MOBILIZING CITY-REGIONAL URBANIZATION:
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TRANSPORTATION AND THE
PRODUCTION OF THE METROPOLIS IN CHICAGO AND TORONTO

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ABSTRACT

Studies of cities and urbanization are confronted with significant theoretical and methodological challenges as the urban question is reposed at the *city-regional* scale. Normative understandings of city-regions as sites of economic innovation and distinct political actors on the world stage belie the complex processes underlying their production. This has significant implications for social justice and political practice. This dissertation engages the challenges of city-regional urbanization through a critical comparative analysis of urban transportation institutions and infrastructure in the Chicago and Toronto city-regions. Focusing on long-term historical and spatial structures, the study demonstrates how multiscalar political, economic and social processes crystallize in specific urban formations and in turn, how processes of urbanization shape urban governance and practices of everyday life.

The dissertation develops three central theoretical innovations. First, it introduces a geographical historical-materialist comparative framework to examine the contingent evolution of city-regional formations in space and across time using a cross-national perspective. Second, it reframes urban transportation as a key realm of political economy inquiry, redressing the limitations of traditional transportation geography and the post-structural approaches which dominate urban infrastructures literature. Third, it incorporates diverse urban, suburban and post-suburban spaces within an overarching theorization of city-regional urbanization as an expression of centripetal and centrifugal

forces. Qualitative methods are used to uncover and analyze socially-entangled and geographically-disparate urban relations.

The empirical analysis reveals that the prioritization of particular scales of mobility spurs the emergence of new city-regional topologies which do not neatly align with territorially-defined forms of state space. Strategies of regionalization are as likely to open new fissures in city-regional space as they are to fuse collective regional agency. The convergences and divergences witnessed between the Chicago and Toronto city-regions illustrate the place-specific path dependent properties of institutional and infrastructure fixes that highlight the importance of historically and geographically sensitive comparative research. The dissertation's dialectical and comparative contributions open the city-region as a multifaceted, multiscalar and multilayered object of analysis. It concludes by outlining how the study's dialectical approach to city-regional urbanization can inform debates on urban transformation and social change.

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Introduction: City-regions, urban restructuring and the search for an infrastructure fix

[At points of crisis] new monetary systems, new political structures, new organizational forms for capital have to be brought into being. The birth pangs are often painful, but only in this way can institutional arrangements grown profligate and fat be brought into tighter relation to the underlying requirements of accumulation. If the reforms turn out well, then coordinations that absorb overaccumulation through uneven geographical development at least appear possible. If they fail, then the uneven development that results exacerbates rather than resolves the difficulties (Harvey, 2007, p. 431).

It is no coincidence that cities and urban regions have occupied a crucial, if contested, position in explanations of the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis. Focusing on tectonic shifts in global capitalism, Harvey (2009a) has interpreted the global economic downturn as the latest iteration of crisis centered on the dynamics of capitalist urbanization. Accelerating since the 1970s, speculative investments in the built environment – capital's "secondary circuit" – functioned as a spatiotemporal fix to capitalist crises by absorbing unproductive capital and labor. The secondary circuit shifted from acting as a "buffer" against crisis emerging in the circuit of industrial production to a position of centrality in contemporary accumulation (Harvey, 2012a, Lefebvre, 2003, p. 159, Merrifield, 2013a). Yet overinvestment in the built environment at ever expanding scales has failed to resolve

capitalism's contradictions.[1] The mid-2007 collapse of the United States' subprime

mortgage market has disclosed the breakdown of neoliberal financial mechanisms

redistributing real income to a small capitalist class and reinforced the structurally

unstable and unsustainable nature of urbanization as a strategy for capital accumulation

(Harvey 2009a, 2012a, Arku and Harris, 2005, Gotham, 2009, Soureli and Youn, 2009).[2]

While concurring with Harvey regarding the centrality of urbanization within the

2008-2009 Financial Crisis, Soja (2010, pp. 198-199, see also Soureli and Youn, 2009, p.

49) contends that transformations in cities, globalization and the myriad of forces shaping

the social production of urban space over the past three decades means the global

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[1] In North America and Europe, the contradictory nature of capital's secondary circuit has been most
vividly articulated in the housing market. Vast subdivisions have been left partially developed across the
United States, while waves of foreclosures and abandoned tower block development have hit central cities
(Aalbers, 2009, Crump et al., 2008, Gotham, 2009, Wyly et al., 2009). The collapse of the United States'
housing market in 2007 exposed both the speculative investment in land and the class and racial
exploitation through predatory financing (Wyly et al., 2009). The housing situation in Canada has been
relatively unscathed in comparison (Walks, 2012). Building permits declined in some outer suburban
communities in the Greater Toronto Area, but new home construction continues. Provincial and municipal
urban densification plans have supported Toronto's on-going condominium boom (Ireland, 2012).
Although there are concerns surround a potential condo bubble, bidding wars are resurfacing in select areas
and construction cranes dominate the skyline (Perkins and Nelson, 2012, Torobin, 2012). The painful
effects of global economic turbulence have still come home to roost in Canadian urban centers. Auto
manufacturing, a key industry in southern Ontario, for example, has been hit hard as the global economic
downtown spread worldwide with profound ramifications for the regional economy and labor force.

[2] Neoliberalism is not a monolithic, abstract amalgam of regulatory process enacted upon society (Brenner,
Peck and Theodore, 2010b, Peck, 2010). Rather I understand it as "an exclusionary set of exploitative – yet
complex and contingent – material social relations" premised upon commodification, market competition,
individual utility, and economic citizenship (Addie, 2008, p. 2674). As an on-going process,
neoliberalization assumes heterogeneous, path dependent and place-specific forms within city-regions that
are contextualized by market-disciplinary institutional reform and cycles of crisis-driven policy
experimentation (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010a, p. 329). Multiscalar, inherently spatial, processes of
financialization are crucial to neoliberalization (French, Leyshon and Wainwright, 2011, Hall, 2011).
Financialization establishes a distinct mode of regulation from the macro economy (Aglietta and Breton,
2001) to the sphere of everyday life (Martin, 2002a); facilitates spatiotemporal fixes to capitalism's crisis
tendencies, notably at the urban scale (Torrance, 2008, Weber, 2010); and enables mechanisms of
"accumulation by dispossession" that reassert the dominance of economic elites (Harvey, 2003).

economic downturn cannot be solely reduced to an outcome of capital's crisis tendencies. In contrast to the continuities identified in Harvey's reading, Soja has emphasized the ruptures evident in the social and morphological geographies of the "postmetropolis", and the unprecedented expansion of "virtual capital" within a spatial fix, to posit that the current crisis differs from previous rounds of political economic restructuring. Consequently, he argues the current round of crisis-induced restructuring "needs to be understood as *a crisis of regional urbanization* and all that is associated with it" (cf. Soureli and Youn, 2009, p. 49, my emphasis).[3]

It remains to be seen whether the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis marks a partial disruption of dominant rules of capitalist accumulation or a radical break from pre-existing processes likely to discredit the practices and ideologies of neoliberalism and engender new articulations of urbanization and accumulation (see Brenner et al., 2010a). At the same time as the crisis-tendencies of neoliberal urbanism ruptured, government and non-governmental actors have argued that cities are key sites for economic recovery and the geographic locus for future development (Glaeser, 2011, Raco and Street, 2012, Silver, 2010, Soureli and Youn, 2009). The global crisis has prompted both a resurgence in neoliberal populism backing fiscal discipline (Konings, 2012) and opened moments of rupture for social movements to occupy urban space and attempt to reclaim the "right to

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[3] Soja understands regional urbanization as a blurring of the boundaries between the urban core and suburban hinterland – in terms of built form, and the class, racial and cultural composition of the "postmetropolis" – via the densification of 'traditional' suburbia and demographic transitions across urban space emerging in the three decades following the Crisis of Fordism. The transformations culminate in a qualitatively different mode of urbanism.

the city" (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, 2012b, Harvey, 2012b). Public policy and

analysis, though, remain dominated by what Harvey (2009b) termed "liberal formulations

and solutions" to critical urban problems. Resurgent bourgeois narratives emphasize the

unique abilities of central cities to shape and reshape economies (often at the expense of

their suburban hinterlands), drive innovation and economic development, and provide the

environment for creative capital to optimize its productive capacity (e.g. Florida, 2005,

Glaeser, 2011, Inman, 2009, Moretti, 2012, Newman, Beatley and Boyer, 2009).

Harvey's (1996a) concern that the uneven tendency to see the city as an amalgam of

things – buildings, neighborhoods, roads, bridges, airports – has served to marginalize

our sense and understanding of urbanization as a process remains highly pertinent.

Urbanization has come to refer to demographic movements of people from the

countryside to towns and cities and, in this context, "the process comes to be simplified

into something that must be described and be managed in purely technical terms"

(Merrifield, 2002, p. 9). The current juncture offers an unparalleled opportunity to forge

new, democratic and sustainable forms of urbanism and socially-just pathways of social

change. It also reveals a clear need to critically reappraise the relationships between

capitalism, crisis-induced restructuring and the geography of urbanization.

A significant body of geographic scholarship has explored the relationship

between capitalism and urbanization, yet the historical specificity and significance of the

urban under capitalism remains contested (for details of this debate, see Brenner, 2009,

Cox, 2009, Merrifield, 2013a, Tajbakhsh, 2001). In contrast to explorations of "the urban

question" during the 1970s and 1980s which engaged the potential functional- (Castells, 1977, Saunders, 1981) or spatial-specificity (Harris, 1983, Harvey, 1989a) of the urban, Brenner (2000a) has reframed the urban question as one of scale. This is a fertile endeavor. The urban is not simply a generic site over which social relations and restructuring processes unfurl. Rather, it is continuously reconstituted by such multiscalar processes and consequently, Brenner points out, "to speak of urban restructuring… is to reference a process in which the very nature of cities – as sites of production, consumption, settlement, regulation and contestation – is reorganized and transformed" (c.f. Soureli and Youn, 2009, pp. 36-37). His reasoning is significantly influenced by Lefebvre's writing in *The Urban Revolution*. Here, Lefebvre (2003, p. 15) posited that whereas industrial production fostered the conditions of widespread urbanization, at a critical juncture, the concentrations and extensions of urban "implosion-explosion" engendered a transition from industrial to *urban* society. I stop short of embracing extensions of this position which contend urbanization now "creates industrial production, produces industrialization" (Merrifield, 2013b, p. 5) and provocatively reimagine the urban question under the auspices of "planetary urbanization" (Brenner and Schmid, 2012, Madden, 2012, Merrifield, 2013a, 2013c). Instead, I follow Ronneberger's (2008, p. 137) reading of Lefebvre by asserting the dialectical unity of industrialization and urbanization. The urban functions epistemologically as a "'strategic place and strategic object' of social development" (ibid). The urban question therefore emerges as a problematic encompassing "both the historical process of capitalist urbanization and the

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multiple, politically contested interpretations of that process within modern capitalist society" (Brenner, 2000a, p. 362).

Transformations in the political authority and territoriality of the nation-state in an era of intensive neoliberal globalization have profoundly impacted the spatial politics and institutional structures of cities. Studies of the urban process are confronted with significant theoretical and methodological challenges as the urban question is reposed at the *city-regional* scale. City-regions are contested conceptual constructs but may be broadly understood as extended urban archipelagoes which concentrate "dense polarized masses of capital, labor, and social life" across multiple contiguous jurisdictions (Scott, 2001b, p. 814). They are economic territories, with trade, innovation and entrepreneurial capacities that place them at the core of a city-centric capitalism, and political entities capable of developing regulatory and decision-making functions. Moreover, they are lived spaces, produced and understood through a diverse amalgam of social practices (Jonas and Ward, 2007, p. 171). Scott (2001a, p. 1) introduces the concept of the "global city-region" to indicate that this form of regionalism is now globalized; highly-integrated urban centers with distinctive regional social formations are now located across the globe and produced through processes of globalization.

The dramatic, dynamic growth of city-regions since the 1970s defies simple narratives of functional or territorial change. Global flows of people, capital and ideas produce new networks of connectivity and propinquity (Amin and Thrift, 2002, Castells, 1996). Urbanity is expressed and codified at the regional scale in a manner that both

illuminates and obfuscates elements of the urban condition (Neuman and Hull, 2009, p. 782). Peripheries achieve novel positions of centrality while spaces privileged within previous urban regimes are marginalized, adapted and repurposed (Roy, 2009, p. 827). The emerging sociospatial dynamics of city-regions present distinct theoretical and applied challenges for urban governance, planning and social justice as political and morphological boundaries are rendered "fuzzy" (Haughton, Allmendinger and Oosterlynck, 2013, p. 218) and "porous" (Harrison, 2010, p. 22). Assumptions regarding urban areas and their capacity as centers of economic, cultural and environmental resilience are multiple. Yet while a burgeoning, diverse literature (critically appraised in chapter 2) attempts to grapple with the impacts of rescaled contemporary urban processes, the city-region – and by extension, city-centric capitalism – "remains an 'object of mystery'" (Harrison, 2010, p. 18).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The centrality of capital's secondary circuit in the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis and the policy frameworks shaping contemporary crisis-induced urban restructuring have placed urban infrastructures at the forefront of public and political consciousness (Grabell, 2012, Krugman, 2011). Following decades of underinvestment by all levels of government across North America, neo-Keynesian economic stimulus packages and policy responses formulated by locally-dependent actors have targeted urban regions as vital sites for the "infrastructure fixes" deemed necessary to catalyze growth and restore accumulation

(Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011). The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, signed

into law by President Obama on February 17, 2009, included $51.2 billion for

transportation-related infrastructure, while in January 2009, Canada's Economic Action

Plan proposed the injection of $14.8 billion in federal funds into the Canadian economy

for accelerated infrastructure construction (including transportation) to stimulate job

creation. In Ottawa, Stephen Harper's neoliberal Conservative Party was cautious of

large-scale public works investment but the Government of Ontario aggressively

embraced infrastructure investment as a tool for economic recovery (Young and Keil,

2010, p. 91). Yet the production of new urban infrastructures as a spatial fix for

accumulation crises is an inherently contradictory process.[4] National stimulus packages

present the opportunity to create jobs and realign industrial sectors in potentially more

profitable and sustainable directions through government intervention (e.g. green

manufacturing, see Center for Neighborhood Technology, 2010, Jessop, 2013, Stillwell

and Primrose, 2010). They also open opportunities for city and regional governments to

exploit infrastructure investment to realize new local fixes to capital's accumulation crisis

which only serve to reproduce the contradictions of uneven geographical development

(Cox, 2005, Harvey, 2007, p. 431). The global economic crisis foregrounds urban

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[4] On one hand, the "return of the state" suggests the reconfiguration of capital-state relations to restore
accumulation as government interventions attempt to generate jobs, loosen seized-up capital markets and
stabilize the economy (Stillwell and Primrose, 2010, van Apeldoorn, de Graff and Overbeek, 2012). On the
other, the parallel rise of neoliberal populism cautions against a simple acceptance of this "imagined double
movement" (Konings, 2012).

infrastructure – notably urban transportation – as a key realm of critical political economy inquiry.[5]

This dissertation provides a critical comparative analysis of urban transportation institutions and infrastructure in the Chicago and Toronto city-regions. I utilize a political economy analysis of urban infrastructure to engage this study's overarching question: *how does the spatial and technological organization of city-regional space inform our understanding of advanced capitalism and its crisis tendencies in an age of globalized regionalism?* The project lies at the intersection of dialectical urbanism, strategic relational state theory and the political economy of infrastructure and primarily focuses on the relations between urban institutions, rather than issues of everyday life, resistance and collective action. My empirical analysis is driven by three substantial research questions that aim to conceive and analyze the emergent forms, functions and politics of global city-regions as an expression of the urban process under capitalism.

1. *How do inherited institutional and infrastructural spaces shape city-regional urbanization and the spatial organization of capitalism?* Through this question, I examine the spatial and temporal convergences and divergences in the Chicago and Toronto city-regions' experience of urban restructuring. Analyzing the form and function of the spatial fixes underpinning the valorization of city-regions as political, economic and social spaces reveals the relative significance of city-regional

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[5] Political economy inquiry concentrates analysis on the political arrangements utilized to promote accumulation. Following Marx's (1976) critique, I pursue a political economy approach that is sensitive to the historical specificity of analytical categories and sociospatial structures.

urbanization on the functioning of contemporary structured coherences. Addressing this question contributes to our understanding of the production of urban society and space by excavating the historical and geographical power relations and political practices coalescing around infrastructure provision in city-regions.

2. *How can the emergence of diverse city, suburban and post-suburban spaces inform our understanding of city-regional urbanization processes?* Here, I look to integrate recent innovations in the study of metropolitan transformation within an overarching theorization of city-regional urbanization. This question addresses my central theoretical concern by focusing on how transportation institutions and infrastructure condition and respond to the urban process under capitalism at multiple scales.

3. *How are city-regions produced, rendered visible and governed as territorial and relational entities through the provision and management of urban transportation networks? Why have key actors utilized strategic investments in urban transportation to mobilize city-regional space?* These questions respond to calls for empirically-grounded studies of regionalism and regionalization and aim to contribute to contemporary urban studies by addressing the bounded and porous nature of the urban process in an age of globalized regionalism. By examining issues of *relationality* and *territoriality*, I critically explore the tensions between local "inward" and metropolitan "outward" regimes and policy formations as they shape the politics and practice of city-regional urbanization and the spatial organization of capitalism.

As I detail in chapters 3 and 4, urban transportation in northeastern Illinois and southern Ontario provides a pertinent comparison to examine city-regional urbanization. Chicago and Toronto are both global cities with expansive regional hinterlands and as such are representative of a particular type of globally-integrated – although not paradigmatic (Jacobs, 2012a) – city-region. As North American cases, Chicago and Toronto are tied together by processes of globalization and policy transfer and share comparable (but differing) institutional arrangements and histories of growth. Cross-national comparison provides the opportunity to uncover the dynamics of necessity/contingency, continuity/ rupture and convergence/divergence within the urbanization of capital and generate transferable theory.

Dialectics and the urban process

At the ontological level, this dissertation is based upon a dialectical materialist approach to the study of cities, regions and the processes underlying their production. Critical geographical scholarship has a rich history studying capitalism, cities and urbanization. Dialectics, however, have tended to be understood and applied loosely by both proponents and critics alike (Castree, 1996, Dixon, Woodward and Jones, 2008).[6] I

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[6] The elevation of time and temporality over space and spatiality within dialectics presents a theoretical challenge to both Marxist and geographical analysis. Within the dominant strains of the historical materialism, space appears as a simplistic barrier to be overcome rather than an inherent quality of the abstractions of dialectical analysis. Geographical historical-materialism has subsequently been open to accusations of functionalism, totalization, reductionist binary logic, theory confirmation and subsuming difference to universality (Gidwani, 2008, Sheppard, 2008). Within geography, Harvey's Marxian dialectics (see 1989b, 1996a) have been particularly censured regarding their knowledge claims, a purported dogmatic application of an outmoded modernist agenda, and a myopic exclusion of non-

contend that a deep reading of Marx's dialectical method reveals an open, flexible mode

of analysis and offers the potential to conceptualize political strategies to realize more

progressive and just urban societies. Marx's particular application of the dialectical

method is premised upon the philosophy of internal relations and the process of

abstraction (Ollman, 2003, p. 51). I suggest internal relations may be understood through

two interconnected dimensions. First, in the *narrow* sense, internal relationality refers to

the essential properties of specific relations, for example capitalist/worker, or spatial

centrality/peripherality. Dialectical analysis presents apparently oppositional and

conflicting elements and interpretative frameworks as internal contradictions (Marx,

1991, p. 11). Second, as an *integral* ontological orientation, the philosophy of internal

relations proposes that the establishment of any object of analysis is expanded to

incorporate the process of its production and the social context of its existence.[7] Simply

put, "the particular ways in which things cohere become essential attributes of what they

are" (Ollman, 2003, p. 72). Within a social totality "parts have no prior independence as

parts" (Lebowitz, 2005, p. 42). Methodologically, the philosophy of internal relations

enables Marxian analyses to abstract processes that contain change and elements of the

systems they occur in and in doing so, collapses the distinction between things existing

and undergoing change (Harvey, 2012c). Through a constant interplay between the

concrete and abstract, this method of abstraction brings into focus particular "levels of

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economic based concerns (Deutsche, 1991, Jones, 1999, Massey, 1991). The challenge for geographical historical-materialism remains integrating space in a manner that avoids spatial fetishism.

[7] Dialectical thinking contrasts to the Cartesian foundations of neoclassical economic and liberal traditions which begin from the individual, conceived of ontologically prior to the whole (Lebowitz, 2005, p. 248).

generality" (Ollman, 2003, pp. 88-89) which enable the construction of spatial (scales)
and temporal (periods) boundaries. I utilize this approach to examine component parts
(i.e. post-suburbs, rail networks) in the overarching process of city-regional urbanization.

I draw from Harvey's (1989d) conception of the urban process under capitalism
as emerging from the interaction of accumulation and class struggle. We can posit
urbanization as a multiplicity of processes producing a distinctive amalgam of
sociospatial structures – e.g. the built form, spatial organization and regulatory
frameworks of the metropolis – that facilitate capital production, consumption and
circulation and subsequently disclose the urbanization of capital (Harvey, 1996a, p. 419).
Dialectical urban analysis uncovers the central tensions between (1) the city as a form
and process (Harvey, 1996b); and (2) the process of urbanization (the city as an
exchange-value entity) and modes of urbanism (the concrete experience of the city's use-
value) (Merrifield, 2002, p. 160). Uneven geographic development is a structural
component of capitalism itself (Harvey, 2006a, Smith, 2008). Capitalism renders obsolete
the geographic landscapes formed to sustain accumulation at one point in time as over-
accumulated and immobile fixed capital is devalued and becomes a barrier to the
realization of surplus value. Processes of creative destruction are required to release
capital embedded in place (Harvey, 2007, p. 411). Such restructuring has an essential
class dimension as the economically and racially/ethnically marginalized and politically
disenfranchised experience the "violence... required to achieve the new urban world on
the wreckage of the old" (Harvey, 2009a, pp. 324-325, Soja, Morales and Wolff, 1983).

Urban restructuring is a perpetual phenomenon, subject to dramatic cyclical periods of transformation. I adopt a longue durée perspective – focusing on long-term historical and spatial structures rather than events – to contextualize experiences of crisis within their historical production and conceptualize the resolution of their central contradictions. Through this dissertation, I utilize Lefebvrian "three-dimensional dialectics" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39, see Schmid, 2008, Stanek, 2008) to unpack the geographic complexities of urbanization and integrate critical spatial thinking within dialectical materialism. Rather than binary contradictions being resolved through sublation, three-dimensional dialectics holds that elements coexist in conflict or alliance. In doing so, they expand previously closed movements and retain the open-endedness possible within relational dialectics and "partial totalities" (Kofman and Lebas, 1996, p. 10, Sheppard, 2008, p. 2606).[8] The empirical analysis of urban restructuring, reterritorialization and spatial practice presented in this dissertation builds on Lefebvre's account of capitalism's contradictory urban process by analyzing the particular places, scales and geographical interrelations that are privileged and contested within city-regional urbanization (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, Leitner, Peck and Sheppard, 2007).

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[8] Lefebvre's (1991, pp. 38-41) classic spatial triad holds the *perceived* (spatial practice), *conceived* (representations of space) and *lived* (representational spaces) moments of spatial production in dialectical tension. Harvey (2006b) employs a comparable three-dimensional dialectic to unpack the nature of space grasped through the epistemological vantage points of: (1) *absolute space*: space, as a thing in itself with an existence independent of matter; (2) *relative space*: space as the relationships between objects which exist only is so far as they relate to each other; and (3) *relational space*: space which exists only insofar as it contains and represents within itself relationships to other objects, and in this sense, relational space(-time) cannot be considered apart from the processes producing it.

Strategic-relational state theory and new state spaces

Lefebvre (1996, p. 106, emphasis in original) points out that the city and the urban "cannot be understood without *institutions* springing from the relations of class and property". Rather than being understood through definitive governmental bodies, I understand urban institutions and the institutionalization of urban space through a strategic-relational approach that proposes the state as a social relation (Jessop, 2007). State power is exercised via certain institutional arrangements as a necessary mechanism to stabilize inherently antagonistic capitalist social relations (Harvey, 1985a, p. 177, Jessop, 2001, p. 11). The state is an integral component maintaining the capitalist political economy but it is not a neutral political entity (as in pluralist or social-democratic theorizations). The state acts on behalf of, and manages the common interests of the whole bourgeoisie (rather than at the behest of individual capitalists) and as such, can realize a level of autonomy in mediating between the interests of individual capitalists and is not immune to the interests of non-capitalist classes (Jessop, 2007, pp. 9-11, Pantich, 1977, p. 8).

As the state is not separate from society, it is fundamentally intertwined with the production of perceived, conceived and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991). Through the course of its development, the state "binds itself to space through a complex and changing relation" by deploying various techniques of spatialization that (re)produce territorial forms, sociospatial institutions and mental representations of space (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 224). The state is subject to active and continual processes of reproduction. However, by

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imposing particular rationalities on space – coordinating the stocks (gold and capital, investments, technologies and machinery) and flows (of energy, trade patterns, labor power) of the spatialized economy – the state may become crystallized, consolidated and codified as place-specific institutional fixes (ibid, also see MacLeod, 2001a, pp. 816-818). We can understand specific state forms as "permanences"; entities or occurrences in space-time that have relative fixity within on-going processes of reproduction (Harvey, 1996a). Although they remain contradictory social constructs, place-specific institutional arrangements can provide a degree of stability for capitalists and workers (Painter, 1997, p. 123).[9] In doing so, they play an essential role in providing regional formations with the "structured coherence" (within the totality of relations and forces of production) that enables the reproduction of social relations and temporally mitigates capitalism's internal crisis tendencies (Harvey, 1985b).

Examining the social and institutional structures embedded in a mode of regulation (understood as historical products of class struggle) facilitates the conceptualization of "crises as *ruptures* in the continuous reproduction of social relations" and frames periods of crisis-induced restructuring as moments of creative destruction (Aglietta, 1979, p. 19, emphasis in original).[10] The outcomes of urban

[9] The state expresses its institutional contradiction in this moment. At once one institutional constellation amongst others, it is charged with controlling and establishing new spatial fixes, while being subject to restructuring processes and reterritorialization itself (Jessop, 2007).

[10] Drawing from Aglietta (1979), I understand modes of regulation as constituted through: (1) the wage relation, structuring capital-labor relations in the spheres of production and reproduction; (2) forms of inter-capitalist competition through which individual capitals fight for comparative market and technological advantages; (3) monetary and financial regulation which structure the circulation of capital; (4) the state and governance as the political crystallization of institutional bodies through which class compromises are

restructuring do not, by necessity, result in the production of new and stable spatial or temporal fixes (Uitermark, 2002). Path dependent development trajectories are structured by locally-contingent conditions that endow production regimes and modes of urbanization with varying stability and effectiveness. Brenner's (2004a) "new state spaces" approach to state territoriality and spatial selectivity informs my understanding of territorial structures and the centralization or decentralization of institutional and infrastructural arrangements as direct objects of sociopolitical struggle.[11] As Brenner's conceptual schema is abstracted from Western Europe, this dissertation adapts the new state spaces literature to distinct North American contexts; most notably by accounting for distinct systems of federalism in the United States and Canada.

Urban transportation and the political economy of infrastructure

Urban transportation institutions and infrastructure serve as the empirical focus of this dissertation. Whereas positivist analysis characterizes much traditional transportation geography (see Hanson, 2003, Keeling, 2007, Shaw and Hesse, 2010), urban infrastructures have received increasing attention over the past decade through the emergent field of the "politics of infrastructure" (Graham and Marvin, 2001, McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008, McMahon, 2011, Monstadt, 2009, Young and Keil, 2010). My

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negotiated; and (5) the international regime in which scalar economic relations are articulated within the totality of global capital accumulation.

[11] For Brenner (2004a, pp. 92-93), state territoriality may be reconstituted in the form of qualitatively different *state spatial forms*, the product of *state spatial projects* endowing institutions with spatial, scalar and organization coherence and *state spatial strategies* promoting particular forms of socio-economic intervention and regulation. These, in turn, condition the contours of strategic *state spatial selectivity*.

engagement with urban transportation is informed by, and responds to, two bodies of scholarship shaping the contemporary debate on transportation geography and infrastructure studies. The first, assemblage theory, is strongly influenced by actor-network theory and views the city as an externally-related bundle of networks constructed by "concrete practices, located *in situ*" (Farias, 2010, p. 13). This literature defines arrangements of political power through their locally-contingent practices and relational intersections rather than their distinct institutional constellations or scalar arrangements (Allen and Cochrane, 2007, Farias, 2011, McGuirk, 2012) and highlights the contingent and uneven nature of sociotechnical flows in different territorial contexts (Gandy, 2005, Graham and Marvin, 2001, McFarlane, 2011a). The second body of scholarship, the "new mobilities paradigm", seeks to unveil the social and symbolic meanings of people's and objects' movements (Cresswell, 2006, Sheller and Urry, 2006) and has been the subject of an active attempt to refashion the conceptual agenda of transportation geography (Cidell, 2012b, Shaw and Hesse, 2010).

Both literatures reveal the theoretical complexity of urban transportation, and the potency of transportation as a prism to examine material and symbolic aspects of connectivity, marginality, mobility and territoriality. Fundamental philosophical differences exist between these approaches and dialectical materialism, but such conceptual tensions – for example, surrounding the nature of relationality – do disclose fertile avenues of inquiry and the need for concerted theoretical exploration within

dialectical urban analysis.[12] Chapter 3 details how I reposition transportation geography

within critical urban scholarship by highlighting its role in the urban process under

capitalism to theorize a political economy of urban transportation. Cities and urban

infrastructures evolve in a dialectical relationship through which the urban is materially

and conceptually produced, differentially experienced and transformed by users of urban

space. I understand the development of urban transportation networks since the 1970s as

closely aligned with the emergence of city-regional urbanization as;

> new scales of government [are created] through which towns, cities and villages
>
> become infrastructurally connected (and disconnected)… contiguous forms of
>
> territorial governance reinforced by universalization of infrastructure provision
>
> have been displaced by the rise of a logic of network connectivity which frequently
>
> bypasses traditional administrative boundaries and restrains the capacity of local
>
> and regional authorities to deliver network services for their territories (McFarlane
>
> and Rutherford, 2008, p. 365).

Transportation infrastructures and institutions therefore disclose the spatialized path

dependencies shaping city-regional urbanization. Further, they provide a lens to uncover

the contradictions and crises which structure political discourse and the terrains of social

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[12] Dialectical materialism's philosophical framework opposes that of assemblage theory, which is premised upon relations of exteriority (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), as well as the post-structural and actor-network ontologies that presently dominate networked infrastructure literatures (Graham and Marvin, 2001, Latour, 2005, McFarlane, 2011a). Such theories contend externally-related components cannot explain the relations that constitute a totality and can be readily detached from, and inserted into, social and technological systems (DeLanda, 2006, p. 11). Therefore the primary concern for such post-structural analysts is the manner in which parts are assembled, either randomly or under some logical principle, at particular junctures (McCann and Ward, 2011, p. xv).

struggle; transportation internalizes capitalist class struggle through the urbanization of capital. Infrastructure fixes are contradictory. Flows of capital into the built environment can be associated with the production of value, dependent upon their use. The development of transportation networks may be categorized as "productive state expenditures" in so far as they serve as collective means of production for capital (Harvey, 2012a, p. 11). Yet the geographic, institutional and financial structures produced by capital to expedite accumulation in one era, once established, present barriers to future growth as capital is fixed and constrained in antiquated arrangements (Marx, 1973, p. 524). By engaging with the contradictions between fixity and fluidity in urban transportation and holding the city-region as a complex and open social totality, we can conceive – and realize – the progressive future within the capitalist present.

Presentation of the study

I begin the dissertation by constructing a conceptual framework to investigate city-regions and city-regional urbanization. *Chapter 2* analyzes the insights, interpretive frameworks and lacunae of the emergent "new city-regionalism" literature. Through a sympathetic critique, I identify the need for: (1) comparative research which illuminates the contingent processes of city-regional urbanization in space and across time; (2) critical engagement with the abstractions, language and conceptual frameworks utilized to theorize the spatial and social organization of urban agglomerations; and (3) theorizations of city-regional urbanization which draw on place-based territoriality and

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relational connectivity to address conceptual ambiguities in urban theory and political practice. I build on current critical scholarship to demonstrate dialectical materialism's capacity to illuminate how the emergence of new spatial and social structures shape, and are shaped by, strategies of governance, economic constellations, and technological innovations within evolving historical and material contexts.

I establish urban transportation as a research object of theoretical and political importance and detail the study's conceptual framework in *chapter 3*. The chapter begins with a critical assessment of current debates on the geography of infrastructure. I pay particular attention to approaches influenced by actor-network and assemblage theories and evaluate Graham and Marvin's (2001) "splintering urbanism" thesis as a framework to analyze the logics and path dependencies of urban restructuring. I conclude by proposing a political economy of transportation through which we can engage the urban question at the city-regional scale within a dialectical materialist framework.

Chapter 4 contextualizes the dissertation within the revitalized field of comparative urbanism. Drawing from insights in comparative political science, historical-institutionalism and relational urban theory, I develop a rigorous comparative analytical framework which is sensitive to spatial and temporal contexts. Utilizing strategic-relational state theory, I extend sociological traditions of comparative historical analysis to present a framework for geographical historical-materialist urban comparisons. From this basis, I detail the logic of comparing the Chicago and Toronto city-regions and

explain the methodology developed to operationalize a comparative study of urban transportation institutions and infrastructure in city-regional space.

In *chapter 5*, I address the historical concerns of the dissertation through an exploration of the preconditions and path dependencies underlying the emergence of city-regional urbanization in Chicago and Toronto. I establish the historical-geographical precursors of contemporary urban restructuring by identifying the discursive, technological and territorial processes through which transportation infrastructure and institutional fixes were achieved at the metropolitan scale, and the contradictions within these spatial projects which led to their crises and ultimate sublation. By uncovering the inherited institutional and infrastructural spaces shaping the form and function of contemporary city-regional urbanization, I argue the dynamics of uneven development differ between cases, not only because they occur in different inherited spaces but due to the specific responses and structural capacities of local actors.

After establishing the historical foundations of city-regional urbanization, the following four chapters present a detailed examination of city-regional urbanization in Chicago and Toronto from 1989 to the present. In *chapter 6*, I extend Lefebvre's concept of "centrality" to theorize the spatial organization of the Chicago and Toronto city-regions. I consider the spatial impacts of neoliberal restructuring, global city policy agendas and the role of strategic urban infrastructure in territorializing global processes in place, both in terms of forging centrality within multiscalar urban systems and producing new centralities in the urban periphery. I deploy the analytical lens of the "dialectic of

centrality" to frame city-regional urbanization as an amalgam of centripetal and centrifugal growth dynamics.

Chapter 7 explores the development of city-regional transportation and urban planning institutions to assess how the Chicago and Toronto city-regions are being constructed and valorized. I examine how the institutionalization of city-regional space is structured and operationalized through path dependent mechanisms of codification and consolidation. The empirical analysis demonstrates that relational flows, policy transfers and topological connectivity are held in contradictory tension with territorially-defined political power. The contradictions produce divergent forms and articulations of strategic action and collective agency in the case study city-regions.

Chapter 8 compares the impacts of local institutional arrangements and policy frameworks on the regional integration of airports in Chicago and Toronto. I analyze variations in local transportation and planning systems to understand the relations between global aviation infrastructures and their surrounding regional spaces, and the connectivity between major global ports and local transportation capillaries in city-regions. I suggest that while divergent governance regimes in the two city-regions have shaped the development of global and local transportation networks, the imperatives of globalization are promoting the regionalization of material, political and discursive airport space in a manner that challenges their established development trajectories and reinforces the importance placed on regional mobility.

In *chapter 9*, I provide a critical analysis of the spatial logics of transit infrastructure and investment that focuses on two principal concerns; the relationship between financial landownership and the geography of transit infrastructure, and the on-going processes of technological and sociocultural "splintering". The empirical analysis illuminates the tensions between the processes of city-regional urbanization, coordinated and territorialized through bounded politics and institutions, and the diverse, multiscalar and increasingly unbounded experiences of lived regionalism. I demonstrate how the current global financial downtown and the roll-out of national economic stimulus packages have impacted urban restructuring in a manner that presents new articulations of state strategic selectivity and entrenches the imperatives of neoliberalism. Sociotechnical power geometries are formed as emerging topological networks fuse new urban connectivity and centralities, yet these remain conditioned by territorially-defined institutions and place-specific valorizations of space and spatial practice. As the transit-regionalization nexus obscures the production of urban social cleavages, I call for an adaptive urban politics to provide innovative transportation solutions and open adaptive political spaces in which a new politics of infrastructure can be articulated.

Chapter 10 presents the main arguments of the dissertation. My empirical analysis highlights tensions between, and within, pre-existing Fordist-Keynesian metropolitan dynamics and an ascendant nodal and networked neoliberal mode of city-regional urbanization. I present the city-region as an amalgam of dialectics, expressed through distinct processes of centripetal and centrifugal urbanization. The on-going

regionalization of urban transportation in the Chicago and Toronto city-regions illustrates the ways in which relational multiscalar flows, policy transfers and networked connectivity challenge territorial notions of agency. In turn, this study also reveals the continuing significance of territorially-defined political power shaping city-regional space. Place-specific path dependencies shape the structural capacity of actors producing city-regional space, even as new regional logics of connectivity are overlaid upon, and reconfigure, established city-suburban and core-periphery metropolitan dynamics. I conclude by outlining how a dialectical approach to city-regional urbanization can inform current debates on urban infrastructure, and discussing its impacts and relevance for future studies. I contend that while regionalization strategies are as likely to open new fissures in city-regional space as they are to fuse collective region agency, city-regional polycentricity opens the possibility to forge new socially-just pathways of social change.

Chapter 2

The challenges of city-regional urbanization

What has changed today is the complexity and scale of the mega-city region, and its multiple intersections with virtual spaces and flows of globalization. This complexity and scale not only has clouded our image of the city (even as it has reinforced its centrality), but also has clouded our very ability to construct an image of the city region. This of course has direct consequences for the ability to govern one (Neuman and Hull, 2009, p. 782).

Questions surrounding the spatial politics of city-regions have gained increased prominence as city, suburban and regional boundaries are blurred by the acceleration and extension of neoliberal processes of rescaling and reterritorialization. The last 15 years have witnessed a dramatic resurgence of interest in city-regions as a site of political and economic power, coalescing under the rubric of "new city-regionalism" (Harrison, 2010, Jonas, 2012a, Jonas and Ward, 2007, Scott, 2001a, Segbers, Raiser and Volkmann, 2007, Simmonds and Hack, 2000, Vogel et al., 2010). While the city-region concept is not a recent invention, the term's present revival – in marked contrast to previous urban and regional concerns – is rooted in the idea that urban agglomerations are the foundational "architectural, social, cultural and spatial building blocks of the global economy" (Jonas and Ward, 2007, p. 170).[1] Flows of people, information, capital and ideas – moving

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[1] The term "city-region" was first coined by Dickinson (1947) and is engrained within a rich historical tradition extending from the intellectual innovations and metropolitan concerns of central place theory and the Chicago School of urban sociology. Numerous neologisms have been deployed to capture city-regional space, including (non-exhaustively): 100-mile cities (Sudjic, 1992); cosmopolis (Isin, 1996); global city-

through material transportation and communications infrastructures and virtual

cyberspaces – integrate extended urban agglomerations into the dynamic networks and

imaginaries of "transnational urbanism" (Smith, 2001) or "planetary urbanism" (Brenner

and Schmid, 2012, Merrifield, 2013a). A significant branch of new city-regionalism has

emerged at the nexus of global cities research and the new regionalism (Scott, 2001a).

Focusing on the city-region as a strategic analytic scale brings urbanization patterns and

economic competitiveness issues to the fore, highlighting questions of urban

infrastructure, political collaboration and spatial structure in a manner that a focus on the

global city does not (Sassen, 2001a, pp. 80-82).

Continued metropolitan growth profoundly transforms territorial structures, social

relations and urban imaginaries in a manner that has deep ramifications for urban

governance and political practice. In this chapter, I present a critical appraisal of the

changing spatiality of urbanization, the shifting institutional landscapes of urban politics,

and the conceptual challenges presented by globalized city-regionalism. Through a

sympathetic review of the literature on city-regionalism and urban restructuring, I

identify three central concerns requiring rigorous analysis in order to address the

conceptual ambiguities infringing upon urban theory and political practice. First, there is

a need to critically examine contingent urban processes across multiple spatial (scales)

and temporal (periods) levels of generality. I call for historically and geographically

sensitive comparative research that embraces urban restructuring as an on-going, crisis-

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regions (Scott, 2001a); mega-regions (Florida, Gulden and Mellander, 2007); megalopolises (Mumford, 1997); polymorphic urban regions (Parr, 2005); and postmetropolis (Soja, 2000).

prone process to address the analytical significance of continuities and ruptures shaping

the metropolis and the tendency towards disciplinary presentism in urban studies and

urban geography. Second, despite research that pushes beyond reductionist abstractions

and established relationships between urban center and hinterland, the frameworks of the

Chicago and Los Angeles Schools of Urbanism continue to influence the debate on

metropolitan growth and politics in North America. As a rejoinder, the diversity and

dynamism of city-regional space requires critical engagement with the abstractions,

language and frameworks utilized to theorize the emergent spatial and social organization

of urban agglomerations. Third, the tensions between *territorial* and *relational* space

present distinct challenges for urban theory, governance and political practice. I address

these debates by positing dialectical urbanism as a means to illuminate how the

emergence of new sociospatial structures shape, and are shaped by, governance

strategies, economic constellations, and technological innovations. I argue that the city-

region needs to be understood as a place and a process and suggest focusing on urban

institutions provides a germane lens to analyze the geography and path dependencies of

city-regional urbanization.

DEFINING THE CONTOURS OF NEW CITY-REGIONALISM: INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORKS, IMPLICATIONS AND LACUNAE

As a prolegomenon to the debates over new city-regionalism, Scott and his collaborators

have put forward the controversial assertion that the global ascendance of city-regions

presents a new phase of capitalist territorial development (Scott et al., 2001, Scott and

Storper, 2003). Drawing on the extensive literature on global cities, Scott (2001b)

contends that volatile globalization processes and economic restructuring born from the

postwar consensus' collapse have loosened the territorial foundation and primacy of

nation-states. In the wake of deindustrialization and industrial decentralization in North

America and Western Europe during the 1970s, alternative mechanisms of economic

organization and development have emerged around the principles of "flexible

specialization" and post-Fordism (Scott, 2008a, p. 549). Industrial and intellectual capital

has coalesced into urban agglomerations which economize on capital-intensive

infrastructure, thicken industrial and innovation networks, and encourage skilled

workforces to concentrate around key employment sites. City-regions have received

concerted attention as privileged spatial units within the world economy where the

clustering of research, learning and innovation and associated untraded interdependencies

drive growth (e.g. Asheim, 1996, Florida, 1995, Fujita, Krugman and Venables, 2001,

Henton, 2001, Scott and Storper, 2003, Wolfe and Gertler, 2001).

According to Scott (2001b, p. 817), the propinquity (or "nearness") required by

post-Fordist economies – centered upon high-technology and cultural production, neo-

artisanal manufacturing and business and financial services – explains why city-regions

have emerged as a critical terrain in the new sociospatial macro-geography of capitalism.

This approach conceptualizes city-regions as dense regional agglomerations of economic

activity that have both spurred, and reinforced globalization. As such, city-regional

urbanization appears equally, albeit diversely, in Shanghai, São Paulo, and Delhi as well as in North American and Western European metropolitan centers (Scott, 2001a, Segbers et al., 2007, Simmonds and Hack, 2000).

The significance of city-regions, however, lies not only in their role as economic engines under globalization but also in their self-assertion as political actors on the world stage (Scott et al., 2001, p. 11). The apparent consolidation of global city-regions into political entities occurs, in part, as a spatial extension of "new localism" with contiguous governmental areas forming spatial coalitions to effectively respond to globalization's threats and opportunities (Deas and Ward, 2000, Scott, 2001b). Extended urban built environments and dispersed spatial patterns of everyday life necessitate rescaled policy frameworks to manage collective consumption amenities, economic development, planning and taxation in order to maintain local competitiveness (Gainsborough, 2001, Niedt and Weir, 2010, Tewdwr-Jones and McNeill, 2000). For Parr (2008, p. 3018), the city-region presents a reasonably self-contained spatio-political unit, offering a "coalition building device" for policy makers to frame public and private investment across administrative boundaries. As such, the "new regionalism" has strongly influenced new city-regionalism (Harrison, 2007, MacLeod, 2001a, Ward and Jonas, 2004); notably in the integration of regional economic and social policies aimed at fostering global competitiveness (Porter, 2001, Scott, 2008b).[2]

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[2] Attempts to tackle urban problems through scaling up governmental and governance authority to the regional scale reflect a long-term trend in Europe and North America (Brenner, 2004b, Collin, Leveilee and Poitras, 2002). However, whereas metropolitan government regimes introduced from the 1950s through the 1970s primarily addressed problems of wealth redistribution and the provision of collective consumption

Although engagements with city-regions vis-à-vis economic globalization have provided many provocative insights, the focus on city-regions as economic territories, combined with a paucity of research on regions as spaces of politics, has led to boosterism and narrow policy prescriptions (Harrison, 2012, Lovering, 1999, McCann, 2004, Ward and Jonas, 2004). Within Toronto, for example, noted urban evangelist Richard Florida (2012) has called for cities and suburbs "to act in harmony as one region" lest the region lose its competitive edge while Anne Golden (2012), a central player in the Greater Toronto Area's regional debates in the 1990s, recently reaffirmed the city-region as a central political and economic frame for maintaining southern Ontario's prosperity. Normatively, constructing city-regions as the optimum scale for economic organization and governance impels the top-down application of regional agendas but also problematically constructs regions as homogenous political entities acting as singular, collective units. Imbuing city-regions with agency and uncritically elevating them – as functionally separate arenas of political and economic activity and action – above other spatial frames presupposes that they are, or act, as internally-consistent, autonomous political agents (Cummers, MacKinnon and McMaster, 2003, Ward and Jonas, 2004) while simultaneously overlooking the ways they are made and remade by globalization processes (Allahwala and Keil, forthcoming). Despite now regionalized urban infrastructures and public policy concerns regarding services such as

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facilities within the framework of nation states, new regionalism has emerged as a concerted attempt to marshal the impacts of globalization and surpalocal transformations after the crisis of Fordism (Brenner, 2002, Frisken and Norris, 2001).

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transportation, utilities, and education (see Boudreau, 2007, Graham and Marvin, 2001, Jonas, While and Gibbs, 2010, Keil, Olds and Addie, 2012), several scholars contend economic centrality does not necessarily lead to a paralleled increase in city-regions' importance as political spaces (Kantor, 2008, Sancton, 2008).

Critical geographic scholarship has begun to unpack the conceptual limitations and practical dangers of assuming the city-region as a pre-given scale and optimum frame for economic organization and governance. Neo-Gramscian and regulation theories emphasize the emerging regional world's politically-constructed nature (Harrison, 2007, Lovering, 1999, MacLeod, 2001a, MacLeod and Jones, 2007, Ward and Jonas, 2004).[3] Viewing city-regionalism through the lens of contested and multiscalar regulatory state restructuring engenders a fundamental reshaping of urban and regional politics in which the very territorial structure of the state may become an object of social struggle (Brenner and Theodore, 2002b, Keil and Mahon, 2009). Consequently, there is a need to highlight the co-presence of multiple actors and rescale the practice of urban politics in order to counter new regionalism's tendency to paste over metropolitan cleavages with unified, singular narratives of urban development (Fraser and Weninger, 2008, Swanstrom and Banks, 2009).

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[3] MacLeod (2001b, pp. 816-818) advocates uncovering the role of the state and the structuration of urban governance via neo-Gramscian state theory to reveal the previously obscured elements of political struggle, cultural-institutional practice and clandestine state strategy. An institutional-relational account of the state incorporates five significant dimensions: (1) codification as a *representation regime*; (2) *internal structures of the state* reflecting the institutionalization of the representative state; (3) *patterns of intervention* in the economy and civil society; (4) the *social basis of state power* that consolidates the representational state around various classes, territorial interests and urban regimes; and (5) *state strategies and state projects* which bring coherence to the state's activities.

Treating city-regions as functional economic territories leads to a focus on parochial policies and accounts emphasizing economic successes. Framing strategic action and the possibility for social change around such a partial understanding fundamentally limits the potential conditions for political contestation, as well as the issues around which city-regional politics may coalesce (Andrew and Doloreux, 2012, Painter, 2008). Following Jonas and Ward's (2007) call for the new city-regionalism to broaden its focus beyond global political and economic restructuring, new research is examining the diverse environmental, social and material infrastructures underlying the production and ascendance of city-regions. As a space of both living and working, city-regions present a significant scalar frame to contest the politics of everyday life (Jarvis, 2005, 2007, McGuirk and Dowling, 2011). Issues of social reproduction, codified, for example, via discourses surrounding quality of life (Donald, 2001, Florida, 2002, McCann, 2007) and ecological sustainability (Krueger and Savage, 2007, Wekerle and Abbruzzese, 2010) structure city-regional competitiveness and open alternative modes of political mobilization (Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007, Leitner et al., 2007).

(Beyond) the city-region as a chaotic concept

City-regionalism presents distinct theoretical and applied challenges for urban governance, the provision and management of urban infrastructure, and social justice. Yet despite the large literature on city-regions and a broad consensus regarding their centrality within global economic networks, our image of the city-region remains opaque

and fragmented. The new city-regionalism has become bogged down in an analytical quagmire as conceptual and definitional ambiguity renders its central object of study a "chaotic concept" (Harrison, 2006).[4]

The new city-regionalism has Balkanized into ideological "islands of practice" (see Purcell, 2003). Ideational constructs of the city-region are often deployed normatively, or as a proxy for other conceptual and political debates, as scholars search for appropriate "spatial grammars" to understand urban regions (MacLeod and Jones, 2007, p. 1178). Parr objects to the "current indiscriminate use of the term [city-region] at significantly different scales and for different purposes" (2008, p. 3016) – noting its problematic consequences for comparisons – and decries its haphazard deployment "simply to emphasize the sheer size or areal extent of a metropolitan area" (2005, p. 556). Markusen (2003) similarly critiques such conceptual "fuzziness".[5] As a rejoinder to the perceived stress on process rather than institutions, agency or behavior, she calls for the isolation of cities as units with essential definitions and the construction of a stable, transferable language to scientifically test statements of causality.

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[4] A "chaotic conception" represents an uncritical abstraction through which an object of analysis is constructed *a priori*, without familiarity with the elements on which it rests (Marx, 1973, p. 100). Sayer (1992, p. 138) suggests such bad abstraction "arbitrarily [divide] the indivisible and/or [lump] together the unrelated and the inessential, thereby 'carving up' the object of study with little or no regard for its structure and form". While chaotic concepts may be deployed normatively, once they are ascribed causal power, diverse and unrelated elements are erroneously assumed to share essential commonalities or causally-significant properties.

[5] Markusen (2003, p. 708) demonstrates conceptual fuzziness in relation to world cities. Depending on its usage, she notes the concept "world city" may refer to: (1) the concentration of key transactions within particular cities; (2) an external orientation on the part of cities; or (3) the global hierarchy of global urban centers. Subsequently, "scanty evidence" or "inadequate data" may be leveraged to support certain policy frameworks over others.

Certainly, the signifier "city-region" must refer to more than the mere magnitude of contemporary urban agglomerations. However, while definitional rigor may address scalar and functional disparities, it does not necessarily advance our understanding of the complex processes producing city-regions and risks a return to singular methodologies and quantitative positivism (Harding, 2007, Peck, 2003). We need to adopt theoretical and methodological approaches, supported by high standards of corroboration, triangulation and validity checks, which will unpack city-regional urbanization.[6] The issue is "not how and whether to draw lines around regions but to seek to understand the process through which they are (re-)produced" (Hudson, 2007, p. 1155).

Whereas Markusen (2003) critiques the focus on process, systematically theorized process-thinking is necessary to move new city-regionalism beyond its current limitations. Here, I concur with Harding (2007, p. 417), who posits that the city-region's utility as an analytical concept "is not that it avoids ambiguity, fuzziness and overlapping 'boundaries' but that it encourages relational understanding of the internal and external dynamics of territories that have some degree of functional integrity but are very rarely defined administratively". City-regional urbanization does not revolve around the study of quasi-natural entities called cities, suburbs, or city-regions. Rather such urban forms need to be understood as expressions of social processes producing and reproducing

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[6] Harrison (2006, p. 41) critiques Markusen's (2003) attack on single case study research by arguing place-based studies provide the basis of empirically grounded research that ought to act as the basis of urban theory. Rational abstractions drawn from case-studies enable connections to be made to varying scales of analysis and between cases. The same logic of methodological rigor needs to be extended to comparative studies in a way that deepens theoretical understandings based on single case studies. This idea will be treated in depth in chapter 4.

distinct articulations of urban space. Following Harvey (1996b), I contend that a relational dialectic framework provides a means to move beyond the interpretive islands of practice that currently characterizes much debate on city-regions. Dialectical analysis provides the conceptual apparatus and methodologies through which we can conceive the city-region as both place and process; a vital task since city-regional urbanization's economic, political and lived dimensions are not ontologically separate. By exploring the multidimensionality of city-regions we can construct progressive responses to the challenges of sociospatial polarization, regional mobility, ecological sustainability and urban inequality posed by extended urban spaces.

Taking calls for conceptual clarity and methodological rigor in the research process seriously, three issues require empirical attention and theoretical innovation:

1. We need comparative research that allows us to examine the contingent processes of city-regional urbanization in space and across time.

2. Our understanding of city-regional space cannot rest upon reductionist abstractions and dichotomies drawn between the city and suburbs, but needs to reflect the diverse urban forms and flows that constitute city-regions.

3. Our engagement with city-regions requires theorizations incorporating a focus on both connectivity and place.

In the following, I unpack: (1) the dynamics of continuity and rupture in urban restructuring debates; (2) the complexity and heterogeneity of city-regional space; and (3) the challenge of integrating territoriality and relationality, to establish a framework that

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can extend debates on the new city-regionalism. Drawing from dialectical materialism, I conclude by proffering a theorization of the city-region and city-regional urbanization through which we can explore development pathways and potential urban futures.

URBAN RESTRUCTURING: CONTINGENCY, CONTINUITY AND RUPTURE

Despite the various arguments surrounding city-regional growth and governance, the majority of analysts stress that the deep sociospatial restructuring of capitalism unfurling since the 1970s has fundamentally reshaped contemporary urbanization. Critical geographic scholarship has conceptualized the changing metropolitan form and function through a series of interrelated transitions pivoting around the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement, the 1973 Oil Crisis, stagflation and a globalized crisis of over-accumulation. First, post-Fordist production regimes replaced Fordist mass production and mass consumption as the geography of production shifted from national economies to globally-integrated commodity networks (Amin, 1994, Harvey, 1989b, Scott, 2008a). Second, neoliberalism ascended to a position of political orthodoxy, supplanting Keynesian national state demand management with regulatory frameworks that place developmental beneficence in open, competitive markets (Duménil and Lévy, 2005, Harvey, 2005, Peck, 2010). Third, advances in communications and transportation technology fostered a dramatic, epochal transformation from modern to postmodern ways of understanding and experiencing time and space (Harvey, 1989b, Soja, 1989).

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The transition from national-scaled Fordism-Keynesianism to globalized, neoliberal post-Fordism emerged as a central motif for geographic political economy and urban politics research. The urban has emerged as a strategic arena in which neoliberal regulation and accumulation may be institutionalized (Brenner and Theodore, 2002b, Hackworth, 2007) and where neoliberalism's contradictions are most viscerally experienced (Gough, 2002, Wacquant, 2007, Walks, 2009).[7] Brenner (2001b, 2004a) forcefully emphasizes the significance of these shifts as a radical break from previous rounds of urbanization. In spatializing strategic-relational state theory, he observes that state spatiality has been reconstituted from a project of "spatial Keynesianism" towards a framework of inter-locality competition (2004a, pp. 115-116, 176). Spatial Keynesianism in Western Europe presented a state spatiality focused upon redistributive, cohesion-oriented regulatory policies predominantly formulated at the national scale. *State spatial projects* (endowing institutions with spatial, scalar and organization coherence) shifted from establishing a relatively centralized, uniform framework of state territoriality to promoting decentralized economic regulation and customized governance capacities for urban centers. Likewise, spatial Keynesian *state spatial strategies* channeling private capital and public investment into underdeveloped hinterlands have been replaced by neoliberal locational policies aimed at enhancing city-regions' competitiveness.

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[7] Through exploring issues of power and class, and emphasizing urban elites' agency, the New Urban Politics (NUP) suggested local governments were adopting entrepreneurial policy and planning frameworks to attract and retain footloose global capital (Cox, 1993, Cox and Mair, 1988, Hall and Hubbard, 1998, Harvey, 1989c, Logan and Molotch, 1987, Stone, 1989). The NUP highlighted the diverse actors involved in the urban political sphere. Under the disciplinary logics of interlocality competition, local states worked with the private sector through public-private partnerships or growth coalitions, prompting a shift from government to governance (MacLeod and Jones, 2011).

Recently, scholars have highlighted differing national and regional contexts as significant factors shaping state spatiality, urbanization and territorialization processes (Boudreau et al., 2007, Breathnach, 2010, Brenner and Theodore, 2002b, Sonn, 2010). Brenner's conceptual apparatus and periodization strategy demonstrate considerable utility, but need to be critically adapted to the North American context; particularly as the American and Canadian federal government systems problematize the postulation of a monolithic national state. Brenner (2004a, p. 131) himself notes the American experience of state spatiality and urban restructuring differs from the European experience given a Fordist-Keynesian spatial fix premised upon intense competition between local-growth machines and an influential "legacy of extreme jurisdictional fragmentation within its major city-regions" in the United States (2002, p. 5). Brenner's analysis is notably pertinent in the Greater Toronto Area given the region's history of spatial Keynesianism, albeit under the Province rather than national government (Boudreau et al., 2007).

Debates surrounding urban restructuring pathways, governance reterritorialization and policy formations are particularly pertinent as key actors attempt to stabilize growth and restore accumulation following the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis (Soureli and Youn, 2009). Neoliberal landscapes and social and spatial structures do not emerge uncontested, nor in a comprehensive end-state. They result from a continual mediation of crisis arising in specific social, cultural, political, and economic contexts. Spatial restructuring processes are expressed over pre-existing "layers" that shape patterns of investment and inequality (Massey, 1978). New spatial and institutional orders often clash violently with

"inherited spaces" (Lipietz, 1980, p. 74). The destruction and re-appropriation of spatial

forms is acutely and viscerally expressed "around *critical points*, during a *critical*

situation" (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 248 emphasisss in original).

In order to understand the current conditions experienced in urban regions, it is

necessary to understand their historical production, and the circumstances that facilitated

the development of particular locations into city-regions (Beauregard and Haila, 2000,

Davis, 2005, Harris and Lewis, 1998). This involves challenging generalized narratives

of political and economic change by empirically analyzing restructuring pathways in

specific city-regions. Concrete expressions of neoliberal urbanism are produced through

path dependent processes of creative destruction (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). As

more than the basic notion that history matters, path dependence "characterizes

specifically those historical sequences in which contingent events set into motion

institutional patterns or event chains that have deterministic properties" (Mahoney, 2000,

p. 507). Challenging temporal frameworks offers the potential to illuminate alternative

narratives of change and inferences regarding particular sociospatial processes in a

manner that parallels jumping geographic scale (Jessop, 2002a, Jones, 2004, McCann,

2003). Abu-Lughod (1999, p. 2), for example, critiques much work on global cities as

"remarkably ahistorical" (also see Brenner et al., 2010a).[8] Tracing globalization patterns

over the longue durée formation of America's global cities, she cautions against

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[8] The problem of disciplinary presentism and foreshortened research timeframes raise several issues –
notably ascribing disproportionate causal agency to actors at the current juncture and precluding alternative
perspectives on sociospatial processes – and suggests the necessity for more in-depth longue durée
historical analysis (Jones, 2004).

overstating the significance of urban restructuring in the post-1970s era by arguing that the core elements of global city theory have their ascendants, either embryonically or fully-formed in mid-nineteenth century New York and, after a lag, in Chicago and Los Angeles. Sassen (2006) also engages with long-term historical and spatial structures to argue that the perceived epochal transformations of globalization actually represent a multifaceted amalgam of historical transitions. Writing from a political economy rather than sociological perspective, Cox (2004, 2005) frames globalization as a symptom of wider trends in the world economy and suggests the internationalization of production, trade and finance reflect the essential contradictions of uneven development.

Such arguments have significant implications for urban political economy. Conceptualizing urban politics as an institutional means to mitigate or anticipate geographically uneven development raises questions as to whether the reconfigured sociospatial organization of capitalism reflects new spatialized political economic problems or simply present novel solutions to old problems. While acknowledging local development regimes have adopted new institutional arrangements, Cox (2005, p. 194) posits that urban politics have been relatively untouched in the postwar period. Harvey (1989c) recognizes that the shift from urban managerialism to entrepreneurialism transformed urban politics, but also stresses urbanization's on-going role as a remedy to capitalism's accumulation crises (2012c).

There is a need to move between the extreme tendencies to either posit transformations as appearing spontaneously and externally "from the unknown and

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unknowable" or deny epochal transitions by reducing difference to what already exists. (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 104). I propose to tackle this challenge in two ways. First, as the city is not only restructured by relatively continuous global processes but by on-going transformations in the mode of production, class and property relations and governance regimes, any examination of urban restructuring ought to account for differing levels of generality in their abstractions (Brenner, 2004a, p. 20, Lefebvre, 1996, p. 105).[9] Engaging multiple levels of generality provides a means to abstract the significance of particular urban processes, reveal discrepancies between spatiotemporal frames and subsequently inform social practice.[10] Second, historically and geographically sensitive comparative analysis is needed to necessary and contingent urban restructuring processes operating across different regional and national contexts. Following calls for more historically-specific engagements with the urban dimensions of political economic restructuring (Soureli and Youn, 2009), this dissertation asks *how do inherited institutional and infrastructural spaces shape city-regional urbanization and the spatial organization of capitalism?* Addressing this question involves accounting for the convergences and

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[9] Abstractions of generality are a central component of Brenner's (2004a, p. 20) methodological framework. He analyzes: (1) the *abstract level* as the systemic features of a historical social system, identified through theoretical generality and longue durée temporalities. (2) The *meso level* "refers to the relatively durable institutional arrangements, regulatory frameworks and territorial configurations that underpin distinct periods of historical development", and presents the most coherent level to investigate systemic and scalar reorganizations of state space. (3) The *concrete level* examines the specific configurations through which everyday social and political life unfolds. Brenner considers these levels as ontologically integrated and dialectically intertwined epistemological vantage points.

[10] As similar types of abstraction, periods and regions are fuzzy, conceptually illuminating yet often contradictory and obtuse. Analytical periods contain movement and transition. Consequently, the presence of quantitatively different continuities or rupture must emerge from systematic empirical analysis and theoretical rigor.

divergences witnessed in urban restructuring processes and the form and function of spatial fixes. Rigorous comparative research can identify the relative significance of city-regional urbanization on the functioning of contemporary structured coherences.

(UNSETTLING) THE SOCIOSPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF CITY-REGIONS

The postwar period has witnessed a shift from a dense, relatively contained and compact mode of urbanization to an increasingly diffuse and decentralized globalized regionalism. This broad historical transition has transformed the metropolitan dynamic in North America.[11] Historic central cities are now subsumed by vast, sprawling and mobile regions that dwarf the inner core in terms of population, employment and territorial scope (Knox, 2008, Lang and Knox, 2009, Sudjic, 1992). The spatial scope and jurisdictional fragmentation of many North American and European metropolises means the challenge of competitive urban governance is one of city-regional governance (Cox, 2010, Keil, 2011a). Globally, city-regions exhibit an array of divergent forms. However, conceptual debates on city-region's sociospatial organization continue to be swayed by the competing Chicago, Los Angeles and (to a lesser extent) New York Schools of

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[11] Beauregard (2006b) argues that the acceleration of suburbanization in the American postwar period was premised upon a shift form "distributive" growth to a "parasitic urbanization" whereby the suburbs fed off of government expenditures on infrastructure and expanded and re-regulated mortgage financing at the expense of hollowed-out older central cities (also see Hayden, 2003, Teaford, 2011). Further, processes of economic globalization have contributed to the growth of decentralized urban forms that are then subject to increasing regional integration and expanded interconnections between the core and periphery (Sassen, 2001b, Vogel, 2010).

Urbanism. Over eight decades after the publication of *The City* (Park and Burgess, 1925), the Chicago School of Urbanism continues to stand as an influential model of urban development. While the School's ecological urban growth models are now clearly outdated, the view of the city as a universal whole with a coherent, center-dominated regional structure remains a core assumption for scholars examining Chicago as a global metropolis (Conzen and Greene, 2008a, Dear, 2002, Judd and Simpson, 2011). Indeed, a group of sociologists and political scientists now self-consciously promote a reinvigorated "New Chicago School of Urbanism" (Bennett, 2010, Clark, 2008, Judd and Simpson, 2011, Koval et al., 2006, Sampson, 2002, Simpson and Kelly, 2008).[12] The expansive, multidimensional forms of decentralized development identified by Los Angeles-focused scholars provide an alternate explanatory framework through which the hinterland determines the function of what remains at the center (Davis, 1990, Dear, 2002, Dear and Flusty, 1998, Soja, 1996).

Two decades of neoliberal urbanism and post-Fordist restructuring, however, have disclosed alternative spatial logics of urban growth, even within the Chicago and

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[12] The New Chicago School developed as a critique of the L.A. School's premise that urban regions now operate as sprawling conurbations in which the periphery organizes the metropolitan center and "neo-Marxian" urban studies on New York that focus on class conflict within key central cores (e.g. Halle, 2003, Zukin, 1991). Taking globalization's impact on Chicago as a departure point, New Chicago School scholars proffer an alternative analysis which stresses: an attention to cultural plurality and complex race-ethnicity relations; an economy premised upon feature consumption and the provision of amenities to attract global capital; and an emphasis on the extent to which local leaders and local responses shape metropolitan areas' prospects in an era of globalization (Clark, 2008). They further assert urban analysis needs to extend beyond the central city to cover the entire metropolitan area (Simpson and Kelly, 2008). However, while this call to shift scales is welcome, New Chicago School analysis tends to remain territorially-bound to the municipality of Chicago. While it may look beyond the Loop, the metropolitan region is often conflated with Chicago while regional issues are codified through their relationship to Mayor Richard M. Daley's political machine. This problematically perpetuates a tendency for urban politics studies to focus on local-scaled urban regimes (Bourne, 2008, Cochrane, 2011).

Los Angeles regions (Greene, 2008, Sassen, 2008). Transformations in the sociospatial organization of metropolitan centers can be productively viewed as a historical movement whereby the shifts from urban to suburban geographies represent a quantitatively new form of urbanization (Isin, 1996, Soja, 2000, Sudjic, 1992). Isin (1996, pp. 98-99) suggested that the spatial interdependencies of the metropolis, in which a central urban core city dominates an economically and socially integrated hinterland, have collapsed; replaced after the pivotal year of 1971 by an emergent polycentric urban region whose underlying class struggle has shifted from industrial to cultural interests. Similarly, Soja (2000) has grappled with the apparent collapse of the established mode of urbanization by conceptualizing the "postmetropolis"; an urban imaginary whose elusive characteristics define it as quintessentially postmodern, but also highlight continuities and discontinuities with the twentieth-century metropolis. Just as the auto-centric suburban metropolis superseded the relatively high-density industrial city and streetcar suburbs, so the argument goes, decentralization of population and employment established the contradictions through which the metropolitan city became "unbound" and transitioned under "regional urbanization" (Soja, 2005).

More troublesome for the Chicago and L.A. Schools is their marginal treatment and theorization of urban politics and the lived experience of regionalism (Addie and Keil, under review). An extensive literature now indicates that intensifying sociospatial polarization characterizes neoliberalizing, post-Fordist space in advanced capitalist societies (see Brenner and Theodore, 2002b, Hackworth, 2007, Walks, 2009). While

aggressive revalorization of the urban core and the on-going valorization of single-family housing subdivisions in many suburban hinterlands has continued apace, new geographies of inequality and "advanced marginality" have emerged; particularly as spaces which prospered under postwar Fordist-Keynesian growth have experienced neoliberal retrenchment and restructuring (Smith, 2002, Wacquant, 2007, Wilson, 2007). Postwar urban growth has extended and deepened the interconnection between downtown cores and their suburban hinterlands but these city-suburban interdependencies are complex and contested (Ekers, Hamel and Keil, 2012, Peck, 2011).

Within the maelstrom of contemporary urban growth, as suggested by the L.A. School, new suburban forms, such as edge cities (Garreau, 1991), technoburbs (Fishman, 1987) – sprawling mixed-use suburban zones on the urban periphery that are automobile dependent, highway oriented, computer network enabled, and relatively autonomous from older central cities – have been identified, while the development of ethnoburbs (Li, 2009) indicates the suburbs growing social complexity and global connectivity. Roy (2009, p. 827) evocatively portrays the contemporary metropolis as a chameleon which "shifts shape and size [as] margins become centers; centers become frontiers; regions become cities". The result is a complex organization of urban space which exhibits significant variations between and within city-regions and challenges the core-periphery narratives presented by the Chicago and Los Angeles Schools.

New suburban environments are beginning to receive increased attention, notably with pressing contemporary concerns regarding suburban sustainability (Kruse and

Sugrue, 2006, Vaughan et al., 2009). In contrast to both idealized constructions of

suburbs as "bourgeois utopias" (Fishman, 1987) or a maligned, rhetorical foil for the city

(see Bourne, 1996, Hartley, 1997), we may be witnessing the emergence of post-

suburban space (Phelps and Wu, 2011). Rather than a distinct discontinuity, post-

suburbia indicates an incremental shift from previous suburban processes at a global scale

(Teaford, 2011), just as suburbia presented an evolution from pre-existing urban and

industrial settlement patterns (Harris, 2006, Lewis, 2009).[13] This highlights two important

considerations; first, contemporary suburbanization is fundamentally embedded within

broader, multiscalar urbanization processes.[14] Suburbs, for example, are increasingly

important economic spaces within regional and national economies (Phelps and Wood,

2011). They cannot be treated as raw, uncodified and isolated as Los Angeles School

scholars have tended to portray them (Clark, 2002, p. 51). Second, post-suburbia

engenders the need for a new urban politics that engages extra-local actors and relational

flows (Ekers et al., 2012, Phelps and Wood, 2011) and mobilizes rescaled political

practices to break from the constraints of localism; notably regarding the critical issue of

urban infrastructure (Jonas et al., 2010, Young and Keil, 2010).

