> WBF, Céntrico* (ex-ITDP)	7 June 2019
<b>Julieta B.</b>	Clitoral Mass, Alcaldía Azcapotzalco	15 May 2019
<b>Andrés M.</b>	Bicitekas A.C., 6 <sup>th</sup> WBF	22 May 2019
<b>Sara C.</b>	Bicitekas A.C., 6 <sup>th</sup> WBF	8 April 2019
<b>Gustavo S.</b>	<i>Not affiliated</i>	15 July 2019
<b>Adrián M.</b>	Bicitekas A.C., El Colegio de México (University)	10 June 2019
<b>Susana C.</b>	Bellas Bielás	30 July 2019
<b>Regina V.</b>	ITDP, 6 <sup>th</sup> WBF	9 July 2019
<b>Ursula C.</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> WBF (ex-Liga Peatonal, currently <i>not affiliated</i> )	8 June 2019
<b>Diego A.</b>	YoTeCuidoEnBici	29 July 2019
<b>Hermes A.</b>	Cultura Vial A.C.	16 July 2019
<b>Jairo S.</b>	<i>Not affiliated</i>	7 July 2019
<b>Marcela S.</b>	SEDEMA (Secretaría de Medio Ambiente), ex-Bicitekas A.C.	18 June 2019
<b>Gloria M.</b>	<i>Not affiliated</i>	18 July 2019
<b>Iván M.</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> WBF, BiciRed México	1 July 2019
<b>Oscar A.</b>	Ni un repartidor menos	10 July 2019
<b>Wilson C.</b>	Enchúlame la bici	27 June 2019
<b>Valentina C.</b>	La Rueda Violeta	31 July 2019
<b>Guillermo P.</b>	<i>Not affiliated</i>	29 May 2019
<b>Sergio T.</b>	Bicitekas A.C., Céntrico*, ex-ITDP	12 June 2019

\* Céntrico is a small sustainable mobility consultancy firm.

# Appendix 2: 6<sup>th</sup> WBF programme



FORO MUNDIAL DE LA BICICLETA / CIUDAD DE MÉXICO 2017 / CIUDADES HECHAS A MANO

## PROGRAMA

### SÁBADO 8 DE ABRIL

De 05:00 am - 08:00 pm  
Exposición fotográfica "Reflejos ciclistas"

Gisela Ochoa  
Enrique Abe  
Aaron Borrás  
Carlos Díaz

BOSQUE DE CHAPULTEPEC  
(ENTRADA LOS LEONES)

\*de sábado 8 a domingo 23 de abril

### SÁBADO 15 DE ABRIL

09:00am  
Gran Rodada Día Mundial de la Bicicleta

Organizada por la Secretaría de Medio Ambiente de la CDMX

AV. PASEO DE LA REFORMA

09:00am  
Parque de los venados

11:00pm  
Llegada al Tótem Canadiense

1ERA SECCIÓN DE CHAPULTEPEC

11:00am - 01:00am  
Picnic  
• Taller de mecánica básica  
• Bicis antiguas  
• Food Bike

### DOMINGO 16 DE ABRIL

08:00am - 02:00pm  
Paseo Dominical Muévete en Bici de la Secretaría de Medio Ambiente de la CDMX

AV. PASEO DE LA REFORMA

10:00am  
Bici Escuela SEDEMA

### LUNES 17 DE ABRIL

09:00 am - 10:00am  
Palabras de bienvenida  
Presentación de la guía "Cómo impulsar el ciclismo urbano. Recomendaciones para las instituciones de América Latina y el Caribe."

Natalia Sanz y Amado Crotte  
BID

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO  
NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

9:00 am - 6:00 pm  
Murales Panca, Hidroc y Janet Calderón

MUSEO DEL JUGUETE ANTIGUO MEXICANO  
(MUJAM)

\*de lunes 17 a sábado 22 de abril

10:00am - 6:00pm  
Talleres Funcionarios Públicos

MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

### MARTES 18 DE ABRIL

09:00am - 6:00pm  
Talleres Funcionarios  
Públicos

MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

10:00pm - 3:00am  
Criterium Nocturno

PLAZA DE LA  
CONSTITUCIÓN (ZÓCALO)



## MIÉRCOLES 19 DE ABRIL

**9:00 am - 11:00 am**  
Rodada de Cicloviajeros "Reto 22 días sin gasolina"

DEL ZÓCALO A CIUDAD UNIVERSITARIA

**9:00 am - 6:00 pm**  
Murales Panca, Hidroc y Janet Calderón

MUSEO DEL JUGUETE ANTIGUO MEXICANO (MUJAM)  
\*de lunes 17 a sábado 22 de abril

**10:00 am - 8:00 pm**  
Rueda Radio (Unidad móvil radiofónica auto sustentable y participativa).

Coordinado por: Laura Janka y Lázaro Valiente

ASTA BANDERA, CENTRO HISTÓRICO  
\*de miércoles 19 a sábado 22 de abril

**10:30 am**  
Inicio de actividades culturales

CIUDAD UNIVERSITARIA

**11:00 am - 12:00 pm**  
Recepción a Cicloviajeros

EXPLANADA DE RECTORÍA, CIUDAD UNIVERSITARIA

**11:10 am - 12:00 pm**  
Ceremonia de Bienvenida  
1. Palabras de bienvenida (Comité Organizador FMB6)  
2. Presentación Reto "22 días sin gasolina" (Areli Carreón, Bicitekas)  
3. Presentación Exposición: Las Bicicletas (Víctor Hugo Bernal)  
4. Palabras del Arq. Daniel Escotto  
5. Proyección del video Cicloviajeros y Bicioficios

**12:00 pm - 1:00 pm**  
Panel ■  
Experiencias de cicloviajeros

Cristina Herdoisa, Marcelo González, Felipe Besné, Fernando Rúa

EXPLANADA DE LA RECTORÍA, CIUDAD UNIVERSITARIA

**01:00pm a 01:20pm**  
Exhibición ■  
Trabajadores en bicicleta y bicioficios

Rogelio García Pinto

EXPLANADA DE RECTORÍA, CIUDAD UNIVERSITARIA

**01:20pm - 02:20pm**  
Panel ■  
Empoderamiento desde la Bicicleta: Mujeres cicloviajeras

- Andrea María Navarrete Mogollón
- Bertha Corte González
- Devora Barrera González
- Sissy Katherine Carrasco Chirinos
- Sonia Medina
- Viona Rojsbosch

EXPLANADA DE RECTORÍA, CIUDAD UNIVERSITARIA



2:20pm - 3:20pm  
Conferencia Magistral 

Federico Aimar

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3:00pm - 4:00pm  
Rodada Cultural Musica Grupo Cultural UNAM

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4:00 pm - 5:00pm  
Performance Del Caos al Cardumen ■

Mariana Cagnoli y Henrik Lundorff Kristensen

CASA BICITEKA

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4:30pm  
Rodada a la Plaza de Santo Domingo

CIRCUITO EXTERIOR, ZONA CULTURAL, CIUDAD UNIVERSITARIA

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6:00pm - 8:00pm  
Inauguración del Sexto Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta

PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO

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8:15pm - 10:00pm  
Banderazo de salida: Paseo de los 200 años de la invención de la Bicicleta

RUTA:

SANTO DOMINGO / ÁNGEL DE LA INDEPENDENCIA / LAGO CHAPULTEPEC / CONDESA / ROMA / DOCTORES / CENTRO / ZÓCALO

## JUEVES 20 DE ABRIL

**9:00 am - 10:00 am**  
**Registro**  
 Santo Domingo

**9:00 am - 6:00 pm**  
**Torneo Bici Polo**

PLAZA DE LA CONSTITUCIÓN (ZÓCALO)

**9:00 am - 2:00 pm**  
**Biciescuelas**  
 • SEDEMA (Ciudad de México)  
 • Bellocicleta (Colombia)  
 • Cycling games (Dinamarca)

Bosque de Chapultepec (Entrada de los Leones)

**08:30AM - 09:00AM**  
**Inauguración**  
 • Horacio De La Vega (Indeporte)  
 • Arturo García  
 (Coordinador actividades deportivas)  
 • Diana Mendiola (BiciPolo DF)  
 • Mónica Damián (BiciPolo Tapatio)

**9:30 am - 10:00 am**  
**Presentación**  
 Historia del Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta, Brasil

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

**10:00 am - 11:00 am**  
**Conferencia Magistral**

Janette Sadik-Khan

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

**10:00 am - 1:00 pm**  
**Bicitrazo**

Coordinado por: Alexander Ordoñez

PUNTO DE REUNIÓN PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO. RODADA AL LUGAR DE LA INTERVENCIÓN

**10:00 am - 11:30 am**  
**Del Caos al Cardúmen**

Impartido por: Mariana Cagnoli y Henrik Lundorff Kristensen

CASA BICITEKA

**11:00 am - 12:00 pm**  
**Lanzamiento de proyectos de movilidad de la Ciudad de México**  
 Miguel Ángel Mancera, Jefe de Gobierno de la Ciudad de México\*

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

**11:00 am - 12:30 pm**  
**Ponencias**   
**Innovando en la promoción de la movilidad en bicicleta**

- Kristian Brink - "Bike sharing's role in the future of urban mobility"
- Bernardo Deregibus - "Mapeando Rosario en Bici"
- Russell Meddin - "Public Use Bicycles - Bike-sharing - is changing the World"
- Yael Tari - "Universidad, Estado y Empresa por la movilidad"

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

**11:00 am - 12:30 pm**  
**Panel**   
**La bicicleta, los medios de comunicación y la comunidad**

- Gabriela Binatti
- Elizabeth Santana Hernández
- Ari Santillán
- Juan García Alberdi
- "Juanitez"

AUDITORIO GUSTAVO BAZ, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

**11:00 am - 12:30 pm**  
**Charlas Relámpago**   
**Biciescuelas: enseñando y aprendiendo**

- Ana Destri
- Biciescuela Tlalpan
- Claudia Valente de Oliveira
- Andrés Santelices
- Alejandro Zamora
- Luis Patricio

AULA GUILLERMO SOBERÓN, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

**11:00 am - 12:30 pm**  
**Taller**   
**Confrontando Sexismo en espacios ciclistas: Practicando 6 situaciones comunes**

Charlotte Fagan

SALÓN DE PROFESORES EMÉRITOS, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

**11:00 am - 12:30 pm**  
**Ponencias**   
**Más allá de las redes de trabajo colectivo**

- Yuria Baptista César "La contribución de la Unión de Ciclistas del Brasil en las políticas públicas nacionales"
- Marcio Deslandes "Gobernanza de la bicicleta"
- Andrés López "Guía de Activismo Ciclista de la BICIREDMX"

AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

**11:00 am - 1:00 pm**  
**Taller de gráfica móvil del MUNAE**   
 Impartido por: Roberto Martínez

PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO

**11:00 am - 1:00 pm**  
**El cuerpo que somos y las geografías que habitamos y rodamos**   
 Impartido por: Aitza M. Calixto Rojas

TALLER DE PRODUCCIÓN NAHUAL

**11:00 am - 2:00 pm**  
**Taller a bordar el camino, exposición de bordados y ofrenda ciclista**   
 Impartido por: Erika Jiménez

PATIO DE PIEDRA EN PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

**11:00 am - 3:00 pm**  
**Asamblea Red Latinoamericana**  
 SALÓN 1, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL



<p><b>12:00 am - 1:00 pm</b> Exposición de Bicicletas de Diseño Industrial de la Ibero ■</p> <p>MUSEO MEXICANO DE DISEÑO (MUMEDI)</p>	<p><b>12:00 am - 1:00 pm</b> Exhibición Las Bicicletas ■</p> <p>MUSEO MEXICANO DE DISEÑO (MUMEDI)</p>	<p><b>12:00 am - 2:00 pm</b> Ve la Bici ■</p> <p>Coordinado por: Guilherme Tampieri</p> <p>PUNTO DE REUNIÓN PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO, CENTRO HISTÓRICO</p>	<p><b>12:00 am - 3:00 pm</b> Taller de Gráfica Urbana ■</p> <p>Impartido por: Vicente Jurado, Noel Rodríguez y Eduardo Robledo</p> <p>PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO</p>
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<p><b>12:30 am - 2:00 pm</b> Panel ■ Movilidad universal, en bicicleta</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Henrik Lunderoff Kristensen</li> <li>• Miguel Á. Ramos Ampudia</li> <li>• Karine Dantas Góes e Góes</li> <li>• Xanat Ivvett Rubio Hernandez</li> <li>• Fidel Pérez de León</li> </ul> <p>PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>	<p><b>12:30 am - 2:00 pm</b> Panel ■ Activismo e incidencia pública</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Carlos López Zaragoza</li> <li>• Diana Patricia Salinas A. y Gloria Estela López Lopera</li> <li>• John Camilo Rey Ladino</li> <li>• Juan C. Agudelo Moscoso</li> <li>• Javier Hidalgo</li> </ul> <p>AUDITORIO GUSTAVO BAZ, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA</p>	<p><b>12:30 am - 2:00 pm</b> Charlas Relámpago ■ Planeación urbana e infraestructura para la movilidad incluyente</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manuel Alberto Londoño</li> <li>• José A. Larios Barrientos</li> <li>• Colegio de Urbanistas y Diseñadores Ambientales del Estado de Puebla.</li> <li>• Diseño Neko</li> <li>• André Geraldo Soares</li> <li>• Diego Antero Reyes</li> </ul> <p>AULA GUILLERMO SOBERÓN, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA</p>	<p><b>12:30 am - 2:00 pm</b> Taller ■ Aplicación de CAMINA_KIT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yazmin Viramontes</li> </ul> <p>SALÓN DE PROFESORES EMÉRITOS, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA</p>	<p><b>12:30 am - 2:00 pm</b> Presentación ■ De la vivencia al servicio público, en bicicleta</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Xochitl Gálvez Ruiz (Jefa Delegacional de Miguel Hidalgo)</li> </ul> <p>AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>
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**1:00 pm - 2:00 pm**  
Conferencia Magistral   
Hecho en Alemania: Berlín cambió en 6 meses por nuestro referendum ciclista.

