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Dedication

To Mia, my beloved cat, who curled up beside me and kept me company as I finished this thesis. And to the incredible public servants of the Chicago region, who collaborate across boundaries and jurisdictions everyday to improve the quality of life of their residents. Your dedication and commitment to service has been a constant source of inspiration over the last several years and makes me proud to call the Chicago region my home.

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English Abstract

The concept of "urban" has traditionally been tied to the physical and administrative boundaries of cities. However, recent scholarship work challenges this view, advocating for an understanding that encompasses broader, interconnected metropolitan and urban regions. Scholars like Edward Soja and Neil Brenner argue that urban areas extend beyond traditional boundaries, highlighting the growth of city regions and metropolitan areas as critical sites for addressing societal challenges such as climate change and social inequality. This thesis builds upon this evolving perspective by exploring the potential of urban regime theory as a framework for understanding governance at the metropolitan scale, particularly in regions characterized by intense jurisdictional fragmentation.

While urban regime theory has been influential in examining governance within cities, its application to metropolitan regions remains underexplored. This research addresses this gap by conducting a longitudinal case study of the Chicago metropolitan region, known for its history of collaborative governance amid extreme institutional fragmentation. By analyzing the development of governance structures in Chicago from the 1950s to the present, this thesis seeks to identify the conditions that facilitate the formation and evolution of metropolitan governance regimes.

Using a combination of content analysis and in-depth interviews with regional stakeholders, this study adapts urban regime theory to account for the complexities of governance at the metropolitan scale, offering new insights into how regional leaders navigate fragmentation to achieve collaborative policy outcomes. The findings of this study reveal that a refined regime-theoretical approach combining Stone (2015) and Hamel & Jouve's (2008) periodization approach, van Ostaaijen's (2023) open interpretation of urban regimes, and Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) typology of organic, instrumental, and symbolic regimes shows promise for studying the formation and evolution of regimes at the metropolitan scale.

Key Words: urban regime theory, metropolitan governance, new regionalism

German Abstract

Der Begriff „Stadt“ ist traditionell an die physischen und administrativen Grenzen von Städten gebunden. Neuere wissenschaftliche Arbeiten stellen diese Sichtweise jedoch in Frage und plädieren für ein Verständnis, das umfassendere, miteinander verbundene Metropol- und Stadtregionen umfasst. Wissenschaftler wie Edward Soja und Neil Brenner argumentieren, dass städtische Gebiete über die traditionellen Grenzen hinausgehen, und betonen das Wachstum von Stadtregionen und Ballungsräumen als entscheidende Orte für die Bewältigung gesellschaftlicher Herausforderungen wie Klimawandel und soziale Ungleichheit. Die vorliegende Arbeit baut auf dieser sich entwickelnden Perspektive auf, indem sie das Potenzial der urbanen Regimetheorie als Rahmen für das Verständnis von Governance auf metropolitaner Ebene untersucht, insbesondere in Regionen, die durch eine starke Fragmentierung der Rechtsprechung gekennzeichnet sind.

Während die Theorie der urbanen Regime bei der Untersuchung der Governance in Städten einflussreich war, ist ihre Anwendung auf Metropolregionen noch nicht ausreichend erforscht. Die vorliegende Untersuchung schließt diese Lücke, indem sie eine Längsschnitt-Fallstudie der Metropolregion Chicago durchführt, die für ihre Geschichte der kooperativen Governance inmitten einer extremen institutionellen Fragmentierung bekannt ist. Durch die Analyse der Entwicklung der Governance-Strukturen in Chicago von den 1950er Jahren bis heute versucht diese Arbeit, die Bedingungen zu ermitteln, die die Bildung und Entwicklung von Governance-Regimen in Großstädten erleichtern.

Mithilfe einer Kombination aus Inhaltsanalyse und Tiefeninterviews mit regionalen Akteuren passt diese Studie die Theorie der urbanen Regime an, um die Komplexität des Regierens auf großstädtischer Ebene zu berücksichtigen, und bietet neue Einblicke in die Art und Weise, wie regionale Führungskräfte die Fragmentierung überwinden, um kooperative politische Ergebnisse zu erzielen. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie zeigen, dass ein verfeinerter regimetheoretischer Ansatz, der den Periodisierungsansatz von Stone (2015) und Hamel & Jouve (2008), die offene Interpretation urbaner Regime von van Ostaaijen (2023) und die Typologie organischer, instrumenteller und symbolischer Regime von Stoker und Mossberger (1994) kombiniert, vielversprechend für die Untersuchung der Entstehung und Entwicklung von Regimen auf der Ebene von Metropolen ist.

Key Words: Theorie der städtischen Ordnung, metropolitane Governance, neuer Regionalismus

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Introduction

The concept of the "urban" has traditionally been associated with the physical and administrative boundaries of cities. However, over the last several decades, scholars have challenged these assumptions. As early as the mid-twentieth century, academic accounts such as Henri Lefebvre's (1970) influential observations of the "urban revolution" have pointed to a profound transformation of the socio-economic and spatial fabric of urban regions. Contemporary scholars Edward Soja (2011) and Neil Brenner (2019) similarly stress the importance of moving beyond an understanding of urban as a distinct, "territorially bounded" form. Instead, they advocate for a more expansive understanding of urban areas which considers the broader, multiscalar, and interconnected spaces that make up contemporary metropolitan and urban regions.

Brenner (2019) and Soja's (2011) calls to redefine understandings of the urban echo parallel developments at the national and international level to recognize the growth of city regions and metropolitan areas. The World Resources Institute recently reported that the majority of urban development worldwide currently takes place at the peripheries of cities (Mahendra & Seto, 2019). The United Nations and the U.S. Census Bureau similarly collect and report on data reflecting geographical territories termed city regions, urban agglomerations, or metropolitan areas. Some scholars go so far as to assert that it is "no longer possible to understand cities and urban development without paying particular attention to suburban expansion" (Keil & Hamel, 2015).

A growing body of research recognizes metropolitan regions as critical scales for understanding and addressing urgent societal challenges such as climate change and social inequality (Brenner, 2019). The related processes of suburbanization and regional urbanization have produced rapid and uneven development, often reinforcing and reproducing existing disparities (Norris, 2016; Brenner, 2002; Savitch & Vogel, 2000). Particularly in contexts like the United States, where processes of suburbanization were deliberately designed along racial and class lines, the most glaring social and environmental disparities are confined not within urban borders but rather across the sprawling suburban developments that define today's metropolitan regions (Nijman & Clery 2015; Soja 2011). These complexities are exacerbated by the fact that most metropolitan regions are characterized by intense jurisdictional and administrative fragmentation (Brenner, 2019; Cox, 2010; Harvey, 1989), producing challenges in formulating and implementing policies that are capable of tackling the kinds of multifaceted issues which span geographic boundaries and levels of governance.

Despite their inherent connection, theories of metropolitan governance and urban governance have experienced somewhat separate, albeit parallel, trajectories in the academic literature. Various theories of metropolitan governance emerged throughout the twentieth century in response to growing awareness of the consequences of uncontrolled growth and the decentralization and fragmentation of metropolitan regions (Tomàs, 2017). At the crux of early debates surrounding metropolitan governance was the question of whether metropolitan regions

should have overarching government structures or whether competition across municipalities within metropolitan regions. Towards the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, a new approach to metropolitan governance called New Regionalism emphasized voluntary intergovernmental cooperation (Brenner, 2019; Norris, 2016). The New Regionalism literature distinguished between *government* and *governance*, mirroring a similar development emerging in other strands of literature on governance more broadly (Stoker, 1998; Pierre, 2005; Pierre & Peters, 2012).

The theoretical shift towards *governance* marked a growing recognition, both among practitioners and academics, that the processes of globalization, economic restructuring, and neoliberalism had fundamentally altered the role of government. As a result, the process of governing became more fragmented and multifaceted, relying on the coordination of multiple scales of influence and a diverse array of stakeholders (Fukuyama, 2015; Stoker, 1998). A body of literature promoting “network governance” (Rhodes, 1996; Marin and Mayntz, 1991; Powell, 1990) echoed many of the claims of New Regionalism; proponents claimed that new, networked forms of governance had the capacity to democratize urban governance, promote social innovation, and address increasingly complex challenges, while critics argued that these new structures simply obfuscated the concentration of power under neoliberalism (Fukuyama, 2015).

Widespread enthusiasm for New Regionalism and Network Governance led to these concepts adopting a normative framework for contemporary models of governance at the urban and regional levels. However, the debates over whether these models of governance promote social innovation or reinforce neoliberal power dynamics persist (Blanco, 2015). To address the tension between these differing views, some scholars have advocated for a renewed regime-theoretical approach to better understand the nuances of urban governance and political power in cities, arguing that theories of network governance are too far removed from the messiness of local government in practice (Blanco, 2015; Medina & de la Fuente, 2021) and that the concept of governance is still too vague and underdeveloped to provide a useful analytical framework (Mossberger, 2009).

Regime theory provides a framework for analyzing how power and influence shape urban policy and development by focusing on the coalitions between public and private actors. Popularized by Stone (1989, 1993, 2015), the approach emphasizes “power to,” i.e., agency and the capacity to act, rather than “power over,” i.e. social control. Regime theory argues that effective urban governance requires the formation of governing coalitions or “urban regimes” that combine the resources and capacities of both governmental and non-governmental actors. The theory gained traction in both North America and Europe, offering valuable insights into urban governance, especially amid global economic restructuring and the reduction of formal government roles (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). While it recognizes the influence of larger economic structures, regime theory maintains that local political agency and cooperative relationships are critical for achieving policy outcomes in cities, making it a valuable tool for understanding how different actors collaborate to achieve various policy goals in a context where no single entity has complete control. While urban regime theory has traditionally focused on local dynamics within individual cities, there is increasing interest in extending this framework

to the metropolitan scale, where governance is even more complex due to the lack of a singular institutional framework and the presence of multiple, often competing, authorities.

Regime theory is relatively understudied at the city-regional and metropolitan scale. A few authors have proposed modifications to the approach to accommodate a city regional approach. One of the earliest attempts to assess the applicability of regime theory at a regional scale was Leo (1998), whose account of regime formation in Portland, Oregon emphasized the importance of establishing a regional political base. Hamilton (2002) followed closely behind, similarly emphasizing the importance of linking coalitions to political leaders. Hamilton (2004) proposed a framework for analyzing the factors that facilitate the development of regional governing regimes through a comparative analysis of Chicago and Portland. Hamel & Jouve (2008) leverages regime theory to consider the evolution of a metropolitan regime in Montreal across time. Bafarasat (2018) analyzes two city-regions in England, Liverpool and Cheshire, and proposes that metropolitan regimes may present two different patterns of development: either an out-in pattern, in which peripheral localities approach a core city to engage in regime formation; or an in-out pattern, in which a core city leads regime formation efforts with peripheral localities.

My research aims to build upon the theoretical foundations established by these authors, especially Hamilton (2002) and (2004), through an updated regime-theoretical analysis of the Chicago metropolitan region. The Chicago region presents a compelling case for exploration for multiple reasons. The region has a history of collaborative governance structures dating back to the 1950s. A cohesive, metropolitan vision for the region emerged in the 1990s with the advent of a civic-backed organization and a metropolitan-scale caucus for the region's mayors. Research on the region has already commented on the potential of these developments to form a metropolitan scale regime (Hamilton, 2002, 2004; Lindstrom, 1997), however, this research is over two decades old. Metropolitan collaboration since the early 2000s has evolved dramatically, with the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus recently receiving international and national attention for its collaborative efforts to address climate change (Schmit, 2021; Institute for Sustainable Communities, 2019).

The success of collaborative efforts in the region is even more impressive given the institutionally fragmented context in which the Chicago metropolitan region is situated. The Chicago region is more fragmented than any other city region in the United States. Furthermore, the State of Illinois grants its local governments more autonomy than any other state in the country, allowing them to operate independently without mandated compliance with higher levels of government. This level of autonomy and the intense fragmentation of the region means that the collaboration in the region was in no way inevitable. The structures which have allowed for such a collaborative structure were the result of decades of intentional coalition building on the part of regionally-minded mayors and civic leaders.

By applying urban regime theory to the Chicago metropolitan region, this thesis seeks to illuminate the conditions that enable effective governance at the metropolitan scale and contribute to the development of more just and equitable governance practices in urban regions worldwide. The key questions guiding this research are:

- What are the conditions of possibility that have allowed for the formation and evolution of governance regimes in the Chicago metropolitan region?
- How can urban regime theory be adapted and applied to the analysis of governance at the metropolitan scale?

To answer these questions, this thesis conducts a longitudinal case study approach, analyzing the development of governance structures in the Chicago metropolitan region from the 1950s until today. It draws on a combination of qualitative research methods, including content analysis of academic literature, strategic documents, and archival records, as well as in-depth interviews with key stakeholders involved in regional governance. This approach allows for a comprehensive examination of the factors that have facilitated collaboration and governance at the metropolitan scale, providing insights into both the specific context of the Chicago region and the broader applicability of urban regime theory.

A description of each chapter of this thesis is provided below:

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter surveys the existing body of research relevant to the thesis topic. It reviews key contributions to urban governance literature, especially the shift toward governance frameworks that account for the roles of non-governmental actors and multi-scalar processes. The chapter also identifies gaps in the literature, particularly concerning the extension of urban regime theory to metropolitan regions, and sets the stage for the thesis by establishing the need for a deeper exploration of governance dynamics at the metropolitan scale.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework that underpins the thesis, drawing primarily on urban regime theory approaches discussed in the literature review. It presents theoretical approaches from four separate authors and proposes a means of combining and modifying them into a refined regime-theoretical approach to studying metropolitan governance.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter details the research design and methodology used to investigate the formation and evolution of governance regimes in the Chicago metropolitan region. It explains the overarching research paradigm and the rationale for selecting the longitudinal case study approach. It also describes the qualitative methods employed, including content analysis of academic literature, strategic documents, archival records, and in-depth interviews with key stakeholders. The chapter also outlines the criteria for selecting the case study and the data sources, as well as the methods used for data collection and analysis to ensure the reliability and validity of the research findings.

Chapter 5: Results and Analysis

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the research in the form of a detailed case description of the geographical scope and institutional structures which shape the region. It additionally presents a chronological time-series analysis detailing the development of governance structures and coalitions in the Chicago metropolitan region from the 1950s to the present. It analyzes the conditions that have enabled the formation of effective governance regimes, examining key factors such as political, economic, and social dynamics, as well as the roles and strategies of various stakeholders. The chapter uses the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 3 to interpret the data.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the findings from Chapter 5 are discussed in relation to the broader theoretical and empirical literature on urban and metropolitan governance. The chapter assesses the implications of the research for urban regime theory, particularly its applicability to metropolitan governance. It explores how the findings contribute to existing debates about the effectiveness of governance structures in fragmented, multiscalar settings and considers the broader implications for policy and practice in metropolitan regions. The discussion also addresses the limitations of the study and suggests areas for future research.

Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of academic literature relevant to the study at hand. It begins with one of the most fundamental questions of urban studies – *what counts as urban?* – and discusses a growing body of scholarship which points to the expanding boundaries of urban regions across the world. It presents a series of arguments which contend that modern-day studies of urban areas must also pay attention to their expanding peripheries. The related concepts of suburbanization and regional urbanization have produced increasingly complex spatial and scalar forms which have in turn produced complex social and environmental challenges both faced and reproduced by today's city regions and metropolitan areas.

Having established the scope of urban which will be addressed in this thesis, this chapter moves on to explore theories of governance and their application to both the urban and city-regional or metropolitan scales. It covers the diverse disciplinary fields and the broader social, political, and economic conditions which contributed to conventional understanding of the concept of governance.

Finally, this chapter proceeds to discuss urban regime theory, a dominant political-economy approach to understanding the dynamics of power and influence which shape the direction of urban politics. It discusses the theoretical foundations of urban regime theory and summarizes key critiques and debates surrounding the concept. It addresses multiple ways in which the theory has been applied in the academic literature and reviews a limited body of research which has explored its application at a regional/metropolitan scale.

What Counts as Urban?

This literature review begins with one of the most fundamental yet elusive questions in urban studies: *what counts as urban?* Despite its centrality to the field, the concept of the 'urban' remains contested and complex, in part due to the continuing and evolving nature of urbanization processes across the world. Over the last several decades, scholars have argued that understanding what counts as urban requires moving beyond traditional assumptions of the urban as a distinct, "territorially bounded" form (Brenner, 2019; Soja, 2011; Lefebvre, 1970). Modern urbanization processes, especially under global neoliberal capitalism, have transformed the socio-spatial fabric of modern-day cities and metropolitan regions.

Researchers Keil and Hamel (2015) have argued that it is "no longer possible to understand cities and urban development without paying particular attention to suburban expansion" (p.3). Recent research demonstrates that the majority of urban development worldwide currently takes place at the peripheries of cities and urban regions (Mahendra & Seto, 2019; Ekers et al., 2015; Keil & Hamel, 2015; Soja, 2011). This process, which Keil and Hamel refer to as *suburbanization*, is widely acknowledged as a defining urban-regional process of the present century and is projected to continue to shape the trajectory of urban growth for at least a generation to come (Mahendra & Seto, 2019; Ekers et al., 2015; Keil, 2011). The increasing relevance of this dimension of urbanization has been recognized not only in scholarship but

within governmental organizations across the world. For example, the United Nations has begun to collect and report on data reflecting geographical territories termed city regions and urban agglomerations. The U.S. Census Bureau similarly began to collect data on complex, multinucleated metropolitan regions as early as the 1980s. Indeed, the processes which Lefebvre (1970) famously coined “the urban revolution” have permeated all corners of the globe, signaling a fundamental transformation in the spatial and political dynamics of contemporary urban areas such that the boundaries of what constitutes the *urban* is constantly in flux.

Soja (2011) takes these arguments a step further, describing an “increasing urbanization of suburbia” (p.684). He distinguishes between *metropolitan* urbanization and *multi-scalar regional* urbanization. The former describes a process typically characterized by a dense central city and low-density suburban sprawl. The latter, on the other hand, describes a multinucleated region in which the suburbs are becoming more dense. He argues that the dichotomy of *urban* vs. *non-urban* space – frequently conceived of as either rural or suburban – is not only outdated but obscures the complex, multiscalar realities of contemporary cities. He draws attention to the “increasing erosion of the formerly relatively clear boundary between the urban and the suburban... the longstanding urban-suburban dualism of metropolitan urbanization has almost disappeared, as the age of mass suburbanization shifts to one of mass regional urbanization, a filling in, so to speak, of the entire metropolitan area” (684). Not only are the internal boundaries between urban and suburban becoming more blurred, but the external boundaries of the modern metropolis are as well, producing a uniquely new, distinctly “*unbounded*” urban form.

Spatial and Scalar Implications of Regional Urbanization

Soja attributes the regional urbanization process to three major developments in the global political economy: globalization, economic restructuring, and the rise of information technologies (p. 684). He points to a number of processes that have resulted from these developments, including transnational migration, which has diversified the demographic makeup of cities; deindustrialization and reindustrialization, which have reshaped the economic foundations of urban regions; and decentralization and recentralization, which have reconfigured the spatial organization of cities, shifting both people and industries to different parts of the metropolitan landscape. These processes have fundamentally restructured the socio-spatial fabric of metropolises across the world, leading to new patterns of urbanization and regional development that reflect the social, economic, and political complexity of the modern world.

The related processes of suburbanization and regional urbanization have produced rapid and uneven development, often reinforcing and reproducing existing disparities and leading to severe environmental and social consequences (Norris, 2016; Brenner, 2002; Savitch & Vogel, 2000; Ekers et al., 2015; Nijman & Clery, 2015; Soja, 2011). Ekers et al. (2015) write that “the social and ecological histories affecting the permutations of suburbanization and the suburban forms of everyday life are marked by relations of power, inequality, and marginalization that profoundly affect the trajectories of suburban growth and decline” (Ekers et al., 2015, 20). Particularly in contexts like the United States, where processes of suburbanization were deliberately designed along racial and class lines, the most glaring social and environmental

disparities are confined not within urban borders but rather across the sprawling suburban developments that define today's metropolitan regions (Nijman & Clery 2015; Soja 2011).

These complexities are exacerbated by the fact that most urban and metropolitan regions are often characterized by intense jurisdictional and administrative fragmentation (Brenner, 2019; Cox, 2010), producing challenges in formulating and implementing policies capable of tackling the kinds of multifaceted issues which span geographic boundaries and levels of governance. Brenner (2019) explains that the pressures which globalization and economic restructuring placed on urban regions led to "new frameworks of metropolitan coordination [which] were superimposed on inherited regional political geographies, creating rescaled institutional arenas for political negotiation, regulatory cooperation, strategic intervention, and public debate regarding major issues of urban development" (p.214). These new configurations form what Brenner referred to as "a bewildering tangle" of jurisdictional complexity as urban regions must contend with government entities, public and private actors, and organizations at multiple scales of influence (p.214).

Situating Theories of Governance

Despite their inherent connection, theories of metropolitan governance and urban governance have experienced somewhat separate, albeit parallel, trajectories in the academic literature. The concept of governance in particular emerged from multiple disciplinary backgrounds. The following section provides an overview of key themes in governance literature. It then assesses theories of both urban governance and metropolitan governance and notes the overlaps between approaches to both concepts.

From Government to Governance

The deliberate usage of the word *governance* as an alternative to *government* emerged predominantly in the early 1990s (Fukuyama, 2015). Early literature on the concept responded to growing attention to the processes of globalization at the international scale in the late twentieth century. This literature was largely influenced by Rosenau and Czempiel's (1992) seminal work, *Governance Without Government*, which examined the changing nature of world politics in the face of increasing global connectivity of markets, people, and ideas. Central to Rosenau and Czempiel's observations was the decline of traditional, hierarchical power structures such as the nation state in favor of more supranational, transnational, and intergovernmental models of horizontal collaboration.

