Towards a City-Regional Politics of Mobility:

In-between Critical Mobilities and the Political Economy of Urban Transportation

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Abstract: This chapter advances our understanding of the politics of transportation by engaging the insights, tensions and political impacts emerging between dialectical materialism and the mobilities turn. Despite key incompatibilities, the conceptual sparks generated between these approaches illuminate how city-regional urbanization operates through a diverse constellation of social and spatial mobilities. Empirical analysis of the Toronto global city-region demonstrates that strategic investments in urban transportation follow neoliberal logics but also open the possibility for a progressive politics of mobility to emerge from the polycentricism of city-regional space.

Keywords: connectivity; neoliberalism; regional planning; Toronto; transit; urbanization

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Introduction

Questions surrounding the spatial politics of urban areas have gained increased prominence as the chameleon-like 21st century metropolis "shifts shape and size [as] margins become centers, centers become frontiers; regions become cities" (Roy 2009: 827). Flows of people, capital and information now integrate extended urban agglomerations via dynamic networks of connectivity and propinquity, while intensive processes of neoliberal globalization animate new scales of urbanization and urban governance (Scott 2012). Urbanity is expressed and codified at the regional scale in a manner that defies simple narrative of functional or spatial change. Our established notions regarding the territorial logics of *metropolitan urbanization* – characterized by political, social and morphological binaries between the urban core and "traditional" suburbs – no longer contain the relational flows and processes of a polycentric, globally-integrated, *city-regional urbanization*.

The global nature of regional growth may be a key element of contemporary urban development, but such "internalized globalization" often sits in tension with the territorially defined interests of many local actors (Keil 2011). Service provision and policy formation remain predominantly conducted in and through bounded political units despite the networks, flows, and social relations that transcend their increasingly porous borders. Capital may flow through global circuits, but accumulation regimes are necessarily grounded in particular spatial arrangements. Territoriality therefore remains a vital consideration for politics of representation, social provision, and mobility (Cox 2013; Morgan 2007). If the epistemological challenge of the 21st century is theorizing the city as a territorial space and circulatory system (Prytherch and Cidell, this volume), the task at hand is to account for how notions of mobility, connectivity, and their spatial politics are embedded within the

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topological and scalar dimensions of what McCann and Ward (2010) term the "relationality/territoriality dialectic".

Transportation infrastructures – both *technical* systems of highways, rail lines and airports and *social* institutions and informal practices – provide a provocative lens to uncover how city-regions are produced, rendered visible, and governed. A significant governmental and civic consensus, from local authorities to global development agencies, now frames transportation as vital to building regional resilience by connecting technology to territorial expansion and selective densification. Mobility holds a further position of prominence in populist urban literature, whether in the form of international migration flows (Saunders 2010), global connectivity generated through airport-integrated development (Kasarda and Lindsay 2011), or technologies to tackle sprawl and proclaim "the triumph of the city" (Glaeser 2011). Yet normative understandings abound across these policy programs. Assumptions regarding the economic and environmental resilience of urban areas, as well as the transformative capacity of transport systems, are multiple (Brenner and Schmid 2014).

In practice, transportation planning and politics in an era of city-regional urbanization capture the global metropolis in a mix of rhetorical, technological, and socio-spatial change (Addie and Keil, forthcoming). The contested development of transportation infrastructure at the city-regional scale divulges an on-going, multiscalar negotiation of diverse communities, interests, and space-times. To understand the complex spatiality and spatial politics of city-regions we must conceptually account for both political economic territoriality *and* multiple, co-present mobilities – from global economic activity to local practices of everyday life – which sit at the core of contemporary urbanization. This chapter seeks to reconceptualize city-regional politics of mobility through the insights, tensions, and political projects at the intersection of

dialectical materialist urban analysis and critical mobilities studies. Their different underlying spatial ontologies invoke divergent theories of how urban power relations are produced and structured. But I suggest the sparks generated between the sociology of mobility and the political economy of transportation – when operationalized through Cresswell's (2010) concept of "constellations of mobility" – constructively illuminate contradictory tensions in the ways mobility is utilized, codified, and experienced under city-regional urbanization.