Heinrich Ströbenreuther

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

**2:00 pm - 3:00 pm**  
Comida

**3:00 pm - 4:00 pm**  
Conferencia Magistral   
Otra ciudad es posible: Prácticas de la utopía mínima viable

Adam Greenfield

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

<p><b>3:30 pm - 5:00 pm</b> Ponencias ■ La bicicleta, una oportunidad de conciliación</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Felipe Tamayo - "Cambiar el mundo una bici a la vez"</li> <li>• Yessenia Campillo - "Más bicis, menos tanques"</li> <li>• Natalia Lleras - "Al colegio en bici"</li> </ul> <p>PATIO PRINCIPAL CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>	<p><b>3:30 pm - 5:00 pm</b> Panel ■ Aire, salud y medioambiente</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• María F. Ramírez Bernal</li> <li>• Cynthia Menéndez</li> <li>• Daniel Pérez-Rodríguez</li> <li>• Andrés Verdezoto</li> </ul> <p>AUDITORIO GUSTAVO BAZ, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA</p>	<p><b>3:30 pm - 5:00 pm</b> Charlas Relámpago ■ Abriendo caminos: iniciativas para la inclusión social y la seguridad ciudadana"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jorge Andrés Charry</li> <li>• Aitza M. Calixto Rojas</li> <li>• María Curiel Bellon y Óscar Guerrero Hernández</li> <li>• Gersain Villafañe Moncaleano</li> <li>• Rogelio Josue Ramos Torres</li> <li>• Josafat Martínez de Luna</li> <li>• Diana Apache</li> </ul> <p>AULA GUILLERMO SOBERÓN, PALACIO LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA</p>	<p><b>3:30 pm - 5:00 pm</b> Charlas Relámpago ■ Preforos del FMB6: resultados y perspectivas</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "A bordar el camino"</li> <li>• Colectivo PROCiudad</li> <li>• Eduleta</li> <li>• Municipio Zapotlán / Colectivo Bicible Zapotlán</li> <li>• Serv. de Transportes Eléctricos</li> <li>• Bitla Ciclismo en Tláhuac</li> <li>• Fundación Tláloc</li> <li>• World Wildlife Fund México</li> </ul> <p>AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>	<p><b>3:30 pm - 5:00 pm</b> Taller ■ Descubrir maneras asombrosas para perder el tiempo en las ciudades invisibles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marcelo Amaral</li> </ul> <p>SALÓN DE PROFESORES EMÉRITOS, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA</p>
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Conferencia magistral Traducción Arte y entorno Política pública Redes para la colaboración Ciudadanía, equidad e inclusión Economía sobre ruedas

4:00 pm - 5:00 pm

Presentación  
Cómo impulsar el ciclismo urbano. Recomendaciones para las instituciones de América Latina y el Caribe

Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

4:00 pm - 5:00 pm

Teatro Annie Londonderry ■  
Instrucciones para andar en bicicleta. La Aventura más extraordinaria jamás emprendida por una mujer.

Coordinado por: Mónica Perea

PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO

4:00 pm - 7:00 pm

Tejiendo en Bici ■  
Impartido por: Jessica Lasso

CASA BICITEKA

4:00 pm - 7:00 pm

Taller Rodante CLIQ. Apropiación y construcción entorno al FMB6 ■  
Coordinado por: María Curiel y Oscar G.

PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO

5:00 pm - 6:00 pm

Birula Gráfica ■  
Coordinado por: Alfredo Aguirre

PASILLO METRO ATLALICO

5:00 pm - 6:00 pm

Botones Urbanos ■  
Loreto Calé Miranda

MUSEO DEL JUGUETE ANTIGUO MEXICANO (MUJAM)

5:00 pm - 6:00 pm

Gráfica Urbana ■  
Noel Rodríguez

MUSEO DEL JUGUETE ANTIGUO MEXICANO (MUJAM)

5:00 pm - 6:30 pm

Ponencias ■  
La bicicleta: elemento clave en la planificación urbana

- Luis Eduardo González Sanguino - "Propuesta metodológica para la generación de ciclorrutas en Calzada (Vías Cicla) en las zonas de bicicleta pública como medio de transporte público en el marco del Sistema Integrado de Transporte de Bogotá D.C."
- Alberto Marín Fernández - "Planeación para tener ciudades ciclistas"
- Eveline Trevisan, Danielle Hope y Amanda Corradi - "Construyendo juntos la movilidad en bicicleta en Belo Horizonte"
- André Geraldo Soares - "Inclusión de la bicicleta en los planes de movilidad urbana de ciudades Brasileñas"

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

5:00 pm - 6:30 pm

Panel ■  
Movilidad sustentable y seguridad vial: ciudades comprometidas

- Carlos Roberto Hernández Velasco
- Pamela Olenka Peña Vivanco
- María Jimena Rivera Martínez
- David Uniman
- Verónica Delgadillo García

AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

5:00 pm - 6:30 pm

Panel ■  
Una mejor ciudad: De la reflexión a la acción

- Juan Francisco Aguirre Riveros
- Walkiria Torres Soto
- Edith Mendoza Pacheco
- Israel Gutiérrez Alonso

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

6:00 pm - 7:00 pm

Elección Alcalde/Alcaldesa del Ciclismo para la CDMX

AUDITORIO GUSTAVO BAZ, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

6:00 pm - 8:00 pm

Exposición ■  
El oficio de ser ciclista

ALDAMA S/N ENTRE CALLE MINA Y LUIS D. COLOSIO COLONIA BUENAVISTA

8:00 pm - 10:00 pm

Muestra Cine y movilidad ■  
Cine móvil Toto, energía con bicicletas

MONUMENTO A LA REVOLUCIÓN

8:00 pm - 10:00 pm

Exposición Fotográfica Desde el Camino ■

Aarón Borrás

DISTRITO FIJO CLUB DE CICLISMO, LIVERPOOL 61 COLONIA JUÁREZ

8:30 pm

Rodada  
PASEO DE TODOS "LUCHA LIBRE 3ERA CAÍDA"  
Paseo ciudadano independiente con 7 años de antigüedad

MONUMENTO A LA REVOLUCIÓN

## VIERNES 21 DE ABRIL

8:00 am - 6:00 pm  
Torneo Bici Polo

PLAZA DE LA CONSTITUCIÓN (ZÓCALO)

9:00 am  
Registro

PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO

9:00 am - 2:00 pm  
Biciescuelas

- SEDEMA (Ciudad de México)
- Bellocicleta (Colombia)
- Cycling games (Dinamarca)

BOSQUE DE CHAPULTEPEC (ENTRADA DE LOS LEONES)


9:30 am - 10:00 am

Conferencia Magistral  

Gary Fisher

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

10:00 am - 11:00 am

Conferencia Magistral   
Un nuevo modelo de movilidad y espacio público en Barcelona basado en Supermanzanas

Cynthia Echave

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

10:00 am - 6:00 pm

Competencia BMX

PLAZA DE LA CONSTITUCIÓN, ZÓCALO

10:00 am - 6:00 pm

Green Virus

AV. DEL RECREO 1824 AFUERA DE LA ESCUELA LICENCIADO CARLOS ZAPATA VELA COLONIA TLACOTAL RAMÓN MILLÁN, IZTACALCO


10:00 am - 11:30 am

Del Caos al Cardúmen ■

Impartido por: Mariana Cagnoli y Henrik Lundorff Kristensen

CASA BICITEKA

11:00 am - 11:30 am

Ponencias ■ 

Compartiendo experiencias con Cicloviajeros

- Michael Strasser - "Ultracycling through Africa in minimum time (World Record holder): difficulties and local value of biking in 8 different african countries. Lessons we learned."
- Sonia Noemi Medina Cardona y Felipe Mendoza Hinojosa - "Rodando a través de la Ruta de la Seda"

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

11:00 am - 12:00 pm

Estrategia de Movilidad en Bicicleta de la Secretaría del Medio Ambiente de la Ciudad de México

Secretaría de Medio Ambiente de la Ciudad de México

AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO


11:00 am - 2:00 pm

Taller: A bordar el camino, exposición de bordados y ofrenda ciclista ■

Impartido por: Erika Jiménez

PATIO DE PIEDRA EN PALACIO DE MEDICINA

11:00 am - 12:30 am

Ponencias ■ 

La bicicleta como herramienta de trabajo colaborativo

- Claudio Sarmiento - Casas "Pedalear es Trabajar: la inseguridad política de los bicicofios"
- Charlotte Fagan - "The Economy of Used Bicycles in Central America and Africa: How regulation and taxation impacts bicycle market growth"
- Mathieu Chassignet - "Financial incentives for the development of bicycle use in France"

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

11:00 am - 12:30 pm

Panel ■ 

Sistemas de Bicicleta Pública: experiencias, desafíos y beneficios

- Diana Bobadilla
- Daniel Santin
- Mariano Pérez Miñano
- Jesús David Acero Mora
- Rodrigo Lages Vitorio
- Esteban Ruiz

AUDITORIO GUSTAVO BAZ, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

11:00 am - 12:30 pm

Taller ■

Proyectos de mapeo ciudadano y datos abiertos para la movilidad no motorizada: Republika, Mapeaton

Céline Jacquin

SALÓN DE PROFESORES EMÉRITOS, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

11:30 am - 12:00 pm  
**Conferencia Magistral**   
**Ciudades que echan la mano**

Chris Carlsson

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

12:00 pm - 2:00 pm  
**Cuentos Cortos** ■  
 Impartido por: Edgar Hernandez Zepeda  
 TALLER DE PRODUCCIÓN NAHUAL

12:00 pm - 2:00 pm  
**Proyecto ULULAYU** ■  
 Coordinado por: Miguel Asa  
 PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO

12:00 pm - 3:00 pm  
**Taller de Gráfica Urbana** ■  
 Impartido por: Vicente Jurado, Noel Rodríguez y Eduardo Robledo  
 PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO

12:30 pm - 2:00 pm  
**Taller** ■  
**Enfoque bottom-up para políticas de movilidad**  
 SALÓN 2, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

12:30 pm - 2:00 pm  
**Taller** ■  
**Sua Bici, Seu Mundo**  
 Erica Telles  
 CASA BICITEKA

12:30 pm - 2:00 pm  
**Ponencias** ■  
**Derribando barreras**  

- Vladimir Kumov - Bicycle parade in -27 Celsius: a crazy idea or the best thing that happened in the bike movement of Moscow?
- Leonardo Andrade Aragao - Bicycles in Manaus/Amazonas: Production, use and contradiction
- Juan Manuel Ramirez Peñuñuri - Aprovechamiento del sistemahidrológico de Hermosillo para la movilidad sustentable
- Dra. Adonia Lugo y Jimmy Lizama - Live from LA: Bicycles Create Global Bridges

