"Parks Not Parkways": Contesting Automobility in a Small Canadian City

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Abstract. This case study of a dispute over a project to construct a road through green space in a small Canadian city brings together two hitherto separate theoretical approaches to mobility disputes: "culture stories" and "regimes of engagement". The stories opponents tell, in interviews and documents, concern their mobilization against the project, the value of environmental preservation, and the costs of expanded automobility, culminating in contrasting visions of urban development. The culture stories approach examines how stories varied on a narrative dimension of informational formats, temporal structures, causal mechanisms, and plot institutionalization, and a place dimension of relational geography and physical attributes. The pragmatic conditions of the different narratives of contestation, and of the challenges faced by opponents are analysed in terms of the relation between regimes of engagement: a regime of familiarity based in slow mobilities, a regime of planned action based in automobility, and the clash of industrial and green orders of worth in a regime of justification.

Keywords: Pragmatist sociology, mobilities, regimes of engagement, culture stories, urban transportation, environment.

Resumé. Cette étude de cas au sujet d'une dispute sur un projet de construction d'une route à travers l'espace vert dans une petite ville canadienne réunit deux approches théoriques jusqu'ici distinctes aux conflits de mobilité, soit les «récits de culture» et les «régimes d'engagement». Les histoires racontées par les adversaires au projet, lors des entrevues et des documents, concernent leur mobilisation contre le projet, la valeur de la préservation de l'environnement, et les coûts de l'automobilité élargie, aboutissant à des visions du développement urbain contrasté. L'approche des récits de culture examine la manière dont les histoires varient sur une dimension narrative des formats d'information, des structures temporelles, des mécanismes de causalité, et l'institutionnalisation d'intrigue, et donne une place à la dimension de la géographie relationnelle et des attributs physiques. Les conditions pragmatiques des différents récits de contestation, ainsi que les difficultés rencontrées par les opposants sont analysées en

termes de la relation entre les régimes d'engagement: un régime de familiarité basé sur des mobilités lentes, un régime d'action en plan basé sur l'automobilité, et le différend inhérent entre les ordres industriel et «vert» qui font partie d'un régime de justification.

Mots cles: Sociologie pragmatique, mobilités, régimes d'engagement, récits de culture, transport urbain, l'environnement

Introduction

Despite some attention to late 20th century road protests (e.g., Sheller and Urry 2000), the existing literature on controversies over urban road construction has mainly concerned "freeway revolts" in large American and Canadian cities in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., Ladd 2008). This case study of a dispute over construction of a road through green space in a small Canadian city draws attention to the contemporary environmental dimension of contrasting visions of urban mobility.

To understand the pragmatic discursive strategies put into play by opponents of "the Parkway" in Peterborough, Ontario between 2012 and 2014, we bring together two hitherto separate theoretical approaches to understand mobility disputes: the analysis of "culture stories" developed in the context of urban planning and urban branding, and the analysis of "regimes of engagement" developed in the pragmatic sociology of critique and justification. After outlining the theoretical frameworks, the research methods and the research site, we examine stories of mobilization, environmental preservation, automobility, and urban development told by participants in the dispute. Combining culture stories and regime of engagement approaches allows us to show how groups congregate around stories and forms of action coordination about a site of contention. It reveals the tensions and difficulties experienced by actors, and the pragmatic strategies they use to deal with them.

Culture Stories

Leaning on a narrative turn in planning and social theory (Czarniawska 2004, Eckstein and Throgmorton 2003, Finnegan 1998, Sandercock 2003) the culture stories approach starts from the premise that "emplotted narratives – stories in this terminology – are central to any form of urban intervention", as "different actors tell different stories about the same place" (Jensen 2007: 217, 212). Such stories vary on narrative and spatial dimensions. The narrative dimension involves the extent to which

a hierarchy of components are assembled into a coherent story. At the lowest level of narrative development is the mere presentation of information, followed at the next level by its organization in a temporal sequence, then the addition of a causal dynamic and plot from which the proposed action follows. At the top of the hierarchy, the most powerful stories are institutionalized.

Stories vary on the narrative dimension in terms of the types of information they marshal, how that information is integrated into temporal sequences and causal chains that develop a plot from which the planned intervention emerges, and the extent to which the story is institutionally recognized and thus authoritative. A strong narrative presents information that is recognized as factual, and a plot with a clear temporal order and causal mechanisms embedded in local and national policy understandings, providing stakeholders with a shared story of "what must be done" (see Jensen 2007 for a case study). In contrast, a weak narrative presents non-factual or experiential information, with inconsistent or competing temporalities, causal mechanisms and plot lines. In the absence of institutional authority stakeholders have difficulty rallying support.

The place dimension of culture stories concerns the relational geography of a place's existing and planned physical attributes. Stories connect a site and its physical attributes to other places. The spatial claims in culture stories link sites of intervention, and their past, current and planned future attributes to other places, at scales ranging from the very local to the global. On the place dimension, weak stories are inward looking and locally focused, with little articulation to other places. Strong stories incorporate both a lively sense of existing and historical physical attributes and their relation to broader regional, national or even global spaces. Table 1 (from Jensen 2007) sums up the culture stories approach, emphasizing how information is ordered by connecting causalities with plots into wider frames of spatial discourse.