The argument presented here draws from an analysis of the global city-region of Toronto, Canada. At the present juncture, local, regional and provincial politics in southern Ontario are fundamentally conditioned by debates over urban transport. Mettke (this volume) analyzes the contested politics of mobility swirling around attempts to integrate the urban fabric of the amalgamated *municipality* of Toronto. In this chapter, I shift scalar focus to stress the importance of (often overlooked) transformations in the metropolitan periphery in reconstructing and redefining how *city-regions* are experienced, governed and connected. Beyond the global city center, new built forms, globalizing infrastructures, and rhythms of everyday life are radically redefining how the metropolis functions and is understood. Because most urban growth now takes place in dynamic, multi-layered, and splintered landscapes that are neither fully urban, suburban, or exurban (Keil 2013), I engage Toronto as a pertinent case that highlights broad relations and mobilities internalized within a global era of city-regional development. 'Smart growth,' for example, has placed polycentric densification at the heart of contemporary regional planning. Yet as new urbanizing hubs rise across the city-region, ubiquitous suburbanized spaces of the *Zwischenstadt* (or in-between city) (Sieverts 2003) are rendered "mere empty vessels to be filled with connective tissue meant to produce centralities elsewhere" (Young and Keil 2014: 1599). Here, I argue that illuminating the divergent production and lived experience of Toronto's *Zwischenstadt* opens

the potential for a progressive politics of mobility to materialize from the emergent polycentricism of the neoliberal city-region.

Theorizing transportation in an era of city-regional urbanization

Transportation, dialectical materialism, and the urban

The central argument guiding this chapter is that city-regions and their transportation infrastructures evolve in a dialectical relationship through which urban space is produced, differentially experienced, and transformed. The urban is neither a simple generic site over which social relations and restructuring processes unfurl, nor a pre-given universal condition or form. Rather, it is a theoretical category: a conceptual abstraction delineated by dynamic dialectical interconnections, conflicts, contradictions, and change within urbanization processes (Brenner 2014; Lefebvre 2003). Opposed to normative imaginaries of the city as a collection of physical objects (buildings, streets, people, infrastructure, etc.), urban regions appear "as the concrete, local articulation of processes of more general technological, economic and regulatory change" (Kloosterman and Lanbregts 2007: 54). Urbanization, by extension, is a "polymorphic, variable and dynamic" historical process *and* contested social product constituted via the urbanization of capital, consciousness and social practice (Brenner and Schmid 2014: 750).

Within this dialectical materialist context, I seek to theorize *urban* transportation not in terms of place-based notions of infrastructure "in the city," but through a focus on the socio-technical systems that connect and mediate abstract, yet essential social relations and the concrete spaces and practices of everyday life (following Lefebvre 2003: 79-81). Conceptualizing urban transportation via this mode of inquiry foregrounds the key socio-

spatial processes facilitated through the production, maintenance, and dissolution of transportation infrastructures.

As a key sector for strategic state intervention, urban transportation both enables/reflects the complexity of neoliberal territoriality *and* illuminates the relational mobilites of everyday spatial practice. Infrastructure restructuring discloses both deterritorialization associated with globalization (and the rise of the network society) and reterritorialization through which new social and scalar relations are produced. On one hand, as Graham and Marvin (2001) have influentially argued, publicly managed infrastructures have been increasingly "splintered" from collective public systems via neoliberal processes of deregulation and privatization. The unbundling of existing infrastructure systems establishes "premium network spaces" (e.g. toll roads, privatized express rail links) that integrate places into selective global frameworks through specialized development funds and public-private partnerships. On the other hand, restructuring urban transport planning, management, and governance reconfigures the internal structure and governance of city-regions themselves, via a "new territorial politics of collective provision" (Jonas 2013). Here, strategic investments in city-regional infrastructure offer a potential (albeit temporary) spatial fix to secure the conditions for social reproduction amidst neoliberal restructuring (Addie 2013; Enright, this volume; Jonas *et al*. 2014).