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[13] It is important to note that the historical research on North American suburbs reveals an often overlooked
degree of sociospatial complexity. Industrial and commercial decentralization, along with a residential
movement beyond Jackson's (1985) "crabgrass frontier", spurred the spatial extension of cities, with major
ramifications for the experience of the metropolis across class, race and gender lines (Gauvreau, Olson and
Thornton, 2007, Harris and Bloomfield, 1997, Walker and Lewis, 2001).

[14] Hall (2009a, p. 814) argues that while existing infrastructure networks and the social capital embedded
within cities will lead them to retain their dominant position in urban agglomerations, new transportation
technologies redefine and reinforce the dynamism of edge cities in the unfolding urbanized space-economy.
For Lang and Knox (2009, p. 789), such networked connectivity may reintegrate urban space in a manner
which established extended neo-modern regions from the fragmented post-modern metropolis.

While emergent suburbanization processes may produce new nodes within a polycentric urban region, they do not operate on the same functional logics or rhythms of everyday life as traditional urban cores and postwar suburbs (Kolb, 2011). The Toronto city-region has emerged as an important urban laboratory to examine post-suburban spaces, notably through empirical analyses of the "in-between city" (Keil and Young, 2009, Young and Keil, 2010, Young, Wood and Keil, 2011).[15] Primarily developed in the European context, Sieverts (2003) introduced the *Zwischenstadt* (or in-between city) concept to reflect the presence of urban spaces that are neither fully urban, suburban or exurban in contemporary city-regions. At once an indistinct "anaesthetic" landscape, produced to be transgressed at high speeds by privileged groups, the in-between city internalizes new traditions and innovations as they are overlaid upon existing political, social and infrastructural elements (Keil and Young, 2011a, p. 92). In-between spaces challenge how we theorize, plan and experience the urban in North America and offer provocative lens to engage the political economy of contemporary urbanization.

Language, discourse and conceptual devices clearly play a fundamental role in shaping our engagements with the urban, urbanization and urban politics at the same time as they reflect material conditions (Paasi, 2002, p. 803). While several scholars have proposed alternative conceptual languages – relating to urban structure (Lang and Knox,

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[15] The region's evolving polycentricism – reflected in the densities and vertical urbanism unfurling along Yonge Street and suburban downtowns in Mississauga, Brampton and Markham and the expansive economic spaces surrounding Pearson Airport – and relatively constrained growth (by North American standards) notably contrast to both Chicago's monocentric density gradient and sprawling "endless" cities of Greater Los Angeles and reflect the impacts of divergent political and planning regimes in each locale.

2009, Soja, 2000) and the daily rhythms and hybridized subjectivities of everyday urban life (Amin and Thrift, 2002, Tajbakhsh, 2001) – metaphors and concepts which do not adequately account for contemporary city-regional forms and processes continue to cast an influential shadow over the lived spaces of existing urbanity (Isin, 1996, Lang and Knox, 2009, Vicino, Hanlon and Short, 2007). Old, reductionist understandings continue to pervade academic and popular urban discourses. This is in no small part because suburbia, in the popular sense, is mainly understood through representations and images centered more on myth than actual day-to-day realities (Bourne, 1996, Harris and Larkham, 1999, Sieverts, 2003). We need to consider *how can the emergence of diverse city, suburban and post-suburban spaces inform our understanding of city-regional urbanization processes?* I hold that urban processes unfurling at different levels of generality – including techniques of spatialization involved in the production of transportation institutions and infrastructures – will disclose important facets of city-regional urbanization and the urban process under capitalism more broadly.

TERRITORIALITY AND RELATIONALITY IN URBAN THEORY

Contemporary metropolitan growth dynamics have blurred the traditional boundaries – material and imagined – between the city and the suburbs while fluid, multiscalar urban processes have destabilized conventional, territorial definitions of urban regions (Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth, 2012a, Lang and Knox, 2009, Soja, 2000). Extended metropolitan growth and global connectivity undermine simple conceptual frameworks

positing "a world of nested or jostling territorial configurations, of territorial attack and defense, of scalar differences, of container spaces" (Amin, 2004, p. 33).[16] Further, experimental neoliberal governance has engendered an on-going restructuring of metropolitan spatial relations. Institutionalized "soft spaces" and "fuzzy boundaries" foster symbolization aimed at depoliticizing and displacing local social and political tensions (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012, Boudreau, 2007) at the same time as "fast policy transfers" present urban politics as a sphere of "literal motion" (McCann and Ward, 2011 p. xiv). Neuman and Hull (2009, p. 782) argue that the resulting complexity and scale of the metropolis clouds our ability to conceive of, and govern, the city-region.

In response, many urban scholars have embraced relational ontologies of flow, translocal connectivity and porosity to theorize the contemporary metropolis and foster collaborative urban politics and planning (Allen and Cochrane, 2010, Dovey, 2011, Jones, 2009, Massey, 2005, McCann and Ward, 2011, McFarlane, 2010). Relational approaches move beyond normative interpretations of cities as territorial constructs by proposing urban regions as the loci for new topological relationships. As the forces shaping city-regions are increasingly trans-nationalized, distanciated interactions undercut notions of the local and the global as binary, mutually exclusive opposites (Allen and Cochrane, 2010, Smith, 2003a). By reconfiguring notions of propinquity,

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[16] Castells's (1996, p. 386) assertion that the centrality and versatility of key nodes within globalizing networks served as the crucial factor in distributing wealth and power under globalization provides a pertinent touchstone here. Within "network society", the (global) city could no longer be simply conceptualized as a place, but rather needed to be viewed as a "space of flows" in which geographical proximity is usurped by translocal linkages.

Amin (2004, p. 34 emphasis in original) frames urban regions as ontologically unbound, fluid and open entities "*without prescribed or proscribed boundaries*".[17]

This resurgent relational geography is not a unitary, coherent intellectual project (Jacobs, 2012b). It encompasses several conflicting intellectual projects; from Harvey's (2006b) historical materialist spatial theory, through strategic relational state analysis (Brenner, 2004a, Jessop, 2007), to actor-network theorizations (Amin, 2002, Smith and Doel, 2011, Thrift, 2004) and post-structural thinking surrounding topological ontologies (Jones, Woodward and Marston, 2007, Massey, 2004, Smith, 2003a). However, at the core of the "relational turn" is an assertion that politics does not have to be territorially bounded (Amin, Massey and Thrift, 2003). Relational studies challenge established theories of urban and regional politics (that have tended to perpetuate a focus on locally-territorialized institutions) by problematizing the nature of local urban actors and the very essence of the local itself (Cochrane, 2011, Keil, 2011a, Purcell, 2006). Phelps and Wood (2011, p. 2600), for example, contend regulation and urban regime theories both remain preoccupied with bounded constructions of modern city-regions – organized by established economic and infrastructural connectivity – and subsequently pay scant attention to non-local political relations. MacLeod (2011, p. 2651) argues that while considering territorial boundaries may assist in locating spatially-defined institutional

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[17] Amin's unbound region is grounded in a theorization of propinquity based on networked connectivity. It is worth highlighting the antecedents of this concept in the global cities literature. Scott (2001b), for example, stresses the differing connectedness required by post-Fordist industrial networks as a key factor in the emergence of city-centric capitalism. In contrast, Amin and Thrift (2002, p. 50) contend presents a fundamental problem for Scott. They posit trust, a central locally-based untraded interdependency, is constructed through dispersed communities of plants and employees within transnational corporations in a manner that undermines the place-based territorialization of much economic-industrial geography.

responsibilities, shifting our ontological focus to mobility and networks can help in identifying the processes of connection and fissure shaping city-regions. Such interpretations extend our understanding of the political construction of city-regions beyond a narrow focus on strategic intraregional collaboration and competition by stressing the possibility of a spatialized politics open to active contestation from the bottom-up (Amin, 2006, Fraser and Weninger, 2008, Purcell, 2008).

Relational perspectives have pushed urban theory and policy formation in illuminating and provocative ways (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012, Harrison, 2010). Analyses of local relational intersections have opened promising avenues for democratic practice and fostered innovative engagements with emergent political regimes (Farias, 2011, Massey, 2005, McCann and Ward, 2011). However, relational urban studies have also exhibited a proclivity to overlook, or even disparage, territoriality-based thought while overextending the explanatory capacity of their theoretical frameworks (see critques by Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007, Jacobs, 2012b, Jonas, 2012b, Jones, 2009, Sayer, 2004). Although urban politics is shaped by extra-local actors and institutions (Cochrane, 2011), urban flows are predominantly channeled through material spaces, regulated by territorially-defined institutions, and crystallized into distinct sociospatial permanences. Service provision and policy formation are conducted in and through politically-defined and bounded spatial units despite the networks and flows transcending their borders (Sancton, 2008). Territoriality therefore remains a vital consideration for the

politics of representation and distribution, as well as for the mobilization of grassroots movements (Harvey and Potter, 2009, Jonas, 2012a, Morgan, 2007).

Clear tensions exist between the spatial theories deployed in debates on city-regions and regional politics. Cognizant of the dangers presented by what Morgan (2007, p. 1248) sees as a "debilitating binary division" in urban scholarship, recent sociospatial theory has begun to redress the fissure between territorial and relational thinking in new and innovative ways (see Allen and Cochrane, 2007, Jayne, Hubbard and Bell, 2013, Jessop, Brenner and Jones, 2008, MacLeod and Jones, 2007, Painter, 2008). Urban politics cannot be solely place-based, just as it cannot be the transient consequence of ephemeral flows, and as such urban theory needs to recognize space, particularly political space, as bounded and porous, territorial and networked (Harrison, 2010, Morgan, 2007). McCann and Ward (2010, 2011, pp. xv-xvii) engage the "fixity/mobility" or "relationality/territoriality" dialectic by embracing a relational geography shaped by assemblage theory. Focusing on topological geographies of policy mobility, their approach attempts to push beyond simple dichotomies of fixity and flow by illuminating moments of political action rather than imbuing structural arrangements with causal powers (also see Allen and Cochrane, 2010, Farias, 2011, McGuirk, 2012, Sassen, 2006). I address the utility and implications of assemblage theory, and assemblage-influenced approaches, in detail in chapter 3.

This dissertation takes up the call for more studies of regionalization grounded in concrete spaces and processes rather than *a priori* ontological assumptions.[18] City-regions are inherently political constructs, produced and contested by particular social actors and relations (Allen and Cochrane, 2007, Paasi, 2010). The processes through which politically constructed, mobilized and territorialized "spaces of regionalism" are realized and rendered visible from the relational "regional spaces" of the globalizing economy, however, are complex and often overlooked (Jones and MacLeod, 2004). In this context, Jonas and Ward (2007, p. 176) advocate that attention be paid to: (1) the distinct spatial interests produced by capitalism's territorial restlessness; and (2) the state's multiple roles in releasing and constraining the refashioning of capitalist territoriality in order "to discover for which interests city-regions are necessary and for whom this new territoriality is merely contingent". Allahwala and Keil (forthcoming) extend this call by questioning if proliferated regional institutions reflect a rescaling of the exercise of power. Certainly, political and economic elites, operating over multiple scales, have mobilized city-regional space in pursuit of their own goals. For Brenner (2000b, p. 338), regionalization and state reterritorialization are vital institutional mediums through which key actors deploy crisis management strategies within the overarching framework of global capitalism. Yet, issues of collective consumption (Hamel, 2011, Jonas et al., 2010), social reproduction (Krueger and Savage, 2007) and

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[18] Relational and territorial frameworks tend to diverge on whether regionalism is a reactionary/top-down or progressive/bottom-up process. The answer, Jonas (2012b, p. 266) surmises, "often seems to depend on one's positioning in ontological debates... [rather than] a considered examination of the concrete actions and strategies of various agents, actors, interests".

common experiences realized through everyday spatial practices (Boudreau, 2007) within city-regions provide the context in which new collective, potentially counter-hegemonic, politics may be animated. This dissertation thus asks *how are city-regions produced, rendered visible and governed as territorial and relational entities through the provision and management of urban transportation networks? Why have key actors utilized strategic investments in urban transportation to mobilize city-regional space?* In the following, I unpack how a political economy approach guided by dialectical materialism can inform our understanding of the production of urban governance institutions, contradictions and crises – as well as the potential of spatial practices to shape political discourse and terrains of social struggle – at the city-regional scale.

THEORIZING THE CITY-REGION AND CITY-REGIONAL URBANIZATION

The fissure between the territorial and relational presupposes a contradiction of fixity and fluidity in the processes underlying city-regional urbanization and city-regional politics. I argue the productive tensions invoked by juxtaposing dialectical interpretations of relationality and state spatiality forwarded by Lefebvrian-influenced historical materialism (e.g. Brenner, 1998, Jessop et al., 2008, Schmid, 2008) with a critical political economy reading of the urban assemblages literature (e.g. Allen and Cochrane, 2010, McCann and Ward, 2011) can offer a means to advance current debates over city-regional urbanization and city-regional politics. Relational space, rather than a space of

flows, or a metaphor of networks and porosity, serves as an epistemological vantage point that can illuminate how spatiotemporal practices produce urban politics in a global context, negotiated in various locales (Harvey, 2006b). Relational space is held in tension through a three-dimensional dialectic with absolute and relative space. This dialectical spatial theory can illuminate the active production of city-regions' social, political and material spaces by disclosing how power is released and restrained by the structural cohesions shaping urbanization (Brenner et al., 2012a).

My intent here is not to arrive at a strict definitional statement of the city-region, or establish city-regions as an *a priori* functional and territorial space.[19] Rather, amidst the maelstrom of perspectives present in the new city-regionalism literature, I frame the city-region as a conceptual space that offers the opportunity to draw together distinct and oppositional explanatory frameworks. Conceptualizing capitalist urbanization as an active global social process undermines the notion that the urban is a static scale or subject of analysis. I embrace Young and Keil's (2010, p. 87) assertion that the city-region may best be understood as an amalgam of dialectics – centers and peripheries, fixity and fluidity, past and present – that are structured, and spatially expressed by evolving political and economic modalities. The city-region thus appears "as the concrete, local spatial articulation of processes of more general technological, economic,

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[19] Castells (1977) famously suggested that the urban is the site of the reproduction whereas the region is the sphere of production. While collective consumption is central to the urban question, the companion regional question was cast in terms of economic production, tying regional inequality to the spatial division of labor (Lipietz, 1980, Massey, 1979, 1995). This division, however, results in a theoretical binary that succumbs to sociospatial functionalism (Brenner, 2000a, Herod, 2009).

and regulatory change" (Kloosterman and Lanbregts, 2007, p. 54). Urban restructuring not only integrates new geographies of centrality by condensing power, wealth, information and culture, but in doing so, produces sociospatial peripheralities that exist in dialectical tension with the center. Urban centrality, Lefebvre (1991, 2003) reminds us, is not determined in purely geographic terms but "implies the availability of manifold possibilities and access to social resources" (Schmid, 2012, p. 57). Conversely, reflecting Lefebvre's dialectical notion of the urban as a totality, peripherality describes moments of dispersion and exclusion.

Lefebvre's (2003, pp. 79-81) understanding of scale, alongside his parallel conceptions of "levels", provides a useful framework for examining the relationship between the concrete and the general. In formulating a synchronic understanding of social totality, he distinguishes between: (1) *the global* (G), accommodating the most general, abstract, yet essential relations through which globality is projected into both built and unbuilt elements of the urban fabric in socio-political, mental and strategic terms; (2) *the private* (P), the level of inhabiting and the diverse practices, values and modalities of everyday life; and (3) a *mediatory* level (M) between the G and P levels which specifically constitutes the level of the city, with urban relations connecting to both the city's immediate site and its situation in relation to global conditions.[20] The distinctions between the G-M-P levels function "as a basis for recognizing the

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[20] Lefebvre (2003, p. 79) posits the global as the level of "institutional space" produced by capital in order to expand accumulation. However, general institutionalization processes– which are material, mental and strategic – are grounded in the city's concrete spaces, practices and politics.

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simultaneous extension, differentiation, and fragmentation of social relations across the entire earth under contemporary capitalism" (Brenner and Elden, 2009, p. 23). Scale does not correlate to hierarchical representation of scope, but reflects dynamic social relations that are mutually constituted, tangled and extended across space. Emerging from this perspective, the urban can be effectively theorized as a "complex, multiscalar and multidimensional process where the general and specific aspects of the human condition meet" (Keil, 2003, p. 725).

The urban, however, cannot be understood without the institutional organizations, rules and practices that arise from, and regulate class and property relations (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 106). Over the past two decades, geography (notably economic geography) has embraced an "institutional turn". In asserting that the economy is a path-dependent process and socially embedded activity, institutional approaches have challenged orthodox assumptions regarding the equilibrium-oriented nature of markets. Institutions are viewed as mediating and stabilizing forces within imperfect and unequal markets (Amin, 1999, p. 366).[21] Institutionalism permeates the new city-regionalism, with divergent conceptual approaches significantly shaping the contours of debate (Painter, 2008). Institutions are a central object of study; from the focus on institutional thickness, networks of trust and socio-economic interdependencies that underlie the conception of city-regions as economic engines (Florida, 1995, Scott, 2001b), through strategic-

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[21] Geography's institutional turn, reflecting its four central influences – regulation theory; the cultural turn in economic geography; interest in the institutionalisms developed in sociology and political science; and the upheavals in the organization of capitalism after the collapse of Fordism – resulted in a heterogeneous research framework with a plethora of conceptual and applied approaches (Martin, 2002b).

relational state theory (Brenner, 2004a, MacLeod, 2001b), to the practices which mobilize city-regions as political spaces (Jonas and Ward, 2007).

Governing city-regional space is a distinct challenge as new state spatialities are layered upon pre-existing political jurisdictions resulting in a complex, unstable scalar politics. Amidst the complex evolution of new urban and suburban politics, city-regions do not act naturally as collective actors, nor are sub-national regions the *a priori* privileged geographical loci for post-Fordist spatial fixes or social compromises (Le Galès, 2002). Rather, they embody place-specific "metropolitics"; the contested and dynamic politics of regional coalition formation (Orfield, 1997). City-regional space is fractured, uneven and remains considerably structured by existing administrative boundaries and regimes (Horan, 2009, Lidström, 2013) despite arguments for increased interjurisdictional cooperation (Matkin and Frederickson, 2009).

The significance of city-regions lies not only with urban institutional space, but in key actors' political capacity to mobilize city-regional space as an arena for action. Producing city-regions as political spaces "depends on the mobilization of existing spatial imaginaries and the creation of new ones that resonate with residents and users of the city-region" (Boudreau, 2007, p. 2597).[22] It is therefore necessary to consider who mobilizes the institutional and imagined spaces of the city-region and to what ends. Such analysis needs to be sensitive to the historical-geographical conditions in which collective

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[22] Spatial imaginaries, as "collectively shared internal worlds of thoughts and beliefs that structure everyday life", alter sociopolitical practices to become "'permanences' in the social process" (Boudreau, 2007, pp. 2596-2597).

agency may be operationalized (Parker, 2011). This is not to reify city-regions as

collective actors themselves, but to posit that socio-institutional structures can condition

actors' interests and worldviews through geographically-defined local dependencies

(Camagni, 2007, Le Galès, 2002).

Engaging city-regional urbanization

There is an urgent need to explore the ongoing transformations, potentials and pitfalls of

city-regional urbanization. Through this chapter, I have detailed that we need an

analytical and strategic framework that frames city-regions as both a place and a process

in order to adequately account for city-regional urbanization's complexity and diversity.

To this end, I proffered a preliminary theorization of city-regional urbanization as

constituted by accumulation, regulation and territorialization processes that are locally

experienced as the sum of multiple spatiotemporalities. I analyze the urban (particularly

in relation to *urban* transportation), as a mediatory level integrating and concretely

articulating the global and the local. This position extends Soja's (2000, 2010, Soureli

and Youn, 2009) reading of regional urbanization as reflecting a transition from

metropolitan to *regional* post-metropolitan urbanization by incorporating: (1) the

underlying cyclical nature of urban restructuring under capitalism *and* its contingent

expression within specific contexts; and (2) a distinct focus on the institutional

frameworks that structure, and are structured by, city-regional urbanization processes.

A dialectical methodological approach to the urban process under capitalism foregrounds the multifaceted and multiscalar processes producing urban agglomerations. With this, we can address the conceptual challenges of restructuring, change and heterogeneity in a manner that can progressively contest the emerging geographies of social polarization and economic inequality. I expand on these assertions in the following chapters. Chapter 3 establishes urban transportation as a lens to explore city-regional urbanization. Following a critique of assemblage approaches and actor-network theory accounts of the sociotechnical city, I construct a dialectical materialist framework to empirically examine transportation as a technology within the urban process under capitalism. This enables us to uncover the processes driving urbanization and a number of levels of abstraction in order to address challenges of understanding connectivity in a fragmented, globalizing world, scaling governance, and engendering social justice and progressive political action. Rigorous comparative research is required to reveal the specific articulation of these challenges in multiple contexts. I discuss the methodological challenges of comparative urban research in chapter 4 and outline a comparative strategy that facilitates the exploration of transportation infrastructure and governance as processes and relations opposed to isolated, externality-related entities.

Chapter 3

Urbanization and infrastructure: Opening the political economy of urban transportation

Great cities are born of and give rise to great infrastructure
(Neuman and Smith, 2010, p. 21).

What is often at stake... is not simply the provision of infrastructure, but the conceptualization of the city, and the nature of social justice
(McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008, p. 366).

Cities and their infrastructure networks are mutually constituted (McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008, Young and Keil, 2010). "Networked infrastructure" – including transportation, as well as energy, water, telecommunications and streets – profoundly shapes how the metropolis is produced, experienced, governed and transformed (Graham and Marvin, 2001, pp. 12-13). Transportation and urban infrastructures, however, have tended to be relegated to the apolitical domain of engineers and technocrats in traditional transportation geography (see critiques by Furlong, 2010, Hanson, 2003, Keeling, 2007, Shaw and Hesse, 2010), despite a long-standing interest in social justice issues within the literature (e.g. Levy, 2013, Lucas, 2004). As a rejoinder, through this dissertation, I engage the production and provision of urban transportation networks as highly political and differentially experienced by those using them. Moreover, as *urban* infrastructure – in the sense of mediating between global and private levels (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 79-81) – the connectivity provided by transportation networks illustrates the materiality through

which the global is embedded in place, and localities are articulated within globalizing processes. Despite, or even because of, their technical and fiscal vulnerabilities, urban infrastructures are not only vital in demarcating "the practical possibilities of urban governance", but are also crucial "in defining the ideological and metaphorical parameters of political discourse" (Gandy, 2005, p. 35). Urban infrastructures are not isolated, stable entities. Inequalities in access and mobility produce distinct power relations which frame transportation as a central object of class struggle (Soja, 2010, Young and Keil, 2010). It is necessary to open "the black box" of urban infrastructure and analyze such systems as a pressing political and theoretical concern (McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008, p. 364).

This chapter grounds the preceding critical synthesis in a framework for my empirical analysis. It further positions the dissertation in relation to an emerging body of scholarship on urban infrastructures (McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008, McMahon, Keil and Young, 2011, Monstadt, 2009).[1] The chapter is organized in three sections. I begin by assessing actor-network and assemblage approaches that frame the city as an amalgam of sociotechnical processes. I note the tensions and (in)compatibilities between assemblage theory and critical political economy and suggest urban assemblages can serve as an empirical research object for political economic analysis. Second, I evaluate Graham and Marvin's (2001) "splintering urbanism" thesis as a framework to

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[1] Provocative analyses of urban infrastructures have highlighted the interconnectivity of, and blurred the boundaries between, 'human' and 'natural' environments (Cronon, 1991, Gandy, 2003, Kaika, 2005) and critically assessed the extended metabolism of urban agglomerations (Gandy, 2004, Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2006).

conceptualize the production and politics of urban infrastructure. Third, in response to these literatures, I outline a preliminary political economy of transportation through which we can engage the urban question at the city-regional scale within a dialectical materialist framework. I propose that urban transportation offers a useful avenue for examining the path dependencies of city-regional urbanization and the ways in which capitalist political economy produces – and is shaped by – urban infrastructure. In concluding, I reassert the position of the dissertation in relation to the current conceptual and empirical debates on urban infrastructure and suggest how the perspectives highlighted inform the dissertation's empirical analysis.

URBAN ASSEMBLAGES AND THE SOCIOTECHNICAL CITY

The concept of *assemblage* has prominently influenced the resurgence of relational geographic research. Assemblage theory is a theory of "relational composition" which attempts to understand how diverse elements are organized and aligned in the on-going production of decentered objects of analysis (Farias, 2010, McFarlane, 2011a, p. 207). Assemblage approaches emphasize processes of emergence, propinquity and coming together rather than the formal geometries of urban forms and hierarchical structures of political power (Graham and Marvin, 2001, McCann and Ward, 2011). At its core is the rejection of totalities' essential functions in favor of "relations of exteriority", contextual situatedness and functional capacity (DeLanda, 2006, p. 11, Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, Latour, 2005). In this context, "assemblage urbanism" (a term coined by Brenner et al.,

2012a) views the city as a bundle of networks "deduced from the flow" (Deleuze and

Guattari, 1987, p. 406). In conceptualizing the city as a "multiple object" – constructed

by "concrete practices, located *in situ*" which result in the presence of overlapping,

differentiated realities – several scholars argue that assemblage provides "an alternative

ontology of the city" (Farias, 2010, p. 13, also see Jones et al., 2007, McFarlane, 2011a).

This philosophical grounding reorients urban theory towards relational topologies of

mobility (Latham and McCormack, 2004), and, in attempting to avoid reductionism,

frames particular assemblages as one of many possible outcomes (McFarlane, 2011a).

Assemblage approaches therefore attempt to destabilize the reification of hegemonic

conditions – as McGuirk (2012) suggests in regards to neoliberalism – and open new

spaces for agency, political action and democratic practice (Farias, 2011).

Assemblage theory has proved particularly influential in two strands of urban

geography; both of which are pertinent to this dissertation (McFarlane, 2011a, pp. 206-

207). First, utilizing a Deleuzian interpretation of assemblages (e.g. Amin and Thrift,

2002, DeLanda, 2006, Dovey, 2011), scholars have drawn from actor-network theory and

cyborg studies to theorize the city as a hybrid, sociotechnical space (Farias, 2010, Gandy,

2005, Monstadt, 2009, Smith, 2003b, Swyngedouw, 2006). The "hybrid urbanization"

embodied within the "cyborg city" collapses the distinction between the human body and

technological networks. In doing so, urban infrastructures are conceived as "a series of

interconnecting life-support systems" which invoke patterns of inequality and exclusion

(Gandy, 2005, pp. 28, 40). As exemplified by Graham and Marvin (2001), such

approaches highlight the contingent and uneven nature of material and non-material sociotechnical flows in different territorial contexts. Second – and reflecting an alternative application to Deleuzian-influenced sociotechnical analysis – critical research on "policy mobilities" has appropriated the notion of assemblage to conceptualize how cities are made and unmade as territorial *and* relational entities (Jacobs, 2012b, McCann and Ward, 2011). Here, urban assemblages of political power are defined by their locally-contingent practices and relational intersections rather than their distinct institutional constellations or scalar arrangements (Allen and Cochrane, 2010, Farias, 2011). Assemblage theory therefore provides a conceptual apparatus to push beyond simplified dichotomies of fixity and flow by illuminating moments of political action (Allen and Cochrane, 2007, McCann and Ward, 2011, McGuirk, 2012).

Although such analysis has pushed urban geographic research in innovative directions, the ontological propositions at the core of assemblage theory are philosophically incompatible with the philosophy of internal relations and dialectical materialist framework that I pursue through this study. Farias (2011, pp. 366-367) constructs assemblage theory in explicit opposition to Marxian urban studies as it not only seeks to decenter the primacy of capitalism in urban studies, but pursues open and exploratory *inquiry* as opposed to *critique*. Indeed, in a recent critical assessment of assemblage theory, Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth (2012a, p. 124) highlight a pervasive tendency for Deleuzian-influenced proponents of assemblage urbanism to reject the core categories of critical political economy; including accumulation, class,

property, rent and uneven spatial development. Consequently, while Farias (2011, p. 371) asserts "the study of urban assemblages seeks to establish a foundation of empirical knowledge available to the public for a democratic politics", Brenner et al. (2012a, p. 127) argue that the absence of a theoretical framework attuned to structuration in the urban process greatly infringes on the ability of assemblage analysis to illuminate the challenges of contemporary city-regional urbanization.

This is problematic in two regards. Firstly, the sociotechnical hybridity presented within the cyborg city collapses the distinction between the human body and technological networks, but in doing so, it obscures the processes through which urban infrastructures are the product of human labor power, as well as the mechanisms of fetishization which can alienate and fracture the social from the technological. Second, while assemblage analyses stress the productive capacity of relational networks in deducing the city "from the flow", their conceptualization of relational space is one-dimensional in so far as it overlooks, for example, the importance of territorially-defined political power. By contrast, as discussed in chapter 2, dialectical analysis presents relational space as an epistemological lens which is held in contradictory tension with the absolute and relative qualities of space (Harvey, 2006b). Framing urban life as a complex, mutually-constituted network of technological systems, as Graham and Marvin (2001, p. 10) do, effectively illuminates the sociotechnical processes through which cities are built and experienced but this perspective does not remove the need for overarching theorizations of social processes (Brenner et al., 2012a, Ekers et al., 2012).

Despite such apparent incompatibilities, the appropriation of assemblage theory to analyze policy mobilities suggests the possibility for productive insights to be realized in the tensions between critical political economy and assemblage analysis. Following these recent debates, I draw from assemblage urbanism in a narrow and selective manner to identify three potential synergies. First, *assemblage* provides a means to describe the multiple processes through which capitalism operates and political economy categories are "differently brought into being, held stable, are ruptured through new socio-material agencies and are reassembled" (McFarlane, 2011b, p. 378). Second, assemblage analysis' attention to the productive capacity of relational networks and engagement with propinquity provides a useful orientation to critically examine the dialectics of fixity/mobility and relationality/territoriality (McCann and Ward, 2010, 2011, pp. xv-xvii). Third, urban assemblages – e.g. technological networks within cities – may be usefully framed as an empirical research object that can be subject to political economy analysis (Brenner et al., 2012a, pp. 125-126).

We not only experience the physical infrastructure of spatial connectivity but also the contextually-specific institutional forms, modes of regulation and governance that enable infrastructures to function. Graham and Marvin (2001, p. 11) conceive such infrastructure-institutional nexuses as "sociotechnical geometries of power" through which the influence of institutions, organizations and individuals are extended beyond their immediate context. We can expect the structure and capacity of these power geometries to vary relative to the specificities of place at particular times.

SPLINTERING THE *MODERN INFRASTRUCTURAL IDEAL*: THE PRODUCTION AND POLITICS OF URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE

Graham and Marvin's splintering urbanism thesis, strongly influenced by actor-network theory, provides a framework to conceptualize broad transformations in the formation and governance of sociotechnical assemblages; notably within the epochal narrative of "the modern infrastructural ideal" (2001, pp. 39-89). They suggest that between 1850 and 1960 urbanization (especially in advanced capitalist countries) ushered in a movement from the "piecemeal and fragmented" provision of infrastructure towards "an emphasis on centralized and standardized systems" which underpinned the "modern networked city" (ibid, p. 40). The modern infrastructural ideal promoted rationality and order in the production of urban space through: (1) an ideological belief in the positive transformative capacity of infrastructure; (2) modern urban planning theories and practices; (3) ubiquitous technologies facilitating new forms of mass production and consumption; and (4) government support for near-universal access to infrastructure networks.

By the early-1970s, social critiques regarding the lived experience of high modernism undermined the development of infrastructural networks as idealized technological-engineered systems (e.g. Jacobs, 1961, see Sandercock, 1998, p. 58). Further, the constant inputs of capital and labor required to maintain modern infrastructure systems spurred systemic economic crisis as the long postwar capitalist boom subsided (Webber and Rigby, 1996). Modern, collective urban infrastructures have been especially vulnerable to protracted fiscal crises – and subsequent physical decay –

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since the 1970s. At the same time, infrastructural systems have been subject to changing political economies of development and governance. Urban restructuring processes following the Crisis of Fordism have directly impacted the planning and management of transportation systems (Graham and Marvin, 2001, pp. 94-103, Jonas et al., 2010, MacKinnon and Shaw, 2010).[2]

Under the auspices of neoliberalism, the logics of infrastructure provision have shifted towards the valorization of individual choice and atomized mobility in a manner that obfuscates the continued reliance on public infrastructures which enables such mobility (Gandy, 2005, Graham and Marvin, 2001, Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011). Reviewing transit policy in the United States, Grengs (2005) suggests that the social goals of public transportation have been steadily eroded by economic imperatives in the neoliberal city. Neoliberal localization tends to eliminate public monopolies and standardized municipal services, creating new markets for service provision primarily "intended to reposition cities in supranational global flows" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, p. 370). The function of the state shifts from market regulator to market facilitator, a paradoxical re-articulation of state power (Gough, 2002, Jessop, 2002b, Mains, 2012). Such state strategies can produce locational advantages but may also lock-in unsustainable development trajectories. Neoliberal competition now compels local governance units across North America to take on increasing responsibility for

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[2] In the American context, technical specialization and a gradual shift from predominant concerns with physical form to administrative, legal and social issues undermined the planning rationales that had legitimized the construction of modern integrated infrastructure (Neuman and Smith, 2010, p. 34).

developing the urban infrastructures necessary to support growth as cities lock themselves into "a crisis-prone scramble for their next infrastructural 'fix'" (Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011, p. 495, also see Pagano and Perry, 2008).

Splintering urbanism in city-regions raises two important issues for the political economy and governance of urban transportation. First, previously universal and publicly managed infrastructures are increasingly "unbundled" through processes of deregulation and privatization (Graham and Marvin, 2001). The segmentation of existing infrastructure networks establishes premium network spaces (e.g. toll roads, privatized express rail links) that are integrated into selective global political economic frameworks through specialized development funds, financial tools and public-private partnerships (Carmona, 2010, Torrance, 2008). Public ownership and management are usurped by "supranational glocal governance" regimes, whereby infrastructure systems are privately-owned by global companies and regulated by local actors (Torrance, 2009, p. 808).

Second, unbundling has profound implications for class struggle and environmental justice as differential access to urban networks shapes physical, social and political geographies of contemporary urban regions (McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008, Young and Keil, 2010). The production, financing and governance of urban infrastructures deepens the multifaceted and multiscalar connectivity of place while opening local struggles over collective consumption amenities to the disciplinary logic of private capital. Neoliberal transportation policy predominantly targets investment in premium networks with the goal of enhancing the global connectivity – and economic

competitiveness – of metropolitan regions (Erie, 2004, Farmer, 2011). New articulations of uneven geographic and economic development intensify sociospatial polarization with marginalized metropolitan spaces subjected to processes of "glocal bypass" (Graham and Marvin, 2001, pp. 171-173).[3] "Residual" city-regional spaces are physically bypassed and suffer from limited material and social connectivity; discursively framed as corridors which require traversing, rather than spaces of habitation (Young and Keil, 2010, p. 87). Graham and Marvin (2001, p. 405) thus contend the struggle between global forces controlling commodified network spaces and attempts to democratize urban infrastructures will form an increasingly central component of urban politics.

Coutard (2008a) critiques the epochal narrative underlying the modern infrastructural ideal's ascent and breakdown; particularly with regard to cities in the developing world (see Coutard, 2008b). He argues that the bundling logic of the modern infrastructural ideal was not universal, but rather "standardized" networks develop(ed) unevenly and exhibit(ed) significant geographic variations within and across national contexts (see Odendaal, 2011). Historical analyses have indicated an ambivalent relationship between standardized service provision and increased levels of urban integration (Soll, 2012) and the relationship between publicly owned networks and private interests in infrastructure construction (Erie, 2004, MacKillop and Boudreau, 2008). Destabilizing the epochal shift between the "modern networked city" challenges the political binary that Graham and Marvin construct between regressive neoliberal

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[3] In this regard, Sieverts (2003) casts the challenge of the in-between city as one of connectivity.

policy and socially-progressive resistance (Coutard, 2008a, p. 1816, also see Farias, 2011, McGuirk, 2012).

The strategic coalitions within multiscalar governance regimes that lead to splintering urbanism are open to political interventions (Graham, 2000). Flexible networks and creative investment strategies can open possibilities for future urban growth and development (Batten, 1995, Zimmerman, 2009). Rutherford's (2008) analysis of infrastructure unbundling in Stockholm suggests splintering urbanism is an unstable and multistage process that opens fissures in which new modes of social and spatial justice – and collective action – can emerge. Contestation over the production and provision of urban transportation and a rescaled "territorial politics of collective provision" can animate political movements centered on class struggle at broader spatial scales (Jonas et al., 2010), as seen in the mobilization of the Los Angeles Bus Riders Union (Soja, 2010, pp. vii-xviii). Network splintering may cleave off premium network space, but differentiated service provision within public networks enables institutional and financial capacity to better serve marginalized urban inhabitants (Jaglin, 2008).

Global urban elites – from municipal leaders to global institutional investors and corporations – have clearly embraced the competitive potential of premium networks (Farmer, 2011, Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011, Odendaal, 2011, Torrance, 2008). In an era of free-trade, "just-in-time" production and globalized supply-chain networks, city-regions that are able to construct world-class infrastructures, develop multimodal transportation centers and lower transportation costs greatly strengthen their competitive

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position in the international economy (Cohen, 2010, Erie, 2004, Neuman and Hull, 2009).[4] Yet focusing on transportation infrastructure solely as a tool for global economic competitiveness presents an incomplete picture of the role of transportation networks in urban development and the spatial organization of capitalism. Issues of social reproduction, collective provision and consumption also hold a central importance for regional development and governance of urban transportation (Keeling, 2009, Keil and Young, 2008). Jonas et al. (2010), for example, illustrate the development of "new economic spaces" – often located in suburban areas of globally-interconnected city-regions – poses distinct challenges for the collective provision and management of urban infrastructure. Many metropolitan areas are struggling to redesign and upgrade their antiquated infrastructure to facilitate new investment and the circulation of labor, goods, services and knowledge. Debates surrounding splintering urbanism therefore highlight the necessity for analyses of infrastructure politics to be sensitive to geographic context and temporally-contingent pathways of development.

UNPACKING THE DIALECTICS OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION

Transformations in urban transportation networks are conditioned by the interaction of new innovations (e.g. new modes of transportation) and spatial organizations (e.g.

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[4] Several planning scholars suggest strategic investment in infrastructure presents a new spatial planning paradigm, with urban infrastructure planning held as a potentially visionary, yet pragmatic tool for planners (Dodson, 2009, Neuman, 2009); despite local governments' reliance on increasingly risky and speculative financial arrangements (Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011, Raco and Street, 2012).

reconfigured transport networks) with existing institutional, economic and environmental

obduracies that lock-in development trajectories (Maassen, 2012). Low, Gleeson and

Rush (2005) usefully posit infrastructural lock-ins unfold along: (1) *technical path*

dependencies influencing the urban built environment based on the requirements and

geographies engendered by specific transport modes; (2) *institutional path dependencies*

shaping the organizational and governance arrangements of agencies planning and

providing transportation infrastructures; and (3) *discursive path dependencies* whereby

narratives of urban change shape the identification of governance and infrastructural

challenges and define the subsequent parameters of policy solutions to these problems.

That transportation networks are structured by multiple path dependencies is highly

significant. Low and Astle (2009, p. 49, my emphasis) argue "no single study can prove

or disprove path dependence... there are multiple strands in the path dependence of public

policy; *each path needs to be explored individually*". In contrast, I suggest the relations

between these pathways require systematic theorization. Organizational and discursive

path dependencies may be mutually reinforcing over time as Low and Astle (ibid)

suggest, but this argument requires extending by establishing the interconnectivities

between these moments, based on the relations they internalize. Dialectical analysis, as

discussed in chapter 2, provides the conceptual tools and explanatory framework to

pursue this task.

In the following, I outline a dialectical materialist framework to examine the

political economy of urban transportation and engage the urban question at the city-

regional scale. This framework departs from the post-structural actor-network theories

that dominate much of the urban infrastructures literature. It addresses assemblage

theory's "externalist normative orientation" by reinserting the central categories and

concerns of urban political economy (Brenner et al., 2012a, p. 131). Whereas assemblage

accounts of the sociotechnical city highlight the significance of how phenomena are

aligned, dialectical materialism uncovers the internal ties between the material means of

production and those who own, and those who use them (Ollman, 2003, p. 69). I proffer a

framework to analyze urban transportation, and by extension, city-regional urbanization,

premised on internal relations rather than relations of exteriority. This approach reveals

how capital produces, and is shaped by, urban infrastructure.

Drawing from Harvey's (2007, pp. 98-104, 2010, pp. 189-212) reading of

technology under capitalism, I begin by positing urban transportation as a technology

within capitalist society. Harvey starts his discussion by expanding upon the

methodological insights presented in the fourth footnote of chapter 15 of *Capital Volume*

1, which, in part, reads: "Technology reveals the active relation of man to nature, the

direct process of the production of his life, and thereby it also lays bare the process of the

production of the social relations of his life, and the mental conceptions that flow from

those relations" (Marx, 1976, p. 493).[5] With this concise statement, Marx lays out six

vital conceptual elements – technology; the relation to nature; modes of production; the

reproduction of daily life; social relations; and mental conceptions of the world – linked

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[5] This position contrasts to Deleuzian-influences analyses which argue against interpretations of the urban which posit some form of immanent logic underlying urban life (Amin and Thrift, 2002, Bender, 2007).

through processes of production. Marx's ideas developed to explain the role of machinery in large-scale industry but in doing so, also disclosed his methodological apparatus to study capitalism. Three points are worth expanding on: first the six elements are dialectically interconnected; each element internalizes facets of the others. Consequently, analyzing technologies and the technological organization of production discloses important information regarding the other elements (Harvey, 2010, p. 193, also see Lebowitz, 2005, pp. 80-84, Ollman, 2003, pp. 69-73). Second, the dialectical relationships between elements preclude the determinism of technological innovation or the relation of mankind to nature dictating the course of history.[6] Marx avoids any tendency towards one-dimensional analysis by eschewing causal language and stressing the mutual interrelations between constitutive elements (Harvey, 2007, pp. 98-100). Third, Marx's mode of abstraction allows relationships to be explored over differing levels of generality. Different facets of social and technological change are illuminated as the analytical lens shifts between scales and periods, or within a specific industry, capitalist society, or class society in general (Ollman, 2003, pp. 88-89).

Building from this discussion, we can extend these conceptual insights to theorize urban transportation and unpack what transportation reveals about capitalism by dialectically examining the elements presented in Figure 3.1. The elements are not mutually exclusive or ontologically separate. Dialectical analysis tends to prioritize time over space and therefore, while spatiality is a necessary property within each element, I

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[6] Technological breakthroughs, therefore, are significant in the manner in which they interrelate with other elements within an evolving socioeconomic totality (Sawers, 1984, p. 223).

Relation to nature

- Historically-specific production and commodification of nature
- Urban metabolisms: ecological footprints, sustainable urbanism, energy crises
- Urban-rural division and integration

Technology

- Concrete form of labor; reveals forces and relations of production
- *Different modes and physical infrastructures*
- Divisions of labor
- Organizational structures, governance and disciplinary functions

Mode of production

- Transportation as a necessary element of production processes
- Socially-necessary turnover time
- *Spatial fixes and uneven geographic development*
- *Articulation of urban land economies*

Space

- Absolute, relative, relational vantage points
- Space as perceived (spatial practice), conceived (representations of space) and lived (representational spaces)
- *The urban as a mediatory scale*
- *Territorialization*

SOCIAL TOTALITY

Reproduction of daily life

- *Governance and regulation: state projects, strategies and selectivity*
- Collective and private consumption to meet socially-constructed wants and needs
- Regulation of the capital-labor relation

Social relations

- Relations of production
- *Conditions empowering and constraining social action*
- Class struggle in, and over, the technological organization of production, consumption and exchange

Mental conceptions of the world

- Experiences and understanding of space and time
- *Competing discourses of urban life and modes of urbanism*
- *Representations of space and symbolic markers*

Figure 3.1: What infrastructure reveals; unpacking the political economy on urban transportation. Emphasis added to the elements focused on in the present study (adapted from Harvey, 2010, p. 195).

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explicitly abstract the spatial dimensions of urban transportation. The schema is not

exhaustive, but rather is intended to: (1) identify the broad dimensions of the political

economy of transportation in a manner that addresses the theoretical weaknesses of actor-

network theory and assemblage approaches; and (2) contextualize this dissertations focus

on transportation infrastructures and institutions in the specific context of the Chicago

and Toronto city-regions. The concrete specificities of the framework will be drawn out

through the following empirical chapters.

Technology: Marx (1911, p. 11) does not simply equate technology with the

forces of production (the means of labor, e.g. land, infrastructure, machinery), but rather

views it as a concrete articulation of specific labor processes. As the means of labor

require the application of human labor power to become productive forces, the use of

technology unveils the underlying social relations of production (Harvey, 2007, p. 100).[7]

Viewing urban transportation as a technology under capitalism allows a deeper analysis

of the technological and social relations of production; including the social production of

space. Capitalist political economy produces transportation infrastructure to meet the

historically-specific requirements of production and accumulation, but the technical,

organizational and discursive lock-ins crystallized in fixed capital and institutional

permanences shaped articulations of capitalism and its possible development trajectories.

To understand urban transportation within this frame is to focus on specific technologies

(i.e. modes of transport); the material networks of transportation systems (the planned

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[7] Harvey's dialectical reading of technology (2007, pp. 98-99) sits in contrast to Cohen (1978), who's
analytical reading deterministically presents the productive forces as the leading agency of history.

and produced built environment as fixed capital); the division of labor and deployment of

capital and labor; and the organizational and command and control structures

(governance and disciplinary functions; e.g. construction, transportation and transit

unions) (Harvey, 2007, p. 99). Examining the ways in which the multifaceted elements

presented here are organized as a social totality – or sociotechnical assemblage – presents

a key step for my empirical analysis. By focusing on multiple transport modalities and

drawing from Lefebvre's theorization of the urban as a mediatory space, I present urban

transportation as a collective infrastructure extending across, and producing, numerous

scales within the technological organization of capitalism. My empirical analysis

examines: (1) mass transit; (2) major highways and roads; (3) passenger and freight rail;

and (4) airports/air transportation. While not an exhaustive compendium of urban

transportation – which could also include walking, cycling, waterways etc. – these four

modalities express the multiscalar nature of *urban* transportation, the multiple dimensions

of transportation as a technology, and the institutionalization of urbanization processes.

   Relation to nature: Technologies do not appear out of thin air, nor do they exist

naturally in a state of nature. Rather, they illustrate human interaction with nature (Marx,

1973, p. 706). Consequently, the production, cooption and commodification of nature

reflect historically-specific social relations, needs and wants (Smith, 2008, p. 54).

Viewing the urban as a collection or expression of sociotechnical processes that disclose

the forces and relations of production is only conceptually useful to the extent that these

processes are understood as historically-specific. The relation to nature, both materially

and in terms of the idea of nature, is constantly being produced through human action. Technological transitions – realized through the production of infrastructure systems – restructure the inflows and outflows of material and energy needed to sustain cities (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003, p. 907). In concrete terms, the relation to nature and ecological limits to capital are expressed in material and ideological terms through cyclical energy and oil crises, ecological footprint analysis, discourses of sustainable urbanism and the construction of "green" policy frameworks (see Lipietz, 2013, p. 138). Transportation networks also blur of urban and rural divisions. As the railroads headed west from Chicago, they brought the bounty of the prairies to the city while extending the disciplinary and commodifying logics of the market onto land stretching to the Rockies (Cronon, 1991). For Lefebvre (2003, p. 15 emphasis in original), a critical mass of factors, including urban growth, rural exoduses, trade interdependencies and the extension of the urban fabric, expanded the logic and depth of urban society to the extent that "the *urban problematic* becomes a global phenomenon". The integration and transformation of the urban and rural has been read as marking the "urban revolution" and the interpolation of "planetary urbanism" (Brenner and Schmid, 2012, Merrifield, 2013a). However, the opposition between "town and country" identified by Marx and Engels (1998, pp. 72-74) as a hallmark of capitalism and capitalist divisions of labor persist in certain forms "as a relic from the origins of capitalism" (Smith, 2008, p. 148).

Mode of production: Although Marx deploys the "mode of production" in a variety of senses, at a broad level it refers to historically-specific (and contradictory)

constellations formed by productive forces and social and technical relations of production. Drawing from Harvey's reading of Marx, the technological organization of a mode of production reveals the relationships between these two factors. Transportation is a necessary element of production processes (rather than the sphere of circulation) under any social relations (Marx, 1978, p. 226, see Savran and Tonak, 1999, p. 131).[8] Under capitalist social relations, commodities may require relocation for their use-value to materialize. Transportation networks facilitate accumulation by enabling the circulation of capital and value within the production process, increasing rates of accumulation by reducing socially-necessary turnover time (Marx, 1973, p. 524). While products' quantities do not increase through their movement, the transportation industry is productive of value within the accumulation process as value is added through labor performed in transport (Harvey, 2007, p. 337, Marx, 1978, p. 226). Further, the development of transportation networks may be categorized as "productive state expenditures" in so far as they serve as collective means of production for capital (Harvey, 2012a, p. 11). Transportation networks also play a vital role in the expansionary functioning of capitalism and forge patterns of uneven geographic development. Accumulation processes may be affected by changes in relative location prompted by transportation and communication improvements (Massey, 1978, p. 115). Investments in transportation infrastructure themselves are productive of locational advantages which

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[8] The circulation of commodities (through buying and selling) can take place without their physical transportation (e.g. the purchase of a house) and commodities may be transported with entering into the sphere of circulation.

drive urbanization as a local accumulation regime (Harvey, 2009a, Logan and Molotch, 1987), thus factoring into the decline and emergence of urban centers (Marx, 1978, p. 326). Moreover, as fixed capital, transportation infrastructures act as a central component of capital's "secondary circuit" (Harvey, 1989d). As they express both use and exchange value, transportation systems internalize the central contradiction of value as a social relation. The valorization of urban space is grounded in the production of rent, realized as a form of fictitious capital (Harvey, 1989e). Urban land economies are strongly affected by changes in the qualities of space opened by differential access to transportation.

Reproduction of daily life: The reproduction of the working class is a necessary precondition for the reproduction of capitalism. As sites of collective and private consumption, transportation infrastructures provide vital use values to inhabitants of the city. The collective provision of transportation at the city-regional scale offers a mechanism to regulate the capital-labor relation by ensuring workers can be productively integrated into the production process; not only through spatial connectivity, but in terms of wages that can support commuting costs and diverse housing decisions (Jonas et al., 2010, p. 194). A political economy analysis of urban transportation needs to explain how users of such networks interact with particular infrastructure and how both are reproduced and transformed through these interactions (Dourish and Bell, 2007, Fleetwood, 2006, p. 82). The forces and relations of production require political and legal codification and representation to regulate the contradictions and crisis tendencies of capitalism. As Lefebvre (1996, p. 106) argues, the urban cannot be understood without

the institutions – including economic policies, social practices and norms – regulating class and property relations. In this regard, transportation networks are produced, planned and organized through particular governance regimes that cannot be viewed as separate from society (Graham and Marvin, 2001, MacKinnon and Shaw, 2010). The development of transportation networks can be productively analyzed as state spatial strategies; initiatives operationalized by state institutions to promote particular forms of socio-economic intervention and regulation (Brenner, 2004a, p. 93). Transportation infrastructures and regulatory frameworks are crystallized sociospatial permanences which express the relations internalized within the urban process under capitalism and can serve as loci for class struggle and political action.

Mental conceptions of the world: We interpret the city through discourse. Mental conceptions of the world – what Lefebvre (1991) terms "conceived" representations of space – "flow from" the material social relations of production. Yet as a constitutive element of a totality, discourse conditions how hegemonic social relations and social space are defined, understood and governed (Harvey, 1996a, pp. 77-95). This dynamic is captured in the three-dimensional dialectic Lefebvre establishes between perceived, conceived and lived space. The "new mobilities" literature highlights that technologies' impact on the movement of goods and people (providing or denying access to new spaces) recalibrates our understanding of space, time and the city (Shaw and Hesse, 2010, Sheller and Urry, 2006). Different modes of transport engender differing spatial practices and experiences of lived urban space. Consequently, they also produce new meanings of

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space in ways that change over time. For example, in North America, the value, cultural

capital and availability of the car has shifted from a plaything of the rich in the early days

of automobility to an essential part of the landscape which provides both democratized

freedom and disciplinary control over everyday life (Beckmann, 2001, Howe, 2002).

Concerns with environmental sustainability (i.e. discursive expressions of the relation to

nature) now challenge the auto-centricity and oil dependency of the North American

postwar urban process (Atkinson, 2007). This contestation, as we shall see, is articulated

through competing constructions of the auto-dominated suburbs and urbane, transit-

friendly city. Transportation infrastructure may take on the role of symbolic

"representational spaces" that codify and valorize specific social relations or modes of

urbanism (Lefebvre, 1991), as evident in the splintering of premium networked space

from the universal transport systems of the modern ideal (Graham and Marvin, 2001).

Social relations: In contrast to actor-network theorists, and especially readings of

sociotechnical assemblages that stress Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of relations

of exteriority, I do not hold technologies as non-human agents with the capacity to act.

Rather, I draw on the philosophy of internal relations to suggest that they instead disclose

the social relations underpinning and driving the urban process under capitalism. A

political economy analysis of transportation technologies can disclose the forces and

social relations of production, and the relations between them. Social relations refer to the

social organization and implications of the process of production. They are echoed in the

class relations that permeate consumption, distribution and exchange as well as the

sphere of production itself (Harvey, 2007, p. 100) and both empower and constrain social action (Callinicos, 2005, Das, 2006, p. 73). Historically-evolving social relations produce new spatial conceptions and uses for technologies, while technologies offer the means to reconfigure social relations and their spatialities through human action. Highlighting the internal ties between the material means of production, those who own and control them and those who work on and use them is a pressing political and conceptual task. It provides a conceptual schema to explain why sociotechnical assemblages are arranged in specific geographical and historic contexts.

Space: Given dialectical analysis' tendential elevation of temporal over spatial dynamic, it is necessary to stress that the above elements not only occur in space, but are essentially spatial (Lefebvre, 1991, Soja, 2010). Through the course of its production, urban transportation produces urban space in a multitude of ways, which are reflected in the material, relative and relational qualities of space (Harvey, 2006b). These, in turn, shape what we think and how we experience cities and the political economic relational spaces of capitalist urbanization (Harvey, 2000, pp. 133-181, Lefebvre, 1991). Drawing on Lefebvre's (2003) reading of the urban as a mediatory scale between the abstract global and concrete private levels, I contend urban transportation illustrates the relative connections and relations between local city-regional spaces and the flows presented in globalized urban networks. By internalizing the dialectical tensions between fixity and mobility, transportation networks integrate urban space in a manner that necessitates neighborhoods, suburbs and edge cities etc. be understood in relation to on-going

processes of city-regional urbanization (Sudjic, 1992, p. 297). City-regions therefore express multiple urban centralities and differential space-times (Steinberg and Shields, 2008, p. 156). For example, splintering urbanism produces differentiated and competing logics of mobility which condition particular modes of urbanism and understandings of the city. This is clear in Hutchinson's (2000) oft-cited analysis of the Los Angeles bus system creating a parallel city for racialized, low-income urban inhabitants (Amin and Thrift, 2002, p. 15, Grengs, 2002, Soja, 2010, pp. vii-xviii).

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

There is clearly an increasing recognition forwarded within the "politics of infrastructure" literature that urban transportation networks are produced and governed through political processes. The overall tenor of this body of research importantly challenges the apolitical, technocratic approaches which have tended to characterize transportation geography and urban planning practices. The post-structural perspectives and debates assessed in this chapter provide the potential for analytical innovation to emerge from the conceptual tensions with the dialectical approach I pursue through this dissertation. However, I have argued that the central contradictions between these positions render them philosophically incompatible.

Assemblage approaches usefully draw attention to issues of relationality by stressing the networked flows through which underlie the production and function of urban infrastructures. Consequently, the value of assemblage theory to this study lies in

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its provocative relational orientation; foregrounding of questions of relationality-territoriality in urban politics, as well as the specific ways institutional and technological arrangements are brought together. Further, the conceptual frames of splintering urbanism and the narrative of the modern infrastructural ideal consequently inform how I approach the Chicago and Toronto cases and examine the ways in which urban infrastructure produces and discloses highly unequal sociospatial relations. However, assemblage theory's urban ontology and focus on exploratory inquiry do not provide the conceptual tools to support a strong explanatory framework (Brenner et al., 2012a). The one-dimensional theorization of relationality prevalent in assemblage urbanism is notably problematic. The Chicago and Toronto case studies investigated in this dissertation therefore examine urban assemblages as an empirical research object, subject to critical political economy analysis.

The political economy framework developed through this chapter has emerged in conversation with, and as a critique of, the intellectual approaches that currently dominate critical infrastructure studies. Unpacking the dialectics of urban infrastructure through this conceptual framework discloses the connections, implications and consequences of urban restructuring, uneven development and the evolving geography of city-regions in a manner that is sensitive to the historical specificity of analytical categories and sociospatial structures. This preliminary schema opens the political economy of urban transportation and presents a series of themes and relations that I will return to throughout the study. It is important to acknowledge that this dissertation will not cover all the

elements in detail. The breadth of the framework outlined above, however, is significant. It firmly places urban transportation within the broader dimensions of the urban process under capitalism and in doing so contextualizes my established focus on the infrastructural and institutional dimensions of urban transportation.

Foregrounding the relations between transportation institutions and the production of space draws concerted critical attention to the political processes utilized to facilitate accumulation. In-depth comparative case studies provide the means to highlight the significance of local context and scalar relations. Dialectical analysis discloses the interconnected and internally-related emergence of multiple urban pathways. I demonstrate the contribution of a dialectical political economy approach to critical infrastructure studies by paying particular attention to the contradictory tensions between the discursive, territorial and technological elements of urban transportation. Addressing the intersection of transportation technology, institutional regulation and urban restructuring offers an entry point to analyze the complex, interrelated processes underpinning city-regional urbanization, as articulated in the specific contexts of Chicago and Toronto. The empirical analysis of city-regional urbanization presented in the following chapters stresses how state spatiality interconnects with the production of urban transportation space, thus highlighting the political economic rationales structuring infrastructural planning, investment and governance.

Chapter 4

Comparative urbanization: Engaging similarity, difference and the urban in Chicago and Toronto

The secure knowledge that every place and time is ultimately unique does not absolve us from the responsibilities and opportunities of generalization (Dear, 2005, p. 248).

Chicago and Toronto have much... in common... I know we can gain much by working together and learning from one another (Miller, 2005).

At the turn of the twenty-first century, Chicago and Toronto hold comparable positions within the international space economy. Both act as key global financial hubs while articulating their regional economies within wider political and economic systems. Their varied economic bases support flexible regional economies that have enabled both city-regions to avoid the fates of single-industry Rustbelt cities. Downtown Chicago and Toronto perform cultural and symbolic functions which are prominently utilized in economic development strategies in an era of globalized inter-locality competition.[1] Beyond their urban cores, varied suburban hinterlands constitute vast regional agglomerations whose populations surpass those of their historic central cities and now serve as distinct economic spaces. Sustained patterns of immigration and increasing

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[1] Political and economic collaboration, policy inter-referencing and institutional partnerships between Chicago and Toronto have brought the cities together in competition and cooperation. The two municipalities became sister/partnership cities in 1991 while environmental and economic connections are now formally institutionalized through The Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Cities Initiative. Mayors Rahm Emanuel and Rob Ford renewed the sister city relationship in October 2012.

social polarization characterize socially complex and ethnically diverse populations. Multimodal infrastructure networks integrate city-regional space while establishing the frameworks through which global flows are territorialized in place (Figure 4.1-4.4).

While their functions as global city-regions may be comparable, Toronto and Chicago hold different positions in their respective national urban systems. In wresting much of Canada's control and command functions from Montreal, Toronto achieved primacy in the national urban system by the early-1910s, even as the city's population did not surpass Montreal's until the 1970s (Gad and Holdsworth, 1984). Chicago, by contrast, developed as a well for eastern American capital and has always performed a secondary role to New York (Cronon, 1991). With the postwar ascendancy of Los Angeles, Chicago is now America's "third city" (Bennett, 2010).[2]

A cursory examination of the historical trajectories which have led Chicago and Toronto to an apparent convergence further problematizes the normative equation of these two Great Lakes city-regions (Harris and Lewis, 2001, Lewis, 2002). On March 4, 1837, 0.4 miles^2 of swampy land on the shore on Lake Michigan was incorporated into the City of Chicago. In just 30 years, the frontier boom town at the mouth of the Chicago River had become the second largest city in North America. By 1910, the city's population had reached 2,185,283, steadily swollen by migrants from Europe and the Southern and Midwestern U.S. and municipal expansions which enlarged the city to

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[2] Bennett (2010), playing on Chicago's preoccupation with falling behind New York and Los Angeles, also conceptualizes contemporary Chicago as "the third city" as a means to differentiate Richard M. Daley's global city from: (1) the era of the industrial city, running from the Civil War to the Great Depression; and (2) the Rustbelt metropolis overseen (chiefly) by Richard J. Daley (1950-1989).

Figure 4.1: The city of Chicago and surroundings.

Figure 4.2: The six-county Chicago area.

The map contains the following labels and data:

States and water: WISCONSIN, ILLINOIS, LAKE MICHIGAN, INDIANA

Counties: McHENRY, LAKE, KANE, DUPAGE, COOK, WILL

Selected Suburban Municipalities: Waukegan, Crystal Lake, Barrington, Elgin, Schaumburg, Wheaton, Aurora, Naperville, Joliet

Scale bars: 0 5 10 15km / 0 5 10 miles

N (north arrow)

Population

	Chicago	6-County Area
1950	3,620,962	5,177,868
1970	3,366,957	6,978,947
1990	2,783,726	7,261,176
2010	2,695,598	8,307,904

Legend:
— County Line
☐ Aurora Selected Suburban Municipalities
···· Metra Commuter Rail Lines
━━ Interstate Highways

Figure 4.3: The city of Toronto and surroundings.

Political Boundaries
— Municipal Regions
······· Municipalities
– – – Former Metro Municipalities

Transportation
— Subway and Rapid Transit
□ *Finch* Transit Terminals
(401)▬ Highways

Richmond Hill (404)
(400)
Vaughan (407) Markham
YORK REGION

Brampton
(410)
North York
□ *Finch*
Scarborough
Downsview
Sheppard Subway
□ *Don Mills*
(427)
Sheppard-Yonge
(409)
(401)
CITY OF TORONTO
(407)
McCowan
Allen Rd
Spadina Subway
(401)
Pearson Airport
Scarborough SRT
Etobicoke
York
Yonge Subway
□ *Kennedy*
PEEL REGION
DVP
East York
(427)
(403)
□ *Kipling*
Bloor-Danforth Subway
Mississauga
Toronto
Gardiner Expy
LAKE ONTARIO
(QEW)
Toronto Island Airport

0 1 2 3km N
0 1 2 miles

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Figure 4.4: The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the city of Hamilton.

Legend:
- Regional Municipalities
- Toronto Census Metropolitan Area
- Municipalities
- ☐ Milton Selected Municipalities
- Highways
- GO Commuter Rail Lines

0 5 10 15km
0 5 10 miles
N

LAKE SIMCOE

☐ Barrie

☐ Newmarket

PEEL REGION

YORK REGION

Richmond Hill ☐ ☐ Lincolnville

DURHAM REGION

Guelph

Kitchener Georgetown ☐ Brampton

Cambridge

Pickering Oshawa

Milton ☐

HALTON REGION

Pearson Airport Toronto Island Airport

HAMILTON

LAKE ONTARIO

Population

	(Metro) Toronto*	Toronto CMA**
1950	1,117,470	1,262,000
1970	2,089,728	2,628,045
1990	2,275,771	3,893,933
2010	2,503,281	5,113,149

*The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (1954-1997) and its constituent municipalities were amalgamated in 1998.
**The Toronto CMA has undergone periodic expansions since 1950 in order to accomodate poplation growth in Toronto's rural hinterland.

CANADA / USA

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191.4 miles². The City of Toronto, incorporated three years before Chicago, also underwent a significant transformation from mercantile outpost to industrial metropolis by the end of the nineteenth century. However, Toronto's economic and population growth, while still continentally significant, occurred later and was dwarfed by that of Chicago in absolute, if not relative terms. Between 1900 and 1930, Toronto's population quadrupled to 631,207 as annexations expanded the city's territory over threefold to 37.5 miles². Demographic disparities, complicated by different histories of immigration and racialization, indicate important variations in the nature, and challenges, of Chicago's and Toronto's urbanization. Differing national and supralocal (provincial/state) frameworks also engender variation in Chicago's and Toronto's built form, urban infrastructures, political regimes and economic functions, despite similarities in American and Canadian federal forms and both countries' membership in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Brenner, 2001b, Cox, 2005).

Chicago's and Toronto's political dynamics and cultures operate through different jurisdictional arrangements (Adams, 2003, Goldberg and Mercer, 1986). The Chicago city-region now extends over three states (Figure 4.2). The "six-county area" (constituted by Cook County and the "collar counties" of DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry and Will) houses nearly 1,300 units of local governments with significant degrees of home rule authority; including 267 municipalities and 587 special purpose bodies.[3] Representative

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[3] Home rule refers to the power of local governments, including cities and counties, to pass laws and ordinances within their jurisdictions. The State of Illinois offers home rule powers to municipalities on an individual basis. As of 2011 – and in stark contrast to Ontario – there are 206 home rule municipalities in

of much of the United States, and particularly the Midwest, regional politics in Greater

Chicago is characterized by discourses of property and taxpayer rights; especially in

suburbs opposing regional governance (Niedt and Weir, 2010, Peck, 2011). Canadian

cities differ from their American counterparts in that they are subordinate to powerful

provincial governments that limit their operational capacity.[4] Governance restructuring

orchestrated by the Province has consolidated political space in southern Ontario. The

City of Toronto (amalgamated in 1998) sits at the center of an extended urban region

organized into four municipal-regions containing 24 municipalities (established between

1971 and 1974, Figure 4.4).

Chicago and Toronto present opportunities for a potent yet complex comparison

to examine divergences and convergences in city-regional urbanization. Despite being

part of several landmark comparative studies (Abu-Lughod, 1999, Boudreau et al., 2006,

Sloan, 2007, Wacquant, 2007), and their role as laboratories for paradigmatic urban

theory,[5] this is the first comprehensive comparison of Chicago and Toronto, beyond their

inclusion in large sample-sized world city studies (e.g. Oner, 2011).[6]

Illinois, including Chicago and many of its surrounding suburbs. Local government units not granted home rule only have powers explicitly granted by the state, under the legal principle "Dillon's Rule".

[4] The City of Chicago, traditionally home to a strong Mayor and "rubber stamp" city councils, has wielded significant (albeit declining) influence over the spheres of both State and national politics (Simpson, 2001). By contrast, the Province of Ontario strongly influences Toronto politics, and within the City, the legislature holds more power relative to the mayor's office than in Chicago (Frisken, 2007).

[5] Chicago has held the position as the paradigmatic city of American urbanization since the pioneering work of the Chicago School of urban sociology (e.g. Drake and Cayton, 1993, Park and Burgess, 1925). The city continues to serve as the laboratory for seminal urban studies (Abu-Lughod, 1999, Cronon, 1991, Wilson, 1996) and provocative urban theory (Koval et al., 2006, Peck and Theodore, 2001, Simpson and Kelly, 2008, Wilson, 2011). Toronto is the focus of a smaller, yet equally insightful, canon of literature (Boudreau, Keil and Young, 2009, Caufield, 1994, Frisken, 2007, Harris, 2006), with scholars now forging

Urbanism is inherently conceived of comparatively, not just in terms of explicit

methodologies, but in the juxtaposition of alternative imaginaries (McFarlane, 2010, p.

725). To think of cities comparatively is to look for both commonalities and difference.

Identifying the basis for comparative urban analysis is a challenge. Given the dynamic,

changing nature of urban space, Sloan (2007, p. 3) suggests the identity of cities lacks an

"enduring essence" upon which a formalized comparison can be based; a conclusion

echoing Lefebvre's (1996, p. 12) view that cities have no foundational essence but rather,

are contingent situations in time and space. I approach the Chicago and Toronto city-

regions as expressions of particular urban formations rather than paradigmatic exemplars

of national urban processes (Jacobs, 2012a), although the importance of the national

context remains a pertinent question (Ley, 2001).

This chapter frames the dissertation within the field of comparative urban studies.

Three central questions shape my present inquiry: what urban institutions are amenable to

comparative research? How can we formalize a comparative methodology to examine the

geography of institutional continuity and rupture in city-regional space? How can we

integrate "critical spatial thinking" into comparative studies of urbanization,

infrastructural development and governance? Drawing from insights in comparative

political science, historical-institutionalism and relational urban theory, I argue it is

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an innovative research programs through the conceptual lens of the in-between city (Keil and Young, 2009,
Young and Keil, 2010, Young et al., 2011). Toronto's metropolitan governance arrangements have led the
city to be lauded as "the city that works" while the middle-class progressivism in the urban core both
inspired and mobilized Jane Jacobs's influential urbanism (Alexiou, 2006, Croucher, 1997, White, 2011).

[6] Lambright et al.'s (1996) comparison of environmental policy is a solitary exception.

necessary for comparative urban studies to establish methodologically rigorous analytical frameworks that are sensitive to spatial and temporal contexts. Utilizing strategic-relational state theory, I present a framework for geographical historical-materialist urban comparisons. I then detail the logic of comparing the Chicago and Toronto city-regions before concluding with a discussion of the methods utilized in each city-region.

