Black Im/Mobilization, Critical Race Horror, and the New Jim Crow in Jordan Peele's *Get Out*

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Abstract

In the United States, people of color are not allowed to move around freely in spatial or social terms. Confronted with the everyday horrors of racial segregation, discrimination, and the legacies of slavery, African Americans continue to be excluded from opportunities of upward mobility and experience cultural displacement based on the immobilizing practices of what Michelle Alexander calls "the New Jim Crow." On-screen representations of Black individuals in the horror genre mirror this racial(ized) ideology. Many earlier horror films, texts Isabel Cristina Pinedo classifies as "race horror," mark them as ferocious monsters who must be villainized, imprisoned, or murdered and thus subscribe to a logic of race as the root of American fears. Jordan Peele's directorial debut *Get Out* (2017) provides a counter-argument, depicting racism as the primary horror in American (popular) culture by investing in the decolonizing strategies of critical race theory to uncover the very real horrors of the prison industrial complex, commodification of the Black body, and racial profiling. In this article, I read *Get Out* as an example of what I term "critical race horror," texts whose narrative, generic, and cinematographic strategies subvert essentialist strategies of racial silencing and thus invest in necessary measures toward (Black) mobility justice.

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On February 7, 2019, video-on-demand service Shudder released its first original documentary feature titled *Horror Noire: A History of Black Horror*, based on Robin R. Means Coleman's study *Horror Noire: Blacks in American Horror Films from the 1890s to Present* (2011). Both texts examine the role of Blackness on screen and behind the camera in American popular culture by addressing historically controversial representations of African Americans in the horror genre. In the introduction to her book, Means Coleman reveals her motivation for interrogating the sociopolitical discourses that define the intersections between Blackness and horror: "In my effort to rehistoricize and recontextualize the horror film, I note how the genre 'speaks difference.' That is, marking Black people and culture as Other—apart from dominant (White) populations and cultures in the US" in spatial, social, political, and legal terms.[1] The documentary, directed by Xavier Neal-Burgin and co-written by Neal-Burgin and Ashlee Blackwell, takes up Means Coleman's critical aim in its poignant opening words: "Black history is Black horror."[2] Spoken by novelist and scholar Tananarive Due, who teaches Black horror and Afrofuturism at UCLA, this powerful premise establishes an often overlooked connection between the terrors that define both African American lives and the horror genre. Due's claim further testifies to the significance and topicality of the *Horror Noire* texts in the current political moment, predicated on a logic of "white-over-color ascendancy."[3]

The film consists largely of conversations with a number of actors and creators in the horror film industry, including William Crain (director of *Blacula* [1972]), Rusty Cundieff (director of *Tales from the Hood* [1995]), and Rachel True (who starred in *The Craft* [1996]). Actor, comedian, and filmmaker Jordan Peele stands out from this crowd for his talents in creating his 2017 directorial debut *Get Out*, whose the-

matic and political significance is underscored by the fact that *Horror Noire* begins and ends with conversations about this movie. When asked about the genesis of the documentary, Blackwell declared that "we thought that *Get Out* was this moment that we needed to capture in film but we also needed to tell the history that came before that."[4] By adapting Means Coleman's study to the screen in this way, Blackwell acknowledges the political power and critical potential of *Get Out*, which was awarded the Academy Award for Best Original Screenplay in 2018, signaling "a renaissance," according to Peele, "the beginning of a movement, where the best films of every genre are being brought to me by my fellow black directors."[5]

The American movie industry thus seems to be at a turning point where both horror films and directors of color—two groups historically overlooked during awards season—are finally being recognized more regularly for their outstanding talents: *Get Out* as the most successful Black horror movie in film history and Jordan Peele as the first African American director to win an Academy Award in the aforementioned category have thus made history in an era during which "the current narrative on race [still] swirls around the unsustainability of race and the 'post-racial.'"[6] Critical discussions of racial erasure and colorblindness are thus at the thematic forefront of *Get Out*, a film that tackles White liberal racism and racialized violence in the spirit of influential social movements such as Black Lives Matter and scholarly initiatives like critical race theory, which ask pertinent questions echoing *Get Out*'s significant title: "*where* can black people go and *when* can they go there? This question is not only relevant for African Americans currently but also in their arduous history in America. The idea of black mobility has been a fundamental query since African Americans were brought to America as enslaved people" on ships across the Atlantic,[7] a process suggesting a simultaneous logic of mobility—rooted in the transoceanic journey from one locale to another—and immobility—signaled by the shackles of slavery prohibiting the Black captive from free movement. Despite the abolition of slavery in the United States, Black individuals are still subject to what Mimi Sheller calls "mobility regimes," systems defined by a

> constant policing of racial, gender, and sexual boundaries and mobilities [which] is fundamental to the founding of white power through the construction and empowerment of a specifically mobile, white, heteromasculine, national subject. And this power rests on the cooptation of others into supporting the dominant narratives of mobility as freedom which are embedded into Western fantasies, such as the open road, the inviting frontier, . . . or the thrill of acceleration.[8]

These unrealities have emerged from the grand narratives of the United States, national fictions told by dominant White bodies about other White agents all the while excluding marginalized voices. As such, representations of and stories told by Black groups about themselves are under constant erasure in American fiction, espe-

cially in the horror genre, which, according to Ian Olney, "in the United States remains a largely white enterprise."[9] In this context, *Get Out* speaks to centuries of Black inequality by re-narrating past and present Black horrors in ways that "do justice to the victims of racial violence" and "the history of oppression and systemic racism."[10] Due to the film's original content "communicat[ing] a collective truth of the African American experience,"[11] *Get Out*'s success "speaks difference" in a way that moves Black cinema into the (Afro)future and toward "mobility justice," targeting "'sustainability' issues but also includ[ing] many other extremes of inequality ranging from interpersonal bodily violence to global violations of human rights."[12] The debate about mobility justice is thus "a core political struggle, encompassing struggles over space, movement, and the relations of power that they enable or disrupt."[13]