Urban transportation is therefore inextricable from evolving modalities of political and economic power. Transformations are realized through the interaction of new technical/spatial innovations (e.g,. new technologies, or reconfigured networks and governance regimes) with particular developmental trajectories and their associated social, institutional, economic and environmental obduracies (Maassen 2012; Mettke, this volume). New topological networks may tie together a privileged archipelago of elite global nodes, for example, but in doing so

they also establish differential access and processes of infrastructure "bypassing," with uneven development, marginalization, and exclusion the result (Graham and Marvin 2001; Young and Keil 2010). This dynamic is well captured by the "dialectic of centrality" described by Lefebvre (1991: 331-334). Rather than refer to a physical location ("the city") concentrating things, activities, and processes, Lefebvre understands centrality as a social product that internalizes moments of gathering-inclusion and dispersal-exclusion. Privileged products, people, and symbols are brought together at the same time dissident or undesirable elements are peripheralized. The center and periphery exist in a complex relation that reflects the logic (i.e. political rationality) and contradictions of urban space more widely. Such tensions between materially embedded spatial structures and social dynamics lead city-regions to internalize an amalgam of dialectics: centrality/marginality, concentration/extension, fixity/fluidity (Harvey 1996: 419). The mobilities of everyday life – whether for social reproduction, work, or play – are thus always emergent and contested, over multiple pathways and scales.

Bringing in the mobilities turn

Recent commentaries, including the contributions to this volume, have asserted that the new mobilities paradigm offers a powerful lens to conceptualize how cities are experienced, reconfigured, and reimagined (Jaffe *et al*. 2012; Skelton and Gough 2013; Watt and Smeats 2014). Amidst this surge of literature, there appears to be the potential for constructive synergies between the projects of dialectical materialist urban analysis and the mobilities turn to illuminate the spatiality, politics, and possibilities of city-regional urbanization. Both theoretical frameworks reject normative interpretations of the city as constituted by a static, universal ensemble of material objects. A focus on territorial boundaries may assist in locating spatially defined institutional responsibilities, but MacLeod (2011: 2651) argues

shifting our ontological focus to mobility, and networks can enable us to identify those processes of connection and fissure that shape city-regions. By presenting a world in which "mobility is an ontological absolute" (Adey 2006: 76), critical mobilities research challenges conceptions of fixity, stasis, and stability so historically central to the social sciences. Indeed, the ontological elevation of mobility is a potentially productive move that draws attention to the experience and regulation of spatial practice in a manner often overlooked in political economy accounts of regional restructuring.

Reconciling dialectical materialism and the logic of the mobilities turn, however, is a conceptually and political problematic maneuver. Much critical mobilities scholarship attempts to leverage the idea of dialectics to draw out the tensions between mobility and immobility. Urry (2003), for instance, places significant emphasis on the "mobility/mooring dialectic" as a means to provide movement with context. The central contradiction pivots on the assertion that mobility is premised on immobility; infrastructure systems are moored in place, but facilitate numerous mobilities that provide the mechanisms and context through which modern life functions. Yet the notion of mobility and movement at the core of critical mobilities analysis does not simply equate to concepts of change, contradiction, and sublation central to dialectical materialist thinking, methods, and critique (see Ollman 2003). As a program concerned with asserting the conceptual primacy of mobility itself, the mobilities turn remains decidedly one-sided and reticent to operationalize strong dialectical reasoning. Mobilities analysis may be utilized to engage conceptual and political issues beyond a central concern with unveiling the social and symbolic meanings of peoples' and objects' movements (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006). Still, the paradigm's tendency to focus on issues of governmentality, representation, and experience and socio-cultural analyses of personal mobility, identity and affect, limits its capacity to illuminate the political and economic

challenges of contemporary urbanization. By contrast, dialectical materialism presents a strong explanatory framework to this end, grounded in the concepts of accumulation, class, property, rent, and uneven development (Brenner *et al*. 2012). Dialectical materialism and critical mobilities studies also function with divergent theories of relationality. Whereas post-structural strands of the "relational turn" construct the relational (as network-based) in opposition to the territorial (as place-based) (e.g. Amin 2004; see Jacobs 2012), dialectical approaches frame relational space as an epistemological lens that is held in contradictory tension with the absolute and relative qualities of space (Harvey 2006).