A separate strand of literature responded to the consequences of neoliberal policy agendas implemented throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Popularized by American President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, neoliberalism considered governments as obstacles to economic growth and heavily advocated for the deregulation of economic markets and privatization of public goods and services. These trends occurred across the world, albeit in variegated forms depending on local context (Springer, 2016; Peck et. al, 2013). Nevertheless, the typical output of these processes was a gradual de-emphasis on of the role of

traditional, hierarchical public agencies in securing public goods and services and an increased preference to outsource these responsibilities to private entities such as businesses, philanthropies, and nonprofit organizations (da Cruz et al., 2019, p.2).

The growing canon of literature on the nature of new forms of governance in the context of neoliberalism was largely influenced by Rhodes' (1996, 1997) accounts of shifting governance patterns in the U.K. Rhodes argued that the "hollowing out of the state" which occurred as a result of government deregulation and privatization during the Thatcher era had led to the emergence of "self-organizing, interorganizational networks" (Rhodes, 1996, p.660-661). The concept of networks as a fundamental facet of new forms of governance was greatly influenced by a concurrent growth in literature stemming from the economic theory of the firm, which contended that traditional hierarchical power structures such as corporations and governments would be displaced by self-organized, horizontal networks (Fukuyama, 2015). Manuel Castells' (1996) work *The Rise of the Network Society* underpinned the influence of the information age, and the consequent global flow of information, capital, and culture across borders, on all aspects of society from economies to work to social structures.

Other early accounts of the rise of governance networks, such as the works by Powell (1990) and Marin and Mayntz (1991), helped to catapult the concept of network governance not only as a conceptual framework for understanding emerging patterns of governance but also a normative one. Proponents of more networked forms of governance have argued that networks have the capacity to democratize urban governance, promote social innovation, and address increasingly complex challenges. Critics challenge the apparent horizontality of networks and argue that network governance simply obfuscates the concentration of power under neoliberalism (Fukuyama, 2015).

Defining Governance

From the early days of governance research to today, numerous scholars have pointed out the lack of a consistent definition of governance across the literature (da Cruz et al., 2019; Fukuyama, 2015; Stoker, 1998), with some going so far as to denounce the term as an "empty signifier" (Offe, 2009). Offe (2009), in particular, laments the concept's "inherent vagueness," claiming that it has been "irredeemably overstretched" (p.552-553). At the crux of many contradictions in the governance literature to which Offe draws attention is a lack of agreement on whether governance refers to the process of governing or the structure of governing arrangements (p.550), the extent to which the institution of government is emphasized (p.551), and the conceptual boundaries of the term with regard to political, economic, and geographic spheres (p.553).

Broadly speaking, most definitions of governance, in one way or another, point to the relationship between government institutions and nongovernmental actors in the process of coordinating the pursuit of common goals, collective action, and/or ordered rule (Pierre, 2000, 2005; Stoker, 1998). While some authors contend that these processes emerged as a direct result of larger structural shifts in the global political economy, such as globalization,

neoliberalism, and the rise of the information age (Rhodes, 1996, 1997), others point out that governance, at least at the local scale, has always involved the interaction and negotiation of a plurality of actors (Pierre, 2005; Pierre & Peters, 2012).

To that end, Stoker's (1998) article *Governance as theory: five propositions* made the compelling argument that "the value of the governance perspective rests in its capacity to provide a framework for understanding the changing processes of governing" (p.18). Stoker explained that conceptual frameworks provide a means by which scholars and theorists can assess new realities which challenge traditional assumptions and create the opportunity to ask new and different questions (p.18). Thus, Stoker advocates for the use of governance not as a definition of a particular phenomenon, but rather as a frame of reference from which to draw new observations and conclusions about the nature of governing processes. His five propositions of a governance perspective capture many of the observations of the broader governance literature:

1. Governance refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government.
2. Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues.
3. Governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action.
4. Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors.
5. Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide. (p.18)

Urban Governance vs. Metropolitan Governance

Urban Governance

The study of governance in cities predates theories of governance more broadly. Its origins can be traced to the study of urban regimes and urban politics (which will be discussed in the next section). However, the origins of *urban governance* as a concept in and of itself arose in response to the same global dynamics which prompted discourse around governance, as described in the previous section. Pierre (2014) writes that the concept of urban governance arose in the context of increasingly global economies and was intended to be more open to variations in the spatial and scalar dimensions of new urban forms that were emerging at the turn of the twentieth century.

To that end, the study of politics in cities aligned well with the changing discourse on governance because, as Pierre and Peters (2012) note, "cities, to a much higher degree than national government, are deeply embedded in a web of institutional, economic, and political constraints which creates a set of complex contingencies in the process of governing" (p.72). Thus, all of Stoker's propositions of governance, outlined in the previous section, become even

more relevant in an urban context because cities must contend with the economic, institutional, and political contexts in which they are situated (Pierre, 2014; Pierre & Peters, 2012).

Metropolitan and Regional Governance

Theories of metropolitan and regional governance similarly predate theories of governance more broadly. Various theories of metropolitan governance emerged throughout the twentieth century in response to growing awareness of the consequences of uncontrolled suburban growth and the decentralization and fragmentation of metropolitan regions (Tomàs, 2017; Norris, 2016). The most prominent theories included the metropolitan reformers, public choice theorists, and new regionalists. The metropolitan reformers, writing predominantly in the mid-twentieth century, advocated for structural reform and coordinated governance and planning across jurisdictional boundaries. The public choice theorists, on the other hand, emerged in the late twentieth century and followed the normative market logic of the time; they argued for decentralized governance and believed that competition among local governments would optimize efficiency and democracy. The new regionalists gained prominence in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and emphasized intergovernmental cooperation as a means of promoting global economic competitiveness and tackling shared regional challenges (Brenner, 2002). New regionalism most closely resembles the theories of governance described above.

Urban Regime Theory Analysis

Urban regime theory, also referred to as urban regime analysis, offers an analytical approach to understanding the dynamics of power and influence which shape urban policy and development. While the approach predates theories of urban governance, it has recently experienced renewed attention in the literature (Blanco, 2015; Medina and de la Fuente, 2021; van Ostaaijen, 2023). This section provides an overview of the urban regime theory tradition, its relevance to contemporary approaches to urban governance, and its potential applications to the metropolitan scale.

Theoretical Foundations of Urban Regime Theory

Urban regime theory was popularized by Stone (1989) in his examination of biracial governing coalitions in Atlanta, Georgia. Stone's influential analysis of Atlanta gained prominence because it offered an approach to understanding the mechanisms through which the city navigated economic and social change during a period of economic reconstruction and the civil rights movement in the United States. The concept gained widespread popularity, both in the United States and in Europe throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. Within North America, Mossberger and Stoker (2001) argue that the idea helped researchers develop a new understanding of power in urban settings. They observe that "in a fragmented urban world, pressed in by global forces from above and challenged by an active, if imperfect, democracy from below, politics cannot be reduced to the control of the few, but equally the label pluralist cannot be assumed to be adequate. In cities today, a key power is the capacity to mobilize a

long-term coalition that is capable of achieving change on the ground” (p. 830). In Europe, the idea shifted narratives of governance away from solely formal institutions of government towards the social, political, and economic settings in which cities are situated.

One of the greatest allures of Stone’s approach was that it offered an alternative to the dualism between pluralist and elitist perspectives on urban politics which dominated the scholarship at the time (Imbroscio, 1998b). At the crux of the tension between pluralist and elitist accounts of urban politics was a disagreement over how power is distributed and exercised in cities, with pluralists arguing that power is distributed among a wide variety of groups (Dahl, 1961) and elitists arguing that power is concentrated in the hands of a few (Domhoff, 1978). Regime theory overcame these debates by leaning on the concepts of community and relational power, which posit that power in urban settings is fragmented and that “getting things done often hinges on the ability of people to establish a cooperative relationship” (Pierre & Peters, 2012, p.25). Consequently, the theory gained prominence because it presented a paradigm shift in contemporary understandings of the nature of power, shifting attention from *power over*, i.e. social control, to *power to*, i.e. agency and the capacity to act (Stone, 1989, p. 229). The regime analysis approach also evaded the economic determinism of the political-economy perspectives. While regime analysis acknowledges the critical role of larger economic structures in urban politics, and indeed places a large emphasis on this, it also maintains that politics and local political agency matter (Stone, 1989, p.17, as cited in Imbroscio, 1998b, p.234).

Like the theories of urban governance discussed previously, regime theory is grounded in the idea that urban political direction is shaped by both governmental and nongovernmental actors. The basic premise of early regime theory was founded on the idea of the division of labor between the state and the market (Imbroscio, 1998b, p.234; see also Stone, 1989, p.6-7). This idea maintained that the state (i.e. local government), which is responsible for providing public goods and services, is democratically controlled through elections, while the market (i.e. business), which provides the economic resources and investment required for local development, is controlled by private actors. Regime theory contends that, as a result of this division between public power and economic activity, public actors must form collaborative arrangements with private actors in order to “create [the] capacity to govern effectively” (Imbroscio, 1998b, p.234; Stoker & Mossberger, 1994, p.197-198). In the regime theory literature, these collaborative arrangements are referred to *urban regimes* or *governing coalitions* (Stone, 1989, p.5).

Critiques and Debates

Alongside its widespread popularity, urban regime theory has been subject to a number of critiques. One of the greatest critiques of regime theory early on was that it focused too much on local-level, internal dynamics of cities and lacked a connection to larger national and global structures (Lauria, 1997; Kantor et. al 1997; Stoker, 1995). In a similar vein, some authors argued that the approach relied too heavily on “rationalist assumptions,” presuming that political actors always make decisions to maximize their own self-interests based on full access to accurate information about their choices, rather than acting based on internalized or reproduced social structures (Painter, 1997, p.142). These oversights, scholars argued, left regime theory

vulnerable to overestimating the power of agency as opposed to larger structures in understanding local political decisions, limited in understanding progressive regime failures and successes, and inadequate for comparative perspectives (Imbroscio, 1998b, p.235).

Other authors challenge the theory's "overly rigid" understanding of the division of labor between the state and the market (Imbroscio, 1998b, p.235), arguing that the theory does not allow for the exploration of regime formations which have the potential to challenge underlying economic and social structures. In a similar vein, more recent scholarship has argued that regime theory has neglected the role of race and culture (McGovern, 2020; Morel, 2018), the role of crises (Keiser, 2015; Nickels, Clark and Wood, 2020), and the inclusion of multiple scales of government (Morel, 2018 Imbroscio, 1998b; Kantor, Savitch & Haddock, 1997). Other authors have questioned its ability to account for political change in cities across time (Lambelet, 2017; Orr & Stoker, 1994).

Despite these challenges to regime theory, many scholars continue to maintain that regime theory has strong potential for understanding the dynamic of governance today. Several authors point to the overlaps between regime theory and urban governance (van Ostaaijen, 2023; Medina & de la Fuente, 2021; Blanco, 2015; Pierre, 2014; Mossberger, 2009; Lambelet, 2017). Both regime theory and urban governance are focused on the fragmented nature of governance and the need to mobilize resources to pursue collective aims. However, as Mossberger (2009) and Da Cruz et al. (2019) point out, theories of urban governance are much less developed than those of regime theory. Van Ostaaijen (2023) suggests that urban governance is complicated because the concept emerged from multiple disciplines and has yet to be formalized into a consistent approach. He proposes merging the two approaches to establish a more flexible framework for analyzing power dynamics and governance in cities. Blanco (2015) similarly argues that a regime-theoretical approach to urban governance allows for a more nuanced understanding of the complexity of local government in practice.

Defining an Urban Regime

Definitions of urban regimes vary across the literature. Stone (1989) originally defined a regime as "an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions" (p.4). While actors in a regime may be based in an institution, the regime itself typically does not have an overarching structure. Regimes are characterized by the relationships between actors, often across multiple institutional contexts. One of the characteristics of regime theory which has remained central to the study of urban regimes is the proposition that, "in order for a governing coalition to be viable, it must be able to mobilize resources commensurate with its main policy agenda" (Stone, 1993, p.17). Thus the idea of power in regime theory is intricately intertwined with the capacity to coordinate the resources necessary to achieve given policy aims.

However, other elements of regime theory remain debated, particularly with regards to the importance of the private sector and the longevity of regimes. Van Ostaaijen (2023) provides a helpful review of urban regime characteristics proposed across the literature and points to two

diverging interpretations. The first interpretation, which van Ostaaijen describes as a “strict prescriptive” interpretation, reflects primarily those authors who have maintained that the participation of the private sector is a key element of a regime (p.517). These authors (see Holman, 2007; Davies, 2002; and Mossberger & Stoker, 2001) lean on some of Stone’s earliest writings on the regime context which were grounded strongly in a North American context. However, van Ostaaijen also points to a more “open descriptive” interpretation of urban regimes, which reflect some of Stone’s later reflections on the concept (p.517). The distinctions between each interpretation in van Ostaaijen’s analysis are summarized below in Table 1.

Table 1. Strict Interpretation vs Open Interpretation of an Urban Regime (adapted from van Ostaaijen, 2023, p.517)

Strict Interpretation	Open Interpretation
Partners drawn from government and nongovernmental sources, requiring but not limited to business participation	A governing coalition formed around the agenda, typically including both governmental and nongovernmental members
An identifiable policy agenda that can be related to the composition of the participants in the coalition	An agenda to address a distinct set of partners
Collaboration based on social production, the need to bring together fragmented resources for the power to accomplish tasks	Resources for the pursuit of the agenda, brought to bear by members of the governing coalition
A longstanding pattern of cooperation rather than a temporary coalition	A scheme of cooperation through which the members of the governing coalition align their contribution to the task of governing

Following the “open interpretation” of an urban regime, van Ostaaijen (2023) proposes a heuristic framework to describe the essential elements of an urban regime, building on Stone (2005). These elements include an agenda, a governing coalition, resources, and a scheme of cooperation. Within this framework, an agenda refers to a set of challenges which are given priority and set the direction for policy work within a given context. The governing coalition refers to a group of actors which come together to create a direction-setting agenda and give it priority (Stone, 2004, p.3). Resources refer to either tangible resources, i.e. materials or money, or intangible resources, i.e. knowledge, expertise, or status (Stone, 1995, p.65; Stone, 1993, p.11). The scheme of cooperation refers to the ways in which individuals in a coalition interact to pursue goals in line with the agenda (Stone 2005, p.329).

Of these building blocks, the scheme of cooperation is perhaps the most ambiguous, as van Ostaaijen himself acknowledges (p.540). He gives several examples of schemes of cooperation in his analysis of three Dutch cases. These involved formal and informal negotiations to build

trust, one-to-one relationships, informal cooperation between partners, and formal cooperation/bureaucratic coordination (p.536). Van Ostaaijen also points to “behind-the-scenes” negotiations in Stone’s (1989) Atlanta case as an example of a scheme of cooperation.

Table 2. Van Ostaaijen’s Urban Regime Framework and Main Questions for Regime Analysis

	Agenda	Governing Coalition	Resources	Scheme of Cooperation
The Four Building Blocks of Urban Regimes	An agenda to address a distinct set of problems	A governing coalition formed around the agenda	Resources for the pursuit of the agenda, brought to bear by members of the governing coalition	A scheme of cooperation through which the members of the governing coalition align their contributions with the task of governing
Questions for analysis	What is the agenda? Were there competing agendas? How appealing were they? How did the agenda develop?	Who is behind the agenda? Why were the coalition partners attracted to the agenda? How did the coalition develop?	What resources are available to implement the agenda? Does the need for resources and their mobilization change over time?	How does the governing coalition align? How do personal motives/attitudes and (in)formal meetings contribute to this? Does the alignment change over time?

Developing Regime Typologies

Beyond defining the characteristics of regimes, many scholars have found it useful to develop typologies of regimes in an effort to explain how different compositions of actors and resources may be leveraged to achieve certain policy aims. These typologies serve as helpful frameworks for understanding how the capacity to affect change in cities is constructed. Two influential typologies are Stone’s (1993) *maintenance*, *development*, *middle-class progressive*, and *lower-class opportunity* regimes, and Mossberger and Stoker’s (2001) *organic*, *instrumental*, and *symbolic* regimes. The following section describes each framework and their applications.

Development, Maintenance, Middle-Class Progressive, and Lower-class Opportunity

Stone (1993) developed a typology of *maintenance*, *development*, *middle-class progressive*, and *lower-class opportunity* regimes to attempt to theorize why some policy objectives are more successful than others. Using a regime-theoretical lens, Stone’s typology emphasizes how differing compilations of resources and actors may provide insights into the viability of different

policy outcomes. Table 3 summarizes this framework. Detailed descriptions of each regime type are provided below.

Table 3. Stone (1993) Regime Typologies

Type of Regime	Goals	Actors
Development	expand and develop the city; changing land-use to promote growth; strong need for resources	typically local political and economic elites
Maintenance/Caretaker	administration and routine functions of city government, low taxes. generally less need for resources.	mainly government actors
Middle-class Progressive	environmental protection, affordable housing, historic preservation, and neighborhood amenities	electoral and political coalitions among progressive groups
Lower-class Opportunity	expansion of opportunities for disadvantaged communities and urban areas, widened access to employment and ownership	community-based organizations, NGOs, community-based public agents

The first type of regime in Stone's typology is the maintenance regime. Maintenance regimes, he argues, do not require extensive resources because they tend to be more interested in maintaining the status quo rather than effecting change. Stone explains that these types of regime formations tend to involve mainly government actors and focus on the administration and routine functions of city government and low taxes. These types of regime formations are most appealing to people who are "content to operate in a small arena populated by friends and neighbors," (p.18).

The second type of regime in Stone's typology is a development regime. Development regimes are focused on either promoting growth or countering decline. Stone argues that these types of regime formations may spark local controversy; they tend to be exclusive, privileging the participation of local political and economic elites and private investment. The goals of these regimes are to expand and develop the city and change land-use to promote growth. They require significant resources, both financial, such as private investment or public funds, and technical, such as in development or legal expertise. In managing conflict, they may offer "selective incentives" such as new facilities, jobs, or contracts (p.18-19).

The third type of regime in Stone's typology is a middle-class progressive regime. Middle-class progressive regimes tend to focus on goals such as environmental protection, historical

preservation, and affordable housing. In these regimes, the relationship between government and the private sector requires more coercion and the coordination of elites. They may involve nongovernmental actors beyond the private sector such as nonprofit or civic organizations. They tend to be more inclusive in nature, because progressive agendas tend to require more public support and engagement. Stone writes that a middle-class progressive regime requires all the same resources as a development regime, along with additional resources to organize and engage public support. He argues that this need for resources means that there tends to be a strong basis in the middle-class, because the middle class tends to possess and have an ability to volunteer a higher level of technical knowledge and capacity to organize than other demographics.

The fourth and final type of regime in Stone's typology is the lower-class opportunity regime. Lower-class opportunity regimes typically focus on enriched education and job training, improved transportation access, and expanding access to home ownership and employment. He explains that these regimes require all of the resources of the middle-class progressive regimes plus more. He suggests that mobilizing resources for lower-class opportunity causes may require more effort, because the lower-class constituency lacks the resources that a middle-class constituency is able to volunteer more easily. He also notes that this type of regime requires changing culture and conditioning, which takes time and intense, sustained coordination. It is not enough to offer selective, scattered, or competitive opportunities which are only available to a few people; changes and opportunities must be large enough to garner enough participation and fast enough to sustain the momentum needed to effect lasting, structural change. These efforts require a large amount of investment and resources.

Of the four types of regimes described above, development regimes are the most widely documented. Middle-class progressive and lower-class opportunity regimes, as Stone himself observes, are much less common and more difficult to achieve, as they require more resources and/or regulation rather than voluntary participation (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001, p. 813). Commenting on his "iron law" that for regimes to be successful, resources must be commensurate with the policy aims being pursued, Stone comments the following:

"If the restructuring of the economy is to be dealt with constructively, if urban poverty and racial division are to be ameliorated, appropriate regimes are required, that is, arrangements that combine government and nongovernment efforts...The challenge for political leadership is how to make a new order believable before it is experienced, how to generate and maintain active support for 'new things' before the public has had an opportunity 'to have a firm experience of them.' This is unlikely to be purely a matter of rhetoric; basic policy change is perhaps more likely through concrete efforts that demonstrate how small steps can cumulate into larger moves...Political leadership...is about developing a larger view of what might be and then crafting the arrangements that advance that vision." (Stone, 1993, p.24)

Organic, Instrumental, and Symbolic

Building on Stone's (1993) typology, Stoker and Mossberger (1994) offer a refined typology of organic, instrumental, and symbolic regimes. The authors' intention in creating this typology was to adjust it for a more comparative, international context (p.196). They incorporate some of Stone's key ideas into a more flexible framework. One of the crucial additions they make is the added dimension of extralocal forces; i.e. a city's relationship with higher levels of government and the wider political environment (p.198-199).

Whereas Stone's typology is organized based on types of actors involved, goals, and resources needed, Stoker and Mossberger organize their typology around processes of regime formation (p.200). These include: (1) the mechanisms for motivating participation; (2) the process of developing a shared sense of purpose; (3) the quality of coalitions based on congruence of interests; and (4) the strategies used by regimes to deal with the wider local and nonlocal political environment. These categories are slightly different from the regime characteristics described in the previous section and warrant some explanation here. This section is therefore split into two parts: the first part details the dimensions of regime formation set forth by Stoker and Mossberger, while the second part deals with the regime types in their typology.

Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) Dimensions of Regime Formation

Within the first dimension of regime formation, which deals with understanding what motivates participants to join a regime, Stoker and Mossberger suggest three potential motivating factors (p.202-203). The first motivating factor is tangible results - in other words, regime participants get something directly out of participating in the regime, such as political support or career advancement. The second motivating factor is local dependency - in other words, regime participants may benefit indirectly from participation in a regime, such as a local business benefiting from urban renewal. The final motivating factor is expressive politics, which deals with ideological or symbolic politics. In these cases, regime participants aim to demonstrate values, civic pride, and or association with prestigious projects.

Within the second dimension of regime formation, which deals with establishing a shared sense of purpose, the authors suggest three potential approaches (p.204-205). The first approach is by offering what Stone (1989) referred to as selective incentives, or "a system of individual rewards and punishments administered so as to support group aims" (p.186). This approach assumes that people are guided more by the pursuit of particular opportunities rather than by grander visions of how the world should be (Stone, 1989, p.193). Stone points out that this does not imply "self-interest over altruism" (p.186), but rather that small, tangible opportunities may be more incentivizing than larger more abstract objectives. The second approach is tradition and social cohesion, which refers to a strong sense of community, place, or civic pride. Finally, the third approach involves the strategic use of symbols and political language. This approach involves a process of constructing a shared perspective among regime participants, often through the skillful manipulation of language and symbols.

Within the third dimension of regime formation, which deals with the quality of coalitions, the authors propose three qualities (p.205-207). The first quality, political communion, refers to coalitions which share a close sense of identity and interests. The second quality, political partnership, refers to coalitions where there is a relatively high level of alignment in identity and interest which took active effort to construct. The construction of shared interests in this category may involve informal negotiations and consensus building to ensure that regime participants are in agreement. The third quality, competitive agreement, refers to coalitions in which there is a low alignment of interests and identities but a requirement to collaborate to achieve a certain goal. This type of coalition may involve conflict or competition and requires sensitive and careful relationship management.

Within the fourth dimension of regime formation, which deals with a regime's relationship with the wider political environment, Stoker and Mossberger point to two potential relationships (p.207-208). The first type of relationship, exclusive orientation, describes regimes which are exclusive in who participates and benefits from resource allocation. Stoker and Mossberger suggest that this is typical of regimes focusing on tangible results and selective incentives. The second type of relationship, inclusive orientation, requires extensive outreach and wider public participation. This dimension of regime formation emphasizes the independence or dependence of regimes with regards to their capacity to leverage resources. Regimes which require resources from outside of the political coalition, such as state legislation or nonlocal funding to achieve its goals, are more dependent, whereas regimes which are less reliant on or interested in external resources are more independent.

Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) Regime Types

The first type of regime described by Stoker and Mossberger are organic regimes (p.199). These regimes are characterized by cities with a tight-knit social fabric. This may take the form of a shared history or sense of place or a homogenous population. The authors suggest that these regime types are typical of small towns or suburbs which may lean more easily towards consensus than other, larger and more heterogeneous cities. The purpose of organic regimes is to maintain the status quo, very similar to Stone's (1993) maintenance regime. Within this regime-type, they describe three subtypes. The first subtype is the caretaker regime, which is characterized by small or medium-sized towns which aim to maintain a small-town lifestyle. Caretaker regimes typically do not aspire for growth or change and instead aim for maintenance of routine city functions and low taxes. The second subtype is the exclusive subtype, which is characterized often through racial or class-based exclusion. These communities typically aim to maintain prestige through privileging a high income population and high property values while providing superior services and low taxes. The final subtype is the traditional regime, which is based on the preservation of prestige based on the city's "position in a regional hierarchy" (p.199) or historical cultural status.

The second type of regime described by Stoker and Mossberger are instrumental regimes (p.201). Instrumental regimes are short term and project-oriented. The goals are typically based on what is possible to accomplish. The authors explain that instrumental regimes are the most common type of regime in the American literature, and are exemplified by Stone's (1989)

Atlanta case. These regimes are very similar to Stone's development regime. The authors do not describe sub-types for this regime type.

The third and final type of regime described by Stoker and Mossberger are symbolic regimes. The authors explain that symbolic regimes occur "in cities striving to change direction" (p.201-202). The aims of these regimes are transformative and ideological in nature, they tend to involve image-building and establishing purpose behind a transition. Within this regime type, Stoker and Mossberger describe three subtypes. Two of the subtypes align with Stone's middle class progressive and lower class opportunity regime types, described earlier. The third subtype is an urban revitalization regime, which focuses on changing a city's image to attract investment. These regimes tend to express values related to the "quality of growth and conditions under which economic investment and development should occur" (p.199). Describing symbolic regimes, Stoker and Mossberger write the following:

"Symbolic regimes emerge in circumstances in which groups are attempting to establish a new political outlook or paradigm. However, it may also be that symbolic approaches are essential in conditions where no other basis for coalition building exists. The glue of symbolic expression comes to the fore when other incentives for cooperation are absent or weak. Symbolic regimes often play a transitional role" (p.205)

Table 4. Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) Regime Typologies

Defining Characteristics	Regime Types		
	Organic	Instrumental	Symbolic
Purpose	Maintenance of status quo	Project realization	Redirection of ideology or image
Main motivation of participants	Local dependency	Tangible results	Expressive politics
Basis for sense of common purpose	Tradition and social cohesion	Selective incentives	Strategic use of symbols
Quality of coalition (congruence of interests)	Political communion	Political partnership	Competitive agreement
Relationship with environment:			
Local	Exclusive orientation	Exclusive Orientation	Inclusive Orientation
Nonlocal	Independent	Dependent	Dependent

Regime Change and Urban Political Order

Reflecting on many of the critiques of regime theory over the course of nearly three decades, Stone (2015) himself suggested that the traditional approach to urban regime analysis which he had proposed in the late 1980s and early 1990s may no longer be appropriate for today's world. He instead proposed the concept of "urban political order," which refers to "a cluster of evolving relationships anchored in the city and extending into an intergovernmental dimension and reflecting an ongoing process of globalization" (p.109). Stone's urban political order builds upon some of the key tenets of regime theory - what he refers to as the "inner core" of regime theory – including the centrality of resources and the importance of having a direction-setting agenda. However, the new approach places more emphasis on broader historical context and structural factors through a cross-time analysis.

At the core of Stone's new proposal is the idea of city governance as a multitiered process (p.110). He points to three tiers of concurrent activity which warrant attention: the first tier involves setting a priority agenda, which Stone contends is normally led by elite actors with access to significant resources; the second tier involves changes in established policies and practices, which is typically handled by the city's "middle strata" who have access to more modest resources; and the third tier involves confronting the conditions of disadvantaged and marginal positions, which do not have the resources to address the circumstances that impact them (p.110). In describing the benefits of this approach, Stone writes:

"These tiers provide a way of tracing a trajectory over time, for understanding the full scope of change in an urban political order it is necessary to first look very broadly at the city's social-economic context. We do that best not by listing particulars but by observing how the earlier period of redevelopment differs from the current time in the underlying character of the urban transition process. In short, how has the basic context shifted? After answering this question, we can consider the way such a change gives rise to far-reaching political and policy consequences." (110)

In addition to describing tiers of city governance, Stone advocates for the use of *periodization*. This approach allows a researcher to mark a boundary between different areas in order to theorize what allows for a shift from one era to another. The cross-time analysis of periodization can also reveal why some conditions may not change over time, such as structural inequality in American cities (p.113). Stone presents an optimistic view of the prospect of change in cities, believing that the current era of governance allows more room for addressing deeper structural issues than was possible in previous periods. His optimism echoes a core sentiment he communicates in his Atlanta study:

"Change may come about, not through the alteration of basic commitments, but through the piecemeal evolution of new practices and patterns of cooperation and exchange. If, as often claimed, life is in the details, then we should be more attentive to details – how they can come to matter and how they can cumulate into new but perhaps unintended patterns. In a sense, power may also lie in the

details; that is, in the capacity to guide the piecemeal evolution of new practices and make marginal adjustments in prevailing patterns of cooperation and exchange” (Stone, 1989, p.221)

Applying Regime Theory to the Metropolitan Scale

Regime theory is relatively understudied at the city-regional and metropolitan scale. A few authors have proposed modifications to the approach to accommodate a city regional approach. One of the earliest attempts to assess the applicability of regime theory at a regional scale was Leo (1998), whose account of regime formation in Portland, Oregon emphasized the importance of establishing a regional political base. Leo challenged the assumption that “local government is the most natural, or the most appropriate vehicle for local decision-making” (p.364), asserting that local interests can be represented at multiple levels of government. He suggests that the high need for resources that Stone (1993) associates with middle-class progressive and lower-class opportunity regimes may, in fact, be better addressed at a regional scale rather than a local one (p.389). One of the central contributions of Leo’s analysis of Portland’s regional regime is the role of formality in regional regime formations, noting that higher levels of government with more formal institutional structures may play an important role in fostering a regional coalition. In the case of Portland, the state government was able to provide a set of formal structures within which reconciliation of differences took place. Leo contends that, while Stone (1989) insists that regimes are founded on informal relationships, this is much less important at the regional scale due to the ideological gaps that regional regimes must bridge in order to build coalitions. He writes that “the Portland case suggests that formality is a possible, but not invariable characteristic of a regime, and the degree of informality varies with the width of ideological gaps that must be bridged in forging the coalition” (p.390-391).

Hamilton (2002) followed closely behind in his study of the Chicago region, in particular emphasizing the importance of linking coalitions to political leaders. Hamilton connected regime theory with theories of new regionalism, pointing out new regionalism’s emphasis on public-private coalitions positioned it well for regime-theoretical analysis. Hamilton maintained regime theory’s traditional emphasis on the importance of the private sector, and argued that the global trends of the 1990s, including globalization and neoliberalism, had created conditions for the private sector to become interested in regional affairs. As the economic geography of city regions shifted, many businesses and corporations had situated themselves not in the city center, but in the peripheral areas of the city (p.407). This shift, he argued, would incentivize private entities to invest in regional interests. Hamilton’s contribution to regional regime analysis was his proposal of four key elements of a regional regime: a strong civic sector, nongovernmental leadership, a crisis or opportunity, and broad community involvement. A strong civic sector, Hamilton proposed, can act as a “neutral zone between government and business” (p.407). Because many civic leaders are former successful business leaders or politicians who are well-connected, they can function as negotiators and trusted third parties in providing support for regional objectives. Hamilton also argues that nongovernmental leadership, by which he means business and private-sector groups, play an important role in regional regimes because of the lack of traditional political institutions at a regional scale. He

also argues that a crisis or opportunity is essential to mobilize actors to work together. And finally, he emphasizes the importance of broad-based coalitions which brought in many actors from across the region. His criticism of the nascent governing coalitions in the Chicago region in the early 2000s was its main focus on city-centered initiatives and lack of buy-in from a broader suburban coalition.

Following his earlier analysis, Hamilton (2004) proposed a conceptual framework for analyzing the factors that facilitate the development of regional governing regimes through a comparative analysis of Chicago and Portland. He continues a focus on public-private coalitions, focusing primarily on the organizational and structural elements which facilitate regime formation. The key elements of his framework are the private sector, the government sector, and environmental conditions. For each sector, he proposes conditions which create either a high possibility of regime formation, a medium possibility of regime formation, or a low possibility of regime formation.

Within the private sector, Hamilton argues that an active civic sector and a dedicated agency drawing on broad community involvement presents the highest possibility for regime formation. He defines the civic sector as “not-for-profit organizations with the business community prominently involved in providing funding and direction” (p.459). This not-for-profit entity may serve an advocacy or research role, but its board would be composed of important business leaders. The key element of the private sector involvement which Hamilton stresses is broad community involvement, writing that “a broad coalition including political and nonprofit leaders from both the central city and the suburbs is required to develop and sustain a regional regime. Because of the inclusive nature required for successful regional governance, business involvement and leadership must be perceived by the other actors as promoting general community development not some particularistic business agenda” (p.459).

Within the government sector, Hamilton admits that his proposals are exploratory. He suggests that centralized metropolitan government entities may have the strongest potential of encouraging regime formation. He is generally pessimistic on the prospect that governments on their own would be inclined to promote regime formation beyond their jurisdictional boundaries. He postulates that more fragmented government institutions would inhibit regional cooperation.

Finally, Hamilton outlines the environmental conditions which facilitate regime formation. He emphasizes that some kind of crisis or opportunity is usually needed to encourage the formation of a regime, but trust is required to maintain it. He also notes that historical and cultural factors can play a role: for example, a history of prior collaboration or existing relationships with a powerful business community can help encourage regime formation. However, negative environmental factors such as a history of racial tension, can be a barrier to regime formation. Hamilton’s framework is summarized in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Hamilton’s (2004) Elements that Facilitate Regional Regime Development

Government Sector	Private Sector
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High - Metropolitan government - Metropolitan service, coordinating and planning agencies - Positive environmental factors - crisis/opportunity	High - Unified, active civic sector with dedicated civic agency - Broad community involvement - Involved top business leadership - Positive environmental factors - crisis/opportunity
Medium - City-county consolidation - State mandates and incentives - Strong county government - Regional or county authorities with municipal functions - Positive environmental factors - crisis/opportunity	Medium - Unified, active civic sector but one or more private sector elements missing
Low - Federal coordinating requirements (MPO) - State chartered planning agencies - Regional Councils of Government	Low - No unified civic sector and a number of other private sector elements missing

Writing several years later, Hamel & Jouve (2008) leverage regime theory to consider the evolution of a metropolitan regime in Montreal across time. They build upon Hamilton's (2002) argument that the economic conditions of the 1990s and early 2000s had created conditions which economically linked the city with its regional peripheries, arguing that "the very viability of urban regimes is more and more linked to the ability of local agents to establish coalitions on the city-regional level" (31). They pointed to the case of Montreal, whose business community followed a similar pattern as that of Chicago, and had transitioned to the periphery. Their primary contribution to regional regime analysis was an insistence on the importance of situating studies of regional and metropolitan regime formation within a broader social, political, and economic context. They advocate for a historical, cross-time perspective in order to understand the conditions which allow for the formation of metropolitan regimes. In the case of Montreal, they argued that the metropolitan dimension became so important precisely because of the socio-economic factors of the time, i.e. the processes of globalization and economic restructuring which had reshaped the economic geography of the city's peripheral areas.

Finally, a more recent study by Bafarasat (2018) analyzes two city-regions in England, Liverpool and Cheshire, and proposes that metropolitan regimes may present two different patterns of development: either an out-in pattern, in which peripheral localities approach a core city to engage in regime formation; or an in-out pattern, in which a core city leads regime formation efforts with peripheral localities. Bafarasat posits that local governments are generally resistant to regional collaboration unless their political or economic health declines, requiring collaboration with the broader region. In the Cheshire and Liverpool cases, "regime champions" played a role in influencing these collaborations.

Theoretical Framework

The literature review chapter outlined a number of prominent approaches to studying urban regimes and emerging approaches to applying regime theory to a metropolitan scale. Building upon these insights, this chapter outlines the key theories and frameworks used in this thesis.

Stone (2015) Urban Political Order and Hamel and Jouve's (2008) Periodization

Due to the longitudinal nature of this study, Stone's proposal of an urban political order approach to studying the nature of urban change is deemed the most appropriate. Stone defines an urban political order as "a cluster of evolving relationships anchored in the city and extending into an intergovernmental dimension and reflecting an ongoing process of globalization" (p.109). Adopting this approach to a metropolitan scale, this thesis will pay close attention to the cluster of intergovernmental relationships anchored in the Chicago region which influence regional policy direction across time.

In addition to paying attention to intergovernmental relationships across time, Stone additionally advises looking more broadly at the city's social, economic, and political context. He advocates for the use of *periodization*, which involves marking the boundaries between different eras of governing in order to theorize what allows for a shift from one era to another. This aligns closely with Hamel and Jouve's (2008) study of Montreal's metropolitan region.

This thesis does not adopt Stone's recommendations of taking a three-tiered analysis of urban political order, as it was more complicated to adapt to a metropolitan scale.

Stone's (2015) Inner-Core Regime Analysis and van Ostaaijen's (2023) Open Interpretation of Regime Theory

Along with Stone's (2015) proposal of an urban political order, he maintains that some elements of the original regime theory, which he refers to as the "inner core" of regime analysis, remain valuable. In particular, he argues that the importance of a direction-setting agenda and resources commensurate with said agenda are critical in establishing a regime.

In applying these concepts to a metropolitan scale, van Ostaaijen's (2023) "open interpretation" of an urban regime is helpful, because it maintains the core elements of Stone's regime analytical approach while still remaining flexible for interpretation. Van Ostaaijen's open interpretation of an urban regime involves 1) a governing coalition formed around an agenda, typically including both governmental and non governmental members; 2) an agenda to address a distinct set of partners; 3) resources for the pursuit of the agenda, brought to bear by members of the governing coalitions; and 4) a scheme of cooperation through which the members of the governing coalition align their contribution to the task of governing. Following these characteristics, van Ostaaijen proposes the following framework for the analysis of regimes:

Table 6. Van Ostaaijen's Urban Regime Framework and Main Questions for Regime Analysis

	Agenda	Governing Coalition	Resources	Scheme of Cooperation
The Four Building Blocks of Urban Regimes	An agenda to address a distinct set of problems	A governing coalition formed around the agenda	Resources for the pursuit of the agenda, brought to bear by members of the governing coalition	A scheme of cooperation through which the members of the governing coalition align their contributions with the task of governing
Questions for analysis	What is the agenda? Were there competing agendas? How appealing were they? How did the agenda develop?	Who is behind the agenda? Why were the coalition partners attracted to the agenda? How did the coalition develop?	What resources are available to implement the agenda? Does the need for resources and their mobilization change over time?	How does the governing coalition align? How do personal motives/attitudes and (in)formal meetings contribute to this? Does the alignment change over time?

The importance of combining the periodization approach with an inner-core regime analysis is to define the presence of a regime at any given point in time based on the parameters outlined above, and to assess whether the shape and form of the regime has changed over time.

Van Ostaaijen's framework for an urban regime was selected over Hamilton's (2004) framework for a metropolitan regime because Hamilton's framework was deemed too specific and not flexible enough for a cross-time analysis. For example, Hamilton insists that the private sector must be involved in a metropolitan regime; however, this is not supported by other literature assessing metropolitan regimes.

Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) Organic, Instrumental, and Symbolic Regime Typology

The final element included in the theoretical approach of this paper is Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) typology of *organic*, *instrumental*, and *symbolic* regimes. Stoker and Mossberger provide an additional, yet crucial, element to the analytical framework by providing a means to understand the process of regime formation. In a cross-time analysis, this provides insight into the ways in which actors pushed for a new political direction, and why certain governing arrangements may lead to some policy outcomes over others. Stoker and Mossberger's typology provides a flexible alternative to Stone's (1993) typology of *maintenance*, *development*, *middle-class progressive*, and *lower-class opportunity regimes*, while still integrating Stone's key

recognition that different coalitions of actors can mobilize different kinds of strategies and resources to pursue different sets of goals.

There is currently no metropolitan-scale typology for regime formation, with the exception of Bafarasat's (2018) description of out-in or in-out regime formation at the metropolitan scale, which distinguishes between regional regimes which were initiated by a central city reaching out to its peripheries or vice versa. While Bafarasat's analysis is valuable and will be integrated into the conditions assessed in this analysis, Stoker and Mossberger's typology offers more depth and nuance to the question of how a coalition is ultimately formed.

Table 7: Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) Regime Typologies

Defining Characteristics	Regime Types		
	Organic	Instrumental	Symbolic
	Caretaker, Exclusive, Traditional	Development	Middle-class progressive, Lower-class opportunity, Urban revitalization
Purpose	Maintenance of status quo	Project realization	Redirection of ideology or image
Main motivation of participants	Local dependency	Tangible results	Expressive politics
Basis for sense of common purpose	Tradition and social cohesion	Selective incentives	Strategic use of symbols
Quality of coalition (congruence of interests)	Political communion	Political partnership	Competitive agreement
Relationship with environment:			
Local	Exclusive orientation	Exclusive Orientation	Inclusive Orientation
Nonlocal	Independent	Dependent	Dependent

Methodology

Overview

This chapter outlines the research methodology adopted for this study. The research paradigm which underpins the entire research process is critical realism, which reflects a realist ontology, relativistic epistemology, and an emancipatory axiology. This approach is aligned with the goals of the theoretical framework described in the previous chapter, which aims to understand the nature of governance and power dynamics in the Chicago Metropolitan Region through a regime-theoretical analysis. Aligned with this approach, the aim of the study is explanatory in nature and employs both an abductive and retroductive reasoning process to understand the underlying mechanisms and conditions of possibility leading to regime formation in a metropolitan region. As stated in the introduction, the research questions which this thesis aims to address are the following:

- What are the conditions of opportunity that have allowed for the formation and evolution of governance regimes in the Chicago metropolitan region?
- How can urban regime theory be adapted and applied to the analysis of governance at the metropolitan scale?

To address these research questions, a qualitative methodological approach is adopted. Given the complexity of governance structures in the Chicago region and the relatively limited scholarship addressing this topic at a metropolitan scale, this study opts for an in-depth, longitudinal, single-case study approach. This approach allows for a detailed analysis of the contextual factors influencing the dynamics of governance and regime formation in the Chicago region over an extended period of time. The insights gleaned from this depth of analysis allow for a careful examination of the applicability and compatibility of regime theory to the metropolitan scale.

Data collection is conducted through a combination of personal interactions through semi-structured interviews and comprehensive content compilation. Multiple sources of data, gleaned through these data collection methods, allows for triangulation of findings and enhanced credibility of results. The data analysis methods employed include a regime-theoretical analysis and a case description using a chronological time-series analysis.

The following sections elaborate on each component of the research design, detailing how the study was conducted and how findings were derived. The scholarship and theoretical foundations which guided these methodological choices are discussed, along with the implications of research design choices on the overall research process and outcomes.