 SALA DE FUNDACIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

12:30 pm - 2:00 pm  
**Panel** ■  
**Infraestructura ciclista y peatonal, del diseño a su dimensión simbólica en el espacio público**  

- Daniel Valença
- Eduardo Villegas Megías
- Diego García Guerra
- Édgar Olaiz / Mariana Orozco

 AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

12:30 pm - 2:00 pm  
**Panel** ■  
**Políticas de Movilidad: de lo legislativo a la implementación**  

- Jonadab Martínez
- Bernardo Baranda
- Amarilis Ulloa
- Alberto Uribe

 AUDITORIO GUSTAVO BAZ, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

12:30 pm - 2:00 pm  
**Charlas Relámpago** ■  
**Dialogar y Construir: participación social desde la movilidad**  

- André Geraldo Soares
- Carlos Edward Campos
- Daniela Zepeda Mollinedo
- Lagia Lima
- Pablo Zacarías

 AULA GUILLERMO SOBERÓN, PALACIO DE MEDICINA

1:00 pm - 2:00 pm   
**Conferencia Magistral**  
**Repensar la movilidad, principios y herramientas: Volver a poner a las personas caminando y en bicicleta al centro de la movilidad**

Sylvie Banoun


PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

2:00 pm - 3:00 pm  
**Comida**

3:00 pm - 4:00 pm  
 Conferencia Magistral    
 Culturas ciclistas: Diversidad y cambio


Peter Cox

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

3:30 pm - 5:00 pm  
 Taller   
 No hace falta inventar la  
 rueda dos veces: Soluciones  
 concretas de 100 años de  
 bicicultura en Dinamarca aplicables  
 a un contexto Latinoamericano


Impartido por: Henrik Lundorff

SALÓN DE PROFESORES  
 EMÉRITOS, PALACIO DE LA  
 ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

3:30 pm - 5:00 pm  
 Charlas Relámpago   
 Iniciativas ciudadanas para la  
 transformación social


- Luciana Renner
- Pablo Felipe Arriagada Demetrio
- Claudio González S.
- Abril G. Morales Rodríguez
- Roark Stuart Kelly
- Roberto Valentín Romero Guluarte
- Juan García Alberdi "Juanítez"
- Mónica Kelly J. Camacho Charry

AULA GUILLERMO SOBERÓN,  
 PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE  
 MEDICINA

3:30 pm - 5:00 pm  
 Ponencias   
 Esfuerzos colaborativos por la  
 movilidad activa


- Daniel Lanfranco -  
 Género, Equidad y Transporte:  
 Innovando en rutas seguras para las  
 escuelas desde una comuna de bajos  
 ingresos en Chile
- Cynthia Yamamoto - Paradojas en-  
 tre ciudadanos y autoridades por la  
 fragmentación espacial en la ciudad  
 de Lima
- Ruth Pérez López - Análisis de los  
 vínculos entre la bicicleta utilitaria,  
 deportiva y recreativa a partir de los  
 programas "Ecobici" y "Muévete en  
 bici"
- Gabriela Binatti - Producción de  
 conocimiento para la promoción de  
 la movilidad por bicicleta en Brasil:  
 Investigación nacional y formación  
 de la red de investigadores

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN,  
 MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

3:30 pm - 5:00 pm  
 Panel   
 Transformando el espacio público:  
 nuevos paradigmas, exploraciones  
 y conocimientos.


- Claudio Sarmiento Casas
- Gonzalo García
- Francisco Paillie Pérez
- Sergio Roldán
- Rodrigo García

AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL  
 DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO


4:00 pm - 5:00 pm  
 Panel   
 Activismo desde la función pública

- Laura Ballesteros Mancilla
- Jesús Sánchez
- Adán Domínguez
- Roberto Remes
- Gisela Méndez
- Edgar Olaiz / Mariana Orozco\*
- Mario Silva

AUDITORIO GUSTAVO BAZ,  
 PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE  
 MEDICINA

4:00 pm - 5:00 pm  
 Presentación   
 Ricardo Galindo, Director de la Agencia Nacion-y construcción entorno al FMB6  
 al de Seguridad Vial, Colombia

SALÓN 2, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

4:00 pm - 7:00 pm  
 Taller Rodante CLIQ. Apropiación 

Coordinado por: Maria Curiel y Oscar G.

PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO



7:00 pm - 9:00 pm  
Mecánica por colectivo ■  
OJOXOJO

LA TRAMPA

5:00 pm - 6:30 pm  
Ponencias ■  
Entornos urbanos seguros

- Alejandra Leal - Diseño de calles para todos: experiencias en ciudades mexicanas
- Victor Barrera - Democratización de datos de percances viales de AXA México
- Alfonso Miguel - Movilidad 3.0
- María Fernanda Rivero - Red de sobrevivientes viales

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO  
NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

5:00 pm - 6:30 pm  
Charlas Relámpago ■  
La bicicleta como herramienta  
de trabajo

- María Paz Castillo
- Orlando Barraza Aguayo
- Sandy Millares
- Miguel Maximiliano
- Aurora Echavarría Canales
- Frida Siloe Márquez Lara

AULA GUILLERMO SOBERÓN,  
PALACIO DE MEDICINA

5:00 pm - 6:30 pm  
Reciclando y reutilizando la ■  
bicicleta para promover el  
bienestar social en comunidades

- Daniel Lanfranco
- Sabrina Machry
- Kaciane Martins
- Bicis por México

AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL  
DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

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5:30 pm - 6:30 pm  
Conferencia Magistral    
Urbanismo de la bicicleta y los próximos 200 años de la historia del ciclismo

Florian Lorenz

AUDITORIO GUSTAVO BAZ, PALACIO DE LA ESCUELA DE MEDICINA

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7:00 pm - 9:30 pm  
Lucha Libre y Proyectos Ciudadanos  
Cara a Cara

ARENA COLISEO

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9:00 pm - 11:00 pm  
Bike Smut, Cine + Performance

Phil Sano

CASA BICITEKA



## SÁBADO 22 DE ABRIL

<p><b>9:00 am</b> Registro</p> <p>PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO</p>	<p><b>9:00 am - 2:00 pm</b> Biciescuelas</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SEDEMA (Ciudad de México)</li> <li>• Bellocicleta (Colombia)</li> <li>• Cycling games (Dinamarca)</li> </ul> <p>BOSQUE DE CHAPULTEPEC (ENTRADA DE LOS LEONES)</p>	<p><b>9:00 am - 11:00 am</b> Rodada incluyente</p> <p>DEL EJE 8 (POPOCATÉPETL) Y EJE CENTRAL / CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>			
<p><b>9:30 am - 10:00 am</b> Conferencia Magistral  Museo del Juguete Antiguo Mexicano</p> <p>Roberto Shimizu</p> <p>PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>					
<p><b>10:00 am - 11:00 am</b> Conferencia Magistral:  De la participación ciudadana a la renovación de las instituciones</p> <p>Soraya Azán</p> <p>PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>	<p><b>10:00 am - 6:00 pm</b> Green Virus</p> <p>FRENTE A LA ESCUELA PRIMARIA, LIC. CARLOS ZAPATA VELA, EN AV. DEL RECREO 1824 SUR 119 Y PRIMERA CERRADA DE RECREO, COLONIA JUVENTINO ROSAS</p>				
<p><b>11:00 am - 2:00 pm</b> Taller a bordar el camino, exposición de bordados y ofrenda ciclista</p> <p>Impartido por: Erika Jiménez</p> <p>PATIO DE PIEDRA EN PALACIO DE MEDICINA</p>	<p><b>11:00 am - 2:00 pm</b> Del Caos al Cardúmen</p> <p>Impartido por: Mariana Cagnoli y Henrik Lundorff Kristensen</p> <p>CASA BICITEKA</p>	<p><b>11:00 am - 12:30 pm</b> Ponencias Datos y patrones de movilidad en bicicleta</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Erick Solís Solís - "Ciclovías hechas a mano"</li> <li>• Carlos Rafael Salinas González - "Datos abiertos como soporte de políticas públicas e intervenciones urbanas"</li> <li>• Luciano Aranha - "Origin-Destination of Cycle Trips in Aracaju"</li> <li>• Antonio Suárez Bonilla - "Integración y aplicación de saberes sobre ruedas desde la UNAM"</li> <li>• Juciano Martins Rodrigues - "La bicicleta en las estadísticas públicas"</li> </ul> <p>PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>	<p><b>11:00 am - 12:30 pm</b> Panel Género y la Bicicleta: perspectivas de tiempo, lugares y personas</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marina Harkot</li> <li>• Tania Hernández Chettriquin</li> <li>• Galo Eduardo Cardenas</li> <li>• Rodrigo Díaz</li> <li>• Paula Soto</li> </ul> <p>AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO</p>	<p><b>11:00 am - 12:30 pm</b> Charlas Relámpago Tecnología y redes a favor de la movilidad sustentable</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rodrigo Rodríguez</li> <li>• Cadu Carvalho</li> <li>• Paulo César Silva</li> <li>• Paulina Barria</li> <li>• Tomas Bleier</li> <li>• Daniel Santin</li> <li>• Wagner Mitsumaru</li> </ul> <p>Menesca Hirata</p> <p>SALÓN 2 MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL</p>	<p><b>11:00 am - 12:30 pm</b> Taller Construyendo mi calle por Exploradores de la Ciudad</p> <p>Evelin Santander</p> <p>SALÓN 1, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL</p>
<p><b>11:00 am - 11:30 am</b> Premiación BIKEATHON</p> <p>SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL</p>					
<p><b>12:00 pm - 1:00 pm</b> Conferencia Magistral   Haciendo un ciclismo igualitario: Género y más allá</p> <p>Rachel Aldred</p> <p>SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL</p>	<p><b>12:00 pm - 3:00 pm</b> Body Painting World Naked Bike Ride</p> <p>Coordinado por: Agustín C.</p> <p>CASA BICITEKA</p>	<p><b>12:00 pm - 3:00 pm</b> Taller de Gráfica Urbana</p> <p>Impartido por: Vicente Jurado, Noel Rodríguez y Eduardo Robledo</p> <p>PLAZA SANTO DOMÍNGO</p>			
<p> Conferencia magistral  Traducción  Arte y entorno  Política pública  Redes para la colaboración  Ciudadanía, equidad e inclusión  Economía sobre ruedas</p>					

**12:30 pm - 2:00 pm**

**Ponencias** ■

**Educación y promoción de la movilidad activa**

- Juan Pablo Ramos Monzón - Cadena de Imprudencias
- Edgar Seis y Cynthia Yamamoto - Presentación de la Carta Ilustrada de los Derechos del Peatón
- Daniel Andrade M. - La Bicicleta - Símbolo de la Ciudadanía Energética

PATIO PRINCIPAL, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

**12:30 pm - 2:00 pm**

**Panel** ■

**Potencializando la movilidad en bicicleta: de la intermodalidad al trazo de rutas**

- Víctor Hugo Alvarado Ángeles
- Ernesto García Almaraz
- Daniel Guth
- Dalia Elena Guevara Castillo

AUDITORIO, CENTRO CULTURAL DEL MÉXICO CONTEMPORÁNEO

**12:30 pm - 2:00 pm**

**Charlas Relámpago** ■

**Innovación y educación en torno a la bicicleta**

- Vixiescuela A.C.
- Juan Pablo Bejarano Pérez
- Linsabel Noguera Lameda
- Wouter Florizoone
- Kely Alfaro Montoya
- HPV Puma Bike
- Isis Chang Ramírez y Rafael Ortega Solís

SALÓN 2, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

**1:00 pm - 2:00 pm**

**Taller** ■

**Cómo evaluar una calle a pata**

Denisse Larracilla

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL

**1:00 pm - 2:00 pm**

**Cuentos a Domicilio** ■

Impartido por: Nayma Fernandes Pérez

ZÓCALO

**1:30 pm**

**Foto grupal**

PLAZA SANTO DOMINGO

**2:00 pm - 3:00 pm**

**Comida**

**2:00 pm - 3:00 pm**

**Cuentacuentos** ■

Impartido por: Enrique Soberanes

ZÓCALO

**3:00 pm - 6:00 pm**

**Asamblea General del Foro**

- Reporte FMB6
- Manifiesto Ciudades Hechas a Mano
- Premiaciones
- Presentación del FMB7 Lima Perú
- Votación sede FMB8

SALA DE FUNDICIÓN, MUSEO NUMISMÁTICO NACIONAL



**4:00 pm - 6:00 pm**

**Rodada Sensibilización de la escucha**  
Coordinada por: Ana Cecilia Medina A.

SALIDA Y LLEGADA PLAZA DE SANTO DOMINGO

**4:00 pm - 7:00 pm**

**Taller Rodante CLIQ. Apropiación y construcción entorno al FMB6**  
Coordinado por: Maria Curiel y Oscar G.

PLAZA SANTO DOMINGO

**6:00 pm - 7:00 pm**

**Clausura**



**6:00 pm - 7:00 pm**

**Teatro en Bici**

**Tragedia Sobre Ruedas, un espectáculo sin frenos**

Compañía Teatro entre 2. Proyecto apoyado por el FONCA y el programa "CENART sale a la Calle"

RODADA CAMINATA A PLAZA SANTO DOMINGO



## DOMINGO 23 DE ABRIL

9:00 am - 11:00 am  
Colectivo Ojo X Ojo

Intervención artística al inicio de rodada ciclista. Registro..."