While Peele purposefully screens Black immobilities by engaging in well-known images of imprisonment, the commodification of the Black body, and instances of racial profiling, he does so in an effort to expose the current lack of mobility justice for people of color and to set the scene for his protagonist, Chris Washington, to escape the historic fate of the Black character in horror films. No longer is the Black character the incarcerated murderer, the victim who dies first, or the token of Black monstrosity, and he does not need a White master to unchain him and grant him freedom. Rather, he is transformed from a static, voiceless, racially marked figure into a self-sufficient agent who must not apologize for or succumb to his past, but is allowed to be mobilized by it. Via Chris's journey, the film interrogates whether and how Black individuals can truly get out of a specifically American mobility regime, a confinement Michelle Alexander terms "the New Jim Crow," whereby mainstream American society serves as "a stunningly comprehensive and well-disguised system of racialized social control that functions in a manner strikingly similar to Jim Crow."[14] By carving out a space for specifically Black horror storytelling, *Get Out* exposes the uncomfortable realities of racism at the core of this system in an attempt to decolonize ways of thinking that define race as the root of American fears in horror fiction. Peele instead suggests racism as the true horror in American (popular) culture, which can only be countered by enabling his protagonist's escape and, in so doing, advocating for Black mobility justice. *Get Out* thus defies the mechanics of what Isabel Cristina Pinedo calls "race horror," movies that "explicitly code the monster as racial Other,"[15] and instead engages in strategies of narration, representation, and signification that echo contemporary critical race theorists. Through "counterstories," films such as *Get Out* thus "challenge, displace, or mock [the] pernicious narratives and beliefs" about people of color subsumed in a controlled collection of images across media and genres.[16]

In this article, I approach Jordan Peele's *Get Out* as a politically motivated rendition of such counter-storytelling, one that scrutinizes the intersection between race and

mobility, drawing attention to the possibilities and limitations of Black mobility and freedom. By reading the film through the lenses of critical race theory (CRT), Pinedo's concept of race horror, Alexander's notion of the New Jim Crow, and Sheller's idea of mobility justice, I will argue that *Get Out* is an iteration of what I term "critical race horror," a subgenre that intersects with practices of silencing, incarceration, and immobilization. By connecting the historic absence of Black individuals in the horror genre to the perils of systemic racism at the core of current U.S. race politics, I will suggest a trajectory toward Black mobility justice that finds representation in recent cultural productions, such as *Get Out*, whose eponymous message echoes the aim of critical race theory "to erase barriers to upward mobility for minority populations."[17] Ultimately, I suggest that critical race horror as genre engages significant emerging discourses around the intersecting categories of Black history and Black horror, countering racialized images of African Americans in fictional accounts that feed into the factual practices of mobility regimes. Reading upcoming Black horror films through the intersectional lens of critical race horror can thus enable scholars of American studies and beyond to foreground necessary measures facilitating a move from the criminalization of race to discussions of the horrors of racism.

Toward Black Mobility Justice

In a 2006 essay, Mimi Sheller and John Urry argue for a "new mobilities paradigm," which takes into account "multiple interacting mobilities" and "networks of connection" that look beyond a geographical logic of travel or transport and towards cultural-political understandings of mobility as part of a complex web of practices of inclusion and exclusion in communication, technology, and social interaction.[18] This theorization speaks to the significance of mobility research across disciplines and emphasizes the inherent link between mobility and intersecting social markers such as race, class, and gender. Access to space and rights to movement are thus tethered to questions of justice and control. As described earlier, mobility regimes or "colonial regimes of movement and the global mobilities that colonialism entailed" continue to affect "'backward' societies or 'primitive' peoples" in ways that keep them from advancing spatially and socially, thereby reserving the progress of upward mobility for privileged groups.[19]

Michelle Alexander's 2012 study *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* speaks to these discriminatory practices of supremacy, which make sure that Black individuals, in particular, are actively excluded from everyday discourses, narratives, and spaces that define processes of identity-making. Alexander reads mass incarceration in the United States as a mechanics of marginalization that forces African Americans into a kind of "segregated, second-class citizenship" or "growing undercaste" that has fallen victim to the multilayered system of the New

Jim Crow, which "locks people not only behind actual bars in actual prisons, but also behind virtual bars and virtual walls." The number of Black individuals—predominantly young men—who still come into contact with the criminal justice system and the prison industrial complex under this immobility regime testifies to a shocking reality: "No other country in the world imprisons so many of its racial or ethnic minorities," and yet, "there seems to be a lack of appreciation for the enormity of the crisis at hand." Mass incarceration and the public's neglect of its detrimental consequences have become what Alexander calls a "human rights nightmare," which is rooted in the historical issue of Black immobility.[20]

Spatial and social imprisonment thus hinders lower classes from upward social movement via the means of law or by moving them factually out of sight into what critical race theorist Elizabeth Iglesias calls "racial spaces," i.e., "artifacts of racial segregation" whose "existence raises fundamental questions about the relationship between racial inequality and the political and economic structures and processes of the neo-liberal political economy."[21] Racial spaces designate gaps between racially marked groups and the dominant society, whereby mobility between the two is either impossible or becomes a unilateral practice restricting non-White individuals from accessing the opportunities of the governing group. In this sense, African Americans emerge as victims of the "patterns of mobility and immobility that have been organized around the logic and historical practices of white supremacy—a logic in which . . . practices of racial segregation and discrimination have historically prevented, and continue today to prevent, the free movement of people."[22] When Alexander calls for a new radical social movement as the only meaningful way to break up this system and enable the establishment of a productive, egalitarian democracy, she echoes the political aspirations of critical race theorists to "understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America" and to drastically alter "the vexed bond between law and racial power."[23]

In this sense, CRT enables scholars of American studies to make visible and discuss texts that purposefully expose these racist regimes and offer decolonizing accounts of individuals who talk back to their historic and current oppressors. Jordan Peele's *Get Out* as an example of such counter-storytelling starkly contrasts with the narrative strategies of earlier films, in which Black men are portrayed as sexual predators of White women, such as D.W. Griffith's infamous silent film *Birth of a Nation* (1915), or the exploitative race movies of the 1940s, for which all-Black casts were shamelessly used by White companies for the sake of making profit.[24]

