

BOOK REVIEWS

CONTENTS

The Transportation Experience: Policy, Planning, and Deployment , by William L. Garrison and David M. Levinson. Review by Richard Morrill.	993
Community Policy Analysis Modeling , edited by Thomas G. Johnson, Daniel M. Otto, and Steven C. Deller. Review by Mark D. Partridge.	995
Location and Competition , edited by Steven Brakman and Harry Garretsen. Review by Kristian Behrens.	998
Evolving Cities: Geocomputation in Territorial Planning , edited by Lidia Diappi. Review by Suzana Dragičević.	1000
Regional Disparities in Small Countries , edited by Daniel Felsenstein and Boris A. Portnov. Review by Jens Suedekum.	1002
Taking the High Road: A Metropolitan Agenda for Transportation Reform , edited by Bruce Katz and Robert Puentes. Review by Catherine T. Lawson.	1005
New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures , by Emily Talen. Review by David Schuyler.	1008
Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History , edited by Bradley J. Parker and Lars Rodseth. Review by Paul Courtney.	1011
Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South , edited by Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie. Review by William A. Ward.	1013
Asian Urbanization in the New Millennium , edited by Gayl D. Ness and Prem P. Talwar. Review by Terry McGee.	1014
Globalization and Its Outcomes , edited by John O'Loughlin, Lynn Staeheli, and Edward Greenberg. Review by Andrew Wood.	1016
Globalization and Urban Development , edited by Harry W. Richardson and Chang-Hee Christine Bae. Review by Godfrey Yeung.	1018

The Transportation Experience: Policy, Planning, and Deployment, by William L. Garrison and David M. Levinson. 2006. New York: Oxford University Press. 457 + xii. ISBN 0-19-517250-7, cloth, \$ 99; ISBN 0195172515, paper, \$45.

The word “experience” is a brilliant choice, as this truly impressive work is not a history, or a compendium of transport modes, or an exhortation about the transportation

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“problem,” but rather a broad appreciation, a story of the place, and complexity of transportation in modern life. The reader will be riveted by the unfolding story of how transportation and communication both enables and conditions production, consumption, and interaction, the elements of a modern society, our homes, places, and countries, and how totally complex and political but vital are our decisions about transportation. Transportation is inescapably interwoven with land use (which comes first?) and guides the evolution of the built environment in which we live and work and play.

The experience of transportation is told from an eclectic, nondisciplinary perspective, sure to irritate those who know the answers, but refreshing for those who honestly seek a better understanding of how we got where we are.

We learn how vast, competitive, complementary, and complex transportation and communication are. We learn that, although most sectors in the transportation arena are private, government at all levels has for centuries exercised a strong planning, regulatory, and even production role, in creating much of the infrastructure (social overhead capital) on which all movement occurs. This mixed role contributes to the tight web of cooperation between the private and public actors, to a high degree of inertia and conservatism, to a high degree of inefficient subsidy, and a tendency for (regulated) monopoly throughout transportation and communication.

The structure of the book is a little different. It begins with the idea of transportation as a complex system that must be planned, deployed, and managed, that will expedite movement, economic growth, and social development, but be perceived as politically and geographically fair. It is a system ostensibly private, but intensively subject to public policy. Can it be done better? The middle part tells the story of the modes, beginning with railroads, then on to transit, rural roads and highways, then urban highways, canals and rivers, maritime activities, and aviation. The railroad story is first and most detailed as it so well exemplifies innovation, competition and deployment, discrimination and regulation, maturity and decline, and reinvention (a far greater increase in productivity for rail freight than for any other mode). Each modal discussion interweaves the themes of innovation, public and private interaction, competition, and adaptation. Communication next appears, as both a substitute for and an integral necessity for movement of goods and persons.

A fascinating theme is that each mode builds on practices and ways of thinking and regulation from earlier eras and modes, even when not very appropriate, but revealing the tremendous inertia of current investment and behavior. Also throughout the presentations is a fascinating scattering of profiles of inventors, inventions, entrepreneurs, and firms and institutions.

The final part treats the wider context within which transportation takes place, its demands and effects on energy use and the environment, its relation to time (at all scales), its complex and controversial financing, its profound and fundamental relation to land use and land value, and finally its dependence on innovation, technology, and the difficulties of evaluating costs and benefits. For example, the tendency for transportation “projects or solutions” to be created by engineers, planners, and politicians, with inadequate attention to social and economic costs and behavior leads to ineffective and costly investments.

The story or experience of transportation (and communication) is of course one of innovation, often leading to true revolutions in the “annihilation” of distance, and to realizing ever greater speed or volumes or lower costs, in turn permitting greater specialization, segregation, and both greater decentralization of some activities and people and concentration of others. Transportation is a creator and redistributor of

connectivity, access, value, and wealth. And because transportation systems embody such colossal investments in existing structures and behaviors, resistance to change is both great and understandable.