Table 1 Culture stories: Narrative and Place Dimensions

Narrative Dimension	Information
	Temporal order/structure
	Causality
	Plot
	Institutionalization
Place Dimension	Relations to other places
	Physical attributes

Source: Jensen 2007: 221

The stories told by proponents and opponents of an urban project may vary on the narrative dimension of informational formats, temporal structures, causal mechanisms, and institutionalization of plots, and on the place dimension of representations of relational geography and physical attributes of sites at different scales. Social groups present conflicting ideas about the meaning of the project, the value of its sites, and wider societal values such as environmental sustainability, and economic growth.

In the culture stories approach, stories draw on larger societal discourses for legitimation, providing "underlying rationales and values, relating to a particular strategy, product, intervention, plan, artefact, etc." (Jensen 2007: 216). In the next section we turn to a regimes of engagement approach to provide a framework for examining how stories of mobility contestation are connected to broader discourses on the one hand, and more intimate scales on the other.

Regimes of engagement

Our second theoretical approach develops Laurent Thévenot's (2001, 2006, 2009) analysis of pragmatic regimes of engagement between persons and the environment of their actions. Reformulating the liberal public - private dichotomy as a hierarchy of communicability or "putting in common", the regimes of engagement framework distinguishes three ways in which action is coordinated and assessed: a regime of public justification, a regime of planned action, and a regime of familiarity.

The highest level of commonality lies in the regime of public justification, where actors justify their positions in public disputes, and criticize other positions in terms of a limited number of conceptions of the common good institutionalized in western societies (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). Eight such conceptions, or orders of worth, that supply criteria for evaluating the worthiness of actors, actions and objects have been distinguished in the literature: fame, inspired, domestic, market, industrial, civic, network, and green or environmental (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, Boltanski and Chiapello 2005, Thévenot et al. 2000). What is publicly evaluated as serving the collective good in one order of worth is unworthy, or merely a private good in another, and because there is no higher principle to adjudicate between them, they are incommensurable.

At a lower level of generality, in the regime of planned action the human and nonhuman environment of action is appropriated as functional conditions or means for carrying out a plan or project. Evaluation takes

the form of assessments of success or failure of the plan in accomplishing its objectives, using everyday "language, with its loose denomination of actions and objects" (Thévenot 2001, 71).

At the lowest level of communicability is the regime of familiarity. Consisting of intimate relations with people and objects, and closely tied to personal identity, it is the least general and least communicable of the three regimes of engagement. The environment of action is neither functionally prepared for use by anonymous others (as in the regime of planned action), nor publicly justifiable (as in the regime of justification); instead it is arranged by the attachments and personal ease for a particular actor. Table 2 sums up the regimes of engagement approach used here.

Table 2 Regimes of Engagement

	familiarity	planned action	justification
mode of coordination	personal ease & attachments	functional integration	public conventions
objects	personal, singular	means	qualified for the common good
mode of evaluation	embodied experience	accomplishment of ends	orders of worth

Source: Adapted from Thévenot 2001: 76

Studies of disputes over large infrastructure projects (Thévenot et al. 2000, Thévenot 2002) and urban design and mobilities (Albertsen and Diken 2001, Conley 2015) have used the framework of the regime of justification to show how actors draw on conceptions of the common good to assess projects. Such accounts fail to show how actors arrived at their arguments, or why they are attached to the places in dispute. As Blok and Meilvang (2015) have shown, putting public justifications in the context of the other two regimes remedies this deficiency, revealing obstacles to constructing oppositional culture stories against institutionalized planning stories, and the pragmatic strategies adopted by opponents to surmount them.

The hierarchy of communicability of the three regimes of engagement is rife with tensions, which connects this framework to the culture stories approach. Stories that recount information, temporality, causal links, plot, and geography from the experiences and attachments of a regime of familiarity are unconvincing from the point of view of a regime of planned action and judgment using formal knowledge by experts

in centres of calculation such as planning departments and engineering consultants. Such a regime can reduce political debate between plural orders of worth in the regime of justification to the standards of industrial worth where efficiency, standardization, technical competence and long-term planning and prediction are paramount, and "space is Cartesian or generic, mapped out by co-ordinates" (Thévenot 2002: 11). From this perspective, the stories told by opponents can be interpreted as pragmatic attempts to shift the terms of debate, starting from considerations that draw on the regime of familiarity, but necessarily shifting to challenging the way in which industrial worth has been measured by planners, and introducing criteria of the common good from other orders of worths in the regime of justification.

The culture stories and regimes of engagement approaches are mutually enriching. The effectiveness of strong narratives in mobilizing support for or opposition to urban projects is highlighted by the culture stories approach. By identifying the components of strong narratives, and highlighting the physical and relational geographies of the sites of such interventions the culture stories approach provides a guide for our analysis of the stories told by opponents of the Parkway in Peterborough.

The culture stories told by planners operate mainly in a regime of planned action, in which information is presented in standardized forms, and sites are formatted as functional, abstract spaces of planned, rational action. Oppositional culture stories are more likely to move between all three regimes of engagement. Opposition to urban projects may start from identities and emotional attachments to places in the regime of familiarity. From there, they may shift to the regime of planned action, contesting the plan and its rationale in its own terms, but typically without the resources to present authoritative information meeting the standards of the industrial order of worth. To identify why the project should be stopped, they may rise to a more general level, formatting the site in terms of one or more orders of worth in the regime of justification, making a radical departure from planners' assumptions by proposing alternative conceptions of the public good.