URBAN COMPARISON REDUX

From the mid-1980s, postmodern and post-structural philosophical positions obviating the epistemological basis of comparative urban studies by asserting the irreducibility and complexity of place negated any possibilities of abstraction and generalization (Nijman, 2007).[7] However, as the processes of sociospatial restructuring set in motion during the 1970s continue to redefine the spatial and scalar interconnections of contemporary urban networks (and our experiences and understanding of them), comparative urban research is undergoing a resurgence and reorientation (Boudreau et al., 2007, Davis and Tajbakhsh, 2005, McFarlane and Robinson, 2012, Nijman, 2007, Robinson, 2011, Smith, 2009, Ward, 2010).[8] While postmodern and post-structural challenges left comparative research

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[7] Amin and Thrift (2002, p. 40) argue that writings on cities have tended to "[take] one process and presumed that it will become general, thus blotting out other forms of life". Post-structural accounts of the city as a spaces of becoming, rather than being (Marston, Jones and Woodward, 2005, Tajbakhsh, 2001); expressions of transivity and porosity (Amin and Thrift, 2002) and unaccountable multiplicity (Massey, 2005, Smith and Doel, 2011) exhibit a tendency to downplay the importance of contextual historical development and the structuring role of institutions.

[8] The comparative impulse has heightened in an era of globalized inter-locality competition as cities seek to maximize their relative locational advantages (AT Kearney, 2012, Toronto Board of Trade, 2009b).

out of favor academically, they did not eviscerate the analytical power of comparing

cities and urban governance (Dear, 2002, p. 248). Comparison enables us to abstract the

relative significance of global forces, local specificities and relational networks and their

co-constitutive and contingent nature (Abu-Lughod, 1995, Sellers, 2005).

Formalizing comparative research is a complex, oft-problematic process as

"simply placing two case studies next to each other will not yield very much insight into

the causal mechanisms of change in the two cases" (Pierre, 2005, p. 456). Comparative

research addresses alternative concerns to single case study approaches that explore

unique processes and locations (Burawoy, 1991, Yin, 1994).[9] Comparisons may be

operationalized through a heterogeneous set of frameworks with different methodological

approaches privileging various research questions, populations and definitions and

shaping the analysis (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012). Tilly (1984, pp. 82-83) outlined a

fourfold schema of methodological strategies for historical sociologists conducting large-

scale comparisons, each reflecting a differing relationship between empirical observation

and theory: (1) *individualizing comparisons* that seek to uncover the unique qualities of

localities when systemic processes are contextually embedded within particular places;

(2) *universalizing comparisons* asserting how and why different localities come to

acquire common characteristics following the application of a universal law or process;

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[9] Opposed to researching two or more cases, comparisons are "best defined as the collection of data on two or more situations, followed by an attempt to make sense of them by use of one or more explanatory models" (Pickvance, 1995, p. 36). Comparative research strategies can generate transferable theory, identify contextual specificities between sites or processes, and validate abstractions towards deeper, generalizable causal structures.

(3) *encompassing comparisons* explaining the variations between sites as a function of each one's particular relationship to the totality of a system; and (4) *variation-finding comparisons* exposing the variation and intensity of phenomena through positing systematic differences between instances. These strategies do not form a conceptual hierarchy nor are they mutually exclusive, but they do have a fundamental impact on the conceptualization of the object of study in any analysis.[10]

Dear (2005) advocates for multiple comparative epistemologies and suggests the best geographical research emerges from incorporating a multiplicity of perspectives. Kloosterman and Lambregts (2007) illustrate how the cross-pollination of conceptual and methodological lessons from comparative institutionalism, geography and economics can yield provocative and illuminating insights. However it is important to note competing epistemologies may be incompatible. Consequently, there is as need to deploy flexible methodological 'experiments' "to support different ways of working across diverse urban experiences" (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012, p. 765). In the following, I critically assess two prominent approaches to comparative urban politics, neo-institutionalism and historical institutionalism, paying specific attention to their treatment of institutions and the role of space in their explanatory frameworks. These approaches have generated numerous insights, but both pose key limitations for geographic analysis. I suggest their

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[10] Individualizing comparisons reveal how particular transportation constellations enhance local particularities and variation between places (e.g. Erie's (2004) study of trade and infrastructure in Los Angeles) while encompassing approaches embed localities within broader processes with significant structuring effects, as Cidell (2006) illustrates with regard to air transportation and practices of globalization. Variation-finding comparisons, such as Smith's (1987) discussion of regional transportation restructuring during the 1980s, identify contextual and institutional differences between locations in accounting for their contingent articulations of restructuring.

weaknesses can be addressed by a comparative framework based in the abstraction of internally-related processes and phenomena.

Neo-institutional political science: Models of political organizations and networks, governance in abstract space

Kantor and Savitch (2005) argue that comparative urban political research does not have an established methodological tradition.[11] The majority of comparative analyses are, they suggest, limited empirically to select cities – often framed within a national or Anglo-American context – and presented as a series of juxtaposed monographs "rather than tightly integrated, systematic comparisons" (ibid, p. 135, also see Robinson, 2011). Similarly, Pierre (2005) contends urbanists' continuing pre-occupation with the pathways of urban development and emphasis on context-embracing interdisciplinarity have produced a preponderance of idiographic studies and a reluctance to engage methodological developments pioneered in comparative political science.

The logic of comparison within the context of neo-institutional urban politics centers on co-evaluating equivalents that may not be identical across cases, but are theorized integrally as institutions, actors and processes (DiGaetano and Strom, 2003, Kantor, 2008). Comparisons reveal how variables work differently in a variety of settings, enable the development of theoretical understanding by identifying individual/localized anomalies from wider social structures and processes, and expose

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[11] This assertion overlooks a rich tradition of comparative analysis in urban studies (see McFarlane, 2010, McFarlane and Robinson, 2012, Ward, 2010).

distinctions within a given set of findings. Kantor and Savitch (2005) claim the development of an explicit framework to structure data collection and analysis, based on common categories or variables and applied steadily throughout the work, can ensure methodological rigor. Identifying the functional equivalents of urban regimes in different contexts presents a challenge since comparison requires "a robust analytical framework defining the variables to be compared, leaving out as much contextual 'noise' as possible" (Pierre, 2005, p. 447). Research that under-theorizes comparative methods, or fails to adequately address contextual noise, produces "fuzzy" results and explanations which do not escape the context of their development (Markusen, 2003).

Neo-institutional approaches rely on a particular construction of urban institutions as a unit of analysis. Pierre (1999, p. 373), for example, understands institutions as constituted by the bodies and relationships through which urban governance is operationalized; forming clearly identifiable, discreet political organizations of information exchange and trust. Such rational-choice perspectives are concerned with how institutions form particular organizational constellations. They view institutions as structuring individual action through constraint, information or enforcement (Martin, 2002b). By focusing on the capacities of urban actors, neo-institutional urban comparisons aim to identify institutional lock-ins and feedback effects through model-driven accounts (often based on ideal-types) with the intention of achieving scientifically-sound parsimony (e.g. Savitch and Kantor, 2002). However, in order to mute excess

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contextual noise, institutional constellations themselves are abstracted in a manner that removes them, to a significant degree, from the historical trajectories of their evolution.

Neo-institutional scholars point to the importance of constructing theoretically rigorous comparative methodological frameworks. However, adopting Kantor and Savitch's (2005) approach to rigor – ensuring results may be duplicated and elucidate the urban experience in a number of settings – can introduce formulism into research designs and model development that results in the exclusion of significant variables and factors erroneously deemed contextual noise. Further, basing urban institutional comparisons on bounded units of analysis limits strong theorizations of scale (Wood, 2005) and overlooks the dynamic evolution of institutions over time (Cox, 2005, Martin, 2010) and space (Robinson, 2011, Ward, 2010).

Historical institutionalism: Formal institutions and informal networks, temporal dominance and causal change

Historical-institutionalism and comparative historical approaches developed within sociology offer an alternative methodological basis from which we can engage urbanization comparatively. Comparative historical research is based upon a concern with causal analysis, an exploration of temporal process and the use of systematic and contextualized comparisons of a small number of cases (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003, p. 14). This approach eschews parsimony, yet at the same time seeks to deploy a systematic comparative approach, opposed to introducing occasional comparative references or juxtaposing cases.

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Detailing the experience of a few cases may imply that such studies must inevitably succumb to the "small-N problem"; the inability to transfer theoretical inferences from one case to another. Rueschemeyer (2003), however, drawing on E.P. Thompson, argues that the distinct relationship between theoretical assertions and empirical evidence enables the generation of new testable and transferable explanations of social processes, even in comparisons of two cases (also see Harvey, 2012c). Thompson argues rigorous historical analysis unfolds through the constant discourse of theoretical hypothesis and empirical research; expectations emerge that may be derived for other similar examples, expressed as tendencies rather than immutable laws as "history is not rule governed" (1978, p. 49, c.f. Rueschemeyer, 2003, p. 306).

The importance of contextualizing research cannot be underestimated. Exploring all cities over all time frames in the search for congruent or divergent characteristics overlooks the temporal and spatial contingencies that shape the particular experiences of individual urban centers. Abu-Lughod's (1995) methodological approach provides a pertinent exemplar of urban comparative-historical research with its attention to: (1) longue durée time scales of urban development; (2) the interplay between spatial scales; and (3) detailed analysis of social relations and power relations within these overarching spatiotemporal parameters (see Brenner, 2001b). Comparative historical analysis' extended timeframes are particularly adept at addressing questions that explore large-scale processes from the macro-scale to the rhythms of everyday life. Longue durée perspectives address the significance of ruptures in particular social processes and

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illuminate broader trends that may not be visible within shorter timeframes, thus

providing the analytical scope to assess the path dependent trajectories of urban

development and governance (Cox, 2005, Kloosterman and Lanbregts, 2007, Pierson,

2003). Processes and social structures which unfurl over extended spatial scales or time

periods, including globalization, neoliberalization and political economic restructuring,

are more appropriately studied through explicit transnational and trans-regional

comparisons (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003, pp. 7-8).

Writing from a historical institutional perspective, Lieberman (2001, p. 1013)

constructs institutions as "the formal organizations and the informal but widely accepted

rules of conduct that structure a decision-making or political process"; a notably

ambiguous definition, but one which provides flexibility in conceptualizing institutions

relative to particular questions and theories.[12] Historical institutionalism addresses some

of the central limitations inherent in neo-institutional political science by focusing on the

role of institutions in the historical development of capitalism and predominantly

employing critical realist interpretations of causality (Mahoney, 2000, Roberts, 2001).

However, as a historical mode of investigation, it is explicitly concerned with causal

explanations derived from an analysis of temporal dynamics. Brenner (2001b, pp. 133-

134) lauds Abu-Lughod's (1999) research framework as an exemplar of longue durée

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[12] The adaptability of historical institutionalism enables analyses that reflect political economic *transformations* in capitalist society over time and space. Historical institutionalism's concern with processes of change, rather than the function and capacities of relatively static modes of governance, can effectively accommodate explanations of the shift in urban politics; i.e. the shift from government to governance (Harvey, 1989c, Kearns and Paddison, 2000).

comparative urbanism but argues her spatio-scalar theorizing succumbs to several

reductionist binaries – equating the global scale with the general, universal and abstract,

while the local is the realm of the unique, particular and concrete – which inhibits an

adequate engagement with the multiscalar reterritorialization processes characterizing

characterize global-urban restructuring after the 1970s. Ontologically elevating the

position of critical spatial thinking in relation to investigations of temporal processes

(balancing space/spatiality with time/temporality) is a complex but necessary

methodological and conceptual task for geographic engagements with longue durée

processes of urbanization (Soja, 2010, Ward, 2010, Wood, 2005).

SPATIALIZING COMPARATIVE URBANISM

Geographers face the added analytical difficultly in incorporating the importance of

where things happen, in addition to *when*, to understand *how* things happen (Nijman,

2007, p. 2). Within "traditional" comparative urban studies, hierarchical, non-contested

treatments of scale, an emphasis on stable spatial units, and bounded, territorial

definitions of the city subject spatial phenomena to weak theorizations or reduce them to

contextual noise (Ward, 2010, p. 481).[13]

Relational geography approaches to urban studies pose a direct challenge to

comparative urban studies premised upon "methodological territorialism" (McFarlane,

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[13] Pierre (2005) goes as far as to suggest individual projects, rather than cities themselves, might be the most appropriate object of analysis for urban political studies.

2010, Robinson, 2011, Ward, 2010). Ward (2010) proposes a relational comparative framework premised upon: (1) an open, understanding of the city as constituted through relations across space, territorialized in place; (2) the theorization of scale as a social construct; and (3) a relational approach to politics which incorporates a concerted attempt to speak back to methodological theory. Grounding comparative urbanism upon an open conception of the city and strong theorizations of place, scale and causality opens more imaginative and just understandings of the diversity of cities by building generalizations based on context and difference (Jacobs, 2012a, Waley, 2012).[14]

Geographic relational urban comparison must avoid the reassertion of postmodern and post-structural critiques of comparative research for this potential to be fully realized. It is therefore necessary to negotiate four key methodological challenges to establish a workable comparative framework (adapted from Kantor and Savitch, 2005):

1. *Balancing a comprehensive analysis of each case site with a framework that allows comparison between local contingencies.* While classics in comparative urban studies (e.g. Sassen, 2001b) set a challenging agenda, there is a tendency to use macroeconomic data which Abu-Lughod (2007a, p. 400) notes eschews "detailed and systematic ethnographic research, especially of the poor and the excluded. Scope and depth require balancing in comparative analysis".

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[14] The potential of utility of open, relational conceptions of the city (in which we may embed urban institutions) is beginning to be revealed in a growing body of work examining the geography of policy mobility (Cook and Ward, 2012, Jacobs, 2012b, McCann and Ward, 2011, Peck and Theodore, 2010). These studies demonstrate that relational comparative approaches may open "more imaginative and just understandings of the diversity of cities" (Ward, 2010, p. 483), by building generalizations through a focus on context and difference (Jacobs, 2012a, Waley, 2012).

2. *Applying a theoretical framework to structure research that may have different degrees of applicability in different settings.* The conceptual apparatus developed in one particular context may not provide the tools necessary to understand processes occurring in another. Regime theory has been critiqued for its limited utility beyond American political economy (DiGaetano and Klemanski, 1999, Jonas and Wilson, 1996). Comparably, problems arise when global city analysis, abstracted from key nodes in the West, are applied to the cities of the South (Robinson, 2006). As context influences the saliency and definition of social issues, analytical abstractions must undergo a constant review process between theory and empirical evidence.

3. *Different urban political contexts utilize varying meanings in what might appear common terms and discourses.* The empirical and observable processes and discourses may vary significantly from one case to another, with the potential for structures, processes and terminology to become reified: i.e. concerns with "discrimination" in the American context versus "social exclusion" in Europe (Gough, Eisenschitz and McCulloch, 2006, Wilson, 2007) or the conflation of "regional governance" in the United States with "metropolitan governance" in Europe (Boudreau et al., 2006, Pierre, 2005). Comparative frameworks must take account of variations in meaning (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012).

4. *Methodologically, developing a comparative urban research project involves negotiating variations in available data.* Procuring comparable quantitative and qualitative data between case sites may simply not be possible. The varying

availability of data sets, interviewees or archival material can prevent a direct comparison of variables or processes. Abstracting causality from superficial, yet statistically sound, phenomena must be carefully considered to avoid potential theory confirming (Abu-Lughod, 2007a, Mills, Van de Bunt and De Brujin, 2006).

A geographical historical-materialist urban comparison

Through concerted methodological formulation, comparative frameworks can move research on local politics and institutional configurations away from a quagmire of complexity and locally articulated difference towards an approach that enables broader theoretical insights applicable across multiple instances. In the following, I outline a framework for geographical historical-materialist urban comparison.

Neo-institutional comparative approaches prove incompatible with the ontological and epistemological basis of historical materialism (see Hall, 2003); most notably regarding the need to isolate "common categories, concepts and variables that can be measured" (Kantor and Savitch, 2005, p. 136). There are two key issues here; first, in mobilizing a dialectical method premised upon internal relations, units of analysis can only be understood through their relations with other categories which constitute an indispensable component of their essence: they cannot be abstracted *a priori* and they are not independent from the spatio-temporal contexts in which they are embedded (Ollman, 2003). Second, dialectical analysis problematizes the stability of concepts and their relations, as well as the philosophical approach that establishes isolated conceptual

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categories in the first place. That one can see both birds and rats in Marx's polysemic bat-like words, as Vilfredo Pareto famously contended, is illustrative, and a vital component, of his dialectical method (Castree, 1996, Ollman, 2003, p. 4).

Historical institutionalism, despite its temporal bias, serves as a basis to develop a spatial comparative theorization of urbanization and institutional change through a selective appropriation of strategic-relational state theory (Jessop, 2007).[15] Strategic-relational studies highlight the central importance of the state as an amalgam of formal institutional arrangements and informal practices in the urban process. Techniques of spatialization – e.g. planning, infrastructure construction and regional institutionalization (Stanek, 2008, p. 153) – provide key mechanisms for state strategic action and context for state strategic selectivity. Spatial and scalar fixes exhibit path dependent properties by shaping the spatial parameters of specific space economies (Brenner, 2001a).

Urban institutions may be conceived as undergoing continual processes of (re)production; structured through multiple and intersecting spatial processes while concomitantly acquiring "a certain permanence… that assures their character and internal integrity" (Harvey, 1996a, p. 262). This conception of institutions as fluid and dynamic objects of analysis is contrary to the dominant view in the social sciences. Institutional histories require an analysis of "both the origins of an institution and the paths by which

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[15] The strategic-relational approach "starts from the proposition that the state is a social relation" (Jessop, 2007, p. 1) and with this views the state (and its institutional and organizational architectures) as more than a narrow conception of government and political society. Strategic relational analysis highlights the contradictory nature of capitalist social formations in particular spatio-temporal contexts. It focuses on attempts to regularize the accumulation process (Jessop et al., 2008) and stresses the importance of historically embedded path dependencies in shaping the contours of urban restructuring (Brenner, 2004a, MacKinnon and Shaw, 2010).

it has developed" (March and Olsen, 1996, p. 256). Harvey's construction of institutional permanences, and the dialectical line of reasoning that supports their abstraction, however, collapses the distinction between elements existing *and* undergoing change. This has direct implications for the study of social change. Given the mutual interactions central to dialectical materialism, notions of direct causality are limited as "there can be no cause that is logically prior to and independent of that to which it is said to give rise and no determining factor that is itself not effected by which it is said to determine" (Ollman, 2003, p. 71). Understanding institutions as internally related remains broadly compatible with historical-institutionalism, which views institutions as "broad political forces that animate various theories of politics... [and] are never the sole 'cause' of outcomes" (Thelen and Steinmo, 1995, p. 3).

THE LOGIC OF COMPARING CHICAGO AND TORONTO

The study of city-regions rests on several inherent assumptions and requires a rigorous methodological framework that transcends "the comparative gesture" (Robinson, 2011). The spatial, administrative and representational scopes of city-regions are neither territorially fixed, nor discursively static. Adopting a geographical historical-materialist comparative approach enables the abstraction of the relative significance of global forces, contingent local specificities, political power dynamics and relational networks as they develop over space and time. The dynamic nature of these relations, and institutions themselves, prohibits the establishment of isolated, distinct categories or units of analysis.

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Spatial delineation: The geography of the city-region

Defining city-regions through statistical census boundaries – as Sancton (1994) does in the case of Canadian city-regions – presents urban space as static territorial units opposed to dynamic, actively produced entities. In the case of the Cities of Chicago and Toronto, commonalities in population (Chicago, 2,707,120; Toronto, 2,791,140 as of July 1, 2012) and areal extent (606.2km^2 and 630.0km^2 respectively), obscure different growth trajectories and the impact of rescaling and political reterritorialization due to the 1998 amalgamation of six municipalities into the Megacity Toronto. At the regional scale, the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area (2006 pop: 9,505,747; 28,163 km^2) dwarfs the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (2006 pop: 5,555,912; 7,125 km^2). The Chicago city-region may be understood territorially through the six-county area; institutionally through the jurisdiction of regional planning bodies or census statistics areas; and discursively as *Chicagoland*, which lacks a precise geographic definition but is prominently utilized as a shorthand label for the region in popular discourse. The Toronto city-region, even as an institutionally-defined territory, has been massively rescaled in the postwar era, from the initial boundaries of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (Metro, 1953-1997) and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA, mid-1980s-2001) to the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH, with a 2006 population of 8.1 million) in the Province of Ontario's regional growth management plans. The Chicago and Toronto city-regions cannot be understood purely in terms of administrative territories or rigid political-institutional scalar relations. Adopting a relational approach to the study of city-regions, I hold the territoriality-

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relationality dialectic as a constant in the institutional, infrastructural and discursive production of city-regional space.

Temporal parameters: Periodization, continuity and rupture

Periodization, marking distinct epochs and moments of crisis, provides a crucial means to examine continuities and ruptures within spatio-temporal urban processes. It also presents methodological and conceptual challenges that have often been overlooked in geography. Just as particular scales are never simply given and never free from philosophical and political assumptions, historical periods are also constructed by actors operating with specific intellectual and ideological frameworks. Periods have their own geographies that are experienced in differing ways by particular social groups (Wishart, 2004).[16]

I follow a strategic-relational approach to periodization grounded on "the paradoxical simultaneity of continuity/discontinuity in the flow of history" (Jessop, 2004, p. 2). I developed a periodization scheme for the comparison of the Toronto and Chicago city-regions informed by the necessity to constantly move between theory and empirical testing and influenced by regulation theory and studies of Kondratiev cycles of development (e.g. Abu-Lughod, 1999, Beauregard, 2006b, Jessop, 2004, Soja, 2000). I identify three primary eras of urbanization – *industrial, metropolitan* and *city-regional* –

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[16] Abu-Lughod's (1999) study of America's global cities and Beauregard's (2006b) analysis of American suburbanization frame a periodization strategy premised upon Kondratiev economic cycles, in contrast to Bennett's (2010) narrative which established a threefold movement of Chicago's urbanism premised upon local politics. Comparably, studies of Toronto foregrounding local political transitions (Frisken, 2007), regulatory restructuring (Donald, 2002b) and infrastructure governance (Desfor, 1993) establish alternative analytical periods to examine particular elements of urban development.

which pivot on the historical ruptures presented by the Great Depression and the crisis of

Fordism. These critical junctures are extended moments in which the dominance of one

set of epochal conditions is usurped by a collection of different processes, practices and

regimes (see Sassen, 2006). The periods of urbanization are not homogenous and static,

but reflect continual evolution and contestation along specific path dependent trajectories.

National and regulatory contexts

Regulation theory provides a useful framework for examining how multiscalar contexts

shape the political and infrastructural trajectories of city-regional urbanization.

Regulation theorists have stressed the variegated nature of political economic

configurations across national contexts (Brenner et al., 2003, Jenson, 1989, Peck, 2001).

Whereas the United States' Fordist paradigm was characterized by "classic Fordism",

with its autocentric cycle of mass production and consumption underwritten by welfare

state institutions, Canada – notably the Province of Ontario – displayed a "permeable

Fordism" with an economy driven by the extractive industries; private collective

bargaining with macro-economic policy and labor-management relations similar to

classic Fordism; and a "Bastard Keynesianism" as mode of regulation (Tickell and Peck,

1992, p. 202).[17] These variations structure class relations and class politics in Canada and

the United States. While the United States and Canada adopted different regimes of

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[17] Canada's Fordism was deemed "permeable" in that relations beyond the national state profoundly influenced the country's accumulation regimes. Social regulation was structured around the institutions of federalism and a substantially privatized wage relation which shaped Canada's neoliberal transition (Donald, 2002b, Jenson, 1989).

accumulation and modes of regulation under Fordism, each has a federal system of

government in which there is not a monolithic national state. In each national context,

crisis-induced restructuring and the search for a new spatio-temporal fix have unfurled

along historical pathways and are structured by local context (Alnasseri et al., 2001).

The United States and Canada exhibit further differences in terms of regional

governance reflecting differences in national political institutions (Bunting, Filion and

Priston, 2002, MacLeod, 2001a, Sancton, 2000); regional/provincial cultures and political

economic concerns (Boudreau et al., 2007, Jonas and Pincetl, 2006); and local

understandings of urban politics, citizenship and democracy (Boudreau, 2003, Burns,

2000, Keil, 2000). With this, just as Chicago and Toronto are not representative of

distinct or stable national urban forms, the State of Illinois (Springfield) and Government

of Ontario (Queen's Park) are not representative of archetypal national state/provincial

governments within the American and Canadian systems of federalism (Bourne, 2008).[18]

Structure and agency in urban politics

Despite its conceptual utility for analyzing economic continuity and crisis, regulation

theory has limited explanatory capacity as a framework to understand politicized

urbanization processes. As a meso-level theory, it struggles to open space for human

action and agency in the political sphere (Beauregard, 2006a, Painter, 1997). The

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[18] Chicago is not representative of an archetypical American experience of urbanization (Abu-Lughod, 1999, Dear, 2005) while a comparative study of Montreal and Toronto can, in many ways, be considered an international comparison given the institutional and cultural differences between Quebec and Ontario (Boudreau et al., 2006).

capacity for local agents to act in the face of globalization and inter-locality competition

has become a key theme in contemporary urban scholarship.[19] I develop contemporary

engagements adapting the conceptual insights of the New Urban Politics to an era of

globalized neoliberalization (Brenner and Theodore, 2002b, MacLeod and Jones, 2011)

by drawing on Callinicos's (2005) theorization of the relationship between social

structures and the actors and agents who inhabit them. Social systems do not have needs

that require fulfillment as only human agents may be ascribed intentionality as the

bearers of beliefs and desires. An adequate theory of agency must then "be a theory of the

causal *powers* persons have… Structures play an ineliminable role in social theory

because they determine an important subset of human powers" (ibid, pp. 274-275,

emphasis in original). Callinicos utilizes the concept of "structural capacities" to

understand how the power ascribed to actors is dependent upon the position they occupy

in prevailing social structures. Comparably, engaging the dynamics of structural

capacities in urban institutions offers a robust conceptual means to move beyond the

binary opposition of regulatory structure and regime agency present in much urban

governance literature.

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[19] The New Urban Politics offers an alternative scalar and analytical approach to examine the practice of urban governance in an era of globalized inter-locality (Cox, 1993, Logan and Molotch, 1987, Stone, 1989). However, such approaches have tended to abstract their insights from the American context, thus limiting the transferability of regime theory, while the ontological and scalar basis of urban politics present challenges when examining the relational geography of the urban or engaging the metropolitan or regional scale (Cook and Ward, 2011, Keil, 2011a).

METHODOLOGY

Ward (2010, p. 481) connects particular comparative research frameworks with ontological and epistemological foundations, but also with methodological preferences. Comparative urban studies emerging from Marxist and neo-Marxist traditions in the 1970s predominantly utilized quantitative methods, while neo-institutional analyses, emerging in the 1990s, progressed to mixed quantitative and qualitative data collection. The emerging field of relational urban comparative analysis utilizes qualitative ethnography and interviewing, reflecting the qualitative turn in the social sciences (Crang, 2002). Qualitative methods, notably interviews with key actors augmented with participatory observation, are especially useful in: (1) retaining sensitivity to the relations of structure and agency; and (2) examining how urban players view, act upon and question their own contingent understandings of the urban (McCann and Ward, 2011, p. xxv). However, ethnographic methods, interviews and participant observation are challenging when adopting a longue durée approach (Mahoney, 2007). Relational comparisons beyond the present conjuncture necessitate the pragmatic utilization of secondary data. This, though, does not entail a move away from relational comparisons as studies may still employ open understandings of the city and rigorous critiques of scalar concepts during secondary data selection and analysis.

My approach to the two cases is both deductive and inductive. The dissertation's comparative frame and theoretical concerns emerged in the context of my move from southwest Ohio to Toronto in 2006. My move to Toronto facilitated an implicit

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comparative reflection on the city-region in light of my previous experiences in British and American cities, enabling both an inductive approach to the study of Toronto and a period of ethnographic observation. Despite Chicago's status as a classic urban studies case, my lack of first-hand experience in the city- region led to a more deductive approach. However, having lived in the American Midwest as long as in Toronto, my approach to both cases has been comparatively exegetical. I conducted a substantive period of field research in the Chicago area between June 2008 and August 2009, and from January 2011 onwards. Upon my arrival, I arranged informal meetings with local urban scholars to ground and structure my approach to data collection.

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with key actors in local and regional government, economic development, transportation governance, regional planning, non-profit agencies and community organizations through the Chicago city-region between November 2008 and August 2009 (18) and across the Toronto city-region between November 2009 and May 2010 (15).[20] Prospective interviewees were approached via phone or email. Interviews were recorded when permitted by the interviewee and notes were taken on the occasions where recording was not allowed.[21] The majority of interviews were with "urban elites" who operated as gatekeepers of particular situated knowledges as a result of their political or social positions (Ward and Jones, 1999). The

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[20] Three interviews were accessed through my involvement with the project *Comparing metropolitan governance in transatlantic perspective: Toronto, Montreal, Paris, Frankfurt*: a Social Science and Humanities Research Council sponsored collaborative research project conducted out of the City Institute at York University by primary researcher Roger Keil. I gratefully acknowledge Roger and his collaborators for allowing me access to these materials.

[21] Interviewees who consented are named in the study while I have respected the wishes of those who requested anonymity and withheld their identities.

information gained from the interviews is inevitably partial and incomplete since the interviewees were elites from specific institutional contexts (Cormode and Hughes, 1999, Oinas, 1999). This is as true for interviewees from state and governance agencies (Mountz, 2007) as for representatives from community and advocacy groups (Perkins and Wandersman, 1990). Variations between cross-national contexts also influenced interviewees' situatedness within their respective political regimes (Glassman, 2007). While interviewing provided rich data on the present conjuncture, many interviewees could not provide much information about issues and events before the mid-1990s. In each city-region, the interviews served two key purposes: (1) they provided a detailed account of the current politics of transportation; and (2) they served as analytical guides for uncovering the most important pre-conditions influencing the current conjuncture.

In addition to interviews, extensive archival and secondary data were reviewed including planning documents, professional reports, newspaper articles and census data in both case city-regions. In Chicago, materials were reviewed at the Chicago Historical Society Research Center, the Government Publications Department of the Harold Washington Library, the University of Illinois at Chicago's Special Collections Center and the Northwestern University Transportation Library. In Toronto, collections at the City of Toronto Archives, the Archives of Ontario, the Urban Affairs Library, Toronto Reference Library, North York Library and the Clara Thomas Special Collections and Archives Center at York University were consulted. Many collections contained newspaper clippings and reports which were supplemented by searches of online

newspaper archives available through the Chicago Public Library and York University (Dwyer and Davies, 2010). Community groups and governmental organizations provided secondary materials at meetings and in response to personal requests.

Interview transcripts and secondary sources were subject to a rigorous discourse analysis. I deployed a Gramscian approach to discourse analysis to uncover hegemonic ways of thought and the social relationships obscured by external relations constructed between "things" (Lees, 2004). Interviews were coded via iterative abstraction (Cope, 2003). Open coding yielded substantive codes to define key categories and themes. A theoretical code was then abstracted from the categories before selective coding produced a core code that connected theory with empirical data (Punch, 1998). Secondary data were analyzed through content analysis that drew out shifts in keywords and rationales (White, 2003). Archival materials were analyzed as material documents and historical texts, reflecting the context and dominant ideas of their production (Black, 2003).

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This dissertation is clearly not a classical national comparison of the experiences of American and Canadian cities (e.g. Goldberg and Mercer, 1986, see Bourne, 2008). Yet Chicago and Toronto are representative of particular urban centers in terms of their morphology and central-city dominated urban regions, the institutional arrangements that govern them, and the processes and relations that constitute them as key urban centers. They are tied together by contemporary processes of globalization and policy mobility,

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but also the long-range trajectories of political, economic and social processes that produce and transform the city-region within North America. I investigate the transportation institutions and infrastructure of the Chicago and Toronto city-regions through a comparative schema that draws out encompassing and variation-finding comparisons. This focus considers North American/global urban systems and capitalist social formations while exploring fluid, evolving and co-constitutive scalar relations.

By comparing the Chicago and Toronto city-regions, this study remains within the confines of Anglo-American research and does not respond to recent calls for studies of globalization in "ordinary" or "second" cities (Hodos, 2011, McFarlane and Robinson, 2012, Robinson, 2004). Still, Chicago and Toronto are significant sites for exploring urbanization and infrastructure governance. My cross-national approach prohibits the development of theories confined within a specific national context. Further, by deploying an approach to comparative urbanization that introduces a dynamic, fluid understanding of urban spatial relationships and is grounded in the theoretical foundations of historical materialism, I address critiques of "fuzzy" generalization from single case studies and accusations of under-theorized comparative analysis. This study represents, in no small degree, an attempt to conceptually and empirically work through a geographic historical-materialist urban comparison.

Chapter 5

The foundations of city-regionalism in Chicago and Toronto: Urban imaginaries, infrastructure and institutions to 1989

This chapter explores the preconditions and path dependencies underlying the development of city-regional urbanization in Chicago and Toronto. I examine the production of transportation infrastructure and institutions as techniques of spatialization intended to realize particular spatial fixes, and identify the contradictions within these spatial projects which led to crises and their ultimate sublation. My aim is to uncover the inherited spaces shaping the form and function of city-regional urbanization and assess the factors accounting for the convergences and divergences witnessed between the urban trajectories of the Chicago and Toronto city-regions.

I present the empirical analysis through three parts focusing on: representations of space and "infrastructural imaginaries"; technological innovations in transportation infrastructure and governance; and processes of territorialization that underpin the contested production of metropolitan regions. I extend our understanding of urbanization, state reterritorialization and metropolitics by asserting the co-evolution of the metropolis as a social, political and spatial entity. Drawing from the conceptual framework laid out in chapter 3, I pay particular attention to the production of diverse material, conceived

and perceived space and the contradictions between them (Lefebvre, 1991), and the dynamic relationships between technology, territorialization and discourse.

This chapter is guided by a comparative strategic relational approach to periodization (Jessop, 2004). I posit *industrial urbanization* (c.1896-1945) and *metropolitan urbanization* (c.1945-1989) as precursors to the era of *city-regional urbanization* (c.1989-present). Industrial urbanization emerged as the development of North American railroad networks concentrated the forces of production in urban centers at a scale which introduced a qualitative shift in the relations of production (Cronon, 1991, Harvey, 1989d). The development of large-scale manufacturing engendered a profound transformation in the urban process and the spatial organization of capitalism. The emergence of "a fully symbiotic and expansive relation" between the processes of urbanization and industrialization defined "industrial capitalism as a fundamentally *urban* mode of production" (Soja, 2000, p. 76). Metropolitan urbanization crystallized through the crisis-induced restructuring associated with the Great Depression. I define it as characterized by political, social and morphological binaries between the urban core and 'traditional' suburbs and structured through agglomerations of mass production and mass consumption and the social welfare and governmental practice of Fordist-Keynesianism. While the destruction and re-appropriation of spatial forms is acutely expressed "around *critical points*, during a *critical situation*" (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 248 emphasis in original), framing the periodization strategy in this manner centers crisis and instability – i.e. the pivotal moments of the Great Depression and the Crisis of Fordism – within the temporal

analysis. This enables an examination of the continuities and ruptures shaping urban development in Chicago and Toronto as one set of epochal conditions are usurped by a different collection of processes, practices and regimes (Jessop, 2004, Sassen, 2006).

While significant attention has been paid to the path dependencies structuring the shift from Fordism-Keynesianism to post-Fordism-neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, Jessop, 2001, Scott, 2008a), this chapter demonstrates the importance of pre-Fordist sociospatial relations in shaping local Fordist regimes and their continuing influence on the development of the two city-regions. The findings inform (and challenge) the use of historical analysis to explain the sprawling nature of contemporary city-regions (Axelrod, 2007, Sewell, 2009, Soloman, 2007, White, 2009). Comparative analysis discloses the complexity involved in the production of material and conceived urban spaces as well as the significance of multiscalar regulatory frameworks in establishing path-dependent processes of uneven development. Uneven development differs between city-regions because they occur in different inherited spaces and due to the differing responses and structural capacities of local actors.

I

INFRASTRUCTURAL IMAGINARIES AND THE POLITICS OF REGIONALIZATION

As an assemblage of material spatial practices, people, institutions and symbols, city-regions disclose active strategies of political mobilization by various social actors (Allen

and Cochrane, 2007, Lefebvre, 1991, Paasi, 2010). City-regions become intelligible through social discourse and the way we talk about regional space has important ramifications for how urban space is defined, institutionalized and governed. Following the dialectical framework laid out in chapter 3, discursive conceptions of the world are a fundamental element of social processes, abstracted from, and internalizing, the co-constitutive components of a social totality (Harvey, 1996a, pp. 77-95). Regional and utopian representations of space persist as "permanences" conditioning discourses of development and the spatial politics of regionalization (Harvey, 2000, pp. 164-173). The dynamics of *conceived* representations of space and the symbolic imaginaries of *lived* space are central to understanding the production of material, political and social processes of urbanization (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 38-41). In the following, I examine the different discursive techniques of spatialization underlying regionalization and technological modernization in Chicago and Toronto. I pay particular attention to the role of infrastructural imaginaries; the ways in which transportation infrastructures (as material spaces) are codified, symbolized and made use of as representational spaces.

DREAMS OF THE CITY BEAUTIFUL, 1893-1929

Chicago's monumental transition from frontier outpost to industrial metropolis at the turn of the twentieth century ushered in a profound transformation in social and spatial relations (Cronon, 1991, Duis, 1998). The spatial organization of the industrial city fostered segregation according to race, ethnicity and class, conspicuously surrounding the

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steel works and meatpacking plants. The city's industrial labor force faced harsh living and working conditions. Housing shortages were common. Limited transportation options, alongside the need for proximity to employment, forced close-knit, isolationist communities into close quarters resulting in social tensions, strikes and outbreaks of violence (Abu-Lughod, 2007b, pp. 43-78, Cohen, 2008, pp. 42-49, Harris, 1994b).

Daniel Burnham and Edward Bennett's neoclassical *Plan of Chicago* (1909), also known as The Burnham Plan, presented a middle-class reaction to the lived experience and economic linkages of industrial modernity. The Burnham Plan epitomized the rationalism and utopian idealism of the modern networked ideal by applying the aesthetics, moralism and environmentalism of the City Beautiful at the regional scale (Hall, 2002, pp. 188-217). Inspired by Haussmann's restructuring of Paris, Burnham and Bennett (1909, p. 1) sought to redress the "formless growth… [paralyzing] the vital functions of the city" with an urban design premised upon civic centers, parks and boulevards. The Plan of Chicago reorganized the relationship between public and private by emphasizing the civic body over the family unit but Burnham and Bennett understood Chicago, first and foremost, as "a center of industry and commerce" (ibid, p. 4). The Plan's standardized spatial functionality served the interests of the political and economic elites sponsoring the project. With Progressive Era reforms addressing crime and public health in Chicago's slums, the economic imperatives and material restructuring of the Burnham Plan were being implemented without much attention to the City Beautiful's

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social pretensions (Boyer, 1982, p. 276).[1] Lost in Burnham's civic utopianism was an

understanding of the class and racial relations underpinning the construction of the

Chicago metropolis, as well as the dynamics of social reproduction (Garb, 2011). These

omissions continue to resonate through the new city-regionalism literature.

Burnham's vision catalyzed a profound transformation in the built environment

and spatial organization of the metropolis. It also catalyzed three techniques of

spatialization that played prominent roles in the genesis of Chicago as a city-region. First,

in November 1909, City Council and Mayor Fred Busse established the Chicago Plan

Commission (CPC); a quasi-public group and institutional space through which the city's

elites could facilitate and oversee the Burnham Plan's implementation.[2] The initial

Commissioners' zealous dedication consolidated a growth alliance that successfully

completed several major projects prior to the Depression yet their boosterism belied a

persistent insecurity regarding Chicago's standing in the pantheon of world cities. The

CPC would be restructured as a municipal department in 1939. Second, the Plan of

Chicago framed a 75-mile city (set at the limits of the city's rail and road commuter shed)

which extended well beyond the urban fringe at the time. This regional perspective

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[1] Charles Wacker, the CPC's first chairman characterized the Plan of Chicago as "basically a commercial plan" and "a business proposition" as the Depression gripped the city (cf. O'Donnell, 1932, p. 23). As the city would reach its' potential by opening the arteries of capital circulation on an expanded scale, transportation restructuring, notably regarding railroads, was a central concern of the Plan's sponsors.

[2] The Plan's 334 subscribers reads as a who's who of Chicago's major capitalists, politicians and technocrats and industrial magnates served on many of the CPC's supervisory committees (Abu-Lughod, 1999, pp. 111-112, Smith, 2006). Chicagoans approved bond-issues for 17 Plan-based projects prior to 1931 including: Union Station, Wacker Drive, the Michigan Avenue Bridge and the straightening of the south branch of the Chicago River.

blurred the urban-rural divide but also revealed the spatial interests of the city's capitalists who understood the metropolis as an extended industrial district (Lewis, 2009, p. 285). Third, magisterial diagrams and illustrations – conceived representations of space – as well as an abridged eighth-grade textbook version of the Plan (Moody, 1912) promoted the CPC's vision to Chicago's citizenry, public and private backers and likeminded reformers further afield (Baker, 2010). Utopian regional representations engrained Burnham's call to "make no small plans" in Chicago's collective consciousness and consolidated a trope utilized by politicians and planners seeking legitimacy for their own proposals into the twenty-first century (Chicago Metropolis 2020, 2009, City of Chicago, 1958, City of Chicago, 2003, Johnson, 2001, Transport Advisory Group, 1965).

Business and architectural communities in Toronto were amongst those influenced by Burnham's work in Chicago. Toronto had also internalized the contradictions of industrial capitalism in the city's built form and social structure (Harris, 2006, Palmer and Heroux, 2012) and concerns with overcrowding, immorality and disease spurred several planning initiatives and social movements (Russell, 1984, Rutherford, 1971). Urban reformers inspired by Burnham's 1893 Columbian Exhibition in Chicago established the Civic Guild of Art in 1897 to promote urban beautification in Toronto through a program of street-widening and developing grand public spaces in the city (Civic Guild of Art, 1909). The Guild's influential membership were "determined to make Toronto a world city" and aggressively lobbied the City to form and finance the

Civic Improvement Committee (CIC); an amalgam of councilors and private members largely drawn from the Guild's executive (Weaver, 1977, p. 35). The Guild's City Beautiful vision resonated throughout the CIC's (1911) urban plan.

While the vision and ideals of the City Beautiful transferred from Chicago to Toronto, the institutional capacity, financial resources and spatial imaginaries developed so successfully in the Windy City were not fully-realized in Hogtown. The CIC only operated between 1909 and 1912. In its absence, Toronto lacked an effective growth coalition to sell the 1911 Plan to the city's conservative and fiscally cautious populace. Opponents attacked the CIC for emphasizing expensive, aesthetic considerations rather than addressing the social problems of the industrial city and the pressing need to improve Toronto's housing stock (Osbaldeston, 2008, p. 28, Weaver, 1977, p. 35). Although interest in the City Beautiful persisted in Toronto through the 1920s – with some impact on the city's built environment, including the construction of the Bloor Street Viaduct and (truncated) extension of University Avenue (Advisory City Planning Committee, 1929) – the movement was undermined by its purported costs, the lack of an official city plan and ultimately, the onset of the Depression. The City of Toronto would not establish a Municipal Planning Board until 1942. Although it did not hold the same elevated position in the city's collective consciousness as the Burnham Plan in Chicago, the Board's initial Master Plan (1943) marked the advent of modern comprehensive metropolitan planning in Toronto by meshing developmental vision, institutional capacity and a degree of public backing.

REPRESENTATIONAL SPACES IN THE POSTWAR METROPOLIS, 1940-1963

The stock market crash of October 29, 1929 marked both a critical political and economic juncture and an aesthetic and technological watershed delineating an epochal shift from the romanticized modernity of industrial urbanization to the technological modernism expressed in the Fordist New Deal (Gandy, 2003, p. 116). Urban transportation disclosed the place-specific ascent of technological modernism and maturation of the "modern networked city" (Graham and Marvin, 2001, pp. 43-80) within Chicago's and Toronto's articulation of metropolitan urbanization. Infrastructure materially and territorially reshaped urban space but further functioned as representational spaces. By producing what I term "infrastructural imaginaries", key projects acted as symbolic representational spaces which galvanized distinct and enduring metropolitan discourses in the postwar era.

O'Hare International Airport served as a key symbolic marker in Chicago. Aviation held a vital position within the modern infrastructural imaginaries pursued by planners following the interwar era. After the successful introduction of transcontinental airmail service in the United States during the 1920s, civic and aeronautic boosters saw Chicago as the "natural" hub for air travel – just as they had posited regarding the railroads (Cronon, 1991) – and feared the risks of competing cities usurping Chicago's geographic and transportation advantages. Projections of a rapidly expanding air industry after the Second World War placed the issue of airport capacity high on Chicago's political and civic agenda in the 1940s. Newspapers called on the City to adopt a far-

sighted aviation plan that would utilize Chicago's "natural advantages as the railroad and transportation center of the country" to secure the postwar business "to which Chicago will fall natural heir if her facilities are prepared to receive it" (Sturdy, 1944, p. 6). Ralph Burke (1944, p. i), Executive Director of the Postwar Economic Advisory Council of Chicago, declared "Chicago has a civic responsibility to insure that its airport facilities will continue to make it the center for air travel just as it has been the railroad center of the nation. The industrial leadership of Chicago depends upon its ability to remain a great center of travel". While Chicago's Municipal Airport (renamed Midway Airport in 1945) boasted of being the world's busiest airfield since 1932, the facility's antiquated terminal and limited room for expansion mandated the construction of a new airport. The City selected the Douglas Aircraft Plant as the site for Chicago's new airport but faced immediate problems (Chicago Airport Selection Board, 1945).[3] The eight commercial carriers operating in Chicago were reluctant to contribute financially to a new facility while using Midway and formed a stubborn collective bargaining committee. Shortcomings in federal and State funding necessitated that the City of Chicago raise $15 million via bonds to cover the shortfall for construction and land acquisition.

Mayor Richard J. Daley dramatically broke the deadlock upon assuming office on April 20, 1955. Daley secured financial assurances for Chicago's new airport by

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[3] The Douglas Aircraft Plant, the world's largest cargo plane factory, opened in July 30, 1942 on an unincorporated site on the northwest outskirts of Chicago. The plant and the C-54 Skymaster aircraft it produced acted as prominent symbols representing Chicago's emergence from the Depression. However, in a move indicative of 'Gunbelt' industrial relocation (Markusen et al., 1991), Douglas shifted their operations to Santa Monica, California, rendering the government-owned c.1,400 acre airfield surplus to manufacturing and military use after the Second World War (Doherty, 1970).

aggressively lobbying airline executives directly (Cohen and Taylor, 2001, p. 236). With traffic secured for the immediate future, limited domestic commercial operations started at O'Hare on October 30, 1955. The airport, though, still presented a significant territorial problem for the City of Chicago. While the City owned the airport, O'Hare's location beyond its corporate limits raised the possibility of legal disputes over the exercise of Chicago's police powers, fire protection and sanitation services. Daley was eager to secure both political control and access to the taxes garnered at the airfield. Through heated discussions with suburban municipalities, the Mayor successfully negotiated the annexation of a corridor – which for a three mile stretch was a mere 33 feet wide – to incorporate O'Hare within the city limits on March 28, 1956 (Doherty, 1970).[4] The economic and political capital invested in O'Hare would be fully realized once the Northwest Expressway linked the airport to the Loop in 1960 and the requirements of jet aircraft negated Midway's usefulness. Daley declared Chicago "the air center of the world" as the city entered the jet age (cf. Chicago Tribune, 1958, p. 1) while President Kennedy claimed Chicago had become "the most important and strategic point in America" as he formally dedicated O'Hare on March 24, 1963 (cf. Chicago Tribune, 1963, p. 2). O'Hare inherited the mantle of the world's busiest airport from Midway in 1961 and was operating in the black by 1967 (Landrum and Brown, 1976).

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[4] It would be another three years before this connection was secured as suburban municipalities' angst and attempted annexations perpetuate legal disputes with the City. Chicago eventually reach an agreement with Rosemont, exchanging the initial O'Hare Corridor for a 185 feet-wide access route along Foster Avenue (Doherty, 1970).

In Toronto, the construction of Canada's first subway performed a similar civic and economic function but as a space of representation, disclosed the more modest aspirations the technological modernization envisioned by that city's elites. TTC Chairman William McBrien needed to rebuff politicians and an electorate who "[assumed] Toronto was too small to support a subway" (cf. Toronto Transportation Commission, 1941, p. 3). With its streetcar system struggling to provide service for wartime ridership, the TTC refined plans for a rapid transit line beneath Yonge Street and a partially submerged Queen Street streetcar subway between 1942 and 1946. Construction, however, was delayed by a lack of capital and labor as the City's original funding agreement with the federal government collapsed.[5] Rather than wait for unemployment to climb to the levels required to qualify for federal aid, the City and TTC moved forward on a single 4.6-mile Yonge Street rapid transit line. Despite major financial and design cutbacks, the Yonge line brought Toronto together in a project of city-building (Toronto Transportation Commission, 1951). The TTC (1954) celebrated the subway as a task of civic improvement which put "Toronto in line with other world capitals". The subway would encourage the establishment of new industries and homes while countering the decentralization affecting many North American metropolises. In doing so, the Commission underscored the close relationship between transportation and development capital that shaped Toronto's Fordist-Keynesian economy and urbanization.

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[5] The Yonge line's initial funding arrangements split costs between the TTC (80%) and Ottawa (20%). This differed from American cities where municipalities tended to take on the costs of subways through their general funds. The TTC (1945) could afford to contribute to the costs of subway development despite a continentally-low fare structure since high ridership levels during wartime left $30 million in its coffers.

CITIES THAT WORK(ED), 1954-1975

Amidst narratives of North American urban decline and the rise of suburbia through the mid-twentieth century (Beauregard, 1993, Gordon, 2008, Sugrue, 1996), Chicago and Toronto presented an alternative discourse; that of "cities that work". Both experienced widespread suburbanization yet for a substantial period their institutional arrangements, accumulation regimes, and planning practices offered examples of urban success stories while Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland and Hamilton fell into economic and social crises. However, how the two cities worked, and whom they worked for are complex and problematic questions.

Declining tax bases and rising welfare costs in the 1970s pushed the capitals of the American 'Rustbelt' to the brink of fiscal insolvency. In contrast, the workings and perceived efficiencies of Mayor Richard J. Daley's political machine (1955-1976) enabled Chicago to control its financial situation by lowering taxes and targeting local government expenditures on key infrastructural investments and spatially selective service provision (Abu-Lughod, 1999, p. 230, Squires et al., 1987, pp. 68-71). Yet Chicago did not work equally well for all its citizens. Exclusionary bargaining and union practices, compounded by race, gender and ethnic discrimination, often determined access to employment while Daley's machine managed the social inequalities of American Fordism through a system of patronage and the selective distribution of benefits (Harvey, 1989b, pp. 138-139, Rast, 2001, Squires et al., 1987).

These tendencies were evident as Daley, through alliances with business groups in the Chicago Central Area Committee, sought to maintain the viability of the Loop as the cultural and commercial heart of the city (Rast, 2011). The Development Plan for the Central Area of Chicago (City of Chicago, 1958) marked the first major (central) city plan since the Plan of Chicago yet the grandeur of Burnham's vision still resonated through the 1958 proposals. The City concentrated on major investments in the built environment. Their normative vision, however, focused on a "commercial" economy, beautification and gentrification which would come to shape the vision of the Chicago 21 plan (Chicago Plan Commission, 1973) and the material city at the center of 'Global Chicago' (Bennett, 2010, pp. 39-42). Despite the claim that the Development Plan (1958, p. 1) would provide a city for "all the people", its motives and material consequences were decidedly unequal and segregated racial and class groups. The 1958 plan's proposed investments in the South Loop clearly functioned as physical, economic and racial barriers for downtown capital fearing the encroachment of the Black Belt (Cohen and Taylor, 2001, p. 232).

Toronto "worked" in a different manner that signified "both success and possibility" to American urbanists (Frisken, 2001, p. 513). Queen's Park federated the City of Toronto and its 13 municipal neighbors in the two-tier governance structure of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (Metro) in 1953. The innovative "institutional compromise" reconciled the challenges of urban growth, service and infrastructure provision with the debilitating effects of municipalities pursuing highly-territorialized

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development agendas (Frisken, 2007, p. 70).[6] Uploading responsibilities to Metro did not eliminate political fragmentation but it did provide an institutional space to realize metropolitan integration and modernization. The Metropolitan Toronto Act granted the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board (MTPB) authority over a 720 miles^2 area.

Whereas several American cities had failed to secure similar compromises in the early twentieth century, Metro suggested Canadian political practices and postwar urbanization would follow a different trajectory. Certain tensions persisted but Metro was quickly embraced with Frederick Gardiner, Metro's first chairman (1953-1961) providing forceful leadership in orchestrating Toronto's modernizing metropolitan development. The inventive governance structures in place at the metropolitan scale and a strong and diverse economy enabled Metro to achieve its primary purpose (providing infrastructure to support urban and economic growth) while avoiding the economic decline, trauma of urban renewal and racial unrest sweeping through many American metropolises (Donald, 2002a, Lemon, 1996). The image of metropolitan Toronto's functional and vibrant urbanity was primarily constructed in relation to the problems facing many American cities. The trope of the "city that works" shifted relative to Toronto's contextual situation; from Metro's planning achievements through the early-1960s to the idea "of bad ideas thwarted – of the city saved" in juxtaposition to the excesses of American urban

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[6] Metro was financed through a levy placed on the taxable assessments of its municipal members. Under the two-tier governance framework, lower-tier municipalities retained control over local matters (local infrastructure, parks, libraries, fire protection, social welfare and property tax collection) while Metro took responsibility for area-wide issues (providing major infrastructure, property assessments and justice services) (Government of Ontario, 1953).

modernity (White, 2009, p. 281). By the 1970s, the narrative of Toronto's success came

to function as a rhetorical device pasting over social and economic inequalities and the

unresolved issues of affordable housing, urban sprawl and pollution (Croucher, 1997,

Donald, 2002a).

THE CITY SAVED, 1969-1989

Despite its success in providing major physical infrastructure, antagonism between Metro

and the Provincial government and mistrust among Metro's municipalities prompted

Queen's Park to restructure metropolitan governance in 1966. Metro's 13 original

municipalities were reduced to six while Metro Council was reconfigured to give the

suburban municipalities 20 seats (up from 12) while the City of Toronto retained 12

councilors. Restructuring occurred at a critical juncture. Critiques of technological

modernism gained weight in the 1960s as public and political perceptions of large-scale

modern urban infrastructure shifted across North America. Toronto had the enviable

opportunity to observe the experience of other cities as the MTPB (1959, 1964) shaped

its transportation plans (Figure 5.1). The rise of the reform movement in the 1969

Toronto municipal election exposed increasing opposition to Metro's expressway-led

development and a concern amongst the middle-class in the central city regarding the

newly-empowered suburbs.[7]

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[7] Toronto's Official Plan (1969) highlighted the emerging tensions between the City and Metro. Mayor
Dennison defensively called for Toronto to "retain and protect the best of what we have – sound residential
areas, parks, ravines, the waterfront and other enhancing features which give the City colour and character"

Jane Jacobs's legendary 1968 move from New York to Toronto galvanized inner-city community opposition to the practices of modern city planning and urban renewal (Alexiou, 2006, Falconer, 2008). Her urban theory profoundly impacted the language, discourse and authority on which central Toronto's reformist agenda would be based, while recasting the trope of Toronto as "the city that works" (White, 2011). In early-1969, Jacobs co-founded the Stop the Spadina Save Our City Coordinating Committee (SSSOCCC) to oppose the first Metro expressway to cut through built-up urban districts; the Spadina Expressway. The group's politics were fundamentally shaped by the fear that Toronto would wind up, socially and environmentally, "in the mess that many U.S. cities are now in and trying to extricate themselves from" (Sack, 1969). Their spatial discourses posited a potential divergence between national contexts but furthermore operationalized a divisive imaginary within metropolitan Toronto which ontologically cleaved the urbane city core from the suburbanizing metropolis that was 'threatening' to politically and physically consume it. The visage of Los Angeles – concreted, decentralized and choked with cars – functioned as a rhetorical foil; Metro's expressway not only threatened the 'Los Angelization' of Toronto, but presented North York as the Angeleno wolf at the city's door (Jacobs, 1969, Nowlan and Nowlan, 1970). Against these pejorative

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(ibid, p. 1). Reform councilors took an aggressive anti-expressway mandate to City Hall. However, rather than forming a coherent ideological bloc the 'reform council' mobilized a loose coalition, predominantly lead by white, middle-class aldermen "concerned with the essential features of modernist urban development" (Donald, 2002b, p. 2140).
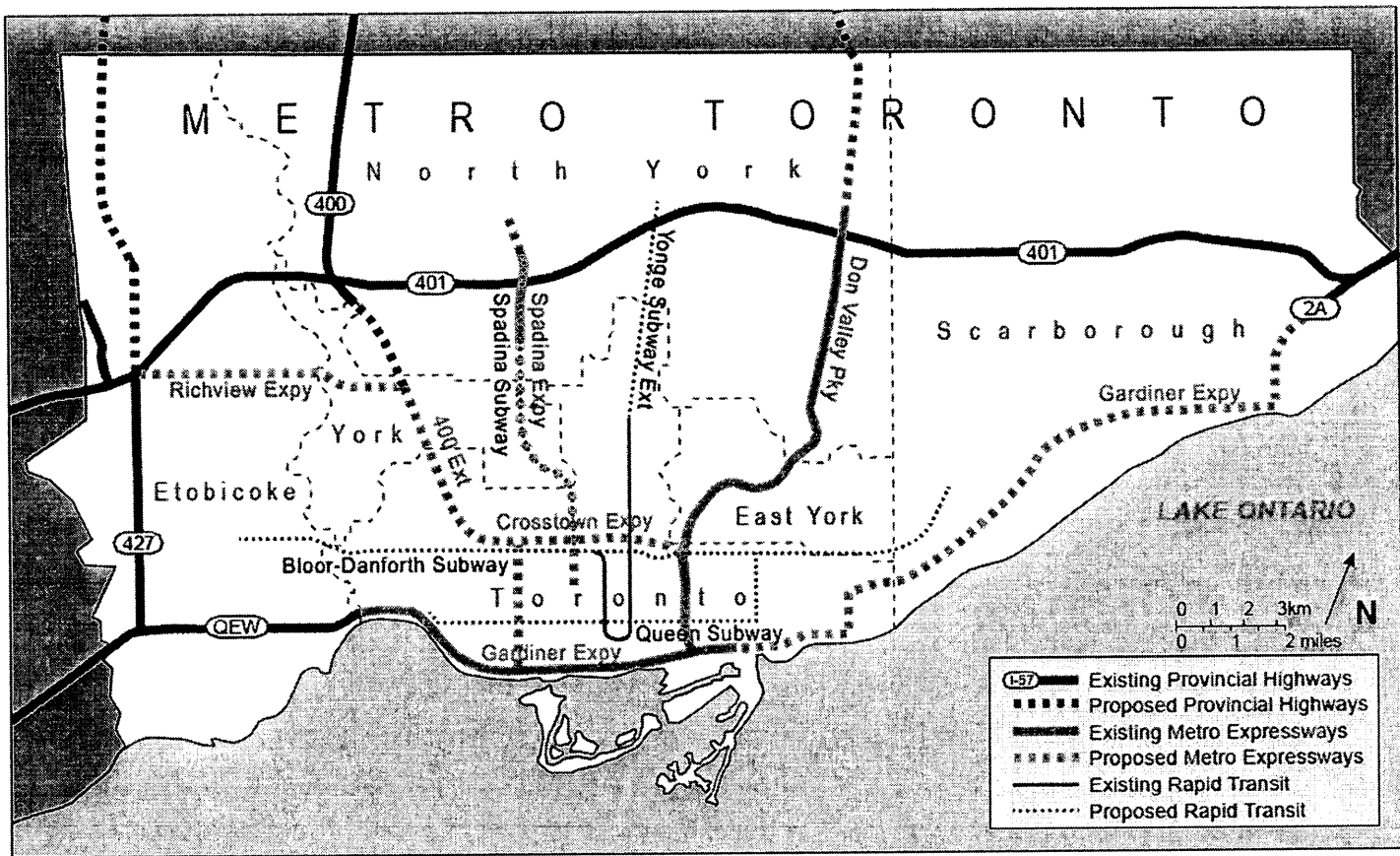
Figure 5.1: Metropolitan Toronto's 1964 "balanced" transportation plan, based on MTPB (1964).

representations, SSSOCCC framed central Toronto as a city in the European tradition.[8] Former TTC Chief Planner Juri Pill captured this spatial truism in the 1970s through the analogy of Toronto as "Vienna surrounded by Phoenix" (Boudreau et al., 2009, p. 37).

Jacobs's influence on this imaginary was conspicuous, even if her personal leadership role in the Spadina opposition is often overstated. Yet Jacobs's ideas, honed in the cauldron of New York and conditioned by the American urban experience, were often uncritically read onto Toronto. Toronto did not experience inner-city decline, ghettoization or destructive urban renewal comparable to the assumed narrative of North American urbanization (see Gioielli, 2011, Harvey, 1992, Mohl, 2004). Toronto's high per capita levels of transit ridership and relatively balanced modal split defied simple parallels with American cities. Comparative assertions continually overlooked the importance of political and economic variations between the two national contexts shaping the fate of their urban centers. Metro's suburbs boomed, but as a result of an ultimately unsustainable "distributive urbanization" rather than the archetypal American processes of "parasitic urbanization" identified by Beauregard (2006b, also see Donald, 2002a). Still, the urban imaginaries and spatial politics forged around the ultimately successful struggle against the Spadina Expressway codified a brand of bourgeois urbanism in the city that continues to view Toronto's suburban spaces as physically and socially incoherent (e.g. Macfarlane, 2008, McBride and Wilcox, 2005). Jane Jacobs's

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[8] The Annex served as a synecdoche epitomizing a hyper-valorized paragon of endangered civility and urbanism. A movement to preserve the neighborhood's Victorian townhouses and "inherent character", in part led by Toronto's pioneering gentrifiers, ushered in a reappraisal of the area's distinct architecture and the city's out-of-favor streetcar system (Annex Ratepayers' Association, 1972, Cal, 2007, Caufield, 1994).

urban manifesto is now institutionalized in central Toronto and performs a comparable ideological and legitimizing role as Daniel Burnham and the 1909 Plan in Chicago. While Jacobs's neighborhood-based urbanism holds a prominent position in Toronto's urban discourse, her somewhat contradictory anti-statist economic treaties (1984) resonate in the global city-region by providing a legitimating trope for calls to grant Canadian urban areas greater political autonomy (Broadbent, 2008, Sancton, 2008, White, 2011).

Jacobs's influence has been far less acute in Chicago. Chicago certainly experienced the challenges of urban renewal and expressway construction critiqued by Jacobs, but the city's racial politics, race and class segregation, and Mayor Daley's machine politics framed opposition to these projects rather than the spatialized conflict between city and suburbs over neighborhood integrity, urban form and density (Abu-Lughod, 1999, pp. 223-233, Squires et al., 1987). Chicago's "Lakefront liberals" were a largely ineffective political threat to City Hall (Grimshaw, 1995, pp. 152-153). Alderman Paddy Bauler's 1951 declaration that "Chicago ain't ready for reform" rang true into the 1980s (Simpson, 2001, pp. 195-203). Further, city-suburban antagonism in northeastern Illinois continues to be framed at a larger scale than within metropolitan Toronto. Fiercely independent suburban communities – themselves likely amenable to an "exclusionary communitarianism" not far removed from Jacobs's controlled diversity (Harvey, 2000, p. 164) – fear the political influence of Chicago and the spread of "urban" problems to their communities (Peck, 2011, p. 885), as opposed to the cancerous suburban "other" threatening Toronto's central neighborhoods.

II

TRANSPORTATION AND METROPOLITAN STRUCTURED COHERENCES

In holding that material social relations condition understandings of the world, "regional words", constructs and imaginaries will "always reflect the regional worlds in which they have been developed" (Paasi, 2002, p. 803). The evolving regionalization of the city, codified through modern understandings of technology and urban society, unfurled in a symbiotic relationship with Fordist systems of economic organization as part of an overall reterritorialization (and rescaling) of global capitalism (Brenner, 2002, pp. 6-8). Fordism's emergence reflects the culmination of locally-contingent policy frameworks and processes of uneven geographical development. Rapid technological and economic innovation reshaped the social and spatial organization of the industrial city through waves of creative destruction, as I detail through an examination of urban expressway development. Evidence from Chicago and Toronto demonstrates that the development of metropolitan infrastructure in both cases was influenced as much by key actors promoting their own self-interests as it was the outcome of technological change or utopian regional visions. Yet with this, the institutions and political capacity of urban actors guiding the development of the modern infrastructural ideal emerged unevenly, and at different scales, due to the contested development of both transportation technologies and technologies of power. The following analysis uncovers the dynamic and unstable nature of capitalist structured coherences as one set of epochal conditions are usurped by

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another. In this regard, I illustrate that the critical junctures of the Depression and the Crisis of Fordism engendered extended moments of crisis as key actors attempted to realize spatial fixes; firstly through the metropolitanization of urban space, and secondly by resolving the spatial contradictions of metropolitan urbanization.

INFRASTRUCTURAL ANTECEDENTS, 1880-1920

The spatial practices and infrastructure requirements of industrial urbanization established the preconditions for "ecological dominance" of Fordism-Keynesianism (Jessop, 2000). Industrial urbanization pivoted around the centralizing tendencies of rail infrastructure. The distinct fixity and flows mobilized by the railroads concentrated economic activity in Chicago during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Chicago matured as a continental metropolis in the railroad age; not as the inevitable consequence of Chicago's "natural advantages" as boosters suggested, but rather as political and economic elites in Chicago and New York pursued their own interests (Cronon, 1991). Railroads expanded Chicago's markets and facilitated the diversification of the regional economy. However, the growth of railroad space also engendered inefficiencies which undermined the city's and rail networks' productivity while the sheer amount of land consumed by rail functions inhibited the beautification and restructuring envisioned in the Burnham Plan. Despite the construction of the Chicago and Northwestern Terminal (1912) and Union Station (1925) and some intercompany cooperation, six railroad

terminals still served central Chicago in 1969. Issues of rationalization and consolidation would not begin to be resolved until industrial re-regulation in the 1970s.[9]

The federally-sponsored westward expansion of Canada's rail infrastructure enabled Toronto's industrial capital to access raw material from the Canadian West efficiently and affordably while centralizing economic and social life in the city. The vital transcontinental and cross-border linkages provided by rail infrastructure secured Toronto's position as a continental industrial and commercial hub (Berton, 1970, Earle, 1999). Although the city held a more modest position in the emergent continental railroad system than Chicago, the relative simplicity of railroad infrastructure and governance in Toronto – as of 1923, consolidations, bankruptcies and nationalization meant only the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CP) and Canadian National Railroad (CN) operated in the city – proved advantageous. Rail infrastructure consumed substantial land surrounding the waterfront but Toronto did not have to negotiate the challenges of consolidation and rationalization that beset Chicago's planners. CN's decision to relocate freight operations to Maple in the 1950s freed extensive land in the urban core for alternative uses.

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[9] Land owned by the railroads remains infamously difficult to redevelop as in many cases rail infrastructure is protected by regulations prioritizing the imperatives of interstate competition over the local state. Unlike the typical dynamics of capitalist land markets – which pressurize privately-owned parcels of land to be utilized more intensively and profitably when surrounding land is valorized – railroad lands tend not conform to the expected relationship between development and increases in taxable assessment. Taxation rates for the railroads are determined by federal channels and as a consequence, function separately for the dynamics of local land markets. The creation of Amtrak in 1970, and the subsequent consolidation of intercity passenger service at Union Station began to free land dedicated to railroad use in Chicago's urban core for redevelopment (Chicago Area Transportation Study, 1972, Chicago Department of Development and Planning, 1975).

The railroads fostered a contradictory undercurrent of decentralization by offering industrial capital the means to exploit open and inexpensive land, expand economies of scale, and take advantage of advances in assembly line mass production (Harris, 1994b, Lewis, 2002). While diverse local economies concentrated economic and social activity in the city, industrial and commercial decentralization, along with residential shifts beyond Jackson's (1985) "crabgrass frontier" were already pronounced in the United States and Canada by the early-1900s (Harris and Lewis, 2001, Walker and Lewis, 2001). The railroad suburbs "exemplified the central meaning and contradiction of suburbia"; the pastoral ideal as separate, but wholly dependent on the city (Fishman, 1987, p. 134). The expansion of Chicago's manufacturing base encouraged decentralization as workers relocated to low-cost rental or self-built housing close to suburban industrial plants. Comparable processes shaped Toronto's industrial growth, but on a lesser scale than in the Chicago region. The railroads stimulated selective industrial and residential relocation as capital-intensive industries including steel production, auto assembly and meat packing shifted to the urban fringe. Labor-intensive manufacturing remained clustered in the city core and consequently, Toronto remained between the continental extremes of industrial concentration and decentralization into the 1920s (Harris, 2006, pp. 55-56).

INSTITUTIONALIZING FORDIST-KEYNESIANISM, 1920-1975

By the 1920s, automobiles presented a real competitive challenge to rail transportation for commercial activity and personal mobility. While spurring nascent urban

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decentralization, the railroads were spatially-fixed infrastructure constructed, owned and operated by private capital. The qualitatively different spatiality of the road – a publically provided and regulated infrastructure – opened the land through which functional spatial specialization and mass production and consumption of Fordism could thrive. Interwar automobile-driven suburbanization perpetuated the urban concentration of capital and labor but also pointed to a possible means of resolving the contradictions and constraints of industrial urbanization. Expanding the scale of the urban process provided a means to mitigate the class antagonism and racial conflict that often characterized the industrial city by selectively opening avenues for homeownership, separating work and home space and fostering the functional segregation of urban functions (Jackson, 1985). Nevertheless, the absence of institutionalized regulatory mechanisms and large-scale developers through the 1920s produced largely piecemeal, regionally-distinct suburban regimes (Beauregard, 2006b, p. 47, Harris, 2006, McCann, 1999).