Although significant tensions exist between the ontological foundations of the mobilities turn and dialectical materialism, I argue critical mobilities' mandate for a politics of mobility does provide scope to generate some productive sparks when interrogated through strong dialectical reasoning. In particular, Cresswell (2010: 21) is concerned with uncovering the geographical and historical specificity of distinct "constellations of mobility" that together help illuminate "the ways in which mobilities are both productive of […] social relations and produced by them." As spatially and temporally contingent formations of movement, practice and discourse, constellations of mobility contextualize the meaning and politics of mobility at specific junctures; what Harvey (1996) would construct as historically specific socio-spatial "permanences." The concept and political provocation of constellations of mobility strongly resonate with debates on city-regions that: (1) foreground the contradictory flows and fixity underpinning the relationality/territoriality dialectic; and (2) prompt questions of centrality, access, and the right to produce and use urban space. We can therefore place the theoretical and empirical challenge of *connectivity* – the material and symbolic networks that facilitate (and prohibit) practices of mobility – at the nexus of critical urban theory and the mobilities turn. This move, I suggest, holds the potential to yield innovative engagements with

contemporary urbanization and social struggles within the complex, contested, and contradictory landscapes of globalizing city-regions.

Engaging terrains of city-regional mobility through the Zwischenstadt

Whereas the city-region may be the principal scale at which people experience everyday life (Storper 2013: 4), processes of functional specialization and segregation render much city-regional space highly fragmented and amorphous. In this context, the concept of the *Zwischenstadt* provides a provocative frame to engage the challenge of connectivity amidst city-regional urbanization. At once an indistinct environment produced to be transgressed at high speeds by privileged groups and a place of everyday spatial practice and inhabitation, the *Zwischenstadt* reframes the city-region through an "unbounded yet also newly re-hierarchized" architecture of urban spaces (Keil and Young 2011: 4). Rather than being reduced to spatially static forms that can be readily drawn on a map or identified through positivistic indicators, the in-between city is best conceived of as a relational space (in the dialectical sense) which is represented, perceived, and experienced in qualitatively differentiated ways by different users (*pace* the mobilities turn).

The emergent interactive patterns of the city-region beyond the urban core "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: 160). The ability to move through this landscape – that is, the ability to experience and actualize the connectivity of city-regional space – is habituated by highly unequal power relations that invoke specific forms of "kinetic elitism" (Cresswell 2006). As Sieverts (2003: 71) puts it, the *Zwischenstadt* "permits the widest variety of action spaces and connections or as a 'menu' with the help of which

inhabitants can put together for themselves *à la carte*, provided they can afford it." In the following, I unpack the constellation of mobility emerging through the in-between spaces of the Toronto city-region to highlight the multiscalar and multifaceted nature of urban transportation and point towards how a critical dialectical reading of this analytical lens can foster a progressive city-regional politics of mobility.

Opening "constellations of mobility" in the Toronto city-region

The challenge of providing, scaling, and governing urban transportation holds a prominent position in Toronto's regional politics. Post-war experiments in metropolitan government and infrastructure provision secured Toronto's reputation as "the city that works." Yet the nearly three decades of largely uncoordinated neoliberal growth ushered in after the breakdown of the Toronto's spatial Keynesian fix in the 1970s fostered expansive and largely unsustainable auto-dependent development across southern Ontario (Addie 2013).