Our combination of the two approaches thus draws attention to how tensions and difficulties of communication between different regimes of engagement hinders the construction of strong culture stories by opponents. It adds a critical dimension by highlighting the contemporary dominance of the regime of planned action, which overwhelms the regime of familiarity essential for personal identity, and supplants the regime of justification's plural orders of worth in favour of an industrial criterion of efficiency (Thévenot 2009). The problem is aptly stated by urban design scholar Rob Beauregard (2005: 54): "Planners and designers substitute

a professional narrative for a multitude of shared histories, collective remembrances, and personal experiences. Unwieldy stories about the place are suppressed and replaced by more actionable understandings." These dynamics play a key role in understanding the dispute over the Peterborough Parkway.

Methods

This article is based on sixteen unstructured interviews with participants on both sides of the controversy, conducted by the first author. Interviews requests were made to all ten city councillors plus the mayor; the latter and two councillors declined (all three have supported the parkway), and one councillor agreed only after the round of interviews had been concluded. A snowball sample of citizens who had publicly opposed or supported the Parkway extension produced interviews with eight opponents, and one supporter.[1] Interviews lasted from less than thirty to more than ninety minutes. Because of the limited sample of proponent views, and because the road would not be contentious if there were no opponents, the article focuses on the latter's stories. In addition to interviews, an archive of documents was assembled: blogs created by groups opposed to the parkway, City of Peterborough documents, clippings from two local newspapers, and miscellaneous other documents.

The Case Study

Located approximately 150 kilometres by road northeast of Toronto, the city of Peterborough is connected by two freeways to Canada's largest metropolitan area. Part of Canada's smallest Census Metropolitan Area, the city itself had a population slightly under 79,000 in 2011. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century its economy was anchored in manufacturing; service sector employment in education, healthcare, and government is now dominant. Peterborough is a greying city, with a fifth of its population 65 years of age and older, three fifths of them female (Statistics Canada 2012).

Like most North American cities, transportation in Peterborough is highly car dependent. In 2006, over 80 per cent of employed people commuted to work by automobile, 3 per cent cycled, and 10 per cent

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1. As will be seen later, few ordinary citizens advocated for the Parkway at public meetings, perhaps because it was being propelled by the city and its consultants.

walked. The highest levels of automobile dependence are in the outer ring of suburbs (Salmon et al 2014).

Although the road controversy analyzed in this article "reared its ugly head" (I-5 [2]) in 2012, planning for what came to know as "the Parkway" in Peterborough has a long, largely unwritten history. A highway bypass from the southwest to the northeast was proposed in the city's first Master Plan in 1947 (Faludi 1947). Land on what was then the outskirts was set aside, but in the ensuing decades, especially in the northern corridor, residential suburbs grew around it, and people made other uses of the land, including a walking trail.

The road proposal resurfaced in the 1990s, when a southern section was built between an east-west arterial road and Highway 115 (see Figure 1). Construction of a road in the remainder of the Parkway corridor remained in the city's Official Plan, despite its rejection by 55 per cent of voters in a non-binding 2003 referendum. In a process that opponents came to call "the Parkway by stealth" (PNP 2013-10-09), construction began on another section in 2011, as a two-lane access road to a new regional hospital (Medical Drive).

Completion of the remainder of the Parkway was revived by City Council in 2012, and AECOM, a multi-national engineering consulting firm, was hired to perform the environmental assessment (EA) required by provincial legislation. The EA process included a series of four Public Information Centres (PICs) between October 2012 and September 2013, at which City and AECOM staff erected displays, made presentations, and took questions and written comments. In November 2013, City Council voted to approve the Parkway extension despite objections voiced by over 90 delegations, at a public meeting lasting two evenings (Wedley 2013). Three months later, the final EA report recommended a four-lane road between the southern parkway and an expanded Medical Drive; a four-lane road and 300 metre bridge across Jackson Park between Medical Drive and Chemong Road, and a two-lane road from Chemong Road to Cumberland Street (AECOM 2014a). In March 2014, opponents submitted an unprecedented 88 individual "Part II Order requests" (informally known as "bump-up" requests) to the provincial Ministry of the Environment (MOE) for a more comprehensive environmental assessment. Opponents also made the Parkway an issue in the October 2014 municipal election. Although two pro-parkway incumbents were defeated by anti-parkway candidates, the pro-Parkway mayor was re-elected and a majority on the new City Council voted to proceed, pending the MOE's decision on the bump-up requests.