The privation of the Depression, roll-out of massive public-works programs and reorientation of wartime economies fostered a fundamental recalibration of the spatial organization of capital and urban space.[10] Nascent processes of decentralization already

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[10] The Depression had a profound impact upon Chicago. The stock market crash crippled the city's large-scale heavy manufacturing sector. The travails of the Depression dislodged the Republican Party from political power in Chicago and ushered in an on-going era dominated by the Democratic organizations of Chicago and Cook County. The New Deal provided some employment relief and financed several major public works projects. However, it would take the wartime mobilization of Chicago's industrial capacity to pull the city from the Depression, albeit on a temporary basis (Abu-Lughod, 1999, pp. 218-221). Toronto's economy also struggled during the Depression but the city did not experience as seismic economic and political shifts as Chicago. The City remained solvent, even as the majority of its surrounding municipalities went bankrupt (Frisken, 2007, pp. 56-57). The suburbs' economic straits opened favorable conditions for speculative middle-class residential development, directly and indirectly supported by Provincially-financed public works projects between 1934 and 1943. Wealthy city-dwellers could then

evident in the industrial city, including the growth of commuter suburbs, industrial relocation and rising levels of automobile ownership, rapidly accelerated during the postwar era. The decentralizing tendencies structuring postwar metropolitan urbanization were facilitated by, and helped shape, the institutionalization of Keynesian regulatory frameworks, including national governmental subsidies, regulations promoting homeownership and the production of mass suburbia (Beauregard, 2006b, pp. 78-87, Harris, 2004, pp. 129-154, Jackson, 1985, pp. 190-218), as well as policies that advanced an autocentric society in both the United States and Canada (Pill, 1978, Rose, Seely and Barrett, 2006, p. 31). Transportation investments were key components of spatial Keynesianism in both Chicago and Toronto. As state spatial strategies, they intended to open and integrate metropolitan space while fostering the markets to sustain Fordist mass production and mass consumption.

Fordist economic and social life was predicated upon access to standardized network infrastructure. Economies of scale, regimes of mass production and mass consumption and spatial divisions of labor necessitated the development of reliable and consistent infrastructural capacity to move goods long distances between core assembly plants and peripheral markets and facilitate commuting to large-scale production sites (Graham and Marvin, 2001, p. 67). The application of institutional and infrastructure techniques of spatialization catalyzed by the Great Depression supported the growth of mature Fordist accumulation regimes in northeastern Illinois and southern Ontario, albeit

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abandon large, centrally-located homes for affordable suburban properties while working class residents of Toronto's self-built suburbs shifted to rental apartments in the city (Harris, 2006).

with a significant degree of local contingency. The following discussion of urban

expressways in Chicago and Toronto illustrates this point, and provides evidence

supporting Coutard's (2008a) assertion that the institutionalization of Keynesian

regulatory mechanisms and the bundling of standardized infrastructure varied across

metropolitan contexts.

The rise and fall of urban expressways, 1925-1985

Highway planning and governance frameworks in Chicago and Toronto, though, were

fragmented into the 1950s. The CPC had radically reshaped the Burnham Plan's roadway

system into a network of superhighways by the late-1920s but institutional mechanisms

to coordinate a system of interurban highways were absent.[11] The Chicago Regional

Planning Association (CRPA), a close affiliate of the CPC, attempted to corral the

region's unwieldy planning regime after 1925 but integrating planning and financing

proved contentious. Plans for postwar highway construction in metropolitan Chicago

began to take shape during wartime as the CPC (1943) and CRPA (1944) meshed a

proposed network of 10 urban highways in the city of Chicago with a program of

highway improvements in the collar counties. The City broke ground on routes

approaching Chicago after the War, but financial limitations delayed construction.

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[11] The State of Illinois did not institute a systematic road construction program for Chicago's hinterland until after the First World War. Federal programs to finance rural and suburban roads did not commence until 1929 and concentrated on trunk routes between cities at the expense of urban areas. The federal government would not underwrite urban highways until the mid-1930s through Roosevelt's public works programs (Rose, 1990, p. 7).

The passage of the 1956 Federal-Aid Highways Act marked a massive escalation in the federal government's involvement with highway construction as Washington assumed up to 90% of the financial burden of freeway construction. Ostensibly a component of the United States' Cold War defensive plan, the Act institutionalized a project of spatial Keynesianism which opened new markets for expanded Fordist accumulation (Florida and Jonas, 1991, p. 363). Mayor Daley aggressively utilized the provisions of the 1956 Act while his clout in Springfield and Washington proved pivotal in securing funds for infrastructure development (Cohen and Taylor, 2001). Daley deployed the rhetoric of modernity and progress to justify the construction of an expansive urban expressway network which bulldozed low-income, ethnic and Black neighborhoods, separated White and Black communities and accelerated middle-class 'white flight'. The interstate system maintained Chicago's position as a continental transportation hub, but governmental highway financing effectively subsidized the decentralization of population and industry (Figure 5.2). By the 1960s, Chicago's elites viewed suburbanization as the principal threat to the city's vitality (Bennett, 2010, p. 40, see Schroeder, 1954). Public resentment of the displacement, cost and inconvenience involved in constructing Chicago's urban expressways pressured Daley to conclude that they had failed to meet their objectives and insist the City would "take a new look" at future expressways (cf. Ross, 1962).

The 1956 Federal-Aid Highways Act's inflexible funding arrangements foreclosed alternative transportation options and locked-in the development of urban
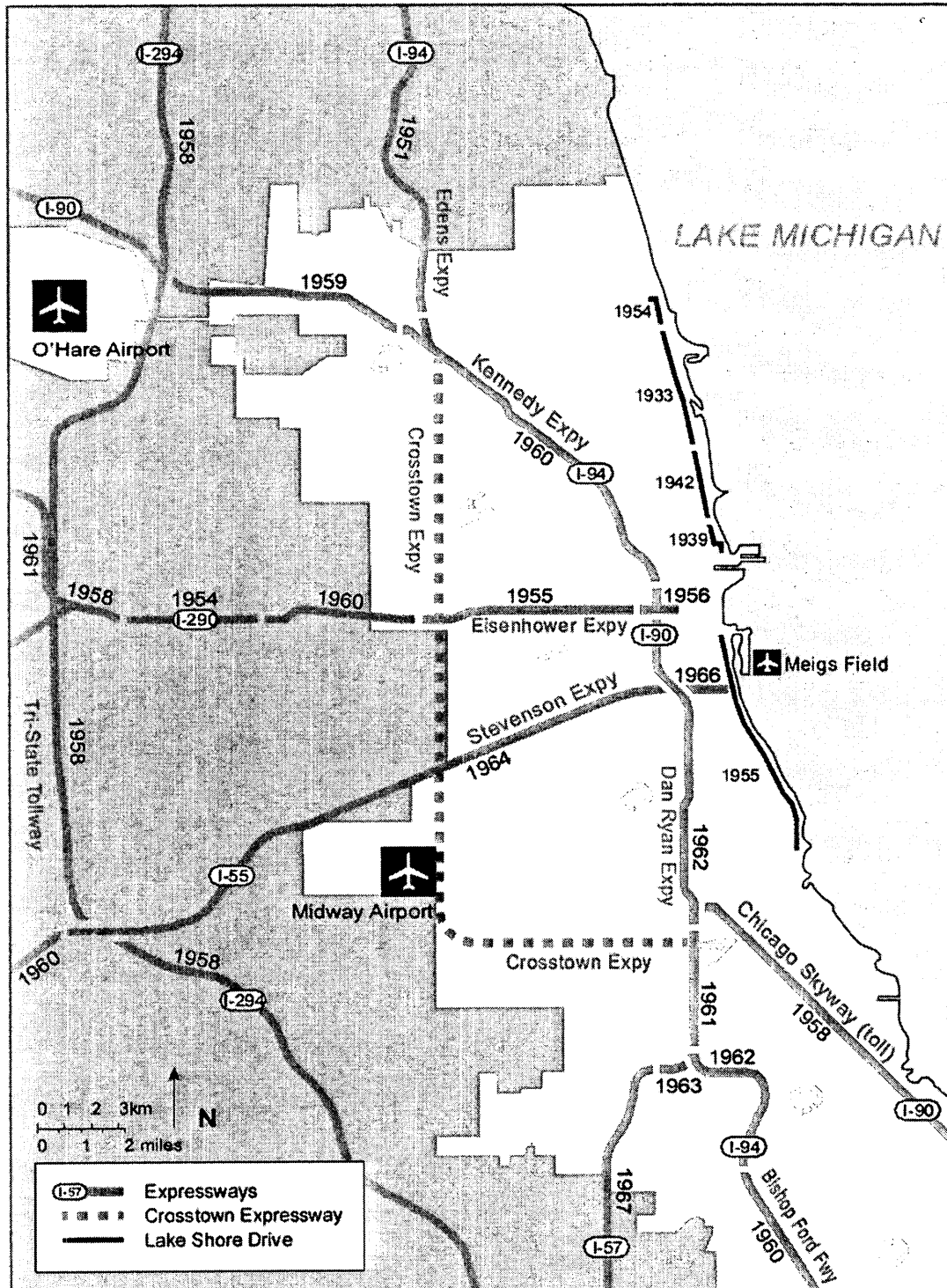
Figure 5.2: Chicago's urban expressways, based on McClendon (2005a).

expressways (Mohl, 2003, Rose, 1990, pp. 88-92); especially as automobility was symbolically and materially embedded in the very notion of American everyday (suburban) life (Beauregard, 2006b, p. 112, Harvey, 2009a, p. 319, Knox, 2008, pp. 25-26). In 1973, the federal government ruptured the path dependencies of the 1956 *Act* by allowing monies earmarked for expressways to be transferred to other modes of ground transportation. With high inflation driving up the real price of construction, environmental concerns and growing dissatisfaction with urban expressways, anti-expressway groups lobbied for new solutions to America and Chicago's transport problems (see Illinois Department of Transportation, 1974). Mayor Daley and his successor Michael Bilandic continued to push for the Crosstown Expressway; the one element of the City's 1943 expressway plan not under construction by 1960. However, after defeating Bilandic in the 1979 Chicago mayoral election, Mayor Jane Byrne reached a deal with Governor Thompson to divert $1.916 billion in federal funds earmarked for the Crosstown to Chicago's beleaguered regional transit agencies and other roadway improvements throughout northeastern Illinois. Within the city, where 67% of the re-allocated dollars were spent on mass transit (as opposed to only 8% in the suburbs), the deal funded El extensions to O'Hare Airport in 1984 and Midway Airport in 1993. The lines provided rapid transit access from Chicago's airports to the Loop, but did little to improve the sociospatial marginalization of vast sections of the West and South Sides.

The governmental arrangements for expressway planning and financing differed significantly between Chicago and Toronto. While the City of Toronto failed to

implement the City Beautiful proposals for street widening during the interwar period, Queen's Park developed a system of intercity highways which laid the infrastructural groundwork for Toronto's postwar Fordist growth. By 1939, two Provincially-planned and built superhighways were operational in Southern Ontario but the division of responsibility for urban and inter-urban roads between the City and Province meant Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW) and Highway 2A terminated before the city limits. The flow of traffic left Toronto's narrow streets overloaded by an estimated 30% (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1943). Queen's Park finalized plans for two further limited-access inter-city highways in 1944. The trans-provincial highway from Windsor to Montreal (Highway 401) and the Toronto-Barrie Highway (Highway 400) increased the pressure on Toronto's roadways (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1949).[12] The 400-series of highways were a vital component of southern Ontario's Fordist accumulation regime that integrated Toronto's manufacturing, branch plants, especially automobile plants, into North American production networks. However, limited inter-governmental collaboration and the absence of a federal policy steering road integration meant elements of southern Ontario's road system were conceived of as performing isolated functions at specific scales.[13]

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[12] The '400-series' numbering system was introduced on July 1, 1952. Highway 401 opened in August 1956 with capacity for 35,000 cars per day but by 1959 handled 85,000 cars daily. In 1963, Queen's Park announced a proposal to widen Highway 401 from four to 12 lanes based on the express-collector model pioneered on Chicago's Dan Ryan Expressway. Upon its completion in 1972, the widened 401 could accommodate 164,000 cars per day.

[13] Queen's Park viewed highways as inter-city connectors supporting intra-regional and international markets (see Ontario Department of Highways, 1957) but overlooked their role in stimulating suburbanization (Sewell, 2009, p. 64).

Metro provided the spatial imaginary, institutional framework and planning tools, to deploy expressways as a tool to restructure the spatial organization of the metropolis and enable Toronto capitalists to access local markets, regional centers and the United States (Wilson, 1954). Metro was charged with forming a system of expressways, financed through a 50-50 split with Queen's Park. Frederick Gardiner moved quickly to connect the city's roadways to the Province's 400-series of highways. Plans for Canada's first urban freeway, a Lakeshore Expressway from the Humber River to Woodbine Avenue, received near unanimous support. The initial section of the Frederick G. Gardiner Expressway opened on August 8, 1958, connecting Toronto industry to wider regional and continental space economies. The planning of Metro's second expressway, the Don Valley Parkway (DVP), disclosed a differing means to ensure urban growth as developers prominently influenced the route's alignment (Sewell, 1993, pp. 93-96). The desire to accommodate developers reflected Gardiner's view that public infrastructure should facilitate the private sector. Indicative of the central function of publicly-sponsored infrastructure within Toronto's Fordist-Keynesian spatial fix, Metro's expressways opened access to cheap land and catalyzed the development of corporate suburbanization and the decentralization of public housing, malls and industrial facilities.

Members of the MTPB were cognizant of the interrelationship between transportation and land use and sought to distribute urban functions and transportation in a manner permitting commuting from all areas of the metropolis. After reviewing the 1959 Draft Official Plan, the MTPB (1964) recommended a "balanced" transportation

plan with regulated suburbanization distributing population and employment growth in

"relatively compact" developments parallel to Lake Ontario (see Figure 5.1). The

Spadina Expressway formed a central component of the MTPB's transportation plans.

Premier Davis's decision to cancel the road alongside the anti-expressway politics that it

crystallized in Toronto fundamentally undermined the rationale for Metro's 1964

highway system. Metro did not immediately abandon urban expressways in the wake of

Spadina ruling. After four years of contested negotiations between Metro and Queen's

Park, the unpaved "Spadina ditch" from Lawrence to Eglinton was completed as a four-

lane roadway in 1975. Anti-expressway groups feared a return to road construction while

the reform-led City of Toronto considered taking legal action against Metro. In response,

Davis engineered a land deal in which Metro relinquished control of its Spadina right-of-

way south of Eglinton in exchange for Queen's Park constructing an extension to

Highway 400 (Osbaldeston, 2008, p. 50). On February 7, 1985, Davis granted a meter-

wide slither of land south of Eglinton-Allen interchange to the City of Toronto via a 99-

year lease, blocking any future Spadina expressway extension.

THE CRISIS OF FORDISM AND EMERGENT CITY-REGIONS, 1973-1989

Nascent neoliberalization and the collapse of machine urbanism

Transportation played a paradoxical role in Chicago's postwar growth and position

within American Fordist-Keynesian development. Investment in major infrastructures

including O'Hare and the interstate network secured Chicago's position as the continental

transport hub, but the federal government's relocation of high-tech and military

production to the Gunbelt left Chicago relatively overlooked in America's postwar

Fordist industrialization (Abu-Lughod, 1999, pp. 212-236). Chicago's decline as a pre-

eminent industrial metropolis was apparent by the early-1970s. Total manufacturing

employment in the six-county area declined from 853,000 in 1947 to 745,000 in 1982,

with the city's share of this labor market dropping from 78% to 37% in the face of

suburban competition (Squires et al., 1987, pp. 25-29). At the end of Richard J. Daley's

21-year reign over Chicago, it seemed Chicago was finally succumbing to the fate of its

fellow Rustbelt capitals. Continued outmigration of middle-class White families left

behind an increasingly poor, elderly and racialized urban population. The city had

declining employment opportunities for semi- and unskilled labor. A declining residential

and industrial tax base forced reduced spending on social services (Chicago Department

of Development and Planning, 1975). Such trends were socially and geographically

uneven. Low-income Black and Hispanic districts on the South and West Sides and older

industrial suburbs experienced decline as the Loop and affluent North Side

neighborhoods received the benefits of Chicago's growth regime (Wilson, 2007).

Mayors Michael Bilandic (1976-1979) and Jane Byrne (1979-1983) were unable

to wield the political influence of Richard J. Daley and presided over a harshly divided

city. Racial tensions erupted during Chicago's 1983 mayoral election. During the

Democratic primary, incumbent Jane Byrne (33%) and Cook County State Attorney,

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Richard M. Daley (30%) split the Party's White base, leaving African-American reform candidate Harold Washington to claim the nomination with only 37% of the vote. Several influential White Democrats reacted by backing the Republican candidate, Bernard Epton. After a bitter and overtly racist, campaign, Washington prevailed in the general election with a victory margin of only 3.7%. City Council, however, remained under the control of White 'organization' Democrats and from 1983 to 1987, Chicago languished as the 'Council Wars' derailed city politics. The *Wall Street Journal* infamously labeled Chicago 'Beirut on the Lake' against this backdrop of economic stagnation, crime, population decline, racial tensions and political inertia. Harold Washington finally broke the impasse of the Council Wars after redrawing Chicago's ward boundaries in 1986. He secured unchallenged control after the 1987 mayoral election but he would not have the opportunity to deploy his hard-fought mandate. The Mayor died of a heart attack on November 25, 1987, a mere seven months after his reelection. Although Chicago in the mid-1980s was characterized by political and developmental inertia, Harold Washington's mayoralty swept away the institutional architecture of Richard J. Daley's political machine, opening the way for the ascension of Richard M. Daley's new politics of growth (Clavel and Wiewel, 1991).

The Crisis of Fordism engendered a deep neoliberal restructuring of transportation governance at the national scale, with major impacts on the spatial and economic organization of the Chicago region. The 1978 Airline Deregulation Act lowered barriers to market entry and opened air travel to inter-locality competition (Johansson, 2007). In

Chicago, pressure to relieve congestion at O'Hare prompted the City to reactivate and

invest in Midway Airport, which had experienced a dramatic decline in use following the

1973 Oil Crisis (Landrum and Brown, 1976). The emergence of discount carriers

established Midway as a domestic low-cost carrier hub within the deregulated air

network. Railroad deregulation also strengthened the Chicago region's centrality as a

national freight hub. The 1976 Railroad Revitalization and Reform Act and 1980

Staggers Act increased competition by scaling back government oversight, introducing

freedom from collective market rate procedures and enabling railroads to merge and

streamline operations (Grimm and Winston, 2000). The impact on labor was troubling as

both wages and employment declined dramatically after 1985 (Hsing and Mixon, 1995).

Long-distance shipments capitalized on rail cargo's economies of scale while Chicago's

infrastructure advantages spurred a boom in intermodalism, pointing to the region's

future post-Fordist production networks (Barton Aschman Associates, 1980).

The alternative future unravels

1975 marked a high point for industrial production in the Toronto urban region. While

the city of Toronto had been shedding manufacturing employment since the 1950s,

reports commissioned by Metro indicated a declining industrial employment base beyond

the urban core (A E Lepage, 1980). Whereas the central city's diverse local economy

proved more resilient to downturns in the national economy, industries located in the

urban fringe, especially in Metro's suburbs, tended to be large manufacturing companies

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that were capital intensive and sensitive to Canada's permeable Fordist regulatory regime. The 1973 Oil Crisis had catalyzed a major recession in the United States and played a vital role in the transition from Keynesianism to neoliberal monetarism. The associated economic downturn struck Canada between 1974 and 1975 although its impact did not lead to a systemic overall of economic policy. However, the economic and urban processes of restructuring underway in the United States from the late-1960s were beginning to crystallize in Ontario. A continental downtown following the 1979 Oil Crisis resulted in the province's worst recession since the Depression. Further economic crises in 1980-1982 finally dislodged southern Ontario's established production regime. Declining demand for auto production from the United States unsettled confidence in Toronto's regional manufacturing base and prompted calls to address the innovation weaknesses and technological deficiencies in Canada's national economic policy (Donald, 2002a, p. 2143). Metro and Queen's Park continued to increase borrowing and spending until Black Friday and the recession that struck Canada in the early-1990s finally fractured established Keynesian institutions (Albo and Jenson, 1997).

Ottawa, by contrast, had pushed towards neoliberalization. Brian Mulroney's Conservative federal government dismantled Canadian economic nationalism in 1984 and entered into the United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement four years later, ushering in a process of restructuring and reterritorialization that would culminate in the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In conjunction with continental free trade agreements, Ottawa's 1987 National Transportation Policy

precipitated the deregulation of the rail and aviation industries and exposed Canadian

transport to supranational competition (Hoyle, 1993). Within the City of Toronto, Art

Eggleton's defeat of John Sewell in the 1980 mayoral race marked the retrenchment of

the city's reform movement. Eggleton opened avenues for entrepreneurial investment,

land speculation and financialization that spurred Toronto's global city economy

(Boudreau et al., 2009, pp. 41-42). The impacts of the Crisis of Fordism exacerbated the

sociospatial polarization which characterized the nascent city-region (Walks, 2001). As

population and employment shifted to the booming regional municipalities and the urban

core concentrated on specialized economic functions, the Fordist landscapes in Metro's

suburbs struggled to find their niche within the emerging post-Fordist economy. Faced

with growing intra-metropolitan disparities and regional growth accelerating beyond

Metro, the stage was set for Queen's Park to reconsider regional governance.

III

TRANSIT AND THE DYNAMICS OF REGIONAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION

PRIVATE COMPETITION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, 1880-1947

At the turn of the twentieth century, Chicago's extensive street railways system and

network of elevated rapid transit lines (Els) were owned and operated by numerous

private companies, each fighting to secure a local market share (Figure 5.3). Transit

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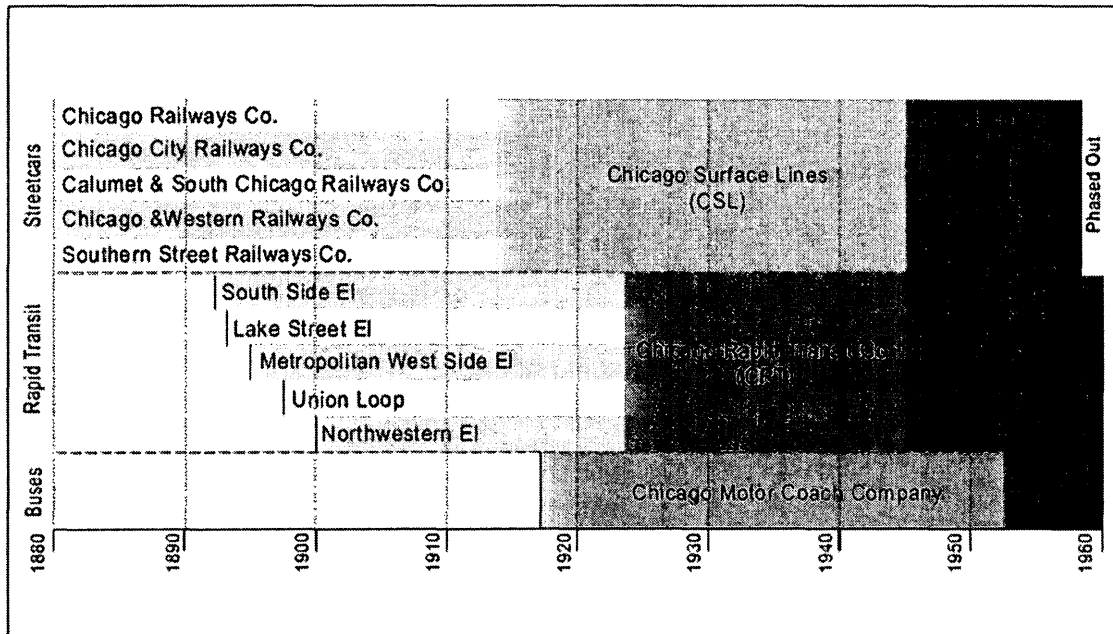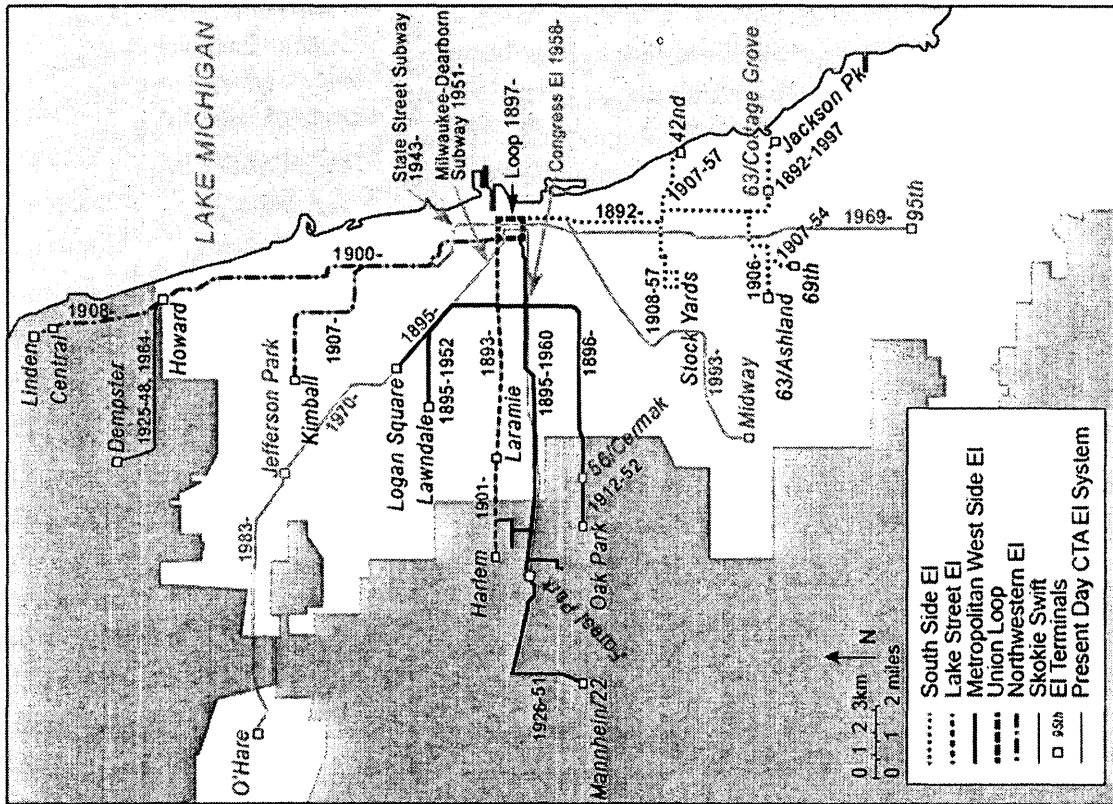
Figure 5.3: The development of Chicago's elevated rapid transit system, based on McClendon (2005b) (top); and the transition to public ownership of Chicago's transit systems (bottom).

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structured Chicago's rapid urban development. The extension of streetcar and El service into sparsely populated farmland raised land values, reconfigured differential rents and encouraged early investment in the utilities supporting workers' tenements and the "bourgeois utopia" of middle-class streetcar suburbia (Fishman, 1987, Hayden, 2003, Keating, 2002, Warner, 1978). Returns for both developers and transit companies, however, were increasingly uncertain by the 1910s. Competition between private transit companies over-saturated the market for speculative real estate accumulation and exhausted the potential to realize profits by excessive investment in physical infrastructure and rolling stock.[14] With the over-production of both urban space and transit infrastructure curtailing profits, transit companies withdrew from many suburbs to focus on the Loop commute (Young, 1998, p. 74). City Council's practice of awarding 20-year extensions for transit franchises encouraged political patronage. Franchisees had little incentive to modernize and instead sought to expand profits by cutting service and overcrowding cars. The City attempted to tackle the "traction problem" through 1907's Traction Settlement Ordinances (TSOs). The TSOs upheld private ownership but imposed stricter oversight and greater financial obligations to the City that pushed Chicago's street railways to federate as Chicago Surface Lines (CSL) in 1913.

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[14] The decentralization stimulated by transit companies' forays into the urban fringe was compounded by the ascension of the automobile after the First World War. Developers no longer needed to locate along fixed transit lines and transit-related developments could not rely on the densities need to support investment and service provision. Suburban municipalities clashed with transit companies over service, fares, right-of-ways, and the fear of apartments and the working class entering their communities (Axelrod, 2007, Borzo, 2007).

Escalating costs and its inability to legally generate new revenue placed CSL under significant duress and the Depression ultimately forced the street railways into bankruptcy. Comparable forces were at play on the Els which were plagued by corruption and bankruptcies until the Depression dragged the consolidated Chicago Rapid Transit Company (CRT) into receivership. The City had long favored a municipal transit takeover and eventually secured public and political backing during the late-1930s as bankruptcy proceedings stalled in federal court. The Metropolitan Transit Authority Act, signed into law in Springfield on April 12, 1945, created the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) while City ordinances empowered the new Authority to acquire and operate transit in the metropolitan area of Cook County. The CTA could set fares and service as a special taxing district but was required to cover operating costs and bond payments solely from the farebox. The Authority's Board was split between appointees nominated by the Mayor of Chicago (4) and Governor of Illinois (3), granting the Mayor *de facto* control over public transit (Chicago Transit Authority, 1945). Chicagoans approved public ownership on June 4, 1945 and the CTA began operations in 1947.

By assuming ownership of its transit systems, the City of Chicago introduced a mode of governance which had been operating successfully in Toronto for 24 years. Prior to 1921, Toronto's streetcar operations tended to follow, rather than precede, urban development (Ganton, 1982, Moore, 1983). William Mackenzie's Toronto Railway Company (TRC) – awarded a 30-year virtual transit monopoly in 1891 – expanded Toronto's streetcar network from 68.5 to 120 track miles by 1910. However, while

ridership (and profits) continued to increase, expansion slowed. City Council demanded

Mackenzie extend his streetcar operations into newly annexed areas of Toronto by either

building new lines or amalgamating TRC with suburban railways that he owned.

Mackenzie refused and continued to charge double fares for commuters transferring

between his companies. TRC approached expansion cautiously while maximizing profits

from overcrowded cars and cheap capital stock (Armstrong and Nelles, 1986).[15]

A 1909 OMB decision established that Toronto City Council did not have the

right to force TRC to extend their lines beyond the city's 1891 municipal limits (Doucet,

1982, pp. 361-363). Facing pressure to facilitate Toronto's urban growth and satisfy pent-

up "suburban desires" (McCann, 1999), the City created the Toronto Civic Railway

(TCR) in 1911 to provide transit service in areas where Mackenzie would not (Figure

5.4). The combination of competition from the public sector, continued pressure from the

City and growing popular support led to the ironic situation where TRC's conservatism

eased Toronto's move towards a municipal transit takeover (Davis, 1979). The City

assumed control of its surface lines on September 1, 1921 as Mackenzie's franchise

expired. A three-man Council-appointed Toronto Transportation Commission (TTC) was

charged with overseeing the maintenance, management and construction of local transit,

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[15] Revisionist histories of Toronto's suburban development praise the TRC's role in "hobbling sprawl" (Soloman, 2007, see White, 2009). The TRC's policies certainly discouraged development of cheap suburban land for the city's middle and working class, although socially-segregated streetcar suburbs did develop within municipal limits (Luka, 2006, McCann, 1999). Toronto's compact development retroactively resulted in the transit-friendly urban form, yet it was not the simple outcome of privatized transit policy. Toronto was poorer than many American cities and low incomes encouraged high transit ridership (Davis, 1979). Railroads stimulated suburban development but few Toronto's workers could afford to escape the city's pollution, overcrowding and deteriorating built environment. Even if they could, suburban settlements were often disconnected from municipal and transit routes (Harris, 2006).
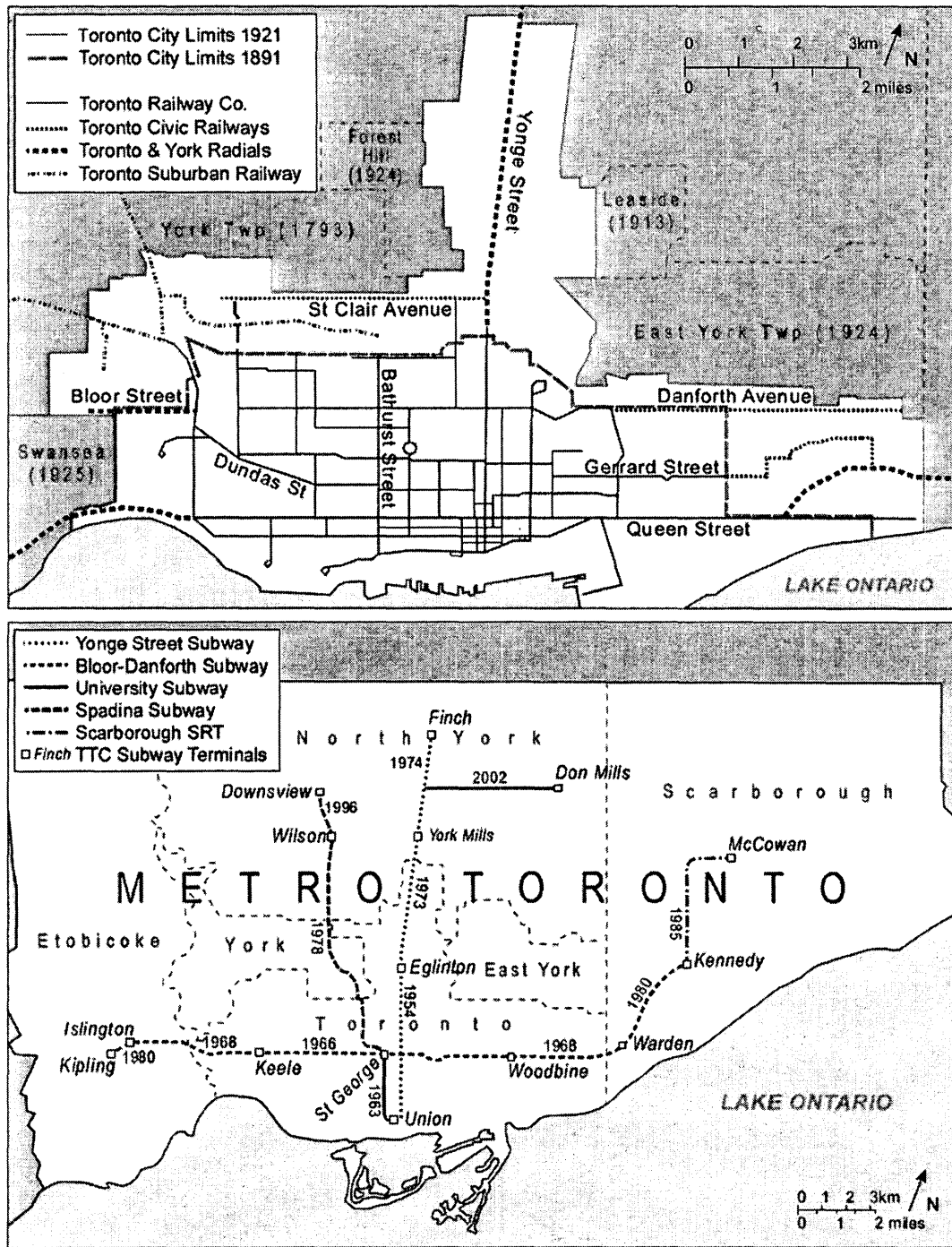
Figure 5.4: Toronto's streetcar network in 1921, including the privately owned and operated TRC network and the City of Toronto's TCR lines (top; based on Toronto Transportation Commission [1953, p.16] and Harris [2006, p. 36]) and the development of the TTC's subway system (bottom).

funded by self-sustaining fares.[16] The TTC did not pay City taxes. By contrast, suburbs

and areas annexed to Toronto after 1918 had to pay for transit on a cost of service basis

via a zone fare system. The Commission embraced the "indissolubly linked" relationship

between transit and urban growth (Blair, 1921). With a consensus on the principles

guiding public transit that curtailed political interference, the TTC realized a program of

modernization and line extensions.[17]

MODERNIZATION AND METROPOLITANIZATION, 1945-1970

In Chicago, the CTA implemented an extensive program of metropolitanization and

modernization between 1947 and 1960 in order to address systemic inefficiencies and

compete with cars for suburban ridership. A quarter of the existing El lines were

abandoned and many poorly-frequented stations closed. Buses replaced slow, immobile

streetcars and service rerouting negated inefficiencies resulting from competition

between transit modes. The CTA also slashed its 1947 workforce of 23,000 to 13,000 by

1964 (Young, 1998, p. 123). Transit unions did not acquiesce easily to such drastic cuts;

as a trade-off, the CTA agreed to tie wages to inflation. The cost of living adjustments

were an easy concession given low inflation during the 1950s while the City had little

interest in restraining the unions so long as the CTA covered its costs at the farebox.

[16] The correlation between municipal ownership and the strength of public transit in Toronto following the establishment of the Toronto Transportation Commission (TTC) is subject to rigorous debate (Armstrong and Nelles, 1986, Davis, 1979, Doucet, 1978, 1982, Frisken, 1984, Moore, 1983).

[17] The favorable conditions experienced by the TTC were starkly absent in Chicago. Both street and elevated railways had stagnated between the TSOs and the CTA's takeover. Chicago would not see substantial transit investment until the New Deal provided monies for subway construction.

Modernization delivered significant savings and operational efficiencies but such one-off gains could not be reproduced in perpetuity. The CTA had secured a stable position in the Loop transport market but overall, the network was facing systemic decline. Passenger numbers dropped by over 50% between 1947 and 1958, forcing the CTA to raise fares five times over that period (Chicago Transit Authority, 1958, 1995). As labor contractions ceased, the wage agreement secured by the transit unions weighed on the Authority's finances. The CTA were cognizant of transit's precarious situation and defensively reasserted the value of public transit in Chicago's rapidly expanding metropolitan area. Their New Horizons plan (1958) issued a clarion call for public aid to transit. Although political and popular support in the city and suburbs was decidedly cool to the idea of providing tax dollars to transit, the federal government introduced federal aid for transit in the early-1960s (Banfield, 2003, Haefele, 1958). The federal largesse spurred the City and CTA to construct rapid transit lines along the Dan Ryan and Kennedy Expressways; building on the pioneering model of the Eisenhower Expressway El. The express lines, chiefly serving suburban riders along routes structured by the automotive city, boosted ridership but increased operating costs by 24%, pushing the CTA into the red for the first time in 1970 (Young, 1998, p. 125).

Toronto provided a counter narrative to the experience of transit abandonment or retraction in many American cities during the postwar era. Under the Metro Toronto Act, the Toronto Transportation Commission was superseded by the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) on January 1, 1954. The TTC retained the operational and managerial

authority of the previous Commission, exercised independently from Metro Council and the Metro municipalities, but rescaled the focus of municipal transit from the City of Toronto's municipal limits to those of the metropolitan corporation. The restructured TTC faced analogous challenges to the CTA in terms of providing efficient service capable of effectively integrating auto-centric metropolitan urban space but the TTC had the advantage of being able to plan and construct subways and surface transit as a unified municipal system (Wilson, 1957b, p. 9). While automobile ownership had rapidly increased, transit in Toronto held a strong (albeit challenged) market position compared to Chicago. As late as 1955, 40% of families in metropolitan Toronto did not have access to a car and transit accounted for 75% of travel to and from the urban core during peak hours (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1957a). The TTC, however, faced a more complex political situation regarding system expansion. The metropolitanization of transit was necessary for the material and symbolic integration of Metro but decentralization compelled service extensions into low-density districts and new institutions vied for planning authority over the metropolitan space project.

Tensions emerged between the TTC and Metro as they, along with the City of Toronto planned Toronto's second subway line. The MTPB (1957b, p. 5) favored a "U-Line" alignment partially running along Queen Street, concluding the "sole justification for, and primary function of a rapid transit system in the Toronto Metropolitan Area is… to serve movement between the medium density residential area… and the downtown area". The TTC concurred on the central importance of leveraging the assets of

downtown capital but incorporated midtown within an extended spatial conception of the urban core (Wilson, 1957a).[18] The Commission backed a Bloor-Danforth subway, alongside a feeder line underneath University Avenue, in order to accommodate the northwards shift of the metropolitan area's central axis and maximize the potential to increase property assessments (Toronto Transit Commission, 1958, Wilson, 1957b). Frederick Gardiner threw his weight behind the TTC's alignment in February 1958 but the political divisions within Metro meant the University (1963) and Bloor-Danforth subways (1966) opened with markedly less fanfare than the Yonge Line a decade earlier.

PLANNING INFRASTRUCTURE FOR REGIONAL GROWTH, 1955-1972

Weak regionalism and the political ascendancy of the suburbs

By the mid-1950s, it was evident that rapid suburbanization, unstable funding mechanisms, lax planning regimes and short-sighted development agendas necessitated some form of institutionalized comprehensive planning across the rapidly expanding Chicago region. The City of Chicago, Cook County and Illinois Department of Public Works and Buildings formed the Chicago Area Transportation Study (CATS) in 1955 in response to issues concerning the financing of expressway construction and the Detroit

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[18] The continued exploitation of downtown real estate and the city's central tax base was only possible if more workers could access the urban core via transit, since downtown could accommodate the mass influx of cars from expressway development (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1964).

Metropolitan Area Traffic Study (DMATS, 1953-1956).[19] As an independent ad hoc

public agency, CATS had no operational or implementation responsibilities, but rather

was charged with developing a comprehensive transportation plan for the six-county area

(Black, 1990). Douglas Carroll, fresh from serving as the director of DMATS, was

tapped as the Study's first director. His pioneering methodology, tested in Detroit and

fully realized in Chicago, exemplified the rational planning method and afforded him

minimum political interference (Plummer, 2005, p. 6). CATS (1959, 1960, 1962)

released its first comprehensive plan in three volumes with the forecast year of 1980.

Chicago's expressway infrastructure, though, had rapidly evolved during CATS's initial

phase as a direct consequence of the 1956 Federal-Aid Highways Act. The destruction of

neighborhoods and communities engendered by urban expressways led to waning

political and public support for their construction. Mayor Daley and Governor Kerner,

were lukewarm to CATS's recommendation to add 232 miles to the 288-mile committed

system, although CATS's modest transit proposals received a warmer welcome.

Legislative requirements mandated in the 1962 Federal-Aid Highway Act ensured CATS

would continue as an on-going agency. CATS would ultimately be institutionalized as

Chicago's Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) in 1974.

As CATS began to work on a comprehensive regional transportation plan,

Springfield initiated a separate study of the common problems and planning challenges

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[19] DMARTS produced a highway plan based on metropolitan land-use and is considered the first comprehensive study of its kind conducted in the United States (Black, 1990, Catanese, 1984, Neuman and Smith, 2010).

facing municipalities in northeastern Illinois (Randolph and Lyon, 1957). The State

established the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC) in 1957 to advise

local governments on planning and growth strategies, and devise a comprehensive

metropolitan plan to guide development over the six-county area. The Commission's

governance structure began to shift planning responsibility away from the civic and

economic elites in Chicago who had shaped previous regional discourses.[20] NIPC,

however, was not endowed with powers of enforcement and cooperation from other units

of government was strictly voluntary. Competition between suburbs, exacerbated by

variations in tax bases and service provision, continued to foster uneven development and

metropolitan fragmentation.[21] The parallel creation of CATS and NIPC institutionalized

the separation of regional land use and transportation planning, while the bodies' limited

structural capacities rendered them largely ineffective and inefficient into the 2000s.

Amendments to the Illinois State Constitution in 1970 empowered Chicago's

collar counties and suburban municipalities (which housed a combined population greater

than the city for the first time) and as a result, destabilized the deal-making between

Chicago Democrats and Downstate Republicans in the state capital, Springfield. The new

Constitution included a home rule doctrine that significantly restructured the relationship

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[20] NIPC's Board was finely balanced between the collar counties and the City, with the commissioners appointed by the Governor (8), suburban county boards (6), and the Mayor of Chicago (5).

[21] Metro chairman Frederick Gardiner delivered the keynote address as the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council honored NIPC at their 1957 annual meeting. Gardiner (1957) noted the common experience of "the miracle of suburbia" across North America but in highlighting Metro's legislative powers to marshal the planning, financing and construction of large-scale urban infrastructure, starkly disclosed the limited capabilities of NIPC and the divergent responses to metropolitan growth adopted in Chicago and Toronto.

between the state and local governments. All cities with populations over 25,000 were granted home rule while cities under this threshold could hold a referendum on the issue. Further, debt limitations on local governments were removed and local units of government, municipalities and special districts with taxing abilities could take on indebtedness that would only be curtailed by local politicians and their electorate. The 1970 Constitution also introduced a clause establishing transit as "an essential public purpose" as a political compromise designed to garner suburban backing for regional transit governance in the face of declining ridership and fare hikes across Chicago's systems (Illinois General Assembly, 1970, see Tecson, 1976).

Spatial Keynesianism and the specter of regional government

The rising costs of expressway construction, subsidies for subway construction and observations of American experiences of urban expressway development prompted Queen's Park to reconsider Toronto's regional transportation trajectory. The Province established the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Transportation Study (MTARTS) in December 1962 to determine future transportation policy and planning in an area covering 3,200 miles^2 (MTARTS, 1965). From the outset, the Study was cognizant of the relationship between transportation, economic development and urban growth and sought to "determine the most probable and desirable forms and internal patterns of development in the Region" with a transportation network guiding "the timing, direction and type of development" (Ontario Department of Municipal Affairs, 1966). Notable emphasis was

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placed on transit's capacity to address the social, environmental and financial costs of expressways. The successful introduction of GO Transit in 1973, initially as commuter rail operation along CN's lakeshore right-of-way, marked the Study's most enduring legacy. MTARTS recommended the formation of a single agency to provide and coordinate regional transit service but butted against the Province's limitations on regional government. The Study stressed the importance of creating a comprehensive regional plan but its intended outcome was a "regional city… in a developmental, not political sense" (Ontario Department of Municipal Affairs, 1967, p. 26).

Partially emerging from the discussion that MTARTS initiated, Queen's Park launched the Toronto-Centred Region concept (TCR) in 1970 (Government of Ontario, 1970). The 8,600 miles^2 TCR represented a project of spatial Keynesianism closely resembling Brenner's (2004a) account of postwar Western Europe. The TCR aimed to balance intra-provincial disparities by directing future growth to the underdeveloped eastern and northern areas of southern Ontario via a process of decentralized but compact nodal urbanization. Multimodal transportation investment and a network of greenbelts were to contain urban growth alongside Lake Ontario in contrast to the sprawling urban growth fostered by expressway development.[22] GO Transit served as a central structuring

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[22] The TCR had an important impact on the geography of aviation in southern Ontario. Transport Canada had pursued a program of modernization to accommodate jet aircraft at the rechristened Toronto International Airport (TIA). However, as the growth of commercial aviation outpaced the federal government's forecasts in the late-1960s, Queen's Park and Ottawa announced plans for a second major airport located in Pickering, with the central rationale being an "effort to provide a major stimulus to development east of Metropolitan Toronto, as called for in the Toronto-Centred Region Plan" (McKeough, 1972, p. 4). Community opposition and the politically-motivated withdrawal of Provincial support in 1975 indefinitely postponed the Pickering Airport.

element of the TCR. By 1973, GO provided bus service from Newmarket to downtown

Toronto, connections to Oshawa and Hamilton and rail service to Georgetown, Malton

and Bramalea as communities to the north of the Lakeshore Line clamored for service.

However, extending transit routes away from the lakeshore undermined transit's role in

fostering the TCR's linear growth strategy as GO service intensified, and effectively

subsidized, development pressure where the Province was seeking to control growth.

The extension of GO service highlighted the disconcerting fragmentation of

transit governance. In 1974, the Province created the Toronto Area Transit Operating

Authority (TATOA) as an institutional medium to coordinate GO services with local

transit and the TTC (Gilbert, 1980). However, the TATOA faced immediate and strong

opposition from suburban municipalities recently empowered by a Provincially-

orchestrated reorganization of local governments.[23] Queen's Park devolved responsibility

for operating local bus service to the newly-formed regional municipalities in an attempt

to replicate the relationship between the TTC and Metro. Local municipalities were

reluctant to lose control over their own transit services, so the TATOA was reduced to an

operating agency for GO Transit. Despite its redistributive goals, the TCR garnered little

political support. Resurgent localized politics, the introduction of decentralized regional

municipal governments and the protests of exurban developers, landowners and

politicians undermined the project (Frisken, 2007, pp. 159-160). Queen's Park's failure to

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[23] Queen's Park amalgamated the suburban districts surrounding Metro into four two-tier regional municipalities; York (1971) Halton (1973), Durham (1974), and Peel (1974), each charged with developing their own municipal-regional plans and compromised of a limited number of lower-tier municipalities.

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institute mechanisms to enact the TCR rendered the concept impotent and established the groundwork for urban sprawl as the prevalent built form and neoliberalism as the political culture of Toronto's hinterland (Kipfer and Keil, 2002, pp. 238-241).

RESPONDING TO METROPOLITAN TRANSIT CRISES, 1970-1989

Metropolitics and the search for an institutional transit fix

It was increasingly clear by the late-1960s that inflationary costs, declining ridership, the financial limitations inherent in the Metropolitan Transit Authority Act and union wages tied to inflation meant that the CTA could no longer cover its costs. Mass transit in Chicago had been subject to several previous crises, but the CTA's situation entering the 1970s marked the first significant struggles under public ownership. Further, the CTA's financial woes were embedded in a wider transit crisis – intensified by the 1973 Arab Oil Embargo – that extended beyond metropolitan Cook County. Suburban bus companies struggled to maintain services, ceasing operations in some cases. Railroads offering commuter service complained that the costs of providing public transport were a burden to interstate commerce. The decentralization of economic activity threatened the viability of the Loop as the CTA's principal market while beyond downtown, many areas served by elevated rapid transit, particularly on the South and West Sides, succumbed to ghettoization and blight. The racial and class dynamics here were readily apparent in a city as segregated as Chicago. The urban poor and African-American communities relied

upon, but were less frequent riders of, the transit system (Young, 1998, p. 130). Barriers

to auto-ownership and inadequate transit options fostered a spatial mismatch between

employment and Chicago's Black labor force (Wilson, 1996, pp. 38-42).

The scale of the infrastructure and the transit market being served in northeastern

Illinois rendered liquidation untenable. The political solution hashed out in Springfield in

1973 created the Regional Transportation Authority (RTA) as a special taxing district for

the six-county area empowered to plan, provide and financially oversee public transport

(Smith, 1987). The RTA reterritorialized transit governance and introduced a degree of

power-sharing between the city and suburbs through a nine member Board of Directors

and cross-subsidies to finance transit.[24] The Authority, though, represented an uneasy

political compromise. Support for regional transit governance was strong in Chicago, but

opinion in the suburbs was decidedly cool. Many suburban areas viewed "mass transit to

be a problem for Chicago, and one that should be solved by the city" (Chicago Tribune,

1973, p. 16).[25] The RTA's first chairman, Daley-nominated Milton Pikarsky, attempted to

gloss over the fractious divides exposed during 1973-4 by focusing on inter- and intra-

suburban transit, developing complementary transit-automobile policies, and forging a

new spatial imaginary premised on "treating the Chicago area as a whole, with full

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[24] The CTA was not restructured but was subject to budgetary oversight by the RTA. The RTA's functions included adopting budgets, financial and capital plans, and coordinating and planning transit improvements.

[25] Following a heated campaign, voters in the six-county area narrowly approved the creation of the RTA on March 19, 1974. Voting reflected Chicagoland's city-suburban geography with the 71% "yes" vote in the city carrying the overall poll by a mere 12,979 ballots. The timing of the referendum proved crucial as the relative political power of the city carried the day. The RTA vote presented a display of political strength by the newly empowered suburbs, but in 1974 they lacked a common agenda that would have facilitated bargaining between themselves and the City and Downstate blocs in Springfield (Tecson, 1976).

realization that the entire area is more important than any single part" (Pikarsky, 1975).

Rather than redistributing transit investment and service in an attempt to integrate

metropolitan space, the RTA endeavored to corral the suburbanizing dynamics

underpinning Fordist-Keynesian growth into supporting a regional system centered on the

Loop. With the six-county area's political divisions institutionalized on the board,

parochial politics incapacitated the RTA.

The CTA's operational deficit escalated rapidly between 1976 and 1980 while

railroad bankruptcies forced the RTA to take on commuter rail operations. The RTA

faced a financial crisis bordering on insolvency (Gitz, 1980). Springfield refused to

increase subsidies, prompting the RTA to increase CTA fares by 50% and double them

on the commuter railroads. Transit ridership dropped by 29.1% in 1981. The disillusioned

State legislature stripped the RTA of its right to operate suburban transit systems and

replaced its directors with a new 13-member Board. As a concession to suburban

interests, two agencies were created to take over suburban bus (Pace) and commuter rail

(Metra) service under the political control of suburban officials. The RTA was retained to

maintain budgetary oversight and dispense sales tax revenues to the CTA (60%), Metra

(30%), and Pace (10%) under a statutory formula (Smith, 1987).

The decentralization realized through 1983's political compromise brought

stability to the system for nearly a decade but reaffirmed the Chicago region's city-

suburban divisions. The CTA remained its own transit fiefdom while the suburbs

collectively managed their own rail and bus service under a greatly limited RTA. By the

mid-1990s, the CTA was again beset with falling ridership and struggled to operate its system with available revenues. Slumping ridership reflected both the city of Chicago's declining population and a rapid transit system unable to reroute to serve new population and employment centers. The fixed nature of much Chicago transit, exacerbated by the inflexibility of the 1983 RTA funding formula, left the regional system poorly equipped to meet the requirements created by economic restructuring, the postindustrial employment base, and the reconstituted spatial form of the Chicago region. The resulting financial challenges stimulated lively debate about transit and fostered renewed interest in regionalism among city elites, as I discuss in chapter 7.

Institutionalizing transit as a subsidized public service

The metropolitan rescaling of the TTC – alongside rapid urban growth and service extensions into underdeveloped areas of the urban fringe – complicated the logic and mechanics of inter-zone transfers and payments.[26] Suburban politicians and commuters with access to established transit lines attacked zone fares – unpopular outside the city before 1954 – at Metro Council (Toronto Star, 1956, Toronto Star, 1958).[27] While the TTC was aware of the "arbitrary and involved" nature of the transfer and payment

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[26] The new TTC's first announcement confirmed the continuation of zone structure with basic fares raised to 10 cents. The Commission did restructure its fares zones in 1954 by extending the "central zone" to a five-mile radius from Queen and Yonge Streets and creating five additional suburban zones at two-mile intervals.

[27] Suburban support for a single fare system was strong, but not universal. Less-urbanized Metro municipalities questioned whether fare restructuring would increase operating deficits, trigger a rise in base fares and shift the financial burden of transit to the suburbs (Toronto Star, 1961).

system, they reasoned it would be impossible to operate without fare zones given Metro's

areal extent, the uneven distribution of service and the Commission's financial

commitments to system expansion (Wilson, 1955, p. 50). With the costs of operating

transit in Metro's suburbs threatening the ability of the TTC to function as a self-

sustaining utility, Toronto politicians maintained suburbanites should cover the expense

of servicing low-density peripheral districts. As a concession, the TTC reduced the

number of zones outside the city from six to three in February 1962 but the move reduced

farebox revenues and forced the Commission to rely on operational subsidies; chiefly

from the Provincial government.

Urban growth outside the central city continued to drive calls for the abolition of

zone fares beyond the central zone. The development of public housing in Metro's outer

suburbs provided a further catalyst for politicians to pressure the TTC for affordable

transit and a single fare. With the opening of extensions on the Bloor-Danforth line in

May 1968, Toronto's subways crossed fare zones for the first time. The Commission

viewed distance-based fares as the most equitable payment strategy but the logistics of

implementation rendered it unfeasible. Rides on the subway were therefore charged as a

single fare while surface transit remained zoned. Suburban lobbying eventually

compelled the abolition of zone fares within Metro and the consolidation of fare zones

beyond its borders on January 1, 1973. The TTC emerged as an integrated metropolitan

system but transit became a subsidized public service rather than a self-sustaining utility.

Metro underwrote an increasing share of Toronto's transit capital costs through the 1960s

but these expenses began to threaten the municipality's financial position (Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1971). Queen's Park had provided capital subsidies equivalent to 33.3% of transit road bed costs since 1964 but this was well below the Province's contributions for expressway construction. Reflecting the shift in transportation policy ushered in by Premier Davis, the Province agreed to pay half of all construction and equipment costs for subway development in 1971 and the following year paid its first operating subsidy to the TTC.

1975 marked the high-water ridership mark as the TTC moved into an era of steady decline. Toronto retained the highest level of ridership per capita on the continent but escalating operational deficits catalyzed a significant financial crisis which further fare hikes were unlikely to resolve (Toronto Transit Commission, 1979). The Commission's precarious situation disclosed broader crisis tendencies within Metro's mode of urbanization. Between 1962 and 1974, population and employment growth, an expanded transit-reliant female workforce, and the development of transit-oriented apartments offset the challenges presented by rising levels of automobile ownership. Yet since 1975, "the positive factors have mostly plateaued or declined and the negative ones have remained constant or increased and an inherent decline in transit ridership has set in" (ibid, p. vi). John Sewell (1976) laid the blame for the TTC's spiraling costs squarely at the suburbs' door; suburban densities were too low to justify the expenses of providing rapid transit beyond the urban core. By the time he became Toronto's Mayor in

December 1978, stopping fare hikes and increasing Provincial transit funding had become two of his major policy objectives.

Sewell's position responded to Metro's spatial Keynesian policy of urban de-concentration and the creation of regional suburban downtowns within Metro (Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review, 1975).[28] In the mid-1970s, the Province embraced the development of linear induction rapid transit (RT) technology through the Urban Transportation Development Corporation (UTDC) as a means to create jobs and integrate metropolitan space. Premier Davis's $756 million GO Urban plan, initially launched in 1972, proposed constructing five intermediate capacity lines to connect Metro's suburbs and complement existing transit network. Queen's Park overrode the concerns of the Scarborough and the TTC to implement UTDC technology on a rapid transit line connecting Kennedy Station to Scarborough Town Centre in 1981. However, following the line's opening on March 22, 1985, the RT system's limited capacity and slow, bumpy ride left the Scarborough RT an unpopular service. The Province's gamble on experimental technology locked Scarborough into a stunted transit development pathway which weakened the Borough's connectivity to the dynamic, growing areas in Metro's central area and the western region. With Premier Davis stepping down on June 16, 1985, policies at Queen's Park became decidedly less pro-transit. The abandonment of GO-Urban left much of Metro's suburban hinterland

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[28] TTC general manager Michael Warren (1978) embraced transit's role in this framework and reformulated the Commission's position regarding the importance of concentrated economic and social activity in the urban core.

underserved by rapid transit. This proved particularly problematic for inner suburban areas which developed at the height of the postwar boom but now found themselves experiencing the impacts of the crisis of Toronto's Fordist-Keynesian spatial fix. With the task of integrating metropolitan space left incomplete, deep and often painful processes of uneven development unfurled in the nascent Toronto city-region.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Through this chapter, I have utilized a longue durée perspective to identify the key path dependencies and social permanences underlying city-regional urbanization. The empirical analysis has been presented through three parts, guided by a periodization strategy that identifies eras of *industrial* and *metropolitan* urbanization as precursors to the current era of city-regional development. I began by examining the conceived spaces and infrastructural imaginaries which have shaped the prevalent urban discourses in Chicago and Toronto. Utopian imaginaries have clearly provided a vital framework conditioning social action and interpretation of urban landscapes and society (Steger and McNevin, 2010). The scale, grandeur and boosterism of the Burnham Plan have provided a rhetorical trope and way of seeing the Chicago region that are now engrained in the city's collective consciousness. Jane Jacobs's neighborhood-based urban imaginary holds a comparable position in central Toronto and has proved influential in shaping urban debates around issues of community integrity, urban form and density. Both spatial frames invoke specific spatial politics, but in doing so, both overlook suburban

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complexity and dynamism, either by applying the ideology of urban elites across regional space or constructing an external, antagonistic "Other". Place-specific urban discourses and regional imaginaries consequently overlook and obscure the production of metropolitan social cleavages.

I then examined the impact of transportation technologies and modes of governance on the production of metropolitan space. I have argued that the critical junctures of the Depression and the Crisis of Fordism catalyzed significant processes of crisis-induced restructuring in both Chicago and Toronto. By placing crisis, restructuring and instability at the heart of the periodization strategy, the preceding analysis establishes these institutional and infrastructural realignments as a multifaceted and multidirectional assemblage of transitions and pathways rather than distinct points of rupture. Capitalist structured coherences constructed at the metropolitan scale were characterized by dynamism and instability. Focusing on the production of urban expressways, I argued that investments in transportation infrastructure served as key state spatial strategies facilitating projects of spatial Keynesianism. While such investments opened the cities' immediate hinterlands for public and private investment, they served to reinforce the material, social and discursive binaries between the urban core and 'traditional' suburbs and accelerated the contradictory process of decentralization which undermined the growth logics of metropolitan urbanization.

Finally I analyzed the techniques of spatialization involved in the territorialization of transit space. The adoption of different accumulation regimes and approaches to urban

development by private transit companies shaped the spatial development of the industrial city, but also framed the projects of metropolitanization and modernization pursued following municipal takeovers of public transit. Institutions, including CATS, NIPC and the RTA in Chicago, and MTARTS and the TATOA in Toronto, and conceived spaces (most notably the TCR) were constructed at expanding scales in an attempt to mitigate the contradictions of metropolitan urban development. Yet rather than establishing regional governance arrangements, a number of factors, shaped by the contingencies of place, resulted in spatial Keynesian compromises that institutionalized unstable metropolitan political divisions. These territorial political arrangements gradually unfurled following the Crisis of Fordism.

Socially-produced and place-specific discursive, technological and territorial techniques of spatialization structure how preexisting urban regulatory tendencies and institutional outcomes "mould one another in dialectical fashion" (Peck, 1998, p. 29). State projects of spatial Keynesianism were constructed at multiple scales and involved numerous state policies and expressions of strategic selectivity. Regulatory frameworks in place at the city and metropolitan scales shaped the articulation of urban politics and the workings of Fordist-Keynesianism within the American and Canadian contexts. In the United States, the interstate and national aviation networks integrated national space, but programs of regionalization at the metropolitan scale were structured in less coherent ways and, as Brenner (2004a, p. 131) suggests, under the conditioning logics of interlocality (municipality) competition. Political fragmentation in Chicago, reinforced

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through the home rule powers extended in the 1970 Illinois Constitution, placed local growth regimes and systems of taxation at the core of a retrenched territorialized politics, even as the metropolitanization promoted by transportation networks presented new forms of connectivity and mobility. Projects of spatial Keynesianism were less prevalent at the federal level in Canada, but were vital at the metropolitan scale. Metro, for a time, overrode local concerns while advancing a state spatial project of metropolitanization. The conceived spaces of the TCR were symbolically influential in shaping regional development discourse at the height of metropolitan urbanization in southern Ontario, even in the absence of institutional mechanisms to implement its vision.

Metropolitanization in Chicago and Toronto was closely aligned with the pillars of the modern infrastructural ideal and the maturation of Fordist production and consumption. Strategic investment in transportation infrastructure subsidized suburban development and markets. Rational planning and the production of abstract representations of space, though, belied the concomitant production of social fissures within the metropolis and the burgeoning opposition to the lived spaces of the modern metropolis. Suburbanization, as Harvey (2009a, p. 319) suggests, catalyzed changes in regimes of everyday life as much as it did the materiality of urban infrastructure and material space. Technological innovation developed in a dialectical symbiosis with the mode of production, relations of everyday life and new mental conceptions of the world. Fordist social relations and Keynesian spatial relations, despite their tendency towards hierarchy and homogeneity, opened the possibility for spatial practices and the

production of difference – both progressive and reactionary – which undermined the oppressiveness of abstract space (Prigge, 2008, Ronneberger, 2008). New state spaces and planning frameworks shaped, internalized and reacted to the politics of everyday life in metropolitan space as the interests of development capital, local politicians and urban inhabitants coalesced into dynamic power geometries. In this regard, the chapter has foregrounded the active role of key actors, institutions and groups in shifting state strategies and shaping the transportation infrastructure of the postwar metropolis, but further stressed that their structural capacities are embedded within broader processes of urban and economic restructuring. With this, we can expect the development pathways and inherited spaces to fundamentally structure the form, function and governance of city-regional space in Chicago and Toronto.

The urban clearly served as an arena and medium for the processes of crisis-induced restructuring in Chicago and Toronto. This is true both with regards to the narrow notions of state space as bounded political territoriality and the integral spatiality of the state disclosed in the privileging of specific state projects and the uneven development fostered by particular policy frameworks (Brenner, 2004a, p. 78). Sensitivity to both the narrow and integral nature of state space offers the means to conceptualize the multiscalar relations involved in shifting state strategies (for example, the tendential shift from urban expressways towards balanced metropolitan transit plans) and importantly opens alternative understanding and imaginaries of urban governance and the practical possibilities of urban politics (Gill, 2010). In this sense, the imposition

of top-down abstract spaces of spatial Keynesian planning and the metropolitan integration of technological modernism provoked a dynamic scalar politics as interest groups – most prominently in the case of Jane Jacob's opposition to the Spadina Expressway – exploited fissures within metropolitan spatial projects (Cox, 1998). In the following chapters, I examine the path dependencies, continuities and ruptures presented by the inherited discursive, technological and territorial spatial frameworks identified through this chapter.

Chapter 6

Strategic infrastructure and the production of global city-regional centralities

This chapter examines the symbiotic transformations of the local, regional, national and global engendered by the restructuring of the global space economy following the crisis of Fordism, the ascension of neoliberal globalization and the relativization of scale (Brenner, 2004a, Jessop, 2001, Peck, 2004). While spatial Keynesianism tended towards the establishment of uniform territorial arrangements promoting the decentralization of public and private investment in underdeveloped hinterlands, the emergent geography of the city-region reveals an explicit return to urban centralization (Brenner, 2004a, pp. 115, 176). A broad literature asserts that the crisis-induced restructuring engendered in the 1970s has integrated urban space in new geographies of centrality as power, wealth, information, culture and the means to act have coalesced in a select group of global cities and urban archipelagos (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982, Scott, 2001a). Key, locally-dependent, actors have attempted to ground processes of globalization in place by attracting global capital and labor and FIRE and high-tech industries. I refer to these strategies here as "global city policy agendas".

While the strategic concentration of command-and-control functions has transformed the form, function and symbolic economy of global cities' urban cores, economic globalization contributes to the development of decentralized, sprawling city-

regional forms as manufacturing and support services are displaced to suburban hinterlands where land is more readily available at less cost (Brenner and Keil, 2006, Sassen, 2001b, Vogel, 2010). Scott (2001a, p. 1) has introduced the concept of the "global city-region" at the intersection of the literature of global cities and city-regions. Chicago and Toronto, as highly-integrated global centers with "distinct (regional) social formations", conform to Scott's definition (ibid). The core-periphery relations in global city-regions are contested in the literature. While Castells (1996, p. 386) views the networked connectivity of global cities as increasing the distance between urban cores and their peripheries, Vogel (2010, p. 4) argues urban agglomerations foster regional integration and deepen linkages between the heartlands and hinterlands of city-regions.

The Chicago and Toronto city-regions both exhibit decentralized employment and population growth, following trends established under postwar metropolitan urbanization. However, regional forms have not converged in this era of globalized regionalization. A closer examination of the spatial organization, economic geography and governance of these city-regions discloses significant internal and networked differentiation.

In contrast to the debates between the New Chicago and L.A. Schools of Urbanism as to whether metropolitan peripheries organize the center, or vice versa (Conzen and Greene, 2008b, Dear, 2002, Greene, 2008, Judd and Simpson, 2011), I argue urban centrality and peripherality may be engaged more fruitfully through a relational approach. Lefebvre (1991, pp. 331-334) points out we can understand the city as occupying a position of *social centrality*; a relational assemblage opening the

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possibility of encounters and social acts through gathering diverse things, products, people, signs and symbols into an inclusive, yet contradictory totality (Schmid, 2012, pp. 47-48). Rather than simply referring to a physical location concentrating things, activities and processes, centrality is a social product which internalizes a dialectical movement engendered by contradictions prevalent in its production. The "dialectic of centrality" consists of both the contradictory interdependence between objects within a particular urban assemblage and the necessary synergetic moments of gathering-inclusion and dispersal-exclusion as dissident, undesirable elements are peripheralized in the process of centralization (Stanek, 2008, p. 157). Social centrality is historically and geographically contingent in terms of form, function and structure, and is subject to dialectical disturbances and displacement. Revolutionary movement inside the dialectic offers the potential for differential spaces and alternative social relations to emerge within its fissures, yet the ideological imperatives of dominant classes tend to effectively centralize wealth, power, knowledge and the capacity to act.[1]

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[1] Lefebvre (2009, pp. 175-176) posited the saturation engendered by the contradictory impetuses of industrial urbanization (congestion, pollution, political unrest) catalyzed a "crisis of urban centrality". In response, a right-wing critique of the urban mobilized the dispersal of population and activity through postwar planning and the extension of the technocratic state in France. However, since uneven development and exclusion are necessary to the production of capitalist surpluses, urban cores do not disappear but are either eroded by the urban fabric or, by transforming themselves, integrated into its web. Urban forms, structures and functions act upon each other, reconfiguring the sociospatial fabric of the urban in a manner that, reflecting the urban as a site of multiple spatiotemporalities, is both multifaceted and multiscalar. For example, while state spatial projects enacted by Queen's Park and Metro sought to establish political economic centrality for Toronto within provincial, national and global urban systems, the mobilization of opponents to modern planning and Metro's politics of growth produced an alternative centrality focused on the valorization of an alternate humanistic mode of urbanism (White, 2011).