Following their rise to power in 2003, the Ontario Liberal Party has promoted an integrated program of land-use, environmental and transportation policies for the Toronto city-region to address the pressing issues of sprawl and congestion. The mutually reinforcing *Places to Grow* and *Greenbelt* Acts, introduced over 2005-2006, established a legal planning framework to structure regional development in southern Ontario. In addition to these classic governmental land-use regulation tools, the provincial government also established *Metrolinx* as a sectoral instrument to oversee transportation planning and implementation in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA). Metrolinx's regional transportation plan, *The Big Move* (2008), detailed a system of growth centers, transport corridors, and no-growth areas around which Toronto's city-regional urbanization is now directed. The Big Move responded to the

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limitations of the region's existing technical and social infrastructure, yet its top-down assertion of regionalization also internalized the imperatives of global economic competitiveness and resilience within the province's strategic transportation plans.

Producing peripheral centralities

Taking their lead from the province's mandate, many of Toronto's municipal neighbors actively embraced a reframed planning agenda intended to support polycentric, smart and sustainable urbanization. Newly planned and competing suburban "downtown" developments have rapidly risen up along the regional arteries of Highway 7 and Highway 427. As sites of emergent urbanity, provincial growth hubs centered in the cities of Mississauga, Brampton, Vaughan and Markham challenge the primacy of the city of Toronto and radically reorient the center-periphery dynamics of the city-region. Polycentric development discourses now lock-in the normative goal of transforming suburbs into cities in their own right; as the City of Vaughan's 2020 strategic plan puts it "[transitioning] from a growing suburban municipality to a fully urban space" (2011: 1). Urbanization in this context encapsulates the desire to concentrate economic and social activity, and direct prioritized modes of regional mobility, into new centralities located in the previously peripheral spaces of the city-region.

Urban transportation and mobility are central to understanding city-regional urbanization and state intervention in southern Ontario. Densification, mixed-use development, and multimodal transport planning attempt to restructure everyday suburbanism away from metropolitan lifestyles traditionally understood and experienced through automobility and the single-family home. As urban growth accelerates in areas lacking in established transit infrastructure, there is an emergent recognition across the GTHA that transit service cannot stop at municipal boundaries, nor concentrate on moving people downtown. This issue 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.

Transit networks, coordinated with the goals of the Places to Grow framework, provide a socio-technical infrastructure to guide the on-going development on the GTHA's urban periphery. Most prominently, Viva, York Region's bus rapid transit (BRT) system, has introduced vital material and governance technologies supporting new centralities north of the city of Toronto. The public-private partnership underpinning Viva's establishment in 2005 not only brought together global capital and expertise to introduce BRT service but also supported a restructuring of the region's physical infrastructure. Express bus service initially operated in mixed-traffic along the Yonge Street and Highway 7 corridors (with connections at rapid transit terminals in northern Toronto), but in 2009 construction commenced on a network of dedicated bus-only "rapidways" and "Vivastations" in the center of York Region's key arterial routes. The material reimagining of regional mobility has been matched by the concerted cultivation of a high-end transit experience to reach people who would traditionally view riding the bus as a step down (see York Region Transit Corporation 2014). Evident in this moment of infrastructure restructuring is the extension of both technical (unbundling express regional and local routes) *and* cultural splintering that belies the complex socio-political dynamics found within Toronto's city-regional constellation of mobility. As such, drawing from the central concerns of the mobilities turn and dialectical materialism highlights the importance of generating new representations and experiences of regional mobility for Viva while disclosing the resulting production of distinctly uneven geographies of connectivity within contemporary city-regional space.

Co-present mobilities and capital across the urban in-between

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City-regional urbanization integrates metropolitan space but in doing so produces and fragmentation and differentiation, as captured in Lefebvre's "dialectic of centrality." Dramatic demographic and socio-economic change in southern Ontario has engendered the proliferation of numerous, qualitatively distinct, practices of everyday life. Large-scale population growth driven by both endogenous non-European communities and new immigrants, mostly from South and East Asia, has transformed suburban populations – and the lived realities of city-regional urbanism itself – towards greater heterogeneity. The emergence of social diversity in the GTHA's suburbs has also been accompanied by the suburbanization of poverty, as societal issues long thought of as belonging to the inner city – including concentrations of transit-dependent populations – are brought to the fore across the *Zwischenstadt* (Young and Keil 2014). At this socio-economic intersection, transit riders – especially new immigrants who now call Toronto's suburbs home – face disproportionately lengthy commutes in terms of time and distance (Axisa *et al*. 2012; Turcotte 2011).