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2. Interviews are cited as I-[interview number]

Figure 1 Map of Peterborough and the Parkway
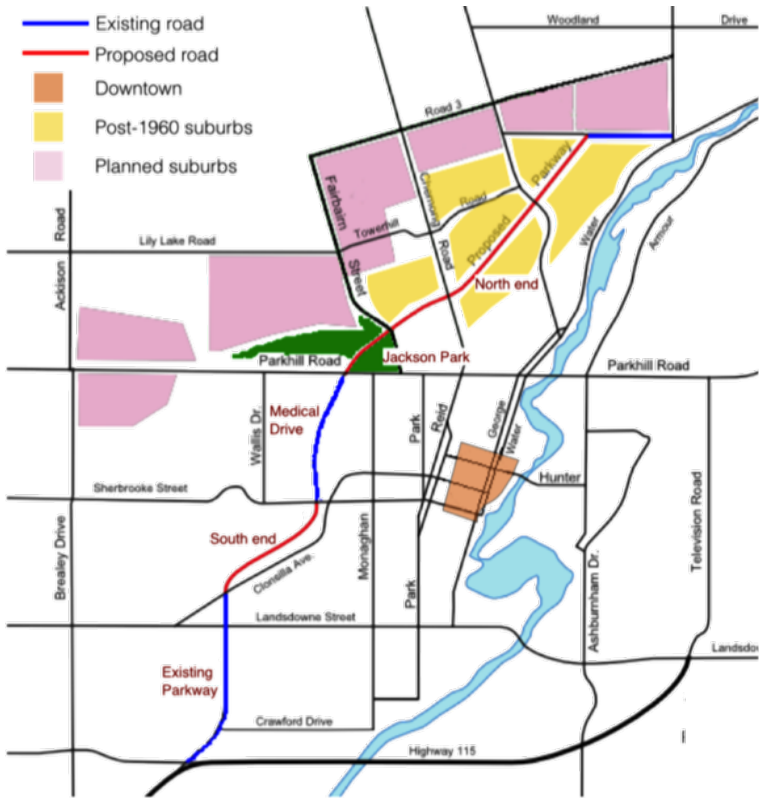
Source: Modified from PNP 2013-10-03

Parkway Culture Stories

What stories did proponents and opponents of the Peterborough Parkway tell? The proponents' case can be described briefly, as they told a consistent story. The opponents' stories are more complicated, and most of the discussion to follow concerns the reasons for this, and the route they followed in constructing their positions.

For Parkway proponents, the project's objective was efficient automobility: "to improve traffic flow and increase roadway capacity to address long term growth in the City" (City of Peterborough 2012). The need for the Parkway was based on predictions of population growth and new suburban development in the northern part of the city, increased

traffic flows and bottlenecks at intersections in afternoon rush hours, collision statistics, and simulations of travel patterns in the Parkway's absence (AECOM 2014). A secondary, but politically important argument for the Parkway, particularly for city councillors and pro-Parkway residents in the north end, was the expectation that it would reduce "traffic infiltration" by drivers using residential streets as shortcuts (I-5, I-8, I-11).

Opponents of the parkway told three kinds of stories, that will be presented following the spatial dimension of culture stories and the hierarchy of generality of regimes of engagement: from the most local relations and attributes to the most global, and from familiar engagements to planned action and then clashing orders of worth in the regime of justification. First, opponents told stories of how they came to learn about and oppose the Parkway, and about their attachments to places located where the Parkway would be built. Second, they challenged planners' definition of the problem and analysis of the costs and benefits of expanding the Parkway in stories from a regime of planned action within the city of Peterborough. Third, at the most general level, opponents questioned the worth of efficient automobility in the name of other orders of worth and different spatial scales.

STORIES OF ATTACHMENT TO PLACE

Organized opposition to the Parkway began by accident, when, on his daily walk with his dogs a prominent Parkway opponent discovered that a section of the popular 4 km trail that starts in Jackson Park was closed for construction of a trunk sewer serving a new auto-dependent suburban development. Inquiries at City Hall revealed that the Parkway was back on the City's agenda and a bridge over Jackson Park was being considered. He and a few others organized the Friends of Jackson Park (FJP) to raise awareness and protect the integrity of the Park as green space (I-4, I-9). After several meetings, this "very ad hoc, disparate group" of Parkway opponents formed the Peterborough Greenspace Coalition (PGC) as a loose, umbrella organization bringing together the Friends of Peterborough Trails (FPT), the Peterborough Field Naturalists (PFN), the Friends of Jackson Park (FJP) and No Parkway (I-12, PGC 2013-10-01).

The PGC publicized the threat of the Parkway and recruited new participants through informal social networks of friends and neighbours, face-to-face encounters at Public Information Centre (PIC) meetings, and information booths at an environmental exhibition and at the site of

the proposed bridge (I-2, I-9, I-13, I-15, PGC 2013-10-27, PNP 2013-10-21). They were also active online with a petition on change.org, Facebook pages, websites and blogs, email newsletters, crowd-source fundraising, Twitter, and YouTube (I-4, I-9). Members of the Coalition demonstrated at City Hall, held an Earth Day march and a fundraising concert, spoke at City Council meetings and PICs, wrote op-eds and letters to local newspapers, bought advertising, and erected lawn signs (I-9, I-15).

The proposed bridge over Jackson Park emerged as a rallying point for Parkway opponents, and even for some of its supporters: "People would lie down in front of the bulldozers and I'd be one of them", according to one of the latter (I-11). "I think a lot of people will be willing to be literally chaining themselves to bulldozers" (I-2, also I-9). A city councillor who "reluctantly" supported the parkway extension was "vehemently opposed to" the bridge (I-6). For another councillor, the bridge is "an obvious desecration of the park, it ruins the value of the park. You'd have to go past that bridge to be into the park" (I-12).