Urban land economies have emerged as vital markets within overarching global city-region dynamics. Through this chapter, I highlight the extension of urbanization as an accumulation regime in which "coercive laws of competition... force the continuous implementation of new technologies and organizational forms" that structure the geography of city-regional urbanization (Harvey, 2009a, p. 316). Strategic investments in urban transportation networks – *strategic infrastructure* – fundamentally shape the internal form and external relations of city-regions. The relative connectivity of different locations within urban space directly influences potential ground rents and the production of "highest and best uses" which structure capitalist land markets (Gotham, 2009, Harvey, 1989e, Smith, 1996). A central focus here is the purported "long-term shift in the nature of landownership, away from...'industrial landownership' (where land is owned essentially as a condition of other production) and towards 'financial landownership' where the ownership of land is itself the means of extracting a profit" (Massey, 2007, p. 48). In addition to the restructuring of the global space economy, governmental policies and spatial strategies have established the conditions under which land is commodified through financialization (e.g. tax increment financing [TIF]) and urbanization codified as an accumulation regime (Hackworth, 2007, Harvey, 2007, Smith, 2002, Weber, 2002, 2010).

Yet rather than the logics of financial landownership simply supplanting industrial landownership, I suggest the competitive forces and spatial restructuring articulated in global city-regions reflect a dialectical tension between the two, with investments in the

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secondary circuit of capital engendering a twofold urbanization dynamic. First, neoliberal locational policies foster *centripetal urbanization* which promotes the switching of capital into the built environment – and the production of distinct land markets – in key urban nodes; most prominently the revitalized, gentrifying cores of global city-regions. Second, processes of *centrifugal urbanization* continue the outward expansion of urban regions. This is not the simple extension of urban structures supporting a singular core as in the case of metropolitan urbanization, but involves the creation of dynamic, multifunctional centralities in urban hinterlands. In this regard, state strategies establish the regulatory and planning conditions structuring the differential "highest and best use" of urban land, as expressed in the emerging geography and labor processes of post-Fordist production and urbanization.

Established infrastructural, institutional and discursive arrangements direct the production of new and transformed centralities through path dependent urban restructuring; both at the scale of the global space economy and the city-region (Brenner, 2001b, Soja et al., 1983). Consequently, the question is not whether the urban center controls the periphery or vice versa, but how different urban centralities are produced; what social, material and symbolic forms constitute them and what does their geographic expression reveal about the development of the metropolis and dominant mode of production? This chapter addresses these issues through two sections. I begin by considering the spatial impacts of neoliberal restructuring, locational policies and global city policy agendas in Chicago and Toronto. I then assess the role of urban transportation,

focusing on high-speed rail and intermodalism, in forging centrality in city-regions at the global scale and producing new centralities in urban peripheries. I conclude by arguing that the analytical lens of the "dialectic of centrality" productively frames city-regional urbanization as an amalgam of centripetal and centrifugal growth dynamics.

NEOLIBERAL URBAN POLICY IN CHICAGO AND TORONTO

REGIME CHANGE

Although the urban restructuring and political and economic transitions experienced in Chicago and Toronto following the collapse of their respective Fordist-Keynesian regimes are well documented, I wish to highlight several key tendencies in comparative perspective. Chicago held an embedded, but overlooked position within the uneven geographical development of American Fordism. The spatialized contradictions of Fordism, including residential segregation, the exclusion of Blacks from the city's core economy and the socio-economic divisions fostered by metropolitan urbanization, were long present in the Chicago city-region. By the late 1970s, the city's long decline – held in check by Richard J. Daley's political machine and (unequal, spatially biased) growth regime – unfurled in a full-blown urban crisis. As the city entered a deep recession (to a greater degree than the mostly White, wealthy and isolationist suburbs), the breakdown of "machine politics" and the subsequent racial conflict and political inertia of the Council Wars inhibited a response to Chicago urban travails; despite the progressive

developments of Mayor Washington's second term (Abu-Lughod, 1999, pp. 354-356, Bennett, 1993, Clavel and Wiewel, 1991). The deconstruction of Chicago's postwar political practices and ethnic alliances did not constitute a coordinated process of "roll-back neoliberalization", but it paved the way for a program of "roll-out neoliberalization" under Mayor Richard M. Daley (1989-2011) (Peck and Tickell, 2002).

Daley defeated aldermen Timothy Evans and Edward Vrdolyak in Chicago's 1989 mayoral election with the backing of a significantly reconfigured political base and a new politics of growth.[2] The new mayor aggressively pursued a global city policy agenda focused on globally-oriented financial and business services, cultural regeneration (as opposed to industrial production) and the revitalization of the Loop (Bennett, 2010, Moberg, 2006). By the mid-1990s, Chicago's global connectivity, growth in the FIRE, hi-tech and producer services sectors, and concentrations of international capital and labor indicated the city had avoided the absolute 'Rustbelt decline' experienced by Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo and entered a new economic phase (Abu-Lughod, 1999, Sassen, 2001b, pp. 153-156). The rise of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange positioned Chicago at the center of global futures markets while the city emerged as a hub for electronic trading (Testa, 2004, p. 35).[3]

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[2] Daley's "new machine" – typified as "machine politics, reform style" (Grimshaw, 1995) and "crony managerialism" (Simpson, 2001) – was founded on top-down "elite inclusion" and notably incorporated Chicago's burgeoning Latino community in the municipal political process (Bennett, 2006a).

[3] The Mercantile Exchange's embrace of futures markets in the 1970s was directly influenced by Milton Friedman, who was synthesizing his brand of neoliberalism at the University of Chicago (Peck, 2010, p. 130). Chicago's financial services have remained more closely aligned with the region's agro-industrial complex rather than extending diverse internationalized economic activity (Sassen, 2001b, p. 155). Despite the centralization of electronic trading activity in Chicago, virtual technologies have loosened the territorial

Clark (2004), forwarding a key argument of the New Chicago School, posits that Chicago has transitioned to a post-industrial economy in which the provision of "amenities" that improve the city's quality of life now drives growth. In addition to promoting high-end financial services in the core, Chicago's political leaders have embraced a politics of growth premised upon tourism, entertainment and cultural amenities (Simpson and Kelly, 2008, Spiro and Bennett, 2003). Writing in 2004 for the boosterist compendium *Global Chicago*, Saskia Sassen (2004, p. 16) lent her analytical and symbolic support to the assertion that Chicago's concentration of resources and global corporate operations firmly established it as a second-tier global city, albeit one whose "globalization is often invisible, unrecognized by most of its citizens".

Chicago's political and economic elites have invoked globalization as an uncritical discursive panacea for the declining industrial city. Daley's global city policy agenda utilized a populist form of urban neoliberal spatialization through which the imagined space and community of "the city" displaced entrenched ideological and societal differences (see Haughton et al., 2013). Backers of the mayor's program commended his focus on both Chicago's global position and his attention to the city's schools and neighborhoods (e.g. Longworth, 2004); in the face of exacerbated social inequalities and polarization, entrenched racial segregation and the City's willingness to lower taxes and wages (Abu-Lughod, 2000, Wacquant, 2007, Wilson, 1996). Daley's

ties of financial corporations. In 2011, the Mercantile Exchange (alongside Sears) threatened to leave Chicago if the State did not provide large tax breaks. Despite widespread opposition, Springfield passed the tax break package in December 2011 (Bergen, 2011).

neoliberal inclusion was matched by spatial discourses of "fear and anxiety" surrounding

Black youth and Black neighborhoods (Wilson, 2004a, p. 776). Central to this dynamic is

a "post-1990s global trope" framing a "brutal, simple rhetoric that incites the public to

near-instinctually support a politics of resource attraction" by overlooking the

complexities of global processes and place (Wilson, 2007, p. 47). Richard M. Daley

presided over a weaker and more fragmented regime than his father. Economic

decentralization (including the suburban relocation of many corporations that had

supported Richard J. Daley) and the rising political power of the collar counties forced

the new mayor into regional conversations to advance Chicago's interests in the State

capital, Springfield, and beyond (Hamilton, 1999, Lindstrom, 2010).[4]

In contrast to many American cities that resisted regional governance,

Metropolitan Toronto proved largely successful in distributing and rationalizing the

provision of urban services by allocating financing from the inner-city's tax base to

develop suburban infrastructure. Yet Metro's growth framework fostered rapid suburban

expansion which eventually overwhelmed the Municipality's transportation infrastructure

and greatly weakened its development economy at the same time as pro-development

policies introduced by the Province rapidly accelerated growth in the outer-suburban

regional-municpalities (Lorimer, 1978). The contradictory fissures internalized within the

Keynesian compromise of Metro began to open in the 1980s. Economic contraction and

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[4] The Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, a forum for regional deliberation among the region's nine suburban municipal associations and the City of Chicago established in December 1997, has partially institutionalized this process (see Lindstrom, 2010).

deindustrialization in the United States hampered southern Ontario's branch plant economy as the Crisis of Fordism permeated into Canada (Donald, 2002a, Jenson, 1989). The crisis *of*, rather than *in*, Toronto's Fordist-Keynesian regime erupted in 1989, with the major economic consequences of the early-1990s recession plunging southern Ontario into a deep, structural recession. Ontario was particularly hard hit as a consequence of its high-Fordist economy and Queen's Park's adoption of policies which ran counter to 1988's Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (Courchene, 2001). The breakdown of Toronto's Fordist accumulation regime was exacerbated by a shift towards laissez-faire government in Queen's Park and a succession of austerity regimes across all levels of government. The unraveling of Fordism and retraction of Canadian economic nationalism presented a radical break in Toronto's accumulation regime and mode of regulation. As fiscal crises accelerated across Metro's municipalities, particularly hitting the inner suburbs (Filion, Osolen and Bunting, 2011), the conditions were in place for Ontario's neoliberal "revolution".

Growth beyond, and crisis within, Metro undermined the GTA's established jurisdictional arrangements. Under Bob Rae's New Democratic Party (1990-1995), Queen's Park reignited interest in regional government in southern Ontario. Reversing over a decade of retrenchment from regional intervention by Queen's Park, the Rae government established the Greater Toronto Area Task Force in 1995 with the mandate to "define a system and a style of governance, appropriate to the Toronto [region] of the next century, that promotes economic health and competitiveness, community well-being

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and a high quality urban environment" (GTA Task Force, 1996, p. 229). The Task Force's recommendations, released in the "Golden Report", advocated for a GTA-level government with major planning integration across municipalities (ibid). The Golden Report recognized the GTA as an integrated "regional space" (Jones and MacLeod, 2004) but in leaning on the distributive old regionalism of Metro understood contemporary challenges through the lens of a previous articulation of metropolitan urbanization.

As Richard M. Daley presented a new political paradigm in Chicago, Mike Harris's Progressive-Conservative Party's victory in Ontario's 1995 provincial election ushered in a new era of urban politics in the GTA. Harris's neoliberal-populist "Common Sense Revolution" platform attempted to restore growth through a systematic program of state restructuring which placed Toronto at the forefront of urban neoliberalization, both in terms of ideology, and the contradictions internalized within state spatial projects of "actually existing" neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, Keil, 2002). Harris's aggressive program of state restructuring presented a concomitant moment of roll-back and roll-out neoliberalization.[5] On December 17, 1996, after nixing the Golden Report, Harris's government proposed the elimination of two-tier governance in Toronto by amalgamating Metro and its six constituent municipalities into a single "Megacity" (Sancton, 2000). Despite strong opposition, the Province enacted amalgamation, effective

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[5] The Common Sense Revolution reorganized the relations between Ontario's levels of government as Harris devolved 'hard services' (property/infrastructure) to municipalities and uploaded 'soft services' (education/health/welfare) to Queen's Park. Provincial transfers to public sector institutions decreased and subsidies to public transit agencies were drastically cut (Hackworth and Moriah, 2006, Keil, 2002).

January 1, 1998, with North York's Mayor Mel Lastman elected as mayor on a platform promising to maintain "basic" municipal services and not raise property taxes.[6]

Following the breakdown of Metro's Fordist-Keynesian regime, the City of Toronto actively pursued the global realignment of its economic sectors as a hegemonic political strategy to establish a new accumulation regime and spatial fix. The GTA's diverse economic base – centered upon the growth pillars of automobile production, information and communications technology, advanced engineering and aerospace, business and financial services, healthcare, education and cultural industries – placed southern Ontario in a strong position to expand its "permeable" north-south linkages with the United States and deepen its integration within the global urban system, while maintaining its traditional centrality within the Canadian economy (Courchene, 2001, Donald, 2002b, Todd, 1995). However, while Harris's restructuring – converging at the nexus of local fiscal policy and the rhetoric of global competitiveness – partially facilitated the GTA's emergence as a dynamic global city-region, it could not resolve the region's crisis tendencies (Todd, 1998, Walks, 2009). Ranking the comparative attributes of select cities and regions in an era of globalization, the Toronto Board of Trade (2009b, p. 19) awarded Toronto a "C" grade (tied for fourth place alongside Boston, London and

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[6] Citizens for Local Democracy (C4LD), a non-partisan movement largely comprised of urban middle-class progressives, led opposition to amalgamation (Boudreau, 2005, Walks, 2006a). C4LD, however, was unable to forge a political consensus with labor, anti-poverty and anti-racism movements within Toronto, or effectively engage the immigrants, the lower-middle class or the working poor – increasingly located in the declining Fordist inner suburbs – who experienced the negative impacts of economic restructuring most directly. Consequently, Toronto's amalgamation debate can be productively read as a struggle between affluent urban (yet to be disciplined by post-Fordist restructuring) and (already neoliberalized) suburban middle-classes (Boudreau, 1999, Isin, 1998).

New York City). The Board argued that despite strong quality-of-life indicators, the region's economic foundations were relatively weak, with inadequate re-investment in urban infrastructure and social services and growth polarized between the struggling city and booming suburbs. Their reasoning discloses the GTA's unstable geographies of inequality (Boudreau et al., 2009, Walks, 2009) and the developmental imperatives that Wilson (2007) identifies within the post-1990s global trope. Reflecting the Province's reluctance to empower shadow governments at the urban scale, Ontario's neoliberal "revolution" did not establish formal city-regional governance (see chapter 7) (Boudreau et al., 2007, p. 47). Rather, Megacity Toronto crystallized a rescaled, combative relationship between the city and suburbs that continues to structure the politics of transportation in southern Ontario.

COMPETITIVE CITIES OR COMPETITIVE CITY-REGIONS?

Much boosterist literature on "Global Chicago" asserts that globalization has freed the city from its constraints as a mid-continental metropolis (e.g. Madigan, 2004). Advancements in transportation and information technologies, so the argument goes, have enhanced the city's attractiveness as a center for global command and control services. Large-scale public works projects are still central to Chicago's growth regime, yet their focus has shifted from the modern "universal" (but highly segregated) urban renewal and transportation projects of Richard J. Daley to spatially selected megaprojects that facilitate global connectivity and competitive "greening". Chicago's global city

policy agenda is crystallized in the Chicago Central Area Plan (City of Chicago, 2003, 2009). Continuing Chicago's tradition of central city, as opposed to citywide planning, the Central Area Plan provides "a mighty blast of center city triumphalism" (Bennett, 2010, p. 47) by forwarding the urban core as a site for increased residential density and positioning Chicago at the forefront of green infrastructure. The Plan's densification and centralization goals are supported by proposed urban transportation investments. A circumferential El line, partially utilizing existing tracks, will extend 'downtown', while the proposed West Loop Transportation Center, a multimodal transit terminal, offers a major gateway for commuters and tourists arriving on high-speed and regional rail.

Despite assertions that the "focus of urban studies must be expanded beyond the central city to include the suburbs of a metropolitan region" (Simpson and Kelly, 2008, p. 228), the suggestion that amenities now drive growth perpetuates a normative focus on the city center in many contemporary analyses of Chicago and overlooks the wider region's geographic and economic diversity. Commenting on Chicagoland's growth sectors, a Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP) economic planner drew a clear distinction between global city and global city-regional policy agendas:

> The City of Chicago has its own focus, so [CMAP is] talking about metropolitan Chicago. We've just completed a cluster study on the four main areas of advanced manufacturing; transportation and logistics; health and biomedical; and business and financial services. From an economic view, we are looking for better paid jobs, rather than just paid jobs... The City of Chicago, their focus has been more on

business and hospitality services which are two ends of a spectrum. Some are very high paid if you've got the qualified people, but most of them are low paid... If we look at the regional perspective, the reason why advanced manufacturing is quite crucial is, if we go back into history of this region, manufacturing was the key... and even though we are losing a lot of manufacturing jobs, they are the old manufacturing jobs. We're now getting new, advanced manufacturing jobs which are very technology focused (Delano, interview, 2009).

The absence of institutional rescaling or reterritorialization in Chicagoland has enabled engrained political and analytic imaginaries to persist, reinforcing the separation of city and suburbs. Northeastern Illinois's emergent post-Fordist geography has followed the region's transportation infrastructure. O'Hare serves as a central locale for hotel and conference facilities while campus-style corporate offices cling to the expressway network. In addition to the primacy of the Loop, corporate relocations cluster economic activity in key suburban nodes and edge cities surrounding Chicago, producing a pattern of urbanization which has been promoted as a means to compensate for the decline of manufacturing and boost local tax revenues across the region (Bennett, 2010, p. 98).

In contrast, municipal amalgamation and institutional restructuring prompted both a rescaling of Toronto's urban governance regime and the formation of an extended spatial imaginary which grounded the city's global competitiveness in the fortunes of the wider region (Keil, 2002, p. 592). Under Mel Lastman (1998-2003), Megacity Toronto pursued a globally-focused economic development framework and program of

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megaprojects which exhibited many similarities to those of Richard M. Daley.[7] Toronto's

competitive city growth politics fuses elements of urban entrepreneurialism, revanchist

urbanism and commodified diversity into an often contradictory neoliberal urban agenda

(Goonewardena and Kipfer, 2005, Kipfer and Keil, 2002). The strands of Toronto's urban

neoliberalization are internalized within the City's new Official Plan; a necessary

document given the contentious process of merging Metro's seven municipal planning

into a city-wide body. While Chicago continued to concentrate its planning efforts on the

central city, the 2002 City of Toronto Official Plan covered the entire Megacity and

proposed to concentrate intensification at five key nodes – downtown and the waterfront

and the Yonge-Eglinton, North York Centre, Etobicoke Centre and Scarborough Centre

sub-regional downtowns – with key arterial streets selected as transportation corridors

housing moderate growth (Boudreau et al., 2009, pp. 102-108). The Official Plan

incorporated discourses of livability and sustainability into a competitive framework

which utilized the rhetoric of urban reform to displace opposition to the document's

underlying entrepreneurial orientation (Kipfer and Keil, 2002).

The GTA's turbulent era of neoliberalization came to an end in 2003 as the

Progressive-Conservatives were swept from Queen's Park by Dalton McGuinty's Liberal

Party. At the municipal scale, progressive reformer David Miller replaced the neoliberal

Mel Lastman as mayor of the City of Toronto. Miller's election marked a new, "neo-

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[7] The City targeted the economic and environmental revitalization of its waterfront and the Portlands, and established entertainment and consumption spaces (Lehrer and Laidley, 2008, Ruppert, 2006). Toronto launched unsuccessful bids for the 1996 and 2008 Olympic Summer Games (a feat repeated in Chicago's failure to land the 2016 Olympics) before being awarded hosting rights for the 2015 Pan Am Games.

reformist period" in Toronto which shifted regional politics away from urban-suburban conflicts and pro-growth development strategies towards the search for city-regional consensus, with quality-of-life and environmental issues viewed as central aspects of economic development and global competitiveness (Boudreau et al., 2009, p. 204). However, McGuinty's and Miller's regimes internalized and normalized the Third Way discourses embedded in documents such as the 2002 Official Plan and in doing so, presented a new phrase of "roll-with-it" neoliberal urban politics (Keil, 2009).[8] Austerity politics have given way to an economic development agenda codified through the rationales of the "creative class" and discursive tropes abstracted from Jane Jacobs's urbanism (Broadbent, 2008, Martin Prosperity Institute, 2009). Miller's government embraced ecological modernization through a program of residential high-rise tower renewal throughout the Megacity (City of Toronto, 2007), but the City's pursuit of "starchitecture" cemented downtown as the discursive heart of the city, as well as home to the bulk of Toronto's symbolic economy.

Private capital plays a vital role in the formulation and implementation of global-city agendas. It expands and streamlines key industry sectors and further establishes institutional partnerships with the public sector that fuse civic engagement and quality of life concerns with economic competitiveness to boost each locality's "bargaining

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[8] Roll-with-it neoliberalism reflects the normalization of neoliberal formations as the basis for political and economic action. Keil (2009, pp. 239-240) presents an intertwined typology incorporating *roll-with-it 1* capital-orientated, authoritarian politics, and *roll-with-it 2* populist, reformist and ecological alternatives. This schema grapples with the seemingly contradictory urban politics that emerged in the GTA after the painful treatment of neoliberal shock therapy (Coulter, 2009, Hackworth, 2008).

position" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, Niedt and Weir, 2010, Savitch and Kantor, 2002).[9] While such public-private institutional arrangements have opened nominal public access to the Chicago and Toronto city-regions' political regimes, the competitive city policy frameworks adopted in both cases induce significant silences and political economic exclusions. State spatial strategies seeking to concentrate global capital in the privileged spaces of post-Fordist city-regions effectively marginalized the social and spatial structures of the Fordist-Keynesian metropolis that could not transform themselves or be transformed to meet new economic requirements.[10]

Global-city aspirations, executive power and city center airports

Even as regime change, coalition formation and competitive city policies have empowered political and economic elites, the "structural capacity" of actors within these

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[9] For example, extending a Commercial Club of Chicago initiative, the City of Chicago partnered with the Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce and Chicago Metropolis 2020 in 1998 to establish World Business Chicago; an economic development non-profit organization seeking to enhance Chicago's profile as a destination for foreign direct investment, global talent and corporate headquarters (Lindstrom, 2010, Testa, 2006). In Toronto, civic leaders responded to social and economic concerns over the city's future development by forming the Toronto City Summit Alliance in 2003. The Alliance primarily works to secure public financing for the infrastructure that it deems necessary to enhance economic competitiveness (see Toronto City Summit Alliance, 2003).

[10] Through the 1990s, Mayor Daley's attempt to fashion Chicago in the image of a global city facilitated a remarkably uneven urban revival. Poverty and crime remain high on the South and West Sides (while being further displaced into inner-ring suburbs) as near North Side communities experience gentrification and revitalization (Bennett, 2010, Wacquant, 2007, Wilson and Taub, 2007). Marginalized communities – including sections of the region's African-American and burgeoning Latino populations – are coerced into "neoliberal-parasitic" economies which normalize everyday life and economic activity in the city's residual spaces through a system of day laboring, temporary employment and payday lending (Peck and Theodore, 2001, Wilson, 2011). In Toronto, Mayor Lastman's regime cracked down on activities and individuals who infringed upon the neoliberal economic agenda of the city (Keil, 2002, pp. 586-587). The city's multiculturalism has been commodified and incorporated into Toronto's global marketing vision while poverty is racialized and displaced into the inner suburbs by the "bourgeois urbanism" of the gentrified inner city (Goonewardena and Kipfer, 2005, Hulchanski, 2010).

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governance frameworks and the policies that they value differ between Chicago and Toronto. This is clearly evident in the divergent fates of the cities' lakefront commuter airports; Chicago's Meigs Field and Toronto's Island Airport. David Miller's pledge to cancel a proposed bridge to Toronto's Island Airport – a project approved by City Council in 1995 and 1998 – served as a cornerstone of his successful run for the mayoralty in 2003. Miller who considered the Island Airport incompatible with the revitalization of Toronto's waterfront and development of downtown neighborhoods opposed the fixed link on the grounds that it would spur expanded operations at the facility. Despite Miller's success in defeating the fixed link (and the vocal opposition of central city residents and urban environmentalists), the Toronto Port Authority, the agency operating the airport,[11] embraced increasing operations at the Island Airport as a means to open new revenue streams and meet its mandate to operate on a self-sufficient basis. On October 23, 2006, developer Robert Deluce launched Porter Airlines, a regional carrier flying turboprop aircraft from the Island Airport. The Toronto Board of Trade backed both Porter and the Island Airport, viewing them as "an attractive feature for a lot of business executives looking to do business from, or in, Toronto" and "a useful economic amenity" (Zeiler-Kligman, interview, 2009). Miller secured the backing of progressive urbanists and local residents by opposing a fixed link but the Island Airport issue did not resonate beyond downtown and Miller's base. After the victory of Etobicoke councilor Rob Ford in the 2010 Toronto mayoral election, the City and

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[11] The Toronto Port Authority succeeded the Toronto Harbour Commission in 1999 as part of a federal program to modernize ports and operate them on business principles (Sanderson and Filion, 2011).

Toronto Port Authority reached an agreement to construct a pedestrian tunnel to the

Island, financed by a public-private partnership (Toronto Port Authority, 2010).

Richard M. Daley announced plans to close Meigs Field in 1994, with the

intention of turning Northerly Island into a public park featuring native prairie flora.

Airport supporters protested that the facility was vital to the attractiveness of Chicago as

a business location (Friends of Meigs Field, 1995) but City-sponsored studies suggested

only a small portion of Meigs' regional economic contribution would be lost if the field

were closed and flights diverted to Midway (McGrath, 1996). Environmental groups and

an element of the downtown business community supported the closure of Meigs on the

basis that a park would return the waterfront space to the people, as Daniel Burnham had

intended (Lakefront Coalition, 1996). The Chicago Park District refused to renew the

Airport's lease in 1996 and Meigs briefly closed before the State pressured the City to

reopen the airport. In 2001, the City and State reached an agreement to keep Meigs open

for 25 years – in part so Daley could secure federal and State support for his plans to

expand O'Hare Airport – but the compromise fell through when the U.S. Senate failed to

approve the deal (Schwieterman, 2006). Consequently, on March 31, 2003 Daley, in a

unilateral move, sent a fleet of privately-contracted bulldozers to carve up Meigs's

runway in the middle of the night.[12] The mayor rationalized the move by arguing he

saved the city from lengthy, expensive court proceedings while spuriously suggesting the

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[12] The move effectively closed Meigs Field and stranded 16 aircraft on Northerly Island. The FAA fined the City $33,000 for closing Meigs without the requisite 30 day notice, but Chicago fought off attempts by Friends of Meigs to reopen the airport. Daley agreed to pay the FAA fines in September 2006, in addition to repay $1 million in misappropriated funds used to destroy the airport and develop parkland in its place.

move was necessary to protect Chicago from a post-9/11 terror attack. Both Miller and

Daley valued the importance of sustainable development and the removal of air pollution

from downtown as part of their respective global city policy agendas. However, the

autocratic power of the Mayor of Chicago compared to that of his Toronto counterpart,

and the City of Chicago's ownership of Meigs Field compared to the complex ownership

of the Island Airport (which is divided between the City, Province and federal

government, see chapter 8), enabled Chicago to develop a lakefront park in line with

Daley's vision of a green global city while Toronto hosts a downtown commuter airport

with flights arriving and departing next to a wall of residential condo towers.

TERRITORIALIZING GLOBALIZATION: FORGING STRATEGIC INFRASTRUCTURE CENTRALITIES IN CITY-REGIONS

As evidenced in the policies being pursued by the Cities of Chicago and Toronto, urban

transportation infrastructures (from global gateways to green transit) serve as a vital tool

of centripetal urbanization; establishing material and discursive centralities within a

global city policy agenda. Shifting to the scalar frame and social imaginary of the global

city-*region* reveals the complexity and sophistication of the sociotechnical networks

territorialized and embedded in urban space and highlights the centrality of the

infrastructure-competitiveness nexus (Camagni, 2001, pp. 108-112, Gandy, 2005, p. 36,

Sassen, 2001a, pp. 80-82).

The growing importance placed on securing a city-region's position in global trade networks was seen to require quality transportation systems to establish key locational advantages (Erie, 2004, Torrance, 2009). The Chicago Department of Aviation's planning administrator illustrated how Chicago has attempted to lock-in its role as a global transportation and trade hub by leveraging the region's existing infrastructure:

> Chicago has arguably become *the* premier site for general air cargo in the United States in terms of arriving cargo... [It] developed the infrastructure for foreign trade imports, based on trucking and railroad infrastructure and transportation networks... The economics work out because of the cost and efficiency of transportation, cargo can come into Chicago and be trucked, let's say, to Pennsylvania; and still be cheaper than getting flown into Kennedy [Airport, New York] and shipped across one state. And because of that, the effect is that Chicago has become a preferred gateway (Rod, interview, 2009).

Neuman (2009) and Dodson (2009) suggest strategic investment in infrastructure lies at the core of a new visionary yet pragmatic planning paradigm.[13] Under neoliberal urbanization, local governance units are coerced into taking on increasing responsibility for developing the urban infrastructures necessary to support growth (Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011). Transportation investments in the Chicago and Toronto city-regions have

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[13] The use of infrastructure as a planning tool to catalyze growth and secure locational advantages is not a unique purview of urban policy and planning under the rules of neoliberal global capital. Transportation networks played a fundamental role in the accumulation regimes of industrial capital and Fordist-Keynesian spatial fixes (Graham and Marvin, 2001, pp. 66-68).

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been highly selective, with investment in mass transit and "universal" infrastructure neglected under neoliberalism (Farmer, 2011, Grengs, 2005, Keil and Young, 2008). In a recent review of the tri-state Chicago region, the OECD (2012) stresses the significance of the region's transportation and logistics infrastructure in generating value-added employment for the local and national economy. However, they note that the region's aviation infrastructure performs better than local ground transportation. Although public transit is vital to the city-region's attractiveness, service is inadequate, chronically underfunded and subject to drastic cutbacks (ibid, p. 197). Truck traffic congestion ranks amongst the worst in the United States (Cambridge Systematics, 2005). An urban think tank manager articulated an angst and anxiety about Chicago's transportation network reducing the city's locational advantages;

> A city is only as good as its transportation system... So when I look at Chicago from that perspective, I think it's a little discouraging. I think when people come into the city, chances are they're going to come into a traffic jam. If they fly into O'Hare, chances are they'll be delayed. If they then take the Blue Line, chances are they'll be delayed even more! I think what is especially discouraging about it is that it has so much potential. The pieces are there. We've got the two great airports. We've got the bones of this transit system (Frève, interview, 2009).

The situation is similar in Toronto where a lack of capital investment and a poorly integrated regional transportation network, marked by limited intergovernmental collaboration, is curtailing productivity and economic competitiveness (OECD, 2010).

Congestion on the region's roads is reportedly responsible for an estimated $3.3 billion annual loss in productivity and despite a broad consensus regarding the need to develop new transportation infrastructure, political and financing mechanisms have restricted the GTA's capacity to realize large-scale investment (Toronto Board of Trade, 2009a). Although regional coordination and integration are deemed necessary to realize locational advantages, the GTA's fragmented transportation networks have become a bottleneck to regional competitiveness (Keil and Young, 2008). With existing transportation networks increasingly perceived as barriers to economic competitiveness, there is a growing impulse, discernible in both Chicago and Toronto, to restructure transport systems to facilitate the movement of people and goods.

High-speed rail provides a pertinent lens for examining the construction of a potential infrastructural fix for global capital's current crisis. The Obama Administration earmarked $8 billion in stimulus funding for high-speed rail through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. The State of Illinois received $1.23 billion, the majority dedicated to developing a high-speed line between Chicago and St. Louis, as part of a wider Midwestern network ultimately intended to bring Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and St. Louis within a 3-hour train journey from Chicago. The system's potential economic impacts – ambitiously estimated by the Midwest High Speed Rail Association (2011) to include: $13.8 billion annual increase in business sales in the Chicago metropolitan area; $314 million in new annual spending in downtown Chicago; and the creation of 104,000 new jobs – garnered a significant degree

of support from interviewees throughout Chicagoland. A representative from the South

Suburban Mayors and Managers Association (SSMMA) advocated high-speed rail as

crucial infrastructure that in tandem with existing rail networks and the proposed Peotone

Airport and Illiana Expressway could redefine the economic trajectory of southern Cook

and Will counties (Greenwood, interview, 2009).

The issue of high-speed rail, however, is not only about economic rationales and

concerns with regional competitiveness. Reflecting the incorporation of sustainability

discourses within roll-with-it neoliberalization (Castree, 2008, Keil, 2009), high-speed

rail is also considered an environmentally-friendly alternative to short-to-mid distance air

travel in both American and Canadian contexts (Frève, interview, 2009, Transport

Ontario 2000, interview, 2009). Interest in, and political support, for high-speed rail has

grown in the Canadian context surrounding the Québec City-Windsor Corridor (Valli,

2010). In 2008, Ottawa and the Governments of Ontario and Québec launched a joint $2

million study investigating the potential for high-speed rail through eastern Canada's

urban heartland. The report estimated a rail link would cost between $18.9 and 23.1

billion. While a link from Windsor to Québec City was not likely to result in an economic

gain, a shorter route between Toronto, Ottawa and Montréal (costing up to $11 billion)

could be economically feasible (EcoTrain, 2011). Richard Soberman, who led the initial

high speed rail study in the Corridor (Via Rail Canada, 1984), expressed doubts that

densities along the route could support a dedicated high-speed link; "density dictates

what you can afford... the cost of providing a full dedicated, fully restricted right-of-way

for a train travelling at 300kmph between Quebec and Windsor is a monumental undertaking and it is always one whose costs are understated and the practicality is overrated" (Soberman, interview, 2010). Economic considerations, in contrast to advocates' rhetoric, have hampered the implementation of high-speed rail. The Toronto Board of Trade questioned the allocation of limited transportation dollars to high-speed rail. Transit is a prime concern of their members, so the Board is "supportive of high speed rail to the extent that it doesn't cannibalize or impede the progress on transit or transportation projects in the region" (Zeiler-Kligman, interview, 2009).

The issue of prioritization is a central problematic at the heart of high-speed rail debates, and the implementation of infrastructural fixes more generally. High-speed rail systems, despite their purported economic and environmental benefits, are still cleaved from existing networks, and are set up in opposition to older, slower transportation. In doing so, they elevate particular types of mobility, users and modes of urbanity and are subsequently often integrated into selective global systems (Graham and Marvin, 2001, p. 170, Torrance, 2008). Investment is focused on large-scale transportation hubs serving extra-local business travelers and tourists. Such glocal transportation infrastructure may take the form of redeveloped existing facilities – i.e. both Chicago's and Toronto's Union Stations, the modernization of O'Hare and Pearson Airports (see chapter 8) – or, as in the case of the West Loop Transportation Center, the construction of new, multi-modal megaprojects that integrate an archipelago of urban nodes.

Investing in the areas of the city-region that produce the most fiscal benefits and connect global gateways to economic hubs makes sense for many of the planners interviewed. Both Chicago and Toronto have embraced the development of privileged transportation networks that bypass non-valued users and places and charge higher rates for premium service; most notably in proposals for express airport links connecting global gateways with central urban and business nodes. In Chicago, Mayor Daley – inspired by a trip to Shanghai – asked the CTA to explore the potential of a high-speed link between O'Hare and a new "superstation" to be constructed under (the then infamously underdeveloped) Block 37 in the Loop (Farmer, 2011, p. 1165). The CTA's proposed route (while failing to find financing) would construct a parallel rail route along the existing Blue and Orange Lines, linking the Loop, via express service from O'Hare and Midway, more fully into a network of global cities (Chicago Transit Authority, 2006). Tickets could cost up to $25, with both business travelers and tourists willing to pay the price for convenient, fast service (Delano, interview, 2009). In Toronto, the premium rail link proposed between Pearson Airport and Union Station (Metrolinx, 2012) presents a further problem as the transportation agency proposes to run diesel trains along the line; thus introducing significant negative externalities – air and noise pollution, at-grade crossings, depreciated property values – in the neighborhoods through which it passes (Clean Train Coalition, 2012). Although premium air link projects have encountered public opposition in both city-regions (see Swilling, 2011), strategic neoliberal investments that serve the interests of global capital continue to be prioritized.

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Disclosing the dialectic of centrality, state strategies focusing on new post-Fordist

economic spaces and hubs of glocal centrality exclude the marginalized places and

people that underpinned Keynesian-Fordism in the Chicago and Toronto regions, and

overlook basic transport service connecting people to jobs and educational opportunities.

I will return to this issue in chapter 9.

PERIPHERAL CENTRALITY: NEW ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHIES, LOGISTICS AND LOCATIONAL SPECIALIZATION

Global centrality is not confined to the urban core. The technological advances, just-in-

time production techniques and trade neoliberalization at the heart of flexible

accumulation have catalyzed the restructuring and rescaling of global production

networks, resulting in a dynamic geography of production and freight distribution and the

creation of new economic spaces on the urban periphery (Jonas et al., 2010, Keil and

Young, 2008). Containerization has radically reconfigured global freight movement since

the 1960s. Transporting goods in standardized containers which facilitate intermodal

transfer – from ships to rail and trucks – has profoundly impacted the geography of

distribution and port infrastructure; reshaping the arrangement and territorialization of

global flows and producing new spatial imaginaries (Cidell, 2009, 2012b, Keeling, 2009,

Levinson, 2006, Rodrigue and Notteboom, 2009). As a central element of post-Fordist

production, containerization reduces the socially-necessary turnover time associated with

distribution within the production process while contracted labor costs for port workers

and goods handlers further lessens the price of transportation (Cidell, 2011, Hall, 2009b,

Herod, 2000). Distribution companies have profited from lower freight rates and streamlined service following the deregulation of the rail and trucking industries and introduction of North American free trade agreements. Freight rail haulers in United States alone accrued annual benefits amounting to $12 billion over the first two decades of deregulation (Grimm and Winston, 2000, p. 44). Lowered costs and changing freight technologies, alongside reductions in tariffs and quotas negotiated through FTA and NAFTA, have undermined the competitiveness of Chicago's steel and machinery industries by exposing local production to a global marketplace (Testa, 2004, p. 36) while deregulation realigned the national spatial focus of Canada's Class I railroads towards continental competition (Slack, 1993).

The rise of intermodalism places city-regions at the heart of global logistics networks. Inland terminals, including Chicago and Toronto, now compete with traditional coastal gateways as intermodalism reshapes ports as transfer points where containers are switched between vehicles rather than unloaded and broken down by hand (Cidell, 2011, p. 835).[14] In the mid-1990s, the Chicago city-region handled 9.4 million twenty-foot equivalent container units (TEUs) annually – equal to Los Angeles and Long Beach, California combined. CATS (1995) declared Chicago the third largest "intermodal port" in the world and estimated the intermodal industry (including multiplier effects) added $8.766 billion to the regional economy. By 2004, Chicago's annual TEU volume had risen to 13.4 million and boosters aggressively asserted the region's role as a port; despite

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[14] Both the maritime Port of Chicago and Port of Toronto are marginal cargo handlers compared to the intermodal facilitates which dominate their respective regions (Cidell, 2011, Desfor and Laidley, 2011).

many rankings not recognizing it as such (Rawling, 2006, Testa, 2004, p. 52). The GTA's

intermodal facilities do not come close to the scale, in terms of physical size and volumes

handled, of those in the Chicago city-region. The majority of goods transported in the

GTA are handled by truck. Yet there is a growing recognition that intermodalism is

"extremely important" for Ontario haulers (McDonald, interview, 2009) among local

officials and transport companies. CN and CP have invested in intermodal facilities to

compete with, and augment, road haulage (Figure 6.1) (Canadian National, 2011).

Distribution facilities have relocated from their historical position adjacent to the

urban core and traditional port and rail infrastructure to the urban fringe where road and

airport connections are ubiquitous and large plots of cheap land are readily available.

Massive rail, intermodal and warehousing facilities occupy prominent positions in

suburban and exurban Chicago and Toronto.[15] The suburbanization of global freight

operations lies at the heart of a "new urban geography" grounded in the production

regimes, morphologies and multiscalar flows of post-Fordism (Keil and Young, 2008, p.

734, also see McCalla, Slack and Comtois, 2001). Intermodal facilities are embedded in a

landscape dominated by immense complexes of single story distribution warehouses,

industrial buildings and factories crisscrossed by superhighways and often integrated with

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[15] Most prominent in the Chicago city-region are the 770-acre BNSF Logistics Park (Elwood, IL) and the 550-acre UP Joliet Intermodal Terminal 'Global IV' (Joliet, IL); opened in 2002 and 2010 respectively. Three intermodal facilities are bunched around O'Hare (UP 'Global II' (Northlake, IL), CP Schiller Park and CP Bensenville). Seven small-medium sized facilities are spread throughout the inner south and west suburbs, while UP 'Global III' (Rochelle, IL) extends the region's intermodal network beyond De Kalb. Eight intermodal terminals are still located within the city of Chicago. The GTA's intermodal and freight rail terminals are less extensive and predominantly located in the northwest around Pearson Airport; including Canada's largest intermodal terminal, the 690-acre CP Vaughan Intermodal, CN Brampton Intermodal Terminal and CN's MacMillan hump yard.

Figure 6.1: Canadian Pacific's Vaughan Intermodal Terminal, January 2013. CP's 690-acre Vaughan Intermodal Terminal is Canada's largest intermodal yard. Opened in 1991 and expanded in 2005, the facility now handles 700,000 twenty-foot containers a year. The terminal forms part of an extended new economic landscape in the northwest GTA which discloses the suburban territorialization of globalization. Photo courtesy of Rob Fiedler.

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global air hubs. This landscape serves as the counterpoint to the glamorous face of bourgeois urbanism in the global city (Keil and Young, 2008, p. 734). Relocating manufacturing and distribution services from downtown has enabled the gentrification of inner-city neighborhoods, contributed to a heated urban land market and fostered the spaces in which the progressive urbanism and urbane lifestyles lauded by Richard Florida (2003, 2008) amongst others can germinate.

On one hand, this movement clearly discloses the dialectic of centrality since particular functions, social groups and urban forms must be expelled to the periphery. On the other, it discloses the production of alternate global centrality, replacing the undersized and antiquated rail facilities of previous accumulation regimes with a new infrastructure fix territorializing global flows. These dynamics reflect more than the long-run suburbanization of industry; they illustrate the grounding of globalization beyond the urban core and establish suburban logistics hubs as new points of global centrality. Accordingly, municipalities that are deeply integrated in global trade infrastructures "are at the leading edge of the new global logistics network *and* the leading edge of suburbanization, making planning decisions based on considerably different kinds of land uses than the traditional single-family housing, commercial strip shopping centers and industrial development" (Cidell, 2011, p. 833).[16]

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[16] The territorialization of global logistics networks in suburban space means the average municipality faces: (1) few jobs per square foot; (2) less attractive employment, compared to high-tech industries or office developments; (3) cleaner industry than traditional manufacturing; and (4) low-medium sales tax (Cidell, 2011, p. 845). The intersection of the global and the local – within the political and economic context of the city-region – present distinct challenges for suburban officials, although more noticeably in

Containerization, intermodalism and deregulation open multiple locational options for freight movement at the global and macro-regional scale. Local infrastructure arrangements, concentrations of capital, and political dynamics within city-regions continue to play a vital role in structuring the spatial organization of goods movement. In this regard, the sheer magnitude of freight rail and distribution infrastructure concentrated in northeastern Illinois continues to attract industry to the Chicago city-region. However, the spatial organization of the GTA's freight rail network, as well as the institutional structure of Canada's two Class I railroads present several benefits for Toronto in comparison to Chicago. CN's decision to relocate their freight hub from downtown Toronto to the MacMillan Yard in exurban Maple in the 1950s created an extensive bypass network that facilitated the removal of goods trains from the central city. The move not only removed noxious industrial activity from the urban core, but opened surplus track-capacity along Lake Ontario that catalyzed development of commuter rail service. Although CP continues to run freight trains on the Dupont Railway through the affluent neighborhood of Rosedale and operates its hump yard in Scarborough, Toronto has avoided the pollution and economic inefficiencies that beset the city of Chicago and necessitate massive a massive program of rail restructuring.

In 2003, Mayor Daley expressed his desire to reroute freight and intercity passenger operations from the St. Charles Airline viaduct in the South Loop to limit rail's impact on the lakefront. The St. Charles project prompted the Chicago Region

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the United States than Canada, given the political culture of home rule and localized decision-making in American city-regions.

Environmental and Transportation Efficiency Program (CREATE); a billion dollar plan to restructure, expand and modernize Chicago's freight and passenger rail facilities (Figure 6.2). CREATE brought together the State (IDOT), City (CDOT), and the Association of American Railroads (AAR) in a landmark multi-modal public-private partnership capitalizing on "a rare, but fragile spirit of collaboration amongst competitors" to realize economic and security interests (including high-speed rail) for the Chicago city-region, the nation and, with this increased trade flows through NAFTA, the continent (CREATE, 2005, p. 4).[17] The project received widespread backing from public officials and business interests across the region; including from suburban officials through the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus (2012) and community groups who regarded CREATE's proposed public safety, air pollution and commuter rail improvements as beneficial for neighborhood environmental justice (Pitula, interview, May 2009). CDOT (interview, 2009) viewed CREATE as an economic benefit, that will facilitate commerce and provide well-paid regional employment. The project's estimated costs, however, have escalated from $1.543 billion (with railroads contributing $232 million) to $3.2 billion. The federal government contributed $100 million for five CREATE projects through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act but the project has struggled to

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[17] Within CREATE, AAR acts on behalf of Metra and the six Class I railroads operating in Chicagoland. The railroads were initially reluctant to participate in the program; during 2000-2005, they had (on an individual basis) invested $1.2 billion in upgrading infrastructure in the Chicago city-region (CREATE, 2005). The City had to work with the Federal Surface Transportation Board to bring them to the table, but the railroads have subsequently emerged as strong proponents of CREATE. As a concession to the public interest and investment in CREATE – in a novel moment of infrastructural rebundling – the railroads agreed to qualify their employees over one another's lines within certain, pre-determined corridors, thus providing greater flexibility in operations should tracks become excessively congested.
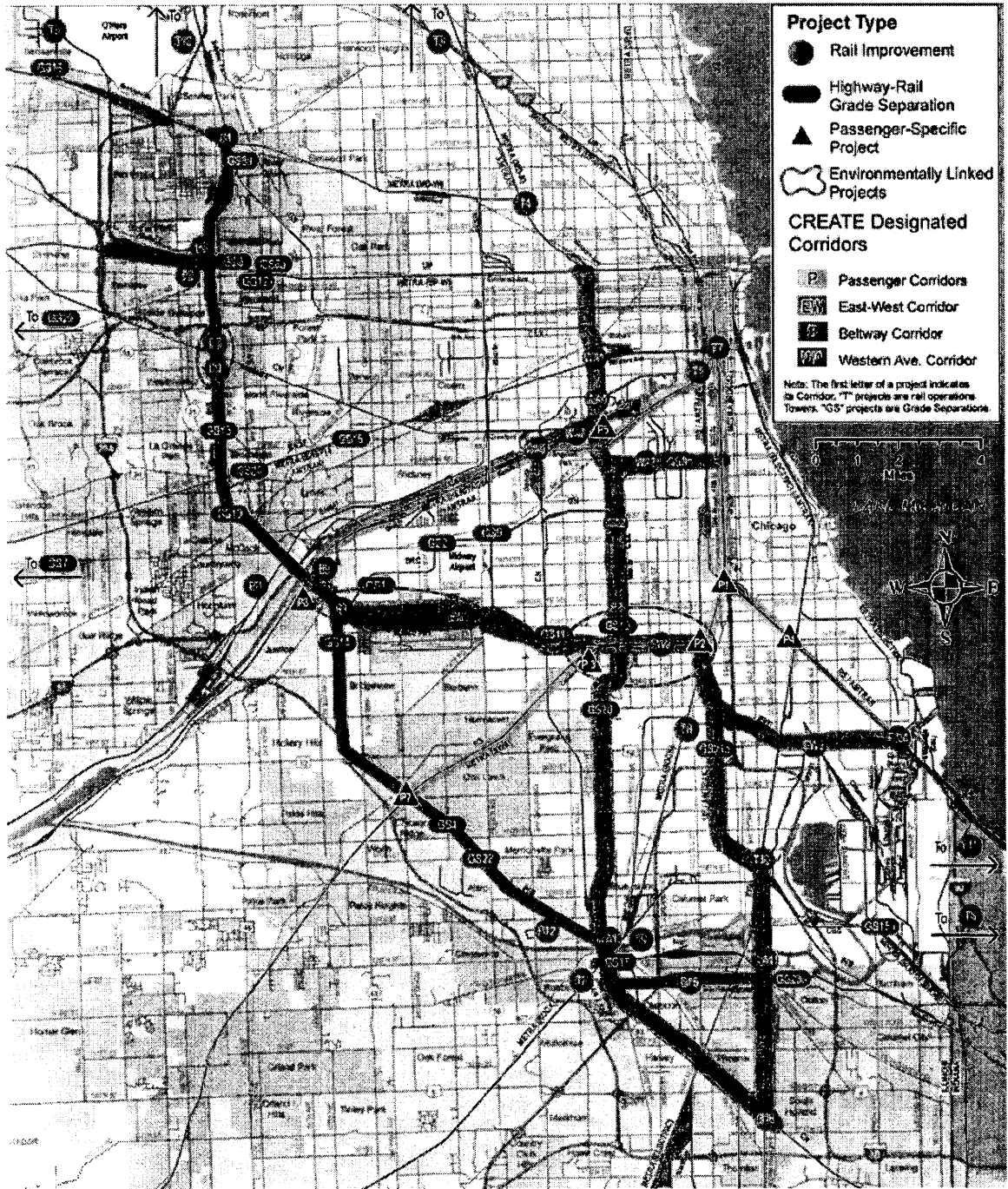
Figure 6.2: CREATE's rail improvement projects. Source: Copyright, Chicago Department of Transportation, 2011. Reproduced with permission.

meet funding targets. As of October 2011, 12 of the 70 projects had been completed with 13 more under construction (CREATE, 2011).

The entanglements of multiscalar politics and social interests are clearly evident in CN's purchase of the circumferential Elgin, Joliet and Eastern Railroad (EJ&E) outside Chicago. Following deregulation and the advent of North American free trade, CN has pursued an aggressive policy of system expansion to position itself within a continental, rather than national, economic system (see Heaver, 1993, Slack, 1993). In a deal ratified on February 1, 2009, CN purchased a majority of the EJ&E, enabling the Canadian corporation to take its trains out of the congested tracks in central Chicago and connect its Canadian network with American holdings that extend to New Orleans.[18] Many suburban municipal and county officials, most vocally from the affluent northwest suburban Village of Barrington, opposed the CN purchase given the proposed increase in the number of trains running through their municipalities (from three to c. 20) and the elevation of freight rail movement over regional commuter lines. The fear of CN as a Canadian company, disrupting the everyday spatial practice of "Americans" further complicated the EJ&E purchase (Cidell, 2012a, pp. 600-602). Political divisions cut across the region. The suburbs had strongly supported the City of Chicago's CREATE program but they were frustrated when Chicago failed to return the sentiment by neglecting to oppose the CN purchase. While affluent northern and western communities expressed concerns surrounding the impact of increased rail traffic, the EJ&E sale posed

[18] The Surface Transportation Board ruled in favor of the CN acquisition on December 24, 2008 reflecting the primacy of interstate commerce in the United States.

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a more complex question for the south suburbs. The purchase allowed CN to relocate their switching operations to Indiana and convert the south-suburban Gateway Yard into an expanded intermodal facility. Investment in intermodalism offers a potential economic boon for a low-income, economically depressed and predominantly Black area. Freight movements still present disruptions for local residents and as a consequence, support for the CN takeover was divided on the basis of parochial interests across the south suburbs.

The nexus of global infrastructure, underutilized industrial capacity, and the need for innovative, local economic development has spurred some intraregional collaboration around sustainable economic development between municipalities and industry in the south suburbs (Figure 6.3). The SSMMA – an intergovernmental agency providing technical assistance and collaborative services to 42 municipalities in southern Cook and Will Counties – in collaboration with CNT, the Metropolitan Planning Council and other regional partners, is at the forefront of a redevelopment strategy aiming to reposition and reimagine Chicago's industrial southland as a sustainable manufacturing cluster. SSMMA's revitalization strategy and sustainability plan, premised on integrating transit and cargo-oriented development with green manufacturing (Center for Neighborhood Technology, 2010), has received $2.3 million in funding from HUD and the U.S. Department of Transportation. The concept of a "Green TIME Zone" would strategically reposition south Chicagoland by leveraging global industrial capital to translate brownfield space into desirable housing, employment and environmental options, thus producing a new discursive and economic identity.

Figure 6.3: CN Gateway Intermodal Terminal, I-80/I-294 and Hazel Crest Metra Station, May 2013. The Gateway Terminal is located at the center of the Chicago Southland Green TIME Zone. CN's extensive investment in the facility and accompanying purchase of the EJ&E Railroad spurred the formation of the "Logistics Park Calumet" initiative, as local agencies attempt to leverage freight and transit assets for sustainable development in the south suburbs.

While existing transportation networks have reinforced the centrality of Chicago within continental production and distribution networks, congestion in Chicagoland – what Lefebvre (2009, p. 176) identifies as the contradiction of saturation – enhances the locational advantages of competitor regions at the same time that technological improvements redefine the locational factors facilitating the production of surplus value. While CN's purchase of the EJ&E and relocation of trains from the city will reduce congestion, a regional economic developer raised concerns that the circumferential route could engender "glocal bypass" processes by diverting trains and economic activity to the Mississippi Valley region (Delano, interview, 2009). A DuPage County planning official criticized the elevation of regional economic development over the interests of local communities during the EJ&E purchase, noting "regionalism was working very well quite frankly until the EJ&E came along and its really been quite a splintering issue" (DuPage County, interview, 2008). Urban think tanks have thus advocated for a regional freight authority to make decisions on projects of regional significance, as well as ushering in a broader discussion regarding the institutionalization of "regional space" (Center for Neighborhood Technology, interview, 2009, Frève, interview, 2009).

GLOBAL CITY-REGIONALISM AS CENTRIPETAL AND CENTRIFUGAL URBANIZATION

Through this chapter, I have demonstrated how the twofold processes of centripetal and centrifugal urbanization underpin the spatial organization of the Chicago and Toronto

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city-regions as an expression of the dialectic of centrality. The consequences of global economic restructuring in a period of neoliberalism have fostered existential crises in both Chicago and Toronto concerning their respective positions in the global urban system and their standing as global cities. The imperatives driving the quest for global recognition differ; the former seeks to maintain its primacy in the face of economic restructuring and the rise of competing national and international centers, the latter attempts to assert itself as an international, not just national, player on the world stage.

Public and private capital has centralized investments in the global city-centers of Chicago and Toronto through state strategies aimed at enhancing the territorial competitiveness of key nodes. Facilitated by increasingly flexible and entrepreneurial planning practices, the valorization of the urban core reflects a significant switching of capital from industrial production into the built environment as a means to perpetuate and reinvigorate local accumulation regimes. "Competitive" urban policies have promoted downtown spaces as a social centrality; sites of flexible accumulation through the production of symbolic capital, "bourgeois urbanism" and provision of globally-targeted cultural amenities (Goonewardena and Kipfer, 2005, Wilson, 2004b). Amidst the valorization and centralization involved in centripetal urbanization, the idealized (and inherently politicized) image of the city as a utopia persists in city and regional spatial imaginaries, development agendas and the modes of urbanism pursued by their respective regimes (Harvey, 2000, p. 156). Both Chicago's and Toronto's aspirations – as global cities with prominent positions on the world stage – are articulated in the Lefebvrian

conceived spaces of the City of Toronto Official Plan and Chicago Central Area Plan. However, as the production of space under capitalism internalizes the contradictions inherent in the mode of production, the centralizing tendencies of city-regional urbanization are themselves premised on enhanced processes of marginalization, uneven development and segregation of certain land uses, classes and racialized groups.

Despite the emphasis on downtown-centric policies, the centrifugal forces of post-Fordist global production networks remain a vital but often overlooked driver shaping the spatial organization of the global city-region. In this regard, I have indicated that financial landownership has not completely ousted industrial landownership as the organizational logic structuring the spatial organization of the city-region. New economic geographies, shaped by the locational decisions of the logistics industries and policies such as CREATE, forge global centrality and produce new spatial arrangements on the peripheries of the Chicago and Toronto city-regions. Global flows are territorialized in place, structured by contemporary land rent dynamics and the path dependencies of existing infrastructural networks (Cidell, 2011).

Under the spatial logic of post-Fordist urbanization, investment in capitalism's secondary circuit produces a city-regional geography characterized by processes of (re)centralization and regionalization, which create residual metropolitan space presenting a physically and discursively "in-betweenness". The centripetal and centrifugal logics of city-regional urbanization consequently sit in contradictory tensions with a myriad of modes of urbanism and suburbanism produced through the lived

experience of city-regionalism, as I will discuss further in chapter 9. I have suggested a dialectical understanding of centrality provides the conceptual tools to move beyond the limitations of debates between New Chicago and L.A. Schools of Urbanism and uncover the role of strategic infrastructure in shaping the spatial organization of city-regions. The central contestations within city-regional urbanization are not expressed in absolute spatial terms nor grounded on fixed discursive signifiers of city and suburb. Rather, conflicts between freight movement and commuter rail or the exchange-value of global logistics spaces and the use-values of space are relational; albeit territorialized by the symbiotic transformations of local, regional, national and global political, economic and social relations.

Chapter 7

Towards the formation of collective agency: Territoriality, relationality and city-regional politics

Through this chapter, I assess in what sense "the region" is being valorized and how it is being politically constructed in Chicago and Toronto. The economic imperatives of globalization are often advanced as an encompassing explanatory conceit conditioning the emergence of urban regions as political actors; localities engage in processes of institutional restructuring to ensure the regional stability necessary to support growth in an era of globalized inter-locality competition (Scott, 2001b). Such approaches rely on normative assumptions regarding the role of city-regions as hubs of the global economy and in doing so, presuppose an economic determinism which overlooks the complex ways in which city-regions are made and remade by forces of globalization (Allahwala and Keil, forthcoming). Globalization may now be "internalized" within contemporary regionalizing processes as a normative and intrinsic component of urban political discourse (Keil, 2011a). While key actors and urban elites restructure and rescale urban governance institutions as a means to ensure continued accumulation and their own political power, they do not do so under conditions of their own choosing. Internalized globalization is shaped by the opening of central cities to their wider regions via extended infrastructure networks and the aggressive adoption of internationalization by urban

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regimes (ibid, p. 2509); i.e. the formal and informal collaborations which constitute local governing coalitions (see MacLeod, 2011).

In chapter 6, I detailed how transportation projects serve as key tools for urban growth machines pursuing global city agendas in both American and Canadian contexts. The political projects of neoliberalism and the growth machine may share compatible ideologies, but within the volatile, multiscalar landscape of contemporary urban restructuring, urban regimes may need to engage contradictory locational policies to bring the interests of other regional players in line with those of the city (Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011, p. 494). Territorialized urban governance regimes, as centers of decision-making and political power, must employ spatial policies that jump scale in order to develop the necessary capacities to address regionalized urban problems (Cox, 2010). Yet more than just rescaling the interests of the growth machine and the territoriality of collective provision, processes of regionalization and the structured complexity of city-regions necessitate the formation of new institutional arrangements with the structural capacity to act and mobilize shared spatial imaginaries (Boudreau, 2007, Jonas et al., 2010, Lindstrom, 2010).

The processes through which politically constructed and territorialized "spaces of regionalism" are realized from the relational "regional spaces" of the globalizing economy, however, are complex and geographically contingent (Jones and MacLeod, 2004, p. 435). Through this chapter, I examine how the institutionalization of city-regional space, as a state spatial strategy, is structured by conditional mechanisms of

codification (the mechanisms through which the city-region is represented) and

consolidation (the institutionalization of the social basis of state power), and

operationalized through projects grounded in specific path dependent trajectories

(Brenner, 2004a, MacLeod, 2001a, pp. 816-818). When considering localized responses

to the structural forces of globalization, I presuppose Chicago's and Toronto's position as

global city-regions is of equal significance as their *national* contexts in terms of shaping

current debates on regionalism and attempts to forge city-regional collective agency. The

following empirical analysis responds to calls for increased attention to the distinct

spatial interests produced by the territorial restlessness of capitalism, the relationality-

territoriality dialectic characterizing urban restructuring, what actors are driving the

construction of the city-region as an institutional space, and to what ends (Jonas and

Ward, 2007, p. 176, see chapter 2).

I argue the multiscalar flows, policy transfers and networked connectivity of

relational-produced "regional spaces" are held in contradictory tension with the political

power structured by territorially-defined "spaces of regionalism". Despite the top-down

implementation of "centrally orchestrated regionalism" (Harrison, 2008), inherited

institutional spaces and the differing structural capacities of governmental and non-

governmental actors shape city-regional space and governance. The limited

regionalization of Chicago's growth machine and lack of integration between city and

regional agencies perpetuates center-oriented processes of regionalization at the behest of

capital. By contrast, in Toronto, the strong role of the Provincial government has

empowered strategic action at the regional scale but as a form of top-down intervention rather than through the establishment of city-regional collective agency.

REGIONALIZING CHICAGO'S URBAN REGIME

The political clout of Richard J. Daley's Democratic machine established the City of Chicago as an independent fiefdom in political practice and in academic and popular spatial imaginaries. Consequently, urban analyses of the Midwest Metropolis often succumb to a "scalar trap" (Wood, 2005, p. 202).[1] The Chicago city-region's fragmented political geography and engrained intra-regional antagonism have shaped a regional narrative strongly resembling that of Beauregard's (2006b) parasitic urbanization. While the city stagnated under the weight of deindustrialization and the collapse of machine urbanism after the 1970s, many suburbs experienced an era of relative prosperity which ossified political divisions, mistrust and competition throughout Chicagoland (Wiewel, Persky and Schaffer, 2005). Under such conditions and despite the extended economic and social linkages within the region, establishing political and institutional "spaces of regionalism" was neglected and often vigorously opposed by both Chicago and suburban municipalities (Hamilton, 2002).

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[1] Regime theory perspectives characterize much urban political research on Chicago, with a preponderance of studies utilizing the conceptual tools of growth machine analysis to explore urban political economy within the City's jurisdictional and geographical limits, even as processes of globalization and urban growth undermine the territorial primacy of the municipality (e.g. Bennett, 2010, Clark et al., 2002, Farmer, 2011, Ferman, 1996, Grimshaw, 1995, Hamilton, 2004, Koval et al., 2006, Simpson and Kelly, 2008, Squires et al., 1987, Wilson, 2004a).

Chicago began to reverse its long economic decline during the 1990s under what Bennett (2010) conceives of as a new "third" political economic regime (albeit one he frames through regime theory in relation to the city, not the region). Under the strong mayoralty of Richard M. Daley, Chicago's urban regime attempted to occupy a central position in the global economy by refashioning the Midwest Metropolis as a global city. Yet despite the myopic political and academic tendency to view the city as an independent state, the dramatic processes of urban restructuring that unfurled as Chicago's Fordist-Keynesian spatial fix broke down rooted the city's purported rebirth within a complex and integrated regional context. Although Mayor Daley succeeded in forming a new base in the city, political redistricting and the escalating political power of the suburbs undermined the weaker Chicago Democratic Organization's ability to shape the legislative agenda in Springfield, leaving the city politically marginalized (Hamilton, 2002, p. 410). Daley was forced to reach out to suburban municipalities through regional councils of government (COGs) and the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus (Lindstrom, 2010) after Republicans gained control of the State legislature in 1994. The decentralization of capital (fixed and industrial) – provoked in part by spatial disparities in potential rents created by investments in infrastructure outside the core and variations in property tax rates between the city and suburbs (Dye, McGuire and Merriman, 2001) – had significantly reshaped the spatial organization of economic activity in Chicagoland. The movement of capital from the Loop to the urban fringe catalyzed a symbiotic (if partial)

rescaling of Chicago capitalists' spatial imaginary that revealed the growing importance of suburbs as post-Fordist economic spaces (see Phelps, 2010).[2]

Reflecting the emerging political and economic realities of the nascent global city-region, new regionalist thinking – exemplified by Rusk (1999), Orfield (1997) and Yaro and Hiss (1996) – and the apparent successes of regional governance in Portland and Minneapolis-St. Paul garnered the attention of Chicago's private sector elites through the 1990s.[3] Concomitantly, in contrast to the largely impotent bodies of CATS and NIPC, organizations adopting a regional perspective (e.g. the Center for Neighborhood Technology [CNT] and the Metropolitan Planning Council) emerged as influential urban actors (Weir, Rongerude and Ansell, 2009). Transportation was a central issue in Chicago's budding regional debate. In 1997, the city's economic elites, operating through the Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce and Metropolitan Planning Council, mobilized as Business Leaders for Transportation to "[sound] an alarm over the Chicago region's transportation crisis and underscore the link between a healthy transportation system and the state's economy" (Mary Barrett, cf. Chicago Tribune, 1997, p. 3).

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[2] The Loop remained the region's primary economic hub but the number of corporations located in suburban sub-centers and high-tech corridors had steadily increased since the 1960s (McDonald and McMillen, 2002).

[3] Kantor (2000) discusses an increasing proliferation of business-led regionalism in the United States, both in terms of number and capacity of organizations. Despite what Porter and Wallis (2002) view as an "ad hoc" trend, Mitchell-Weaver et al. (2000) see the resurgence of regionalism at the end of the 1990s reflects a "regional coalition agenda" embracing applied studies of metropolitan interdependencies. Brenner (2002), in reviewing regional governance trends in the United States stresses the lack of a singular explanatory factor underlying the contemporary emphasis on the regional scale. Rather he highlights the tensions between neoliberal and progressive forces of metropolitan reform as key actors engage in processes of territorialization.

Within this milieu, inspired by the Plan of Chicago's impending centennial and seeking to shake off what it saw as a prolonged torpor, the Commercial Club of Chicago looked for a cause to mobilize the business community in the same way Burnham had mobilized it 100 years earlier (Bennett, 2006b, Hamilton, 2002). Beginning in 1996, the Commercial Club undertook The Metropolis Project with the intention of maintaining Chicago's preeminence into the twenty-first century. The initial results were released in a report under the authorship of former General Motors executive vice president, Elmer Johnson. Johnson (1999) hued to the tenets of new regionalism, presupposing the regional benefits of: (1) investment in human capital; (2) increased intra-regional mobility for capital and labor; and (3) governmental reorganization via tax revenue sharing and the consolidation of land use planning and infrastructure development under a regional coordinating council. Johnson additionally endorsed the institutionalization of the Metropolis Project. Creating Chicago Metropolis 2020 (Metropolis 2020) enabled Chicago's business community to aggressively lobby for its vision for the region; not only in terms of planning, architecture and, to an extent, public policy, but further, through placing "civic entrepreneurship" at the heart of Chicago's urban regime.[4]

Johnson (2001) revised the recommendations of his 1999 report in a document representing Metropolis 2020's vision of "the Chicago Plan for the twenty-first century". The imagery and rhetoric of the Metropolis 2020 Plan purposefully evoked the grandeur

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[4] Taking their lead from the Burnham Plan, Metropolis 2020 viewed itself as an action-oriented public policy organization (Chicago Sun-Times, 1999). Metropolis 2020 was restructured as Metropolis Strategies on March 1, 2011, but continued to pursue the goals (with the same leadership) as the Metropolis Project.

and scale of vision presented in Burnham and Bennett's 1909 undertakings for the Commercial Club (Figure 7.1).[5] Burnham's civic spirit and social moralism also resonated, with the plan's attention to "human dignity and equality of opportunity, community and environmental integrity, and the ideals and civilizing purpose of a great metropolitan region" (ibid, p. 5). This mission, however, was premised on a decidedly neoliberal framework. Metropolis 2020 backed increased collaboration between public and private sectors, including improving public transit through selective privatization of service in high-density areas while Johnson called on employers to assume more active civic engagement and greater responsibility for workforce training.

The perception of Chicago's capitalist class – articulated as a form of self-reflexivity by the Commercial Club in the Metropolis 2020 Plan – is particularly illuminating regarding their view of the region and their role within it. In an appendix devoted to "understanding sprawl and segregation", Johnson contends Chicago's business community reacted to, rather than engendered, the expansion of urban sprawl and the associated decentralization of economic activity. Retailers, he contended, pursued customers to the suburbs, employers were anxious to reduce commuting times, while others wanted to optimize the efficiencies afforded by highway transportation for

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[5] Johnson's land-use recommendations, drawing on the spirit of Burnham's belief that changes in architecture and urban form could induce changes in society, embraced the concept of 'smart urbanization' as a tool redress the sprawling development which had accelerated during the 1990s' economic boom. Smart urbanism and planning had gained a significant degree of interest in Chicago's suburbs as several municipalities which had grown under the economic prosperity of the 1980s and 1990s began to run out of greenfield space. Springfield was also beginning to take the challenge of urban sprawl seriously. During the 1990s, under Governor Ryan, the State established the Open Land Trust and a sub-cabinet position to examine issues of urban growth.

Figure 7.1: Visioning for the Chicago Metropolis 2020 Plan Concept conceptualized polycentric urban development and sustainable growth management through a network of infrastructure and ecological corridors. The diagrams evoked Jules Guerin's watercolor illustrations in the 1909 Plan of Chicago. Source: Copyright, Calthorpe Associates. Reproduced with permission.

industry and distribution. "Business leaders", he went on, "tend to be highly visible by virtue of their positions of civic leadership in the central city. They are hesitant to appear to be abdicating their responsibilities" (ibid, p. 160). Johnson's stress on civic leadership in the central city, combined with the geographic base and spatial interests of the Commercial Club's membership, has resulted in Metropolis 2020 perpetuating a Chicago- (specifically downtown-) centric regional discourse. This spatial imaginary offers a partial, largely myopic, understanding of the Chicago region's evolving economic geography, specifically industry-led suburbanization (Harris, 1994b, Keating, 2002, Lewis, 2009). Metropolis 2020 received praise for mobilizing Chicago's business elites but faced significant criticism for failing to represent the social and geographical diversity of the six-county area (Hamilton, 2002, p. 417).

Notwithstanding the explicit assertion that economic growth cannot, and should not, be an end unto itself, clear economic rationales underpinned the new regionalism emanating from the Metropolis 2020 Plan (Wiewel and Schaffer, 2001). Johnson (2001, p. 2) framed public policy collaboration at the city-regional scale as essential to the "self-interest" of the "interdependent residents" of an integrated urban region, but contended the interests of the business community were paramount in an era of globalized competition; "more than ever, regions compete against other regions. Our region competes with practically every sizeable metropolis in the nation, and increasingly in the world, based on the quality of life we offer and the quality of business environment we hold out to employers" (ibid, pp. 4-5). In positing regional economic development

policies as the putative solution to the metropolis' problems, Metropolis 2020's new regional agenda represented a reactionary response to processes of global economic restructuring, with various factions of capital embedded in the Chicago city-region seeking to adopt a new territorialized scalar fix (Brenner, 2002, p. 12).