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9:30 am  
Rodada a Xochimilco

SALIDA DEL ZÓCALO

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11:00 am - 6:00 pm  
Rueda Radio (unidad móvil radiofónica auto sustentable y participativa).

Coordinado por: Lázaro Valiente y Laura Janka

XOCHIMILCO

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11:00 am - 4:00 pm  
Rodada  
Caravana internacional a Xochimilco

11:00 am - 2:00 pm  
Picnic sobre el Río

VIDUCTO RÍO LA PIEDAD

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12:00 pm - 2:00 pm  
Banda Huentli

Banda de viento tradicional

XOCHIMILCO

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12:00 pm - 3:00 pm  
Taller de Gráfica "La Cebada"

Impartido por: Demián Flores

XOCHIMILCO

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8:00 pm - 10:00 pm

Proyección y premiación de piezas audiovisuales ganadoras de la convocatoria "Cine y Movilidad" Foro al Aire Libre de Cineteca Nacional

CINETECA NACIONAL

## Appendix 3: Mujeres ciclistas plantean cero tolerancia a la violencia machista

RED DE MUJERES EN  
BICICLETA DE  
LATINOAMERICA

8 FORO  
MUNDIAL  
DE LA BICICLETA  
*mingamoy*

### Mujeres ciclistas plantean cero tolerancia a la violencia machista

La semana pasada se dio a conocer el caso de una mujer bogotana de diecinueve años quien fue torturada y violada por un hombre integrante de la comunidad ciclista. El juez que tomó el caso le otorgó casa por cárcel, considerando que “no es un peligro para la sociedad”, al igual que lo hizo hace unos meses, cuando dejó en libertad a otro abusador sexual.

Es grande la decepción frente a un sistema judicial que deja impunes los crímenes de género, pero aún mayor, la que genera el silencio cómplice de la comunidad ciclista bogotana y colombiana que, a pesar de todas las instancias y canales de comunicación con las que cuenta, escasamente se ha manifestado al respecto.

Por redes sociales circula un comunicado, por parte del grupo “Gonoraiders” en nombre de la “comunidad bici”, en el que se convoca a un plantón el día miércoles 19 de diciembre, pero que no reconoce la violencia de género como una problemática real, grave y urgente. Sin contexto y sin rechazo explícito a las acciones de sus integrantes, el comunicado no avanza hacia la igualdad de género, tampoco hacia la erradicación del machismo y la violencia sexista al interior de la comunidad ciclista, ni hacia una posición de empatía, solidaridad y reconocimiento.

Como integrantes de la Red de Mujeres en Bicicleta de Latinoamérica, y con el apoyo del Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta, Ecuador (FMBE), nos comprometemos con la erradicación de la violencia de género dentro y fuera del movimiento ciclista. Por lo que, queremos manifestarnos ante tan grave crimen y rechazar la violencia machista dentro de nuestros espacios de encuentro, tanto físicos como digitales.

Así manifestamos:

1. Nuestro total e irrestricto apoyo a las víctimas de una serie de abusos que se dan también, en la comunidad ciclista, no solo de Colombia sino de América Latina y el mundo.
2. Que la violencia de género no es novedad en la comunidad ciclista: atraviesa un espectro que abarca desde los micromachismos, abusos, hostigamientos o acosos, hasta violaciones y su extremo lamentable: el feminicidio, y, por mucho tiempo, ha estado rodeada de silencio y complicidad.
3. Que el comunicado que se emite en nombre de la “comunidad bici” es emitido por un grupo puntual que no refleja la posición de la comunidad ciclista latinoamericana. La comunidad bici cuenta con instancias reconocidas, constantemente en contacto y en colaboración tanto en Colombia como en el resto América Latina. Se desconoce quién habla en representación de la “comunidad bici” en el comunicado circulado por Gonoraiders.

4. Que la red de Mujeres en Bicicleta de Latinoamérica y el Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta, Ecuador (FMB8) rechazan absolutamente la violencia de cualquier índole dentro de nuestra comunidad, principalmente la violencia motivada por el machismo, lesbotransfobia y racismo que se perpetúa en la complicidad y el silenciamiento constante de las víctimas.

5. Que vemos con gravedad la ausencia de un lenguaje pertinente para hablar de la violencia de género en el comunicado circulado por Gonoraider's; además del desconocimiento de la perspectiva de género y el caso omiso que se hace a las violencias en escenarios ciclistas en general.

6. Que Cuestionamos al grupo que emite el comunicado y hace la convocatoria al plantón, pues identificamos una falta de autocrítica frente a la violencia machista que están dispuestos a tolerar y encubrir:

- a) A través de los memes, chistes, imágenes, videos y comentarios sexistas que circulan en su página de Facebook, Gonoraider's es partícipe de la violencia de género a través de la violencia simbólica y la creación activa de un espacio hostil hacia las mujeres.
- b) Los medios de comunicación han dado a conocer que el comportamiento del perpetrador es reiterativo, ante lo cual su comunidad ha permanecido en silencio.

7. Nuestro rechazo a la indiferencia de la comunidad ciclista ante la violencia de género, y la ausencia de contingencia para violencias de género dentro del movimiento (sexismos, acoso, transfobias, homofobias, violencias verbales/simbólicas y feminicidios).

8. Vemos con preocupación la ausencia de una instancia comprometida con la deconstrucción de prácticas machistas en las organizaciones ciclistas. Es grave la ausencia de este tipo de espacios, que vemos como clave para avanzar hacia la igualdad de género y contra los ciclamachismos que vivimos en las organizaciones en las que participamos.

9. Urgimos a la BiciRed Colombia se pronuncie al respecto y, aunque Gonoraider's no es miembro de esta red, observamos con preocupación el silencio de esta organización.

10. Exigimos a los grupos ciclistas asumir la responsabilidad de crear espacios seguros y adoptar una política de cero tolerancia contra la violencia en todas sus formas, en particular hacia las mujeres y disidencias sexuales.

- a) Sugerimos el desarrollo de mecanismos de contingencia al interior de las organizaciones ciclistas con el fin de prevenir y reaccionar ante las instancias de violencia de género de manera efectiva.
- b) Incitamos mayor participación por parte de mujeres y disidencias dentro de las organizaciones ciclistas y hacemos hincapié en que los espacios seguros fomentan esa participación.

RED DE MUJERES EN  
BICICLETA DE  
LATINOAMÉRICA



Invitamos a la sociedad en general a no permitir este tipo de agresiones, a sumarse y concientizarse que no es normal ni deberían permitirse estos hechos, y a tomar acciones propositivas en función de comunidades más seguras en espacios públicos y privados. Como red de mujeres ciclistas, no toleraremos actos violentos contra las compañeras dentro y fuera de nuestra comunidad y asumimos el compromiso de apoyar a las víctimas de la violencia de género.

Expresamos nuestro total apoyo a quién fue víctima de Robert Andres Colonia, manifestamos nuestro amor y sororidad hacia ella y pedimos se resguarde en primer lugar su identidad y su deseo sobre cómo actuar ante este terrible hecho.

**18 de diciembre de 2019**

**Red de Mujeres en Bicicleta de Latinoamérica, integrada por: Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Perú, Puerto Rico, Bolivia, Venezuela, México y Brasil  
Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta, Ecuador (FMBB)**

**#LoQueEsConUnaEsConTodas #VivasNosQueremos  
#SinSerAcosadas #MiráCómoNosPonemos  
#SororidadCiclista #LibresdeViolencias**

# Appendix 4: Vuelta a San Juan: sexist violence, again

## [English version]

RED DE MUJERES EN  
BICICLETA DE  
LATINOAMÉRICA

### Vuelta a San Juan: Sexist violence, again

In light of the recent case of sexual harassment perpetrated by Belgian cyclist Iljo Keisse, and taking into account the complicity of his teammates at Quick Step, the Red de Mujeres en Bicicleta Latinoamérica (Latin American Network of Women Cyclists) manifests its solidarity with the victim and rejects his regrettable actions in the context of the 37th Vuelta a San Juan, Argentina.

Aware of the decision made by the association "Pedal Club Olimpia" to expel the Belgian cyclist (who harassed a female resident of San Juan) from the competition; and having carefully read the statements issued by the event organisers addressing the matter, we demand that these situations be dealt with the severity they deserve, and that they be named for what they are: instances of gender violence.

We consider that the official statements issued on the matter have dealt with the problem by invisibilising the patriarchal, sexist, and misogynistic practices that we demand be addressed as such, eschewing any euphemism. We believe it is necessary to make explicit that Iljo Keisse committed sexual assault; that this behaviour is rooted in violence and discrimination towards women and in the belief that women can be undermined, treated like objects, and regarded as inferior; that his teammates were complicit of his sexist attitudes; and that the organisation has emphasised the need to protect the "honour and reputation of the Vuelta a San Juan, the UCI, and cycling in general" rather than seeking to protect the victim who reported the incident to the local authorities.

Given the above, and considering that presently only men are participants in this competition, we manifest our deepest rejection of these violent events and demand that the next instalment of the Vuelta a San Juan incorporates categories for all people and skills, so that they may participate in this renowned event on equal footing with men.

We request the support of all groups, associations, and organisations that organise sportive cycling competitions in generating the necessary means to promote the active participation of women and non-hegemonic genders in their events. We firmly believe that any and all events that exclude women's participation as organisers or competitors is a space that breeds and augments sexism and misogyny. These attitudes continue to kill one woman every 30 hours in Argentina, and allow for the continued complicity between sexist men often shielded by humour and the inner workings of patriarchal culture.

January 29, 2019

Red de Mujeres en Bicicleta de Latinoamérica integrated by: Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, México, Perú, Puerto Rico y Venezuela.

**#LoQueEsConUnaEsConTodas**  
**#VivasNosQueremos**  
**#SinSerAcosadas**  
**#MiráCómoNosPonemos**  
**#SororidadCiclista**  
**#LibresdeViolencias**

## Appendix 5: Manifiesto Mujeres y Disidencias FMB 8

### Manifiesto FMB 8

El siguiente texto construye sobre el Manifiesto FMB 7 redactado por las compañeras de Lima en anticipo al Foro que se celebró en su ciudad, En el marco del FMB8, las mujeres y disidencias nos reunimos en nuestro Primer encuentro y se llevó a cabo nuestra primera asamblea. Es a raíz de nuestras experiencias en estos espacios que nos acercamos a la Asamblea del FMB con este documento. En este sentido, La Comisión de mujeres y disidencias del FMB 8 reconoce el trabajo realizado previamente y lo complementa a la luz de las temáticas que se han venido discutiendo a lo largo del último año respecto a los espacios seguros, la inclusión, la interseccionalidad, y la violencia de género. Respecto a lo anterior, propone a la Asamblea los siguientes puntos para avanzar hacia una sana convivencia basada en la equidad de género.

Queremos solicitar a la Asamblea del FMB8 la creación de los estatutos del Foro Mundial de la Bicicleta que se vienen proponiendo desde hace varios Foros atrás. Dentro de estos estatutos, exigimos la inclusión de los siguientes lineamientos. Estamos convencidos de que alineándonos bajo estos principios nos encaminaremos hacia la sociedad más orgánica, equitativa, horizontal, justa y sostenible que deseamos tener.