Why was the bridge a focal point? Opponents stressed that the bridge, with its noise and size, would wreck the solitude, tranquility, and beauty of the Park: "to a large degree it's an aesthetic thing … for me at least, it's just going to change the feel of being in the park … big new roads are pretty ugly things, they're loud, they're smelly, they're just not very attractive" (I-2). The bridge site is "one of the most beautiful spots in the Park, … where most people congregate and the paths merge and there's a beautiful sunset" (I-15); "it's so tranquil, and beautiful" (I-3). The Park is a place where residents go "to walk, exercise, share family time, recreate, reflect, and reconnect with nature and its calming rhythms … The first thing you notice when you walk or bike here is how serene and restorative it is." (PGC 2014-03-23: 17).

Jackson Park, and for some, the northern Parkway corridor, were described as places of memory and community, where **"**you run into people you know, and you're chatting, and the dogs are playing and all that" (I-10). "Jackson park is a natural area that people love, we've all got memories" (I-6), according to a Parkway proponent. A blog post counterposed photos of the tree-lined Parkway Trail to a section of Medical Drive lined with high, grey concrete sound barriers. Asking readers to consider "where you would rather walk" it concluded, "for trail users, the greenway is not about *getting* somewhere, it is about *being* somewhere" (FPT 2013-04-18, our emphasis).

These observations by users of the Park and trails draw on the physical attributes of place emphasized in the culture stories approach, and suggest an extension to the concept of the regime of familiarity in

the regimes of engagement approach. Park users experienced feelings of calm, serenity, and quiet comparable to the "ease" that Thévenot identifies with the regime of familiarity. But instead of the personal possessions and surroundings in which "the things we appropriate are customized, tamed, or domesticated" (Thévenot 2001, 77), this emotion arises from a relatively passive, aesthetic engagement with the physical attributes of public greenspaces. The place dimension of the culture stories approach suggests that the concept of the regime of familiarity should be extended to include personal attachments to public surroundings.

Crucially, familiar engagement with the physical attributes of a place requires slow modes of mobility. Lacking enclosed shells and moving more slowly than occupants of automobiles, pedestrians, runners and cyclists are open to the sounds, smells, and tactile sensations of their surroundings (Conley 2012). Their maneuverability and "pausability" enables stopping and interacting with others (Demerath and Levinger 2003). Like other urban public spaces that favour public life, a complex natural environment like Jackson Park provides perceptual innuendo, unexpectedness, whimsy, historical layering and physical juxtapositions that can serve as common referents for mutual recognition and talk (Lofland 1998). Engaged via slow mobilities, these physical attributes afford the construction of community and culture in ways that the speed, noise, danger, and uninviting material surroundings of autocentric environments impede (Taylor 2003).

Like other transportation plans, the Parkway proposal was about "getting somewhere", not "being somewhere". For the theoretical approaches adopted here, Parkway opponents faced the pragmatic problem of transforming weakly plotted stories of personal and local attachments to places in the regime of familiarity into strong stories that would appeal to citizens and decision-makers who engaged with these places in a regime of planned action and a regime of justification (Thévenot 2006, ch. 8, Callon et al. 2009). Stories from the regime of familiarity are unconvincing from the point of view of the regime of planned action, legitimated within the regime of justification's industrial order of worth. The challenge was expressed by a city councillor who voted for the Parkway: "often people will come and speak and their hearts are in the right place but sometimes they have the facts wrong" (I-14). An opponent admitted the difficulty: "I think people see us as a bunch of tree-huggers" (I-9). Parkway opponents struggled to construct a strong story that questioned the facts and assumptions behind the Parkway planners' easily understood, institutionally supported narrative.

Confronting the Planner's Story

In the culture stories approach the most powerful stories of urban intervention are institutionalized. Lacking institutional resources of money, time, and legitimacy, Parkway opponents struggled to produce stories that would compete with the simple story of the Parkway proponents and resonate with the public and city councillors. They felt that the odds were stacked against them: "pro-Parkway interests have City resources behind them … pro-Parkway interests have well-funded engineering studies to quote — getting our voices organized and heard is a bit more difficult" (PNP 2013-10-06, PNP 2013-11-19).

The first obstacle to producing a coherent story was organizational. Operating through consensus (I-9), and relying on volunteers, the Greenspace Coalition was reluctant to eliminate any suggestions for fear of driving away participants. It was like "the scene from Life of Brian where they're like 'we're the People's Popular Front of Judea', 'no we're the Judean People's….'" (I-12). Consequently, objections to the construction of the Parkway often appeared as lists rather than narratives, such as twenty-nine "reasons it doesn't make sense to turn our priceless greenways and parks into roads" (PNP 2013-11-19).