Johnson's treatment of transportation supports this reasoning. The economics of goods movement received detailed consideration. Johnson argued for consolidating and connecting intermodal freight facilities in order to maintain the region's existing and potential locational advantages as a logistics hub. Metropolis 2020's proposed improvements to mass transit were vague in comparison to such exchange-value oriented recommendations. The Plan focused on the promotion of environmentally-friendly transit, improving personal mobility and access to employment centers for poor, racialized communities (particularly in the inner suburbs) and the identification of new funding sources yet it stopped short of advocating specific capital projects.[6] Still, Metropolis 2020's support of a contentious fuel tax increase to finance transit and other infrastructure projects indicated the importance placed on regional transportation.

The Metropolis 2020 Plan met with mixed reviews. While it received praise for its comprehensiveness, ambition and capacity to stimulate debate on pressing regional issues, support for the group's recommendations was far from universal, even amongst the city's elites who were particularly skeptical of proposed tax increases and revenue

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[6] While mobility and the movement of goods were afforded conceptual centrality within the Metropolis 2020 Plan, for the most part Johnson eschewed forwarding, large-scale public works improvements (aside from the notable advocacy of expanding air capacity at O'Hare and land-banking for a third airport) and instead drew significantly from proposals identified in CATS (1997) 2020 regional transportation plan.

sharing. Concerns regarding the loss of political power by many of the region's numerous governmental units also contributed to the Plan's lukewarm reception. Suburban officials feared the consequences of any potential oversight and Mayor Daley, despite embracing talk of regional cooperation, remained cool to Metropolis 2020's agenda. Abu-Lughod (2000, p. 13) dismissed the Metropolis Plan as "too little, too late", and suggested more investment needed to be focused on the marginalized, racialized areas of the region. Advocates for Metropolis 2020's vision were left bemoaning their Plan's inability to "stir men's blood" as the Burnham Plan had (Longworth, 2004, p. 90) and the intraregional mistrust which infringed upon its realization (Bennett, 2006b, pp. 283-284). Yet despite this tepid response, Metropolis 2020, as an institution, emerged as a major force influencing policy formation in Springfield; largely due to the backing of major corporations and the political access afforded to economic elites involved with the group. Most significantly, the organization has lobbied for, and drafted, legislation for regional governance reforms including amendments to the RTA (see chapter 9) and the reorganization of transportation and land-use planning in northeastern Illinois.

INSTITUTION BUILDING IN A FRAGMENTED CITY-REGION

Johnson's recommendations for streamlining local government and establishing a regional coordinating council to oversee transportation, land-use and environmental

policies were the most controversial elements of the Metropolis 2020 Plan.[7] Nevertheless,

traditional, principally suburban, opposition to the imposition of regional oversight was

matched by key actors' growing dissatisfaction with Chicagoland's existing regional

planning mechanisms. Despite its authority to allocate federal monies as the region's

Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO), CATS was viewed as a politically weak

"rubber stamp" beholden to the political will of Springfield (Frève, interview, 2009).

NIPC, by comparison, lacked the power to enforce its regional agenda. Both

organizations produced long-range regional plans, but with little collaboration.

The Metropolis 2020 Plan – and the organization's lobbying – served as a central

impetus behind State legislation merging CATS and NIPC into a single regional planning

body. The Chicago Regional Planning Act assigned responsibility "for developing and

adopting a funding and implementation strategy for an integrated land use and

transportation planning process" across seven northeast Illinois counties to a new entity;

the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP) (Illinois General Assembly,

2005b). Significantly, the move removed Chicago's MPO from the direct oversight of the

Illinois Department of Transportation (IDOT) and placed it under the control of local

officials.[8] Between July 2006 and July 2007, CATS and NIPC were consolidated into a

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[7] Johnson (2001) called for a regional coordinating council which could use its bond authority to encourage municipalities to pursue smart urbanization while having the power to veto development projects which could have an adverse regional impact. Suburban officials opposed such oversight early on and the Daley-led Metropolitan Mayors Caucus vigorously rejected any form of regional government (Rodriguez, 1998).

[8] CMAP is governed by a 15 person board, with members representing the City of Chicago (5); Cook County (5); DuPage, Lake, McHenry and Will counties (1 each); and a member jointly representing Kane and Kendall counties.

structured hierarchy of four committees; policy, advisory, coordinating and working. Officials hoped institutional consolidation would reduce operational inefficiencies, streamline finances and establish a unified vision for future growth. Driven as it was by civic and business groups, the decision revealed Chicago's urban elites' belated recognition of the interconnectedness of transportation and land-use decisions – i.e. the impact of infrastructural connectivity on the ability to produce, realize and potentially regulate differential rents – and their desire to forge rationality in the region's planning institutions to provide a stable environment for locational decisions.

CMAP initiated a regional planning process in 2007 and from the outset sought to position itself as a consensus-forming institution. The rhetoric of cooperation, collaboration and outreach percolated throughout CMAP's strategic vision, with the Agency (2006, p. 5) arguing that "[we] cannot achieve [our] vision alone, nor succeed with a top-down approach". Efforts were made to strengthen communication, cooperation, and partnerships with political groups and advocacy organizations. Work on CMAP's Go to 2040 comprehensive plan commenced with a program of regional visioning that utilized workshops with key stakeholders and residents and on-line technology-based tools to facilitate public participation.

CMAP's outreach program and emphasis on collaboration and consensus building reflected the need to break from "business as usual" (Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, 2010, p. 12) and the continuing institutional limitations faced by regional governance actors in Chicagoland. As with NIPC, CMAP lacked operational authority

and powers of enforcement. A CMAP planner explains, "even though we have legislative authority to produce a regional plan, we don't have the statutory responsibility to make sure that municipalities prepare a local plan... that means that they don't have to be in compliance with what we recommend and this is part of the problem" (Delano, interview, 2009). Soft institutional networks, lubricated by the professional relationships and personal friendships which extend throughout Chicagoland's planning community, have thus emerged as central channels for consensus formation.[9]

Reaction to CMAP has varied. Given the close personnel relationships between organizations and CMAP's business-driven genesis, the new agency has been subject to accusations of Chicago-centrism akin to Metropolis 2020. Despite their stress on public participation and regional consultation, opinions of CMAP's outreach and its potential impact varied among local government officials and advocacy groups that were interviewed. While a representative from SSMMA contends both CMAP and Metropolis 2020 were encouraged to, and did, spend significant time consulting with them (Greenwood, interview, 2009), a Cook County planner expressed doubts that the County's work received much attention from regional organizations (McCann, interview, 2009). This view was supported by several suburban municipal and county officials who commented on the lack of contact with regional agencies, despite a willingness to work

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[9] Interpersonal connections are noticeably prominent at the upper policy and advisory levels. For example, Metropolis 2020 Executive Director, Frank Beal, represents the city of Chicago on CMAP's Board of Directors while vice-president (and former executive director of Business Leaders for Transportation), Jim Labelle is a prominent member on CMAP's freight committee.

with them. Interviewees who participated in CMAP workshops often had ambivalent
reactions to the GO to 2040 process and questioned the Agency's potential impact:

> Do I see their [CMAP's] planning efforts amounting to anything? Well, no. This is
> not Seattle or Portland where we have a regional planning authority... I think
> regional planning is important [but] we're set up differently in Illinois (DuPage
> County municipality, interview, 2009).

> It lacks relevance... because it is not addressing the reality of what happens with
> the property market [in the outer collar counties]. There's a tendency to just want to
> have new urbanism happening everywhere else and keep the agricultural stuff
> green. If it hasn't happened in the last 60 years, it isn't going to happen now
> because somebody has good intentions and a plan. The reality is that people are
> making tons of money converting agricultural lands to other uses; there's no surer
> way of making money in this area (Osborne, interview, 2008).

CMAP is therefore required to negotiate a sensitive political economic
environment in which many communities are predisposed to skepticism or opposition.
The challenge of scaling regional planning as an advisory body rather than a planning
authority is clearly evident in CMAP's "Developments of Regional Importance" (DRI)
review process. Adapting policy and planning processes from Florida, Vermont and
Greater Atlanta, CMAP's DRI review assesses major developments (including
transportation projects) that may introduce widespread impacts beyond the lead agency's
jurisdiction. The definition of "regional" in this context is opaque. Projects are subject to

review based on their size, purpose and intensity of use and are evaluated via a matrix considering potential impacts on zoning, transportation systems, use of public funds and environmental impact (Urban Land Institute - Chicago, 2008). Although final approval still rests with local planning authorities, local officials are wary of political interference in the DRI process. Suburban planners expressed concern regarding the potential extension of CMAP's influence into local decision-making (Fisher and Jackson, interview, 2009); despite CMAP lacking the capacity to stop projects and the DRI process amounting to a "Good Planning Seal of Approval" for developers (Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, 2012).

CMAP's governing board adopted Go to 2040 on October 13, 2010, making it Chicago's first official comprehensive regional plan since 1909. As the only regional government agency in northeastern Illinois concerned with issues beyond transportation, CMAP (2010, p. 328) placed a high priority on promoting and facilitating investment in the city-region and called on the federal government to view metropolitan areas "as central building blocks for increasing the nation's overall economic prosperity". Attesting that "the region can no longer afford *not* to plan effectively", the 416-page document outlines a holistic vision for future regional development premised upon (1) "livable communities", with a focus on smart urbanization and conservation; (2) effective investment in human capital to facilitate private sector innovation; (3) efficient and transparent governance, including tax reform; and (4) integrated, multimodal transportation planning (ibid, pp. 26, 28).

Go to 2040's proposals for strategic investment in transportation are comprehensive; covering capital projects, financing and governance reform. Land-use plans focus on transit-oriented development (TOD) with major transportation capital projects evaluated in terms of their compatibility with the regional plan. Consequently, GO to 2040 proposes development around a network of key nodes and corridors, although not as explicitly as the Places to Grow growth strategy in southern Ontario. CMAP contends funding allocations for transportation projects should be based on need (ending the 55-45 division of State highway dollars between downstate and northeastern Illinois), with funds obtained through congestion pricing, parking charges and increases to fuel taxes. They advocate selective public-private partnerships to fund transportation improvements rather than "generating revenue for non-transportation purposes by leasing or privatizing transportation assets" (ibid, p. 248). In addition to prioritizing transit, Go to 2040 outlines a commitment to improving freight infrastructure and policy; including advocating for a national vision and federal freight program; supporting improvements for regional goods movement and integrating freight needs into infrastructure prioritization (Figure 7.2).

Despite its comprehensive approach, Go to 2040 and the institutional restructuring which created CMAP represent less of an attempt to integrate polycentric post-modern city-region space, although this is a partial consequence, than an incremental moment of reterritorialization that complements and challenges local political interests. Regional governance in northeastern Illinois does not yet amount
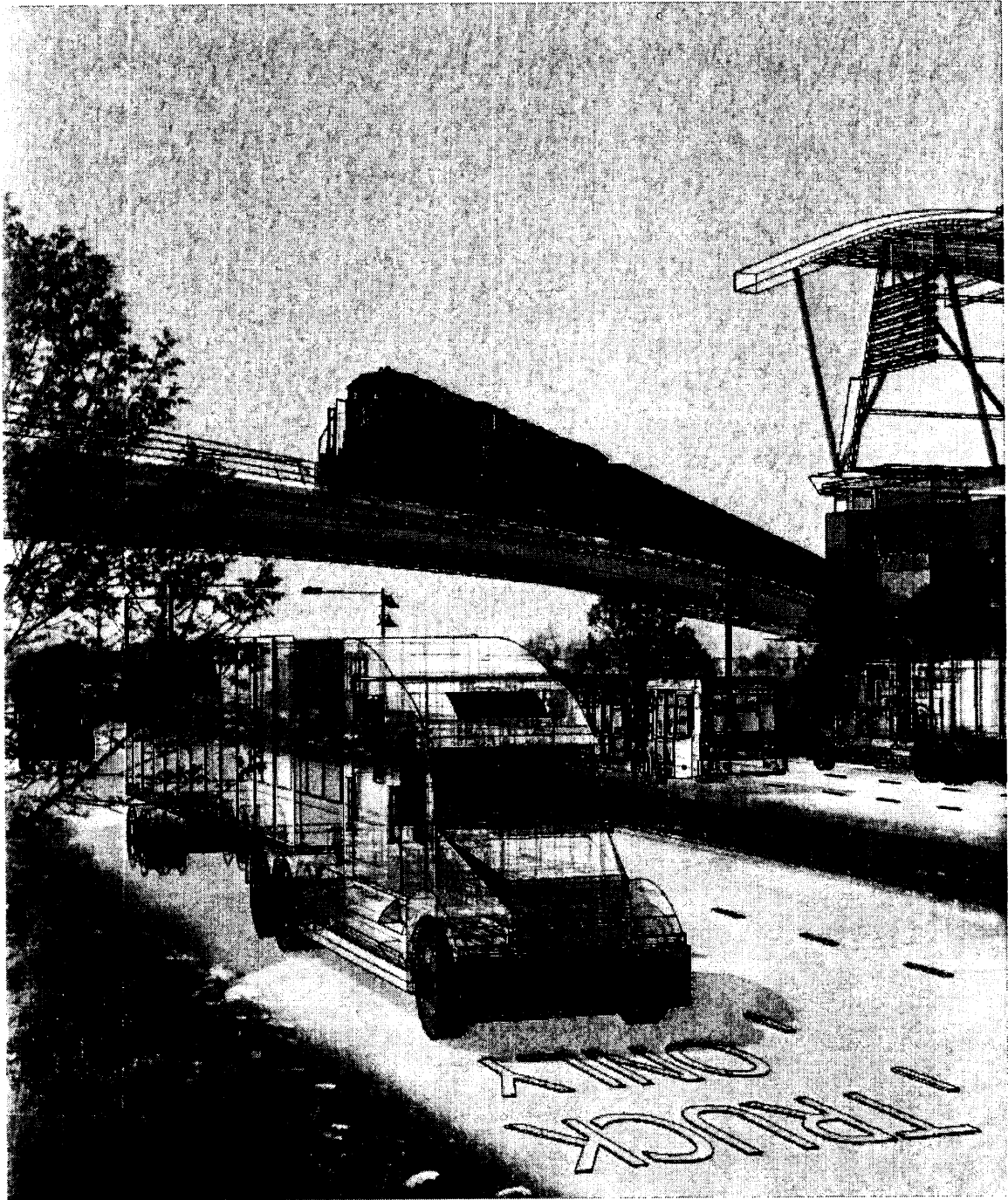
Figure 7.2: Splintering freight infrastructure in Go to 2040. CMAP's freight and transit proposals include truck-only roadways and bus rapid transit routes, while calling for investment in rail networks to reduce at grade crossings. Source: Copyright, Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP), 2010. Reproduced with permission.

to regional government. Plans internalize the fragile nature of coalition building and the need for political compromise. Still, while CMAP faces resistance from suburbs and the City of Chicago as it moves to implement Go to 2040's plans, the Agency does provide a forum in which regional issues can be discussed: even if the discussion is limited by Chicago elites' global aims.

MOBILIZING 'REGIONAL SPACE' AS A 'SPACE OF REGIONALISM' IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO

The contemporary mobilization of the city-region as a crucial spatial frame for developing Toronto's transportation infrastructure emerged gradually over two decades. A prolonged period of under-investment in the region's transportation infrastructure following the Province of Ontario's abandonment of spatial Keynesianism in the mid-1970s, combined with the development-oriented growth regime in place through the 1980s, resulted in an urban planning process that contributed to sprawling suburban landscapes dependent upon automobile transport (OECD, 2010, Soberman et al., 2006).

By the early 1990s, functional concerns surrounding congestion, urban sprawl and the circulation of capital, people and goods were increasingly being recognized as impediments to the GTA's economic prosperity. The Toronto Board of Trade was an early advocate for a regional transportation authority as congestion became a key issue for their membership. City-regionalism in the GTA arose as a competitive spatial politics. The infrastructural requirements of global capital solidified the city-region as the spatial

frame in which processes of globalization could be marshaled and territorialized in place (see Jones and MacLeod, 2004, Ward and Jonas, 2004). The trope of Toronto as a networked "regional space" continues to be perpetuated in policy circles by the uncritical elevation of the city-region as a singular, coherent economic engine (e.g. Golden, 2012). While the private sector has remained a vocal advocate of regionalism, institutionalizing regional space in the GTA has been driven by the state, in contrast to the case of Chicago.

Despite the Province's well-known reservations regarding the empowerment of sub-regional political spaces (Boudreau et al., 2007, p. 47), the GTA's accelerated urbanization necessitated governmental intervention to coordinate urban growth and infrastructure development. Municipal amalgamation in 1998 had not resolved the contradictions inherent within Metro's two-tier government structure since the functional networks of the city-region already extended well beyond the Megacity's boundaries. Yet in contrast to the aggressive restructuring of local and provincial powers enacted in Premier Harris's neoliberal "Common Sense Revolution", his government's approach to regional infrastructure provision was decidedly cautious (Frisken, 2007, p. 263). Following a consultative forum held in 1997, Queen's Park established the Greater Toronto Services Board (GTSB) as an institutional fix – overseen by a board comprised of local sitting politicians – to coordinate region-wide infrastructure strategies.

The GTSB was introduced into an unstable and contested political landscape. As municipalities looked to secure their political position within southern Ontario's unfurling state restructuring, local politicians had little interest in a planning body with

region-wide powers. The newly-amalgamated City of Toronto in particular did not embrace the prospect of uploading planning authority. The Province subsequently received the greatest backing for the GTSB in the outer suburbs (Boudreau et al., 2007, p. 47, Frisken, 2007, p. 258). Beset with a weak mandate and limited powers, the GTSB acted tentatively to deal with the GTA's entrenched political parochialism. The Board was continually undermined by local governments pursuing their own agendas and in practice, primarily acted as the body authorizing capital and operating budgets for GO Transit operations as its coordinating functions were marginalized. Having failed to embed the GTSB within southern Ontario's evolving institutional landscape, Queen's Park dismantled the agency and resumed charge of GO Transit in September 2001.

Notwithstanding its limited mandate and short-life span, the GTSB served as the genesis for regional transportation governance in the GTA both as an institutional space and as a forum for emerging thinking on regional transportation issues. Towards the end of the Board's tenure, intra-regional frustrations with congestion coalesced into a nascent consensus backing an empowered regional transportation body.[10] In the wake of the GTSB's demise, the Harris government formed the Central Ontario Smart Growth Panel (COSGP) to address the pressing challenges of congestion and waste disposal in an area

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[10] The concept of a regional transportation authority for the GTA gained traction in 2001. The GTSB considered the Regional Transportation Authority (Chicago), the Georgia Regional Transportation Authority (Atlanta), and Translink (Vancouver) as potential models for a Greater Toronto transportation authority (Chong, 2005).

five times the size of the GTA.[11] While Harris's Progressive Conservative government formed the COSGP, Dalton McGuinty's Liberals animated regionalization in southern Ontario following their electoral victory in 2003. Between 2005 and 2006, McGuinty's government incorporated several of the COSGP's (2003) key recommendations in its landmark legislation; the Greenbelt and Places to Grow Acts. In doing so, they codified the principles shaping regional growth management and investment decisions until 2031 (Macdonald and Keil, 2012, Wekerle and Abbruzzese, 2010).

Building from this framework, Ontario's Minister of Transportation, Harinder Takher, introduced long-awaited legislation to Queen's Park proposing the formation of a regional transportation authority for southern Ontario on April 24, 2006. The Greater Toronto Transportation Authority Act passed on June 22, 2006, establishing Metrolinx (rebranded as such in December 2007) as a Crown Agency charged with managing and coordinating transportation in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA). The creation of a regional transportation authority represented the continued assertion of the Provincial government as a regionalizing state. The institutionalization of GTHA as a "space of regionalism" was the result of a necessary moment of rescaling, albeit one that remained tied to territorially-defined political space. Indeed, as early as 2003, former Toronto mayor David Crombie commended Queen's Park's inclusion of the city of Hamilton in its plans for Toronto's transportation future, attesting, "I've always said we

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[11] As part of the restructuring, Queen's Park closed the Office for the Greater Toronto Area and transferred its staff to COSGP. With this, the GTA "essentially ceased to exist" as an entity in Provincial policy (Frisken, 2007, p. 288).

should be looking beyond Greater Toronto to the Golden Horseshoe... The current boundaries represent an older regionalism and an older reality that no longer exists" (cf. Monsebraaten, 2003, p. H01). While remaining accountable to the Provincial Ministry of Transportation, Queen's Park bestowed Metrolinx with substantial powers to manage the development of transportation infrastructure and stimulate the growth mandated by Places to Grow. Its responsibilities included preparing a multi-modal regional transportation plan (RTP) and realizing the integration of transportation systems throughout the GTHA (Government of Ontario, 2006).[12]

Indicative of the ways that city-regions are relationally produced through policy mobilities (Jacobs, 2012b, McCann and Ward, 2011), the Province reviewed numerous national and international transit and transportation systems leading up to the creation of Metrolinx (Ontario Ministry of Transportation, 2007), with Greater Vancouver's Translink presenting an attractive model for planning and operating regional transportation in the Canadian context. Still, the different political, infrastructural and urban contexts of Greater Vancouver and Greater Toronto posed significant barriers to the direct application of Translink's governance architecture in southern Ontario. The creation and structure of Metrolinx, of necessity, represented a locally-defined moment of institutional restructuring. Two issues presented a significant challenge in this regard. First, Translink is required to report to the Greater Vancouver Regional District, a regional planning body established in 1960 to cover Metro Vancouver. Toronto lacked a

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[12] In addition to coordinating with the GTHA's nine public transit systems – as well as GO Transit (which merged with Metrolinx in 2009) – the new authority has the capacity to own and operate transit assets.

comparable body after the demise of the GTSB. Second, the successful establishment of a

regional transportation authority in the GTA would need to overcome the myopic

interests of local politicians; a governance challenge that has also affected Translink's

operations (Krawchenko, 2011). Gordon Chong (2005), former chair of the GTSB and

vice-chair of GO Transit, had suggested sitting politicians hold a minority position (if

any) on a Greater Toronto transportation authority. The institutional framework adopted

by Queen's Park, however, did not reflect his recommendations. During the RTP

planning process, Metrolinx's 11-person Board consisted mainly of sitting politicians.[13]

From the outset, Metrolinx operated less as an independent regional governance

body and more as an inter-regional facilitator fostering synergies between levels of

government. Metrolinx planners viewed their role within the region as one of

coordination and facilitation between municipalities and the Province (Sajecki, interview,

2010). Opposed to the antagonistic communications between territorially-defined

interests which characterized the GTSB's brief existence, Metrolinx brought together

voices from across southern Ontario in a spirit of regional collaboration while marshaling

new investments and revenue sources made available by Queen's Park and Ottawa.

A vision of, and for, the region

Metrolinx approved the final version of its RTP, The Big Move, on November 28, 2008.

The RTP fused the 52 major transit improvements laid out in MoveOntario 2020 (a

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[13] Metrolinx's initial Board was composed of appointees from the Province (2); Toronto (4: including Mayor Miller and TTC chairman Giambrone); Hamilton (1); and one from each municipal region (4).

cornerstone of Premier McGuinty's 2007 re-election campaign) with the smart growth

land management strategies and city-regional vision established by Places to Grow.

Metrolinx (2008) premised their vision for the GTHA's future transportation network

upon a strategically significant network of "mobility hubs" connected by a system of

corridors facilitating the movement of people and goods.[14] The intended outcome is a

reconfiguration of the radial central hub-and-spoke structure of the GTHA's existing

transportation network towards a highly integrated web connecting the regional urban

fabric (Figure 7.3). Linking urban space through networked connectivity is an important

step in the physical, social and political integration of fragmented, postmodern regions

(Lang and Knox, 2009). Metrolinx has approached regional transportation planning in a

manner which both responds to and actively encourages the emerging geography of the

Toronto city-region. The Big Move's mobility hubs have emerged as important symbolic

representational spaces galvanizing support for the Province's regional imaginary.

Interviews conducted with municipal-region planners indicated strong support for nodal

development to redress perceived service deficiencies and spatially and modally spread

transportation investment throughout the region.

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[14] Mobility hubs serve as major places of connectivity intended to seamlessly integrate regional rapid transit service and different modes of transportation (from walking to high-speed rail) in place, and are planned to foster urban intensification (Metrolinx, 2008). It is worth noting such nodal development is not new to the Toronto region. The promotion of sub-centres and controlled decentralization was a development priority articulated in Metro's and Queen's Park's spatial Keynesian state projects during the 1970s (Government of Ontario, 1970, Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review, 1975). The scale and spacing of Places to Grow's growth hubs, as well as the shifting regionalist discourses supporting them, mark Metrolinx's plans as a distinct articulation of regionalization.

Figure 7.3: Metrolinx's 15-year plan for the regional rapid transit and highway network. The Big Move's proposed regional transportation system is premised upon a strategically significant system of "mobility hubs", major transit nodes and "places of connectivity" that seamlessly integrate regional rapid transit services in a system of corridors facilitating the movement of people and goods. Source: Copyright, Greater Toronto Transportation Authority, The Big Move, 2008. Reproduced with permission.

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Introducing The Big Move, Rob MacIsaac, Metrolinx's first chairman, not only praised the cooperation between local actors in formulating the plan, but suggested it represented a fundamental shift in their understanding of the GTHA; "The RTP will not only reclaim our region's traditional transportation advantage, but also bolster our global competitiveness, protect our environment, and improve our quality of life. *For the very first time, like so many of our global competitors, we are thinking like a single region*" (cf. Metrolinx, 2008, p. 1, my emphasis). Discursive references to environmental sustainability and the negative impacts of unrestricted suburban expansion percolated throughout the RTP, highlighting environmental concerns as an increasingly significant calculation in urban governance (see Jonas, Gibbs and While, 2011, Keil, 2009, Scott, 2007). Still, the underlying justification for implementing The Big Move was couched in the trope of economic competitiveness. That this would be the case is not surprising, especially in the context of the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis. The development of the modern metropolis and processes of globalization are fundamentally co-constitutive and the evolution of urban space remains intrinsically tied to the structuring of advanced economies (Lang and Knox, 2009). With this, the state – through land use and transportation decisions taken by public agencies – can "act as a conduit for the interests of private capital" (Ekers et al., 2012, p. 412). This is particularly important in stimulating capital flows to switch into the built environment, notably during periods of economic crisis (Phelps and Wood, 2011).

The political discourses surrounding Metrolinx's RTP echo Brenner's (2000a) assessment of regionalization as an institutional medium and strategy of crisis management. Diverse economic, environmental and social concerns have prompted actors to mobilize regional space as a means to animate locational advantages, concentrate socioeconomic assets and channel inward investment for global competitiveness. The Big Move puts forward an integrated regional spatial imaginary through which networked connectivity transcends the limitations of a transportation landscape whose institutions and infrastructure have been delineated by sub-regional and territorially-defined interests. Commenting on the growing recognition of relational connectivity in the GTHA, MacIsaac (interview, 2010) suggested Metrolinx has catalyzed a sense of "regional citizenship", noting "even three years ago, the city of Hamilton saw itself as a competitor to the city of Toronto. Today I think there is a growing recognition... that Hamilton is part of the bigger city-region and there needs to be regional coordination and cooperation. It's in everybody's best interest".

THE PERSISTENCE OF TERRITORIAL POLITICS

The Big Move marked a high watermark for transportation planning and policy synergies in southern Ontario. Although Metrolinx's institutional framework proved adept at establishing a political consensus amongst local units of government regarding an overall regional vision, it became increasingly apparent – especially to the Province – that the territorial interests of politicians sitting on the Board presented a conflict of interest

between local and regional development. Conflicts which could be deferred during Metrolinx's planning phase could not be avoided as the Authority shifted towards implementing The Big Move.[15] Echoing Morgan's (2007) conclusions, Metrolinx staff were cognizant of the difficulties "political" board member faced when voting for projects which would not be the best for their constituents (McNeil, interview, 2010). A lack of fiduciary responsibility – predominantly surrounding a fissure between a 'Toronto Caucus', led by Mayor Miller and Adam Giambrone (TTC chairman from December 2006 to December 2010), and suburban representatives on the Board – raised fears that projects would be promoted based on political clout rather than the recommendations of planners. Political posturing between the City of Toronto-TTC and Queen's Park-Metrolinx infringed on the regional authority's ability to get shovels in the ground.

The antagonistic relations between City, suburbs and Province unfurled through the contested "politics of scaling" (Brenner, 2001a, p. 604) engendered in Ontario's neoliberal "revolution" and associated state restructuring during the 1990s. Although transportation had emerged as a central political issue across the GTHA by the early-2000s, the dynamic processes through which the new political landscape of southern Ontario was being forged produced multiple and multiscalar politics of representation. The City of Toronto and Province of Ontario have proposed differing imaginaries of city-regional space which, echoing MacLeod and Jones's (2007, p. 1186) relational-structuration approach to territoriality, "discursively (re-)present their struggles and

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[15] Goods movement presented a central area of concern, as several suburban municipalities voiced concerns that The Big Move was too focused on transit improvements.

strategies... [while] offering an already partitioned geographical 'scaffolding' in and through which such practices and struggles take place".

The City of Toronto, through its 2002 Official Plan, sought to integrate transportation and land use planning to accommodate future growth while reducing auto-dependency by making transit, cycling and walking more attractive options. The TTC (2003) supported the aims of the City's Official Plan by establishing a new policy framework intended to facilitate the "smart" re-urbanization of Toronto. By 2006, Toronto's Mayor Miller corralled these emerging objectives into Transit City; an $8.3 billion proposal to construct 120km of light rapid transit (LRT) with supplementary bus rapid transit (BRT) that would integrate the urban fabric of the amalgamated city and provide a direct rapid transit connection to Pearson International Airport (Figure 7.4). Transit City was not simply forwarded as a transit plan but as a catalyst for urban restructuring. Miller and Giambrone saw European-style LRT offering the means to transform modernist auto-centric landscapes characterized by low densities, tower blocks and strip malls. LRT would catalyze intensification and mixed-use development along suburban boulevards. Transit City indicated the City's commitment to invest in Toronto's in-between spaces; both to developers and the low-income and visible minority residents of the inner-suburban "priority neighbourhoods" identified by the United Way (2005).

Despite several smart growth synergies and the incorporation of Transit City into The Big Move, contradictions in scale and purpose were readily apparent between Queen's Park's and Toronto's transit plans. Transit City was premised on a spatial
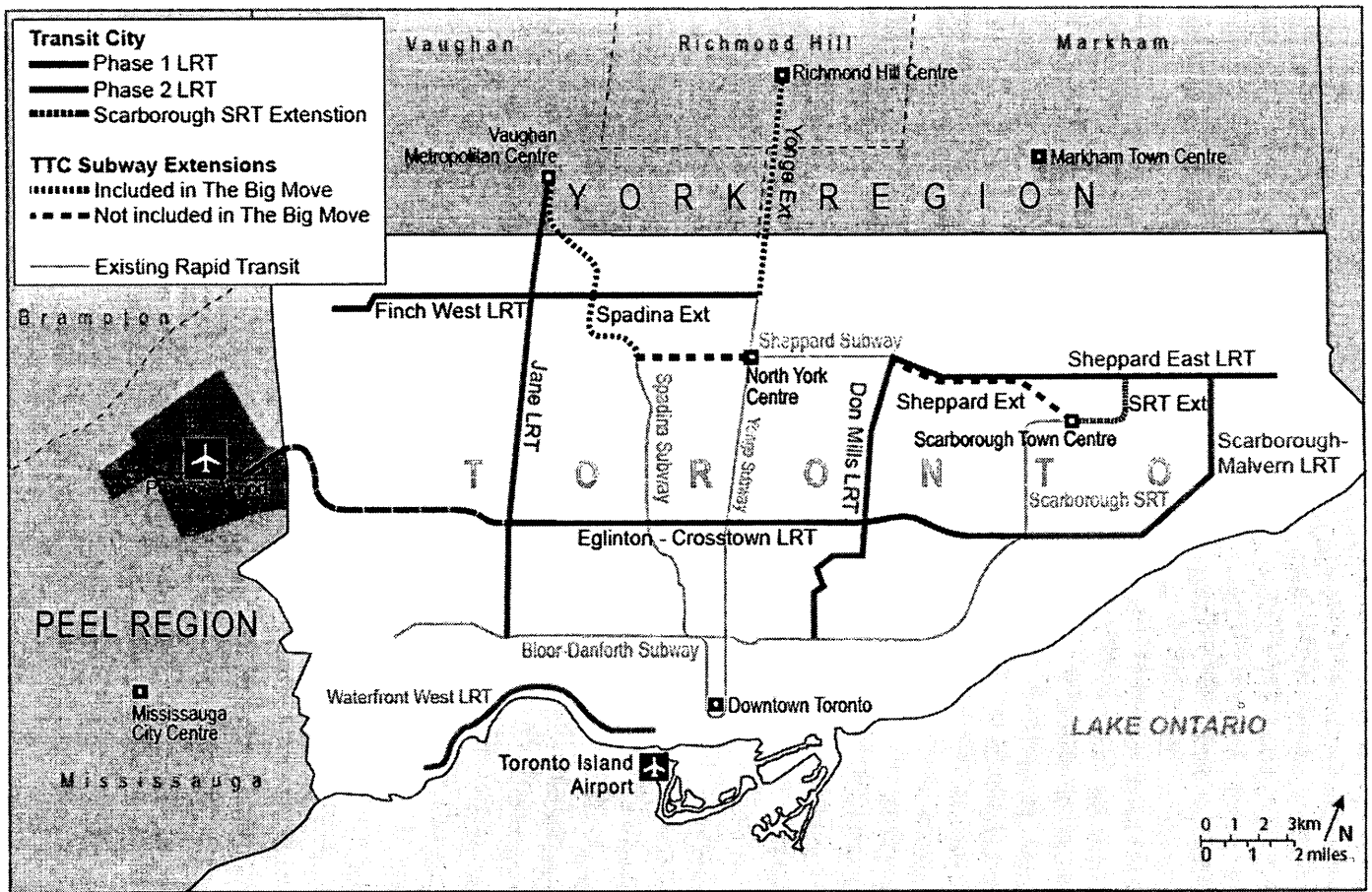
Figure 7.4: Transit City and proposed extensions to the TTC's subway system. Premier McGuinty deferred the Eglinton LRT from Jane Street to Pearson Airport on May 25, 2010.

imaginary and modal transportation framework structured by, and subsequently reinforcing, a territorially-bounded *city*-based understanding of urban mobility. For example, in considering Transit City's proposed Eglinton Crosstown LRT route, Giambrone (interview, 2010) asserted that since relatively few people would take the entire trip from Kennedy to Pearson Airport "high speed is not as critical as quality local service". In contrast, Metrolinx planners argued for a faster line with fewer local stops based on the overall needs of a city-regional system (McNeil, interview, 2010, Sajecki, interview, 2010). Queen's Park continues to favor a strategy of outward multimodal transport expansion to facilitate urban in-fill and densification around the regional nodes identified in the Places to Grow and Big Move plans; including the extension of the TTC's subway lines into York Region. With financing for Transit City contingent upon Provincial and federal funding, conflicting scalar politics raised concerns in central Toronto that future transportation development would undermine Torontonians' interests.

At the same time as Miller's municipal regime put forward a Toronto-centric vision of infrastructure development, the need to introduce some form of integration between the GTHA's fragmented and disconnected transit operations was generally accepted throughout the wider region (see OECD, 2010). Queen's Park backed the "Presto" smartcard as their preferred mechanism to integrate fare payment on all nine transit networks overseen by Metrolinx as well as mass transit in Hamilton and Ottawa.[16]

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[16] Full implementation of Presto was rolled out in November 2009 following a trial run during 2007 and 2008. While suburban municipalities and their transit providers embraced Presto, the system was only initially trialed at Union Station in Toronto and, as of 2012, only 14 subway stations had introduced Presto technology.

The TTC, however, were cynical of the Province's talk of integration and refused to commit to the program. While Metrolinx staff argued that the TTC was derailing regionally-interconnected transit, the Commission adopted an expansionist posture regarding their role in the GTHA.

In a 2010 interview, then TTC chair Adam Giambrone problematized the rhetoric of Queen's Park's policy discourse by suggesting it obfuscated the political and logistical challenges of regional integration. He particularly pointed to a key discursive slippage in Provincial debates on the issue: "The one thing people talk about when they mean integration, and you catch the minister slipping between these every once in a while, is fare integration". While Presto is accepted by many of the GTHA's numerous transit providers, the card still requires riders pay a double fare when transferring between systems. Full fare integration, although technologically possible, would require additional annual funding in perpetuity to cover losses incurred by the loss of what are effectively zone fares. For Giambrone, the central challenge of regional transit integration rests on service quality and the necessary provision of subsidies to cover the costs of operation rather than geographic integration of transit networks or fare collection systems. Citing the disproportionate size of the TTC relative to other transit agencies signed up to Presto, and the difference in subsidies required per ride by the TTC (60c.) and York Region Transit (YRT, $4), he argued that the Commission was a logical mass transit provider for the region; especially since the TTC could build on existing transit contracts to assume responsibility for transit operations across the GTHA (Giambrone, interview, 2010).

The Province's solution to the territorial politics internalized within Metrolinx's institutional framework was to restructure its Board of Directors and reassert Queen's Park's authority over regional transportation. In March 2009, Premier McGuinty removed notable political figures, including Miller and Giambrone from Metrolinx, and replaced them with "corporate" board members with expertise in business, construction, finance, and customer service while Ontario's Minister of Transportation assumed responsibility for developing transportation policy statements. However, rather than representing a depoliticization of Metrolinx, the shift from a "political" to "corporate" Board replaced territorial politics with a new articulation of private political interest.[17] For Rob MacIsaac, the Board reshuffling redefined Metrolinx as a service delivery and coordination agency beholden to Queen's Park rather than a body of regional governance:

Metrolinx had the possibility of being a governance body when it had politicians on its board. It could have evolved into something, which, for me, when you say governance… should have some ability to independently make policy which impacts on its territory. I think that is not what Metrolinx has evolved to… My view is that the regional agent of governance for [the GTHA] is the Province. They have filled that role in themselves and that was a deliberate policy choice (interview, 2010).

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[17] Metrolinx staff contested the idea that new "corporate" Board brought their own political and economic agendas to the table. McNeil (interview, 2010) argued they have brought a desire to incorporate advantageous private sector practices into a public sector organization "so that we get really the best of both worlds". This mode of governance, however, evidently reflects neoliberal political rationales.

Following the restructuring of the Board and the shift to RTP implementation, several municipal planners interviewed noted a decreasing amount of involvement and conversation with Metrolinx, who were viewed as "working more as a private entity" compared to the significant voice that the municipal planners felt they had had during the plan's formulation (Durham Region, interview, 2010). While several of the planning officials interviewed questioned the decline in information exchange between governments, they suggest that on a staff level, Metrolinx and the municipalities remained close, with conversations continuing in most sectors, including transit and goods movement. Municipal officials, though, remain wary of Metrolinx interjecting itself into local issues and it has been criticized for a lack of transparency and accountability (Krawchenko, 2011). Local planners called for Metrolinx to play a strong role in local development, but as a guide sharing expertise rather than exercising autocratic power. A problematic division between land-use and transportation planning endures. While transportation policy is predominantly formulated at the regional scale, land-use planning, even under the influence of Places to Grow, remains highly localized and only quasi-regional.

INSTITUTIONALIZING THE CITY-REGION AS A POLITICAL SPACE

Through this chapter, I have highlighted the territorial and relational processes through which the Chicago and Toronto city-regions are being politically produced, rendered visible and governed. As the functional networks of contemporary global urbanization

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increasingly transcend the territorially-defined boundaries of the metropolis, isolated city and suburban policies can no longer harness the development trajectories of city-regions (Harrison, 2010, Kubler and Heinelt, 2005, p. 8). The on-going regionalization of urban transportation discloses the significant ways in which relational multiscalar flows, policy transfers and networked connectivity challenge territorial notions of agency, but also illustrates the continuing importance of jurisdictionally-defined political power to structure the emergent geographies and regulation of city-regional space. "Regional spaces" and "spaces of regionalism" internalized in city-regions are held in tension as the contradictory relationship between urban boundaries and flows is actively reproduced and reconfigured. Clearly, all the political processes involved in the mobilization of "spaces of regionalism" are not contained within city-region's territorial boundaries. Drawing on Brenner's (2002, p. 12) schema of metropolitan regionalism in the United States, the regionalization projects underway in Chicago and Toronto are importantly tied to global economic restructuring and the reorganization of political economic activity. Reflecting Jonas and Ward's (2002, p. 328) conclusions, globalization appears prominently as an explanatory factor for "changes in the spatial context of urban policy" across national frameworks. To this end, globalization has been "internalized" within the material and discursive processes underlying regional techniques of spatialization (Keil, 2011a).

While city-regions may have risen to prominence as the territorial platforms for post-Fordist economic and political processes (Scott et al., 2001), local context remains fundamental in articulating how processes and structures are consolidated around

particular social and territorial interests. State spatial strategies being deployed to increase the territorial competitiveness of regional economies disclose the breakdown of the place-specific political compromises implemented to resolve the contradictions of spatial Keynesian urbanization. Chicago's and Toronto's regional institutions and infrastructure – established in a manner that fundamentally integrated them with the development and management of Fordist urbanization –experienced distinct continuities and ruptures in their re-articulation of urban and regional governance. Regionalizing transportation governance and planning in southern Ontario required a moment of rescaling driven by Provincial politicians and the public sector; forging an institutional space through which functions previously territorialized within the Province and Metro could be fixed at the scale of the GTHA. This was a gradual and contested process. Initially, it succumbed to local territorial politics which left the GTSB a weak and ineffective body. The structural capacity of Queen's Park facilitated the strategic action necessary to marshal the contested politics of reterritorialization at the local scale in a moment of "centrally orchestrated regionalism" (Harrison, 2008). In contrast, CATS and NIPC, did not undergo substantial rescaling. Regional restructuring was premised upon reconfiguring Chicago's spatial Keynesian compromises at the behest of the private sector to promote accumulation and stable urban growth.

Both CMAP and Metrolinx reflect a broad movement towards consolidating transportation and land-use planning, but the American-Illinois and Canadian-Ontario contexts influence potential strategies and actions. City-regional urbanization in both

cases has been codified predominantly through a top-down reorganization of institutional power and space relations by "regionalizing states" rather than a grassroots' reclamation of urban-regional space or instance of progressive regionalism (see Clark and Christopherson, 2009, Pezzoli, Hibbard and Huntoon, 2009). The production of "spaces of regionalism" in Chicago and Toronto, however, clearly stop short of a "regional politics of polycentricity" (Keil, 2011a, p. 2507). Decision-making and political power has not followed the decentralizing tendencies of centrifugal city-regional urbanization. The perception (and reality) of regionalism as a city-centric project within northeastern Illinois has perpetuated the entrenched animosity between the City of Chicago and the suburbs. Political power in Chicagoland remains monocentric and the impulse of regionalization continues to emanate from the city-region's urban core. The urban regime has not, itself, regionalized or embraced an ontology-of-flows perspective. Rather the interests and spatial imaginary of key economic and civic actors have shifted in a Janus-faced movement that embraces the sensibilities of new regionalism while returning to the spatial logics and grandeur of vision presented in the Plan of Chicago. Consequently, it is difficult to envision the formation of collective agency in the Chicago city-region as city-regional political consensus is decidedly issue-based, empowered from the top-down, and often seen to favor the interests of the City of Chicago.

Most significantly in the Canadian context examined here, the techniques and discourses of regionalization were mobilized by the Provincial government. This is most evident in the legislative authority and powers of enforcement bestowed upon regional

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institutions. Although CMAP has legislative authority to produce a regional plan –

covering a broad range of issues, from transportation and land-use to issues of taxation

and governance reform – it lacks the statutory responsibility to make sure that

municipalities prepare a local plan or act in compliance with what it recommends.

Separate agencies operate and plan transit (RTA) and highways (IDOT and the Illinois

State Toll Highway Authority [ISTHA]). By contrast, the Province of Ontario granted

Metrolinx substantial powers to manage multimodal transportation infrastructure and

provision in the GTHA within the context of the *Places to Grow* growth management

strategy. However, echoing Jonas and Pincetl's (2006) analysis of new regionalism in

California, the reality of economic relations and power dynamics between the Province

and local governments have led to the fiscal and political disciplining of, in particular, the

City of Toronto, rather than the extension of regional collaboration and formation of

collective agency. While the city-region has emerged as the spatial scale at which

Toronto's infrastructure future is being decided, Metrolinx represents regionalized

Provincial interests, opposed to independent city-regional governance. Metrolinx's

investments are selected strategically, without an explicit concern for issues of social

inclusivity. The Big Move emphasizes regional mobility that may not benefit the residual

spaces of the city-region; increasing the marginalization and relative disconnections

experienced in Toronto's inner suburban "priority neighborhoods" (Keil and Young,

2009). The question remains as to whether the resultant moments of restructuring and

reterritorialization are likely to support regional transportation planning and integration,

and whether they can successfully negotiate the contested city-suburban metropolitics by fostering multiscalar "differentiated" state spaces (Cox, 2010, p. 226). Urban transportation networks establish an important geographic context around which new collective territorial politics can emerge and with this, may serve to animate new political spaces, mobilize rescaled spatial imaginaries, and galvanize the establishment of collective agency at the city-regional scale (Boudreau, 2007, Jonas et al., 2010).

City-suburban political dynamics, while continuing to influence the development of the Chicago and Toronto city-regions, are being reconfigured around an unstable and evolving set of regional governance processes. The development of collective regional agency appears necessary to overcome the inertia of metropolitan politics, yet the specific contexts of the case city-regions continue to condition the structural capacity of actors mobilizing "spaces of regionalism". Regional spatial imaginaries increasingly act as symbolic representations of space that depoliticize or displace local sociopolitical tensions and obfuscate metropolitan cleavages yet such regionalization strategies are as likely to open new fissures in city-regional space as they are to fuse collective agency. I will return to this issue in chapter 9.

Chapter 8

Flying high (in the competitive sky): Airports in an age of globalized regionalism

Access to advanced transportation linkages determines the relative centrality of urban centers within multiscalar urban systems (Alberts, Bowen and Cidell, 2009, Guimerà et al., 2005, Witlox and Derudder, 2007). High quality transportation connections are a prerequisite for companies to employ advanced logistical techniques and as such, local infrastructure strongly affects competition between places (Porter, 1996). Consequently, air transportation holds a privileged position in the study of global cities (Harris, 1994a). Airports serve as crucial economic drivers and as such, the direct global connections and competitive locational advantages they foster are highly influential in global cities rankings (Derudder, Witlox and Taylor, 2007, Foreign Policy, 2010, Friedmann, 1986).

Following a general global shift towards the deregulation and privatization of air transportation (Freestone, 2011, Sinha, 1999, Small, 1993, Yang, Tok and Su, 2008), a growing literature now attempts to articulate the linkages between air infrastructure and local economic development (Alberts et al., 2009). The imperatives of competition unleashed following the deregulation of national aviation in the United States (1978) and Canada (1987) have placed mounting pressure on urban centers, including Chicago and Toronto, to expand air capacity to ensure their position within the network of global

cities.[1] Kasarda (1995) has argued that cities must develop advanced, modally-integrated airport facilities and expand aviation capacity in order to maximize their local advantages and access for New Economy industries relying on just-in-time production and global sourcing. Since "the airport itself is really the nucleus of a range of 'New Economy' functions", he advocates such globalizing infrastructure should occupy a position of centrality in contemporary urban planning "with the ultimate aim of bolstering the city's competiveness, job creation, and quality of life" (Kasarda and Lindsay, 2011, p. 174). The future of urban development, so the argument goes, is in airport-integrated regions; *aerotropolises* which will define "the way we'll live next".

Kasarda's aerotropolis thesis has an intuitive appeal which resonates with politicians and planners in the case-study regions, yet the associations posited between air infrastructure and global economic development are often tenuous and boosterist in nature (Charles et al., 2007). Investment in airport-enabling urban development is not a simple panacea for the challenges of economic globalization. Aviation connectivity exposes city-regions to the threats of terrorism (Graham, 2006) and enhances vulnerability to global pandemics (Ali and Keil, 2006, Budd, Bell and Warren, 2011). As territorial gateways, airports are spaces of surveillance, securitization and "Othering" (Adey, 2004, Ali and Keil, 2010, Cresswell, 2010).

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[1] The development of aviation infrastructure in the North America was historically tied to processes of nation-building; whether through the establishment of air mail service in the United States during the 1920s or Ottawa and Canadian National founding Trans-Canada Airlines in 1937. Postwar spatial Keynesian projects accelerated the integration of national territories, with airports absorbing surplus capital and labor and opening new markets.

Despite the economic significance of aviation for global cities – reinforced through persistent yet unquestioned tropes of global competitiveness – relations between air transportation, globalization and regional economic development remain notably under-theorized (Cidell, 2006, p. 654, Evans and Hutchins, 2002, p. 429, McNeill, 2011, p. 154). Advanced air transportation may be a necessary component of global city development, but this connection did not simply emerge in reaction to the dynamics of a "new" economy or post-Fordist production techniques. Air facilities require "an extensive and expensive infrastructure of capital devoted to power, transportation, and communication" (Abramovitz, 1989, p. 46). Major investments in aviation facilities play a symbolic political role for cities competing in a globalizing economy, yet the global cities literature tends to treat the politics and economics of air transport normatively.[2] It is necessary to move beyond the quantitative measurements of passenger numbers, freight movements and direct flights prevalent in transportation geography and much global cities research to develop a detailed understanding of the complex, multiscalar interactions between global discourses, economic imperatives and local politics involved in the production of aviation space (Cidell, 2006, p. 653).[3]

In this chapter, I provide a political economy analysis of Chicago's and Toronto's airport networks as technological urban assemblages in order to uncover what airports

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[2] For example, Abu-Lughod's (1999, p. 353) limited engagement with O'Hare frames Chicago's foremost globalizing infrastructure as a growth machine patronage project.

[3] New mobilities scholars have notably forwarded this critique of global cities studies and transportation geography through analyses of the sociology, social construction and consumption of air space (Adey, 2006, Adey, Budd and Hubbard, 2007, Shaw and Hesse, 2010, Shaw and Sidaway, 2011).

can tell us about city-regionalism, the territorial and relational dimensions of city-regional urbanization and the nature of contemporary urban political space. The development of global city-regions is facilitated through the production of locally embedded and fixed globalizing-localizing infrastructure (Erie, 2004, Freestone, 2009, Goetz and Rodrigue, 1999). With this, airports and debate over air infrastructure expansion are at the heart of city-regional politics; at once necessary to ground globalization processes in place and integrate local economies into global systems, yet locally contested (within and between places) by communities confronted with the negative externalities of air travel (Keil and Young, 2008, p. 736, Newman and Thornley, 2004, p. 270). Yet while transportation and planning agencies lend themselves to regionalization (as discussed in chapter 7), evidence from Chicago and Toronto reveals that airports – the city-region's foremost global infrastructure – have been removed from institutions producing, rendering visible and governance city-regional space. This is a significant paradox. In the following, I consider the impact of varying institutional arrangements and policy frameworks on airport and airport-integrated development in the Chicago and Toronto city-regions and their relations to city-regional governance. Building upon nascent critique of the globalization-aviation literature (Keil and Young, 2008, McNeill, 2011, Stevens, Baker and Freestone, 2010, Torrance, 2008), the chapter develops our understanding of:

- the relations of airports to their regional context;
- the impact of direct flight connections for territorial development;

- the connectivity of global ports and local transportation networks;

- the modes of financialization supporting airport production and operation;

- and the relative significance of variations in local governance regimes and policy interventions through comparative analysis.

I assert that the specific assemblage of physical infrastructure, state space and multiscalar flows aligned in Chicago's and Toronto's airports discloses important facets underlying the territorial and relational production of city-regional space under the imperatives of global competition and city-centric capitalism. My empirical analysis foregrounds the impact of neoliberalization processes and the on the restructuring of inherited spatial Keynesian formations and construction of new institutional and infrastructural fixes.

CHICAGO: CITY CONTROL AND THE PRESSURE OF REGIONALIZATION

Airport facilities in the United States are typically operated through one of two governance models as: (1) a special authority or public body oversees single or multiple airports within a regional system; or (2) a local municipality owns and operates airport infrastructure.[4] Chicago employs the latter model, with the Chicago Department of Aviation (CDA) administering all aspects of airport operations at both O'Hare and

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[4] The Cities of Houston, Atlanta, and Miami own and operate their airport facilities. Special aviation authorities include the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey and the San Diego County Regional Airport Authority. Other regions administer their airport facilities through hybrid governance regimes where airport ownership is retained by the municipality, but operations are overseen by a regional authority (e.g. LAX in Los Angeles).

Midway. As a municipal cabinet position, CDOA's Commissioner reports directly to the

Mayor's Office, rendering the Chicago's chief executive the region's de facto airport

manager. Municipal ownership has two central advantages for the City of Chicago. First,

the City controls the economy of the region's major aviation infrastructure from everyday

operations to economic development strategies and long range planning. This

arrangement places significant power over the regional economy in the hands of the City

of Chicago given the airports' importance as economic drivers.[5] Second, by overseeing

aviation as a City concern, the operation and development of O'Hare and Midway are

buffered from the machinations of regional politics and the conflicting interests of other

Chicagoland actors. CMAP, for example, defers to the City regarding the planning of the

airports. Their regional transportation plans include extensive highway and transit

projects surrounding O'Hare, but notably end at the airports' boundaries. According to

CDA, functioning as a single entity reporting to the Mayor enables airport plans to be

efficiently developed and implemented;

> Being a single entity in the City of Chicago, I don't think you'll have a situation
>
> where you have a vision and you start to carry it out and you spend hundreds of
>
> millions or billions of dollars on a plan, and then have paralyzing issues internally
>
> to stop what you're doing (Rod, interview, 2009).

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[5] Although the financial viability of each airport has shifted over time, CDOA operates on a self-sufficient basis and does not use local or state taxes to finance operations or capital improvements. Federal tax funding is received through grants distributed by the FAA and Federal DOT. As of 2011, Chicago's airports generated economic activity in excess of $45 billion per annum ($38 billion from O'Hare), and accounted for 540,000 regional jobs (450,000 from O'Hare) (Chicago Department of Aviation, 2012c).

Such political autonomy is a double-edged sword. Projects can be developed with limited

intra-governmental disruption, but operational and planning expediency limits direct

democratic involvement by many (mainly suburban) actors in the region.[6]

The City of Chicago's unwillingness to engage in regional conversations on

expanding air capacity and the limited involvement with regional governance bodies

distances the authority responsible for Chicago's major globalizing infrastructure from

the political frameworks of regional development. Institutional relationships are

predominantly informal and built on personal networks rather than forged and regulated

through formal bodies. The Department's passive regional role and institutional

independence reflects the City of Chicago's traditional political dominance over, and

distance from the collar counties (Hamilton, 2002). However, the regional impact of

airports and the purported need to expand air capacity suggest Chicago's aviation regime

is under pressure as suburban actors look to enhance their influence at O'Hare and

reorient the airport's material infrastructure and economic flows westward.

The Chicago-Gary Bi-State Compact

Although the City of Chicago has treated airports as a municipal interest, and CDA has

adopted a backseat approach to regional governance and development, they have pursued

inter-governmental collaborations when politically expedient. Chicago's aviation

relationship with the City of Gary illustrates how the place-specific conflicts and

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[6] CDA (2012b) does maintain relationships with several cargo associations, sharing information on warehousing centers or road access, but there are institutional limits on the nature of these exchanges.

contradictions shaping urban power dynamics in the Chicago city-region have fundamentally conditioned inter-jurisdictional air governance. Political actors have often embraced inter-jurisdictional institutional collaboration but the unequal nature of institution's structural capacity in the Chicago city-region has conditioned the form of "regional" aviation governance.

Deregulation exacerbated calls to expand Chicago's regional air capacity. Despite terminal improvements, O'Hare remained congested. With air carriers opposed to switching operations to Midway and strong suburban resistance to more O'Hare expansion, political pressure to develop a third Chicago-area airport mounted into the 1980s. In 1986, IDOT, with support from the Governors of Wisconsin and Indiana, established the Illinois Airport System Plan Policy Commission (IASPPC) to explore expanding facilities at Rockford, IL, Milwaukee, WI and Gary, IN, in addition to a potential greenfield site in Aurora, IL. Consultants Peat, Marwick and Mitchell's initial IASPPC report recommended further studies of Gary Regional Airport and, at IDOT's behest, three new sites in Illinois. IASPPC was subsequently restructured as a bi-state body with four representatives from Illinois and Indiana.

For long-serving Mayor Richard Hatcher (in office since 1967), the possibility of Gary's recently renovated airport serving as Chicago's third aviation hub presented a valuable opportunity to reverse his city's economic decay. By the late-1980s, it was apparent to Gary's political leaders that the steel industry, upon which the city had been founded, had entered an era of structural decline. U.S. Steel employed 6,000 people in

Gary in 1987, down from 30,000 during the 1970s, and unemployment had reached 15% (Catlin, 1993, p. 163). Capitalizing on the airport's strategic location 25 miles from Chicago offered opportunities to restructure Gary's economy, reutilize industrial space, and recast the area's discourse of decline (O'Hara, 2003).[7]

Hatcher formed the Gary Regional Airport Promotion and Development Committee (GRAPDC) with the Northwest Indiana Regional Planning Commission in December 1986 to push Gary credentials. According to Robert Catlin (1993, pp. 158-159), Hatcher's appointed Commission chair, the GRAPDC intended to expand Gary Airport's service area into south Chicago and the southern suburbs with the goal of competing against Midway by 1989. However, Hatcher's loss to Thomas Barnes in the 1987 mayoral primary election ushered in a period of political inertia. While Barnes sought to replace Hatcher's GRAPDC appointees, Lake and Porter counties attempted to wrest control of the airport from Gary. A new GRAPDC board would not be formed until February 1990 (ibid, pp. 162-178).

Gary's airport momentum stalled at an inopportune moment. The election of Richard M. Daley drastically altered the dynamics of regional aviation politics. Previous Chicago mayors Washington and Sawyer supported expanding Gary Airport, but Daley shifted the City's position in August 1989 by calling for feasibility studies on a third airport to include a site in south Chicago. CDA (1990, 1991) conducted studies

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[7] The Chicago Skyway had linked Gary Airport to downtown Chicago since 1958 but the facility remained overshadowed by Midway and O'Hare. Buoyed by monies made available by the Carter's administration, Mayor Hatcher proposed developing Gary Airport into a major hub in 1977 and an expanded terminal opened in 1983.

promoting underutilized, polluted lands at Lake Calumet for Chicago's third airport. Daley's deft political maneuvering and lukewarm support for Gary Airport from newly-elected Indiana governor Evan Bayh led to the addition of three Chicago members to IASPPC, loading the Commission in favor of the Illinois delegation.

Despite Daley defeating the proposal from the City of Gary, power-sharing issues between Chicago, the suburbs and the State of Illinois derailed the Lake Calumet airport. Redistricting in 1990 shifted political power in the Legislature to State Republicans who saw a suburban airport as an opportunity to break Chicago's aviation dominance and establish a State-based regional airport authority (Hamilton, 1999, p. 187). Springfield favored a greenfield airport in suburban Peotone, despite local opposition and a fragile coalition of support in the legislature (Schwieterman, 2006, p. 288). Rather than negotiate with the State, Daley scrapped the Lake Calumet plans and instead re-opened discussions with the City of Gary to develop Gary Airport.

On August 15, 1995, Chicago and Gary signed the Bi-State Compact Agreement, establishing the Chicago/Gary Airport Authority as a legally separate organization empowered to coordinate operations at O'Hare, Midway and Gary Airports.[8] The agreement was a significant success for Daley. The Compact ensured the City of Chicago's continued control over O'Hare and Midway and, by blocking Gary, or a new suburban airport, from emerging as a regional competitor, negated the political rationale

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[8] The Authority is governed by a 12 person Board of Directors constituted by five appointees from the Mayor of Chicago; five from the Mayor of Gary; and one nominee each from the Governors of Illinois and Indiana.

for a regionalized airport authority. Rather than establishing Gary as an integrated facility within a regional air network, CDA views the Compact as an "alliance... where the City of Chicago and the City of Gary have their own interests, but there's the opportunity that is recognized to break down walls of competition" (Rod, interview, 2009). For Gary, the Compact secured a modest level of investment at the renamed Gary/Chicago International Airport, but, in contrast to Hatcher's vision, development would be dictated by the interests of the city of Chicago.[9]

The O'Hare Modernization Program

The Chicago-Gary Bi-State Compact did not resolve the region's aviation capacity issues. Congestion and delays continue to be an issue at O'Hare while rapid growth at Atlanta's International Airport threatened Chicago's established position as the nation's preeminent aviation hub.[10] Looking to expand capacity, Daley refused to allow funds generated at O'Hare and Midway to finance the development of a third airport and turned his attention to constructing new runways at O'Hare. The O'Hare Modernization Program (OMP) represented an opportunity for Daley to cement his legacy on Chicago's landscape. The $6.6 billion plan would: (1) reconfigure the airfield's existing intersecting runways to

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[9] Through the Compact's first 15 years, Gary/Chicago Airport has mainly handled corporate flights and cargo operations. Daley declared Chicago was committed to maximizing the potential of the region's existing airports, starting with Gary/Chicago, once investments had been made at O'Hare and Midway (City of Chicago, 2001).

[10] Atlanta's International Airport took O'Hare's number one ranking in terms of passengers served in 1998; a title held by Chicago airports since 1931. Atlanta overtook O'Hare in terms of annual aircraft movements between 1999 and 2000 and has held onto the title of America's busiest airport since 2005.

form six parallel and two crosswind strips which could reduce overall delays by 79%; and

(2) construct public road access, parking facilities and a new passenger terminal on the

western side of the airport (City of Chicago, 2001).

While the 9/11 attacks shook the airline industry, by 2003, both traffic levels and

economic activity at Chicago's airports were showing signs of recovery. Popular and

political opinion too was moving in favor of O'Hare expansion. Although the City

maintained its tendency to operate unilaterally and guarded the details of airport

development, key members of Chicago's growth machine, including the Commercial

Club of Chicago, Business Leaders for Transportation, the Chicagoland Chamber of

Commerce and Global Chicago – with support from the Chicago Tribune – backed OMP

(Schwieterman, 2006, p. 288).[11] In Springfield, the downfall of Governor George Ryan

(who had backed Peotone Airport) and the 2003 election of Rod Blagojevich, a

Democratic with strong Chicago connections, brought State backing to the City's airport

agenda. Blagojevich signed the O'Hare Modernization Act on August 6, 2003, removing

State interference from OMP and granting the City of Chicago eminent domain powers

beyond its borders for the project. In doing so, Springfield acknowledged O'Hare's

"essential role" in the national air transportation system and OMP's capacity to "enhance

the economic welfare of the State" (Illinois General Assembly, 2003); thus reinforcing

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[11] Andrew McKenna Sr., head of the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club of Chicago declared "O'Hare modernization will be the most important economic development project undertaken in Illinois in our lifetime" (cf. Chicago Tribune, 2003, p. 26). CDOA (2012a) estimates OMP will create 195,000 job and $18 billion in economic activity while realizing c.$370 million in savings for air carriers and c.$380 million for passengers.

the discourse of global economic competitiveness which the City had used to lobby for OMP (Cidell, 2006, p. 661). As an airport planner put it; "If you want the region to grow, there's probably nothing better that you can point to in your economy as a central focal point keeping your economy strong as an airport... That's always been the driving force; if you're going to stay strong and be a world class leader... you're going to need an airport like the one we're doing" (Rod, interview, 2009).

Negotiating local politics

Chicago's aviation governance regime proved extremely effective for the City. CDA developed OMP in house and away from potentially prolonged debates on regional air capacity. OMP moved ahead as a project of regional and national economic significance, but under the guidance, and chiefly serving the interests, of the City of Chicago. After receiving State backing in 2003 and federal approval in 2005, the City commenced work on OMP and attempted to foster the view that the project was a *fait accompli*. OMP, though, still faced considerable suburban opposition from two coalitions. The first, constituted by south suburban interests including Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr., Will County and the South Suburban Mayors and Managers Association (SSMMA), favored developing Peotone Airport over OMP as a means to re-center the depressed industrial south within the regional economy.[12] The second, the Suburban O'Hare Commission

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[12] IDOT had been purchasing land in Will County for the airport since 2002 and hope for Peotone Airport's future remains in the south suburbs. Most interviewees from the southern Chicago city-region continued to

(SOC) – a shifting network of municipalities surrounding the airport – had protested

expansion at O'Hare dating back to the IASPPC. At its height, SOC brought together 17

municipalities concerned with the impacts of congestion, noise and air pollution on their

communities (Schwieterman, 2006, p. 288). As OMP took off and SOC began to ramp up

its campaign, the City of Chicago effectively undermined opposition by exploiting

political fractures within the anti-OMP movement.

The anti-OMP coalition brought together the predominantly wealthy, white,

Republican northwestern suburbs and the mainly lower-income, Democratic and African-

American base of the inner south suburbs. While the south suburban coalition's political

connections and desire to bring an airport to Peotone necessitated the maintenance of

cordial relations with the City of Chicago, SOC had no interest in conducting a regional

dialogue and adopted a bunker mentality concerning OMP. As OMP required the

acquisition of 433 acres to extend runways, SOC's most vocal members were those

threatened by annexation; including Bensenville and Elk Grove Village to the west, and

Des Plaines in the northeast. The fragmented nature of the region's political geography

enabled the City of Chicago to target benefits of OMP to specific SOC municipalities.

The parochial interests of individual communities opened fissures in the alliance. Having

been hit by the downtown in the aviation economy after 9/11 and being removed from the

proposed new flight paths, Des Plaines broke from SOC and welcomed the potential

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support the Airport. However, capacity increases at Gary will likely result in the indefinite postponement of
Peotone Airport.

benefits of OMP for the city's industrial base.[13] Other municipalities, including Itasca, Schaumburg and Wood Dale, embraced the potential to develop as conference and business centers on the western side of O'Hare. Faced with declining support in the O'Hare region and the apparent inevitability of OMP, SOC's last stalwarts, Elk Grove Village and Bensenville, dropped their resistance as the old guard of municipal leadership was swept from office in elections held in 2008 and 2009.

Opening O'Hare to the region

The issue of Western Access was a key factor in swaying suburban opinion on OMP, most significantly in the case of DuPage County. Traditionally, the County's predominantly Republican leadership adopted an isolationist position within the Chicago region and was often at the crux of the city-suburban antagonism. Fearing the displacement of jobs and residences, DuPage spent millions of dollars fighting the City of Chicago in court to oppose O'Hare expansion and contributed $14,000 annually to SOC through the 1990s (McCopplin, 2003). The County reversed its stance on O'Hare following a change in leadership on the County Board in 2002. Board Chairman, Bob Schillerstrom, withdrew DuPage's opposition to OMP in January 2003, placing the burden of resistance on the dwindling number of municipalities in SOC.[14]

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[13] Des Plaines has strongly embraced the freight and cargo development vision of the O'Hare area (Cambridge Systematics, 2010, Chicago Metropolis 2020, 2004) The city added c. 1.5 million feet^2 of logistics space between 2003 and 2008 (Angell, interview, 2008).

[14] Interviews revealed that Chicagoland's far western and north-western suburbs and satellite towns already welcomed the possibility to further tap into the O'Hare economy as they could take advantage of the

The County's shift was, in part, a reaction to the election of the pro-OMP

Blagojevich; as DuPage Board member Brien Sheahan argued, "[OMP] is a project that is

going to occur... We're either going to have it imposed on us, or we can pull up a chair...

and be a part of the shaping of the final plan" (cf. Meyer and Hilkevitch, 2003, p. 1). Yet

as Sheahan indicated, it also reflected a progressive change in philosophy as the County

began to embrace regional thinking. The prospect of reorienting the physical space of

O'Hare westward presented the opportunity to deepen DuPage's integration within an

aviation-based economy (Figure 8.1). Western Access catalyzed a spatial reimagining of

the airport's position in the region; "the old leadership saw [O'Hare] as an economic

engine for Chicago and Cook County. The new leadership sees it as an economic engine

for the greater region... the key is going to be infrastructure" (DuPage County, interview,

2008). After signing on to O'Hare expansion, the County conducted a $370,000

economic development study – jointly financed with the City of Chicago – projecting

OMP would add $3 billion and 12,000 jobs to DuPage County's economy by 2015,

increasing to $10 billion and 40,000 by 2030 (DuPage County, interview, 2008).