1. Proponemos la creación de una nueva comisión permanente: Comisión de mujeres y disidencias.
2. Somos activistas ciclistas y queremos transformar positivamente tanto nuestras relaciones interpersonales como nuestros territorios con empatía, inclusión, respeto y cuidado para todes.
3. Respetamos desde nuestras acciones la diversidad de nuestros cuerpos, territorios y desplazamientos, y promovemos la movilidad sostenible con alegría y valentía. Entendemos que la sostenibilidad abarca los principios del cuidado al medio ambiente; las economías justas; y la equidad social.
4. Exigimos que el Foro adopte una perspectiva de sostenibilidad que sea coherente con los principios del desarrollo sostenible en su dimensión medioambiental. Mitigando el consumo innecesario; la generación de residuos contaminantes; y evitando el desperdicio de alimentos.
5. Nos unimos a luchas a favor de la dignidad e igualdad de las personas promoviendo accesos, derechos y oportunidades en todos nuestros territorios. Sabemos que en ocasiones para propiciar el

acceso de oportunidades de manera igualitaria es necesario generar acciones focalizadas para los grupos menos privilegiados.

6. Queremos que el Foro asuma como compromiso el respeto a la interseccionalidad(1)(2):

6.1. Que sea requisito apuntar a una repartición mínima de 50/50 entre hombres y mujeres y disidencias en coordinación, ponencias, charlas magistrales, y demás formatos de participación.

6.2. Que se replantee el formato de recibimiento de postulaciones para incluir formas de expresión y construcción de saberes que pueden manifestarse a través de medios distintos a la palabra escrita.

6.3. Que el Foro fomente espacios de participación alternativos concorde al punto 6.2.

6.4. Que el Foro adopte una posición activa en la búsqueda de participantes de identidades no hegemónicas a través de la invitación explícita a las personas históricamente excluidas de los espacios de participación ciudadana.

8. Acordamos utilizar lenguaje inclusivo y no sexista así como evitar prácticas en las que se objetivicen nuestros cuerpos. Esperamos que el Foro adopte prácticas de inclusión como la señalética no-binaria en los baños y espacios de privacidad; y se asegure de que las sedes sean universalmente accesibles y ciclo-inclusivas.

8. Promovemos el bien común y los espacios colectivos, tanto mixtos como exclusivos para mujeres y disidencias, a favor de un sistema mundial sostenible y que reconozca positivamente nuestra diversidad de ser, estar y desplazarnos en nuestros territorios, libremente y sin miedos. Exigimos que las dinámicas de estos espacios sean respetadas por todes les participantes del Foro.

9. Nos comprometemos a que dentro del FMB y en nuestros colectivos se generen espacios de trabajo libres y seguros, así como acciones con enfoque de género (3).

10. Exigimos que el Encuentro de mujeres y disidencias se institucionalice en el marco del Foro, en horarios que no impidan la participación de mujeres y disidencias en otras actividades del Foro.

10.1. Todas las organizaciones deberán establecer y facilitar espacios para el Encuentro de mujeres y disidencias, reservándole una jornada completa.

10.2. Se deberá garantizar el acceso a todos los recursos y servicios que sean requeridos para facilitar y potenciar la participación de mujeres y disidencias en el Foro.

11. Urgimos al Foro asumir los protocolos de seguridad creados por la Comisión de mujeres y disidencias:

11.1. Se deberá hacer un mapeo de las organizaciones locales que puedan brindar apoyo frente a instancias de violencia.

11.2. Se socializarán los protocolos con las personas vinculadas con los lugares donde se realiza el Foro y todas sus actividades relacionadas.

11.2. Se harán vinculantes los acuerdos de convivencia pactados en el FMB8.

12. Respetamos y valoramos todas las experiencias, percepciones y concepciones individuales y colectivas y cómo estas aportan y suman al movimiento ciclista.

(1) Entendemos por interseccionalidad las diversas formas en que nuestra identidad se construye en función del entrecruzamiento de dimensiones como clase, raza, género, nacionalidad, etc.

(2) La intención de incorporar voces diversas en nuestras acciones y análisis, buscar que en todos los espacios de trabajo haya diversidad de opiniones, voces y contextos sociales.

(3) Estamos conscientes de que el género como una construcción sociocultural favorece una mirada patriarcal, androcéntrica, heteronormada, y colonial en nuestros espacios privados y públicos; sin embargo, sabemos también que es algo dinámico al igual que nuestras culturas, por lo que apelamos al respeto, la libertad y la vida en dignidad para todas las personas.

## Appendix 6: Protocolo para la equidad de género (Gender Equity Protocol)



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# JANE JACOBS

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“Las ciudades tienen la capacidad de proporcionar algo para todo el mundo, sólo porque, y sólo cuando, se crean para todo el mundo”

# INTRODUCCIÓN

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El Colectivo Muévete y Argentina en Bici, como organizaciones ciudadanas que promueven la movilidad sustentable y el derecho a la ciudad, abogan asimismo por el bienestar y el respeto entre sus integrantes, buscando reflejar con ello el tipo de sociedad que queremos construir como colectivo.

Sabemos que nuestra sociedad está atravesada por profundas desigualdades, donde la discriminación y violencia entre personas lamentablemente sigue siendo algo habitual. Por eso consideramos que nuestros Colectivos deben ser un espacio que estimule el encuentro con las diferencias de género, etnia, raza, clase social, edad, de preferencias sexuales, de capacidades motrices y neurodiversidades. En consecuencia, rechazamos cualquier tipo de violencia o discriminación, tanto hacia integrantes del Colectivo como hacia personas externas con que se relacionan sus integrantes.

Este protocolo puntualiza sobre la violencia de género, haciendo eco de los movimientos feministas que en sucesivas olas, en el último siglo, han puesto en cuestionamiento muchos aspectos normalizados de la cultura de relacionamiento interno en diversas instituciones de nuestra región; y que, en los últimos meses, han llamado la atención sobre la ubicuidad y diversidad de las agresiones que enfrentan las mujeres e identidades de género disidentes en la vida cotidiana y en la movilidad. Inspirades por ese contexto, y como nuestro deber es evolucionar a una organización plural que no discrimine a nadie arbitrariamente en su participación en el Colectivo, es que pretendemos también observar cómo nuestra propia organización podría estar restringiendo, inconscientemente, la participación de las mujeres y de otras identidades de género no hegemónicas.

Disponer de este protocolo, es comprometer el funcionamiento de las organizaciones a ser un espacio seguro en que se proteja y se ejerza la equidad de género en todas sus actividades. Es también su propósito establecer una serie de medidas a tomar en casos de violencia y discriminación de género perpetradas por sus miembros, en donde se investiguen de manera imparcial, transparente y compasiva los hechos conflictivos, y se determinen los pasos a seguir y las consecuencias pertinentes. Estos mecanismos contribuirán a generar un espacio seguro y de inclusión dentro del Colectivo, y hacia afuera a través de las acciones de sus integrantes.

Esperamos que este protocolo entregue las herramientas pertinentes para generar un cambio cultural profundo entre nosotres, en donde acordemos en conjunto lo que es correcto y lo que no en nuestras relaciones que llevamos entre les integrantes del colectivo y la ciudadanía en general, para rechazar la cultura patriarcal de la cual somos herederes. Nuestros Colectivos serán organizaciones dignas del desafío de volver justa nuestra ciudad, y el cambio empieza por casa.



# ANTECEDENTES DE LA INICIATIVA

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La Comisión de Convivencia y Bienestar del Colectivo Muévete fue conformada en mayo de 2017 con el fin de preocuparse de las relaciones comunitarias internas entre los integrantes de Muévete, ya sea desde la organización de actividades recreativas o formativas que ayudaron a consolidar al grupo que se estaba formando, como también en la definición de las directrices éticas con que se relacionan sus integrantes.

Una de las tareas encargadas a la Comisión es la de redactar protocolos o manuales que expliciten a los miembros de Muévete, así como a la propia Comisión, algunas acciones que deben tenerse en cuenta para mantener una buena convivencia interna o que contribuyen en el quehacer funcional de la organización. El primer protocolo que se redactó fue el de Resolución de Conflictos; luego se creó el de Integración de Observadores y Nuevos Integrantes; sumándose después el tercer y cuarto protocolo, que tienen la función de un manual consultable (y exigible) sobre la comunicación virtual de las actividades del Colectivo. Cada uno de estos protocolos fueron presentados y consensuados en Asamblea Ordinaria General, de tal manera que puedan incorporarse a los estatutos del Colectivo Muévete. Los próximos protocolos que se redactarán son uno referente al bienestar y equidad interregional, y otro(s) referente(s) a la promoción de la equidad de género en el Muévete. Con motivo de este último tema, se convocó a la Mesa por la Equidad de Género, que tiene como objetivo la redacción del presente protocolo, de acuerdo a la realidad de nuestras organizaciones, incorporándose también Argentina en Bici a la discusión desde el principio, quienes venían trabajando en crear espacios seguros, tanto en el Foro Argentino de la Bicicleta como en sus propias Asambleas. A través de un diálogo entre dos contextos de aplicación distintos se buscó transversalizar la mayor diversidad de perspectivas posibles a ese acuerdo en común que se pretende lograr, de tal forma que se concrete un protocolo ecuaníme y replicable a otras organizaciones.

Por otro lado, y sumándose a los motivos para levantar este espacio, en los últimos meses hemos observado en el continente latinoamericano una masiva ola feminista que ha puesto en cuestionamiento muchos aspectos de la cultura de relacionamiento interno en diversas instituciones del país, poniendo en evidencia numerosos casos de discriminación y violencia por razones de género, normalizados desde hace años en las instituciones cuestionadas. Finalmente, se agregó a las motivaciones el hecho de que la Comisión de Convivencia y Bienestar tuvo que responder ante una denuncia de acoso sexual realizada por una compañera de Muévete en contra de otro compañero, ejerciendo los representantes de la Comisión como mediadores en el conflicto. Si bien este caso se resolvió satisfactoriamente para la afectada, la Comisión notó que los actuales protocolos no eran suficientes para abordar situaciones de acoso sexual o abuso de poder, lo que les impulsó a generar un nuevo protocolo más específico que pueda garantizar un mayor resguardo a cualquier future afectada, así como un espacio confiable de denuncia de situaciones similares.

A raíz de este hecho, y considerando que es una problemática transversal a organizaciones y sociedades, creemos que pueden haber múltiples alternativas de crecimiento con un programa de equidad de género coordinado desde esta Mesa y que permita tanto la sanción, mediante protocolos, de las conductas que atentan contra la convivencia interna y la participación de las mujeres e identidades de género no hegemónicas, así como la generación de instancias de reeducación que permitan a varones y mujeres deconstruir convenciones en torno a los roles de género que ejerce el sistema patriarcal.

# CONCEPTOS CLAVE

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Abuso de poder	Utilizar una posición de privilegio para incurrir en acciones dañinas (física, psicológica, o sexualmente) para otra persona.
Abuso sexual	Se refiere a cualquier tipo de contacto físico íntimo (sexual) no consensuado, o con personas que no están en capacidad de dar su consentimiento, que produce daños físicos y/o psicológicos.
Acoso Sexual Callejero	Son prácticas de connotación sexual ejercidas por una persona desconocida, en espacios públicos como la calle, el transporte o espacios semi públicos (mall/shopping, universidad, plazas, etc.); que suelen generar malestar en la víctima. Estas acciones son unidireccionales, es decir, no son consentidas por la víctima. Las prácticas de acoso sexual callejero son sufridas de manera sistemática, en especial por las mujeres o quienes son leídas como tal, ocurriendo varias veces al día desde aproximadamente los 12 años, lo que genera traumatización no sólo por hechos de acoso especialmente graves, sino por su recurrencia.
Afectade	Persona que recibe acoso, violencia, malestar o agresión perpetradas por otra/s persona/s. Puede corresponder y coincidir con la persona que denuncia el hecho, o no.
Amenaza	Entendemos como una amenaza un gesto, expresión, u acción que anticipa la intención de dañar a alguien, física, psicológica, sexual, o socialmente, con la intención de lograr modificar el comportamiento de la persona amenazada.
Denunciante	Persona que realiza la denuncia de un hecho de violencia, acoso o agresión ante la Organización, ante la Mesa de Equidad de Género o ante cualquier miembro del Comité Bi-Nacional, exponiendo lo sucedido siendo esta persona la afectada o siendo testigue del hecho perpetrado hacia otra persona.
Diferencia sexo y género	El sexo alude a las diferencias entre hombre y mujer, es una categoría física y biológica. Mientras que género (tradicionalmente, masculino o femenino) es una categoría construida social y culturalmente. Se aprende y, por lo tanto, puede evolucionar o cambiar.
Disidencia sexual	La disidencia consiste en que hay sujetos que no aceptan las normas de la heterosexualidad compulsiva de la identidad hegemónica. En contraposición al término “diversidad sexual”, el término disidencia implica una distinción de la heteronormatividad impuesta, que además es una distinción reivindicativa y política. Cuando se habla de diversidad se debe entender que en lo diverso entran todas las posibilidades de la sexualidad humana, incluyendo la heterosexualidad, y por ende esta noción es inadecuada cuando la usamos para referirnos a las demandas, grupos o movimientos no heterosexuales.
Expresión de género	Esta es la forma en que las personas expresan de forma externa el género. Ello incluye vestimenta, comportamiento y otros. Los atributos que se etiquetan como femeninos o masculinos pueden variar dependiendo de la cultura.