Methodological Approach

Research Paradigm

This research is situated within a critical realist paradigm. This paradigm was selected because the chosen theoretical framework and research questions are concerned with the nature of power and agency in shaping the political direction of the Chicago Metropolitan Region. Critical realism is concerned with questions of power and social change (Sheppard, 2020), and seeks to better understand the nature of these concepts “through a focus on what people can achieve (agency) in the social context in which they are operating (structures)” (Stutchbury, 2021, p.114).

Ontology, Epistemology, and Axiology

A critical realist approach integrates a realist ontology, relativistic epistemology, and an emancipatory axiology. The implications of these perspectives in the context of this research are described below:

A realist ontology maintains that an objective reality exists and that it is both fixed and constructed. In other words, the critical realist paradigm maintains that social structures exist, even when they are not empirically observable; it asserts that actors operate within the context of these underlying structures and that these structures produce conditions which either constrain or enable the ability of actors to achieve their goals; and finally, it contends that actors, through their own agency, have the capacity to either reinforce or transform these underlying structures (Archer, 1995). In the context of this thesis, the realist ontology is central to the understanding of governance structures and power dynamics in the Chicago region. This aligns with the regime theoretical approach, which maintains that actors both act within broader social and economic structures and have the capacity to transform them (Stone, 1989).

A relativistic epistemology contends that our capacity to understand and know this reality is inevitably mediated through socio-cultural structures. Critical realism acknowledges that the researcher can only know what is observable, but not necessarily what is “real.” This perspective allows researchers to adopt a “judgemental rationality” and be critical of the theories and explanations that they produce (Stutchbury, 2021, p.114). This allows them to “evaluate and compare the explanatory power of different theoretical explanations and...select theories which most accurately represent the ‘domain of real’ given our existing knowledge” (Hu, 2018, p.130). The relativistic epistemology is reflected in this thesis through the abductive process of theory testing and theory building, as regime theory is applied to a new context to determine whether it is an appropriate mechanism to understand metropolitan power dynamics.

Finally, an emancipatory axiology communicates a value for the pursuit of knowledge that uncovers power structures and promotes social change. Fundamentally, this axiology – and by extension, this thesis – is grounded in the belief that the improvement of society is possible

(Danermark et. al, 2002). This axiology is reflected both in the selection of regime theory as the primary analytical framework, as well as the researcher's positionality and orientation towards the research topic.

Research Nature, Reasoning, and Type

Following the epistemological approach of the critical realist paradigm, which maintains that researchers should seek explanations for causal mechanisms and adopt a judgemental rationality towards the theories they employ, this research is explanatory in nature and employs both an abductive and retroductive research reasoning.

Abductive reasoning refers to a process whereby the research process begins with incomplete observations or preconceived notions and the researcher selects the most appropriate theoretical framework given the existing knowledge to guide the research question. Jagosh (2020) refers to this as "hunch-driven thinking" and describes it as epistemological in nature because it deals with how knowledge is created in the research process. An abductive research approach involves an iterative and simultaneous process of gathering observations and testing theory (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). It is often characterized by a "frequent overlap of data analysis with data collection" (Eisenhardt, 1989). In the context of this research, an abductive research reasoning was adopted due to the researcher's positionality and familiarity with the selected case study, which guided the initial direction of the research and the search for an applicable theoretical framework. As the research evolved, the theoretical approach was adjusted to better match new data and observations.

Retroductive reasoning focuses on identifying causal mechanisms which may explain empirical observations (Stutchbury, 2021). Hu (2018, p.112) describes retroduction as a "distinct form of inference...which posits that events are explained through identifying and hypothesizing causal powers and mechanisms that can produce them." Jagosh (2020) describes retroduction as ontological in nature because it attempts to uncover a deeper reality based on the observations from the abductive research process. In the context of this research, causal mechanisms are considered as "conditions of possibility" which allow for the success of metropolitan regime formation.

Methodology

This research employs a qualitative methodological approach through a longitudinal case study analysis. This methodological approach was selected primarily because it is one of the most widely used approaches in the regime theory literature, alongside a comparative analysis. Glinka's (2020) review of dominant methodological approaches in regime theory literature provided a helpful starting point in determining this approach. In constructing this case study, I follow Easton's (2010) elaboration of the critical realist case methodology, along with Yin's (2014) guidelines for conducting case study research.

I opted for a single-case design rather than a multiple-case design because it was best suited for the level of depth that I hoped to reach in my research. While single-case designs are sometimes criticized for their lack of generalizability, Yin (2014) explains that it may be justifiable in certain circumstances. One of these circumstances is when the selected case serves a longitudinal purpose. Because I was interested in studying the evolution of regime formation in the Chicago region and exploring how conditions have changed over time, a longitudinal approach was most appropriate. This design choice is also in line with traditional approaches to regime theory, including the studies which informed my theoretical framework.

Easton (2010) defines the case study approach as “a research method that involves investigating one or a small number of social entities or situations about which data are collected using multiple sources of data and developing a holistic description through an iterative research process” (p.119). He asserts that the case study approach is uniquely well suited to critical realist research because it allows the researcher to explore a phenomenon in depth and pursue questions which are explanatory in nature. Easton’s guidelines for the critical realist case study, and my respective research design choices, are described below:

Case Selection: Easton explains that the critical realist case study is best suited for studying “clearly bounded, but complex, phenomena” (p.123). He stresses the importance of determining the scope, or boundaries, of the case in question, but acknowledges that these boundaries may shift throughout the research process. Accordingly, my selection of case study - regime formation in the Chicago Metropolitan Region – is a bounded entity, in that the scope of research is relatively geographically contained, but complex in that the processes of regime formation are embedded in an incredibly complex institutional context. The element of my case study which was most difficult to ascertain was the longitudinal scope, as my interviews continued to point to causal mechanisms beyond my initial frame of reference.

Research Question: Following the critical realist paradigm, Easton explains that the research question in a critical realist case study must address causal mechanisms (p.123). In line with this approach, my research questions explore the conditions of possibility which allow for the formation of a regime in a metropolitan region.

Data Analysis and Interpretation: Additionally following the critical realist paradigm, Easton explains that the data analysis and interpretation process should involve an abductive and retroductive approach aimed at uncovering causal mechanisms (p.123). In practical terms, this means that, through the process of analyzing data, a deductive approach should first be applied in order to provide links with established theory. The deductive approach should be paired with an inductive approach to allow for theory testing. Explanations should propose causal explanations for patterns identified in the data. Furthermore, Easton explains that critical realism requires that researchers adopt a “judgemental rationality” (p.123). This means that a critical realist approach to case study research is open to the idea that there may be other or better approaches to analyzing the data. Following Easton’s example, my data analysis methods employ both a

deductive framework derived from the proposed theoretical framework and an inductive process to glean additional insights from the data and propose causal mechanisms. More about this is discussed in the section on data analysis methods.

Research Design

Case Study Selection

The Chicago Metropolitan Region presents a unique and exciting research case study for several reasons. First, from a governance perspective, the region is recognized as the most fragmented in the United States, making the prospect of regime formation and collaboration at the metropolitan scale particularly challenging and not at all inevitable. Second, the region has already received some level of academic attention on the topic of metropolitan governance and collaboration (Planey, 2023; Lindstrom, 2010, 1997; Hamilton, 2002a, 2002b), although the latest research applying regime theory to the Chicago context is now over two decades old and much has transgressed in the time that has passed. And third, the region has recently gained both national and global attention for its collaborative efforts on climate change, which invites an opportunity to pay renewed attention to the mechanisms through which collaboration in the region is fostered (Schmit, 2021; Institute for Sustainable Communities, 2019).

Researcher Positionality

My selection of case study was strongly influenced by my close connection with the region and existing network of contacts. From 2018 to 2022, I worked for the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, a membership organization of the Chicago region's 275 municipalities. During this time, I worked closely with local government leaders in the metropolitan region on topics related to environmental sustainability, climate action, and racial equity. My initial interest in pursuing this research topic stemmed from my personal question about the capacity for the metropolitan network that I worked for to push for meaningful change on complex, boundary-crossing policy topics in the region. I was inspired by the large coalition of government actors that had pushed for climate action - so large, in fact, that the region was dubbed the largest sustainability collaborative in the United States. At the time I left the region to begin my graduate studies, a small collaborative group of governments had formed around the topic of racial equity, and I was interested in whether this nascent group had the capacity to push for systemic change. While I ended up focusing more broadly on regime formation over a long period of time, my interest in these topics and my existing networks strongly influenced the types of individuals I interviewed and the governing coalitions which I focused on.

Due to my close connection to the case selection and my hope that it presented the potential of positive social change, I had to make intentional choices to avoid a biased orientation towards the data. To address this, I sought to balance out my own perspectives and those with which I was most familiar by interviewing members of other metropolitan organizations which may have had alternative perspectives of governance in the region. This proved fruitful and often challenged my preconceptions and expanded my understanding of governance in the region. As a direct result of these alternative perspectives, I learned of many other collaborative efforts and

influential coalitions of actors in the region which have existed at different points in time. My hope is that these efforts to explore governance in the region from multiple perspectives have allowed for a thorough and nuanced account of its evolution.

Methods

Data Collection Methods

Content Compilation

The first phase of research consisted of content compilation of existing academic literature on the metropolitan region of Chicago, relevant metropolitan planning documents, and archival data demonstrating the metropolitan and urban characteristics of the region over time. In the first round of research, I aimed to collect documents which reflected comprehensive plans and strategies for the region rather than plans focused on a specific policy area. From these sources, I began to construct the basic elements of my case study, including identifying the geographic scope of my study and influential actors.

Table 8. First phase of document analysis - academic sources

Academic Source	Year	Author
Regional Planning and Institutional Norms in the United States: Civic Society, Regional Planning, and City-Region Building in the Chicago Metropolitan Region	2023	Donald Planey
The Metropolitan Mayors Caucus: Institution Building in a Political Fragmented Metropolitan Region	2010	Bonnie Lindstrom
Regimes and Regional Governance: The Case of Chicago	2002	David K. Hamilton
Regionalism in Metropolitan Chicago: A Work in Progress	2002	David K. Hamilton
Regional Cooperation and Sustainable Growth: A Study of Nine Councils of Government in the Northeastern Illinois Region	1997	Bonnie Lindstrom

Table 9. First phase of document analysis - regional documents

Documents	Year	Lead Agency
An Inventory of Local Governments in Illinois	2021	The Civic Federation
ON TO 2050 (regional comprehensive plan)	2018	CMAF
GO TO 2040 (regional comprehensive plan)	2010	CMAF

Chicago Metropolis 2020	1999	Commercial Club of Chicago
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Table 10. First phase of document analysis - archival data sources

Archival Record	Year	Source
U.S. Census Bureau - Metro Area History from 1950 to 2020	2023	U.S. Census Bureau Historical Delineation Files
Office of Management and Budget - Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) and Combined Statistical Areas (CSAs), 2018	2018	U.S. Census Bureau Historical Delineation Files
Office of Management and Budget - Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) and Combined Statistical Areas (CSAs), 2013	2013	U.S. Census Bureau Historical Delineation Files
Office of Management and Budget - Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Components, 1993	2003	U.S. Census Bureau Historical Delineation Files
Office of Management and Budget - Metropolitan Areas and Components, 1993	1993	U.S. Census Bureau Historical Delineation Files
Office of Management and Budget - Metropolitan Areas and Components, 1983	1983	U.S. Census Bureau Historical Delineation Files
Office of Management and Budget - Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) and Components, 1960	1960	U.S. Census Bureau Historical Delineation Files
Bureau of the Budget - Standard Metropolitan Areas (SMAs) and Components, 1950	1950	U.S. Census Bureau Historical Delineation Files

After conducting a handful of interviews, I decided to include documents which were also policy-area specific and conducted a search of relevant environmental and climate-related documents. The second round of documents and academic sources consulted are listed below:

Table 11. Second phase of document analysis - academic sources

Academic Source	Year	Author
Going Green: The Adoption of Climate Action Plans by Illinois Municipalities, 2008-2022	2022	Brandon Bordenkircher, Conner Rettig, Joseph Schwieterman, and Euan Hague

Table 12. Second phase of document analysis - regional documents

Document	Year	Lead Agency
Priority Climate Action Plan for the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area	2024	Metropolitan Mayors Caucus

Climate Action Plan for the Chicago Region	2021	Metropolitan Mayors Caucus
Greenest Region Compact, Opportunities + Impact Report	2015	Metropolitan Mayors Caucus
Greenest Region Compact	2007	Metropolitan Mayors Caucus

Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Group

The second phase of research involved in-depth interviews with key figures in the region. A total of eighteen individuals were consulted during this process, thirteen of whom were interviewed individually and five of whom were interviewed in a small focus-group format. The purpose of these interviews was to triangulate findings from the initial stage of document analysis and provide more insight into the dynamics of governance and regime formation at the metropolitan scale.

Sampling Strategy and Interviewee Selection

This study employed two sampling approaches for identifying interview participants. The first approach was purposive sampling, which involved identifying individuals based on existing knowledge and contacts. The second approach was snowball sampling, in which interviewees selected through purposive sampling were asked to provide recommendations for other potential contacts.

Interviewees were selected based on their affiliations with the key governance entities identified in the first stage of research, the length of time that they had been involved in governance-related activities in the Chicago region, and their ability to speak to the evolution of policy priorities related to environmental sustainability, climate change, and equity. Individuals with this level of insight typically held high-level positions of authority, such as that of executive director, department head, chairman, or mayor. An overview of interviewees/focus group participants and their affiliations are listed below:

Table 13. Interviewee Names and Affiliations

	Interviewee Name	Interview or Focus Group	Relationship with research
1	Edith Makra	Interview	Director of Environmental Initiatives at the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus (2012-Present), former assistant to Mayor Daley.
2	Dave Bennett	Interview	Executive Director of the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus (2001-2022). Former Executive Director of the Northwest Municipal Conference.
3	Nancy Firfer	Interview	Senior Advisor at the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, former Mayor of Glenview, Senior Advisor at Metropolis 2020 and the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, and Executive Board member at the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus.

4	Kyle Smith	Interview	Director of Housing and Community Development program at the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus (2017-2022)
5	Erin Aleman	Interview	Executive Director of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning
6	Dawn Peters	Interview	Director, Northern Illinois University Center for Governmental Studies and Illinois City/County Management Association
7	Josh Ellis	Interview	Former Vice President of Metropolitan Planning Council (2005-2021)
8	Neil James	Interview	Current Executive Director at the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, 2022-2024
9	Mayor Kevin Burns	Interview	Mayors Caucus Executive Board Chairman, Chairman of the Environment and Energy Committee, Mayor of Geneva, Illinois
10	Dr. Kathleen Yang-Clayton	Interview	Professor, University of Illinois Chicago Department of Public Administration, Great Cities Institute, Founder of the Center for Equity, Effectiveness and Efficiency
11	Terry Mazany	Interview	Former Executive Director of the Chicago Community Trust
12	Joe Szabo	Interview	Former Executive Director of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, founding mayor of the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus
13	Mark Fowler	Interview	Executive Director, Northwest Municipal Conference
14	Suzette Quintell	Focus Group	Executive Director, DuPage Mayors and Managers Conference
15	Chalen Daigle	Focus Group	Executive Director, McHenry County Council of Governments
16	Kristi DeLaurentiis	Focus Group	Executive Director, South Suburban Mayors and Managers Association
17	Vicky Smith	Focus Group	Executive Director, Southwest Conference of Mayors
18	Hugh O'Hara	Focus Group	Executive Director, Will County Governmental League

Interview Structure

Both the interviews and focus group were semi-structured and conducted via video call using Zoom. Calls lasted approximately one hour and were recorded. Audio recordings were transcribed through Transkriptor software and compiled for analysis.

Interviewees were typically asked about how they understood the term ‘metropolitan governance’ in the Chicago region and how they understood the role that their organization played in this process. They were also asked which kinds of actors they typically engaged and in what manner they engaged with them. In some cases, interviewees were asked about their perspective on other metropolitan organizations and their understanding of the role they play in the region. Interviewees were additionally asked to comment on the main policy priorities of their organization and whether these priorities have changed over time. Most interviewees were shown a chart of Stone’s (1993) regime types and asked whether any of the categories felt most relevant to their organization at different points in time. Aside from this general structure of questions, interviews were left open-ended, so that interviewees could provide as much context as they felt was relevant to the overall topic of metropolitan governance.

Data Analysis Methods

The research combines two analytic strategies, as defined by Yin (2014). The first analytic strategy used is a case description. A detailed case description is developed utilizing a chronological time series technique. This strategy follows the guidelines of Stone’s (2015) urban political order approach which calls for the periodization of social, economic, and political contexts within which governance arrangements arise. The second strategy is theoretical analysis, following the regime-theoretical framework outlined in the theoretical framework chapter of this thesis. To assess alignment of the data with the theoretical framework, the technique of pattern matching is used to identify the extent to which the data reflects patterns predicted by the theoretical framework. More details about these analysis strategies are described below.

Case Description + Chronological Time-Series Analysis

The first element of analysis involved creating a detailed case description following a chronology of events as described in the interviews and supported compiled through documents and archival records. This detailed chronology served as a method of triangulating observations from multiple sources of data and provided a foundation on which to analyze the chronology of regime characteristics at different points in time. The chronology was then separated into distinct eras of governance arrangements, following Stone’s (2015) guidelines for periodization and the approach of Hamel and Jouve (2008).

Mapping

To support the case description, maps were created to demonstrate the geographic boundaries of the metropolitan region. All maps were created using QGIS and data from the U.S. Census Bureau’s historical delineation and cartographic boundary files as well as CMAP’s boundary files for the Chicago region.

Regime-Theoretical Analysis + Pattern-Matching

The theoretical framework described earlier in this thesis served as a foundation to analyze findings from the interviews and compiled documents. A description of each element of the theoretical framework and the associated analytical approach to addressing them are discussed below:

Stone (2015) Urban Political Order and Hamel & Jouve's (2008) Periodization

The first element of the theoretical framework addressed the need to examine the historical, social, and political context across different periods of time. This is developed through the chronological time-series analysis described previously. The detailed case description of each period is then analyzed for causal elements or conditions of possibility which led to regime formation.

Van Ostaaijen's (2023) Building Blocks of a Regime

The second element of the theoretical framework addressed how to identify the elements of a regime. For this, van Ostaaijen's (2023) framework for regime analysis is utilized. To do so, the following questions are assessed within each identified period in the case description:

- Agenda:
 - Is there an agenda which addresses comprehensive regional strategies? If so, what is it? How did this agenda develop?
- Governing coalition:
 - Is there a governing coalition formed around implementing the agenda? If so, who is behind the agenda, why were coalition partners attracted to it, and how did the coalition develop?
- Resources:
 - Were resources developed in pursuit of the agenda? If so, what resources? Does the need for these resources and their mobilization change over time?
- Scheme of Cooperation:
 - How did the members of the governing coalition align their contributions with the task of implementing the agenda? Does the alignment change over time?

Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) Regime Typology

The third element of the theoretical framework addressed the process of regime formation. For this, Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) regime typology of *organic*, *instrumental*, and *symbolic* regimes is referenced to assess the processes by which different political orders or regime formations change and transform over time. Qualities associated with each type are assessed for each period in the case description.

Results and Analysis

Case Description

Overview

The following case description is structured in three sections:

The first section deals with defining the geographical scope of the case analysis, i.e. the boundaries of the Chicago metropolitan region. A combination of interviews, archival data, and strategic documents revealed that there are multiple definitions of the metropolitan region. To understand the nature of these discrepancies, I investigated U.S. Census records from 1950, when definitions of metropolitan areas were officially standardized in the United States, until today. I also tracked the development of metropolitan planning documents, which consequently emerged around the same period. Official definitions of the region based on statistical measures of population density, commuting patterns, and labor statistics reveal inconsistent boundaries over the years. These inconsistencies are explained by changes in delineation standards of metropolitan regions at the federal level, which reflects the evolving nature of urbanization over time in the United States as well as the challenges in measuring the extent of social and economic integration between urban centers and their peripheries. Local level definitions, revealed through interviews and strategic documents, reveal much more consistency over time, suggesting that the boundaries within which collaboration and regime formation take place are largely politically and historically determined. For the purpose of consistency across a longitudinal analysis and alignment with the boundaries within which regime formation takes place, this case study follows the locally defined boundaries of the region.

The second section deals with framing the concept of governance in the context of the region. Given the lack of an overarching government structure at the metropolitan scale in the Chicago region, developing an understanding of the forces shaping the political direction of the region is critical. The metropolitan region of Chicago is the most fragmented in the United States, presenting an incredibly complex ecosystem of government institutions, relationships, funding, and regulatory mechanisms. This complex ecosystem forms part of the bedrock of structural forces influencing the dynamics of regime formation and transformation in the region.

Finally, the third section offers a chronological time-series analysis of collaboration on the metropolitan scale, analyzed through a regime theoretical framework. Following the theoretical framework, the chronology is separated into distinct periods. Within each period, relevant historical, social, and political context is provided. A detailed analysis of the evolution of governance arrangements, adhering to the theories outlined in the theoretical framework, follows.

Defining Governance in the Chicago Metropolitan Region

The Chicago Metropolitan Region is located at the northeast corner of the state of Illinois (see Figure 1). It borders the southwest edge of Lake Michigan, northwest corner of the state of Indiana, and the southeastern edge of the state of Wisconsin.



Figure 1: Chicago Metropolitan Region

Definitions concerning which geographic boundaries comprise the Chicago Metropolitan Region vary. The following section elaborates on several definitions, from national-level delineations based on population density and social and economic integration with an urban core, to more local definitions based on historical and cultural factors. Given the longitudinal nature of this case study, attention is also paid to the ways in which the metropolitan region and definitions of it have evolved over time. This is particularly pertinent in understanding how local-level perceptions of the region reflect historical and cultural trajectories.