Second, without the money and time to produce extensive research to counter proponents' arguments, opponents often relied on anecdotal evidence. Some practiced "research in the wild" (Callon et al. 2009) by driving on alternative routes within or around the city (I-4, I-3), while others reflected on whether they or other residents would change their driving habits if the Parkway was built (I-12, I-3, I-5). Despite recognizing the limitations of their research ("we get [that] the evidence is anecdotal … not a scientific study"), opponents conveyed impressions from conversations, such as with people who approached Peterborough Greenspace Coalition members at their booth in a local mall, to claim that "a clear majority of people oppose the City's plans for the Parkway and Jackson Park" (PNP 2013-10-21). The PGC used money raised through crowdfunding to commission a report by a counter-expert (I-9, Litman 2014), but it was no match for the massive and well-funded authority of computer models, simulations, and traffic surveys presented by the engineering consultants. Opponents criticized the consultants' methodology, but could not counter the engineering juggernaut with studies of their own. City councillors, like most laypeople, lacked the expertise to assess the claims and counter-claims, and the institutional authority of the planners' reports left Parkway opponents with a credibility deficit.

Consequently, instead of producing a strong counter-narrative, Parkway opponents attempted to weaken the planning narrative by raising doubts about its premises and results. First, they questioned the existence of a traffic problem; second, they tried to show that even if there was a problem, the Parkway was not the solution; and third, they argued that the Parkway's projected benefits did not justify its costs.

"What's the hurry?", asked a new city councillor (I-5), wondering why transportation planners were in a rush to do something in 2015, when (aside from the secondary issue of traffic infiltration in residential neighbourhoods [3]), the traffic problems that the Parkway was to solve were not expected to occur until 2031. Opponents also questioned the planners' predictions of future population growth (FPT 2013-04-16, FPT 2013-06-23), suggesting that its demographic composition would reduce automobile travel: "we're not having as many children, we're closing schools, we're getting older, so people, as they age, may not drive as much" (I-5, also I-4, I-1). Instead of the long-standing "predict and provide" model of traffic planning (Dennis and Urry 2009), opponents advocated waiting to see if congestion became severe before taking remedial measures: "is our present car-dominated society going to continue? These are unknowns, so again this is yet another factor that urges for caution before spending large amounts of money" (I-1). In the face of uncertainty in a technological dispute, they advised prudence (see Callon et al. 2009).

Even if the city had traffic problems, opponents argued that the Parkway was not the solution: "It Won't Solve Our Transportation Problems" (PNP 2013-11-03). If planners were correct, and population grew in the North End, the Parkway would not connect it to the city's main employment and shopping areas downtown and in the south (I-12, PNP 2013-10-03, PNP 2013-11-03). Against the claim that it was needed to avoid drivers using residential streets as short-cuts, opponents cited the well-known, but for most drivers and many policy-makers, counter-intuitive mechanism of induced demand: "the whole idea of the road, 'so if we build the road we will have less traffic' —no, if you look at the evidence, again, and again, and again, it doesn't happen, that's not how it happens" (I-12, also I-2, PNP 2013-10-20). "Building more roads to deal with increased traffic is like buying bigger pants to deal with obesity" (I-7).

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3. In interviews, the failure of the City to take any measures to reduce traffic infiltration was taken as a sign of bad faith, indicating that the City was using it to keep up the pressure for the Parkway (I-12, I-15)

Opponents challenged the Parkway's estimated cost, claiming that the figure of less than 80 million dollars (AECOM 2014a, xxxii) was severely and even deliberately underestimated (I-5, FPT 2013-04-16, PNP 2013-10-20, PNP 2013-11-03[4]). The Parkway would be "a bad investment of our hard-earned tax dollars" (PNP 2013-10-03), and a burden on future generations (I-3) that would push aside badly needed infrastructure improvements, along with other priorities such as jobs, housing, recreation, and transit (I-5, I-3, I-10, I-7, PNP 2013-10-20, PNP 2013-11-19). Inequity was also an issue: the Parkway "doesn't serve the needs of everybody in the community", such as the "large number of people in this city who don't drive, who don't have personal vehicles" (I-10, also I-15, PNP 2013-11-06, PNP 2013-10-03).

Above all, Parkway opponents criticized the EA's cost-benefit analysis for undervaluing environmental amenities and overvaluing small savings of motorists' time. The EA report monetized time benefits in afternoon "peak hour travel times" using a complex model of predicted daily car trips in 2031, vehicle speeds, and average vehicle occupancy. Valuing travel time at $15.75 / hour, the EA report calculated a total annual benefit for the Parkway of nearly 75 million dollars (and a vehicle operating cost benefit of nearly 37 million dollars) (AECOM 2014a, Appendix M). As the abstractions of the aggregate traffic model were far from everyday experience, opponents disaggregated the total into a time saving of a few minutes a day. A long-time resident of Peterborough considered spending millions for this time saving absurd, when "you can drive any number of ways in 15 minutes to get across the city … It's time but it's not money … there's no money in my pocket, there's no actual savings" (I-5, also I-3). It was also not worth the loss of greenspace: "Is the loss of our trails worth three to four minutes off a trip across town?" (FPT 2013-04-18).

To this critique, the engineering consultants responded that all was done according to industry or engineering standards (AECOM 2014b). For opponents, this was the problem: "our whole point is the industry methods are wrong" (I-12); "you've got the wrong people, studying the wrong issue, at the wrong time, with the wrong analytical tools … the transportation people think in terms of cars, they don't think in terms of people" (I-1).