Género	Es el conjunto de características sociales, culturales, políticas, psicológicas, jurídicas y económicas que la sociedad asigna a las personas de forma diferenciada como propias de hombres y mujeres (lo que biológicamente se entiende por hombre y mujer). Los géneros son construcciones socioculturales que varían a través de la historia y se refieren a los rasgos psicológicos y culturales que la sociedad atribuye a lo que considera “masculino” o “femenino” mediante la educación, el uso del lenguaje, la familia, las instituciones o la religión.
Identidad de género	Se refiere a la experiencia y expresión de género de cada persona: innata, profundamente sentida internamente e individual, que puede o no corresponder a la fisiología de la persona o al sexo asignado al nacer. Cuando una persona tiene el sentimiento profundo de que es hombre, mujer, que es ambos a la vez o ninguno de los dos. Cuando alguien se identifica con el género que se le asignó al nacer, es decir, con los genitales que posee, se le llama cisgénero, mientras que transgénero son los casos opuesto.
Perspectiva de género	La perspectiva o visión de género es una categoría analítica que toma los estudios que surgen desde las diferentes vertientes académicas de los feminismos para, desde esa plataforma teórica, cuestionar los estereotipos y elaborar nuevos contenidos que permitan incidir en el imaginario colectivo de una sociedad al servicio de la igualdad y la equidad.
Sexismo	Sexismo es toda forma de enfatizar las diferencias entre el hombre y la mujer, esencialmente biológicas, desde una perspectiva discriminatoria entre lo masculino y lo femenino, que lleva consigo prejuicios y prácticas vejatorias y ultrajantes para las mujeres e identidades disidentes. El machismo y la misoginia tienen más que ver con la dominación o poder del hombre sobre la mujer y con el odio a la mujer, respectivamente, pero están muy relacionados.
Victimarie	Es la persona que en una denuncia se describe como la que realiza un acto de violencia, acoso o agresión ante otra persona.
Violencia / agresión sexual	Atentado contra la libertad sexual de otra persona, sin que medie consentimiento, empleando violencia e intimidación. La violencia sexual incluye muchas acciones que hieren a cada víctima de manera similar y que se perpetran tanto en la esfera pública como en la privada. Algunos ejemplos son la violación (violencia sexual que incluye alguna forma de penetración en el cuerpo de la víctima), violación en el matrimonio e intento de violación. Otros tipos de actividad sexual forzada incluyen: ser forzada a mirar a otra persona masturbarse o a masturbarse delante de otras personas, ser forzada a tener sexo sin protección, acoso sexual y, en el caso de las personas gestantes, abuso en relación a la reproducción (embarazo forzado, aborto forzado, esterilización forzada).
Violencias de género	Se entiende por violencia de género cualquier acto violento o agresión, basados en una situación de desigualdad, discriminación y sometimiento marcada por la identidad de género de la persona en el marco de un sistema de relaciones de dominación que tenga o pueda tener como consecuencia un daño físico, sexual o psicológico. Las violencias contra las identidades disidentes y las mujeres constituyen un atentado contra el derecho a la vida, a la seguridad, a la libertad y a la dignidad y por lo tanto, un obstáculo para el desarrollo de una sociedad democrática.

Violencia física	Es un acto que intenta provocar o provoca dolor o daño físico. Incluye golpear, quemar, patear, dar puñetazos, morder, desfigurar, usar objetos o armas, arrancar el cabello. En su forma más extrema, la violencia física lleva al asesinato, feminicidio, y crímenes de odio. Algunas clasificaciones también incluyen la trata de personas y la esclavitud dentro de la categoría de violencia física porque implica coerción inicial, y las mujeres u hombres jóvenes que la padecen terminan siendo víctimas de más violencia como resultado de su esclavitud.
Violencia mediática*	Toda aquella publicación o difusión de mensajes e imágenes estereotipados a través de cualquier medio de comunicación, que de manera directa o indirecta promueva la explotación, discriminación, y violencia, que injurie, difame, discrimine, deshonre, humille o atente contra la dignidad de las personas, como así también la utilización de mujeres, adolescentes y niñas en mensajes e imágenes pornográficas, legitimando la desigualdad de trato y que construya patrones socioculturales reproductores de la desigualdad o generadores de violencia contra las personas por su identidad de género. Incluye la circulación o difusión de mensajes, imágenes, memes, videos, que perpetúen las desigualdades y estereotipos de género.
Violencia psicológica	La violencia psicológica puede incluir, por ejemplo, conductas amenazantes que no necesariamente implican violencia física ni abuso verbal. Puede incluir acciones que se refieran a actos de violencia anteriores, o ignorar y descuidar intencionalmente a la otra persona. También se ejerce violencia psicológica cuando se la mantiene en aislamiento o confinamiento, se retiene información, o se la mantiene en la ignorancia, etc.
Violencia verbal	El abuso verbal puede abarcar: menosprecio en privado o en presencia de otras personas, ridiculización, uso de malas palabras que sean especialmente incómodas para la persona interlocutora, amenazas de ejercer otras formas de violencia contra la víctima o contra alguien o algo de su aprecio. Otras veces el abuso verbal está relacionado con las raíces de la víctima, insultos o amenazas a causa de su religión, cultura, idioma, orientación sexual (supuesta) o tradiciones.

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# PROCEDIMIENTO

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## MARIELLE FRANCO

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“Essa cidade precisa ser de fato cuidada, e a gente sabe que não está sendo. Os nossos corpos, o nosso transitar, a nossa mobilidade sempre fica ameaçada..”

“Esta ciudad realmente necesita ser atendida, y sabemos que no lo es. Nuestros cuerpos, nuestro tránsito, nuestra movilidad siempre están amenazados.”



## Roles y definiciones

### a) Comité bi-nacional

Mediante este protocolo se crea la figura del Comité Bi-nacional Chile-Argentina por la Equidad de Género, entre las organizaciones Colectivo Muévete y Argentina en Bici (ABi), cuya finalidad será arbitrar conflictos de violencia de género y asegurar el cumplimiento de los lineamientos del protocolo. Asimismo, generará contenidos y actividades para prevenir la violencia de género entre y desde sus integrantes.

1. El comité estará conformado por mínimo cinco (5) y máximo nueve (9) personas pertenecientes a las organizaciones, entre los dos países. El comité deberá estar conformado por mínimo dos persona de cada país.
2. Les integrantes del comité serán seleccionados mediante los mecanismos internos de cada colectivo.
3. Podrán pertenecer al comité todas las personas que estén habilitadas por cada organización red (Muévete y ABi).
4. Una vez seleccionados, y en caso de exceder los cupos del comité, se convocará una reunión virtual de los postulantes al comité para determinar por consenso quiénes lo conformarán.
5. Les integrantes del comité deberán firmar el acuerdo de confidencialidad que deberá ser almacenado en el mail del comité, al cual tendrán acceso sus integrantes.
6. El comité será electo y renovado anualmente.
7. El comité actuará según las particularidades de cada caso, según los lineamientos del protocolo creado por la Mesa de Equidad de Género.
8. El comité se reunirá de manera virtual una vez al mes para avanzar con los objetivos propuestos y en caso de ser necesario se podrá programar una reunión extraordinaria.
9. El comité se asegurará de que en cada asamblea se mencione que el comité está activo y se recuerde cuáles son los canales de denuncia, adicionalmente se comprometerá a realizar actividades reflexivas en torno a la violencia de género al menos dos veces al año.

### b) Cuidadore

Le Cuidadore es un rol que asume una persona del Comité y que tiene como objetivo estar alerta a las situaciones de violencia de género que puedan suceder en los espacios que se compartan entre los integrantes, ya sea de Argentina en Bici o de Muévete.

Le Cuidadore podrá intervenir espontáneamente en caso de suceder estas situaciones y recopilar antecedentes para alertar de la situación al Comité, de tal forma que pueda actuar en consecuencia.

1. Asumirá el rol de cuidadore una integrante de cada país. Se contará con una persona de apoyo en caso de no estar disponible le cuidadore principal. La persona de apoyo será designada por el comité.

2. Le cuidadore tendrá que estar familiarizado con la legislación respecto a la violencia de género; los mecanismos y recursos de apoyo (ver: Anexo 1, página 13); y los procedimientos adecuados para evitar la re-victimización.

3. Le cuidadore es un rol rotativo, que se renovará periódicamente. Se sugiere cada tres (3) meses.

4. Se esperará de esta persona que aborde las situaciones de manera conciliadora, no punitivista.

5. Le cuidadore deberá recopilar los casos correspondientes a las instancias de convivencia asignadas y presentar un reporte al final de su período en el cargo.

#### c) Extensión de confidencialidad

La extensión de confidencialidad se podrá realizar en aquellos casos donde el comité considere necesario incorporar personas externas al proceso, esto puede ser debido a que les afectades pueden requerir asistencia experta o en casos donde la violencia sea tal que se deba recurrir a la justicia. Esta extensión de confianza se hará solamente si le afectade está de acuerdo y se solicitará a todas las personas externas a la situación que firmen el acuerdo de confidencialidad exhibido en el Anexo 4.

### Mecanismos de comunicación entre denunciante(s) y comité

a) Contemplamos los siguientes mecanismos de comunicación y denuncia:

- Correo electrónico (mesaequidadgenero@gmail.com)
- Formulario en la página web de cada organización
- Comunicación directa de le denunciante a un integrante del comité o a las redes de Argentina en Bici o Muévete.
- Podrán denunciar todas las personas que detecten una situación de violencia o conflicto dentro del ámbito del colectivo, incluso si no están involucradas en el conflicto. También podrá denunciar le cuidadore. Para esto se deberá considerar el Anexo 2: Resguardo a le afectade.

b) Toda persona perteneciente al colectivo que reciba una denuncia o detecte una instancia de violencia de género deberá informarla al comité dentro de un plazo de 24 horas a partir del conocimiento del hecho, al correo electrónico mesaequidadgenero@gmail.com.

Las situaciones de violencias que pueden ser denunciadas al Comité corresponderán a las siguientes:

### Casos de violencia generalizada

Se define violencia generalizada a todos los casos en que no se pueda visibilizar una afectade identificable, sino un grupo de personas. Por ejemplo: un meme machista en grupo de whatsapp.

Procedimientos:

1. Se determinará si la conducta de le victimarie es reiterada (ha incurrido en violencia de género en más de una ocasión).
2. Cuando se trate de una primera falta, la comisión seleccionará un encargade para ponerse en contacto con le victimarie y se accionará el procedimiento A2.

3. Cuando se trate de una falta recurrente, se accionará el procedimiento A1.

4. Si la resolución del conflicto se logra a través de los procedimientos, se cerrará el caso y se dejará constancia. De lo contrario, se retomará en el comité para formular una nueva estrategia.

## Casos de violencia con afectade identificable

### Procedimientos:

1. El comité seleccionará un encargade para monitorear el caso.

La persona designada se pondrá en contacto con le afectade para determinar si quiere o no iniciar una acción, además será quien esté en contacto durante todo el proceso.

2. Si le afectade responde de manera negativa, el comité evaluará si le victimarie representa una amenaza para otras personas .

3. Si se evalúa que no lo es, se deja constancia y se cierra el caso.

4. Si se evalúa que sí lo es, se accionará el procedimiento C1.

5. Si le afectade responde de manera positiva se accionará el procedimiento B1.

## Plazos de resolución de conflictos

Primera semana: ingreso de denuncia, recolección de antecedentes y primer contacto con denunciante o afectade y victimarie.

Tres semanas como plazo máximo para completar procedimientos del protocolo.

## Procedimientos A1 / A2 / B1 / C1

A1: Conducta reiterada de violencia generalizada por le victimarie

1. Recolección de información de los hechos y debate interno sobre los mismos.

2. El comité designa una persona para contactarse con le victimarie mediante un e-mail en primer término o whatsapp en 2do término para solicitar una reunión (es importante dejar constancia por escrito de la fecha del contacto y la respuesta de le victimarie).