United States Metropolitan Statistical Areas

At the national level, the United States Office of Management and Budget (OMB) sets the standards for delineating geographic boundaries for metropolitan regions. Known as

metropolitan statistical areas, these geographical delineations are primarily used by the United States federal government for statistical purposes. Present-day definitions of *metropolitan statistical areas* are determined based on a combination of population density, labor statistics, and commuting patterns (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022).

Since 1949, the core geographical units used in determining these areas have been *urban areas* and *counties*. *Urban areas* refer to continuous areas of high-density settlement (Gardner, 2021), while *counties* refer to the largest territorial division of local government in any given state in the United States (Merriam-Webster, 2024). The official delineations of *metropolitan statistical areas*, refer to a county or counties containing a core urban area comprising a population of at least 50,000 along with adjacent peripheral counties displaying “metropolitan character,” determined through population density, labor statistics, and commuting patterns (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022).

While the core units of analysis for determining metropolitan regions have remained relatively stable since 1949, the specific standards and terminology for determining the extent of metropolitan characteristics have undergone many iterations. Notably, the standards were adjusted in 1949, 1958, 1971, 1975, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2021 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022), reflecting the evolving nature of urban sprawl and the economic and social integration of urban areas with their peripheries across time in the United States. Since the 1980s, the primary changes in standards have reflected shifts in emphasis on smaller commuter areas and with a central urban core to larger areas with multiple urban cores. For a more detailed elaboration of the shifts in Census Bureau definitions and standards for delineating metropolitan areas, please see Gardner’s (2021) chart of “Metropolitan Eras,” included as reference in Appendix A.

The Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Areas

Official delineations of the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area have varied over the years. This section provides a summary of the major shifts in national-level delineations of the Chicago metropolitan region across time. While this section does not delve into the specific development patterns which informed the metropolitan boundaries at any given time, its intent is to demonstrate the complex and fluid boundaries of the metropolitan region over time and provide a foundation on which to establish the geographic scope for this case study.

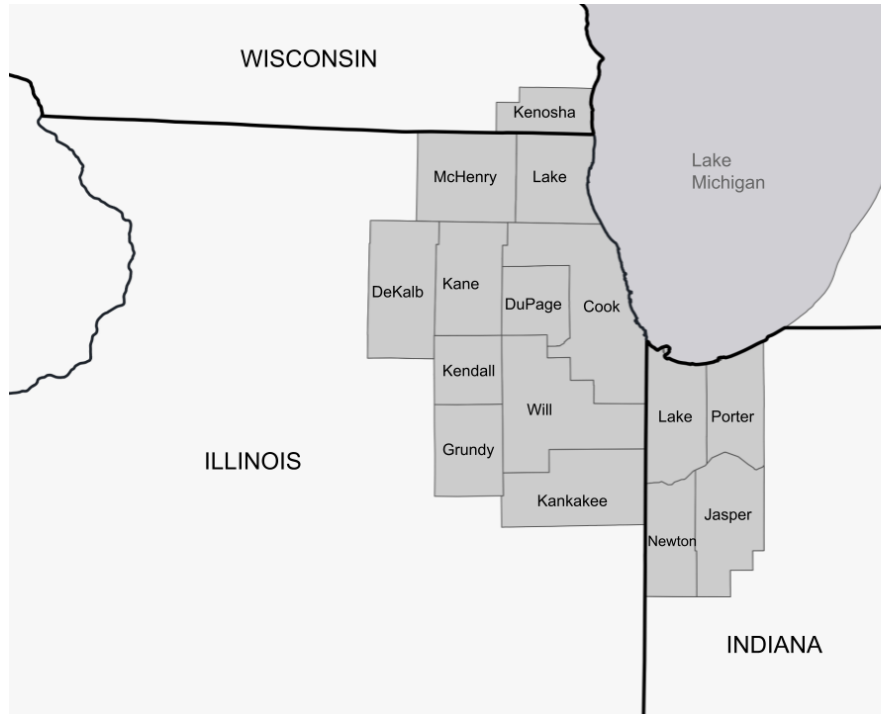


Figure 2: All counties ever included in the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area

Chicago is located in Cook County, Illinois. The original delineation of the Chicago metropolitan region in the 1950 census included Cook County and the four counties bordering Cook County in the state of Illinois (DuPage, Kane, Lake, and Will Counties) as well as Lake County, Indiana (United States Bureau of the Budget, 1950). In 1960, McHenry County in Illinois was added and Lake County in Indiana was removed (United States Office of Management and Budget, 1960). The 1960 delineation of the metropolitan region continues to reflect local-level perceptions of the geographic bounds of the metropolitan region to this day. This is discussed in more detail in the following section.

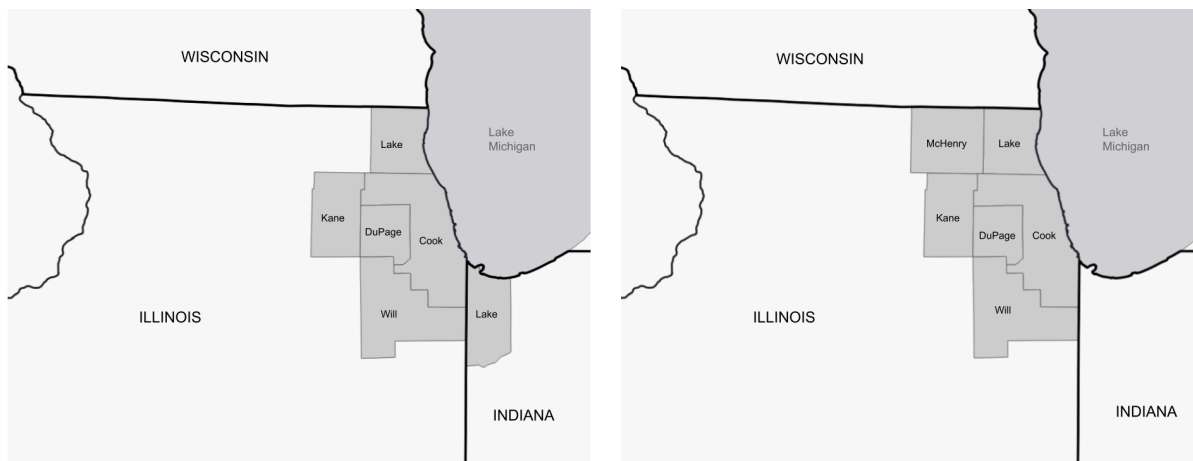


Figure 3: Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area, 1950 (left) and 1960 (right)

The 1983 standards introduced the new classifications of *consolidated metropolitan statistical area* and *primary metropolitan statistical areas* to account for a larger metropolitan area containing multiple smaller metropolitan regions. Under these standards, Grundy and Kendall Counties in Illinois, Lake and Porter Counties in Indiana, and Kenosha County in Wisconsin were added to the Chicago-Gary-Lake County, IL-IN-WI Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area. Within this larger metropolitan region, Cook, DuPage, and McHenry Counties comprised the Chicago, IL Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area. In 1992, Kankakee and DeKalb Counties in Illinois were added to the newly defined Chicago-Gary-Kenosha IL-IN-WI Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area while the Chicago, IL Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area was reconfigured to include Cook, DeKalb, DuPage, Grundy, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties in Illinois.

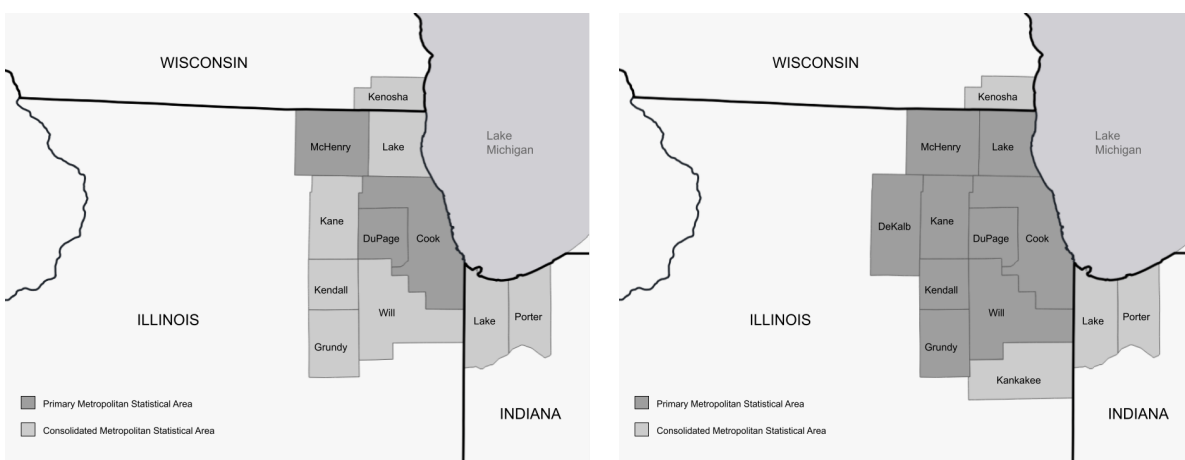


Figure 4: Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area, 1983 (left) and 1992 (right)

In 2003, OMB adjusted the terminology but maintained the same basic premise of smaller metropolitan regions within a larger metropolitan conglomerate. The term *consolidated metropolitan statistical area* was reverted to *metropolitan statistical area* and *primary metropolitan statistical area* was replaced by *metropolitan division*. Under the 2003 delineations of metropolitan regions, Kankakee County in Illinois was removed from the Chicago-Naperville-Joliet IL-IN-WI Metropolitan Statistical Area and Newton and Jasper Counties in Indiana were added. The smaller Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL Metropolitan Division stayed roughly the same with the exception of Lake County, Illinois, which was added to the Lake-County-Kenosha County, IL WI metropolitan division. In 2013, the term *metropolitan statistical area* was replaced by core based statistical area or *combined statistical area*. At this time, DeKalb and Kane Counties were removed from the Chicago-Naperville- Arlington Heights, IL Metropolitan Division and added to the Elgin, IL Metropolitan Division. In 2018, Kendall County was also added to the Elgin, IL Metropolitan Division.

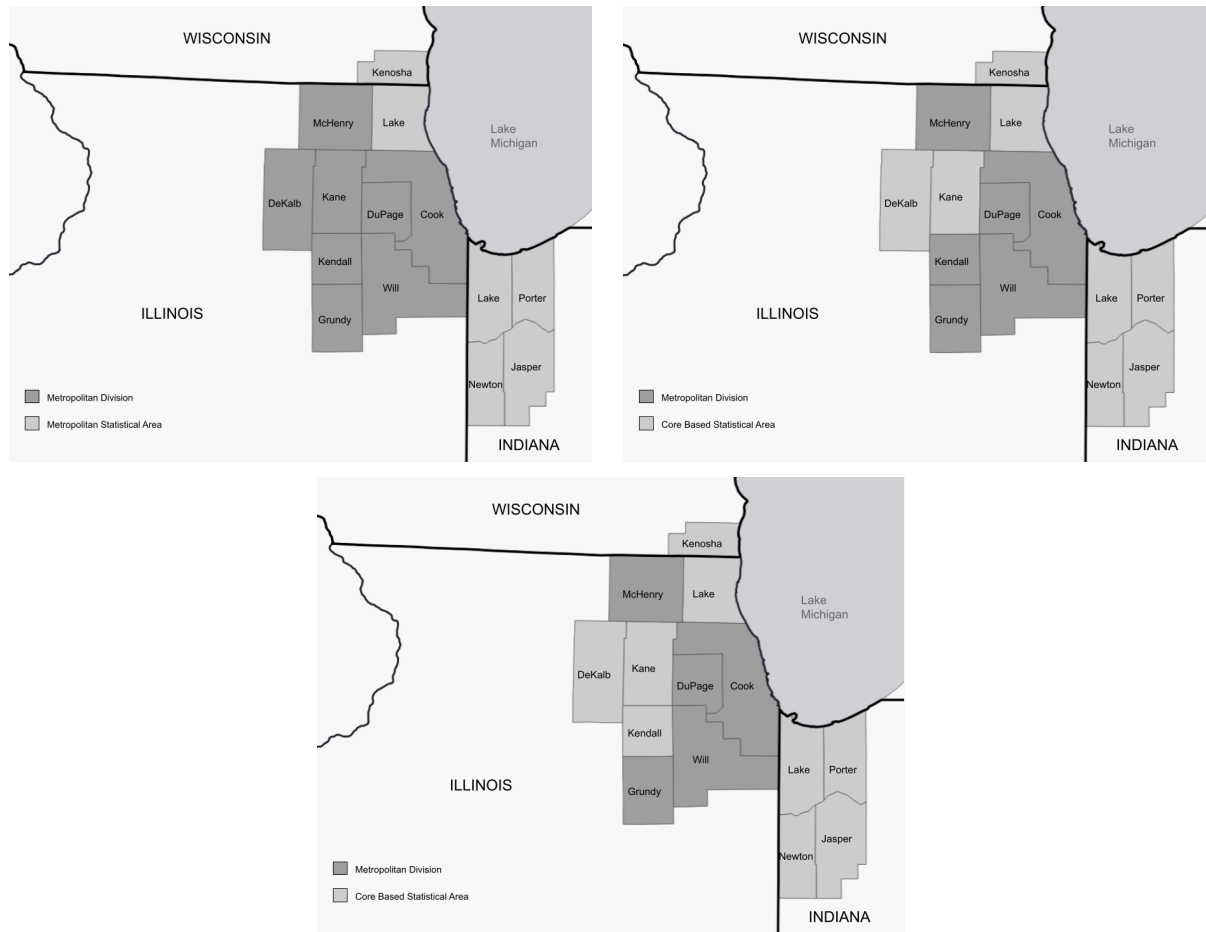


Figure 5: Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area, 2003 (top left), 2013 (top right), and 2018 (bottom center)

Adjustments in the smaller metropolitan delineations, referred to as either *primary metropolitan statistical areas* between 1983 and 2003 or *metropolitan divisions* since 2003, reflect the growth of edge cities in the Chicago suburbs and attempts over the years to track changes in commuting and settlement patterns in these peripheral areas. While Chicago remains the largest and most influential city in the region, cities like Elgin (spanning Cook and Kane Counties in Illinois), Joliet (spanning Kendall and Will Counties in Illinois), Kenosha (located in Kenosha County, Wisconsin), and Gary (located in Lake County, Indiana) are increasingly emerging as significant economic centers in their own right.

Local Level Definitions: The “Collar Counties”

Local-level definitions of the metropolitan region are much more consistent than the official U.S. government delineations, and largely reflect the legacy of regional planning that began in the mid twentieth century. When policymakers, planners, and other government practitioners in the region speak of the “Chicago metropolitan region,” they are typically referring to what is colloquially known as the *collar counties*. Depending on who you ask, the collar counties consist of the six to seven counties in the state of Illinois that border the City of Chicago: Cook County, DuPage County, Lake County, McHenry County, Kane County, Will County, and sometimes

Kendall County. While the origin of this term is unknown (Mariner, 2005), it is considered to have emerged in the 1960s or 1970s and continues to be widely used today.

The phrase “collar counties” is perhaps self-explanatory, as the counties form a collar-like shape around the City of Chicago and comprise what might be considered the “core” of the metropolitan region (i.e, the counties closest to the City of Chicago as well as those most frequently included in definitions of the region over the years). This understanding of the region also roughly corresponds to the counties covered by the suburban commuter rail service, Metra (see Figure 6) as well as the counties in Illinois containing the most densely populated areas of the region. Figure 7 shows the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2020 delineation of the Chicago “urban area,” overlaid on top of Chicago’s actual jurisdictional boundaries and the collar county boundaries for reference. The most recent Census Bureau definitions of urban areas are based on density of housing units, requiring at least 1,275 housing units per square mile (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022).

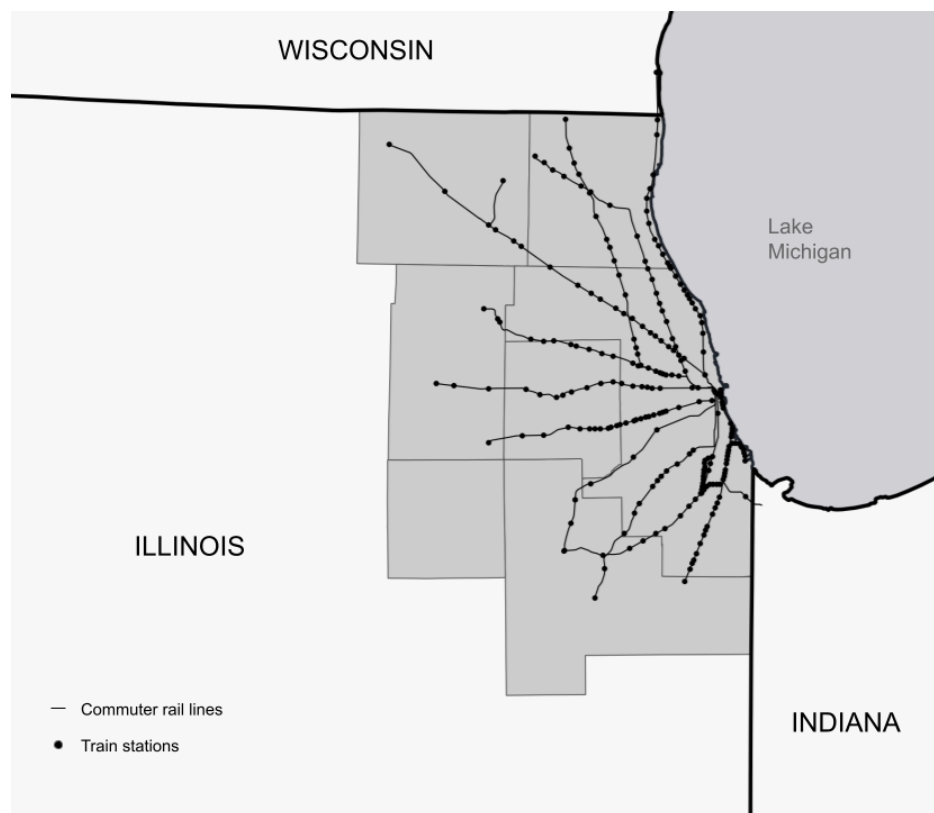


Figure 6: Commuter rail network in the Chicago Metropolitan Region

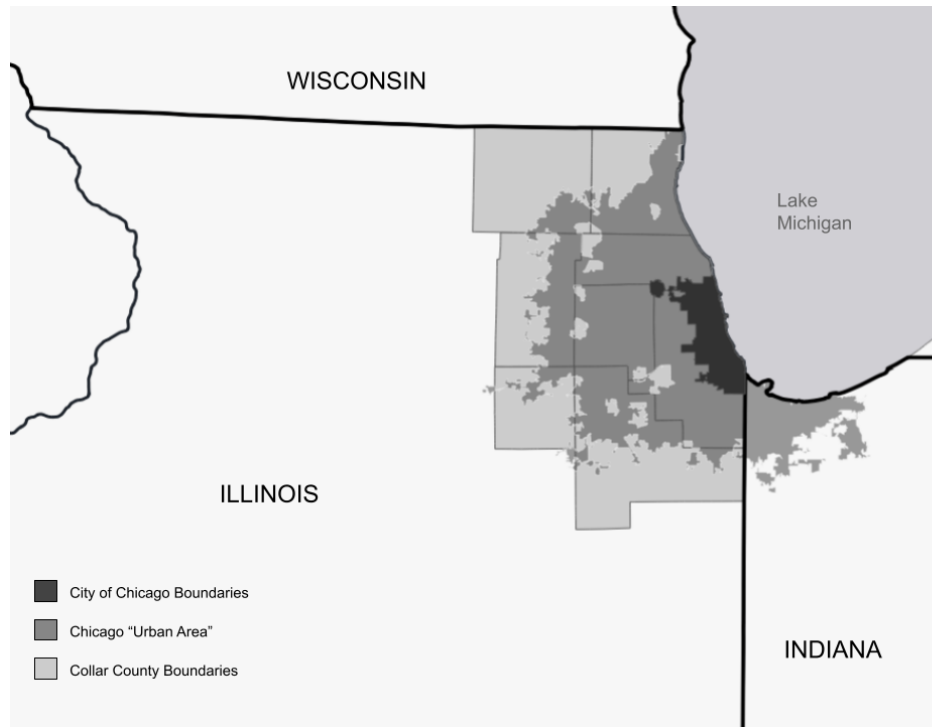


Figure 7: Chicago "urban area" overlaid on collar county and city boundaries

Aside from concentrated urban sprawl and commuter traffic, the boundaries of the *collar counties* also generally match the boundaries of key metropolitan organizations in the region, including the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, and Metropolis 2020. Although many of these organizations emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the legacies of their creation date back to the earliest efforts at regional coordination in the 1960s (see Table 14). This may explain why the boundaries of prominent metropolitan organizations more closely match the official Chicago metropolitan statistical area from the 1960s and 1970s rather than more recent delineations. The origins of these organizations are described in more detail in the next section on governance in the region.

Table 14: Key metropolitan organizations and their boundaries

Metropolitan Organization	Years Active	Counties included in boundaries	Rationale
Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP)	2005-present	Cook, DuPage, Lake, Kane, Kendall, McHenry, Will and small portions of Grundy and DeKalb	Merged CATS and NIPC, built on the legacies
Metropolitan Mayors Caucus (MMC)	1997-present	Cook, DuPage, Lake, Kane, McHenry, Will	Formed by the regional councils of government, many of which formed and were convened regionally because of CATS or NIPC.