These contrasting positions exemplify the importance of institutionalization for the strength of narratives and counter-narratives identified in the culture stories approach. In the absence of institutional resources, opponents could criticize the strong stories of Parkway

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4. On the systematic underestimation of infrastructure project costs, see Flyvbjerg et al. 2003.

proponents, but were unable to produce their own strong stories. The institutionalized resource of industry standards, and the sheer volume of rigorously formatted information that planners were able to provide gave their story a credibility that opponents' criticisms, however well-founded, lacked. [5] Yet those criticisms were not entirely ineffective, as they were the bases for "bump-up" requests to the provincial Ministry of the Environment, which have delayed the project pending the Ministry's decision.

The dispute over time savings also exemplifies tensions between the regime of planned action and the industrial order of worth in the regime of justification. Within the regime of planned action the assessment of the functionality of the environment of action, and the accomplishment of actions are evaluated using ordinary language and common sense. In contrast, the industrial order of worth operates with well-defined codes or standards based in scientific and professional expertise. Opponents treated time savings as an individual good in a regime of planned action; the EA treated it as a collective good for the entire city in the industrial order of worth.

From the perspective of the regime of engagement approach, we have shown that one route Parkway opponents took from the regime of familiarity was a reformist critique [6] of the plan in its own terms, shifting from the regime of planned action to the industrial order of worth of the regime of justification. Another route from the regime of familiarity to the regime of justification was available to opponents: developing a strong story and radical critique by linking a green order of worth with others in the regime of justification.

FROM GREEN STORIES TO PROGRESSIVE URBAN BRANDING

From the perspective of regimes of engagement, Parkway opponents' attempts to criticize the Parkway plan on its own terms in the industrial order of worth shifted to stories that concerned the collective good in the environmental or green order of worth. This is the least institutionalized order of worth, in which the common good (for humanity and in some versions for non-human species as well) derives from wilderness and habitat preservation, resource stewardship or sustainability, and the cultivation of harmonious relations between humans

5. For academic critiques of traffic engineering, see Freund and Martin 1993, Ladd 2008.

6. For the distinction between reformist critique (of the application of an order of worth in a "test") and radical critique (from a different order of worth), see Boltanski and Chiapello 2005.

and natural places (Thévenot et al. 2000). In contrast to the stories that considered Jackson Park or the Parkway greenspace in terms of familiar attachments, the green stories considered below located these places in a broader relational geography of the city and beyond. Later, as the Parkway became an issue in the municipal election, environmental worth was aligned with other orders of worth in a broad progressive vision for the city.

As we have shown, the destruction of Parkway greenspace in general, and the effects of a bridge over Jackson Park underlay objections to the extension of the parkway, and both rested on attachments in a regime of familiarity. Arguments based on such attachments were vulnerable to suspicions of "not in my backyard" (NIMBY) sentiments, and of opposition to progress and growth. Both accusations were directed at Parkway opponents, who countered with stories that tried to demonstrate that rather than being a selfish or private good, the preservation of greenspace would serve the common good for the community as whole, not just for people who used the parkway corridor.

Opponents told green stories at two different scales of relational geography. First, at a local level, opponents highlighted the value of the Parkway greenspace and Jackson Park for biodiversity and as wildlife corridors that offered Peterborough residents, especially children, the opportunity to see wildlife, as well a habitat and migration route for the wildlife itself (I-2, FPT 2013-06-23, Monkman 2014). Second, at the broadest global scale of relational geography, Parkway opponents stressed the implications of expanded automobility and urban sprawl for climate change (I-2, Monkman 2014): "The issue boils down to the use of carbon in society. … projects like this do not represent the type of change that needs to be happening" (I-13). Although embedded in institutionalized scientific authority, the climate change story was abstract and distant from the regime of planned action in the everyday life of a car-dependent city, and its timeline even more extended than the engineering projections of Parkway planners. Like the wildlife corridor story fragment, it was not developed into a strong story against the Parkway.

The environmental benefits of the preservation of greenspace were more often combined with other collective goods to provide an urban cultural branding for Peterborough as a whole. From the regimes of engagement perspective, opponents constructed a compromises between the green order of worth and the order of worth of fame or renown (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). Using the city's own branding slogan "Peterborough, it's a natural!" (PNP 2013-10-

09), opponents claimed "Peterborough's *reputation* for natural beauty and conservation will be tarnished" by the destruction of greenspace (PNP 2013-10-20, our emphasis). The PGC reported that newcomers to Peterborough who approached its members at their booth in a local mall said that they "had moved here because they felt Peterborough was a beautiful city, full of natural spaces" (PNP 2013-10-21).

The green reputation of Peterborough thus became part of a story told by Parkway opponents in which Parkway greenspace was valuable as an urban attribute that would promote the city's growth. It formed a "progressive" image of urban development to counter a story of "progress" told by proponents, who represented the Parkway as "modern" infrastructure that should have been built 60 years ago, and should finally be built now to spur Peterborough's economic development.[7] Denying that they were anti-progress "anti-development, anti-cars, anti-growth, anti-housing, anti-change, anti-everything" (PNP 2013-11-16), opponents characterized the Parkway as "outdated" (I-15); "out of tune with so much modern thinking about cities and growth" (I-12); "a twentieth century solution to a twenty-first century problem" (I-16, also I-10, PNP 2013-11-19). Bridging the gap between local and global scales, they cited cities in the Greater Toronto Area, such as Ajax, Whitby, and Mississauga, as mistakes to be avoided (I-2, I-12, I-9). Roads like the Parkway "have proven time and time again not to work for cities across North America" (PNP 2013-11-16, also I-15).

