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This project has aimed to shed new light on the factors that have influenced the development of mass transit infrastructure in the Greater Copenhagen Region (GCR) over the past 70 years. In particular, the project has focused on examining the role that political forces and conditions have played in shaping the timing and types of transportation investments made in the GCR since the end of the Second World War. The question of how political factors have affected transportation policy in the GCR is an understudied one, and existing research in this area paints a rather sweeping and impressionistic account of the impact of politics. The primary aim of this research project has therefore been to provide a more detailed, systematic, and theory-driven account of mass transit investments in the GCR. To this end, the study has involved investigating change over time in the balance of investments between mass transit and road infrastructure as well as shifts in the balance of transportation investments in the GCR and the rest of Denmark.

In seeking to explain longitudinal variation in mass transit investments in the GCR, this research project adopted a historical institutionalist approach. This involved careful process tracing of change and continuity in the structured relationship between important socio-economic and political actors and how these both influenced and were influenced by broader changes in the local, national, and international socio-economic and political environment. The aim of this research was to identify various kinds of alterations and shocks to existing structures and institutions, both large and small, short-lived and slow-moving, and investigate their impact on national decisions about when, where, and how to invest in transportation infrastructure. To do this, the project required the systematic collection and organization of a large number of

primary and secondary Danish-language and English-language source materials, including information on government policies and programs and local-level electoral data over a period of several decades, as well as carrying out interviews with expert informants.

My research for this project shows how transportation investments in the Danish capital have been shaped by two types of tension or competitive forces. The first is modal and relates to national governments' decisions about whether to invest in mass transit or the construction of major road infrastructure. The second is spatial and concerns tensions over whether to invest in transportation infrastructure in Copenhagen or the rest of the country. Ultimately, my research reveals how shifts in the geography or spatiality of Denmark's political economy over the past half century have fueled these modal and territorial tensions, influencing their form, intensity, and timing, and impacting which kinds of transportation investments secure public funding and where in the country those funds are directed.

What exactly are these shifts? On the one hand, they relate to changes over time in the spatial priorities and locational needs of capitalism, or private firms operating in the most productive sectors of the economy to be more precise. This includes the importance of affordable land, skilled workers, proximity to suppliers, and industrial or economic clusters. On the other hand, I show how transportation policy in Denmark has been influenced by the shifting geography of electoral competition, and in particular change over time in the need of political parties, on both the left and the right, to gain support from voters who live and work in the GCR. This research project identifies the ways in which these two processes of change, one economic, the

other political, co-evolve and interact with each other over time. Changes in the economy, rooted in the decisions of private firms and investors, profoundly influence shifts in the geography of jobs and the location of the most productive and profitable areas in Denmark. These in turn affect where voters are located and where tax revenue for the public purse is to be found, which has consequences for the decisions that party leaders and government officials take in the area of transportation policy and balance and tie these to decisions in other policy areas, including housing, education, and social services. In it is important to note that this research project shows how parties and politicians are not simply reacting to exogenous change in the economy, brought about by the decisions of Danish and international actors. The project also investigates how parties and governments take positions and make decisions to guide the direction of the economy, with various degrees of success over time. They aim not just to harness the benefits of an expanding economy for their voters and citizens more generally; they also aim to influence the social groups and areas that benefit from a thriving economy. This project shows how national transportation policy, including national government and legislative support for mass transit infrastructure in the GCR, are important cases in point of these twin forces. They are in part the product of politicians reacting to shifts in the geography of the economy, but they are also in part the product of electoral and legislative competition between politicians and parties aiming to shape the geography of the economy, and in turn which groups of citizens and voters benefit from it.