Most prominently, however, *Get Out* defies the generic cornerstones of race horror films, which construct, criminalize, and stigmatize race in such a way that peo-

ple of color are permanently under scrutiny and face erasure in the horror genre. Means Coleman argues that what is missing from earlier films in the horror genre are productive and self-sufficient Black characters whose voices can be heard loud and clear among the undistinguished chatter of the White middle class and whose ability to inhabit and move between an unlimited number of social and geographical spaces defies the systemic injustices of American mobility regimes. The kind of "coerced mobility" suggested in race horror films is inextricably tied to the history of slavery, often at the thematic center of these texts, furthering Black immobility through the practices of "keeping people in chains, or on plantations, in barracks or locked in prisons, brothels, or bedrooms" in favor of the "sovereign power of 'mastery.'"[25] Sheller suggests that these practices of immobilization can only be countered through an investment in "subversive mobilities" as "a form of resistance against mobility regimes." Mobility justice thus cannot materialize as a one-dimensional state at a single moment in time but rather as an ongoing cultural process and amalgamation of political movements challenging the inequalities experienced by groups with limited access to means of movement. In line with the new mobilities paradigm, therefore, mobility justice must be read across "feminist, critical race, disabilities, and queer theory perspectives on corporeality, relationality, materiality, and accessibility" in order to grant these groups agency, sovereignty as well as freedom of choice and mobility—both in fictional accounts and the realities these stories are based on.[26]

Accordingly, race horror as a collection of cultural products invested in screening the histories, realities, and oppressive forces implicating Black bodies through the means of the horror genre is equally characterized by the mobility regimes set in place by the New Jim Crow. This is made visible, in part, by popular yet harmfully clichéd Black character archetypes in horror fiction established in adherence with U.S. national fantasies marking African Americans as dangerous monsters or racialized others: for example, the Black (male) perpetrator, the White (female) victim, and the White (male) savior; the Black-dude-dies-first trope; or the tortured slave who perishes during incarceration or is freed by the White hero.

My reading of *Get Out* as a counternarrative to these stereotypical tropes of immobilized subjects suggests a necessary turn toward the impact of CRT on race horror. The film's engagement in narrating the horrors of Black history as well as its legacies from the perspectives of people of color allows Peele's protagonist to outlive his White counterparts and survive the film's end, even if significantly violent means are necessary for this achievement, bringing about justice in racial, cultural, and spatial terms. The emergence of *Get Out* as critical race horror through its political potential thus relies on and simultaneously facilitates an approximation of subversive mobilities and Black mobility justice. The film does not excuse racial discrim-

ination by situating plot lines within supernatural frameworks or associating Black protagonists with African voodoo practices and magical killing rituals. Critical race horror explicitly avoids putting racism under erasure in favor of the alleged advances of the Obama era and thus speaks to but does not glorify the discriminatory notions of colorblindness and negrophilia. CRT ultimately allows critical race horror to liberate the histories of Blackness and Black horror from its marginalized positions in order to develop its respective texts as examples of unambiguously anticolonial storytelling prompted by the premises of Black mobilization facilitated by mobility justice. Ultimately, critical race horror is not only critical of essentialist notions of race and unequal access to (upward) mobility but also underlines the horror genre's potential to expose dominant ideologies by making controversial, dangerous scenarios—which viewers normally try to avoid—readily visible in detail.

In this context, *Get Out* as critical race horror performs a number of crucial functions in order to unveil present-day racism as the principal horror for African Americans in contemporary American culture and to carve out a space for Black mobility justice through Black mobilization: first, it makes use of metaphors of immobility, containment, and incarceration to comment on the realities of the prison industrial complex. Second, it invests in a punitive critique of White experimentation on commodified Black bodies to reveal the legacies of slavery in a neocolonial America. Third, it engages the tropes and aesthetics of the horror genre only to undermine its conventional structures and scrutinize the meanings of genre and generic filmmaking. Fourth, it rejects the position of the Black protagonist as the monstrous, racialized other and rewrites this character as an effective agent with the self-liberating ability to fully understand his precarious position by looking beyond post-racial White liberal façades, allowing him to escape his imprisonment and survive. Finally, *Get Out*, a film Peele felt "can't just be for black people" but whose "entire audience need to be served" in order to mobilize the masses,[27] encourages viewers to get out, start a conversation about racism, acknowledge that Black history is Black horror, and engage in necessary measures towards social, political, legal, and Black mobility justice.

Black Im/Mobilization in *Get Out*

Get Out opens with a dimly-lit sidewalk in a White suburban neighborhood, where chirping crickets and a barking dog are the only sounds breaking the uncomfortable silence of the mysterious setting. A young African American man steps onto the curb, searching for a friend's house while reporting to his partner on the phone that he feels like "a sore thumb" in the "creepy, confusing-ass suburb," which he does not regularly visit.[28] Through his nervous laughter and vigilant looks around the vicinity, the film transforms the familiarity of the idyllic suburban neighborhood into menacing territory, where this man's safety cannot be guaranteed because of his skin

color. His anxiety increases when he is approached by a white car; he reminds himself to "do nothing stupid," but then turns the other way in a supposedly inconspicuous attempt to escape the alarming situation. When he mutters to himself, "Not today, not me … you know how they like to do motherfuckers out here,"[29] the man implicitly references what are to him recognizable and frightening scenarios rooted in familiar Black tragedies: acts of racial profiling that consider the innocent Black bystander a violent perpetrator invading a White family neighborhood, thereby justifying police brutality, incarceration, or homicide.

His fear comes true, unfortunately, when he is attacked by the driver of the white car, falls unconscious in their chokehold, and is dragged into the car's trunk, invoking the essentialist Black-dude-dies-first trope in horror cinema. The assault is accompanied by the upbeat tones of cheery music that first emanate intradiegetically from the car and then flood the entire scene in an extradiegetic wave of juxtapositions between visual horror and auditory pleasure, underlining the process of estrangement experienced by the viewer. Peele strategically chooses comedy duo Flanagan and Allen's 1939 musical hall song "Run, Rabbit, Run" for this scene as the first warning of the film, echoing its eponymous title and cautioning its Black characters—and audiences—to get out before it is too late because "ev'ry Friday / On the farm, it's rabbit pie day / … Run rabbit, run rabbit, run, run, run / … Bang, bang, bang, bang goes the farmer's gun."[30]

In this scene, the film opens up the theme of im/mobility implied in its title through the ideas of abduction and escape by painting the Black man as a victim to the owner of the white car and simultaneously comparing him to an animal whose sly breakout tactics cannot save it from death or a life of imprisonment in a pet cage. The abductee's experience is thus paralleled with the practices of slavery: Peele substitutes the white car for the slave ship and transports the Black victim to a new location for the benefit, profit, and pleasure of his new White masters, as viewers will soon learn, preparing the film for the processes of commodification and captivity and introducing Chris's quest for mobility justice.