Predicting that the manufacturing base that supported the local economy in the middle of the twentieth century would not return (I-5), opponents re-defined the problem as how to attract professionals (PNP 2013-10-09, PNP 2013-11-03). In this progressive city branding, Peterborough is "uniquely positioned to find its place in the new economy. An economy that places high value on priceless city assets like greenways and parks" (PNP 2013-11-16, also PNP 2013-10-20). They cited cities that recognize "how economically valuable having green space in the core of your city is. New York City has the Highline, … Chicago, Paris, and all these other cities when you go there, their green spaces and their parks are the top tourist destinations as well as for the residents" (I-15, also I-10, I-9, PNP 2013-10-20). Progressive development of the city meant intensification downtown, less car-dependence, greater walkability, and easy access to greenspace (I-4, Monkman 2014).

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7. I-5, reporting on the views of people in his ward who supported the Parkway in his campaigning. The rhetoric of progress was used against mid-twentieth century freeway opponents (Ladd 2008: 118)

The progressive vision of urban development became more important as time passed. During the EA process in 2013-2014, the Parkway dominated the narrative, but as the October 2014 municipal election approached, the story shifted from the "Parkway as an issue" to "the city's development as the way to address the Parkway issue … the idea of having more complete communities rather than just roads and suburbs" (I-13). The broader focus of the campaign was exemplified by a PGC advertisement in a free local newspaper a few weeks before the election: "Our city is at a Crossroads: Sprawl or Sustainability" (PGC 2014-10-17; see also PNP 2014-10-06). The broadened appeal was "to make Smart Growth and Sustainability a priority for our City", and to fight "continued single-zoned urban sprawl subdivisions in favour of redeveloping the city core" (PNP 2014-10-06).

Stories of urban development such as new urbanism, business improvement districts and infrastructure projects often draw on "travelling ideas", that is, globally circulating "solutions" to be applied, contested and changed as they are filtered through local cultures, political systems, and social geographies (Tait and Jensen 2007). Although less institutionalized than the engineering standards used by planners, urban planning ideas presented in books such as *Walkable City* (Speck 2012) and *Happy City* (Montgomery 2011) were often mentioned in interviews. These travelling ideas inspired Parkway opponents and provided alternative models. The progressive story also drew strength from its evocation of a meaningful relational geography of places in the region, and a coherent plot that connected Peterborough's past and future. Its strength was demonstrated by its appeal to a substantial part of the Peterborough electorate, as the novice progressive candidate for mayor came within just over 1300 votes of defeating the incumbent, and two incumbent city councillors who supported the Parkway were defeated in the municipal election (City of Peterborough 2014).

Conclusion

In this article, we have combined the narrative approach of culture stories with a pragmatist sociology of regimes of engagement to understand a specific case of mobility contestation, the Parkway controversy in Peterborough, Ontario. The culture stories approach led us to examine how proponents and opponents told stories that varied on the narrative dimension of informational formats, temporal structures, causal mechanisms, plot, and institutionalization, and on the place dimension of representations of the relational geography and

physical attributes of sites at different scales. The regimes of engagement approach led us to look at the pragmatic conditions affecting how actors told those stories. It provided a developed framework for understanding the normative foundations of the different narratives of contestation, in the green and industrial orders of worth of a regime of justification. Beyond that, it allowed us to show how the stories and justifications told by opponents and by planners drew on mobilities embedded in different regimes of engagement: a regime of familiar attachments in the former case, based in slow mobilities such as walking and cycling; a regime of planned action in the latter, based in automobility.

In broad strokes, the Peterborough case shows how the Parkway opponents confronted a planning story that was presented as factual, backed by well-resourced planning departments and consultants making use of institutionalized standards and models. The temporal order of the Parkway proponents' story was relatively static, continuing more of the same auto-centric transportation in a rhetoric of progress. On the place dimension, the relational geography was inward-looking, concerned with travel times inside the city that was formatted as an abstract space of movement.

Because they lacked the institutional resources available to proponents, opponents were forced to rely on anecdotal evidence and counterintuitive arguments to undermine a dominant common sense that more roads solve traffic problems. Their strongest narrative appeared when they told a story of Peterborough's change from a manufacturing to a service-oriented city, in which less auto-dependent urban mobility and heightened appreciation of green spaces would foster economic and population growth. This story was slow to develop, because of complications on the place dimension of culture stories. It started from a regime of familiarity's very local focus on preserving precious places, subsequently shifting to a more relational reference to positive and negative examples of other cities, and to global issues like climate change, before inspiring a future collective good combining green and industrial orders of worth in a progressive vision of a less car-dependent, more equitable city.

Does this case study offer lessons for opponents of expanded automobility? It demonstrates the importance of strong stories for mobilizing opposition, but it also reveals the obstacles to creating them. We have identified the challenge of shifting from stories based in the personal, familiar attachments to particular places (which are crucial sources of opposition) to stories that evoke broad collective goods combining environmental considerations with other orders of worth

in a progressive vision of change. Strong stories do not guarantee victory against more powerful foes, however, and this story remains unfinished, its outcome — Parks or Parkway? — unknown.

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