The diversity, densification, and social centrality emerging on the edges of the GTHA offer the potential to reimagine autocentric and fragmented spatial arrangements. Some novel programs have attempted to respond to evolving mobility requirements in Toronto's in-between landscapes. However, the city-region's morphology and established transport infrastructure have compelled the implementation of more individualized movement through polycentric city-regional space. For example, carpooling and workplace shuttle programs operated by Smart Commute (a collection of local transportation management authorities financed by Metrolinx and regional employers) provide an adaptive response to, and potentially sustainable fix for, the mobility challenges of city-regional urbanization. Yet their limited capacity to move large numbers of commuters and strategic focus on supporting

economic activity reflects the difficulty in realizing public transportation options that can accommodate complex mobilities over the vastness of the global city-region.

Although investments in specific transport technologies are not mutually exclusive, the province's understanding of regional space and territory – principally founded upon privileged network components which optimize regional competitive advantages – are prioritized among the multiple, overlapping mobilities of lived city-regionalism. Leveraging urban transportation to promote competitive regionalization is not unique to the GTHA. Enright (this volume) documents comparable struggles to scale a "regime of metromobility" in Grand Paris. City-regional transportation planning in both cases represents clear attempts to direct global flows of capital, territorialize them in place, and secure locational advantages. Urban densification and the infrastructure of regional mobility foster new social centralities that create new use- and exchange-values which themselves are fundamentally tied to the production of urban land markets. This is evinced as private firms have been empowered to develop public sector air rights over high-order transit hubs as part of the public-private partnership directing BRT in York Region. Global capital underwrites the construction of condo and office towers around the province's targeted growth hubs as developers and local governments attempt to realize evermore-profitable rents and tax bases. Consequently, the imperatives of capitalist urbanization, in its recent parasitic articulation, continue to underpin the territorial organization of the Toronto city-region (Harvey 2009).

The politics of local movement here is inexorably integrated into multiscalar political economic circuits and power relations. Yet the globally focused regionalism emerging and the center of the Toronto city-region's constellation of mobility has become notably problematic for inner suburban communities that developed at the height of the postwar boom but now

find themselves bypassed by regional integration and on the wrong side of intensified socio-economic polarization. The economic limits to mobility faced by individuals prohibit access to premium network spaces; whether associated with the costs of purchasing and running a car, paying to access toll-ways, or covering the fares on regional express bus service.

Differential access is inscribed in the socio-spatial structure of Toronto's *Zwischenstadt*. As Mettke (this volume) argues, low-income and visible minority residents in the City of Toronto's (predominantly inner-suburban) "priority neighborhoods" lack rapid transit connections to downtown Toronto. But they are also problematically disconnected from the GTHA's emerging growth hubs. The Jane-Finch neighborhood, for example, is a mere five-minute drive from Vaughan's new downtown complex, yet for residents without access to a car, the trip would take at least half an hour on two buses and require the payment of two fares. The Toronto Transit Commission's Spadina Subway extension should bring rapid transit to Vaughan Metropolitan Centre by Fall 2016, yet although a planned station located at Keele Street and Finch Avenue is in close proximity to Jane-Finch, the line bypasses the neighborhood's existing low-income residential districts to target service at York University and areas amenable to new-build development.