This intrinsic connection to Black history through images of slave transport is yet again supported musically, this time by a Swahili song entitled "Sikiliza Kwa Wahenga." The lyrics of this eerie piece translate to "Brother, / Listen to the ancestors. / Run! / You need to run far!" and serve as yet another warning directed at the Black victim.[31] The song flows into the film's opening credits and accompanies a tracking shot along an unidentified forest, seemingly from a moving car, suggesting the Black man's involuntary journey away from the suburb and into the unknown depths of the remote woods. *Get Out* invests from the outset in the use of cars as a means of transport to as well as from the horrifying center of the film's action and establishes the act of

driving as a mode of power on behalf of the respective driver.

The viewer subsequently meets protagonist Chris Washington in his New York City apartment, where he and his White girlfriend Rose Armitage are getting ready for a weekend at her parents' secluded countryside estate. Rose drives Chris away in her car: As they leave Chris's home, the camera mirrors the earlier tracking shot by moving along the identical forest rushing past outside Rose's car windows. The scene constitutes, therefore, a doubling of the film's opening and codes Rose as well as her brother Jeremy, who the viewer identifies as the driver of the white car in the initial abduction scene, as mobile slave-haulers ready to ship African American men to their parents for experimentation purposes. Rose's racist act is masked by a supposed gesture of love, namely introducing her boyfriend to her allegedly liberal parents. She promises Chris that her father "would've voted for Obama a third time if he could've [because] the love is so real."[32] Her parents are not racist, she says; otherwise, she would keep Chris away from them. Rose's choice of words is significant here; after all, she implicitly points to the fact that Chris's chance at upward mobility is contingent on her actions and that he would have to be kept away from them, not the other way around, in order not to cause trouble.

The couple's drive becomes an emblem of the film's themes of mobility and transportation, further reinforced by Chris's phone call with his best friend Rod, an agent for the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) at an unspecified airport. During their talk, the camera cuts back and forth between the rural and urban environments the two men find themselves in to visually establish the juxtaposition between the safe city and the dangerous countryside that later recurs. *Get Out* thereby challenges the setting of race horror films, namely urban environments, where "the monster is most likely to be constituted as a racial Other" because "racial minorities are concentrated in the de facto system of racial segregation that operates in the United States," which is most prominent in city centers.[33] The film's mirrored abduction scenes, defined by Peele's strategic choice to move the horror out of the city and back into a more rural space, namely Upstate New York, thus confronts viewers with the workings of racism in remote spaces where racial discrimination will soon emerge as even more deep-seated than in New York City. Chris is thus robbed of his freedom of mobility because of his placement in a surrounding cut off from cell phone service, accessible transport, and the mobile bustle of urbanity.

Rod addresses this hazard when he warns Chris not to go to "a White girl's parents' house," a point at which the viewer does not yet suspect the Armitages' plans because of Rose's gentle exterior and caring sentiment toward Chris.[34] Her role as

the driver in power is soon undercut, however, when she hits a deer on the way to the Armitage estate and is forced to call the police to report the accident. Her well-played façade as defender of racial equality is put to the test when the White police officer called to the scene asks for Chris's driver's license despite his sole position as an innocent passenger. Rose calls the cop's lame attempt at racial profiling "bullshit," making the officer painfully aware of the casual racism underneath his actions.[35] Critical race theorist Karen S. Glover observes that the "targeting of people of color by law and law enforcement is an American tradition" that indicates an "emphasis on the regulation of the body and social space." She continues that the "commonsense nature of racial profiling that underlies the *rational discrimination* argument suggests that targeting young males of color makes sense given the hue of the criminal justice system."[36] The officer in *Get Out* justifies his behavior by hiding behind the very tradition engraved in law enforcement that "any time there is an incident, we have every right to ask" for involved parties' IDs,[37] targeting Chris because of his skin color in a straightforward "white logic orientation."[38] The viewer understands that the inherent threat of such practices code any environment as potentially dangerous for non-White individuals at any point in time, signaling, as Hagar Kotef argues, that "space becomes political via the movements it allows and prevents, and the relations that are formed or prevented via these im/mobilities."[39]

What this shows is that racial profiling as a commonly executed form of discrimination, especially "racial disparity in traffic stops" as part of "the tradition of racialized law in the United States," limits the Black individual's rights to move freely towards his destination in *Get Out*.[40] "Movement thereby becomes primary within the anatomy of political spheres," marking Black people as subjects whose means and facilities to be mobile are always contingent on and tethered to the governing entity.[41] The politics of this American mobility regime not only comment on the importance of transport justice, whereby access to means of transportation is made accessible to all people, but also make visible "the ways in which uneven mobilities produce differentially enabled (or disabled) subjects and differentially enabling (or disabling) spaces."[42] Mobility justice must thus engender discussions about understandings of transportation as more than questions of access but rather as a comprehensive paradigm predicated on a "mobile ontology," which "brings into play historical bodily relations, ecological relations, and wider global relations that inform the political arena."[43]

Get Out negotiates ways of enabling and restricting spatial and social mobilities through the (re)attribution of the ability to drive and the possibility of purposefully driving cars, on the one hand, and through the (re)assignment of the privilege of climbing the social ladder according to falsely justified ideas of colorblindness, on the other. The film's ontology of im/mobility thus relies on the histories of slave

ships as cargo, of plantations as prisons and labor factories, and of slave workers as inferior, racialized, and abused subjects with simultaneously glorified bodies ready for commodification. In *Get Out*, representations of these notions include Jeremy's and Rose's vehicles well as the limousines taking the Armitages' wealthy friends to their annual summer party, where a supposedly innocent game of bingo soon turns into a competitive slave auction for Chris's body. Furthermore, the Armitage mansion resembles the size, structure, and overall design of a seventeenth-century cash-crop plantation, where Chris meets not only Rose's parents, Dean and Missy, but also their African American help, Georgina and Walter, whose roles as house- and groundskeeper point toward their slave-master relationships with the Armitages.