Metropolis 2020	1997-2009	Cook, DuPage, Lake, Kane, McHenry, Will	Built on the legacies of CATS and NIPC, kept its scope confined to the State of IL
Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC)	1957-2005	Cook, DuPage, Lake, Kane, McHenry, Will	Created by the State of Illinois to serve the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area
Chicago Area Transportation Study (CATS)	1955-2005	Cook, DuPage, Lake, Kane, McHenry, Will	Initial study area was based on projections of regional growth; in 1967, the study area was expanded to cover the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

Governance in the Chicago Metropolitan Region

There is no overarching metropolitan government entity in the Chicago region. The landscape of governance in this region, therefore, is intensely fragmented. One interviewee described the landscape of governance in the region as “too many people with too little power.” Over the past century and a half, there have been several attempts to coordinate actions across the metropolitan region, to varying degrees of success. This section outlines the ecosystem of government institutions and other influential actors and networks which have influenced collaborative efforts at a metropolitan scale.

A Fragmented Institutional Landscape

Local Levels of Government

At an institutional level, the Chicago region is more fragmented than any other metropolitan region in the United States (University of Illinois Chicago, 2015). It consists of roughly 1,440 independent units of local government – consisting of 7 townships, 279 municipalities, 121 townships, and 1,037 special purpose districts – within a geographic area of 3,995.2 square miles (6,429 square kilometers). The reason for this intense fragmentation is due to Illinois state legislation, which limits municipal indebtedness and revenues. This means that new units of government, especially special purpose districts, are frequently created to increase bonding power and taxing authority (Lindstrom, 2010). Adding even more complexity, responsibilities of the various government entities are not always consistent. It is also not uncommon for boundaries of individual units of government to overlap. A short description of each local government category is provided below:

Table 15. Units of government in Illinois (source: Civic Federation, 2021)

Unit of Government	Description
Counties	In general, counties tend to deal with topics related to public health, courts, and public safety. They administer records and assess and

	collect property taxes. In some cases, they may also conduct planning, zoning, and other public works related services in unincorporated areas.
Municipalities	Municipalities include villages, cities, and towns. They provide basic services, which usually involves police and fire protection, zoning, and business regulation. However, not all municipalities provide the same services. Some provide parks and recreation, library, or fire services. In other municipalities, these duties are provided by a separate special purpose district.
Townships	Townships typically provide general assistance to the public and real estate assessment assistance. They occasionally maintain roads and bridges if they are under their jurisdiction. Some townships offer youth and senior services, police and fire protection, and zoning if these services are not provided by a local municipality. They may also manage food pantries or libraries if these services are not covered by a local special purpose district. Many township duties overlap with other governments.
Special Purpose Districts	Special purpose districts are created by voters via referendum to perform specific and limited functions. The size of special purpose districts varies greatly. Some special districts cover less than a square mile while others span multiple counties. Examples of special districts include: airport authorities, cemetery maintenance districts, community college districts, civic center districts, conservation districts, elementary and secondary school districts, electric power agencies, fire protection districts, flood prevention districts, forest preserve districts, housing authorities, hospital districts, joint action water agencies, public library districts, mass transit districts, mosquito abatement districts, museum districts, natural gas agencies, park districts, public health districts, planning agencies, rescue squad district, road districts, sanitary districts, solid waste disposal districts, street lighting districts, and water districts.

Figure 8 below shows the overlapping boundaries of counties, townships, and municipalities in the metropolitan region. Special purpose districts are not included in this figure due to the large number and difficulties in tracking down boundaries for them.

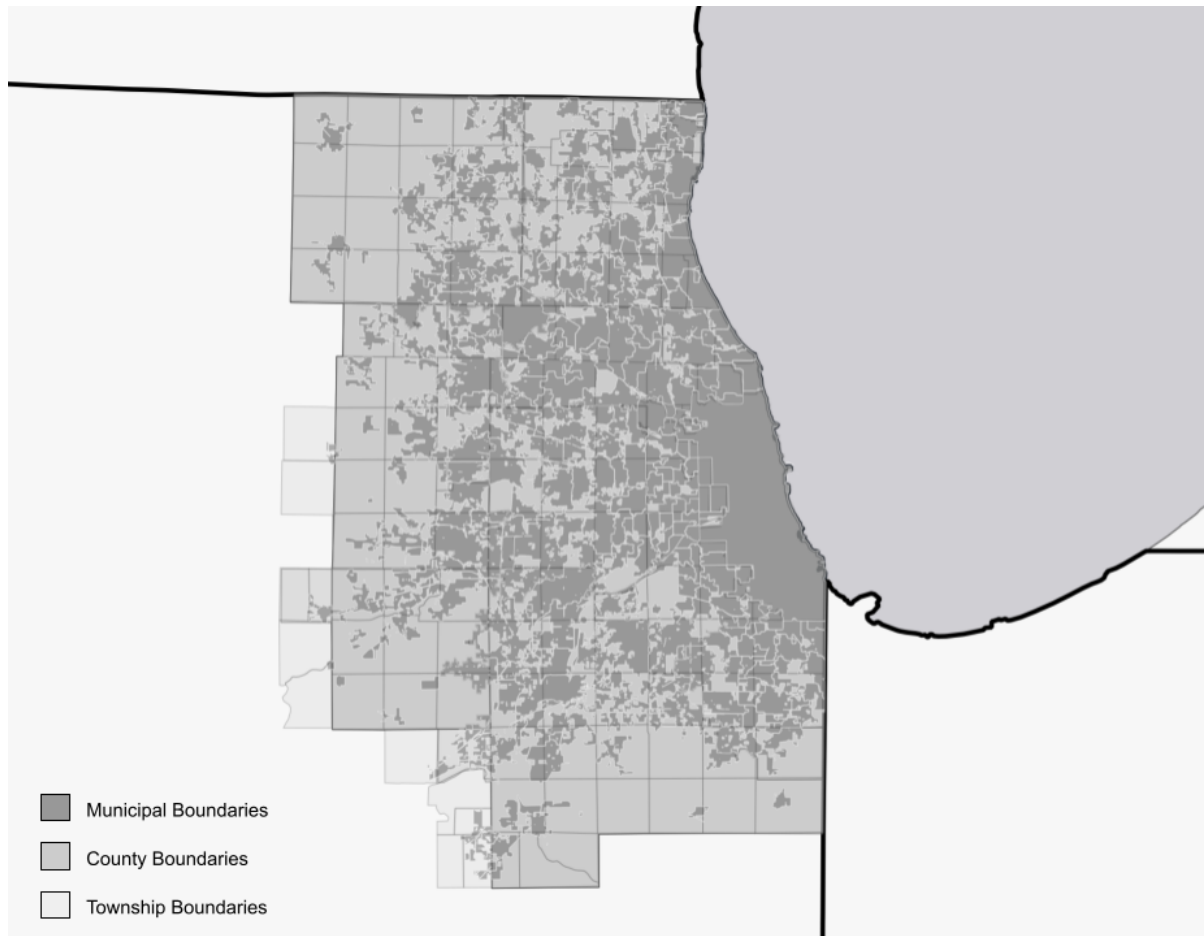


Figure 8: Municipal, County, and Township boundaries

Interaction with Higher Levels of Government

Despite possessing a high degree of autonomy, local levels of government are still intertwined with high levels of government, including state and federal government. The ways in which these interactions impact local governing activities are outlined below:

Levels of Autonomy

Under the U.S. constitution, local governments derive their powers from the state rather than the federal government. As such, local governments are primarily subject to state laws and constitutions. Under the Illinois Constitution, municipalities and counties are granted either “home rule” or “non-home rule” status (“Home Rule Municipalities”, 2024).

Home rule municipalities are municipalities with a population of over 25,000, or smaller municipalities which adopted a home rule status through a local referendum. Home rule status grants municipalities a higher degree of control and autonomy over local matters as long as it does not directly conflict with state or federal laws. In cases where there is a conflict between local legislation and state or federal legislation, the state and/or federal legislation overrides the local legislation. Local actions which home rule municipalities may take include imposing taxes,

taking on debt, or regulating land use without needing state approval. Non-home rule municipalities, on the other hand, may only take actions which the state explicitly permits, which means they are more reliant on the state legislature to handle local matters. According to the Illinois Municipal League, there are currently 129 of home-rule municipalities in the Chicago region (“Home Rule Municipalities”, 2024). According to the Northern Illinois Center for Governmental Studies, Illinois’ home rule system is unique in the United States in that it “gives the broadest and most liberal authority to [municipalities] and counties of any state in the nation” (“Illinois Home Rule”, 2001).

Counties in Illinois are also subject to home rule or non-home rule status, similar to municipalities. However, only Cook County – the county which contains the City of Chicago – is a home rule county. This means that counties in general have a closer administrative relationship with states than municipalities and experience less autonomy. They rather function as more of an extension of state government.

Unlike municipalities and counties, townships do not have the option to receive home rule status. Their authority is limited by the Illinois Township code, which means their actions are limited to what the state explicitly dictates. Special purpose districts similarly do not have the option to receive home rule status. Their roles are defined directly by the Illinois General Assembly and are typically narrow in scope.

Collaborative Structures at the Subregional and Metropolitan Scales

The metropolitan region features several collaborative structures which operate at the subregional and metropolitan scales to facilitate governance across this starkly fragmented landscape. The origins of these organizations are discussed in more detail in the following section. However, they warrant some attention in this section, as they play a pivotal role in the governance of the overall region. The descriptions below, therefore, comment on the general role of these organizations in the region.

Councils of Government (COGs)

Councils of government, also known as COGs, are subregional networks of geographically contiguous municipalities. Nine suburban COGs comprise the Chicago metropolitan region and have historically played a huge influence in coordinating regional governance activities ranging from coordinated economic development to transport and land-use planning. COGs typically convene the mayors in their membership communities. They serve several functions, and the extent to which a COG works on any given task is dependent on the unique conditions of its subregional membership. Lindstrom (1997) identified five primary responsibilities of the COGs. These include: facilitating intergovernmental cooperation, lobbying state and congressional legislators to support municipal interests, coordinating joint purchasing agreements, and regional planning activities such as transportation and land-use planning (Lindstrom, 1997, p.6)

Metropolitan Mayors Caucus (MMC or Caucus)

The Metropolitan Mayors Caucus is sometimes referred to as a “COG of COGs.” Created in 1997 by the then-Mayor of Chicago, Richard M. Daley, the Caucus is a membership

organization of the region's 275 municipalities, representing each of the nine suburban COGs across the seven county region. It serves principally as a forum for the region's mayors to collaborate on topics of shared concern.

The Caucus exists partially so that the suburban municipalities have an opportunity to present a unified voice in the state legislature. While its Executive Committee, composed of representative mayors from each of the region's COGs, tends to convene on legislative issues, the Caucus also has a number of committees which convene on specific topic areas. Committees are typically formed around challenges which span jurisdictional boundaries, such as environmental issues, housing and community development, and diversity, equity, and inclusion. The committee structure is open to both municipal staff and elected officials.

The Caucus additionally serves as an important source of funding for a variety of regional topics. As a non-profit organization, it has the ability to apply for both public and private funds and either administer programs and technical assistance or distribute subgrants directly to member municipalities. The value of an organization which represents the voices of 275 mayors is its ability to demonstrate political commitment to a given topic area and attract the attention of large donors.

Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP)

The Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP) is the official regional planning organization for the northeastern Illinois region. It is authorized by Illinois state law and designated as a federal metropolitan planning organization (MPO). Established in 2005, CMAP was created by merging two predecessor organizations: the Chicago Area Transportation Study (CATS), which focused mainly on transportation planning, and the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC), which focused on land-use planning. CMAP's primary mission is to coordinate and guide comprehensive planning efforts across the seven-county region. The agency focuses on transportation, housing, economic development, open space, environmental concerns, and other critical issues that affect the region's growth and sustainability.

CMAP serves the region by providing technical expertise and assistance to municipalities to help them align with best practices and long-range goals outlined in their comprehensive plans. CMAP's ability to produce data outlining regional trends and projections has allowed it to push the boundaries on pressing issues such as climate change and social inequality. It also acts as an important convener of the region's leaders in a similar fashion to the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus.

Periods of Governance

Findings from the interviews and document analysis revealed that collaborative governance structures in the Chicago region emerged in what I will refer to as three distinct periods of development. The first period of collaborative governing arrangements emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, responding predominantly to suburbanization and growth in the metropolitan region following the end of World War II. It is characterized by the development of subregional councils of government and early regional planning entities. The second period of collaborative governance structures emerged at the turn of the twenty-first century, responding broadly to ideas of global economic competitiveness. It is characterized by the creation of new governance entities led by elite civic leaders and the City of Chicago. The third period of collaborative arrangements marks the abrupt end of the elite- and city-led coalitions of the early 2000s and the emergence of compounding social, economic, and environmental crises in the mid 2000s. It is characterized by coordinated climate action facilitated by the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus.

First Period of Regional Governance: 1950s - 1980s

The following section was compiled primarily from secondary academic sources and archival data. While some interviewees alluded to the regional developments from this period, many were not directly involved in the governance activities until the end of the 1980s.

Historical Context:

1950s-1960s: Rapid Suburbanization and Large Federal Investments

Following the end of World War II, the Chicago region, like many other regions in the United States, experienced a period of rapid suburbanization, which fundamentally transformed the socio-spatial fabric of the region. One of the processes which influenced the patterns of suburban settlement was redlining. Redlining refers to a legal discriminatory practice in which financial institutions systematically denied or limited access to services like loans and insurance to people in certain neighborhoods, often based on their race or ethnicity. This practice was prevalent in the United States from the 1930s to the 1960s and was explicitly endorsed by federal agencies such as the Home Owners Loan Corporation, Federal Housing Administration, and the Federal Reserve (Hunt, 2004). The migration of many southern black Americans to Chicago during this time period also influenced a mass migration of white middle-class Chicagoans out of the city and into the suburbs, a phenomenon known as “white flight” (Frey, 1980). The post-war period also saw an influx of federal investment in transportation infrastructure, beginning under President Eisenhower who prioritized the development of the federal highway system. The movement towards more automobile-centric lifestyles further reinforced patterns of segregation by ensuring automobile access to the white populations in the suburbs while simultaneously building highways which physically separated communities of color and blocked their access to a range of services and opportunities. The result of these

overlapping developments resulted in a spatial pattern of suburban development which Lindstrom (1997) referred to as “regional diversity, subregional homogeneity” (p.12). In other words, while the metropolitan region as a whole exhibited a wide range of diverse communities, the settlement patterns established and reinforced during the 1950s and 1960s produced subregional geographies which were relatively homogenous in terms of socioeconomic and racial demographics.

In the 1960s, President Lyndon B. Johnson’s administration introduced the “Great Society” agenda, which pushed forward a number of legislative actions aimed at eliminating racial injustice and improving the quality of life for all Americans. The Great Society programs addressed topics such as environmental protection, urban development, and housing. Legislative agendas were accompanied by large amounts of federal funding and regulatory mandates which required the coordination of states and local governments to implement. Some of the key legislative agendas pushed forward during this time period, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, ended discriminatory practices like redlining and school segregation; however, these laws arose amidst rising racial tension in the country and had little effect on the already-established patterns of socio-spatial segregation which had shaped the processes of suburban expansion and the regional geographies in many American metropolitan areas.

1970s-1980s: Neoliberalism, Economic Restructuring, and Austerity Politics

In the 1970s, following the trend of many other former industrial cities in the United States, the Chicago region underwent a process of economic restructuring. These processes led to the simultaneous decline of the former industrial corridor of the region, situated in the south, and the rise of other corners of the region, especially to the north and west, which embraced new service-oriented and information-based industries (Lindstrom, 1997). The spatial patterns of deindustrialization and economic restructuring followed the similar patterns of residential segregation of the previous decades, reinforcing the stratification of the region and dynamics of regional diversity/subregional homogeneity.

This period also saw a shift towards neoliberal policies, reflected in both state and national politics (Planey, 2023). In 1970, the state of Illinois passed legislation establishing “home rule” status, granting municipalities a higher level of autonomy over local affairs. The new rule allowed home rule municipalities to exercise governing authority independent of state law in most cases, allowing them greater flexibility in generating local revenue through taxes and passing local ordinances (Illinois Municipal League, 2024). However, this new development was paralleled with a reduction in state funding and involvement in regional affairs. These impacts tracked with federal trends throughout the 1980s, especially under President Reagan. President Reagan’s austerity politics emphasized de-regulation, reduction in government spending, and the privatization of many former government services. The consequence of this was the roll back of many government programs which had provided large amounts of investment to regional priorities in the previous decades.

Regional Developments:

The patterns set in motion during this period created two parallel developments which formed the foundation of collaborative governance structures in the region. The first development was the emergence of subregional councils of government (COGs), while the second development was early attempts at creating regional planning entities focused on cohesive metropolitan development. The former emerged primarily organically, as local mayors in geographically contiguous municipalities began to convene to address shared concerns, responding largely to the growing challenges of rapid and stratified suburbanization. The latter were formed in direct response to federal funding and state directives related to managing suburban growth. Over time, the two developments converged and influenced each other, with the COGs supporting and providing input on strategic planning efforts and the planning agencies in turn promoting the institutionalization and formalization of the predominantly informal council structures.

Subregional Councils of Government (COGs):

Between the 1950s and the end of the 1980s, collaborative subregional arrangements of municipalities began to form. Most of these groups were informal in nature and emerged organically to respond to specific local challenges. However, over time, they came to be recognized as important regional voices, especially in implementing and advising on federal investments.

Lindstrom (1997) describes three distinct historical patterns through which these structures were formed. The first pattern emerged in the 1950s as informal municipal leagues or dinner clubs which met monthly to discuss shared issues across geographically consecutive municipalities such as water supply, flood control, waste management, public safety, and zoning of unincorporated areas. The second pattern emerged in the 1970s, when the federal government mandated the involvement of municipalities in regional transportation planning through the Chicago Area Transportation Study, which led to the creation of twelve regional councils of mayors covering the suburbs and the City of Chicago. The third pattern emerged between the late 1960s and early 1980s as intergovernmental arrangements that involved other units of government such as counties or townships.

As the COGs matured through the beginning of the 1990s, many began to institutionalize, with some hiring on full-time staff. The issues on which the COGs worked depended on the needs of their members, and ranged in nature from fostering inter-governmental cooperation and negotiating joint purchasing agreements to lobbying for state legislation to consulting on regional planning concerns such as transportation and land use (p.6).

Writing in the 1990s, Lindstrom (1997) attributes the emergence of the COGs as important regional players to what she refers to as “regional diversity, subregional homogeneity” (p.12). She points to the ways in which earlier patterns of development had manifested in geographically homogenous subregions, writing the following:

“The suburbs in the south and west Cook and the other satellite cities have weak tax bases, higher crime rates, lower levels of education spending, higher unemployment rates and lower median household incomes. The suburbs in south Lake County, the North Shore, northwest Cook, and DuPage have strong tax bases, low crime rates, high levels of education spending, low unemployment rates and high median household incomes. These regional inequities are evident in analyses of housing, median household income, and percent minority for each [subregional geography]” (p.12)

The causes around which the COGs convened during this time period reflected these regional disparities. For example, the South Suburban Mayors and Managers Association, situated in south Cook County, convened municipalities which were most impacted by deindustrialization, racial change, and economic restructuring. The predominantly black communities in this COG faced economic disinvestment, aging and insufficient infrastructure, and lack of transportation connectivity to areas of economic opportunity. The agenda of this particular COG at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, therefore, reflected a strong pro-growth agenda in an attempt to improve its socio-economic position (p.13).

On the other hand, the DuPage Mayors and Managers Conference, situated in DuPage County, featured predominantly white municipalities with larger populations and a more robust economic base based on technology and service-oriented industries (p.13). As a more affluent COG which had experienced rapid suburban growth in the preceding decades, this COG focused more on collaborative intergovernmental arrangements to address infrastructural tasks such as storm water management or solid waste, reflecting more of a maintenance/caretaker agenda.

Regional Planning Agencies

As previously noted, in the mid- to late- 1950s, two separate planning agencies were created to serve the needs of Chicago’s growing metropolitan region. One agency, the Chicago Area Transportation Study, was formed in response to federal investments related to development of transportation infrastructure. The other, the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, was formed by the Illinois state legislature and was backed by liberal progressive civic groups based in the City of Chicago. Both organizations were limited in their capacity to implement the reports and plans which they produced, and both relied heavily on the implementation capacity of local governments and the investments of state and federal governments to accomplish their objectives.

Chicago Area Transportation Study (CATS)

The Chicago Area Transportation Study was established in 1955 as an ad hoc agency created to develop a system-wide transportation plan for the Chicago area. It was initially funded and staffed through a partnership between the City of Chicago, Cook County, State of Illinois, and the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads (later known as the Federal Highway Administration).

The purpose of the plan was to anticipate the needs of the region's transportation system in the context of rapid suburbanization. CATS initially focused solely on research and advising and had no implementation or operational capacities. It released its foundational Chicago Area Transportation Study in three volumes in 1959, 1960, and 1962, which outlined an ambitious plan for developing a region-wide transportation system that was capable of meeting projected growth.

By 1962, the federal government mandated that local governments be involved in the process of transportation planning, which sparked CATS' initial partnership with the region's mayors. The plan was widely supported by the region's mayors, leading to its adoption by 123 of the municipalities at the time. This partnership was increasingly formalized over time through the creation of a Council of Mayors in 1965 and the later creation of twelve regional councils of government in 1969 ("Council of Mayor Bylaws," 1994, p.2). The participation of regional mayors in CATS was officially formalized when they were granted voting membership rights in 1970.

Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC)

The Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission was established through a very different process. Advocated by liberal progressive civic organizations based in Chicago, NIPC was created in 1957 by the Illinois state legislature as a primarily advisory body. Unlike CATS, which did not involve local government representatives until 1970, NIPC was composed of representatives from local governments in the region from its inception. Because it lacked regulatory authority and taxing powers, its principal role was to provide technical assistance to municipalities and support federal funding applications (Planey, 2023, p. 961). It focused primarily on land use and produced a wealth of reports on topics such as water supply, flooding and stormwater management, open space, and land preservation (Northern Illinois Planning Commission Annual Reports, 1963-1967).