Although the book in the main sprawls far beyond the obsession with urban problems of so much of the contemporary rhetoric, the treatment of urban transport is especially insightful and worth the price of the book, even if it will enrage those who know their view is the only right one. On the one hand new rail transit is revealed for its utter economic lunacy, yet the willful incursion of almost instantly obsolete “freeways” into dense urban cores was doomed from the start. Yet policy, reflecting voters and interest groups, continues to believe in the myth of building our way out of congestion, rather than entertaining rational economic constraints.

While the style of the book is provocative and strongly worded, it is refreshingly nonideological, appealing to the reader to try to use the story of the transportation experience to look at problems and proposals logically and reasonably. The authors do not hold out much hope.

Richard Morrill
Department of Geography
University of Washington

Community Policy Analysis Modeling, edited by Thomas G. Johnson, Daniel M. Otto, and Steven C. Deller. 2006. Ames, Iowa: Blackwell Publishing Professional. 287 + xx. ISBN 0-8138-0453-1, \$99.99.

The Johnson, Otto, and Deller volume contains 16 chapters written by a collection of agricultural and community economists. The collection fills a large void in the literature for students, community-level practitioners, and economic development specialists by providing a basic “how to” manual on the design and use of community impact models. Most of the authors are well recognized and their writing clearly reveals that they care greatly about the vitality of small communities. Although written with a U.S. orientation, their lessons are applicable to wider audiences.

The general theme is that small communities do not have the resources or “staff” to conduct long-range planning, assess local fiscal impacts, and make projections regarding alternative development scenarios. Thus, one aim is to provide practitioners the tools both to conduct their own impact analysis and assess critically economic reports prepared by others (e.g., by other levels of government or private consultants). A second primary goal is to motivate the regard for quantitative research in making informed policy decisions. Despite the obvious nature of the second goal to academics, it is often the hardest point to drive home to skeptical policy makers who believe academics are disconnected and recommend unrealistically complex policy suggestions.

Although there is not a formal organization to the 16 chapters, one can see a loose organization into four parts. The first part is introductory and describes the basic challenges facing rural America and outlines the heterogeneity of governance arrangements. It also describes existing policy and research networks such as the Community Policy Analysis Network (CPAN). The second part outlines the underlying theoretical structures of regional modeling including economic impact models, labor market models, and fiscal impact models. Moving from theory to application, the third part presents actual quantitative applications of community and regional models. The fourth part describes some practical problems facing practitioners in implementing community models, such

as finding data and software, and concludes with some case studies to illustrate how a practitioner applies the empirical findings.

The first four introductory chapters confront the difficult challenge of describing the current obstacles facing rural America and the underlying government and governance structures across the country. This is clearly an enormous undertaking, especially in four short chapters. Thus, while many aspects are discussed, many key factors are not fleshed out. For example, it would have been helpful to have more discussion of the underlying local and regional governance arrangements, including some brief comparisons across states. Some states have strong towns and municipalities (home rule), others have fragmented governments such as those that rely heavily on townships or smaller tax districts. Moreover, some states have had some success with multicounty regional arrangements such as for education and economic development. Comparisons and critical assessments of these would help practitioners understand their guiding institutions.

Although it is mentioned sporadically, more discussion of the tremendous diversity across rural America would be helpful. It struck me there is too much emphasis on economically struggling rural communities—like those found in the Great Plains. Yet, many rural communities are actually battling problems associated with excessive growth. Examples are exurban rural communities facing rural–urban conflicts and high amenity or recreation communities facing development pressures that threaten the natural advantages that define their quality of life.

The introduction to community and regional modeling in the second part of the book really begins the core discussion. Chapter 5 contains Martin Shields's description of three workhorse empirical approaches commonly used in regional modeling. It is a nice overview of input–output, computable general equilibrium, and econometric modeling. Though there is some mathematical formality, Shields clearly aims the discussion to be as accessible as possible. He explains the tradeoffs between economic realism, data availability, ease of use, and cost. For example, off-the-shelf input–output type models such as IMPLAN are very easy to use and they are affordable, but lack some of the economic realism of the two other approaches.

In the next chapter, Thomas Johnson describes the underlying theoretical modeling of local labor markets including the in- and outcommuting flows that are at the very heart of how larger regional economies affect rural communities and rural counties. The basis of his modeling is the Missouri Show Me Community Model, which has been adapted by specialists across the United States. A key feature of his presentation is that modeling rural labor markets is different than for metropolitan markets. For example, raw distance (for proximity) and geographic size of the labor market become first-order features in the rural case.

Steven Deller provides an overview of public sector modeling and interjurisdictional competition. It includes a nice description of the Tiebout “voting with their feet” model in which households choose their residence based on community bundles of taxes and services—that is, communities set their bundles of taxes and services and then households self sort based on their preferences and incomes. Likewise, he provides a solid overview of other public economic models including flypaper effects and fiscal illusion. Deller's lucid writing style explains why community-level decision makers should be familiar with these concepts in their decision making.

A key feature of Shields's, Johnson's, and Deller's chapters is the occasional formal modeling. The mathematical complexity would be challenging for many practitioners.