Dean's attempted explanation of these power dynamics does little to relieve Chris of his suspicions about the family's attitude toward people of color despite their welcoming charades: "I know what you're thinking. . . . White family, Black servants. It's a total cliché. We hired Georgina and Walter to help care for my parents. . . . But, boy, I hate the way it looks."[44] While, at first, Dean attempts to downplay the controversy of his pseudo-liberal actions, the viewer soon understands that when he claims to have "kept a piece of [his mother] in the kitchen," he literally means Georgina.[45]

In a horrifying twist of events, Dean turns out to be a neurosurgeon, whose father figured out a way to transplant White brains into Black bodies all the while keeping White existence alive and in command of the Black form. In order to maintain a working connection between body and mind, a small piece of Black consciousness is trapped during the operation in the deepest part of the brain—a bottomless, black hole called "the sunken place"—through the means of Missy's hypnosis techniques. The transplant, a procedure the Armitages call "the Coagula" (a play on the term coagulation meaning transformation from one state to another) enables those men in the film whose White body is sick, disabled, or lacking a particular physical ability to become the owners of what they believe are genetically superior, sexually desirable, unbreakable, Black male bodies. When Chris is knocked unconscious and strapped to an armchair in the Armitages' basement in preparation for his Coagula, a pre-recorded speech of Dean's father Roman explains the community's aspirations:

> You have been chosen because of the physical advantages you have enjoyed your entire lifetime. With your natural gifts and our determination, we could both be part of something greater. . . . The Coagula procedure is a man-made miracle. Our order has been developing it for many, many years . . .. My family and I are honored to offer it as a service to members of our group. Don't waste your strength, don't try to fight it. You can't stop the inevitable. . . . Behold, the Coagula.[46]

At this point in the film, Peele's invocation of slavery, commodification, and negro-

philia through the medical procedure speak to notions of im/mobility in explicit terms: by moving a supposedly "White brain" into a Black body, Dean grants the formerly inferior and racially coded subject the opportunity of upward social mobility. Black skin and bodily characteristics subsequently become tokens of an inherently White supremacy, enabling the members of this exclusive group to revel in their post-racial and thus supposedly liberal attitudes toward African Americans. Iman Cooper explains that "as a result of commodification, black bodies were rendered disciplined subjects; beholden to the will of the white men" whose "individual choices to capture, buy, and trade African slaves created a societal structure that equalized the value of human life with a market value."[47] This value is rationalized in *Get Out* through positive discrimination, exemplified in the passage above by the terrorizing practices of a bizarre cult. Roman's confession speaks to the fact that "instead of being valued for the contributions they could make to a society," in Chris's case as a photographer, as slaves, "human beings became a means to an end—a means of furthering one's personal agenda and upward social mobility."[48] While during the transatlantic slave trade, White ownership of Black bodies emerged as an opportunity to advance one's social status, financial superiority, and hierarchical power, in *Get Out*, the White characters circumvent moving down the social ladder to an inferior Black position by keeping to their own small community, where all members are informed about the Coagula and accept the transformed Black men because of their White cores.

In this scene, the film not only speaks directly to Alexander's notion of the New Jim Crow by masking systemic racism in a new form of slavery and segregation, made possible by the imprisoning practices of the sunken place as the core strategy of the Armitages' mobility regime; it also approaches the Black individual as a victim of sexual exploitation, robbed of the ability to decide not only where but also how, for, and with whom they want to move their bodies. A young Black party guest who was coagulated from André Hayworth, the man abducted by the white car at the beginning of the film, into Logan King, husband to the much older Philomena King, testifies to the advantages and drawbacks of being Black in the modern world: "I find that the African American experience for me has been, for the most part, very good. Although I find it difficult to go into detail as I haven't had much of a desire to leave the house in a while," leaving his wife speechless at his confession of their newfound sexual passion.[49] Philomena's profit from having a much younger, sexually active, and physically upgraded husband thus lies in his athletic inclination, an asset the Armitage cult traces to André as Logan's Black predecessor.

Stripped of the ability to command his body, André is forcefully prohibited from providing consent to Logan's sexual advances towards Philomena. Thomas A. Foster observes that many scholars "have suggested that rape can serve as a metaphor for enslavement," which, in turn, signifies incarceration, whereby slavery and its

many tolls serve as a prison. He further claims that while many cases of sexual abuse against female slaves have been discussed in historical documents and scholarly studies, "black manhood under slavery was also violated in . . . ways that are less easily spoken of (then and now)." These instances of rape against Black male slaves "have been hidden in plain sight," much like André is forced to endure his abuse as an immobilized subject stuck in the sunken place via the public cover-up constituted by Philomena's and Logan's explicit desire.[50] André even has to watch Logan's every move through his appropriated body's eyes, forcefully participating in the couple's sex life as a voyeur without any agency to escape or look away. As such, fetishization of the Black male body coexists alongside the repulsion of Black existence; André's body is thus the ultimate object of White desire while his social position as a Black individual is simultaneously punished by infinite incarceration. As Foster concludes, "Without recognizing male sexual abuse, we run the risk of reinscribing the very stereotypes used by white slave owners and others who reduced black to bestial sexual predators and white women to passionless and passive vessels."[51]

Get Out exposes the other side of this essentialist coin, narrating sexual exploitation of Black male slaves and their immobilization in social, political, and bodily terms through the sunken place as an allegory of the prison industrial complex, whereby space and the bodies it confines become markers of structural and physical violence. Philomena's middle-class status in the community can only be upheld through the disposal of Logan's former White body and replacing it with André's much more desirable form. The system informing this idea emerges as one in which "the black body [is] rendered valuable only in the economic sense, rather than any other social markers of value."[52] Upward mobility is thus directly connected to this newly envisioned version of slave culture, ironically immobilizing coagulated individuals to the degree that they must remain confined to the social spaces of their community to avoid detection by the outside world. The Armitages' cult is thus kept intact through a particularly gruesome form of "embodied agency," whereby certain "capabilities for mobility are deeply tied up with the production of white masculinity."[53] Through the Coagula, this White masculinity becomes inextricably tied to its Black counterpart—that is, the Black male body becomes mobile while Black consciousness is rendered immobile, resulting in falsely celebrated forms of racial and mobility justice on behalf of the cult. By contrast, Dean's medical procedures put physical models of White masculinity under erasure in the community without, however, surrendering the socio-cultural powers and privileges of White middle-classism. The Black male body can consequently only thrive when conducted by implanted White epistemologies, the film's ultimate testament to the realities of the master-slave relationship, whereby the Black slave carries out physical labor under supervision of the White master's command.