Due to its limited resources, NIPC dedicated much of its time in the early days to developing relationships with different scales of government and seeking financial support for its objectives. Planey (2023, p.961) writes that from the beginning, NIPC's foundations were based in the professional, predominantly white, middle class of the region's north suburbs. NIPC was a strong advocate for "ground up regionalism," and envisioned its role as an "intellectual authority" on regionalization processes in the region (p.961-962). Recognizing its dependence on resources from outside sources and its limited capacity to regulate or implement initiatives, it focused on promoting and supporting the capacity for regional governance through other means. Throughout the 1960s, this took the form of helping to establish intergovernmental councils of government where none already existed and advocating for the state's adoption of home rule status for local municipalities in place of a strong metropolitan government (p.962). NIPC's promotion of home rule reflected its belief that local autonomy and decision-making agility were essential components of supporting regional planning initiatives in the region.

NIPC's influence in the region strengthened under the Johnson administration's Great Society initiatives. The influx of funding from the federal government presented NIPC with an opportunity to play an integral role in promoting policy coherence. Federal grant processes at the time required local governments to send their grant applications to a city region's council of government (in this case, NIPC filled this role), which in turn would produce comprehensive regional plans. During this period, NIPC was able to leverage Great Society resources to lead successful, comprehensive efforts on water infrastructure, sanitation, and environmental conservation (p.963).

However, following the roll-back of federal funds and a conservative turn in suburban politics in the 1970s and 1980s, NIPC's capacity to influence regional policy coherence waned. The austerity measures of the Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations at the federal level, combined with similar cutbacks by the State of Illinois, severely limited NIPC's resources and operational capacity (Planey, 2023, p. 963). NIPC also began to receive pushback from suburban constituencies. This tension came to a head in 1976, when NIPC attempted to withhold approval for federal housing grants from municipalities that demonstrated racist zoning practices, prompting strong backlash from suburban mayors in the northern and western suburbs (p.963). The autonomy of local governments, which NIPC had actively advocated for just a decade prior, combined with deeply-rooted social and racial divisions, ultimately challenged the feasibility of NIPC's progressive regionalist agenda.

Evidence of Metropolitan Regime Formation

Within the first period of governance, there is some evidence of a regime at the metropolitan scale. This was determined based on van Ostaaijen's (2023) framework, which requires the development of a direction-setting agenda addressing the metropolitan scale, a governing coalition drawing on members from across the region, resources commensurate with the goals being pursued, and a scheme of cooperation between the members. These elements are discussed below:

Agenda: This period does not demonstrate a comprehensive or cohesive regional agenda at a metropolitan scale. However, some regional-scale plans existed, such as the Chicago Area Transportation Study, which was adopted by 123 municipalities in the region. While NIPC also produced a number of reports and plans for the region, they were disjointed in nature and did not garner sustained, region-wide support.

Governing Coalition: Over the course of nearly a decade, a consistent governing coalition in the form of a Council of Mayors and twelve regional councils of government were formed for the purpose of pursuing federally-funded transportation projects through CATS.

Resources: The resources funding regional activities during this period were almost entirely from the federal government.

Scheme of Cooperation: A scheme of cooperation between actors of the governing coalition was eventually formalized through the creation of a Council of Mayors for CATS.

It should be noted that many of the subregional councils of government during this time exhibited the characteristics of a subregional regime, such as locally-specific agendas and local coalitions. While their existence is crucially important in the formation of wider, metropolitan regimes, the nature of each individual COG's emergence and characteristics was not studied in detail and cannot be considered as part of this analysis.

Furthermore, drawing on Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) regime typology, the metropolitan regime of this period exhibits characteristics of an *Instrumental* regime. The elements leading to this conclusion are discussed below.

Purpose: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential purposes for regime formation, the regime from the first period of governance most closely resembles *project realization*. The main purpose of this coalition of actors was to implement transportation projects.

Motivation of participants: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential motivating factors for regime formation, the regime from the first period of governance most closely matches that of *tangible results* and *local dependency*. In other words, the participants of this transportation-focused metropolitan regime were focused on achieving tangible results in the form of transportation infrastructure, which all members of the coalition (especially the participating mayors) depended on for the future of their communities.

Basis for sense of common purpose: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential approaches to establishing a shared sense of purpose, the regime from this period most closely fits *selective incentives*. The motivations for bringing together actors in this coalition were federal funds for transportation projects.

Quality of coalition (congruence of interests): Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential qualities of regimes, this regime most closely matches political partnership. Members with very different local interests were brought together to advise on the allocation of funds.

Relationship with environment: Of Stoker and Mossberger's potential relationships with the broader environment, this regime exhibits a dependent relationship because the regime is highly dependent on the availability of federal funding.

Once again, it should be acknowledged that the COGs also exhibited characteristics of a subregional regime during this time. While the individual COGs were not studied in detail in this study, Lindstrom's (1997) analysis of the nine subregional COGS in the Chicago region suggests that many exhibited characteristics of *organic* regimes. The informal way in which most of the COGs formed during this time, combined with subregional homogeneity, led to tight-knit, locally-focused coalitions that had a strong sense of shared identity.

Conditions of Possibility

Given the above analysis, the conditions of possibility for the formation of an early metropolitan regime were strongly linked to large federal investment and regulations requiring the broad participation and inclusion of local governments representing the entire region. Without such a condition, it is unlikely that a regime-like formation would have formed at the metropolitan scale. This is evident in the fact that NIPC, another planning agency which did not have sustained federal support in the same form as CATS, did not manage to secure a regime-like coalition during this time.

Curiously, at the subregional level, the deeply-embedded racial divisions which manifested spatially across the metropolitan region through the processes of suburbanization created conditions of possibility for subregional regimes. The political, administrative, and jurisdictional fragmentation of the region, which was produced and reinforced over time through state legislation, created patterns of geographically contiguous and relatively homogenous municipalities. Too small to address the emerging needs of their growing communities on their own, many of these communities were compelled to work together to find shared solutions.

Second Period of Regional Governance: 1990s - 2010s

The following section was compiled primarily from primary source data collected via interviews with regional stakeholders involved in the developments which emerged during this period. Insights from interviews were supplemented with secondary academic sources, archival data, and relevant planning documents.

Historical Context

Economic restructuring and neoliberal policy agendas of the 1980s had profound impacts on the Chicago region. As federal investment in local and regional affairs waned, many cities across the country had turned their attention to civic groups to support regional efforts. In Chicago, despite the deindustrialization of the prior decades, many of the traditional financial and industrial corporations remained influential figures in Chicago's political sphere. A number of corporate headquarters shifted from the central business district in the city towards the suburbs. Through the Commercial Club of Chicago, a long-time elite group of Chicago business leaders, influential members of the corporate and financial sectors became interested in regionalism and began to forge relationships with the City Council. Mayor Harold Washington, the city's first black mayor, envisioned a regional political coalition, but his efforts were met with racially-driven backlash and resistance (Planey, 2023, p.964; Wright, 1992).

Globalization and the shift towards a more knowledge-based economy also had a drastic impact on the city. Mayor Richard M. Daley, who took office in 1989, championed Chicago's emerging position as a global city. He continued the city's relationships with civic groups and formed strong partnerships with Chicago's elite industry leaders. Together, they envisioned pathways towards enhancing Chicago's attractiveness to large multinational corporations and small corporations who could be incubators for innovative enterprises.

In the years that followed, the Chicago region experienced a period of economic prosperity. Under Mayor Daley, the city benefitted from enhanced green spaces, parks, recreation, cultural, and transportation facilities along the lakefront. Unemployment was down and economic opportunities were abundant across the region. However, the concentration of economic activity in the region had shifted dramatically; whereas the majority of the region's population and job opportunities had been focused in the city in 1970, by the beginning of the 1990s, the majority of the region's population and economic opportunity had shifted towards suburban "edge" cities. The suburbanization of this period was characterized by low density sprawl, producing a number of social and environmental challenges. The geographic boundaries of the region, with no natural barriers other than Lake Michigan to the east, continued to expand outward, resulting in environmental degradation and loss of open space. Uncontrolled and uncoordinated development of primarily low-density housing produced a mismatch between affordable housing and job availability, with many of the new job opportunities only accessible by private vehicle. Excessive travel produced congested traffic and air quality concerns, as well as increased costs related to transportation infrastructure. The existing social and racial disparities in the region deepened.

Additionally, in 1990, the State of Illinois' legislature shifted politically. Whereas Chicago Democrats had dominated the state's political affairs for years, redistricting following the 1990 census led to suburban Republicans taking control of the state legislature (Hamilton, 2002). This led to a number of punitive actions against the City of Chicago which severely impacted the city's ability to add new developments, including a new airport. The relations between Chicago and its suburbs had been tense for decades, due to a history of the city attempting to extend its boundaries and otherwise assert dominance in the region at the expense of its peripheries.

Regional Developments

Metropolitan Mayors Caucus

In early 1997, Mayor Daley hired the former executive director of the Northwest Municipal Conference, one of the COGs in the northern Chicago suburbs, to be the Director of Intergovernmental Affairs at the city. Her role was to help manage relationships with suburban constituencies regarding the proposed expansion of O'Hare airport, a project which the city strongly championed as a way of increasing Chicago's global status. The suburbs were extremely divided on the prospect of expanding the airport. Communities which were closest to O'Hare strongly opposed its expansion, citing concerns for noise pollution and flight paths which would impact their local quality of life. Communities in the south suburbs, which had suffered

from decades of economic disinvestment, advocated for a separate airport to be constructed in the south of the region, with the hope that it would bring additional revenue to the region.

The meetings surrounding the airport sparked an initial relationship between the suburban COGs and the City of Chicago. By the end of 1997, the Northwest Municipal Conference and Mayor Daley hosted a joint meeting to discuss how the city and the suburbs could continue to work together to promote the region's shared economy. This 5-hour meeting led to the development of the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus.

The Mayors Caucus began as an informal group representing all of the regional COGs and the City of Chicago. In the early years of the Caucus, the City of Chicago staffed meetings and provided support for shared initiatives. Meetings were typically held in person. COGs could bring their Directors and up to 8 mayors representing their region. Mayor Daley attended all meetings. There were often social gatherings afterwards, which built trust and camaraderie among representatives from diverse corners of the region.

In the beginning, the Caucus tried to avoid controversial issues and focused only on issues around which there was consensus. They formed spontaneous task forces and committees to address shared issues which came up in meetings. Some of the early initiatives which they focused on were advocating for a regional strategy on clean air, providing advocacy on electrical deregulation legislation, advising a regional economic development plan, and advocating for affordable housing.

By the early 2000s, the Caucus had hired two full time staff persons to focus on housing initiatives and environmental initiatives. Through its 501(c)(3) status, it was able to secure funding from private foundations to provide subgrants to member municipalities.

Metropolis 2020

Metropolis 2020 emerged as an outgrowth of the Commercial Club of Chicago's increased interest in regionalism. The Club, a long-established, invite-only club of Chicago's elite business leaders, published a report titled "Metropolis 2020," in 1999, which highlighted the need for a regional approach to economic development and infrastructure to prepare it for the twenty-first century.

The Metropolis 2020 report underscored the need to make the Chicago region an attractive place for a global economy, arguing that a strong regional economy would help make other regional goals, such as improving the socioeconomic conditions of all Chicagoans, more attainable. The original report faced backlash from the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus due to a lack of consultation with suburban mayors, prompting the mayors to produce a counter-report detailing the issues they saw in the plan. Mayor Daley helped to facilitate dialogue between the Commercial Club and the mayors to align their visions for the region. This ultimately led to the creation of a nonprofit organization, also called Metropolis 2020, dedicated to implementing the report's recommendations. The organization was designed to be short-term, focusing on timely

and focused implementation. Its board was composed of primarily high-level business people, in addition to one religious leader, three suburban mayors, and one union leader (Hamilton, 2002, p.43). The organization was supported by the Commercial Club as well as foundation grants. It staffed four senior executives who were retired but powerful and well-connected individuals who volunteered their time to support the initiatives of the plan.

Although the organization was intended to last only 10 years, it extended its operations through 2011 to contribute to the celebration of the 100th anniversary of urban planning in Chicago. By the time the organization dissolved, it had helped push for major state legislation in the areas of criminal justice, transportation, early childhood education and housing.

Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning

One of the initiatives which Metropolis 2020 and the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus jointly advocated for was the consolidation of NIPC and CATS. They argued that having two separate planning agencies, one which handled land use and one which handled transportation, was ineffective. They instead pushed for state legislation to designate a central metropolitan planning agency to streamline and enhance regional planning efforts.

In 2005, Metropolis 2020 and the Mayors Caucus succeeded in securing state legislation for the creation of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP), a new metropolitan planning agency for the region. CMAP became both a state-authorized regional planning agency and a federally designated metropolitan planning organization (CMAP, 2024). Its state status allows it to produce comprehensive regional plans for both land use and transportation. Its federal status allows it to allocate federal transportation funds and lead transportation planning.

Importantly, CMAP was the first regional planning agency with buy-in from suburban leaders across the metropolitan region as well as the civic and business community. It became an important anchor for both dimensions of metropolitan Chicago's regional approaches, with representatives from both the business and civic community as well as the regional COGs on its executive board. CMAP's close relationship with the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus and suburban municipalities was reinforced as the two organizations came to share an office together.

While CMAP still does not have any regulatory capacity, recent research has demonstrated that it has had a positive impact on encouraging regional collaboration in the region (De Leon-Alejandro, 2015). One of its strengths has been its ability to provide support for communities within the region which do not have the capacity or funds for infrastructure or environmental issues (Planey, 2023, p.966), promoting more of an equitable approach to regional planning than was possible with the previous planning agencies. CMAP has also become a trusted agency, known for its data-driven approach to regional challenges.

In 2010, CMAP published the region's first comprehensive plan, "GO TO 2040," which established a comprehensive strategy for the region, addressed various planning priorities, emphasizing inclusive economic growth and regional integration.

Evidence of Metropolitan Regime Formation

The second period of governance definitely exhibits evidence of a regime at the metropolitan scale. These elements are discussed below:

Agenda: The report Metropolis 2020 most closely resembles a comprehensive, metropolitan-focused agenda. It comments on a wide range of topics impacting the metropolitan region.

Governing Coalition: The creation of the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, which combined the City of Chicago with mayors from all of the suburban COGs, formed the political element of the governing coalition. Metropolis 2020 also introduced corporate elites and a strong civic sector.

Resources: The resources from this period come from multiple sources. The City of Chicago provided staff resources to support Mayors Caucus initiatives. The Mayors from the suburban COGs also contributed their time and input to shared initiatives. Metropolis 2020, funded by the Commercial Club, provided well-connected and powerful leaders to lead regional causes. Finally, many initiatives taken on during this time leveraged funds from private foundations.

Scheme of Cooperation: A scheme of cooperation across all actors emerged informally. The participants of each organization were political and economic elites that would collaborate on projects when it made sense to do so.

Drawing on Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) regime typology, the metropolitan regime of this period exhibits characteristics of a *Symbolic* regime. The subtype that this regime most closely resembles is an *urban revitalization* regime. The elements leading to this conclusion are discussed below.

Purpose: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential purposes for regime formation, the regime from the second period of governance most closely resembles *redirection of ideology or image*. The intention behind both Mayor Daley's creation of the Metropolitan Mayors' Caucus and the Commercial Club's Metropolis 2020 report was to propel the Chicago metropolitan region to a global status.

Motivation of participants: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential motivating factors for regime formation, this regime most closely reflects *expressive politics*. The purpose of both the Mayors Caucus and Metropolis 2020 was to express the ideas of regionalism and promote a shared image of the Chicago region as an attractive place to live and work.

Basis for sense of common purpose: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential approaches to establishing a shared sense of purpose, this regime most closely resembles the *strategic use of language and symbols*. The production of a shared vision for the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, between the City of Chicago and the suburban mayors, as well as between the suburban mayors and the economic elites of Chicago's Commercial Club and Metropolis 2020, required intentional and sustained negotiation. Mayor Daley played a strong role in creating the conditions for a shared sense of purpose by negotiating between the mayors and Metropolis 2020.

Quality of coalition (congruence of interests): Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential qualities of regimes, this regime most closely matches *political partnership*. While some level of negotiation was necessary to bring different actors to the table, it was entirely voluntary and agreements were built upon informal negotiations and consensus building.

Relationship with environment: Of Stoker and Mossberger's potential relationships with the broader environment, this regime most closely resembles an inclusive orientation, because it drew partners from across the entire region, and a dependent relationship because grant funding and some legislation was required to pursue shared projects.

Conditions of Possibility

The conditions of possibility which allowed for the formation of this regime are strongly tied to globalization and the restructuring of the economy which occurred at the turn of the twenty-first century. The desire for Chicago to integrate into a global economy, and for local economic elites to maintain a strong influence in political affairs, created a strong incentive for both Mayor Daley and the Commercial Club to pursue a regionalist agenda. The political atmosphere of Illinois at the time also challenged Chicago's dominance in the region and provided an incentive for the city to work together with the suburbs.

The large-scale development project of expanding the O'Hare airport proposed in 1997, which was controversial in nature, provided the initial push to bring a variety of actors together for the purpose of building consensus. The fact that a former COG Director was hired by Mayor Daley to help negotiate discussions with the suburbs on this project played a major role in both pushing the narrative that the suburbs were important voices and in building trust with suburban leaders.

However, it is reasonable to also claim that this regime could not have been formed without the relationships which had been forged during the previous decades. While Mayor Daley's entrepreneurial spirit and relationship skills played a large role in pulling the region together, the foundation of relationships within and across the suburbs sparked many of the initial conversations to involve suburban communities of all sizes in regional conversations.

It is worth mentioning that NIPC had previously tried to push the symbolism of regionalism in the previous decades, but was met with resistance from suburban mayors at the time. What about this second period of governance allowed the same message to take hold with much more force and momentum? Perhaps the broader political and economic climate played a role, or perhaps the influence of powerful individuals, such as Mayor Daley or the members of Metropolis 2020, proved to be the needed catalyst. Or, maybe it was the influence of a former suburban COG Director, who had already seen the potential of regional collaboration, that pushed the needle on garnering metropolitan-scale collaboration.

Third Period of Regional Governance: 2010s - Present

Like the previous period, the following section was compiled primarily from primary source data collected via interviews with regional stakeholders involved in the developments which emerged during this period. Insights from interviews were supplemented with secondary academic sources, archival data, and relevant planning documents.

Historical Context

In 2011, Mayor Daley retired, leaving office after seven consecutive terms as the longest running mayor in Chicago history. He was followed by Mayor Rahm Emmanuel. Mayor Emmanuel continued Mayor Daley's enthusiasm for promoting Chicago as a global city, but had little interest in collaborating with suburban communities. While he occasionally attended meetings with the suburban mayors, he did little to promote regional progress.

Additionally, following the 2008 housing and financial crisis, the state of Illinois struggled to balance its budget and advised local governments that it would temporarily reduce the critically important local government distributive fund (LGDF) until the state budgets were balanced. The local government distributive fund is one of the only equitable sources of revenue which municipalities in Illinois receive. It comes from state income tax which is collected by the state of Illinois and then distributed equitably to municipalities across the state based on population. In 2011, the state reduced the amount of funding that states would receive from 11% to 6%. The fund was never increased back to 11%, placing municipalities across the state, especially those who suffer from disinvestment in their communities, at a severe disadvantage.

The impacts of the 2008 housing crisis left lasting imprints on the region. The disproportionate impact of the crisis on lower-income communities sparked renewed debates about structural inequalities across the country. These conversations coincided with a rise in social movements across the following several years. The Occupy Wall Street movement, which started in the fall of 2011, sparked nation-wide conversations about economic inequality and the widening wealth and income gap. The first Black Lives Matter movement followed soon after in 2013 and 2014 following the deaths of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown.

By the mid 2010s, the political climate of the United States had grown more divisive. The political division culminated in the 2016 election of President Donald Trump. President Trump's decision to pull out of the Paris Agreement, an international treaty aimed at reducing global greenhouse gas emissions, led to a renewed spotlight on the role of state and local-level governments in pushing forward environmental progress. This was demonstrated at a national level by the formation of the "We Are Still In" movement, a coalition of local-level leaders who pledged to uphold the commitments of the Paris Accord at the local level.

In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic devastated the world. In the United States, it was evidently clear that the pandemic had, like the housing crisis, disproportionately impacted lower-income, working class people, especially front-line workers and communities of color. The pandemic aligned with a re-emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement following the death of George Floyd. Protests and riots erupted in cities across the world. In the United States, many protests popped up not only in central cities, but across suburban municipalities as well.

Following the election of President Biden in 2021, the U.S. federal government began to administer historic investments to address both climate change and justice in the United States. Around the same time, the Illinois state government, thanks to the sustained advocacy of local community organizations, passed landmark legislation and funding to support clean energy and workforce development.

Regional Developments:

During this period, many of the governance entities remain the same from the previous period. With Metropolis dissolving in 2011, the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, and the suburban COGs grow to form the backbone of regional governance. This period, therefore, does not focus on the emergence of new governance institutions as the previous periods do. It instead investigates a shift in how these existing organizations engage with the broader region around more specific causes.

Coordinated Climate Action:

One of the biggest regional developments during the 2010s was the development of coordinated climate action at the metropolitan scale. These efforts were initially approached separately by CMAP and the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus.