DuPage County now contends Western Access makes OMP a universal benefit

across its jurisdiction. Yet Western Access poses a challenge for communities close to

O'Hare. A municipal planner from northeast DuPage described their position;

> One could argue that Western Access could benefit [us] by providing more
>
> opportunities here to be connected to the region. At the same time, we have to

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synergies between global air connectivity and local economic development without suffering the negative externalities of airport growth.
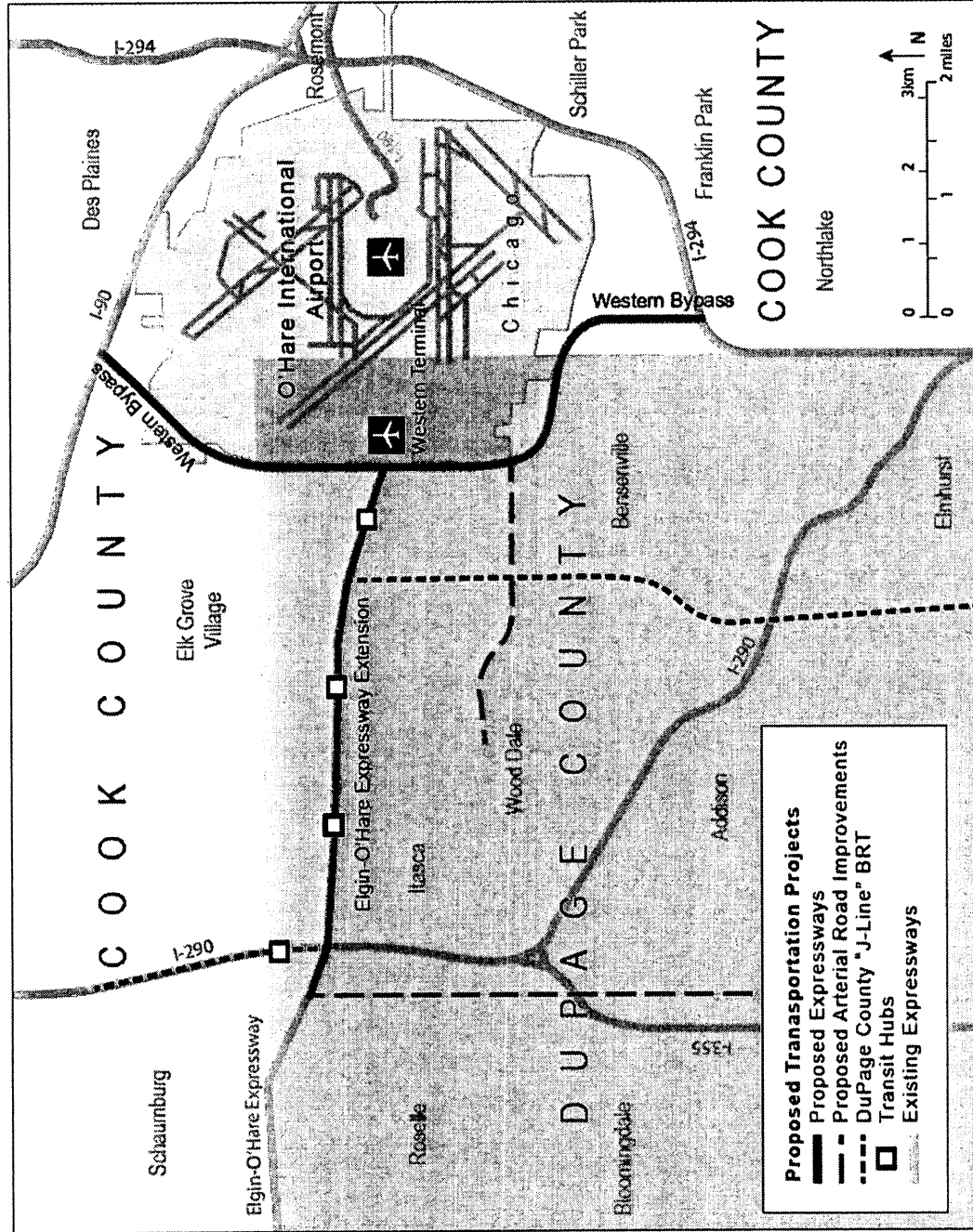
Figure 8.1: Opening O'Hare to the region. Proposed highway and transit improvements will significantly reshape O'Hare airport's connectivity to the west and northwestern suburbs. The Elgin-O'Hare Expressway extension (with the option to integrate CTA El service and DuPage County's J-Line BRT network), and the O'Hare Western Bypass will increase regional highway and transit capacity and relieve congestion to the east. The Western Bypass requires the annexation of lands from Bensenville or Franklin Park., adapted from DuPage County (2006).

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balance that from [our] perspective. How many businesses are you going to be

knocking out and how much property are you going to be taking... in order to get

these connections? (DuPage County municipality, interview, 2009).

There is a sense that the imposition of a regional vision through a revanchist NIMBY

politics – particularly the concentration of cargo distribution facilities around O'Hare –

will lock airport-adjacent municipalities into overwhelming industrial development,

fundamentally redefining their character:

We could just accept anything that comes into [the municipality]... [but] we don't

just want truck terminal and warehouses... we don't want to be one big parking lot

on [the west] of the airport... we don't want Midway Airport's Cicero Avenue

(DuPage County municipality, interview, 2009).

Former SOC members have begun to assert their voices in an attempt to shape the form

and function of development around O'Hare. This move is most evident in IDOT's

planning process for the extension of the Western Bypass and Elgin-O'Hare expressway,

and the development of new transit facilities proposed in CMAP's GO to 2040 plan.[15]

Western Access would enable the westward flow of economic activity from the

airport, but with this, both DuPage county and municipal leaders have an increasing

interest in gaining political influence for suburbs at O'Hare. Regionalizing the orientation

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[15] Elk Grove Village dropped their opposition to OMP on the basis of favorable IDOT highway alignments. Further, a municipal planner from northeast DuPage stressed their desire to locate a potential western terminal multi-modal transit within their jurisdiction (see DuPage County, 2006). By locating a transit terminal beyond the airport grounds, the municipality believes they, rather than the airport (and subsequently the City of Chicago) could benefit economically from the facility (DuPage County municipality, interview, 2009).

of O'Hare away from Chicago challenges existing aviation planning and the territorially-defined basis of the City's governance regime as other communities and organizations stake their right to a seat at the table. Yet while IDOT has effectively brought together key interest groups and moved ahead with highway planning surrounding the airport, the City of Chicago continues to set the agenda at O'Hare. This position partially supports Cidell's (2006, pp. 660-661) contention that in putting forward O'Hare expansion as a necessity for Chicago's global economic competitiveness, the City was principally concerned with maintaining its control over aviation infrastructure. However, it also reflects the complex nature of the political and economic relationships through which the City governs regional aviation; relationships which now threaten Western Access.

While CDA (2012d) sees Western Access providing "a more balanced and efficient airport for the region" and the State views the project as "an essential element... needed to realize the full economic opportunities created by [OMP]" (Illinois General Assembly, 2003), the City of Chicago had not guaranteed the construction of a new western terminal, nor opening western public access to O'Hare. This position largely reflects OMP's contested funding. Through the terms of American and United Airlines' 1985 lease agreement at O'Hare that will expire in 2018, the airlines are obligated to finance capital improvements at the airport in return for veto power over CDA plans. While a tentative agreement between the City and the airlines had been reached in 2005, the impact of the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis on the aviation industry led American and United to file a contract dispute with the City of Chicago in an attempt to scale back

OMP. In late 2010, facing a global decline in air travel, CDA and the airlines agreed to postpone the development of a new western terminal until demand recovers.[16] Suburban communities have thus been deprived of the central benefits promised in return for backing OMP while the City of Chicago maintains the political and economic orientation of the airport towards the central hub of the city-region for the foreseeable future.

TORONTO: REGIONAL(IZING) AVIATION AFTER DEVOLUTION

Aviation governance in Canada has followed a markedly different trajectory to that of the United States. Prior to 1994, the federal government, through Transport Canada, owned and operated the nation's major airports but the system Ottawa oversaw had become seriously overbuilt under Pierre Trudeau's spatial Keynesian programs. Many facilities were underutilized economic sinkholes. To redress the financial drain of maintaining the national air system, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced plans to privatize the operation of Canada's airports in 1986.

The national deregulation and privatization of air transportation prompted a radical restructuring of airport governance in southern Ontario. Between 1986 and 1993, a variety of private interest groups submitted unsolicited proposals to renovate Pearson, motivating key governmental actors across the GTA (including Hamilton-Wentworth until 1992) to discuss the formation of a local airport authority. Pearson's location in

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[16] Despite scaling back their expansion plans following the Financial Crisis, CDA (2012d) posits "OMP has truly been our region's economic stimulus package... putting thousands of people to work, rebuilding our infrastructure and keeping businesses in our City and our state".

Mississauga rather than Toronto necessitated a regional solution but political divisions between local governments sparked conflict over such a regional body. At the urging of the Toronto Board of Trade, Metro and the regional chairmen of Durham, Halton, Peel and York formed a private taskforce on aviation governance in 1992 and subsequently advocated for the establishment of a local airport authority governed by a 10-person Board with two representatives from each municipal region. On March 3, 1993, an agreement was reached to incorporate the Greater Toronto Regional Airports Authority (GTRAA) as a non-profit corporation to run Pearson along business principles (Greater Toronto Airports Authority, 2006a, pp. 18-26).

Jean Chrétien's Liberal government continued the process of devolution through the 1994 National Airports Policy (NAP). The legislation attempted to "move the Canadian transportation system into the 21st century" by rationalizing, and devolving responsibility for, a National Airport System (NAS) constituted by 26 "nationally-significant" airports to local airport authorities (Transport Canada, 1994).[17] NAP identified Pearson Airport as the GTA's sole NAS facility. In accordance with federal policy, the GTRAA was restructured as a not-for-profit corporation overseen by a 15-person board with nominations from a variety of community interests and community liaison established through a consultative committee. Ottawa recognized the re-christened Greater Toronto Airports Authority (GTAA) as a Canadian Airports Authority in November 1994. Terms of transfer were finalized in a 60-year Ground Lease, signed in

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[17] The federal government's continuing role marks the Canadian context as distinct from the United States.

December 1996 with the GTAA assuming responsibility for the operation, management and development of Pearson, including the ability to set airline rates and charges. Ottawa retained ownership of all NAS airports (aside from those in Canada's territories) along with the capacity to set ground rents and regulate flight numbers and hours of operation.

Regional airport governance

The GTAA is authorized to operate airports throughout south-central Ontario in addition to overseeing Pearson Airport. However, they have little interest in expanding their regional role and instead are focused on improving operations at Pearson (Greater Toronto Airports Authority, 2011). Regional aviation governance in southern Ontario therefore remains highly fragmented. In the following, I detail the GTA's existing aviation infrastructure and governance arrangements.

Toronto City Centre (Island) Airport: Operations at the Island Airport are regulated through the Tripartite Agreement signed by the federal government, City of Toronto and the Toronto Harbour Commission (THC) in 1983. Transport Canada signed over operations at the airport to the THC for a 50-year term while the majority of land for the airport remains owned by the Province, with sections owned by the City of Toronto and the federal government. The Tripartite Agreement prohibits jet aircraft movements at Toronto City Centre Airport and establishes limitations on noise exposure. In 1999, the Toronto Port Authority succeeded the THC as the agency managing Toronto Harbour, the waterfront, and operations at the Island Airport. To function on a self-sufficient basis, the

Port Authority has sought new revenue streams, including airport expansion. The existing regulations and complex political arrangements at the Island Airport present major impediments to its incorporation in any regional governance framework.

Hamilton International Airport: Hamilton-Wentworth withdrew from discussions for a regional airport authority in 1992. Rather than join the GTRAA, the City of Hamilton entered into a public-private partnership with TradePort International Corporation – a conglomerate headed by a local businessman with operational guidance from the Vancouver Airport Authority – to operate Hamilton International Airport. As a result of a comprehensive program of airport expansion in 1981 and the decision to operate under a separate governance regime, Hamilton Airport has emerged as an air cargo competitor to Pearson.[18] Hamilton offers operational advantages for cargo haulers as the facility charges significantly lower taxes and fees than Pearson and the airport's location on the outskirts of the city means there are no federal restrictions on night flight usage.[19] While Pearson faces a tight federal quota on flights between 12:30am and 6am, it retains several key locational advantages for courier companies given its critical mass of cargo facilities and proximity to key markets, major transportation infrastructure and

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[18] Prior to devolution, Hamilton International was underutilized and operated a c.$ 1million annual deficit. Under the guidance of John C Munro, federal MP for Hamilton-East, the City secured a $55 million federal investment to develop the airport as a regional hub (Hamilton International Airport, 2012).

[19] In 2005, landing a Boeing 747 at Pearson would cost an airline an estimate $16,500 compared to $5,000 at Hamilton, while Boeing 737s would cost $3,800 at Toronto and $1,000 at Hamilton (Macleod, 2005).

warehousing centers. The GTAA also has the power to restructure Pearson's fee structure to make the airport more attractive to freight forwarders.[20]

Pickering Airport: Despite the indefinite postponement of Pickering Airport in 1975, the facility continues to cast a shadow over the surrounding community and air transportation planning in southern Ontario. The federal government has amassed 18,600 hectares of land for airport construction in the Pickering area, and the decision on whether to develop the airport ultimately lies with Transport Canada, a federal government department. The GTAA has the rights to operate Pickering Airport should the facility be built and the Authority has conducted interim planning for Pickering on behalf of Transport Canada (Greater Toronto Airports Authority, 2003). While local opposition remains strong, Pickering Airport has received the backing of several local governments who suggest the facility would reduce congestion at Pearson and benefit the entire region. The GTAA, however, have stressed that Pearson has significant capacity for growth and can accommodate regional air traffic demands for the foreseeable future (Gilligan, 2012). Transport Canada continues to assert that Pickering would be a prime location for a new regional airport (Morrow, 2011), yet this likely reflects Ottawa's land holdings and the difficulty in assembling land for an airport elsewhere. The Pickering location was selected in accordance with the spatial Keynesianism of the Toronto-Centred Region. After the plan's abandonment, Pickering appears far from existing

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[20] The GTAA has developed fee incentive initiatives which offer airlines already flying into Pearson reduced costs in return for increased flight movements. Federal bilateral agreements, however, limit how often airlines can fly into Pearson, preventing, for example, Air Emirates establishing operations in southern Ontario.

concentrations of economic activity and infrastructure in the region and would be "an odd place for an airport" (McDonald, interview, 2009). Expanding capacity at Hamilton, and entering into an agreement akin to the Chicago-Gary Compact appears the preferable solution to increased air cargo and passenger demand in southern Ontario.

Shaping Toronto's aviation future

After being recognized as a Canadian Airport Authority, the GTAA turned its attention to redeveloping Pearson's passenger terminal facilities. By the early 1970s, Terminal 1, in operation since 1964, was struggling to cope with increases in air travel. Despite the additional capacity realized by opening Terminal 2 in 1972, passenger volumes were exceeding the capacity of both facilities by the 1980s. Although Transport Canada had initiated master planning at Pearson following the Mulroney government's 1986 privatization announcement, the process proceeded slowly and with limited financing from Ottawa.[21] Rapid growth of passenger numbers at Pearson meant expansion was a pressing issue. While the airport's existing infrastructure was capable of handling 28 million passengers annually, Pearson already welcomed 24.2 million in 1996, with projected annual increases estimated between 1 and 2 million by the 2000s.

Under the leadership of Louis Turpen – the GTAA's first president and CEO – the Authority rejected Transport Canada's existing strategy of incremental infilling and terminal modification. In order to keep pace with growth and position Pearson as

[21] Transport Canada privatized the design and construction of Terminal 3 (opened in 1991) to relieve traffic at Terminals 1 and 2. The new facility suffered from design flaws which limited capacity at peak periods.

"Canada's gateway to the world" (Turpen, cf. Greater Toronto Airports Authority, 2006a, p. 48), the GTAA (2006b) proposed a complete overhaul of the airport, including: (1) infield development to expand cargo and maintenance facilities; (2) constructing new dual runways and taxiways; and (3) terminal development which would replace both Terminals 1 and 2 with a larger facility capable of handling 50 million passengers annually. The $4.4 billion project was completed in two stages between 1997 and 2007. Upon its opening on April 6, 2004, the GTAA (2003, p. 10) proclaimed the new Terminal 1 provided Toronto with an airport befitting an "emerging global metropolis". Global competitiveness, the centralization of Toronto within a global air network, and the development of Pearson as a leading air and ground hub continue to be prominent discursive tropes in the GTAA's (2009, 2011) strategic planning objectives.[22]

Unlike OMP, Pearson's Airport Development Program did not engender widespread public or political opposition, largely as a result of the antiquated airport facilities and the predominance of flight paths over industrial areas. However, the funding mechanisms utilized for the project drew criticism. The GTAA partially financed redevelopment through the sale of $2.025 billion worth of multi-year capital bonds between 1997 and 2000 but additional costs have been recouped through increased fees. Landing charges for airlines flying into Pearson tripled between 1998 and 2005. Toronto acquired the unwelcome reputation of having the world's highest landing fees which are

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[22] Although demand for air transportation declined in the wake of the 9/11 attacks and 2003 SARS outbreak, by 2010, Pearson handled c.30 million passengers and began to see growth returning after the economic slump in 2008.

reflected in the relatively higher cost of airlines doing business at the airport and higher ticket prices (although a direct causal relationship between the two is difficult to measure). However, the GTAA points to the high costs of operating Toronto Pearson and the prohibitively high ground rents charged by Ottawa, in addition to the costs associated with the Airport Redevelopment Program (which increased the economic potential of the airport), as key factors contributing to the landing fee calculations at Pearson. Given Pearson's status as the most lucrative airport in Canada, the federal governmental has been reluctant to restructure the airport's rent formula. 2005 projections suggested that the GTAA paid 63% of federal aviation rent revenue while handling 33% of the nation's airport traffic (Toronto Star, 2005, p. A22). The lack of competition to Pearson enables both Ottawa and the GTAA to charge higher fees. While Keil and Young (2008, p. 739) point to the potential significance of this intracapitalist contradiction for future regional development, locally-dependent capital and labor will remain overwhelmingly reliant upon Pearson as southern Ontario's major international airport and sole NAS facility.

Governing a regional airport

Louis Turpen stepped down from the GTAA on September 30, 2004 after a controversial and challenging nine-year term, both for the new airport authority and the airline industry which faced 9/11, SARS and escalating fuel costs. Under his leadership, the GTAA effectively oversaw the swift redevelopment of Terminal 1 but operated bullishly and with little oversight (see Gillmor, 2005, Keil and Young, 2008, p. 738). Responding to

criticisms, the Authority has attempted to reposition itself as a regional actor with strong ties to local governmental and community organizations. In moving from its initial phase of infrastructure development to focus on improving airport operations and service quality, the GTAA (2010, 2011) has emphasized community engagement in their governance practices and now views itself as more accountable than in the past. By partnering in programs such as "Partners in Project Green", a business-led initiative to develop 12,000 hectares surrounding Pearson into an eco-business zone, the GTAA (2012) is emerging as a key stakeholder in urban growth beyond the airport's boundary.

The GTAA sees its current structure providing three key benefits as a model of airport governance. First, the Board of Directors provides representation for a number of governmental and non-governmental bodies from multiple levels of government that defend the interests of multiple municipalities and public agencies. Second, as the Board consists of professionals selected by a rigorous screening process, the GTAA can draw from a broad pool of technical expertise to guide airport operations and development.[23] Third, as the GTAA is responsible for generating revenues to support its operations and does not rely on tax dollars, it can be more financially flexible than publicly-owned facilities. Several interviewees viewed the Authority as an exemplar of regional governance and a model which should be applied to other regional and transportation

[23] After restructuring the nomination and appointment process in 2003 and 2009, the GTAA's Board of Directors consists of members appointed by Ottawa (2); Queen's Park (1); the municipalities of Toronto, Durham, Halton, Peel and York (5); as well as members appointed by the Board itself (3); and candidates proposed by non-governmental community nominators (4). Community nominators include the Boards of Trade of Toronto, Brampton, Mississauga; the Law Society of Upper Canada; the Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario; and the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ontario (Greater Toronto Airports Authority, 2003, 2009).

bodies, including Metrolinx. Yet, although the GTAA prides itself on its technical expertise and the relations fostered with other actors in region, the Authority remains buffered from direct processes of local democracy. While Ottawa and Queen's Park have the power to appoint directors directly to the GTAA's Board, the Board selects directors from a list of nominees provided by the City of Toronto and Durham, Halton, Peel and York regional municipalities (Greater Toronto Airports Authority, 2009).[24]

Integrating the global and the local

Improving relations with local and regional government has enabled the GTAA to address an over-riding issue for the competitiveness of both Pearson and the wider GTHA; ground access to the airport. Prior to GTAA's takeover, Transport Canada dictated the operation and development of Pearson in a manner that removed Toronto's international airport from the dynamics of regional growth and governance. A GTAA spokesman commented: "it was almost like the airport was a black hole. Municipalities were doing their own thing all around it, but when it came to the airport boundaries, everything stopped, there was little integration". Modernization programs coordinated with the Province in the 1960s and 1970s established the airport's highway connections to downtown via Highway 401 and the Gardiner Expressway but with these autocentric links in place, transit connections to Pearson remained weak.

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[24] Given the central role of the Province in shaping regional planning and transportation policy, Queen's Park has a surprisingly limited role in terms of aviation planning. Although the GTAA continue to review its own requirements, but is working with Metrolinx to align their planning agenda with that of the Province, notably in positioning the airport as a mobility hub in line with Metrolinx's Big Move.

In contrast to the CTA, whose planners were long concerned with transit access to O'Hare and Midway, the TTC did not consider extending rapid transit access to Pearson, and instead focused on local mobility between city and suburbs. Pearson developed as an airport accessible by car under the stewardship of the federal government, with the engrained assumption that driving was the main mode of transport to the airport.[25] Currently, less than one per cent of travelers arrive at Pearson via public transit (Metrolinx, 2008, p. 63). The limited integration of global and local transportation networks marks a significant difference between the Chicago and Toronto city-regions. Both O'Hare and Midway are connected to the Loop by rapid transit, yet transit access from downtown Toronto to Pearson requires a 16 minute bus connection between the subway and airport terminals. GO Transit provides bus connections to Pearson from Richmond Hill, Brampton, Yorkdale and York Mills, but no link from downtown.

Pearson's weak transit connections have emerged as a pressing concern for public and private actors in the GTA. The Toronto Board of Trade (2009a, p. 10) suggests synchronizing connections between the GTA's major international gateways and ensuring the expansion of transportation infrastructure are vital for Toronto's economic prosperity. Metrolinx (2008, p. 21) has identified "high order transit connectivity to the Pearson Airport district from all directions" – including highway and road access, LRT, BRT and a rail service – as a priority within its regional transportation plan. Connecting

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[25] Freight infrastructure surrounding Pearson remains truck-oriented. Pearson acts as the major regional hub for goods movement, but while road access in the area surrounding the airport is generally good, it is predominantly focused to the west and congestion on Highways 401 and 427 is an emerging issue for the airport, freight haulers and offices in the Airport Corporate Center (McDonald, interview, 2009).

Pearson and Union Station, as Toronto's principal international gateways via a new rail link is a central element of The Big Move (ibid, p. 63).

From the outset, the GTAA established a strong working relationship with Metrolinx that embraced the development of Pearson and its surrounding area as a mobility hub and economic center. While the exact nature of the airport's connectivity is still uncertain (and contested in the case of a direct diesel rail link between the airport and Union Station), GTAA staff engaged in planning with the TTC and Metrolinx to identify potential Transit City route alignments to the airport, including considering ways to connect Pearson via LRT to "Woodbine Live", an ambitious mixed-use development project centered on Woodbine Racetrack (that was postponed in February 2013). The rationale for developing such multimodal connections is framed with reference to Kasarda's aerotropolis thesis in a manner that highlights firstly, the GTAA's aspiration to emulate Frankfurt Airport, Amsterdam's Schiphol Airport and newly-built Asian airport cities, and secondly the desire to utilize mass transit lines to make the airport a destination rather than just an in-transit location that will function as a catalyst for local urban development. The development of Pearson as a regional mobility hub is focused on attracting businesses in high-growth industries to locate corporate offices adjacent to the airport and supporting the logistical benefits of airport proximity with connections to housing and entertainment. Redressing ground access deficiencies at Pearson has placed the airport firmly on the city-region's transportation agenda in a manner that separates aviation and regional planning frameworks in the GTHA from those in Chicagoland.

DEVELOPING AIR INFRASTRUCTURE IN, AND FOR, CITY-REGIONS

Airports, as economic, political and symbolic spaces, occupy positions of increased

centrality within global city-regions. Competition between aviation hubs is clearly being

framed at the global level. Propelled by the imperatives of deregulated competition and

tropes of global competitiveness, the aviation hubs in Chicago and Toronto have become

loci for substantial expansion and redevelopment programs. Issues of regional airport

integration – and the language of the "aerotropolis"– have gained prominence in planning

dialogues surrounding O'Hare and Pearson. As air linkages shrink relative space between

global hubs and extend the relational linkages producing global city-regions, they also

extend mechanisms of state territorialization. Airport governance has become markedly

more intricate reflecting the complexity of urban territoriality in an era of

neoliberalization (McNeill, 2011, p. 148). Despite some interest in privatizing Midway,

airport governance in Chicago and Toronto has remained a public interest.[26] This reflects

wider fears that ceding control of global aviation assets may impinge upon the state's

capacity to control the political and economic externalities of air travel and lessen the

ability of local authorities to influence city-regional growth (Charles et al., 2007, May

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[26] Mayor Richard M. Daley actively broached the privatization of operations at Midway following similar long-term lease arrangements for the Chicago Skyway (2006), City parking garages (2006) and parking meters (2008). Under FAA regulations, Daley brokered a $2.5 billion contract with an investment consortium, Midway Investment and Development Company, in October 2008. In return for transferring airport operations and the collection of parking, concessions and passenger facility fees, the 99-year lease would have paid off Midway's long-standing debt and provided $1 billion to ease the City's spiraling budgetary deficit (c.$220 million in April 2009) and fund infrastructure projects. The benefits of privatization were clearly defined as municipal, rather than regional. The deal was derailed as the consortium's financing collapsed during the Financial Crisis. Support for privatization remains strong among Chicago's business elites and Mayor Emanuel has kept the possibility of leasing Midway open.

and Hill, 2006). Still, Chicago's and Toronto's divergent governance models and airport facilities have resulted in differing pathways to infrastructure improvement and different approaches to urban and regional development.

In Chicago, the intertwining of municipal politics and aviation governance produces a city-scaled, territorially-based discourse of global competitiveness as the basic rationale supporting airport development. Although CDA is investigating increased regional connectivity to O'Hare Airport, the City remains wary of catalyzing globally-integrated economic activity through Western Access. The interests of the City of Chicago present a continuing and significant barrier to the regionalization of aviation governance. A CTA planner highlighted the challenge that the City faces in regionalizing the governance of O'Hare, noting that while there are interesting transit and mobility possibilities surrounding a Western Terminal – including opening rapid transit and commuter rail access to employment hubs west of the airport and the potential for high-speed rail to utilize tracks surrounding O'Hare – the CTA "has a vested interested in making sure that the downtown of Chicago continues to be a vibrant, viable place to do business and that all of the development doesn't shift to the northwest because we've already made significant investments in the downtown" (Busby, interview, 2009).

The lack of integration between regional land-use, transportation and airport planning, and the institutional isolation of CDA, perpetuates the problematic political position of O'Hare within the Chicago city-region. GO to 2040 includes proposals to develop highway and transit infrastructure around O'Hare, but in contrast to Metrolinx's

Big Move – which explicitly presents Pearson as a regional gateway hub and proposes integrated multi-modal transportation facilities at the airport – CMAP's (2010, pp. 243-322) discussion of regional mobility is detached from CDA's plans and stops short of O'Hare's boundaries. Pearson Airport is integrated in Metrolinx's RTP as an "anchor" mobility hub. During the master planning process, the GTAA resolved to focus access to Pearson at its existing location. Consequently, the Authority has not reoriented Pearson westward towards Brampton and Mississauga, nor has it engendered inter-jurisdictional conflict over airport-influenced development. The federal NAS provides a regulatory backbone limiting local competition, while enabling the GTAA to adopt an aggressive program of infrastructure and air network expansion. As such, the NAS secures the primacy of Pearson Airport; a luxury not afforded to O'Hare in the United States' environment of heightened intra-national competition.

Aviation governance in Chicago and Toronto internalizes the logics of globalized competition, but it is important to note such place-based competition has formed a foundational principle of North American aviation since the industry's genesis (Cardozo, 1928). Airport space brings together assemblages of multiscalar relations that make it difficult for territorially-defined actors to operate, plan and govern (McNeill, 2011).

The complex dynamics of present-day urban territoriality and global networked flows render airports contradictory spaces. Theorization of the relationships between air transportation, globalization and regional economic development revolves around a complex assemblage of multiscalar and interrelated political, economic and

sociotechnical interests that need to be viewed from the city-regional scale. As infrastructure fixes, airports capture geographically restless capitalism in ways that are conditioned by actors with varying structural capacities; often times with local interests silenced or displaced by the tropes of economic competitiveness (see Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012). Global flows, while territorialized in place by distinct sociotechnical assemblages, are significantly detached from city-regional space at the same time as they occupy discursive, material and Lefebvrian social centrality. Focused investment in aviation infrastructure prioritizes the material and symbolic processes of globalization, capital mobility and emerging just-in-time production networks while engendering profound, path-dependent, development trajectories in surrounding urban-regional space. Vast industrial, warehousing and distribution facilities extend along the highways adjacent to Chicago's and Toronto's international airports, locking surrounding communities into specific economic growth trajectories.

This chapter has demonstrated that airports pose a significant challenge for political and infrastructural integration at the city-regional scale. The struggle to control and scale city-regional mobility tests the boundaries of territorial governance and representation. Nevertheless, as the empirical analysis revealed, the privileging of premium network spaces and globally-integrated gateways is likely to be internalized as a defining characteristic of city-regional urbanization.

Chapter 9

Mobility and marginality in the urban in-between: Transit and the production of new city-regional topologies

City-regional urbanization increasingly concentrates urban centrality in the privileged spaces of the Chicago and Toronto city-regions. These spaces – the central city, key suburban nodes and the spatial loci of exchange-oriented global-local interfaces – have transformed their form and function in relation to shifting dimensions of urban society to become folded more completely into the realm of exchange and exchange-value (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 107). The spatial arrangement of, and relative access to, networks of mobility are a vital element enabling and inhibiting access to urban centrality.[1] Transportation provides the technical infrastructure facilitating the production of new global centralities and the globalization of the state (Kipfer et al., 2008, p. 291, Torrance, 2008), while shaping the uneven valorization of space that functions as the basis of urbanization as an accumulation strategy (Gotham, 2009, Harvey, 2009a).

Much contemporary urban form in North America is comprised of the "remnant spaces of Fordist urbanization" (industrial facilities, housing projects, energy and highway infrastructures, freight terminals), entertainment and consumption spaces

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[1] Although urban and social centrality do not neatly follow the logistical logics of transportation networks in deterministic fashion (Schmid, 2012, p. 47).

varying from big box retailing to ethnic strip malls, and a high degree of social (ethnic, economic) diversity. Such "resident spaces", located between the privileged, globally-integrated nodes of the fragmented polis, exhibit significant sociospatial complexity (Keil and Young, 2011b, p. 3). As more than the urban core's periphery or "other", these spaces defy pre-conceived normative notions of suburbanity and established theoretical concerns regarding peripheral metropolitan development (Fiedler and Addie, 2008, Harris, 2010, Keil, 2012). Suburbia is organized through different patterns with differing logics compared to those of the urban core: "Suburbia's interactive patterns are less like its blocky spatial layout and more like the entwined overlay of paths and nodes in a rainforest, where clearings and connections for different uses are mixed together, connected by twisting links, lacking any easy visible order" (Kolb, 2008, p. 160). Emergent suburbanization processes and post-suburban landscapes (edge cities, suburban downtowns, mobility hubs) do not hold the same functional logics or spatial practices as the historical center city or even, postwar suburbia (Archer, 2011, Phelps and Wood, 2011, Sieverts, 2003). City-regional urbanization opens such spaces for accumulation but in a predominantly fragmented and piecemeal way.

Evidence from Toronto and Chicago clearly challenges established narratives of white flight leaving poor, racialized inner cities surrounded by a wealthy, White middle-class suburban ring (Hulchanski, 2010, Orfield and Luce, 2012). Dynamic and differentiated suburbs need to be assessed in relation to processes of city-regional urbanization (Keil, 2011b). Suburbs in both city-regions exhibit pronounced economic

and ethnic diversity as a result of migrant flows and immigrant networks, as well as

gentrification pressures in the urban core which challenge normative assumptions derived

from the postwar suburbs. Regional satellite towns are now home to substantial

immigrant and non-White communities that challenge established conceptions of

suburban politics, social service requirements and the form and function of suburban built

environments (Grewal, 2013, Olivio and Avila, 2005). The suburbanization of poverty in

the United States and Canada means many suburban municipalities faced with the task of

providing affordable housing, transit access and bilingual education and social service

networks beyond the inner city are struggling to cope with increasing demands (Allard

and Roth, 2010, Lo, 2011, United Way Toronto, 2011).[2]

The analytic frameworks of the in-between city and post-suburbanization offer the

potential for new conceptual insight by providing a new lexicon and empirical focus to

examine qualitative transformations of places within broader urban processes. *In-*

betweenness, rather than being reduced to territorially-defined, spatially-static forms

which can be drawn on a map or identified through positivistic indicators, is best

conceived of as a relational space which is perceived and experienced in varying ways by

different users. The in-between city conceptually rescales the diverse and dynamic

sociospatial relations of the city-region through the "unbounded yet also newly re-

hierarchized" architecture of urban and regional spaces (Keil and Young, 2011b, p. 4).

The in-between city is a field of "the simultaneity of different eras": a landscape in steady

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[2] While the outskirts of the metropolis are diverse in all respects, it is important to stress suburban poverty trends and ethnic/racial profiles are spatially uneven within and between contemporary city-regions.

transition, structured both by the continuation of existing urban traditions – including the relative spatial connectivities and disconnectivites of established infrastructure systems – and the implementation of new experiments and innovations (Sieverts, 2007, Young and Keil, 2010, p. 93). In-betweenness is a historical product constructed as the disciplinary logics of neoliberal globalization reconfigure the material and imagined spaces of the city (Phelps, 2004, Sieverts, 2011) while overlapping social and infrastructural components opens the in-between city as a site of splintering and rebundling (see Young et al., 2011).

In this chapter, I provide a critical analysis of the spatial logics of transit infrastructure and investment in the global city-regions of Chicago and Toronto. My aim here is to disclose the role of transit in the production of city-regional space and the negotiation of emergent urban social cleavages. I focus on two principal concerns; the relationship between "financial landownership" (Massey, 2007) and the geography of transit infrastructure in the production of differential urban rents, and the on-going processes of technological and sociocultural "splintering". New social and technological power geometries are formed as transportation infrastructure and service (previously integrated and offered universally under the logics of the modern ideal) are offered differentially (Graham and Marvin, 2001). I further demonstrate how the current global financial downtown and the roll-out of national economic stimulus packages have impacted transit governance and urban restructuring in a manner that presents new articulations of state strategic selectivity and entrenches the imperatives of neoliberalism. New, splintered, transportation networks reconfigure urban connectivity and social

centralities. Such power geometries, though, remain conditioned by territorially-defined, place-specific institutions and spatial practices. The empirical analysis illuminates the contradictory tensions between the process of city-regional urbanization, coordinated and territorialized through bounded politics and institutional formations, and the diverse, multiscalar experiences of lived regionalism. I conclude by calling for an adaptive urban politics capable of providing innovative transportation solutions for new urban structures, and opening spaces through which a new politics of mobility can emerge.

TRANSIT PRIORITIES IN GLOBAL CHICAGO

RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGES OF CITY-REGIONAL URBANIZATION

The Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning's (CMAP) (2010) advocacy of smart urbanization and development concentrated on key regional hubs has won support from edge cities seeking to position themselves as growth centers. Suburban municipal and county officials interviewed at the height of the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis and its associated spike in gas prices recognized that transit assets were important infrastructures for shaping growth. Supported by consistent ridership growth through the 2000s (Metra, 2012a), Metra stations have emerged as focal points for transit-oriented development (TOD) and the revitalization of suburban downtowns throughout Chicagoland (Hollie,

2008, Schwieterman et al., 2012).[3] The hub-and-spoke structure of Metra's commuter

lines significantly ties TOD to downtown Chicago's economy, even though the Loop's

share of regional employment has declined. Within suburbs, the lack of effective and

efficient transit hampers the integration of city-regional space and exacerbates the spatial

mismatch between regional housing and employment opportunities (Center for

Neighborhood Technology, 2012b, 2013).[4]

Metra's Suburban Transit Access Route (STAR Line) has emerged as a popular

proposal to deliver circumferential commuter rail service from Joliet, Aurora and Elgin to

O'Hare Airport via the EJ&E right-of-way (Figure 9.1). Suburban officials have

welcomed the STAR Line concept. Those interviewed for this study opined it would be

an important factor in establishing regional hubs and had the potential to become a

regional "game changer" by promoting non-Chicago-oriented commuting, although

several expressed concern over the Line's ridership potential and ability to attract

commuters. Despite strong local support and inclusion as a long-range project in Go to

2040, the STAR Line faces significant challenges regarding financing and the logistics of

coordinating freight traffic and commuter service on the same right-of-way. While the

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[3] Joliet exemplifies the growing trend of utilizing transportation to produce regional centrality. Spurred by funds made available through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act and Springfield's Illinois Jobs Now! program, the City has partnered with Metra, Pace, the RTA and IDOT to plan a regional multimodal transportation center to integrate existing local transit and future high-speed rail and BRT service as a component of their downtown redevelopment process (Fisher, interview, 2009, see City of Joliet, 2009).

[4] Chicagoland's sociospatial transitions are coloured by the region's distinct legacies of segregation. Census data indicate African-Americans are leaving the city for the suburbs but escalating housing prices in the early years of the twenty-first century also fostered an exodus of African-Americans from many affluent suburbs (Rodkin, 2011).
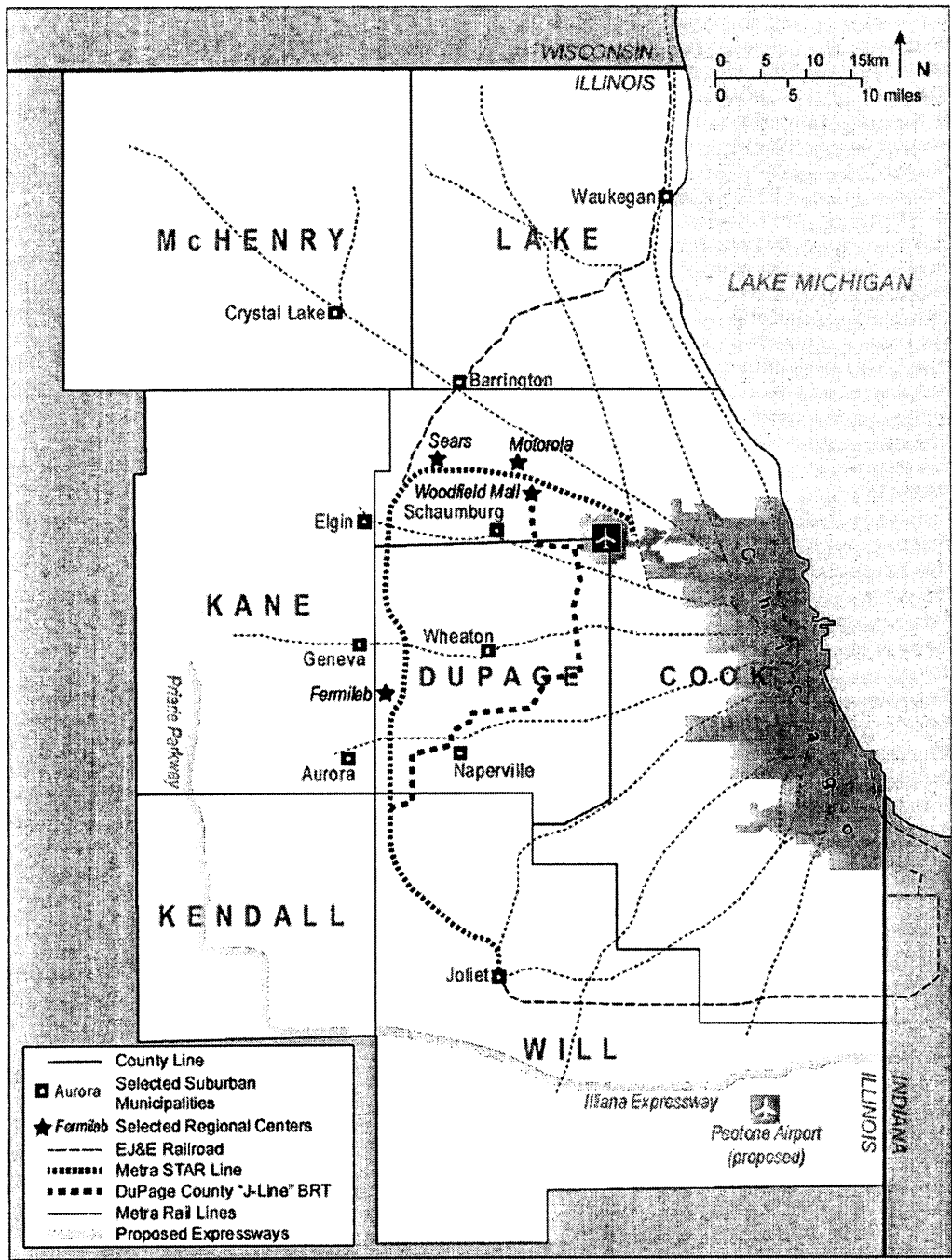
Figure 9.1: The STAR Line and DuPage County's proposed "J-Line" BRT system. In addition to integrating existing radial rail routes and connecting key suburban growth nodes, Metra (2012b) suggests the STAR Line could provide travel options for 1.2 million employees commuting to major suburban institutions (colleges and hospitals), retail centers (Woodfield Mall) and corporate campuses; including Motorola (Schaumburg), Sears (Arlington Heights) and Fermilab (Batavia) while opening access to the region's labor pool.

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desire to improve suburban transit connectivity has led local officials to pressure CN to allow more Metra trains to run on the Heritage Line between Chicago and Joliet, CMAP (2010) and CNT (interview, 2009) have suggested introducing the STAR Line as a bus rapid transit (BRT) route to mitigate conflict with CN and test ridership demand.

Chicagoland transportation and regional planners' nascent embrace of BRT technology reflects the influence of pioneering examples including York Region's *Viva* system. The Metropolitan Planning Council (2011) envisions BRT providing new development opportunities within the city of Chicago to support transit deficient communities and catalyze local economic growth. CMAP advocates for the introduction of several modes of BRT through Go to 2040 as a means to introduce more sustainable urban transit.[5] Their BRT proposals, and those of many suburban officials, however, tend to focus on individual routes deploying differing designs and aesthetics, rather than comprehensive county-based or regional systems comparable to those being rolled-out in the GTHA. DuPage County is a notable exception. Following the recommendations of the 2008 RTA-IDOT led Cook-DuPage Corridor Study, the County commenced planning for the "J-Line" BRT in order to provide needed north-south transit options for eastern DuPage and western Cook Counties (Figure 9.1).

Despite a growing consensus supporting BRT across Chicagoland, the successful implementation of the technology requires more than the application of mobile transit

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[5] CMAP (2010, pp. 280-289) proposes introducing BRT "managed lanes" on existing and future expressways, in addition to service on arterial routes that will extend existing rapid transit lines and pave the way for possible fixed rapid transit (either light rail transit [LRT] or heavy rapid transit [HRT]).

policies (see McCann and Ward, 2011). The need to change public perception of bus transit is pronounced in northeastern Illinois. While commuter rail has a cultural cache (backed by ridership demand), perception of bus service in the collar counties reflects the wider stigma of mass transit prevalent in the United States (Williamson, 2010, pp. 260-262). Ridership trends on Pace, the RTA's suburban bus provider, do not indicate demand for increased service (Regional Transportation Authority, 2012). For BRT to effectively retrofit transit into auto-dependent suburban spaces, the technology's capacity to transform everyday practices and sociotechnical imaginaries needs to be established:

It won't work until we can demonstrate that… it can really make a change in getting people where they need to go in less time… I just recently saw [the system] in Bogota and it is unbelievable how the cars stack up while the BRT just hums along. That's the picture we've got to draw here (DuPage County, interview, 2008).

Whether BRT can catalyze the valorization of an alternative mode of transit remains to be seen. Its success likely hinges on long-term processes pushing people to alternative transportation modes (e.g. rising gas prices) and the ability of those marketing BRT to exploit the cultural distinction between "quality" express service focused on the logics of globalized regionalization and local routes that structure everyday life for many transit-reliant suburban residents. With many suburban employment hubs still tied to expressways, highway planning remains a significant component of regional plans for the movement of people and freight (Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, 2008).

The sociospatial logic of transit in "backstage" Chicago

While strategic thinking regarding transit provision is gradually taking hold in the collar counties, the potential to realize circumferential transit and enhanced north-south movement appears more obtainable – yet also problematic – within Chicago's in-between spaces. Urban in-betweenness in the Chicago context incorporates the characteristic elements of decentralized cultural diversity, archipelagos of wealth and exclusion, and the overlaying of historical forms with new social and infrastructure innovations (Sieverts, 2003). However, despite overtures to regional planning and an embrace of new regionalist thinking among Chicago's urban elites, the territorially-defined political divisions between the city and the collar counties continue to perpetuate geographic and institutional isolation in infrastructure planning. CMAP, the RTA and other regional agencies in northeastern Illinois have little institutional influence over planning in the city of Chicago while the City of Chicago's transit planning tends to produce *city*-based solutions to increasingly *regional* mobility issues. "Backstage" Chicago (Abu-Lughod, 1999, p. 321) presents challenges which are predominantly addressed by overlooking the morphologically-integrated but institutionally-differentiated suburbs. While there are important regional centers and institutions beyond the Loop – e.g. the Illinois Medical District, the University of Chicago and the Port of Chicago – many outer Chicago neighborhoods are "residual spaces" traversed by transportation bypasses and thruways that function on alternative scalar logics (Young and Keil, 2010, p. 87).

The decentralization of employment significantly impacts the ability of the Chicago city-region's minority and working class communities and new immigrant populations' to access employment. Many newcomers to Chicago now bypass established urban gateway neighborhoods and move directly to the suburbs. By the late-1990s, new immigrants in Chicago's suburbs and edge cities occupied a favorable geographic position relative to the city's indigenous poor when competing in local unskilled labor markets (Greene, 1997). Shifts in the distribution of economic activity particularly hit African-American communities on Chicago's West Side, South Side and near south suburbs (Mouw, 2000); neglected, racialized landscapes incorporating elements of Chicago's declining Fordist and pre-Fordist industrial spaces. These areas contain a large supply of affordable housing, but accommodation-based household savings are largely offset by increased transportation costs (Center for Neighborhood Technology, 2012a).

These spatial patterns have been locked-in by Chicago's distinct constellation of transportation path dependencies, as evidenced in the CTA's on-going restructuring of the El system. Between the mid-1990s and early-2000s, the CTA prioritized maintenance, upgrades and, in some cases, complete replacement of existing El infrastructure (Gallucci, Goodworth and Allen, 2012). With the Englewood-Jackson Park El barely suitable for operation, the Authority opted for a complete rebuild, closing the route from January 1994 to May 1996. As part of these renovations, the CTA closed several stations, tore down sections of elevated track along 63rd Street, and switched the alignment of the lower-ridership Englewood-Jackson Park El from the more heavily used North Side

Howard Line to the under-utilized Lake Street El. The realignment and El closure sparked community protests and accusations of racism on the part of the City and CTA (Washington, 1994). Their complaints, though, went unheeded; dismissed as those of a "few holdouts... made so marginal by the new inclusive style of Chicago governance that their protests barely registered" (Longworth, 2004, p. 83).

The CTA did take onboard the ridership lessons of Green Line closure but the broader social and racial consequences of that rehabilitation project reemerged as the Authority reconfigured rapid transit service on the West Side and opened the Pink Line in June 2006. In order to facilitate the doubling of service on the express service Congress El, trains on the Douglas Branch were rerouted to the Loop via the Paulina Connector and Lake Street El, instead of running through the Dearborn Subway to O'Hare as they had since 1958 (Figure 9.2). The changes benefited commuters from near Western suburbs who were travelling downtown at the expense of residents served by the local service on the Douglas Branch. The Little Village Environmental Justice Organization (LVEJO)[6] opposed the realignment, stressing local residents' concerns regarding the impact on access to employment around the University of Illinois-Chicago as well as the increased commuting time for workers travelling to the Loop and blue-collar jobs surrounding O'Hare (Pitula, interview, 2009). Route restructuring on the South and West Sides has perpetuated "structural racism" (see Pulido, 2000). Low-income, racialized communities

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[6] LVEJO is a local community organization based in the predominantly Mexican far west side neighborhood of Little Village (part of the South Lawndale Community Area).
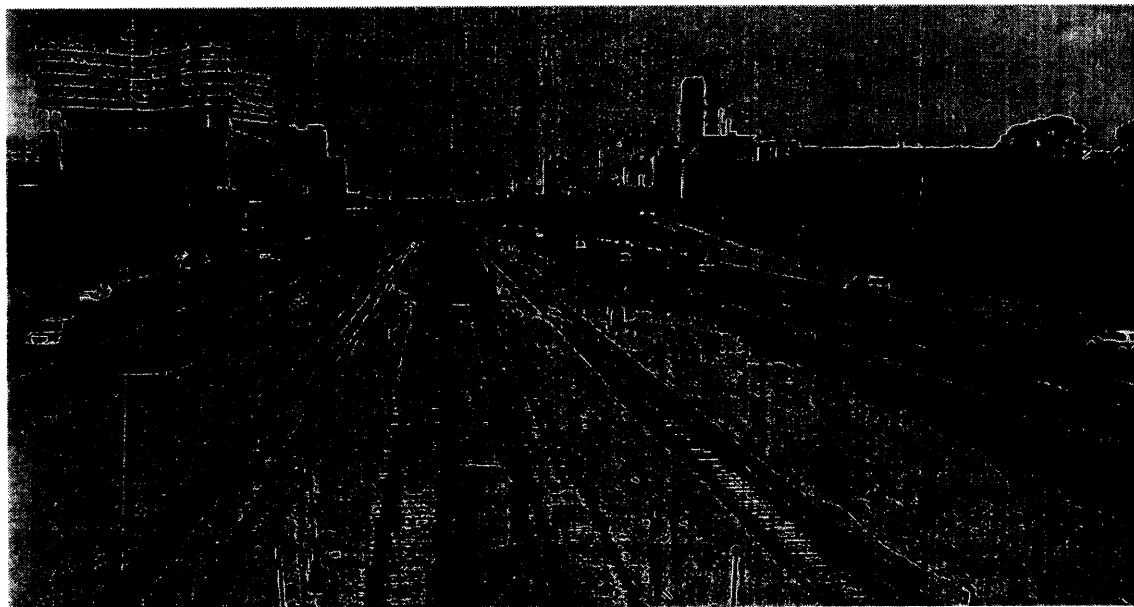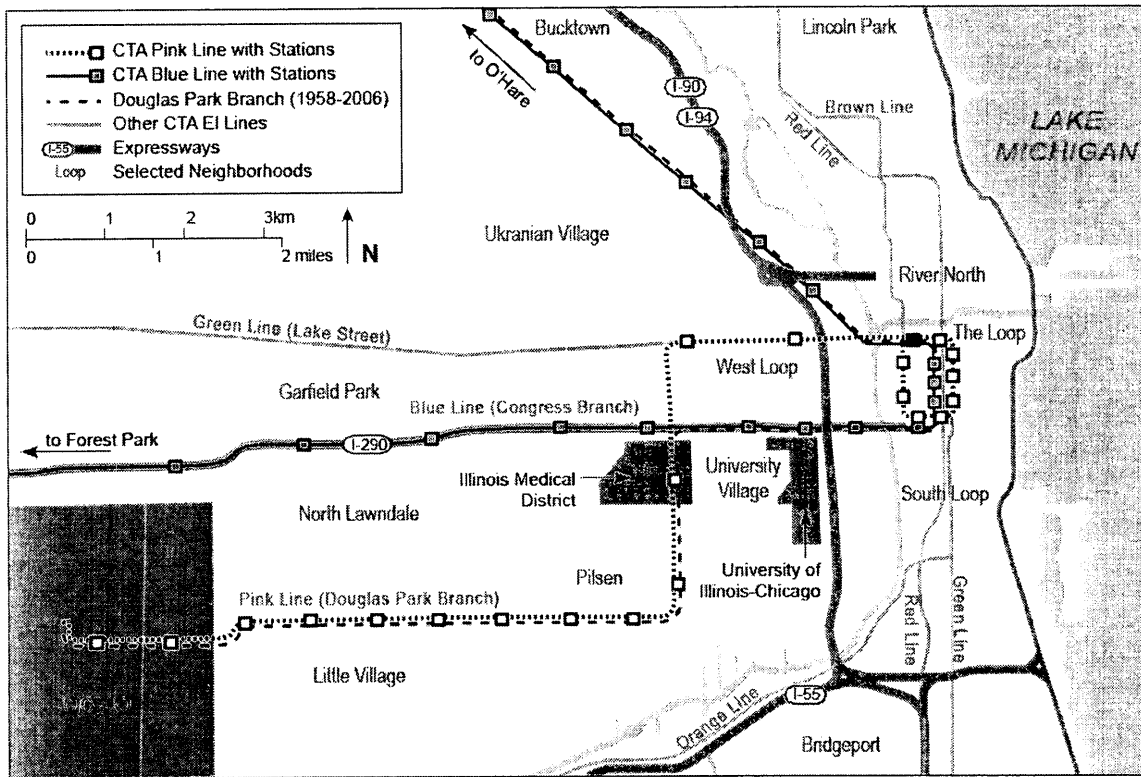
Figure 9.2: CTA West Side restructuring. The CTA's Pink Line realignment (top). Following the introduction of the Pink Line in 2006, rapid transit service to the Douglas Park branch is no longer routed from O'Hare Airport via the Congress Branch El. Pink Line trains now continue along the Paulina Connector (mid-distance) to the Loop along the Lake Street El (Green Line) tracks, May 2013 (bottom).

within Chicago's in-between city are disconnected while suburban and global commuters benefit from improved connectivity to the central core.

Transit investment at the intersection of infrastructure and real estate capital

West Side Chicago's north-south arterial streets remained overcrowded and in a state of disrepair after the demise of the Crosstown Expressway. Mayor, Richard M. Daley reignited interest in infrastructure development along the former expressway alignment and proposals for a Mid-City Transitway emerged just three months after his election (City of Chicago, 1989). The proposal to run rapid transit through the "Crosstown Corridor" was received positively in the media and politicians whose districts would benefit welcomed the proposed transit improvements. CATS (1990, 1997) included a Mid-City line as a "priority project" in their 2010 and 2020 RTPs. However, the high costs of a HRT line, more than $1billion by 1997, led other city leaders to offer limited support. Little progress was made on the Mid-City Line during the 1990s.

By 2002, when Mayor Daley commissioned a second round of feasibility studies from CDOT, the Mid-City project (now being considered for HRT, BRT, a truck-exclusive roadway or combination of transit and freight infrastructure) faced considerable competition for funding and benefits. The CTA had adopted an assertive role in transit planning under the leadership of Frank Kruesi (1997-2007). Having successfully completed rehabilitation projects on the Blue-Pink (2001-2008) and Brown El Lines (2006-2009), the Authority looked to lead system expansion for the first time and

initiated studies for the long-proposed extensions to the Red, Orange and Yellow Lines as well as a new inner circumferential route, the Circle Line.[7]

The Circle Line emerged as a central component of the City of Chicago's 2003 Central Area Plan. The CTA (2002) envisioned the new line encircling the freshly re-designated urban core between two and three miles from the Loop. Planning and public consultations for the Circle Line commenced in 2005, with the most cost-effective, locally preferred alignment released in October 2009 (Figure 9.3). The Authority argued that the selected HRT alternative (opposed to both BRT and a Mid-City Transitway route) best addressed Chicago's transportation needs by: (1) bolstering service to tourist and entertainment destinations, the Illinois Medical District hub and gentrifying near West Side neighborhoods; (2) integrating rapid transit and regional rail facilities while utilizing existing infrastructure as much as possible (thus generating favorable cost-effectiveness levels for federal financing); and (3) addressing downtown congestion by rerouting service to non-Loop destinations. The proposed 6.2 mile route is projected to generated 10 million annual riders by 2030 and is budgeted at $1 billion; comparable to the construction costs of the 21.7 mile Mid-City Transitway (Chicago Area Transportation Study, 1997, Chicago Transit Authority, 2009). The CTA's aggressive pursuit of the Circle Line (with the backing of Chicago's urban elites) usurped the position of the Mid-City Transitway on the City's agenda. The Authority incorporated CDOT's work on the Mid-City Transitway into their Circle Line analysis and by

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[7] The City's Department of Bridges and Transit oversaw the development, financing and construction of the last extension the El network, the Orange Line, in 1993.
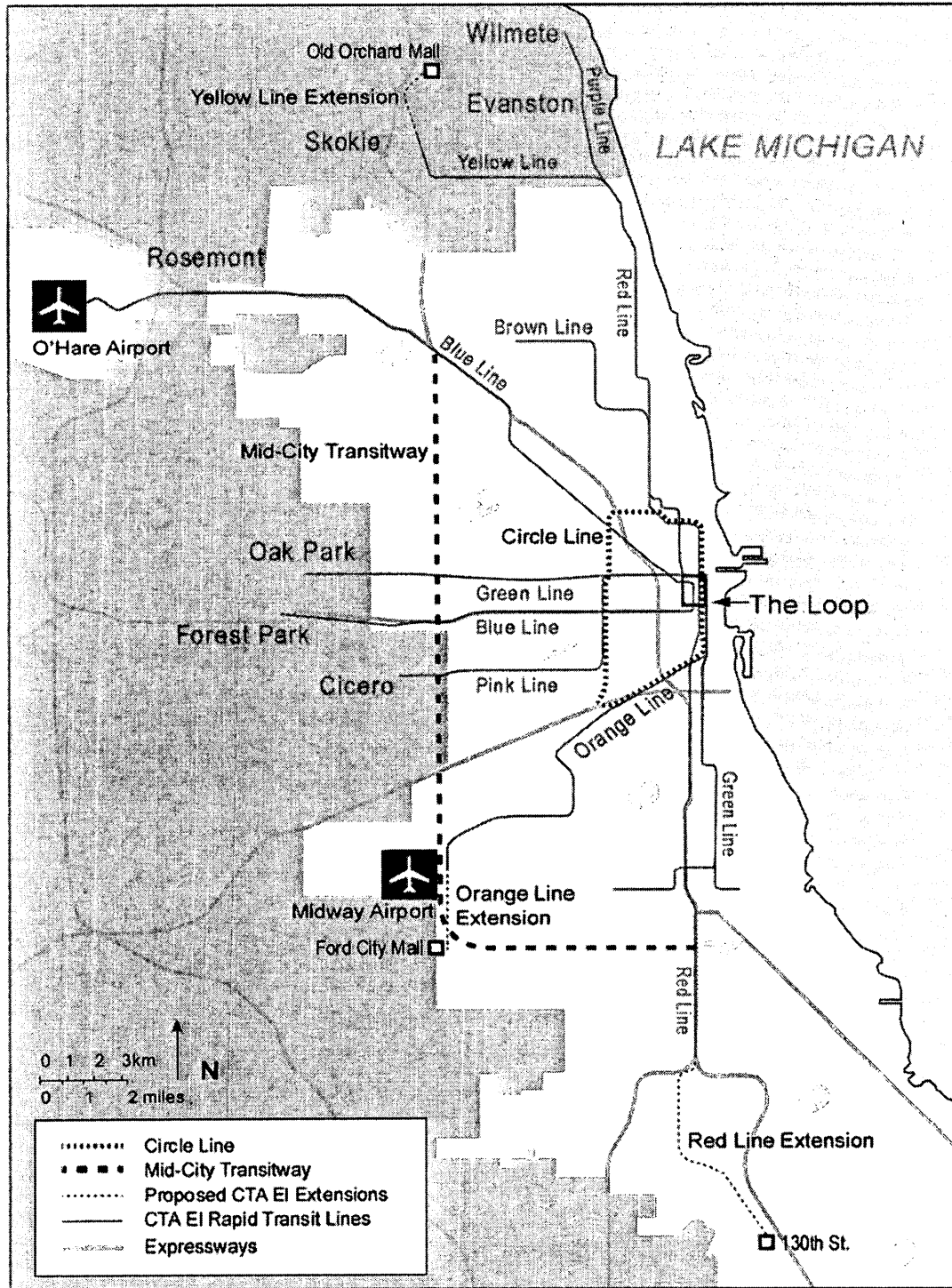
Figure 9.3: The Circle Line and Mid-City Transitway. The CTA's proposed extensions to the Red, Orange and Yellow Lines are also shown.

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contending the two projects served similar markets, posited that the Circle Line would

serve more riders as the Cicero Corridor lacked the density to justify large-scale

infrastructural investment.[8]

Equating the Mid-City and Circle Line is problematic. Whereas the Circle Line

primarily serves affluent White residents moving into gentrifying near-Loop

neighborhoods and commuters in central areas already well served by public transit, the

Mid-City project provides communities that are structurally more dependent on public

transit and isolated from regional job opportunities with improved access to growing

regional employment hubs outside the Loop.[9] Despite a proposed increase in service for

some low-income and ethnic communities – including eastern areas of Little Village –

LVEJO opposed the Circle Line; critiquing a perceived misallocation of the CTA's

limited funds and highlighting the route's potential for displacement:[10]

> Sometimes [the CTA] will introduce new service and it's good, but on the other
>
> hand it seems as though they'll deny service to another area until it becomes

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[8] CDOT (2009) contend the Mid-City Transitway would be "an important part of Chicago's transportation network" but now stress that it "is just a long-range concept... [as] part of a long-range regional plan". CMAP (2008, pp. 213-215) included both projects in their 2030 RTP, but downgraded the Mid-City to a future "corridor recommendation"; a significant re-designation given the weight placed on MPO's plans for federal funding.

[9] The situation is exacerbated as the Red Line extension to the 130th Street continues to languish on the City's agenda. Unlike the proposed Orange and Yellow Line extensions (single stop extensions to regional malls), the four stop Red Line extension would take rapid transit to the city's southern limit and provide El service for African-American communities long excluded from access to rapid transit.

[10] LVEJO has called for simple, low-cost solutions to the transit demands of the in-between city; including reopening stations on the Blue and Green Lines and increasing the capacity on existing bus routes. Following this logic, they have lobbied the CTA to reinstate the 31st Street bus (cancelled during cuts in 1997). The route would connect residents to local supermarkets, retail and employment centers along Cicero Avenue as well as centers of community life while expanding local use-value by linking the Museum Campus (Pitula, interview, 2009).

favorable to development… People have said that [the Circle Line] will redefine the boundaries for downtown development and make property values go up in certain areas and consolidate gentrification… We'd love to see greater service, but it's a double edged sword because… they're making it more advantageous to development that would push people out (Pitula, interview, 2009).

The link between the geography of transit investment and Chicago's urban land market is clearly evident in the integral position of the Circle Line within the Central Area Plan. The route's promotion indicates that infrastructural investment is being utilized as a neoliberal urban locational policy intended to enhance the competitiveness of the global city center. CMAP (2010) indicates a high level of land-use support for both proposed circumferential routes, but projected ridership levels on the Circle Line are clearly buttressed by the symbiotic relationship between transit investment and the centralized urban densification desired by the City. The spatial logic expanding the boundaries of downtown and establishing the Central Area as a global transport hub trumps the necessities of non-radial, equity-based transit expansion.

The Circle Line is intricately connected to the production of urban space as an accumulation strategy; one focused upon the upper-end commercial and residential functions of the urban core within the global city. The valorization of urban space is grounded in the production of rent as a form of fictitious capital realized through the application of capital on differing land and the subsequent shifts in the absolute, relative and relational qualities of space (Harvey, 1989e). The Circle Line facilitates speculative

investment in the built environment as a means to extract surplus capital as rent. Former industrial spaces and working-class districts in the Lower and Near West Side and South Loop are folded more completely into the urban centrality of the downtown land economy (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 105). Population growth and sales tax receipts in Chicago's expanded central core are rapidly outpacing those in the rest of Chicagoland (Hinz, 2013). By contrast, the development opportunities along the Mid-City Transitway appear less substantial and less immediate. Employment is mainly in industrial, distribution and retail activity. Further, the City prefers the Mid-City's primary "global" function (the (overstated) need to connect O'Hare and Midway) to be served by a splintered Express Airport Service on the Blue and Orange El Lines (Chicago Transit Authority, 2006).

While the neoliberal imperatives that drive the increasing importance attached to the Circle Line rather than the apparently more equitable Mid-City Transitway have been discussed by several scholars and activists (Farmer, 2011, Pitula, interview, 2009), they rarely mention how institutional and financing mechanisms shape urban transit policy and specific patterns of urbanization. Local governments in the United States rely on the federal government to fund major transit capital projects. The City and CTA's capital planning agendas are constrained by the regulatory framework of Washington's *New Starts* program; the primary mechanism for funding major transit capital investments utilizing grade-separated or fixed right-of-ways. Projects from across the nation compete for a limited pool of federal funding and are evaluated by the Federal Transit

Administration through a system of milestones and restrictions.[11] New Starts primarily

finances individual projects, limiting the capacity of Chicago's planning institutions to

pursue a systematic program of capital investment. Given the national-scale of

competition, multiple projects in Chicago – e.g. the Red, Orange, Yellow Line extensions

and Circle Line – are placed in competition with other cities' proposals and with each

other for federal dollars.[12] The process of selecting which projects enter the New Starts

program consequently remains highly political. With CMAP only serving in an advisory

capacity, infrastructure investment occurs on a largely piecemeal basis with particular

projects open to accelerated development or perpetual marginalization. In this context,

the Circle Line reveals the City's commitment to boosting development in the heart of the

global city at the expense of poorer, transit-deficient areas in Chicago's in-between city.

FINANCIAL CRISES AND TRANSIT DOOMSDAYS

Mass transit continues to occupy a paradoxical position in the Chicago city-region.

Diverse interest groups – drawing from, and frequently mixing, discourses of social

justice, environmental sustainability and economic competitiveness – highlight public

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[11] New Starts provides a statutory match for local governments of up to 60% for transit projects accepted under the Full Funding Grant Agreement. Until 2010, cost-effectiveness served as the primary evaluation indicator, although this has shifted with greater emphasis placed on economic and environmental metrics. New Starts recommended allocating a total of $2.2 billion for 29 project in their 2013 budget (Gates, 2012). The need to incorporate funding for rehabilitation work on Chicago's existing infrastructure places projects in the city at a competitive disadvantage to cities pursuing new build infrastructure.

[12] This system sits in sharp contrast to transportation planning and funding in the GTHA; a CTA strategic planner noted the comparison: "I was looking at [The Big Move] and [Toronto's] got a $50 billion plan, but I think a lot of that is going to be locally funded. No one is that aggressive here" (Busby, interview, 2009).

transit's importance as a strategy to bind key actors and activities in place (Center for Neighborhood Technology, 2008, Chicago Metropolis 2020, 2007, Little Village Environmental Justice Organization, 2012). Yet, concomitantly, northeastern Illinois has found itself in the grips of a renewed transit crisis. In 2007, the RTA faced a $600 million shortfall just to keep its system running. The institutional compromises and fixed funding formulas that had contained the contradictions inherent in Chicago's Fordist-Keynesian urban regimes cracked under the imperatives of neoliberal urbanization and global economic restructuring and now inhibit the development of a regional consensus to the regional transit problem (Lindstrom, 2010, pp. 56-57, Regional Transportation Authority, 2007). While the RTA's struggles revealed the breakdown of existing funding and governance arrangements, escalating gas prices underscored the unsustainability of the Chicago city-region's auto-centric centrifugal urbanization and embedded local transit's woes in broader fiscal and energy crises (Atkinson, 2007, Harvey, 2005).

Restructuring Chicago's spatial Keynesian transit compromise

The financial strains on Chicago's regional transit system steadily increased as the federal government phased out transit operating subsidies during the 1990s (see Grengs, 2005). The CTA alone projected a $55 million budgetary deficit by 2004. The CTA, backed by Chicago's business community and non-government agencies, called for a long-term transit funding solution based on restructuring the RTA's statutory formula for distributing sales tax dollars between transit service boards (Frève, interview, 2009). The

Illinois General Assembly (2005a) responded by appropriating $54.3 million as stopgap

funding for the CTA. After inspecting the RTA, CTA, Metra and Pace, the Illinois

Auditor General (2007) endorsed a review of the sales tax formula, recommended

strengthening the RTA's powers to plan and oversee operations, and encouraged reform

of the RTA Board to reflect the population shift from Chicago to the suburbs.[13] The

Auditor General's recommendations underscored the political contradictions

institutionalized in the RTA's 1974 and 1983 political compromises. The RTA remains a

necessary financial institution that creates a regional spatial imaginary through which

"everyone feels that they have a stake in the monies that are collected", but policy makers

trying to increase ridership "want to make the majority of [their] investments in the

central area" where transit capital is already concentrated and the majority of users are

served (Busby, interview, 2009).

The RTA formulated its 2007 strategic plan under the assumption that new

sources of funding would be identified but legislative action was stalled by enflamed

city-suburban antagonism. The CTA and Pace reacted by announcing "doomsday plans"

for September 16, 2007 that included a 50% increase in rush hour fares on the El system,

the elimination of 39 CTA bus routes and the loss of 600 jobs. After twice delaying

draconian service cuts in the autumn of 2007, Governor Blagojevich called on the State

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[13] The Auditor General (2007) confirmed that existing financing mechanisms left Chicago-area transit underfunded, but pointed to competition between the CTA, Metra and Pace, high salaries, labor absenteeism, and poor regional leadership by the RTA as exacerbating the situation.

legislature to pass some kind of transit funding bill (which he would amend later) as a third deadline loomed on January 20, 2008.

A political compromise to restructure the RTA for the first time since 1983 was reached on January 10, 2008. House Bill 656 required the RTA to adopt a long-term strategic plan, deploy stricter oversight of transit financing in northeastern Illinois and reform the CTA's pension and healthcare systems (Illinois General Assembly, 2008). Furthermore, HB656 projected additional annual revenues of $435 million for the CTA from increases in regional sales taxes,[14] matching funds from Springfield, and a 40% increase in the City of Chicago's real estate transfer tax. In return for the collar counties accepting an increase in sales tax, the RTA's statutory distribution formula shifted in favor of the suburbs with a revenue allocation of 48% to the CTA, 39% to Metra and 13% to Pace.[15] Suburban political representation also increased as the RTA Board expanded from 13 to 16 members.

The City of Chicago did not welcome HB656's conditions but given the importance of transit, most local officials deemed the Bill's passage and transfer tax reform unavoidable. The legislation passed by a count of 41-6 under the backing of Mayor Daley. Fare hikes and service cuts were not quietly accepted throughout Chicago. Reflecting the class inequalities of the restructuring program, the *Chicago Defender*

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[14] Sales taxes increased from 1% to 1.25% in Cook County and from 0.25% to 0.75% in the collar counties.

[15] The RTA receives 15% of transit sales taxes and distributes the remainder. The CTA receives all transit sales taxes collected in Chicago and 33% of Cook County revenues; Metra nets 55% of Cook County and 70% of collar county transit sales taxes while Pace obtains 15% of Cook County and 30% of collar county taxes.

(2008) attacked the City for overlooking its impact on working class Chicagoans and the city's racialized communities. Local transit advocates and employees formed a Rider-Driver Alliance to oppose service cuts and fare increases and promote institutional transparency (Pitula, interview, 2009). The Alliance's limited operational capacity scuppered their efforts while the CTA struggled to offer free rides to seniors, a provision included in HB656 at Governor Blagojevich's insistence.