This unjust, contradictory, and controversial distribution of power in the context of mobile bodies, bodily movements, and social mobilities speaks to notions of embodied agency that perpetuate practices of systemic racism and Black bodily exploitation across social, political, sexual, and medical intersections. After all, the White master acknowledges his own physical inferiority and mobilizes his intellectual supremacy by making use of Black corporeal superiority. In this sense, all "histories of slavery and anti-slavery, colonialism and anti-colonialism, are also histories of mobilities of various kinds of labor, capital, commodities, natures, and cultures."[54] Through the Coagula, these histories remain present realities and the practices of the New Jim Crow can go almost entirely unnoticed beneath a thin veneer of pretense, avoidance, and denial.

At the same time, Chris's escape from the ties of these practices is enabled by current materialities of this historically connoted system. Strapped to the leather armchair in the Armitage basement, physically immobilized and forced to wait for the Coagula, Chris's nervous habit to claw at the armrests results in the exposure of the recliner's innards, which turn out to be cotton. In order to resist Missy's hypnotic manipulation rendering her victims complacent to the procedure, Chris stuffs pieces of cotton in his ears in an off-camera moment, allowing him to cut himself free from his shackles and to knock Jeremy, Dean's medical assistant, unconscious unexpectedly. Picking cotton, a direct reference to the histories of slave labor on plantations, is thus employed as the subversive strategy that enables the Black protagonist's mobilization in a manner of talking back to the colonizer and past Black horrors. Chris thus embraces Black history and turns it against the White masters.

At this point, the film reverts to the use of cars as a means of transportation. This time, however, Chris is ready to escape from the Armitage mansion and takes the wheel himself. In a reversal of his abduction by Rose, the protagonist is able to steer the allegorical slave ship towards the front gates of the estate during the final showdown towards mobility justice. When Chris is momentarily brought to a halt by Georgina, he crashes the car into a tree and is forced to continue his exit on foot while Rose threatens him with a shotgun. Closer to getting out than ever before, Chris has to overcome the final obstacle of battling Rose on the ground before the viewer is alerted to a siren-wailing and blue-light-flashing car in the style of a police vehicle, a moment when all hope for the innocent Black protagonist's freedom is lost. As Chris leans over Rose, his hands automatically shoot up in a defensive stance and Rose croaks for help at the supposed officer. Her invoked position of White victimhood at the mercy of the Black offender is in vain, however, for the approaching authority turns out to be Chris's friend Rod in his TSA car. As Rose succumbs to her injuries and the two men leave the plantation, the film inverts its earlier scenes of slave transport and thus invests in the practices of subversive mobilities, whereby Chris is

finally granted mobility justice and a chance at life outside the Armitages' racialized mobility regime.

Sheller argues that "differential capabilities for movement affect what it means to be human and the ways in which people form mobile subjectivities such as the 'free man' or the 'slave girl,' the 'driver' or the 'footman,' the 'athlete' or the 'crip.'"[55] When Chris understands his precarious position as a soon-to-be slave, his will to survive allows him to become both a driver and a free man who takes matters into his own hands for a chance at self-mobilization. His friend Rod's employment with the TSA and agency as a driver support this endeavor: because he is quite literally in charge of controlling transport and movement, Rod ultimately facilitates the drive back to the safety of urbanity and thus the film's investment in Black mobility justice.[56]

Get Out has thus set the scene for a multilayered discussion of class privilege through scrutinizing a variety of spatial and social mobilities: unequal forms of transport and traffic justice, varying degrees of mobility access, the historical dimensions of im/mobility during slavery and its aftermath, and the alleged perks of upward mobility. The film comments on the obstruction of Black mobilities through the practices of American mobility regimes, framed by the racial spaces of literal and metaphorical prisons, whereby social and political justice as well as the freedom of movement for African Americans continues to be restricted. Sheller emphasizes "the over policing of those 'driving while black'" as a major reason for ongoing mobility injustices, including the harsh stigmatization of people of color as individuals who move through the streets at their own risk of being stopped, incarcerated, or killed.[57]

Chris's and Rod's final exchange in *Get Out* once again frames the film by the idea of subversive mobilities suggested by Sheller:

> Chris: How did you find me?
> Rod: I'm TS-motherfucking-A. We handle shit. It's what we do. Consider this situation fucking handled.

While Rod's response invokes the film's overall use of dark humor, his emphasis on his profession as an agent of transport security and the significance of their problem-solving abilities offers a final commentary on the racialized mobility regimes oppressing the Black characters in the film. While driving his TSA car to the country for personal matters arguably violates his job description, Rod is left no other choice after his plea to investigate Chris's and André's disappearances is ridiculed by New York detectives. *Get Out* thus scrutinizes the practices of law enforcement officials by juxtaposing the traffic officer's unjustified and arguably racist treatment of Chris's involvement in the accident earlier in the film with the mockingly blasé attitude of the investigators during an actual moment of crisis. Rod's effort at vigilante justice to counter the ironic failure of the justice system ultimately saves Chris from

infinite captivity, whereby the film both offers and becomes informed by discourses of transport justice and Black mobility justice.

Get Out and Critical Race Horror

As mentioned earlier, the film's engagement in achieving mobility justice as well as racial justice for the protagonist is inextricably linked to questions of genre. I have already explored *Get Out*'s potential as a counternarrative in the tradition of CRT, challenging and rewriting racialized, stigmatized, and harmful images of people of color in an attempt to reinscribe character archetypes with new productive meanings. In the context of horror fiction, these subversive strategies allow for a reading of *Get Out* as critical race horror, a subgenre that exposes racism as the cause of horror for Black individuals, thereby denying race as a monstrous category and defying the criminalization of the Black subject in favor of the White hero. Critical race horror mobilizes the Black subject by building worlds in which people of color are allowed to survive the film's end by challenging or escaping from states of incarceration that inhibit their freedom and mobility justice.