- En caso que le victimarie acceda a la reunión, esta se agenda, con su presencia y dos o más representantes del comité (minimo dos asistentes).

- En caso de que le victimarie no conteste o se niegue a una reunión, se le notificará por e-mail que pierde su oportunidad de expresarse ante las denuncias que le involucran y que se van a dar una serie de procedimientos que pueden afectar su vinculación al colectivo o agrupación que corresponda, y que de los cuales, algunos pueden tomar carácter público.

3. Al momento de realizar la reunión, se sugiere registrar bajo algún medio digital el contenido de la misma (entiéndase vía teléfono, cámara, plataformas de video-llamada como Zoom o similar) informando a le victimarie que la conversación será registrada para un posterior informe.

4. Para dicha reunión se sugieren las siguientes preguntas orientativas:

- ¿Estás al tanto de las denuncias que se han realizado por parte de otros compañeros en tu contra? Si es así, ¿Qué podrías decir al respecto?

Si no está al tanto de las denuncias, se recomienda poner brevemente en contexto de los hechos violentos que le involucran.

- ¿Reconoces estas acciones como hechos de violencia en cualquier forma? (verbal, física, sexual, etc).

- ¿Te das cuenta que son conductas reiteradas de violencia?

- En caso de que su respuesta sea afirmativa, recomendamos preguntarle ¿Cómo podrías corregir este tipo de conductas a futuro y cómo podrías reparar el daño causado a los afectados? Bajo estas circunstancias, se desarrolla un plan de acción y seguimiento del caso para comprobar la erradicación de estos comportamientos violentos. Dicho plan debe ser discutido y aprobado por los afectados.

- En caso de que su respuesta sea negativa. Se deja constancia y se informa a la comisión. Se procede a determinar sanciones pertinentes según los mecanismos internos de cada colectivo.

5. Se le entregarán herramientas para su deconstrucción.

6. Una vez finalizada la reunión, se recomienda enviar el registro de la misma y un breve informe al e-mail del comité, para anexar al caso.

7. Se hará contacto un mes después de esta reunión, tanto con el afectado como con el victimario, para poder monitorear el caso y en base a sus respuestas decidir si es necesario definir un nuevo plan de acción.

## A2: Primera falta de violencia generalizada por el victimario

1. Recolección de información de los hechos y debate interno sobre los mismos.

2. El comité designa una persona para contactarse con el victimario mediante un e-mail en primer término o whatsapp en 2do término para solicitar una reunión (es importante dejar constancia por escrito de la fecha del contacto y la respuesta de el victimario).

- En caso que el victimario acceda a la reunión, esta se agenda, con su presencia y dos o más representantes del comité (mínimo dos asistentes).

- En caso de que el victimario no conteste o se niegue a una reunión, se le notificará por e-mail que pierde su oportunidad de expresarse ante las denuncias que le involucran y que se van a dar una serie de procedimientos que pueden afectar su vinculación al colectivo o agrupación que corresponda, y que de los cuales, algunos pueden tomar carácter público.

3. Al momento de realizar la reunión, se sugiere registrar bajo algún medio digital el contenido de la misma (entiéndase vía teléfono, cámara, plataformas de video-llamada como Zoom o similar) informando al victimario que la conversación será registrada para un posterior informe de resolución de caso.

4. Para dicha reunión se sugieren las siguientes preguntas orientativas:

- ¿Estás al tanto de las denuncias que se han realizado por parte de otros compañeros, en tu contra? Si es así, ¿Qué podrías decir al respecto?

- Si no está al tanto de las denuncias, se recomienda poner brevemente en contexto de los hechos violentos que le involucran.

- ¿Reconoces estas acciones como hechos de violencia en cualquier forma? (verbal, física, sexual, etc).

- ¿Te das cuenta que son conductas reiteradas de violencia?

En caso de que su respuesta sea afirmativa, recomendamos preguntarle

¿Cómo podrías corregir este tipo de conductas a futuro y cómo podrías reparar el daño causado a les afectades?

- En caso de que su respuesta sea negativa. Se deja constancia y se informa a la comisión.

5. Se le entregarán herramientas para su deconstrucción.

6. Una vez finalizada la reunión, se recomienda enviar el registro de la misma y un breve informe al e-mail del comité, para anexar al caso.

B1: violencia no generalizada donde le afectade está de acuerdo con iniciar acciones.

1. Recolección de información de los hechos y debate interno sobre los mismos. Es importante revisar si le victimarie ha cometido otros hechos de violencia generalizada o no generalizada previamente.

2. El comité designa una persona para contactarse con le victimarie mediante un e-mail en primer término o whatsapp en 2do término para solicitar una reunión (es importante dejar constancia por escrito de la fecha del contacto y la respuesta de le victimarie).

3. La persona encargada contacta a le victimarie por vía escrita, preferentemente mail y si no lo tuviéramos por whatsapp, para solicitarle una reunión.

- En caso que le victimarie acceda a la reunión, esta se agenda, con su presencia y dos o más representantes del comité (minimo dos asistentes).

- En caso de que le victimarie no conteste o se niegue a una reunión, se le notificará por e-mail que pierde su oportunidad de expresarse ante las denuncias que le involucran y que se van a dar una serie de procedimientos que pueden afectar su vinculación al colectivo o agrupación que corresponda, y que de los cuales, algunos pueden tomar carácter público.

4. En la reunión se explica a le victimarie que está bajo investigación por ser parte de un hecho violento.

- Si le victimarie responde de forma negativa, indicando que no ha incurrido en lo que se le acusa, se le pide relatar la situación por la cual fue denunciade y una vez terminado el relato se le explica cuáles fueron los momentos que generaron la denuncia y de qué forma podría haber actuado para evitarlo.

- Si le victimarie expresa arrepentimiento y está consciente de sus acciones, se hace el mismo ejercicio del relato pero se va reconstruyendo el paso a paso para que la persona pueda reflexionar sobre lo que debería haber hecho en el momento para que no llegáramos a esta instancia.

Posteriormente se genera una reunión con le afectade y se le plantean formas de avanzar:

- Si le victimarie había sido violento en el pasado y le afectade no quiere volver a verle, se notifica a la organización para que tome las acciones que considere pertinentes.
- Se genera actividad reflexiva con presencia de le victimarie para poder dar resolución a la denuncia.
- Dar resolución inmediata a la denuncia.

C1: Afectade no desea iniciar acción pero se considera peligroso a le victimarie

1. Recolección de información de los hechos y debate interno sobre los mismos.

2. El comité designa una persona para contactarse con le victimarie mediante un e-mail en primer término o whatsapp en 2do término para solicitar una reunión (es importante dejar constancia por escrito de la fecha del contacto y la respuesta de le victimarie).

3. La persona encargada contacta a le victimarie por vía escrita, preferentemente mail y si no lo tuviéramos por whatsapp, para solicitarle una reunión.

- Si le victimarie no responde al llamado o se niega a reunirse, se notifica al comité de ética Para que tome acciones y se da por finalizado el proceso.
- Si le victimarie responde, se genera una reunión con esa persona y al menos dos miembros del comité.

4. En la reunión se explica a le victimarie que está bajo investigación porque se recibió una denuncia indicando que fue parte de un hecho violento, se intenta guiarlo para que reconozca el hecho pero siempre manteniendo en mente que no debemos entregar detalles para proteger la identidad de le afectade.

- Si le victimarie responde de forma negativa, indicando que no ha incurrido en lo que se le acusa, se le indica que quedará en observación y que de incurrir en otro hecho violento podría ser desvinculado de la organización.

- Si le victimarie expresa arrepentimiento y está consciente de sus acciones, se hace el mismo ejercicio del relato pero se va reconstruyendo el paso a paso para que la persona pueda reflexionar sobre lo que debería haber hecho en el momento para que no llegáramos a esta instancia.

5. Se le entregarán herramientas para su deconstrucción.

6. Una vez finalizada la reunión, se recomienda enviar el registro de la misma y un breve informe al e-mail del comité, para anexar al caso.

# ANEXOS

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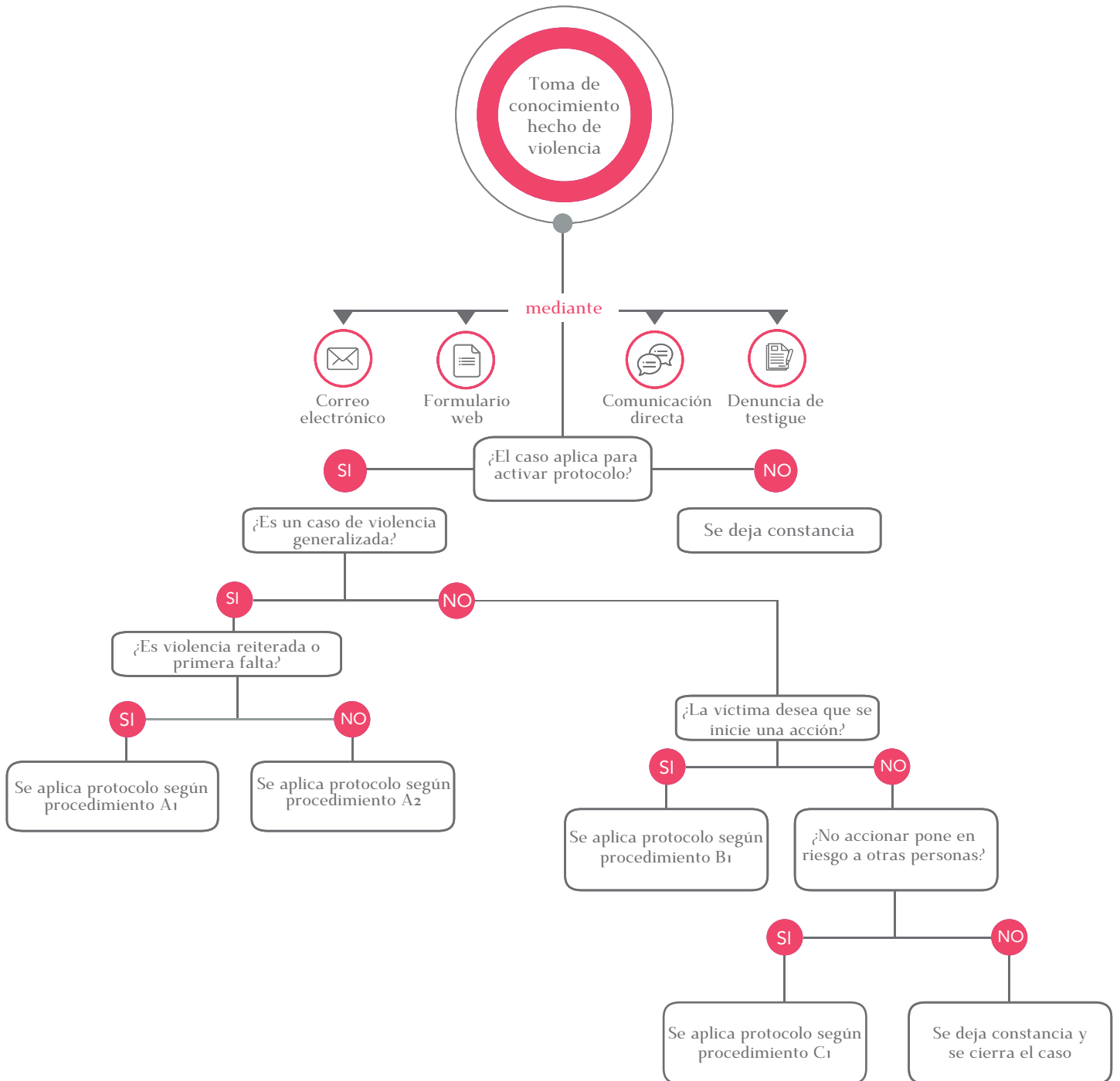
## SASKIA SASSEN

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“La ciudad es uno de los espacios en donde “Los Sin Poder” podemos hacer historia.”



# DIAGRAMA DE FLUJO CASOS DENUNCIADOS



# ANEXO 1: ORGANIZACIONES DE APOYO Y ACOMPAÑAMIENTO

Recurso	Web	Detalles
Base de datos global de la violencia contra las mujeres y niñas (programa de Naciones Unidas)	<a href="http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org">evaw-global-database.unwomen.org</a>	Amplio listado de organizaciones y mecanismos (tanto gubernamentales como de la sociedad civil) para combatir la violencia hacia mujeres y niñas.