Operational and infrastructural strategies following the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis

Transit funding in Chicago was thus tied to the city's real estate market. Even in late-2007, most political and transport officials viewed property tax dollars as a reliable source of revenue. Despite the clouds of an overheating economy and land market forming over Chicago, City and State legislators believed that they had resolved the financial issues threatening regional transit for the next ten years (Chicago Department of Transportation, interview, 2009). This has not proven to be the case. No sooner had Springfield and Chicago passed legislation, than waves of housing foreclosures swept through both the city and collar counties.

The shortfall of funds resulting from the loss of real estate transfer tax dollars in Chicago exposed the limitations of the 2008 RTA legislation. The amendments improved institutional efficiency and provided the operational capital to enable the region's transit system to keep running without major service cuts or fare hikes. However, they did not address the underlying politics of transit investment and expenditure, or the inherent

deficiencies in capital funding to upgrade the system's outdated rolling stock, tracks and stations. Transit doomsday plans returned only a year after RTA reform passed. The CTA enacted draconian reductions in service (18% of bus services and 9% of El services) and lay-offs of 1,100 employees in February, 2010. Service cuts were distributed unevenly, with the largest impact on the city's transit-dependent South and West Side African-American neighborhoods (Loury, 2010). Still, local transit officials contended that "what the General Assembly did in 2008 was probably about the best that anyone could have done" under existing institutional framework (Allen, interview, 2009).

The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act presented an opportunity to relieve Chicagoland's transit's capital funding problems. CMAP viewed the federal stimulus monies optimistically – particularly given the number of shovel-ready projects in northeastern Illinois – and promoted projects that would bolster the economic viability of the region (Delano, interview, 2009). Other regional agencies were more skeptical about the federal stimulus's potential impact; "We're expecting the City [of Chicago] to get $80 million that we will have control over [and] that's a lot of money, but… reconstructing one downtown transit station is about $75 million" (Chicago Department of Transportation, interview, 2009). Although Washington concentrated stimulus funding on capital infrastructure investments, the CTA utilized stimulus monies for a program of state-of-good-repair projects and capital improvements and enabled the back-billing of operational expenses: "If you think about the Stimulus actually supporting jobs, this is probably the most effective way to do that because the alternative would to have been

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either raising fares or reducing service levels; essentially firing bus drivers" (Busby, interview, 2009). The CTA's reasoning meshes with Marx's (1978, pp. 252-260) view that maintenance and repairs are a component of the value-producing system and consequently, workers involved in such activities represent an investment in the physical infrastructure of the city (Harvey, 2012a, p. 21). State-of-good-repair projects though do not engender a widespread reorganization of urban space to restore accumulation.

The United States' stimulus bill did influence Chicago's regional transit operations, but its overall impact on urban state strategies has been limited. Rather than representing a full-scale return to Keynesian policies, stimulus projects have materially and discursively reinforced existing urbanization trends in the Chicago city-region, including the centripetal concentration of urban investment around transit-oriented development programs and key nodes of global connectivity – O'Hare airport, the gentrifying areas north and west of the Loop, and the technology corridors in the wealthy suburbs of Naperville and Schaumburg – at the expense of transit provision in marginalized districts of the city and inner suburban ring (Center for Neighborhood Technology, 2012b, City of Chicago, 2009). Current transportation planning logics highlight both the structuring role of fixed capital arrangements and the lock-in of institutional path dependencies. The decisions, taken in 1973, 1983 and 2008, to maintain the CTA's autonomy concentrated political and planning power in the City of Chicago. The RTA and CMAP have limited authority to plan and integrate a regional transportation system as the City and CTA determine which major infrastructure projects

are priorities. The arrangement allowed Mayor Daley to pursue a policy framework focused on global urbanism rather than regionally-integrated urbanization.

Rahm Emanuel, who succeeded Daley's as Chicago's mayor on May 16, 2011, looks likely to continue this trend via the $1.7 billion Chicago Infrastructure Trust, approved on April 2012. Backed by the Clinton Global Initiative, Emanuel's Trust – to be funded, in part, by $200 million from private sources – intends to support a $7 billion program of improvements to Chicago's aviation, transit, street, water, park and school infrastructure, generating 30,000 jobs between 2012 and 2015 (City of Chicago, 2012). Emanuel's model of infrastructure financing presents a potential framework for cities facing mounting budgetary deficits to attract private capital and forge innovative development arrangements. However, the Fund's P3 financing exemplifies the complex political ideologies embedded within neo-Keynesian responses to the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis. Investment in public works stimulate economic activity and job growth through a policy framework that internalizes the neoliberal drive to close infrastructure deficits by handing the financing of civic improvements to public-private partnerships.

NETWORKS AND EXCLUSIONS: MOVING IN AND THROUGH TORONTO'S IN-BETWEEN SPACES

PRODUCING POST-SUBURBS

The tensions, contradictions and synergies between local territorial development strategies and the Province of Ontario's conception of a networked region are clearly

evident in the emerging "dialectic of centrality" that characterizes the GTHA's contemporary "post-suburban" urbanization. While the imperatives of capitalist urbanization continue to underpin the spatial organization of the city-region – as governments and developers attempt to realize evermore profitable differential rents and lucrative tax bases (Harvey, 2012b, pp. 89-114) – contemporary urban structures reflect the production of new use-values, relative connectivity and class antagonisms which are internalized within evolving "post-suburban" centralities. With growth continuing to accelerate rapidly in suburban areas lacking transit infrastructure – there is a growing recognition that mass transit service cannot stop at municipal boundaries, nor concentrate on moving people downtown. This issue though, does not simply rest on service integration or the introduction of inter-jurisdictional routes, but on the establishment of common visions, practices and political synergies.

The Big Move provides the material infrastructure to concentrate regional growth around a strategically significant network of "mobility hubs" that integrate and balance multimodal transportation technologies. Metrolinx has devoted substantial attention to establishing high-order transit corridors between key suburban growth centers in the transit-deficient outer suburbs and fostering municipal partnerships to realize trans-jurisdictional infrastructure development. It has been successful in leading rapid transit studies along key suburban regional corridors. Local, municipal-regional and Provincial actors have embraced common transportation and development visions centered on the introduction of BRT (with the intention of upgrading to LRT), most notably along

Highway 7 in York Region. Metrolinx has provided space to analyze proposals. Taking their cue from Place to Grow, many of Toronto's neighboring municipalities have embraced a planning and policy agenda centered on urbanization and intensified development in new urban centers such as Markham Town Center, Richmond Hill Town Centre and Vaughan Metropolitan Centre. The City of Vaughan's 2020 strategic plan (2011, p. 1) envisions a transition "from a growing suburban municipality to a fully urban space". Vaughan Metropolitan Centre "is not going to be suburban; it's going to be all urban" (Webber, interview, 2010).

Transit infrastructure, coordinated with the goals of Places to Grow, forms the backbone of this emerging urbanization process (Figure 9.4). In 2001, the consolidation of five local bus services into York Region Transit (YRT) laid the groundwork for a steep increase in services and ridership. The York Consortium public private partnership (P3) oversaw the changes in the YRT system which now moves 13 million riders annually. The Regional Municipality of York and the York Consortium established the *Viva* BRT system in 2005 that now provides vital material and governance technologies supporting the post-suburbanization of York Region. The operation of Viva has been outsourced to the French multinational Veolia in conjunction with local transportation company Tokmakjian Inc. Viva illustrates the on-going globalization of urban infrastructure governance and application of fast policy mobilities, with Veolia employing
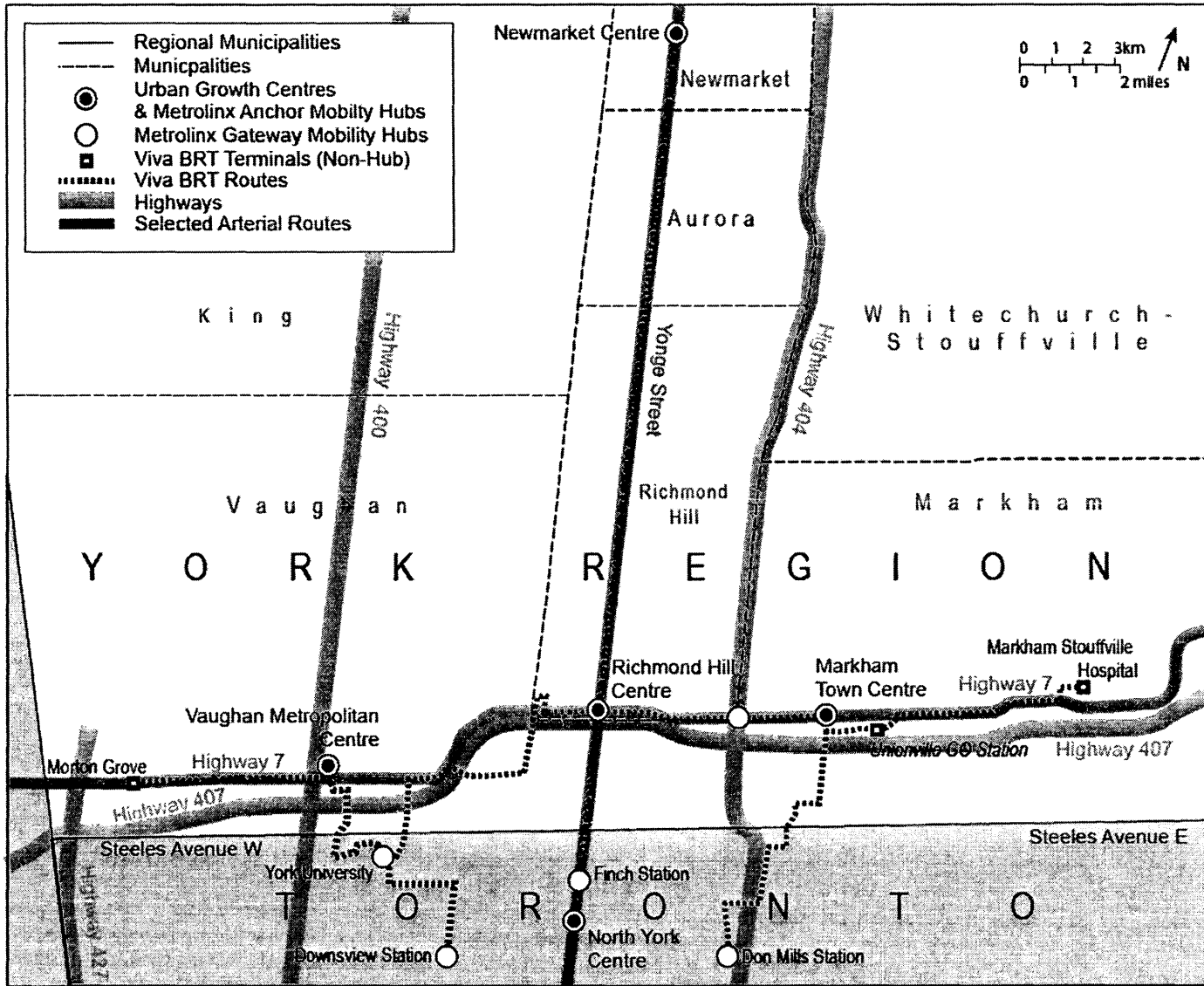
Figure 9.4: Viva's BRT system and the Province of Ontario's growth hub strategy. Bus rapid transit, anchored along Highway 7 and Yonge Street forms the backbone of on-going post-suburban development in York Region.

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internationally-honed BRT expertise along Highway 7 (Keil and Addie, under review).[16]

Viva's P3 arrangement enables York Region's municipal governments to coordinate with

developers on TOD projects. Private firms can realize the benefits from their investments

in transit by increased rents generated by proximity (ideally within 500 meters) to transit

stations (Webber, interview, 2010). Based on the introduction of rapid transit technology,

the Town of Markham foresees Highway 7 evolving as an "urban boulevard", lined with

trees, sidewalks and mixed-use development that can accommodate pedestrian traffic,

rapid transit and improved east-west automotive movement (Figure 9.5).

VIVA initially operated express bus service in mixed-traffic along the Yonge

Street and Highway 7 corridors, with connecting terminals at Downsview, York

University, and the Finch and Don Mills TTC stations in Toronto. Commencing in 2009,

the VivaNext project has begun the process of constructing dedicated bus-only

"rapidways" and "vivastations" in the centre of York Region's key arterial routes (York

Region Transit Corporation, 2012, see Figure 9.4). Splintering mass transit into express

and local service compounds the impact of bypassing local communities while extending

the technical and cultural distinction of the express service. A key challenge facing

Veolia and York Region (as in Chicagoland) has been the need to address the cultural

stigma associated with local bus service in North America. Consequently, VIVA has

emphasized a high-end transit experience "to reach the people, the business people, who

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[16] The mobile urbanism expressed in Veolia's globally-scaled politics is evident in local criticism of the
company for its contract to provide services to commuters and to transport waste from illegal settlements
on the West Bank. Veolia has also been criticized for confrontational labor relations, low wages and poor
working conditions (Keil and Addie, under review).
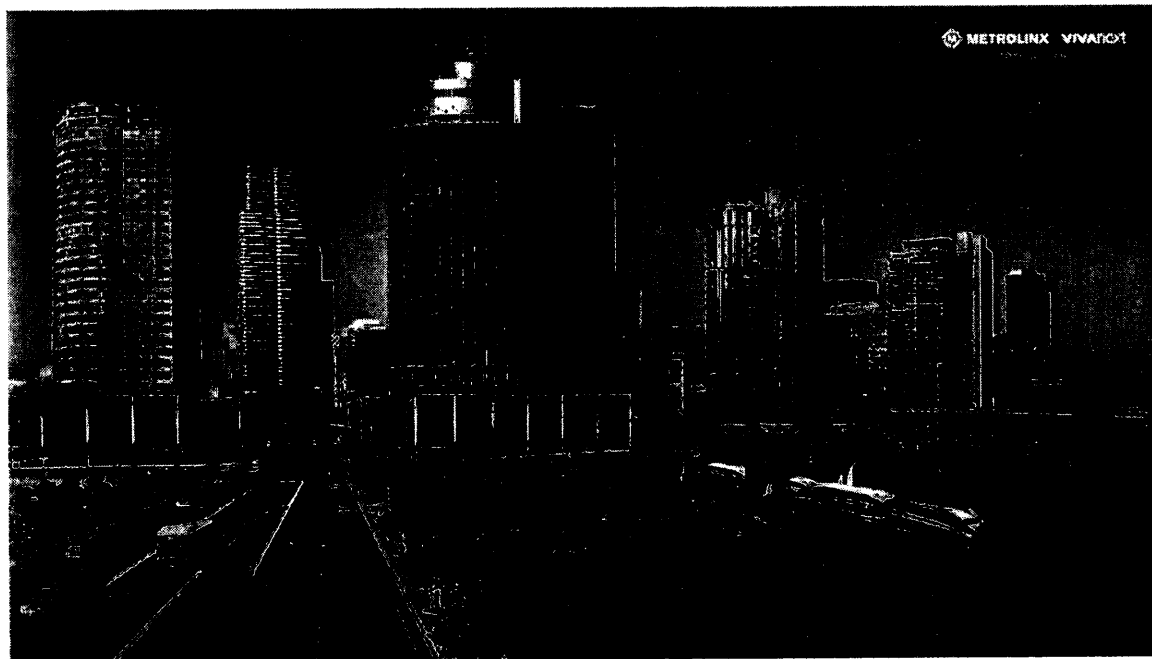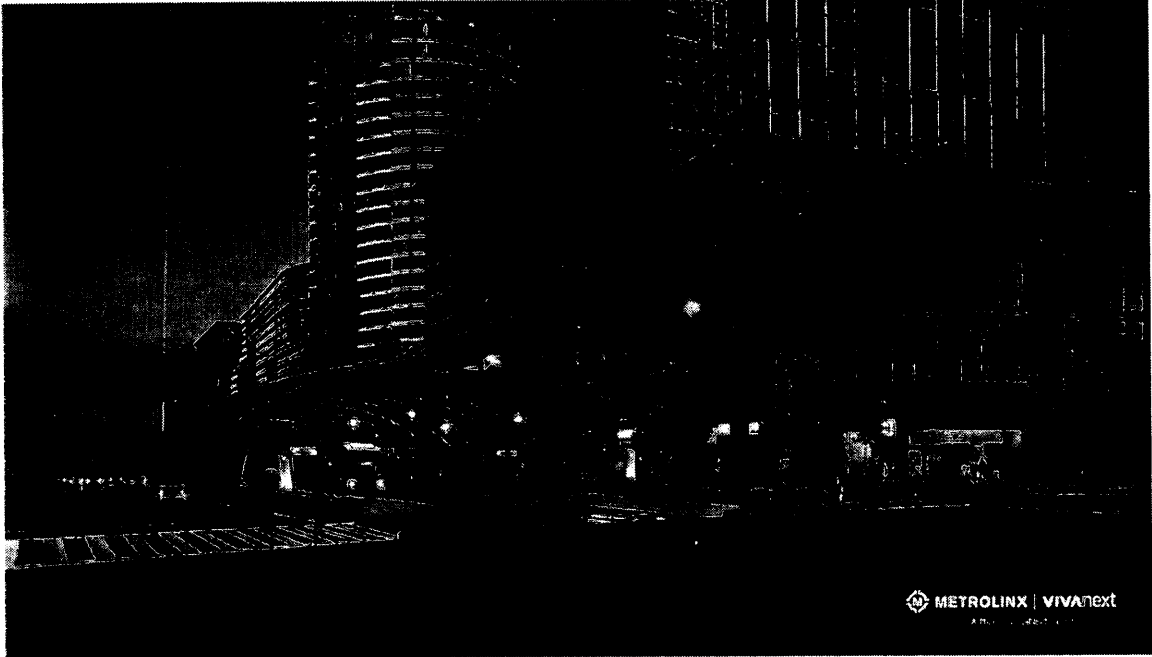
Figure 9.5: Renderings for "Vaughan Metropolitan Centre" (top) and "Richmond Hill Centre" (bottom) illustrate the multimodal transportation networks – including GO Rail, Viva BRT and TTC subway in addition to automotive and pedestrian traffic – and their associated space-times as brought together along Highway 7 by the Province of Ontario's mobility hubs, Source: Copyright, York Region Rapid Transit Corporation (vivaNext). Reproduced with permission.

are not going to look at riding transit as a step down. We've tried hard to put a distinguished, upscale, comfortable vehicle on the road" (Webber, interview, 2010).

Crossing fuzzy boundaries

The dramatic metamorphosis underway along Highway 7 illustrates the polycentric urbanization occurring in the Toronto city-region by presenting both an alternative development model and spatial vision of the GTHA. The image of a city-region structured around the central axis of Highway 7 – opposed to the established urban corridors of Queen Street, Bloor Street, or, with ground broken on Transit City's Crosstown route, Eglinton Avenue – challenges the relative centrality of the urban core, the territorial primacy of the City of Toronto, and established conceptions of urbanism abstracted from the imagery of pre-war city (Fiedler, 2011).[17] For Metrolinx, emerging

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[17] These trends are likely to be further rescaled. The 2011 Canadian census indicates continued growth in the outer suburbs's established urban centers but also burgeoning growth in the booming municipalities of Milton and Halton Hills (Fiedler, 2012). Still, critics continue to rely on normative assumptions based on a simplified dichotomy between the city and suburbs, resulting in antiquated policy prescriptions devised for a metropolis which no longer exists, if it ever did (see Sewell, 2009, Soloman, 2007). For example, Mees (2010, p. 103) accuses Metrolinx of failing to "the lessons of their own region's history" on the basis that decisions regarding transit modes and services have been made on land-use and trip densities in selected corridors. He argues that performance indicators for transit in Toronto are not related to density and consequently suggests the TTC's ridership struggles during the early-2000s, and challenges facing the region's suburban transit providers, are not systemically different to those faced in the 1920s (when Toronto's transit system was transfer to public ownership), the 1950s and 1970s (when transit faced the challenges of increased automobile ownership and metropolitan sprawl. Subsequently, Mees policy prescriptions contend the region's transportation problem can be addressed by institutional reform and the restructuring of service arrangements; notably encouraging urban densification by extending transit routes into areas considered too low density to economically support such service. The nature of the GTHA's suburban spaces, however, renders such an approach problematic as Mees overlooks the both the requirements of local and regional transit and the emergent development trajectories of the outer suburbs.

patterns of connectivity reveal the integrated nature of the Toronto city-region and the

emergence of a built environment that challenges current political boundaries;

> [The GTHA] is now a city-region... The city of Toronto is still very important, the
>
> city of Mississauga is still very important, but the line on the map is very blurry
>
> now. One city really blends in to another and for people driving to and from or
>
> taking transit from A to B... they don't even know they've crossed a boundary...
>
> because the urban streetscape has not changed (McNeil, interview, 2010).

While the GTHA may appear as a "soft" planning space with increasingly "fuzzy"

boundaries (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2009), differences in urban and suburban

commuting practices and perceptions of mass transit persist; most evidently north and

south of Steeles Avenue, the boundary between the city of Toronto and York Region. The

physical, institutional and conceptual border between Toronto and York Region reflects

the path dependent growth established by a previous era of Fordist-Keynesian

regionalism in Toronto and the autocentric suburban landscape subsidized by Provincial

investment in roads and sewers and lax planning legislation in the outer-suburbs. The

GTHA's current transportation system enables people to commute to the urban core from

Aliston or Georgina, but it provides limited alternatives to travel by car for residents in

both mature and emerging suburbs (Ipsos Reid, 2012). Institutional and cultural divisions

across the Steeles boundary still structure mobility patterns. The preponderance of free

parking in Vaughan (when compared to the city of Toronto) is a significant attraction for

commuters and an important factor in businesses' locational decisions (Arnold, interview,

2009). Transit riders moving between Toronto and York Region are required to pay two fares when they cross Steeles or transfer between TTC and YRT-Viva systems.

Bridging this divide is a complex issue which requires local governments and transit agencies to reassess their planning philosophies and practices; as evinced in the challenge of extending the TTC's Spadina and Yonge Street subways into York Region (Figure 7.4). Older perceptions of travel patterns as flows of people from the suburbs into the central city for work persist in the GTHA. The TTC was initially reluctant to consider extending the Yonge subway, fearing increased numbers of suburban commuters travelling into the urban core on already crowded rush hours trains. Looking north along Yonge Street, Toronto's central north-south axis, Adam Giambrone (interview, 2010) noted that while the corridor was well served by several operators, the urban form and densities surrounding growth hubs in the outer suburbs, combined with the dispersed nature of suburban employment, were not conducive for reverse commuting via transit. By contrast, YRT stresses the continuing shift of economic activity and population growth to the outer suburbs, as well as the expected growth and maturation of Viva, insisting that the subway extensions will increase ridership in both directions (Webber, interview, 2010). The 8.6 mile, six stop Spadina extension, however, has brought city and suburban actors together, with the TTC leading tunnel construction and YRT serving as the service manager responsible for coordinating development as subway station reach the surface. The politics of subway extension remain contested, but the imperatives of city-regional urbanization, as dictated by Queen's Park's growth strategies, have

compelled cooperation despite divergent institutional practices and regional visions. Although they increase transit accessibility, the TTC's subway extensions continue to focus on mobility between the suburbs and central Toronto and provide limit utility for inter- and intra-suburban mobility.

Metrolinx's vision of regional mobility recognizes the continued importance of maintaining transportation infrastructure to support a healthy downtown core, but also emphasizes a "need to promote senses of place" through increasing and diversifying employment and housing options in other urban areas throughout the GTHA (Sajecki, interview, 2010). This process involves both the retrofitting of suburban space and the utilization of urban infrastructure and investment to influence development patterns and promote more sustainable modes of transportation. The Big Move's 25-year capital cost program reveals a shift in transportation infrastructure investment in the GTHA and an attempt to move outer suburban areas from reliance on auto-mobility. While $50 billion in proposed transit investments are planned, only $5 billion will be invested in roads and highways. Metrolinx has also embraced the concept of transportation management associations (TMAs) to encourage commuters to adopt more environmentally sustainable travel practices. After taking over financing Smart Commute – a program initially operated by GTHA municipalities with partial funding from Transport Canada from May 2004 to March 2007 – Metrolinx has continued to extend carpooling and shuttle initiatives in collaboration with regional employers.

The morphology of the neoliberal city-region compels the institutionalization of private, atomized movement (opposed to mass, public transit) between the in-between and global new economic spaces – despite the continuing reliance on public infrastructures which enables such mobility. While Smart Commute's programs represent an innovative response to the challenges of sustainable transportation provision, they also reflect the difficulty in realizing collective infrastructure and political solutions to mobility issues in the city-region. Dispersed, industrial, commercial and institutional *regional* centers with access premised on auto-mobility engender lengthy commutes, especially for transit riders. In 2010, average one-way commutes in the Toronto CMA took 29 minutes for auto trips compared to 49 minutes on public transit (Turcotte, 2011, p. 29) lending credence to the assertion that post-suburbanism "registers as a nexus of, primarily automobile-dependent, flows" (Phelps and Wood, 2011, p. 2601).

If the densification and regional connectivity of the GTHA growth hubs offer an alternative *urban* imaginary of suburban development, they do not present a panacea for automobile-dependent movement, nor do they provide equitable access to urban mobility. Infrastructure splintering places co-present spatiotemporalities and mobilities – physical, social and symbolic – in competition. Privileging premium network infrastructures (i.e. regional high-order transit corridors) fuses a new network of topological connectivity and produces new exclusions and marginalization. Geographical distance between rich and poor may collapse within post-suburbia but relative connectivity and the symbolic

distance between center and periphery are greatly exacerbated and experienced differentially by diverse urban inhabitants.

This is particularly true for inner suburbs that developed at the height of the postwar boom but now find themselves bypassed by regional integration and on the wrong side of the intensified socio-economic polarization characteristic of many city-regions. Low-income and visible minority residents in "priority neighborhoods" such as Jane-Finch, Rexdale, Kingston-Galloway and Steeles-L'Amoreaux lack rapid transit connections to downtown Toronto and the region's emerging growth hubs (United Way, 2004, Young and Keil, 2010, p. 93). New immigrants, who are increasingly making Toronto's suburbs home, tend to face longer commutes than the Canadian-born and earlier immigrants living in the Greater Toronto Area (Axisa, Newbold and Scott, 2012, Lo, Shalaby and Alshalafah, 2011). Jane-Finch is a mere five-minute drive from Vaughan's new "downtown" complex, yet for a resident without access to a car, the trip would take at least half an hour on two buses and require the payment of two fares. While the TTC's Spadina subway extension will bring rapid transit to Vaughan Metropolitan Centre, and with a station at Keele and Finch, in close proximity to Jane-Finch, the line significantly bypasses the neighborhood's existing, low-income, residential districts to target service at York University and areas amenable to new-build development.

A CLASH OF URBANISMS: TRANSIT CITY AND THE CONTESTED (SUB)URBAN FUTURE

The challenge of the in-between city, as Sieverts (2003) attests, is one of connectivity. The relative distanciation between the post-suburban hubs emerging along Highway 7 and the former Metro suburbs starkly illuminates the need to integrate disconnected areas of the Toronto city-region to new regional hubs. However, Toronto's in-between spaces find themselves caught between local and regional scales of mobility and the persistent geographies of political territoriality. While Metrolinx has focused on building a network of regional mobility hubs, the City of Toronto's Transit City LRT plan, which broke ground in December 2009, looked to integrate marginalized, transit-deficient inner suburbs into the amalgamated Megacity's urban fabric. On one hand, this problem reflects the connectivity challenges presented by the sheer scale of the suburbs. On the other, the break between geographic proximity and propinquity is decidedly political and illustrates the limitations of municipally-defined transit providers.

2010 proved a pivotal year for the struggle over mass transit in southern Ontario. A Provincial budgetary crunch – intensified by the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis – led Premier McGuinty to defer a $4 billion transfer to Metrolinx in March, 2010.[18] The move placed three of Transit City's proposed lines in financial limbo and threatened the

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[18] While the Financial Crisis did not catalyze urban restructuring in southern Ontario's Keynesian-Fordist arrangements to the same extent that it did in northeastern Illinois, it did crystallize the economic imperatives behind regional transportation coordination and infrastructure investment. The federal government's Economic Action Plan injected funding for infrastructure into the Canadian economy, but Ottawa targeted these investments at revitalizing existing facilities (Government of Canada, 2011) and demurred further funding to Metrolinx (Munro, 2010).

projected completion of three more in time for the 2015 Pan Am Games. By withholding

transit funding, McGuinty exacerbated tensions with Mayor Miller which had surfaced in

the debates over Presto and the restructuring of Metrolinx. Toronto's "neo-reformist era"

began with an air of optimism and consensus building. However, the City's stance vis-à-

vis inter-regional collaboration became increasingly uncooperative and focused on a

central-city policy agenda towards the end of Miller's second term (Boudreau et al.,

2009, pp. 202-211). Southern Ontario's governance architecture succumbed to political

inertia as the Toronto-Queen's Park consensus fractured.

Within the city of Toronto, economic inequality, exacerbated sociospatial

polarization and infrastructure disinvestment ushered in by Mike Harris's Common Sense

Revolution (and the turn towards austerity politics by the federal government), reinforced

an unstable geography of marginalization which cleaved open the disparities between the

Jane Jacobs's-style middle-class progressivism of the city core and Toronto's diverse

suburbs (Cowen, 2005, Walks, 2009). Following the release of The Big Move and the

Province's approval of Transit City, right-leaning politicians and media outlets lamented

"Toronto's 'anti-car' council has focused almost exclusively on public transit... despite

an additional 10 million cars bought by North Americans each year, Toronto has no plan

to accommodate the extra vehicles" (Yuen, 2009). Such arguments reframed local

political discourse by effectively recasting the City of Toronto's and Metrolinx's

transportation agendas as a "war on cars".[19] Conservative city councilor Denzil Minnan-Wong (2009, p. A7) editorialized in the *Toronto Star*:

> Our city doesn't need a transit policy – we need a mobility plan. A mobility plan recognizes that many people who drive in our city have to do so because of a host of life circumstances that transcend mere preference. The city's undeclared but very active war on cars is really a war on people who, for the most part, lack alternatives.

While Minnan-Wong's argument actually supports Transit City's extensive investment in suburban areas lacking transportation options, a groundswell of opposition to Miller's LRT plan had coalesced in Toronto's inner-suburbs. Mayor Miller had framed Transit City as a European-style transit system which would support the densification goals laid out in the City of Toronto's 2002 Official Plan, but populist sentiment rejected the proposal to run "streetcars" along congested arterial roads. Such critiques were informed by the disruption and financial costs of constructing grade-separated streetcars lines on Spadina Avenue and St Clair Avenue. Transportation analysts questioned the ability of the City and TTC to carry out the Transit City plan (Soberman et al., 2006).[20] Pro-subway sentiment was notably strong in Scarborough. Many residents backed subway development as their preferred technological alternative; despite subways' high costs, the

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[19] Advocates of active transportation were forced onto the defensive, claiming "There's no need for a war on cars in this town... Toronto isn't Copenhagen, and it isn't Detroit, but we can learn from both experiences. We can figure out a way that works for everybody" (Kraan, 2009).

[20] Public resentment marred the St Clair dedicated right-of-way in particular. Construction lasted from 2006 to 2010, causing considerable disruption to adjacent businesses, and ran $58 million over-budget.

"urbanizing" function of LRT, and Toronto's history of truncated and cancelled subway developments (see James, 2013).[21]

Transit City emerged as the defining issue of Toronto's 2010 municipal election. Mayor Miller withdrew from the mayoral race in September 2009 in the wake of a highly unpopular public sector strike. The political downfall of Miller acolyte Adam Giambrone in February 2010 – ten days after launching his mayoral campaign – deprived Transit City of the LRT plan's two chief architects and most influential advocates. Among the frontrunners in the October 2010 election, only NDP candidate Joe Pantalone backed Miller's Transit City vision. Etobicoke councilor Rob Ford swept to victory by carrying all the city's inner suburban wards with a neoliberal populist platform premised upon fiscal discipline and waste reduction in municipal government, "respect for taxpayers" and the cancellation of Transit City.

Upon assuming office, Ford immediately eliminated Transit City and confidently declared Toronto's "war on the car" over (Kalinowski and Rider, 2010).[22] The new mayor had campaigned in favor of building subways, with completing the Sheppard Subway to an eastern terminus at Scarborough Town Centre a key electoral campaign promise (see Figure 7.4). Ford failed to persuade the Province to transfer funding for

[21] In 1995, Mike Harris's government cancelled work on an Eglinton West subway, approved in Metro's Network 2011 plan (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1986). Construction had already commenced and, as a result, tunnelling for the "Allen Station" had to be in-filled.

[22] Ford was supported at the provincial level by Tim Hudak, leader of the Progressive Conservative opposition, who also proposed to halt the "war on cars" by forwarding the construction of a Niagara Highway as a means to stimulate job creation in the wake of the Finanical Crisis. Prime Minister Stephen Harper also backed subway construction as his preferred mode of transit development in Toronto (Grant, 2012, Jones, 2011).

Transit City to subway construction, but reached a compromise in which the City would seek private funding for the Sheppard Subway extension while Queen's Park assumed responsibility for completing an LRT line – to be operated by the TTC – completely underground along Eglinton Avenue.[23] The TTC, however, refused to support the proposed subway extension. On February 8, 2012, in a revolt led by Karen Stintz, Ford's own appointee as TTC chairman, City Council voted to oppose the new mayor's subway proposal, reinstate Transit City and run portions of the Crosstown Eglinton LRT above ground. Ford responded by ousting Gary Webster, the TTC's long-serving chief engineer and restating his intent to block LRT construction while in office.[24]

The political contestation over Transit City reveals a clash between modes of urbanism within the amalgamated Megacity in which the suburban middle-classes "kinetic elitism" and voluntary automobility (Cresswell, 2006) opposes the progressive urban elitism of the central city. Transit infrastructures function as vital symbolic spaces (Lefebvre, 1991) codifying different global city policy agendas. The fear of failing to bridge a perceived infrastructural deficit and the disciplining logic of the post-1990s global trope (Wilson, 2007) gripped both Ford and his progressive leftist detractors in a myopic pursuit of the appropriate infrastructure fix. The new mayor explicitly

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[23] Through the Province's established funding arrangement for Transit City, Queen's Park would have owned the new LRT lines to enable the gradual provision of funds for the project. Ford's proposals called for funding to be provided upfront (Radwanski, 2011).

[24] Although delays in Toronto's transit development do not significantly infringe upon the implementation of The Big Move's recommendations in the outer suburbs, the perpetual scrapping and reformulating of transportation plans in the city impinges on the integration of city-regional space as a spatial and infrastructural fix.

conceptualized subway construction as the means "to make Toronto a world-leading 21st-century city" (Ford, 2012, p. A17).[25] At the same time, Christopher Hume (2011, p. GT5), the *Toronto Star*'s resident urbanist proclamed that following the demise of Transit City: "Toronto isn't about to become Detroit North any time soon; Indianapolis might be more like it, or Minneapolis, St. Louis – once-functioning cities reduced to scraping by and irrelevance".

Mayor Ford's proposals to scrap Transit City, remove streetcars from downtown and construct a limited number of subways in their stead evince not only his favoring of automobile use (and users) in the construction of a particular type of global city agenda, but further play on selective suburban resentment regarding the potential densification and development fostered by fixed transit capital projects. Persistent social, political and morphological divisions structured by the development of Metropolitan Toronto continue to "mediate the manner in which the constituent parts of Toronto are represented within [inherently political] spatialized discourse" (Fiedler, 2011, p. 68). However, they also obfuscate the interconnected "regional spaces" of the city-region and interpolate contradictions regarding the necessity of *regional* social reproduction – notably for the non-privileged global city workforce required to transcend these territorialized spaces – as well as the emergent conceived and lived differentiation within in-between spaces of the inner suburbs themselves (Goonewardena and Kipfer, 2005, McCann, 2007, Walks,

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[25] Paradoxically, Ford's plans to curtail Toronto's bike lanes – while other competing global cities, including Chicago (City of Chicago, 2006), look to implement bike lane systems – has undermined the city's standing as a global leader in sustainable urbanism and progressive transportation policy.

2006b). An alternative, more localized city-regional divide is emerging within Toronto's

in-between spaces. The incremental urbanization of suburban thoroughfares proposed in

the City of Toronto's 2002 Official Plan promotes transit-oriented development,

walkability, and mixed-use streetscapes; a vision of urbanity starkly juxtaposed to the

engrained autocentric mode of suburbanism retained in the residential subdivisions

located between the proposed corridors. The proximate geographical relations between

residents drawn to the transit-oriented condo developments, single-family homeowners

and the tenants of modern tower blocks poses a challenge and opportunity for the future

politics of the in-between city and the city-region itself.

CITY-REGIONAL URBANIZATION AT THE CROSSROADS:
PATHWAYS AND POSSIBLITIES

Through this chapter, I have utilized the conceptual lens of urban in-betweenness to

demonstrate that urban society is one of multiple and differential space-times. The

conceived and lived spaces of city-regions disclose the contradictory tensions between

multiple, overlapping spatio-temporalities and value relations (Lefebvre, 1996). Everyday

spatiality is perceived and lived in a fragmented and partial manner by different users of

city-regional space.[26] Consequently, social centrality can operate simultaneously at

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[26] A Cook County planner pointed to the challenge of vantage point when abstracting and mobilizing the concept of regional space: "I think it [the Chicago region] is only known to those who work with it; those who are daily or semi-professionally involved in it; municipal leaders, maybe through Mayors and Managers... But once we get back farther into the population and into the schools, it disappears: there's no sense of "region" except for the tangibility of it all. There's a lot of cement, concrete and asphalt" (McCann, interview, 2009).

different scales with tremendous repercussions for the spatial practices of urban inhabitants (Steinberg and Shields, 2008, p. 156). The territorialization of relational flows evokes a complex geography of sociotechnical power relations which does not align with the territorially-defined administrative forms of state space. These spatial dynamics are prominent in the evolving in-between spaces of the Chicago and Toronto city-regions. Diverse functions may be geographically adjacent in terms of absolute space, but processes of infrastructural "glocal bypass" reinforce social and physical borders, creating a spiky geography in which proximity does not equate to propinquity (Graham and Marvin, 2001, pp. 171-173).

In both cases, state actors operating at a number of scales have deployed a variety of techniques of spatialization – including the institutionalization of new planning spaces and the production of transportation infrastructure to (selectively) integrate urban space – in an attempt to corral and rationalize the post-suburban logics of city-regional urbanization and obfuscate their characteristic social cleavages (Haughton et al., 2013). New spatial imaginaries are being abstracted and codified through conceived "representations of space" at the city-regional scale (see chapter 7), but their ideational and institutional construction often conflicts with both the spatial practices of everyday life, and the territorial interests of local actors. In the Chicago city-region, Mayor Daley's, and subsequently Mayor Emanuel's, centralized global city policy agendas often do not mesh with spatial projects promoting regional urbanization and integration. Further, established political boundaries continue to curtail the expansion of intra-

regional transit connectivity, with Metra's Chicago-centric commuter rail lines providing the only significant non-automobile travel option between regional hubs. By contrast, the Province of Ontario's regional growth management framework prioritizes polycentric urbanization as a spatial strategy to enhance the GTHA's global competitiveness. The growing recognition that transit networks must cross municipal boundaries has opened the potential for a myriad of transportation options linking the growth hubs identified in Places to Grow. Whereas conflict between urban and suburban middle classes defined the struggles surrounding Toronto's municipal amalgamation and Premier Harris's Common Sense Revolution (Boudreau, 1999), both urban and suburban middle-classes seem to share an understanding of regional economic development for the future prosperity of the region at the current juncture. The exact form of this regionalization, however, is contested. Metrolinx pursues a strategy which looks to integrate the GTHA's urban fabric, capital concentrates unevenly. New post-suburban growth hubs are privileged as regional logics of connectivity are overlaid upon, reconfigure and lock-in, established city/suburban and core/periphery metropolitan dynamics within polycentric urban space.

The prioritization of regional or global connectivity and concentration on transportation infrastructures that most benefit the productive capacity of city-regions forges "kinetic elitism" by elevating the importance of one particular set of spatiotemporal rhythms (Cresswell, 2006). The "dialectic of centrality" consequently galvanizes the structural (rather than implicit) perpetuation of urban injustice for communities in Chicago's "backstage city" or Toronto's "priority neighborhoods" (see

Merrifield and Swyngedouw, 1997, Pulido, 2000, Young and Keil, 2010). Pan-regional rapid transit, for example, offers a potential infrastructure fix to the challenges of city-regional urbanization, yet the introduction of new transportation routes and modes must negotiate a complex array of required uses and scales of mobility – local movement with frequent stops and fast, regional trips with limited access – if it is to avoid reproducing the marginality of many communities in the in-between city.

The critical juncture of the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis has allowed new multifaceted and multiscalar articulations of urbanization to unfurl in the case city-regions. In Chicagoland, the economic straits facing regional transit pressured governmental actors and non-governmental organizations to restructure rigid and antiquated funding and governance mechanisms (although this process appears far from resolved at present). In Toronto, the socio-political contestation and institutional paralysis surrounding the region's transportation future opens the prospect for greater provincial intervention, empowering Metrolinx and forging a new city-regional spatial politics. Moreover, responses to the transportation and fiscal crises currently being rolled out in the two city-regions – exacerbated and in some instances instigated by the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis – support Soja's (2010, pp. 198-199) assertion that the violent disruption of the current crisis represents a critical rupture in the unsustainable mode of urbanization-as-accumulation shaped by cancerous neoliberal growth and the atrophied landscapes of Fordism. The implementation of neo-Keynesian policies aimed at realizing a new infrastructure fix to capitalism's unstable geographic development presents an

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alternative to the dominance of laissez-faire politics and widespread disinvestment in

public infrastructures since the Crisis of Fordism.

Evidence from Chicago and Toronto, however, suggests that the rationality of

normalized neoliberal locational policy continues to condition the investments of

governments struggling to close their perceived infrastructure deficits. Although

variations in the national and sub-national context have shaped the impact and expression

of broader macroeconomic crises in the United States and Canada, post-crash

transportation investments exhibit a strong tendency to prioritize the commodification of

urban space as a renewed accumulation strategy in both contexts. The possibilities for

public, collective or progressive alternatives to neoliberal governance are curtailed

materially through a political economic climate that stymies non-market solutions to

urban problems and neoliberalized governmentalities and spatial imaginaries that

discursively lock-in path dependent policy and development trajetories.[27] The shift

towards P3 financing and governance arrangements in the United States and Canada

reveals the economic barriers to a fully-fledged revival of Keynesianism while

engendering dialectical moments of valorization/devalorization and connection/

disconnection through selective sectoral engagement (Siemiatycki, 2012, Torrance,

2008). The spatial consequences of the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis and its associated

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[27] The content of these trajectories are shaped by the qualities and political-regulatory landscapes of place; perhaps most notably in the power of local home rule municipalities curtailing the development of regional transportation governance in the Chicago city-region. In Toronto, the persistence of the state's territorial structure and the mobilization of entrenched discursive spatial politics infringe upon the effective production of city-regional space, collective action and progressive urbanism.

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urban restructuring, when viewed at a broader level of generality, as Harvey (2009a) suggests, express a distinct continuity internalized in the twin pillars of accumulation and class struggle that characterize the urban process under capitalism.

Whereas Zimmerman (2009) calls for flexible infrastructure and investments that can maximize both their functionality and the impact of limited public financing, there is a broader need to move beyond reactionary retreats to either Keynesian or libertarian politics. As the functional networks of contemporary global urbanization increasingly transcend the jurisdictional boundaries of the metropolis, we have arrived at a juncture which requires a new adaptive and multiscalar urban politics. For Lefebvre (1996, pp. 169-170), the introduction of centrality into peripheral zones offered the potential to transform marginalized spaces into actual "urban space" by extending the right to the city and the struggle against exclusion. Certainly, recognizing the structural complexity evident in post-suburbia is a necessary step in breaking the physical, mental and social dichotomies reified under metropolitan urbanization within a remodeled city-region (Kolb, 2008). MacLeod (2011, p. 2651) argues that the emergent, spatially uneven city-region requires a "nimble" relational urban politics capable of incorporating and mobilizing new connectivities, centralities and overlapping political relations, and democratizing their governance. It is not only necessary to provide innovative transportation solutions for new urban structures, but to establish adaptive political spaces through which a new politics of infrastructure can be articulated. The challenge here is twofold. It is necessary to recognize the diversity of form, function and structure in post-

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suburban spaces, and expose the contradictory, crisis-prone tendencies evident in the commodified urban core and centralizing infrastructure. As Lefebvre attested:

> The form of critique must illustrate ever more profoundly that urban centers are multifunctional. Furthermore, it must not hide the problems. If there are contradictions in the use of space, they also appear at this level, and urban centrality cannot be presented, supported, or propounded without recognizing the problems. There are dialectical disturbances, displacements of centrality; there is saturation, the self-destruction of centrality, from which perhaps will come the need for polycentrality, for a polycentric conception of urban space (2009, p. 176).

Chapter 10

Conclusion: Reflections on city-regional urbanization mobilized

This dissertation has provided a critical comparative analysis of urban transportation governance and infrastructure in the Chicago and Toronto city-regions. In opening the "black box" of urban infrastructure within advanced capitalist societies and highlighting the concomitant production of city-regional and transportation space, the research project has worked towards three central contributions. First, I have forwarded a theorization of city-regions and city-regional urbanization as an amalgam of dialectics, abstracted through a comparative dialectical materialist framework and a rigorous empirical analysis. By drawing on Lefebvre's (2003, pp. 79-81) construction of the urban as a mediatory level between the local and the global, I examined the Chicago and Toronto city-regions as both places and processes in order to disclose the structural nature of urban restructuring under capitalism and its contingent expression within specific historical-geographical contexts.[1] The dialectical mode of inquiry opens the urban as a complex, diverse and multiscalar entity in a manner that moves beyond the parochial the islands of practice which characterize much current debate on city-regions.

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[1] In doing so, I ascribed a particular analytical and conceptual value to the concept of the city-region which differentiates it spatially (as a globalizing, polycentric territory) and temporally (as a postmetropolitan space) from the industrial city and Fordist-Keynesian metropolis.

Second, I have endeavored to advance transportation geography by examining the institutions and infrastructure of urban transportation as an empirical and conceptual concern of political economy. In analyzing transportation networks as a form of urban assemblage which discloses broader political economic and sociospatial relations, I argued that the development of transportation networks and governance regimes importantly informs our understanding of state spatiality, "new city-regionalism" and processes of urban restructuring.

Third, I have contributed to the emerging methodological and empirical practice of relational urban comparisons by formulating a geographical historical-materialist comparative framework. I addressed critiques of fuzzy abstraction and under-theorized comparative urban analysis by utilizing strategic relational state theory to deploy a methodological approach premised upon dynamic, fluid urban forms and relationships which can be applied to other cases. The study's cross-national framework, in particular, has highlighted the importance of place-specific variations between structured coherences and provided a framework to engage the excavation of power relations and political practices in differing national contexts. I conclude the dissertation by presenting its main conceptual and empirical insights, framed in response to the theoretical debates and three substantive research questions posed at the outset of the study, and discuss the project's relevance for future research.

Path dependence, continuity and rupture

The first area of inquiry guiding this research project has been the significance of inherited institutional and infrastructural spaces in shaping contemporary urbanization processes. This is a central concern given the need for historical specificity (Abu-Lughod, 1999, Brenner et al., 2010a) to unpack the fragmented, opaque and ephemeral nature of city-regional space (Neuman and Hull, 2009, Roy, 2009). This dissertation has provided a comprehensive exploration of city-regional space while embedding processes of urbanization, urban politics and the technological organization of capitalism within concrete, historical-geographical contexts. The longue durée timeframe has provided an important counterweight to disciplinary presentism in the urban studies and global cities literature while rigorously analyzing the form and function of regulatory regimes, sociospatial permanences and the unfurling of urban crises.

I critically examined the preconditions of city-regional urbanization in Chicago and Toronto in chapter 5. The historical and geographic specificity evident in the case city-regions illustrates that key actors, institutions and groups wield significant agency in shaping the contours of political discourse and state spatial selectivity. Rather than the result of disembodied structural forces, the city-region is socially-produced as a political, material and imagined space. However, as I have argued by drawing on Callinicos's (2005) concept of "structural capacity", broader political and development pathways confine and direct possible action. Processes of city-regional urbanization emerge over the contested terrains of discursive, technological and territorial dynamics that provide

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the language and political mechanisms for action, but also obfuscate alternative spatial conceptions, social cleavages and class struggles.

Metropolitanization in Chicago and Toronto was closely aligned with both the pillars of the modern infrastructural ideal identified by Graham and Marvin (2001) and the maturation of Fordist production and consumption. Strategic investment by the state, most influentially at the federal level in the United States and provincial level in Canada, supported localized projects of spatial Keynesianism by subsidizing suburban development and creating new markets for Fordist consumption. However, comparatively analyzing the development of urban infrastructures in Chicago and Toronto supports Coutard's (2008a) assertion that infrastructural bundling and the institutionalization of spatial Keynesianism were far from universal, but rather illustrated dynamism and fluidity in an era of perceived political and economic stability.

Brenner's (2004a) theorization of state strategic action has informed my analysis and I have contributed to the "new state space" literature by adapting his conceptual framework to particular North American contexts. Regulatory frameworks in place at the city-regional scale deeply shaped the articulation of urban politics and the workings of Fordist-Keynesianism within the American and Canadian contexts. While processes of urban restructuring, political economic reregulation and urban growth dynamics share similarities between the Chicago and Toronto cases, there are important differences based on both the impact of national frameworks and variegated regulatory regimes (Brenner et al., 2010b). Comparing city-regions in the United States and Canada illustrates how

national context continues to provide an important structural architecture forging the development pathways of both urban transportation networks and articulations of urbanization. The strategic coupling of governance and accumulation regimes may be differentiated through a national typology, but given federalism in the United States and Canada, regulatory regimes cannot be reduced to monolithic national models.

The convergences and divergences witnessed between the Chicago and Toronto cases reflect the place-specific pathways of institutional and infrastructural fixes deployed in the case regions. The conceptual utility of path dependence is highly significant here. I have argued that examining the internal relationality of urban transportation institutions and infrastructures re-centers the contradictions of fixity and fluidity in the analysis of institutional change. This position opposes Martin's (2010) critique of path dependence and its conceptual tools – notably lock-in – leading to a stress on continuity and stability rather than evolutionary development. Institutional and infrastructural spatial fixes establish path dependent properties precluding the formation of governance regimes at differing spatial scales. The case studies illustrate processes of institutional change and path dependency as the result of diverse dialectical relationship, contra to being causally determined by specific events. The focus of analysis thus shifts to contested processes of (re)production and moments of crisis, opposed to a concern with stability and continuity. The dissertation's empirical analysis reveals urban transportation pathways are conditioned by pre-existing technical arrangements and their relations to the mode of production and social reproduction, the mobilization of regional

spatial imaginaries and moments of institutional reorganization. That transportation path dependencies emerge upon multiple trajectories is especially noteworthy. Technological innovation develops in a dialectical relation with specific modes of production, relations of everyday life, institutional formations and new mental conceptions of the world.

Key social and spatial permanences have played a profound role in defining the manner in which urban space is understood, codified, institutionalized and governed. Utopian imaginaries have clearly provided a vital framework conditioning social action and interpretation of urban landscapes and society (Steger and McNevin, 2010). This is most clearly evident in the impact that Daniel Burnham's and Jane Jacobs's urban imaginaries have had on urban discourse and the mobilization of regional space in Chicago and Toronto respectively. In Chicago, I have argued that the utopian regional representations presented in Burnham and Bennett's 1909 Plan of Chicago have been incorporated into the city's collective consciousness and consolidated as a rhetorical trope coopted by politicians, planners and regional boosters seeking legitimization for their own proposals. Just as Burnham's vision emerged from, and reflected the interests of, Chicago's commercial elites, the roll-out of new regionalist agendas by Chicago Metropolis 2020, among others, has reinforced the perception (and reality) of regional proclamations serving the decision-making centrality of downtown Chicago. The urban imaginary of Jane Jacobs holds a comparable position in Toronto. The city's urban middle-class successfully mobilized Jacobs-influenced neighborhood spatial politics to oppose the extension of massive modern infrastructures into Toronto's city core and as a

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consequence, both valorized (gentrifying) inner city districts, and provided a symbolic victory against the material and political suburbanization of the metropolis. However, the conservative desire to preserve rather than create communities has crystallized the antagonism between the urban core and both inner and outer suburbs. Urban and development politics in Toronto have subsequently pivoted around debates over neighborhood integrity, urban form and density as opposed to the racial discourse and patronage politics which define urban and city-suburban relations in northeastern Illinois.

Both perspectives belie the production of social fissures within the metropolis at differing spatial frames. Indeed, as the roll-with-it and variegated neoliberalism literatures suggest, differing, oft conflicting or paradoxical articulations may be concurrently present in particular sites (Brenner et al., 2010b, Keil, 2009). As the spatial consequences of crisis-induced urban restructuring are fundamentally constrained by inherited spaces and social permanences, we can expect place-based tensions to continue to structure the on-going processes of crisis-induced restructuring as part of a complex long-range historical movement.

The present roll-out of neo-Keynesian policies aimed at realizing a new infrastructure fix to capitalism's unstable geographic development presents an alternative political economy paradigm to the laissez-faire politics and widespread disinvestment in public infrastructures which have dominated since the Crisis of Fordism. However, the impact of the 2008-2009 Financial Crisis appears likely to reproduce the contradictions present within normalized neoliberal transportation policies and city-regional

urbanization's dialectic of centrality rather than forming a radical rupture in these processes. Indeed, given their intrinsically contradictory nature, processes of neoliberalization are as likely to be reinvented following their political and economic failure, as they are to be abandoned in radical, or revolutionary, moments of social transformation (Brenner et al., 2010a, Peck, 2010). Neoliberal urban policy, in contrast to the counter-cyclical anti-recessional policies of postwar Keynesianism, remains conditioned by business-oriented logics and does not offer a coherent response for cities attempting to address their infrastructure deficits (Kirkpatrick and Smith, 2011, p. 497). With this, the city-region (within the urban process under capitalism) remains fetishized as an amalgam of exchange-values in public and popular discourse. Consequently, city-regional urbanization marks a continuation of the problems and contradictions internalized within the urban process under capitalism. However, city-regions' specific social and spatial geographies – which I have theorized through concomitant dynamics of centripetal and centrifugal urbanization – present new opportunities to mobilize progressive class consciousness and social action.

Metropolitan transformation and city-regional urbanization

The second research theme pursued through this study has been an attempt to understand how local urban spatial forms relate to broader urbanization trends. I have illustrated how diverse and socially complex urban, suburban and post-suburban spaces disclose important facets of city-regional urbanization. The focus on city-regional space

undermines resurgent bourgeois accounts of contemporary urban processes and formulations of the urban question which emphasize the unique abilities of central cities to shape and reshape economies. In contrast to such narratives, this dissertation demonstrates the value of an analytical approach which remains sensitive to the multiscalar relations internalized in the urban as a mediatory space between the local and the global.

The infrastructure and institutions of urban transportation play a key role in conditioning and responding to the challenges of city-regional development. Following the decentralizing impact of the metropolitan infrastructure underlying spatial Keynesian state strategies, competitive neoliberal policies have viscerally concentrated infrastructure investment in the downtown cores and surrounding the international airports of Chicago and Toronto. Such centripetal urbanization occurs at the expense of the city-region's residual spaces; those disconnected from the prioritized networks of globalized regionalization. However, I have argued through the theoretical prism of the dialectic of centrality that the forces of centrifugal urbanization – supported by the spatial organization of post-Fordist production networks – are highly influential in shaping the development of the global city-regions. This has two important implications.

First, as detailed in chapter 6, financial landownership has not completely ousted industrial landownership as the logic structuring the spatial organization of the case city-regions. The logic of transportation investment in Chicago and Toronto illuminates the continued centrality of governments' and developers' attempts to realize evermore

profitable differential rents and lucrative tax bases in structuring the spatial organization

of urban space. Post-Fordist production and distribution techniques have increasingly

embedded spatially selective areas in the urban hinterland into globally-integrated

economic networks. Contemporary urban structures reflect the production of new use-

values, relative connectivity and class antagonisms which are internalized within

evolving post-metropolitan centralities. Second, the prioritization of particular scales of

mobility within the overarching dynamics of globalized regionalism is spurring the

emergence of new city-regional topologies which do not neatly align with the

territorially-defined administrative forms of state space. As a consequence, the

rudimentary social and morphological accounts of the New Chicago and Los Angeles

Schools of Urbanism no longer harness, or adequately encompass, the development

trajectories of global city-regions.[2] The regionally-scaled logics of centripetal and

centrifugal urbanization evolve in contradictory tension with myriad modes of urbanism

and suburbanism produced through the lived experience of city-regionalism.

Although the discursive, infrastructural and institutional legacies of the

metropolitan region continue to play an important role in codifying urban growth and

politics, the central contestations within the Chicago and Toronto city-regions are clearly

not expressed in absolute, territorial terms, nor do they pivot on the reductionist "zombie

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[2] To this end, this dissertation points to the potential contribution of a systematic political economy critique
of land rent (developing from Harvey, 1985e) in light of the nexus of land-use and transportation in city-
regional perspective. The multiscalar determinates of industrial and financial landownership require
exploration through a theory that explicitly works across absolute space (the space of private property), the
relative spaces of infrastructural connectivity and the relationality of multiscalar political, economic and
social activity.

categories" of city and suburb (Beck and Willms, 2003, p. 19). While the contemporary Chicago and Toronto city-regions contain a wealth of in-between spaces and post-suburban forms, historical analysis discloses a significant degree of diversity and complexity in their built and social suburban structures. Yet more so than previous articulations of urbanization, proximity does not equal propinquity in the global city-region. Geographic distance between rich and poor collapses within post-suburbia but relative connectivity and the symbolic distance between center and periphery are greatly exacerbated and experienced differentially by diverse urban inhabitants.

The lived spaces of city-regionalism illuminate the presence of multiple overlapping and highly differentiated space-times which are rarely accounted for in the conceived spaces of regionalism. As a socially constructed territory and a "space of regionalism", the city-region appears as the latest iteration of a powerful discursive conceptualization of urban form and process, mobilized as key actors deploy strategic infrastructural investments to ground relational flows in place and normalize new meanings that can then legitimize the exercise of power. Issues of connectivity, mobility and access are therefore defining characteristics and central political concerns for the in-between city (Sieverts, 2003, Young and Keil, 2010). As detailed in chapter 9, the elevation of global and regional mobility over alternative, local movements presents a challenge and opportunity for city-regional politics. Sensitivity to the multiscalar processes at play in the complex and dynamic in-between city is vital in order to foreground the social justice struggles of residents being marginalized and bypassed in

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the residual spaces of the global metropolis. With this, as this dissertation attests, it is necessary to note that the in-between city – as well as inner-city neighborhoods, downtown cores and suburban subdivisions – need to be understood in relation to each other and the on-going dynamics of city-regional urbanization. Extending this argument, political practice and social action must avoid parochial localism and utilizing either the city-region of selected urban environments as spatial synecdoche.

On the territoriality-relationality dialectic

The third theme examined through this dissertation has been the manner in which city-regions are produced, rendered visible and governed. I have utilized the prism of urban transportation to engage contemporary debates on the territorial and relational construction of cities and regions. While it is perhaps a platitude to suggest urban space is the product of both territorial and relational processes, the content, assemblage and functioning of the territoriality-relationality dialectic still requires concerted exploration and analysis. Analyzing city-regional urbanization as a territorial and relational process reveals the complex political geographies and spatial relations underpinning the emergence of novel urban forms and politics. The use of qualitative methods through this dissertation – including semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis – has enabled the identification of socially entangled and geographically disparate relations (McCann and Ward, 2011, p. xxv). "Regional spaces" and "spaces of regionalism" crystallized in the Chicago and Toronto city-regions are held in tension as the contradictory relationship

between urban boundaries and flows is actively reproduced and reconfigured. It is clear that the territorially-defined boundaries of urban regions do not contain the functional networks, policy networks and global flows that structure the urban process under capitalism. This had been the case going back to the flows of New York capital which built Chicago in the nineteenth century and the production of markets in the Canadian West which fed Toronto's industrial growth. However, the quantitative growth of these processes – including the rise of intermodalism, the "glocal governance" of BRT systems and regional policy mobilities – and the extension of infrastructural bypass over the latter half of the twentieth century have engendered a qualitative transformation in the sociospatial production, organization and governance of the metropolis (Brenner et al., 2010a, Jacobs, 2012b). I have argued that after 1989 in Chicago and 1998 in Toronto, the postmetropolitan urban process has consolidated at the city-regional scale. The city-regions' polycentricity and internalized globalization differentiate the *city-region* concept and its political economic implications from the predominantly territorial city-suburban metropolitics that I argue characterizes the era of *metropolitan* urbanization.

State spatial strategies being deployed to increase the territorial competitiveness of regional economies have foregrounded the breakdown of the place-specific political compromises implemented to constrain the contradictions of spatial Keynesian urbanization. Globalization has been "internalized" within urban and regional policy frameworks (Keil, 2011a). Neoliberal spatial experiments and the introduction of new regionalist institutions have blurred territorially-defined political boundaries within city-

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regions. The contiguous and unified spatial representations forwarded by Chicago Metropolis 2020 and the Province of Ontario construct and mobilize city-regional space as the territorial construct *de jour* for global competitiveness but decision-making and political power has not followed a pattern paralleling the decentralizing tendencies of centripetal and centrifugal city-regional urbanization. Territorial divisions persist within the city-region. Integrated jurisdictional boundaries require negotiating in ways that are increasingly complex, but differ between the case city-regions. In Chicago, regional space has been chiefly mobilized by private sector and corporate interests. Political leaders have established public institutions, notably Mayor Richard M. Daley's Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, in order to negotiate the challenges of regionalism, but these remain tied to territorial jurisdictions. In southern Ontario, while the Toronto Board of Trade has been a vocal advocate of city-regionalism, the construction and promotion of the GTHA has been undertaken and defined through Provincially-orchestrated moments of restructuring. Whereas the home rule powers granted to local units of government in northeastern Illinois have done much to inhibit regional bodies, the Province of Ontario has the structural capacity to operationalized processes of state restructuring; whether regressively in the form of the "Common Sense Revolution", or ostentatiously progressively in that growth management strategies institutionalized in Places to Grow, the Greenbelt Act and The Big Move.

Urban transportation has established an important context around which new collective territorial politics can emerge and with this, may serve to animate new political

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spaces, mobilize rescaled spatial imaginaries, and galvanize the establishment collective agency at the city-regional scale. The challenge of regionally integrating airports within city-regional space, as discussed in chapter 8, illuminates this point. Airports territorialize global flows in place through distinct sociotechnical assemblages but are significantly detached from city-regional space at the same time as they occupy discursive, material and social centrality. While opposition to the O'Hare Modernization Program initially invoked the parochial suburban politics that have characterized the Chicago region, it now seems possible that the pressures of an emerging mode of city-regional urbanization are usurping the traditional territorial logics of metropolitics as airport opponents embrace alternative spatial and technological imaginaries. The city-region, in this case remains both territorially and relationally constructed, but the manner in which urban nodes and global flows intersect with local political territories present distinct possibilities for new modes and spaces of urban politics to emerge. I have subsequently argued that the emergent, spatially uneven city-region requires an adaptive relational urban politics capable of incorporating and mobilizing new connectivities, centralities and overlapping political relations, and democratizing their governance.

Theoretical extensions and implications for future research

This dissertation responds to current urban and geographic debates at the intersection of assemblage theory and critical urban political economy. In particular, it serves as a rejoinder and theoretical challenge to the post-structural and actor-network theory

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approaches which dominate the contemporary literature on urban infrastructures. I argued in chapter 3 that the philosophical basis of Marxian dialectical materialism and Deleuzian assemblage approaches are premised upon diametrically opposed (internal/external) conceptions of relationality. However, the tensions between these positions yield productive insights, particularly in analyzing urban assemblages as an empirical research object for political economic analysis. *Assemblage* provides a means to describe the multiple processes through which political economy categories are "differently brought into being, held stable, are ruptured through new socio-material agencies and are reassembled" (McFarlane, 2011b, p. 378). With this, the analytical orientation of assemblage analysis draws attention to the productive capacity of relational networks and the contradictory tensions of fixity/mobility and relationality/territoriality. Urban transportation, as an assemblage of social, political, economic and technological elements, facilitate spaces of circulation, both of material bodies, goods, commodities, people, ideas, policy transfers, conceptions of urban life and urbanity. It also comprises sites of fixity; grounding processes of globalization, marketing city-regions through securing locational advantages and acting as symbolic representational spaces.

Yet whereas assemblage theory's commitment to in open and exploratory *inquiry* infringes on its capacity as an explanatory framework (see Brenner et al., 2012a), concerted political economic *critique* provides the conceptual tools to consider how circulations, sociotechnical infrastructures, and political regimes come together and are negotiated in place and explain why these formations appear and operate in the manner

they do. That is, critical political economy analysis of urban assemblages discloses the connections, implications and consequences of urban restructuring and uneven development while highlighting the internally-related dialectical development of multiple path dependent trajectories. Concretely, the mode of explanatory critique pursued through this dissertation has foregrounded the spatiotemporal specificity of the political processes and techniques of spatialization utilized to facilitate accumulation.

This study has demonstrated the conceptual and methodological utility of an urban geography grounded in dialectical materialism. I believe this is a particularly important contribution as methodological innovations are required to keep pace with new theoretical interventions and empirical observation. I argued in chapter 4 that understanding urbanization as a process, the urban as a dynamic site of social transformation, and urban restructuring as a perpetual phenomenon, requires concerted methodological consideration. This dissertation provides a critique and extension of the burgeoning literature on relational urban comparisons emerging within geography and urban studies. The framework for geographical historical-materialist comparison introduced through this study abstracts objects of study across a number of scales; in contrast to the conscious and one-sided, ground-up analysis of political action characteristic of much post-structural engagement (Brenner et al., 2010a, p. 333). This approach redresses the methodological territorialism prevalent within neo-institutional comparisons while incorporating critical spatial thinking into the longue durée framework of historical institutionalism. Mobilizing dialectical analysis through strategic-relational

state theory enables comparisons to uncover the significance of institutions' social relations, origins and developmental pathways. Viewing city-regional urbanization through the lens of dialectical urbanism provides the concepts to uncover the contradictory tensions between multiple, overlapping spatio-temporalities and value relations. Chapter 3 presented an expansive theorization of the political economy of urban transportation. Through the dissertation, I concentrated on key institutional and technological elements within this schema. It is my hope that future studies may draw from the central dialectical relations I have foregrounded to inform in-depth analyses of social reproduction, urban ecology and the forces and relations of production, for example, as well as studies of city-regions in the Global South.

This study's dialectical and comparative methodological contributions open the city-region as a multifaceted, multiscalar and multilayered object of analysis and offer the potential to move beyond the parochialism of existing city-regional research agendas by encouraging interdisciplinary investigation. This is an important step to illustrate the dialectical disturbances, saturations and displacements of urban polycentricity and develop the empirical knowledge and sensitivity to contingency that can mobilize democratic politics (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 176). The movement of the dialectic of centrality demonstrates that we cannot retreat to local parochialism (Purcell, 2006). Again, it is vital to stress that urban neighborhoods, emerging post-suburban landscapes and global production networks cannot function as simple synecdoche; "the city" cannot "triumph" independent from its co-constituted suburban hinterlands. They need to be understood

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within the processes of actually existing regionalism. Illuminating the connectivity between spatial forms and social relations provides the means to expose and sublate contradictory city-regional politics. From a policy perspective, this may suggest planners adopt a greater scalar sensitivity and focus on service provision in "residual spaces" of the city-region. However, the limited structural capacity of urban actors suggests the need for a more radical restructuring of the relations between the process of accumulation and the geography of transportation investment.

The urban needs to be reclaimed from the disciplining logics of competition and the imperatives of accumulation as a right to both the city as form and process; that is as an actively produced sociospatial structure. The central political challenge in this regard is producing institutional spaces and cultures in which social practice may operate through, open, unbound and global space (Merrifield, 2013a). This is no simple task, conceptually or politically, but the cases examined in this dissertation point to the potential contradictions and openings through which this project may begin to be realized. The immateriality of relational urban society – the utilization of twitter and social media, for example – presents new and novel means to foster acts of encounter and political praxis (Graham, 2005, Merrifield, 2013a) yet city-regionalism remains, to a degree, bounded by the material geographies of everyday life. Indeed, the boundless construction of space potentially abstracts the urban in a manner that alienates urban society from the urban experience and negates spatial conceptions upon which social movements can mobilize (Purcell, 2002).

The empirical and conceptual prism of urban transportation is instructive here. Transportation systems provide a vital means for urban inhabitants to appropriate their right to the city, utilize the use-value of the urban and experience the encounters that constitute urban society (Lefebvre, 2003, Levy, 2013). The politics of transportation, as we have seen in the debates over Transit City in Toronto and the Circle Line in Chicago, offer a place and issue-based framework around which wider sociospatial and political concerns can be articulated and extended across space. While constructing new transport networks can be an important step in integrating the urban fabric and increasing access for marginalized urban inhabitants, concentrating on the distributional aspects of mobility is not enough. Splintering infrastructure not only cleaves asunder networks of provision, but presents the material infrastructure of the city-region as exclusionary and fetishized as their material, objective forms and subjective experiential potential are externalized and turned in opposition to those producing them. Producing parallel cities founded on differential access and mobility forges separate mental conceptions of the world and ultimately alternate urban and class consciousness.

Conceiving city-regional urbanization as a complex interplay of centrifugal and centripetal forces presents a spatial imaginary for transformative urban politics that is at once global and local. The right to the city, as Lefebvre (1996, p. 176) has argued, may remain a right to centrality, but the emergent polycentric nature of the city-region usurps the symbolic primacy of the urban core; the cry and demand for the right to the city emanates from the periphery. The complex sociospatial patterns and logics of the city-

region open the possibility for social justice, innovation and creativity to develop in new ways in the dispersed and horizontal fissures presented by urban in-betweenness (Keil, 2011c, Kolb, 2008, Quinby, 2011). Subsequently, we can conceptualize the utility of the mobility and centralities created by transportation systems as flexible openings for users of urban space to access the essential functions of the city-region and realize their own potential. The urban process may then be reclaimed as the practice of urban life.

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