The Mayors Caucus' efforts related to climate change began with a pledge made by Mayor Daley to become the "greenest city in the country." Mayor Daley, an avid advocate for environmental efforts, had already pursued a number of environmental actions at the level of the City of Chicago, and encouraged the regional leaders to follow suit. This led to the creation of the Greenest Region Compact (GRC) in 2007, which was a set of consensus sustainability goals to guide municipal sustainability planning. The original pledge was formally adopted by

ninety-six municipalities and eight councils of government, representing more than one third of the Mayors Caucus membership at the time (Makra, 2015).

Following Daley's retirement from office, the Mayors Caucus underwent a period of redefining its identity. For over a decade since its inception, Mayor Daley had been a driving force of much of the collaboration in the region. In the absence of Chicago's leadership in this dimension, the connections between the suburban mayors strengthened, with many of the suburban mayors stepping in to fill the leadership gap. However, given the financial pressures from the state, the suburban mayors, and particularly the COGs, turned much of their energies towards pushing for state legislation to restore the LGDF fund to 10%.

At the programmatic level of the Caucus, staff also re-assessed their role with regards to regionalism. In 2011, the Caucus was managing a program called Clean Air Counts, a legacy program of the collaboration with Metropolis 2020 which still maintained a strong business focus. The Caucus slowly phased out this relationship and refocused its attention on its municipal membership.

In 2014, the Caucus conducted nearly a year of research to better understand the role that the GRC had played in promoting regional sustainability. The research consisted of studying and analyzing the sustainability actions of existing GRC adopters; compiling environmental achievements (in the form of grants, certifications, awards, policies, programs, and membership in external groups) from municipalities across the region; and reviewing existing municipal, regional, and national sustainability plans. The research aimed to demonstrate what was possible for a municipality to achieve based on already successful programs, policies, and achievements and integrate the goals, strategies, and achievements of local Chicago communities with regional, national, and global objectives (Makra, 2015, p.7). The Caucus consulted with subject-matter experts to ensure that the updated compact was capturing the full potential of what municipal actors could accomplish and achieve together. The research fed into an updated GRC along with an accompanying framework and municipal resolution to help guide local-level sustainability planning.

The bottom-up approach of identifying actions that municipalities were already taking on sustainability combined with verifying the scope of actions with experts and aligning with regional, national, and global priorities contributed to the legitimacy of the new GRC. Within the span of five years, the original 96 adoptees of the Greenest Region Compact grew to 161 adoptees ("Greenest Region Compact", 2024). During this time, the Caucus engaged in broad outreach to municipalities across the metropolitan region to encourage adoption of the updated GRC. Outreach targeted all levels of municipal government, from mayors and elected officials to municipal administration to local civic groups and citizen commissions. Parallel to promoting the GRC, the Mayors Caucus invited municipal staff and elected officials to attend monthly environment committee meetings to promote knowledge-sharing and peer-learning around sustainability topics.

By the beginning of 2017, the regional commitment to sustainability and environmental action in the Chicago region, represented by the broad swatch of communities which had adopted the GRC, began to attract national and global attention, and the Mayors Caucus quickly recognized that the GRC could become critical leverage for drawing resources into the region to support local funding and capacity-building needs.

When President Trump pulled out of the Paris Agreement, the region had already cultivated a thriving community of municipalities committed to sustainability. However, the suburban municipalities had not yet broached the topic of climate change. Up until this point, the term sustainability had been more politically appealing to a the broad coalition of communities. To address regional hesitancy on the topic of climate change, the Caucus hosted a private Climate Forum with all of the region's mayors to evaluate the willingness of local governments to take action on climate change. By the end of the meeting, the mayors unanimously supported moving forward on climate action.

The City of Chicago, while taking its own action on climate change, did not express a willingness to support the suburbs. In December 2017, the City of Chicago partnered with the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy to host the North American Climate Summit. While suburban mayors were invited to attend this event, they were not included in many of the discussions of how local governments can contribute to climate action. The Chicago Climate Charter, which was promoted at this event, was too ambitious for many suburban municipalities to commit to, and only nine municipalities signed the charter.

In 2018, the Mayors Caucus led a delegation of suburban mayors and leaders to attend the Global Climate Action Summit in San Francisco. At this Summit, the delegation met representatives from the European Union and Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy who were interested in helping local governments at the subnational level in the U.S. work on regional climate planning. Around the same time, CMAP published its second long-range comprehensive plan, which featured climate change more prominently than it had in the past. In addition to its plan, CMAP also produced a regional greenhouse gas inventory, which provided a baseline from which to begin climate planning.

In August 2019, the Caucus began a partnership with the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy and the International Urban Coalition and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) to begin the process of creating what would become one of the first regional climate plans in the United States. Leveraging data from NOAA and CMAP, the Mayors Caucus also engaged in a broad, multi-jurisdictional process to identify the most pressing climate-related hazards facing the region and the realistic ways in which local municipalities could work together to address them. The final plan was published in the summer of 2021, in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Nearly a year later, when President Biden announced historic investments in climate and justice initiatives, the Mayors Caucus was poised to take action. The most recent Climate Pollution Reduction Grant from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency promises \$5 million in grants to

states and metropolitan regions to develop ambitious plans to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and other harmful air pollution, and fund transformative, large-scale greenhouse gas reduction policies. In the past year, the Mayors Caucus, CMAP, and the City of Chicago have collaborated with other key stakeholders from the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area to develop a joint grant proposal to take dramatic action on climate change.

Since 2020, environmental justice has increasingly become a focus within the Caucus' environmental efforts. The broader national discourse in the previous decade, along with a push from key funders, has helped to push the needle on these conversations.

Renewed Focus on Racial Equity:

Another development in the Chicago region in the last twenty years has been a renewed focus on racial equity at the level of several key regional players. These efforts are scattered, yet present some potential for large-scale impact, and are therefore given attention here.

Following the 2008 financial crisis, the Chicago Community Trust, one of the key community foundations in Chicago, began to shift its funding strategies to focus more on systemic-oriented work rather than solely project-oriented work. By 2014, research at the national level and discourse among community foundations across the country began to focus on the widening income and wealth gap in the U.S. Combined with emerging social movements during this era, these conversations pushed the Trust to refine its focus even further. It began to lead research looking into the lasting impacts of redlining in the south and west sides of Chicago, restrictive covenants and laws, discrimination in labor unions, and countless other practices and policies which had systematically marginalized Chicago's communities of color. By 2018, the Trust had completely restructured its strategic plan towards closing the racial and ethnic wealth gap. Today, its funding priorities focus on household wealth, community wealth, collective power, and community change. It primarily funds projects in Chicago and Cook County but occasionally funds projects with a broader focus. It also helps to coordinate smaller community foundations in each of the collar counties.

In 2017, the Metropolitan Planning Council, a longstanding civic organization in the region, conducted a landmark study called the Cost of Segregation. This report detailed the impacts that segregation in the Chicago region have had on the region as a whole and outlines a roadmap for overcoming the deeply-embedded structures which have marginalized communities of color for decades.

In 2021, following the compounding crises of COVID-19 and the Black Lives Matters protests which had swept through suburban communities, nearly twenty suburban managers approached the Mayors Caucus with a request to collectively address diversity, equity, and inclusion in their communities. This turned into a year of focus groups which ultimately led to the creation of a pilot program in partnership with the University of Illinois Great Cities Institute. The purpose of the pilot program was to build upon work which had been tested in a few public

agencies and local governments to teach local government staff to operationalize racial equity within their organizations.

This pilot project has turned into an independent non-profit which is currently in the process of expanding the reach of its approach. In 2023, the program cut its ties with the Mayors Caucus due to staff turnover.

Evidence of Metropolitan Regime Formation

The third period of governance strongly exhibits evidence of an environmental/climate-action regime at the metropolitan scale. These elements are discussed below:

Agenda: Multiple related documents form a cohesive, guiding agenda for climate action in the Chicago region. These include the Greenest Region Compact, the Climate Action Plan for the Chicago Region, CMAP's ON TO 2050 long-range comprehensive plan, and the most recent Priority Climate Action Plan for the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area.

Governing Coalition: The Mayors Caucus is the main coordinator of a regime which pulls on different actors depending on its goals at any given time. Long-standing actors including municipal members of the Caucus Environment Committee and CMAP.

Resources: This regime relies heavily on private foundation funding. More recently, large federal investments have been added.

Scheme of Cooperation: The Greenest Region Compact and Climate Action Plan for the Chicago Region clearly detail the roles which different levels of government and different kinds of stakeholders must play in addressing the climate crisis.

The emerging focus on racial equity work does not yet constitute a regime formation, although it exhibits some important building blocks. The large-scale funding opportunities coordinated by a major local foundation and massive investments from the federal government present some promise to produce resources commensurate with the task of addressing the structural disparities in the region. The robust research done by both the Metropolitan Planning Council and Chicago Community Trust present the foundations of what could become an agenda for regional action in this regard.

However, there is no governing coalition or scheme of cooperation at the metropolitan scale which is poised to push such an agenda forward. The project which was initiated through the University of Illinois Great Cities Institute is beginning to build a small coalition of suburban local governments which are focused on operationalizing equity. While the project is funded by a

small grant from the Chicago Community Trust, it is not aligned in a broader way with the larger conversations on equity in the region, which are primarily centered in the City of Chicago.

Drawing on Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) regime typology, the metropolitan regime of this period exhibits characteristics of a *Symbolic* regime. The subtype that this regime most closely resembles is a *middle-class progressive* regime; however, there are some hints that the region may be headed in the direction of a *lower-class opportunity* regime. The elements leading to this conclusion are discussed below.

Purpose: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential purposes for regime formation, the regime from the second period of governance most closely resembles *redirection of ideology or image*.

Motivation of participants: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential motivating factors for regime formation, this regime most closely reflects *expressive politics*. The momentum of the sustainability and climate-oriented work leveraged the desire of communities to demonstrate the values of their communities through adopting resolutions and actions.

Basis for sense of common purpose: Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential approaches to establishing a shared sense of purpose, this regime most closely resembles the *strategic use of language and symbols*. The Caucus and CMAP both navigated politically charged language to build trust around environmental action and then skillfully pushed the region towards taking a more progressive stance on climate action.

Quality of coalition (congruence of interests): Of Stoker and Mossberger's three potential qualities of regimes, this regime most closely matches *political partnership*. The construction of a sustained coalition took several years of on-the-ground advocacy and consensus-building, but did not involve serious conflict.

Relationship with environment: Of Stoker and Mossberger's potential relationships with the broader environment, this regime most closely resembles an *inclusive, dependent* relationship. The work has touched all corners of the region and has drawn on many diverse stakeholders. However, it is highly dependent on external grant funding.

Conditions of Possibility

Given the analysis above, there were multiple conditions of possibility which allowed for the emergence of a sustained climate action regime. First and foremost, the established base of trust between suburban municipalities which had been formed in the previous period played a key role. This trust provided a foundation on which the suburban municipalities continued to

collaborate, even in the absence of Chicago's regional leadership. Furthermore, the entrepreneurial spirit and relationship skills of the Mayors Caucus' Director of Environmental Initiatives, who has led the Caucus' sustainability and climate action throughout this period cannot be overstated. In advancing its sustainability agenda throughout the 2010s, the Caucus built from this established base of trust among the suburbs and skillfully cultivated a shared framework for sustainability based on a "bottom-up" analysis of work which was already being done in the region. This provided the basis for not only establishing trust at the ground level, but also attracting resources from beyond the region.

By the late 2010s and the beginning of the early 2020s, global and national movements played a pivotal role in providing the conditions of possibility for coordinated climate action. The national movement of "We Are Still In" communicated to the world that local governments were capable of taking a more aggressive stance towards climate change. While this pledge was taken mainly by large, central cities, the existing foundation of sustainability actions in the Chicago suburbs demonstrated to many smaller communities that they were capable of participating in these actions. Careful communication with mayors who had already bought into sustainability, along with empirical data from CMAP (which had emerged as a trusted entity in the region), helped to push forward to a more aggressive and progressive stance on climate issues.

Global attention to the climate crisis and the possibility of attending global conferences allowed the Mayors Caucus to build relationships beyond just the Chicago region and leverage those to support local initiatives. This in turn, provided the resources to hone an agenda which was grounded in what local governments can realistically accomplish. This agenda has continued to attract funds which support the implementation of agenda goals.

Social movements throughout this period have also pushed the needle on national and local discourse about deeply-rooted structural inequities. Some of the impacts of these movements are seen in the form of federal and state legislation, as well as funding requirements from both public and private donors. Whether these efforts can coalesce into meaningful structural change remains to be seen.

Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis set out to address the following research questions:

1. What are the conditions of possibility that have allowed for the formation and evolution of governance regimes in the Chicago metropolitan region?
2. How can urban regime theory be adapted and applied to the analysis of governance at the metropolitan scale?

The case description and analysis of the Chicago metropolitan region reveals that metropolitan regions must constantly negotiate multiple scales of influence. Across the three periods described in this study, numerous conditions of possibility were revealed. Larger structural factors, such as major economic and political shifts, have played a large role in creating the conditions upon which a regime is formed. Existing relationships also cannot be understated, as the shift from one regime formation to another was frequently predicated on a base of established relationships. The role of entrepreneurial leaders has also shown to be critical, whether it is Mayor Daley, the COG Director which fostered the relationship between Chicago and the suburbs, or the Director of Environmental Initiatives at the Mayors Caucus. Large sources of funding, such as federal investments, have also incentivized the formation of regional coalitions.

The insights gleaned from addressing the first research question carry strong implications for addressing the second. With regards to how urban regime theory should be adapted and applied to the metropolitan scale, this analysis underscores the importance of situating metropolitan regime formation within the context of a broader economic, social, and political context. These insights align with many of Stone's (2015) arguments for adopting an urban political order perspective. Periodization, therefore, proved to be an important strategy for analyzing the underlying nature of the evolution and change of Chicago's metropolitan governance arrangements. They also provide insight into the persistence of certain challenges across time, such as deeply-rooted patterns of spatial segregation and racial inequities which have endured throughout each period of governance.

That said, traditional approaches to regime theory, which Stone (2015) refers to as the "inner-core regime analysis" remain valuable. This study suggests that an open interpretation of traditional regime approaches, such as van Ostaaijen's (2023) framework of regime building blocks, is helpful in this regard. A strict interpretation of regime theory, which considers the participation of the business community or civic sector an integral part of a regime, would not have provided the same cross-time analytical value as an open interpretation. To emphasize this point, Hamilton's (2004) study of Chicago and Portland's metropolitan regions promoted a framework which considered the private/civil sector to be a necessary element of a regional regime. However, adopting Hamilton's framework to the present study would not have allowed for a nuanced understanding of either the first period of governance nor the third period of governance, as the private sector was not a key component of either period. Instead, the elements which are shared across all three periods studied are a direction-setting agenda, a

governing coalition organized around that agenda, and resources commensurate with the agenda being pursued. These elements may provide some insight into why a coalition may form around one topic as opposed to another. For example, in the case of the Chicago region, despite coordinated resources and large federal investments aimed at closing the racial and ethnic wealth gap, there is no governing coalition poised to take strategic action to address this challenge at a regional scale, nor a scheme of cooperation for the various actors engaged in this topic to collaborate.

Furthermore, this study reveals that Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) typology of *organic*, *symbolic*, and *instrumental* regimes is also flexible enough to apply to a metropolitan scale. The value that such a typology lends to the analysis of metropolitan governance is in its capacity to provide insight into the ways in which regimes are fostered and the topics around which they form. In the Chicago region, the metropolitan regime formations indicate both an instrumental and a symbolic orientation. An organic regime seems unlikely to form at this scale, at least in the Chicago region, due to the diversity of the region. The prevalence of a symbolic regime across multiple decades is particularly interesting, as it points to an observation that Leo (1998) made in his study of metropolitan Portland. Leo (1998) suggested that the resources required for what Stone (1993) described as middle-class progressive and lower-class opportunity regimes (which form two subtypes of Stoker and Mossberger's symbolic regime type) may be best addressed at a regional scale. Given the lack of comparative studies on metropolitan regimes of this nature, it is too early to draw any conclusions from this observation. A further question in this regard is whether the presence of one type or subtype of regime facilitates another. For example, does an urban revitalization regime facilitate the shift to a middle-class progressive regime, and does a middle-class progressive regime facilitate a shift to a lower-class opportunity regime? Again, further research, both within the Chicago case and in other cases, is required to answer this question.

Nevertheless, this research has demonstrated potential pathways for applying regime theory to the metropolitan scale. The approach utilized in this study shows promise for understanding the nature of how regimes are formed at a metropolitan scale, the elements which are needed to build capacity for a sustained regime, and the potential areas in which regimes are most likely to form. To address these questions, this study proposes a refined metropolitan analytical framework which combines Stone's (2015) and Hamel and Jouve's (2008) periodization technique, van Ostaaijen's (2023) open interpretation of a regime, and Stoker and Mossberger's (1994) typology of organic, symbolic, and instrumental regimes.

Limitations and Future Research

There are numerous directions that this research could take. One of the greatest limitations of the broad scope of this study was the inability to delve into detail in any one period. While this research proposed one regime per period, the reality of governance in the region is likely much more complex and nuanced. A deeper dive into a given period will likely reveal the presence of multiple, overlapping, and interacting regime configurations. Furthermore, while a single-case study is valuable in testing a new theoretical approach, future comparative research would

garner richer results. Finally, with regards to analyzing regime approaches to addressing structural inequalities, some scholars have proposed frameworks for analyzing regime theory through the lens of race and culture (McGovern, 2020; Morel, 2018), however this approach was beyond the scope of what could be accomplished in this study. Future research would benefit from applying a race lens to a metropolitan regime approach, particularly in the case of American cities.

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Appendix A.

Gardner (2021) Metropolitan Eras

Decade	Area Name	Central City and Central Core Criteria	Minimum Measures of Integration for Outlying County	Minimum Measures of Metropolitan Character for Outlying County
1950s	Standard Metropolitan Area	City of 50,000 or more population	15% or more commuting to central county, OR 25% or more of the jobs in the county are accounted for by commuting from central county, OR - at least four phone calls per subscriber per month to central county	10,000 or more nonagricultural workers, OR 10% or more of the nonagricultural workers in the MA, OR 50% or more of population residing in MCDs with population density of at least 150 persons per square mile and contiguous to central city - two-thirds or more of labor force must be nonagricultural
1960s	Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	City of 50,000 or more population, OR two contiguous cities with combined population of 50,000 or more	15% or more commuting to central county, OR 25% or more of the jobs in the county are accounted for by commuting from central county	75% or more of labor force must be nonagricultural, AND 50% or more of population residing in contiguous MCDs with population density of at least 150 persons per square mile, OR - nonagricultural employment is either equal to at least 10% of the nonagricultural employment of the central county or at least 10,000, OR - number of nonagricultural workers residing in county is either at least 10% of nonagricultural workers residing in central county or at least 10,000
1970s	Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	City of 50,000 or more population, OR city of at least 25,000 population together with contiguous places of population densities of at least 1,000 persons per square mile having a combined population of at least 50,000 in a county of at least 75,000 population	30% or more commuting to central county	75% or more of the labor force must be nonagricultural If less than 30% commute to central county, must meet two of the following: 25% or more of population urban 15% population growth rate - density of 50 or more persons per square mile and one of the following: 15% or more commuting to central county 15% or more commuting from central county 20% or more commuting exchange with central county
1980s	- Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), - Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA), - Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA), - New England County Metropolitan Area (NECMA)	- UA of at least 50,000 population - If largest city has less than 50,000 population, MSA/CMSA must have at least 100,000 population - Central cities include largest city in MSA AND each city of at least 250,000 population or 100,000 workers AND each city of at least 25,000 population and 75 jobs per 100 workers and less than 60% out commuting AND each city of at least 15,000 population that is at least one-third the size of the largest central city and meets employment ratio and commuting percentage above.	Commuting: 50% or more and-----> 40% or more and-----> 25% or more and-----> 15% or more and----->	Character: 25 or more persons per square mile, OR 35 or more persons per square mile, OR 35 or more persons per square mile and one of the following: 50 or more persons per square mile 35% or more urban population 10% or more of population, or at least 5,000 persons in UA, OR 50 or more persons per square mile and two of the following: 60 or more persons per square mile 35% or more urban population - population growth rate of at least 20% 10% or more of population, or at least 5,000 persons in UA

Decade	Area Name	Central City and Central Core Criteria	Minimum Measures of Integration for Outlying County	Minimum Measures of Metropolitan Character for Outlying County
1990s	Metropolitan Areas • MSA • CMSA • PMSA • NECMA	- City of at least 50,000 population, OR - UA of at least 50,000 population in an MA of at least 100,000 population - Central cities include largest city in MSA/CMSA AND each city of at least 250,000 population or at least 100,000 workers AND each city of at least 25,000 population and at least 75 jobs per 100 workers and less than 60% out commuting AND each city of at least 15,000 population that is at least 1/3 size of largest central city and meets employment ratio and commuting percentage above AND largest city of 15,000 population or more that meets employment ratio and commuting percentage above and is in a secondary noncontiguous UA AND each city in a secondary noncontiguous UA that is at least 1/3 size of largest central city of that UA and has at least 15,000 population and meets employment ratio and commuting percentage above.	Commuting: 50% or more and-----> 40% to 50% and-----> 25% to 40% and-----> 15% to 25% and-----> 15% to 25% and----->	Character: 25 or more persons per square mile, or 10% or more of population, or at least 5,000 persons in UA OR 35 or more persons per square mile, or 10% or more of population, or at least 5,000 persons in UA OR 35 or more persons per square mile and one of the following: • 50 or more persons per square mile • 35% or more urban population • 10% or more of population or at least 5,000 persons in UA, OR 50 or more persons per square mile and two of the following: • 60 or more persons per square mile • 35% or more urban population • population growth rate of at least 20% • 10% or more of population, or at least 5,000 persons in UA Less than 50 persons per square mile and two of the following: • 35% or more urban population • population growth rate of at least 20% • 10% or more of population, or at least 5,000 persons in UA