Intersecting places and the dialectic of centrality
The relative distance between the downtowns emerging along Highway 7 and Toronto's inner suburbs starkly illuminates the need to integrate disconnected areas of the *Zwischenstadt* to the GTHA's new city-regional centers. However, Toronto's in-between spaces often find themselves caught between local, regional and global scales of mobility and the persistent territorial geographies of a previous era of metropolitan urbanization. Whereas the province has focused on building a network of regional mobility hubs, the City of Toronto's *Transit*

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City LRT plan looked to integrate marginalized, transit-deficient inner suburbs into the city's, rather than the city-region's, urban fabric (Addie 2013; Mettke, this volume). Dispersed growth beyond the compactness of the urban core remains conditioned by the logics of automobility. The cultural capital and availability of the car engrain it as an essential part of the *Zwischenstadt*, enabling the (selective) freedom to move but exerting disciplinary control over everyday life (Howe 2002) even as new traditions and innovations are overlaid upon existing political, social, and technological obduracies. This reflects both the challenges presented by the sheer scale of city-regional landscapes and the entrenchment of social, political and morphological divisions that continue to codify constituent parts of the GTHA.

Toronto's future transportation and, indeed, city-regional development, is presently arrayed in a reductionist war of urbanisms. After 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 recast both the City of Toronto's and Metrolinx's agendas as a "war on cars." Conservative Toronto city councilor Denzil Minnan-Wong (2009: A7) editorialized:

> 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.

Conversely, advocates of the central city's Jane Jacobs's-style middle-class progressivism insisted, "downtown density will prevail over the slums of suburbia" (Hume 2008: A10). Vast swaths of the wider city-region were discursively reduced to auto-dependent "flat, grey sprawl" (Macfarlane 2008: 15). The spatial politics codified through these discourses reinforce path dependencies that perpetuate normative understandings of city and suburb (see Cidell, this volume). In doing so, they obfuscate the interconnected nature of city-regional space and the emergent conceived and lived differentiation of movement within the *Zwischenstadt* (Fiedler 2011; Watt and Smeats 2014). The consequent framing of transportation politics overlooks the proliferation of regional spaces within the GTHA and the necessity of rescaling the politics of social reproduction, an issue especially vital for the non-privileged global city workforce that needs to traverse fragmented in-between city spaces to access affordable housing and employment opportunities (Goonewardena and Kipfer 2005; Jonas 2013).

Toronto's bourgeois central city transportation politics and spatial imaginaries obscure the urbane city center's dependence on a web of globalized infrastructure networks increasingly located in the urban periphery. The suburbanization of global freight operations lies at the heart of the production regimes, morphologies, and multiscalar flows of post-Fordist city-regions such as the GTHA (see Erie 2004). The extended complex of single story distribution warehouses, industrial buildings and factories – crisscrossed by a network of superhighways and rail lines and centered on Pearson International Airport – serves as the discursive and functional foil to the glamorous face of "global Toronto" (Keil and Young 2008). At once, this clearly discloses the dialectic of centrality as particular functions, social groups, and urban forms must be expelled to the periphery to produce Toronto's famed (image of) progressive urbanism. Yet concomitantly, it discloses the production of an alternate global

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centrality as a new suburbanized infrastructure fix supersedes the now antiquated facilities of previous accumulation regimes (see Hall, this volume). 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" (Cidell 2011: 833).

The global is clearly territorialized through the diverse socio-technical infrastructures found on the urban periphery as much as the command and control functions concentrated in the core of the global city. A progressive city-regional politics of mobility therefore cannot simply be constructed in opposition to the automobilist, middle-class privatism traditionally associated with the suburbs. The amalgam of mobilities housed in and across Toronto's *Zwischenstadt* indicates such metropolitan dichotomies cannot hold. Rather, a socially just politics of collective provision must center on the multiplicity of urbanisms expressed within the lived city-region, contra to the tripartite power of the state, capital accumulation, and private authoritarianism.