## ARGENTINA

Organización	Contacto	Detalles
Línea Nacional de atención a víctimas de violencia de género	144 <a href="http://www.argentina.gob.ar">www.argentina.gob.ar</a>	Atiende 24h, de manera gratuita y en todo el país.
Mapa de centros de atención para mujeres a nivel nacional	<a href="http://www.argentina.gob.ar">www.argentina.gob.ar</a>	Para encontrar instituciones u organismos oficiales, cercanas a tu sitio, en donde puedan ayudarte.
Atención a Mujeres Víctimas de Delitos contra la Integridad Sexual	<a href="http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar">www.buenosaires.gob.ar</a>	Provincia de Buenos Aires
Centros de Asistencia Judicial (CAJ) Gobierno de Santa Fe	0800 555 8632	Provincia de Santa Fé
Oficina de Violencia Doméstica (OVD) Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación	4123-4510 al 4514  Lavalle 1250, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires	Brinda atención multidisciplinaria las 24 hs. los 365 días del año a las personas que se acercan o se comunican de forma espontánea.
Línea 137	137	Asesoramiento y contención para las mujeres en situación de violencia. Funciona para las ciudades de Buenos Aires, Posadas y El Dorado (Misiones) y Resistencia (Chaco). En caso de solicitarlo, cuentan con equipos que van a domicilio.

# CHILE

Organización	Contacto	Detalles
Teléfono de orientación y ayuda por violencia contra las mujeres	1455 <a href="http://www.minmujeryeg.cl">www.minmujeryeg.cl</a>	Ayuda a todas las mujeres que sufren maltrato, tanto físico como psicológico
Programa de Apoyo a Víctimas	600 818 1000 <a href="http://www.apoyovictimas.cl">www.apoyovictimas.cl</a>	Programa del gobierno de Chile para víctimas de todo tipo de crimen
Observatorio Contra el Acoso Callejero (OCAC)	<a href="http://www.ocac.cl">www.ocac.cl</a>	Recursos sobre acoso callejero incluyendo bibliografía y estudios, orientación jurídica, testimonios y definiciones.
Red Chilena Contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres	<a href="http://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl">www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl</a>	Gran variedad de recursos bibliográficos y guía para la denuncia.
Guía de Recursos Para la Acción	<a href="http://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl">www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl</a>	Directorio de organizaciones de apoyo a las mujeres en diversas regiones
Casas de acogida	<a href="http://www.chileatiende.gob.cl">www.chileatiende.gob.cl</a>	Protección temporal a mujeres y sus hijos en casos de riesgo grave por violencia
Centros de la mujer	<a href="http://www.minmujeryeg.cl">www.minmujeryeg.cl</a>	Orientación a víctimas de violencia y a testigos de violencia en todo el país
Centros para hombres que ejercen violencia de pareja	<a href="http://www.minmujeryeg.cl">www.minmujeryeg.cl</a>	Listado de centros de atención psicológica en Chile
Centros de salud mental (COSAM)	<a href="http://www.todomejora.org">www.todomejora.org</a>	Programa orientado a que los hombres que asumen su responsabilidad por la violencia ejercida, renuncien a ella y comiencen un proceso de cambio
Centro de Atención Reparatoria a Mujeres Víctimas de Agresión Sexual CVS Región Metropolitana	22 67 14 639 Capuchinos 697, Santiago Centro <a href="mailto:icastro@fundacionleonbloy.cl">icastro@fundacionleonbloy.cl</a> <a href="http://www.minmujeryeg.cl">www.minmujeryeg.cl</a>	Servicio de Orientación e Información
CVS Valparaíso	32-22 12 779 Calle Prat 846, 6° Piso, Oficina B, Valparaíso <a href="mailto:cvsvalparaiso@fundacionleonbloy.cl">cvsvalparaiso@fundacionleonbloy.cl</a>	Servicio de Orientación e Información

Organización	Contacto	Detalles
CVS Bío Bío	41-2229666 Diagonal Pedro Aguirre Cerda 1170, Concepción  cvsbio@fundacionleonbloyle.cl	Servicio de Orientación e Información
Centro de atención a la diversidad	226714855  <a href="http://www.movilh.cl">www.movilh.cl</a>	Ayuda y orienta a personas lesbianas, gays, bisexuales, transexuales e intersexuales (LGBTI) afectadas por la discriminación y la violencia.
Defensoría de la Mujer	+569 62772672  <a href="http://www.defensoriadelamujer.cl">www.defensoriadelamujer.cl</a>	Equipo de profesionales cercanas, confiables y altamente capacitadas para entregarte la mejor defensa jurídica.

## ANEXO 2:

# SOBRE RESGUARDO A LE AFECTADE

Se genera este documento para guiar al equipo que estará a cargo o involucrado en una denuncia de violencia de género y que acompañará a le denunciante y/o le afectade durante todo el proceso. Cabe decir que el máximo objetivo de este documento es asegurar que sea prioridad el resguardo físico, psicológico y social de las personas que participan de la denuncia y el proceso que investiga esta denuncia. Como bien sabemos, les denunciantes y/o afectades pueden sufrir represalias de violencia física, gritos y burlas, o represalias legales por parte de la persona que agrede y violenta y/o gente cercana a ella.

El resguardo a les involucrades comienza por garantizar el anonimato de les mismos. Su identidad será resguardada a lo largo del proceso de resolución del conflicto desde la recepción de la denuncia. Se recomienda proceder de acuerdo a las siguientes etapas:

- 1 - Establecer el medio de comunicación a través del cual quiere ser contactade le denunciante y/o le afectade.
- 2 - El equipo de resguardo deberá siempre anticiparse a posibles situaciones de revictimización o represalias. De esta forma se recomienda que el equipo siempre esté en conocimiento de quienes van a estar presentes en las reuniones o procesos en las cuales participará le afectade. Deberá transparentar esta información a le afectade, en caso de que esta persona se sienta incómoda con la presencia de le victimarie en las reuniones o procesos. En caso de que responda afirmativamente, los colectivos tienen que impulsar los mecanismos que consideren necesarios para suspender a le victimarie de los espacios del colectivo mientras dure el proceso de investigación.
- 3 - Durante el proceso de investigación, el comité se compromete a mantener un diálogo fluido e informado de todas sus acciones con le afectade, siempre que esté de acuerdo.
- 4 - En caso de que, luego de realizado todo el procedimiento de investigación, no se llegue a acuerdo entre las partes y se corra el riesgo de comprometer la seguridad de las personas que participan de la organización, el Comité se reúne para revisar la permanencia de las personas involucradas en agrupación. Asimismo, se consultará con le afectade si está de acuerdo con que el Comité dé aviso al resto de las personas del colectivo, resguardando las identidades de todes les involucrades, así como al organismo que pueda emitir sanciones ante el actuar de le victimarie.

El Equipo de resguardo no es policía ni es juez. Tampoco se tomará atribuciones que corresponden a una intervención profesional como lo es, por ejemplo, un acompañamiento psicológico ni tendrá la obligación de actuar como guardaespaldas de le afectade. Sin embargo, si cree que ambas de estas instancias son necesarias para cuidar a le afectade deberá dejar constancia de esto ante el Comité quien orientará a le afectade a través de los recursos del Anexo 1.

# ATRIBUCIONES Y DEBERES DEL EQUIPO DE RESGUARDO

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El equipo de resguardo proporcionará apoyo a través de medidas como:

- Escucha activa de la afectada y mitigación de la revictimización. Se deberá dejar constancia del caso con el mayor rigor y grado de detalle con el fin de no revictimizar a la afectada. Entiéndase por esto, evitar que la afectada se vea obligada a rendir su testimonio en repetidas ocasiones y frente a distintas personas.
- Informar a la afectada de sus derechos incluyendo la confidencialidad, así como también la posibilidad de cerrar el proceso de investigación del colectivo cuando lo desee.
- Hacer entrega a la afectada del acuerdo de confidencialidad debidamente diligenciado y firmado por todos quienes serán partícipes del proceso de resolución de conflicto.
- Responder todo tipo de preguntas sobre el Protocolo de Equidad de Género.
- Estar presentes para la afectada, ayudándole a identificar recursos y opciones para necesidades inmediatas y de largo plazo (transporte, cuidado de personas a su cargo, necesidades médicas, etc).
- Facilitación de material de apoyo de acuerdo con el Anexo 1.
- Celeridad en la resolución del conflicto, buscando el resguardo efectivo y la no revictimización.
- Reconocer siempre la posibilidad que tiene toda persona de presentar la denuncia ante los organismos competentes de cada país, y ofrecerle acompañamiento en este proceso si así lo desea.
- Establecer la posibilidad de tomar medidas preventivas desde la presentación de la denuncia y durante toda la tramitación del procedimiento.

# MEDIDAS PREVENTIVAS PARA EL DESARROLLO DEL PROCESO DE RESOLUCIÓN DE CONFLICTO

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Durante el proceso de resolución de conflicto, se sugiere al Comité establecer medidas preventivas que sirvan para resguardar a le afectade y/o denunciante de agresiones o agravios por parte de le victimarie. La definición y aplicación de dichas medidas estará sujeta a los mecanismos internos de toma decisiones y sanciones de cada organización, ante lo cual el Comité podrá presentar los antecedentes recopilados del caso al organismo facultado para determinar una sanción, de tal forma de contribuir a la resolución definitiva del caso.

- Separación de espacios físicos
  
- Suspensión temporal de la persona denunciada en cualquiera de los siguientes casos:
  1. Cuando su presencia pueda causar un mayor agravio de la presunta víctima
  2. Cuando pueda entorpecer la investigación
  3. Cuando pueda ejercer influencia en los eventuales testigos
  
- El traslado transitorio de la persona denunciante, en cualquiera de los siguientes casos
  1. Cuando exista subordinación de la persona denunciada
  2. Cuando existan antecedentes para presumir que el acoso continuará
  3. Cuando el vejamen sufrido por la presente víctima sea de tal gravedad que así lo haga aconsejable (artículo 11°).

ANEXO 3:  
ACUERDO DE CONFIDENCIALIDAD

# ANEXO 4: ACUERDO DE EXTENSIÓN DE CONFIDENCIALIDAD

## COMPROMISO DE CONFIDENCIALIDAD ENTRE LAS PERSONAS QUE INTERVIENEN EN EL PROCESO DE TRAMITACIÓN Y RESOLUCIÓN DE LAS DENUNCIAS

Yo, \_\_\_\_\_, mayor de edad, identificación nº \_\_\_\_\_, he sido incorporado al proceso de investigación adelantado por la organización o agrupación \_\_\_\_\_ en virtud de mi desempeño profesional para colaborar en el procedimiento de resolución de las denuncias por violencias contempladas en las definiciones de este protocolo y cualquier otro tipo de acto violento que contravenga a los ideales del colectivo y que pudieran ser generados por integrantes del mismo. Me comprometo a respetar la confidencialidad, privacidad, intimidad e imparcialidad de las partes a lo largo de las diferentes fases del proceso.

Por lo tanto, y de forma más concreta, manifiesto mi compromiso a cumplir con las siguientes obligaciones:

- Respetar la dignidad de las personas y su derecho a la intimidad a lo largo de todo el procedimiento, así como la igualdad de trato entre diferentes identidades de género.
- Respetar el tratamiento reservado y la más absoluta discreción en relación con la información sobre las situaciones denunciadas.
- Respetar la más estricta confidencialidad y reserva sobre el contenido de las denuncias presentadas, resueltas o en proceso de investigación de las que tenga conocimiento; así como velar por el cumplimiento de la prohibición de divulgar o transmitir cualquier tipo de información por parte del resto de las personas que intervengan en el procedimiento.

Declaro que he sido informado de la responsabilidad que implica la extensión de confidencialidad hacia mi persona. Entiendo que el incumplimiento de las obligaciones anteriormente expuestas implica una falta ética que sería denunciada ante los organismos pertinentes.

En \_\_\_\_\_ a \_/ \_/ \_

Firma \_\_\_\_\_



El presente protocolo fue redactado por la Mesa de Equidad de Género, creada para este fin.  
Entre julio 2018 y agosto 2019, trabajaron en este documento:

Jimena Pérez Marchetta  
Yamila Riego  
Daniel Lanfranco Sagaris  
Laura Guarino Mercader  
Paola Castañeda  
Cristóbal Ibarra Guerrero  
Sandra Aguilera Cortés

Puede ser adaptado a cualquier país, ciudad u organización. Esperamos que sea una herramienta útil para construir mejores espacios de encuentro y convivencia.