In this sense, critical race horror is in stark contrast to race horror films, which "rely on the familiar equation of savagery with third-world peoples in a thinly-veiled expression of racism."[59] Such texts "estrange danger by introducing a dark and ancient religion," one Pinedo calls "magical religion," whereby the racialized monster "is associated with the religion, be it as a follower or a god."[60] *Get Out* avoids religious as well as specifically African imagery altogether, not least because of Jordan Peele's call to steer clear of voodoo melodies in the composition of the film's score. The track "Sikiliza Kwa Wahenga," advising Chris to listen to the ancestors, features

> distinctly black voices and black musical references . . .. African-American music tends to have, at the very least, a glimmer of hope to it—sometimes full-fledged hope. I wanted Michael Abels . . . to create something that felt like it lived in this absence of hope but still had [black roots]. And I said to him, "You have to avoid voodoo sounds, too."[61]

The director's demand to refrain from racialized depictions of people of color speaks to the importance of an increase in Black cultural production; after all, counter-stories to colonized narratives show immense political potential when told from the perspective of those affected by the respective stigmatized images. Peele's comment suggests that his film does not engage with but rather views critically the essentialist habit of identifying Black people with exotic practices, traditions, and hymns as well as uncivilized folks, environments, and lifestyles. Instead, *Get Out* focuses on the significance of Black history for the protagonist's present-day struggles with American race politics and well-disguised White liberal racism by allowing him to defy char-

acterizations of the Black savage emerging from the backwoods.

Although Chris eventually uses his awareness of his perilous position within this system to his advantage, he cannot be portrayed as a hero initially. In race horror, "the hero is likely to be a white male associated with the police or science, sometimes both, . . . one who comes to believe in the efficacy of magic."[62] Dean Armitage speaks directly to this generic convention: a successful, rich, White neurosurgeon, his role resembles that of a number of doctors in earlier horror films, whose aspirations eventually turn awry. While there is no magic involved in *Get Out*, Dean's ascribed heroism stems from his seeming ability to make the impossible possible for his community—much like magic would. The viewer, at the same time, continues to hope for Chris's survival and thus his emergence as the true hero of the story. While "in race horror the hero is assisted in coming to believe by consulting books on the occult or an expert informant, usually a university professor who has studied the religion,"[63] Chris is ultimately rescued by Rod, who remains unassociated with these areas and is even ridiculed by the police for suggesting that the Armitages "have been abducting Black people, brainwashing them, and making them work for them as sex slaves."[64] Rod serves as an amateur sleuth who is allowed to follow his impulses and let himself be led by his earlier experiences with racism at the hands of White individuals to save his best friend sans external help. It remains clear, however, that both men will not be exempt from racial discrimination in the future and can thus never act as heroes of the story in the way a conventional White survivor in a horror tale would. As such, while "in race horror the hero usually triumphs,"[65] in critical race horror, the protagonist's defeat of the White master and escape from the slave plantation is only a provisional victory.

Get Out thus approximates race horror only when Pinedo suggests that "the ending is left open for further disruptions of the everyday world."[66] Chris's inevitable strategy to murder each member of the Armitage family on his way out before they slaughter him is thus a necessary measure of the horror genre, one that initially suggests the revenge practice of beating the master at his own game. Chris's brutal actions are immediately undermined, however, when he cannot bring himself to kill Rose during the final showdown. *Get Out* thereby saves the protagonist from a position of Black monstrosity by rooting his actions in self-defense and enabling him to get out before he is forced into captivity and forever immobilized.

Conclusion

Get Out's final tease, which briefly suggests an unjust end for Chris before the revolutionary turn of events, speaks not only to the controversial history of Black horror cinema, laden with images of Black death before the closing credits, but also to the

film's success in following the efforts of CRT "to intervene in the ideological contestation of race in America, and to create, new oppositionist accounts of race."[67] By acknowledging racism as the true horror of the past and present U.S. cultural scene and liberating the Black lead from the sunken place of American horror filmmaking, *Get Out* cuts across the immobilizing practices of race horror storytelling and of de-narrating the Black horrors of slavery, commodification, abuse, and incarceration. Peele's film thus combats the American post-racial lie at the heart of the New Jim Crow by engaging in critical race theory as a practice of "counter-mobilization" to highlight the casual dimensions of racism outside concentric urban contexts,[68] where personal microaggressions tease out the repercussions of slavery in suburban racial spaces.

By working towards Black mobility justice through the decolonizing techniques of critical race horror, *Get Out* supports Alexander's plea for a "new social consensus [that] must be forged about race and the role of race in defining the basic structure of our society, if we hope ever to abolish the New Jim Crow. This new consensus must begin with dialogue, a conversation that fosters a critical consciousness, a key prerequisite to effective social action." Her call for revolution is "an attempt to ensure that the conversation does not end with nervous laughter."[69] Jordan Peele's critical race horror film *Get Out* similarly warrants that the viewer's nervous laughter at the terrifying plot absurdities, instances of Black comedy, and unexpected inversions of generic horror tropes throughout the movie are only the beginning of a difficult and uncomfortable yet pertinent conversation about the realities of the mobility regime that is the New Jim Crow in the contemporary United States. Any hope of a genuine, long-term move from post-race to Afro-future, from historical immobilities to "alternative mobility futures" and from race horror to critical race horror is thus predicated on one crucial measure: to get racism out of the White house.[70]

Notes

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2 *Horror Noire: A History of Black Horror*, dir. Xavier Neal-Burgin (Philadelphia: Stage 3 Productions, 2019).

3 Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 8.

4 TIFF Talks, "Ashlee Blackwell and Tananarive Due on HORROR NOIR," February 11, 2019, video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0iXV7eqPDw.

5 Tre'vell Anderson, "For Jordan Peele, His Oscar Win for *Get Out* Marks the Beginning of a Movement for Black Directors," *Los Angeles Times*, March 4, 2018, https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/la-et-oscars-2018-90th-academy-awards-for-jordan-peele-

the-oscar-win-for-get-1520230887-htmlstory.html.