Conclusion

This chapter has deployed a dialectical understanding of urban transportation to examine how city-regions are produced and governed as territorial and relational urban spaces. Developing an argument through the concrete spaces and grounded flows of the Toronto global city-region, I have asserted that the spatial politics of city-regional urbanization operate through a diverse constellation of social and spatial mobilities. Yet the urban cannot be understood without the territorial institutions, rules, and practices that arise from, and regulate class and property relations (Lefebvre 1996: 106). Urban land economies have emerged as vital markets through which overarching city-regional dynamics unfold. Contemporary urbanization

processes disclose an accumulation regime in which "coercive laws of competition… force the continuous implementation of new technologies and organizational forms" and in turn structure the internal form and external relations of city-regional space (Harvey 2009: 316). Examining the transformations on the outskirts of the GTHA through the scalar lens of the global city-region demonstrates that strategic investments in urban transportation are reflective of, and in turn generate, new state strategies. These attempts to integrate and rationalize previously fragmented space are increasingly linked to the imperatives of neoliberal rent seeking and global economic competitiveness.

The connectivities facilitating particular practices of mobility are therefore a central object of class struggle between abstract processes of urbanization-as-accumulation and the production of the urban as a mode of everyday life. Although geographical distance between rich and poor may collapse across city-regional space, relative connectivity and the symbolic distance between center and periphery are greatly exacerbated. Everyday spatiality, as critical mobilities studies demonstrate, is perceived and lived in a fragmented and partial manner. Here, neoliberal logics of infrastructure provision have shifted towards the valorization of individual choice and atomized mobility in a manner that obscures the continued reliance on public infrastructures that enables such movement. The privileging of transport infrastructures that most benefit the productive capacity of the Toronto city-region forges distinct kinetic elitism by elevating the importance of one particular set of spatio-temporal rhythms within the relationality/territoriality dialectic. Here, the dialectic of centrality galvanizes the structural (rather than explicit) perpetuation of urban injustice for disconnected communities.

Whereas the city-region appears as the territorial spatial form *de jour* for global capitalism, the agora of the *Zwischenstadt* illuminates the simultaneous production of "space for forms of

living which conflict with the globalized economy, for the slowness of an unmotorized existence and for withdrawal into self-sufficiency in times of crisis" (Sieverts 2003: 73). The emergence of such qualitatively distinct modes of city-regional urbanism could, however open both conceptual and material spaces for forging more equitable pathways of social change, via a new politics of mobility. Lefebvre (1996) argued the introduction of centrality into peripheral zones offered the potential to transform marginalized spaces into actual *urban* space by extending the struggle against exclusions from space. Social centrality, though, operates simultaneously at different scales with tremendous repercussions for the spatial practices of urban inhabitants. Recognizing the structural complexity and multiple mobilities evident in global city-regions' particular expression of the *Zwischenstadt* is a necessary step in breaking past physical, mental, and social dichotomies reified through previous rounds of metropolitan urbanization (Kolb 2008). Pan-regional rapid transit, such as Viva-style BRT, presents a potential infrastructure fix to the challenges of city-regional urbanization, yet the introduction of new transportation routes and modes must negotiate an 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. Considering how people understand, live and move through their daily lives within specific spatio-temporal contexts becomes a central concern for any spatial politics. This, of course, is a key component of critical mobilities studies and a challenge to which the lens of constellations of mobility is attuned.

Engaging dialectical materialist urban studies alongside critical mobilities analyses can help illuminate the constant material and experiential transformation that defines the urban process. Differential mobilities in the blurred, multiply topological, space of city-regions establish new urban "kinetic hierarchies" (Cresswell 2010: 29). When interrogated through a

political-economy critique, such theoretical abstractions can inform an adaptive urban politics capable of incorporating and mobilizing new connectivities, centralities, and overlapping political relations. At the same time, it argues persuasively for democratizing their governance. The challenge here is twofold. First, it is necessary to recognize the diverse form, function and structure of city-regional space, and second, expose the contradictory, crisis-prone tendencies evident in the commodified core and centralizing infrastructure. Constituting a politics of mobility based in uncovering the dialectical disturbances, displacements of centrality, and differential experiences of urban transportation can then offer the possibility for new forms of social justice, innovation and creativity to develop among the dispersed and horizontal fissures of polycentric city-regional space.

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