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7 Rod Clare, "The Black Lives Matter Movement in the National Museum of African American History and Culture," *Transfers* 6, no. 1 (2016): 122–25, DOI: 10.3167/TRANS.2016.060112.

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9 Ian Olney, *Euro Horror: Classic European Horror Cinema in Contemporary American Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 185.

10 Tananarive Due, "Jordan Peele discusses GET OUT at UCLA 1-31-18," February 2, 2018, video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wpGmCLcqgAw.

11 Due, "Jordan Peele."

12 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, xii.

13 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 15.

14 Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2012), 4.

15 Isabel Cristina Pinedo, *Recreational Terror: Women and the Pleasures of Horror Film Viewing* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 112.

16 Delgado and Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory*, 50. See also Jamie Utt, "Three Things White People's Love For *Get Out* Says About the White (Sub)Conscious," *ThinkingRaceBlog*, April 4, 2017, https://thinkingraceblog.wordpress.com/2017/04/04/three-things-white-peoples-love-for-get-out-says-about-the-white-subconscious/.

17 Delgado and Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory*, 146.

18 Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "The New Mobilities Paradigm," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 38, no. 2 (2006): 207–226, DOI: 10.1068/a37268.

19 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 41.

20 Alexander, *New Jim Crow*, 4, 7, 12, 6, 11, 15.

21 Elizabeth Iglesias, "Global Markets, Racial Spaces, and the Role of Critical Race Theory in the Struggle for Community Control of Investments: An Institutional Class Analysis," in *Crossroads, Directions and New Critical Race Theory*, ed. Francisco Valdes, Jerome McCristal Culp, and Angela P. Harris (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 310–36.

22 Iglesias, "Global Markets," 311.

23 Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, "Introduction," in *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, ed. Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (New York: The New Press, 1995), xiii.

24 Coleman, *Horror Noire*, xiii.

25 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 58.

26 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 19, 21.

27 Due, "Jordan Peele."

28 *Get Out*, dir. Jordan Peele (Universal City, CA: Universal Pictures, 2017).

29 *Get Out*.

30 Flanagan & Allen, "Run, Rabbit, Run! (1939)," *Genius*, accessed December 2, 2021, https://

genius.com/Flanagan-and-allen-run-rabbit-run-lyrics.

31 Loyce Gayo, "Sikiliza—There is More to the Swahili Song in *Get Out*," *Medium*, March 16, 2017, https://medium.com/@loycegayo/sikiliza-there-is-more-to-the-swahili-song-in-get-out-79ebb1456116.

32 *Get Out*.

33 Pinedo, *Recreational Terror*, 115.

34 *Get Out*.

35 *Get Out*.

36 Karen S. Glover, *Racial Profiling: Research, Racism, and Resistance* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 11, 13, 17.

37 *Get Out*.

38 Glover, *Racial Profiling*, 17.

39 Hagar Kotef, *Movement and the Ordering of Freedom: On Liberal Governances of Mobility* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 114.

40 Glover, *Racial Profiling*, 18, 19.

41 Kotef, *Movement*, 114.

42 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 28.

43 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 28.

44 *Get Out*.

45 *Get Out*.

46 *Get Out*.

47 Iman Cooper, "Commodification of the Black Body, Sexual Objectification and Social Hierarchies during Slavery," *The Earlham Historical Journal* 7, no. 2 (2015): 21, 22.

48 Cooper, "Commodification of the Black Body," 23.

49 *Get Out*.

50 Thomas A. Foster, "The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 3 (2011): 445, 446, 448, DOI: 10.1353/sex.2011.0059.

51 Foster, "Sexual Abuse," 464.

52 Cooper, "Commodification of the Black Body," 25.

53 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 52.

54 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 39–40.

55 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 47.

56 Initially, *Get Out* featured a very different ending: Chris is arrested by police officers before the camera cuts to six months later, when Rod visits him in prison. In the director's commentary, Peele states that his "movie was meant to call out the fact that racism is still simmering underneath the surface, so this ending to the movie, felt like it was the gut punch that the world needed, as something about it rings very true." Hannah Mylrea, "Oscar-Winner *Get Out* Almost Had a Completely Different Ending," *NME*, March 5, 2018, https://www.nme.com/blogs/the-movies-blog/get-out-alternate-ending-2254624. However, as Daniel Kaluuya, the actor playing Chris, has since noted about the new and current ending, "Rod saves him through the black brotherhood—and also, Chris has a life, you know? He has to go out there even after he's experienced all this

racism, and people expect you to see the world in the same way when they haven't experienced something like that. I thought that was really honest." Adam Chitwood, "*Get Out* Filmmakers Explain Why They Changed the Ending," *Collider*, February 22, 2018, https://collider.com/get-out-alternate-ending-explained/. In this sense, the original, now alternative, ending speaks in very straightforward ways to audiences' expectations of a black man's doom in the United States because of appearances. At the same time, it plays into processes of immobilization at the core of Alexander's idea of the New Jim Crow; as such, while it mirrors Black realities, it can also be read as tapping into racialized stereotypes. The current ending, however, not only offers release in a humoristic way, it also points towards the actively anti-racist potentials of Black horror cinema at large and critical race horror in particular. Chris escapes through his own means before he is rescued by Rod, a fellow Black man: ultimately, there is no need for White saviorism in *Get Out*, but there is space for Black solidarity.

57 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 61.

58 *Get Out*.

59 Plnedo, *Recreational Terror*, 7.

60 Pinedo, *Recreational Terror*, 116.

61 Caity Weaver, "Jordan Peele on a Real Horror Story: Being Black in America," *GQ*, February 3, 2017, https://www.gq.com/story/jordan-peele-get-out-interview.

62 Pinedo, *Recreational Terror*, 116.

63 Pinedo, *Recreational Terror*, 116.

64 *Get Out*.

65 Pinedo, *Recreational Terror*, 116.

66 Pinedo, *Recreational Terror*, 116.

67 Crenshaw et al., "Introduction," xiii.

68 Crenshaw et al., "Introduction," xxii.

69 Alexander, *New Jim Crow*, 15.

70 Sheller, *Mobility Justice*, 18.

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