On the plus side, its inclusion means that these chapters could serve as introductory reading on the issues for graduate and advanced undergraduate students in public policy, planning, community development, and regional economics. Not surprisingly, when aiming a book at multiple audiences, these kinds of tradeoffs are necessary.

Four chapters form the third part of the volume. They illustrate how actual community level models can be constructed for particular locations. A plus to this applied emphasis is that practitioners can see how a base model can be modified to apply to an actual community, region, or state (see especially the Thomas Harris *et al.* chapter described below). There are applications of labor market and fiscal impact models based on the Show Me State model noted above: Tom Johnson and James Scott apply it to Missouri, David Swenson and Daniel Otto present an application from Iowa, and Thomas Harris *et al.* apply it to the Great Basin region of the Southwest. A chapter by Garen Evans and Judith Stallmann demonstrates the use of Small Area Fiscal Estimation Simulator (SAFESIM) for Texas. The novel feature of it is a stochastic or random component to help simulate probability distributions for particular outcomes. Though significantly more complex than those derived from the Show Me State framework, it provides policy makers with a better sense of the risk involved in particular development scenarios.

The final part concludes the book with a practical discussion of problems facing model builders, including data issues and software development. For example, Anna Kovalyova and Thomas Johnson provide a useful summary of how to evaluate model performance. Clearly, this can be one of the most difficult challenges facing the practitioner. Too often, practitioners (and academics) become quite wedded to their model and are unwilling to adjust it or abandon it when it is not successful. Kovalyova and Johnson provide objective measures to assess and compare models to avoid this emotional bonding.

The final two chapters by Mark Henry *et al.* and by Steven Deller present specific case studies and illustrate how the empirical results can be applied by practitioners. The chapters go through a wide range of scenarios, including alternative land use planning, stimulating retirement migration, mushroom farming, and tax increment financing. These examples not only illustrate how to interpret the findings, but walk practitioners and students through the process of how to report the findings to a community and how to facilitate a community consensus for long-term planning. The applied discussion of the process of engaging citizens and communities is a key element typically missing from books and articles. The best quantitative analysis is of little value if the practitioner is unable to communicate findings to decision makers and the public or is unable to help forge a consensus based on scientific evidence.

Community Policy Analysis Modeling will serve as a handbook not only for practitioners and students interested in designing community economic and fiscal impact models, but also ones interested in interpreting model results and using the findings to inform citizens and community leaders. A drawback of the book is some repetition across chapters. In addition, it would have been useful to provide a longer discussion of the global forces facing U.S. rural communities taking into account the rich diversity of rural America. Nonetheless, the book can be used by community practitioners who need to develop models, or to interpret the results of existing models produced by other interested parties. Likewise, it can serve as a supplemental text in a community modeling course across a range of disciplines, and some chapters can stand on their own as introductory readings in advanced undergraduate and graduate courses. Given the lack

of books directed at rural practitioners, it forms a welcome addition, and will, one hopes, stimulate future works of the same kind.

Mark D. Partridge
*Department of Agricultural,
Environmental, and Development
Economics
The Ohio State University*

Location and Competition, edited by Steven Brakman and Harry Garretsen. 2005. Series: Studies in Global Competition, vol. 24. New York: Routledge. 135 + xxiii. ISBN 0-415-36547-3, \$70.

In an era of increasing international integration, the questions of where mobile economic activities locate and how independent decision makers may compete for them are doubtlessly important ones, from economic, social, and political perspectives. Steven Brakman and Harry Garretsen bring together five essays dealing with spatial topics ranging broadly from an analysis of the observed spatial distribution of activity to the possible impacts of monetary union on the European Union's (EU) capacity to absorb asymmetric shocks.

In the first essay, Jeroen Hinloopen and Charles van Marrewijk provide a concise overview of the empirical regularities observed in spatial economic patterns and interactions between economic centers. As they point out from the beginning, they remain voluntarily descriptive, their main objective being to convey a sense of the magnitude of unevenness in the spatial distribution of economic activity. Although there are, in my opinion, no really novel results or insights in the essay, the progressive and systematic way in which Hinloopen and van Marrewijk "zoom in" across spatial scales to reveal the presence of a "fractal dimension" in the distribution of activity is both intuitive and easy to follow. Furthermore, the presentation of key empirical regularities, namely, the rank-size rule and the gravity equation, is clear and gives the nonspecialist reader a good idea of the key stylized facts one would like to explain in spatial economics. The only major aspect I am missing is a more disaggregated industry-level analysis or considerations linked to the service sector. Although the authors state explicitly "there is an uneven distribution regardless of the *type* of economic activity" (p. 2, italics in original), they deal only with economic aggregates like GDP or GDP per capita, which do not allow them to discuss the distribution of types.

Jan Oosterhaven and Piet Rietveld focus on one of the most distinctive features of spatial economics, namely, transport costs. Their essay is split into two, unfortunately quite unrelated, parts. In the first part, they review historical data on transport costs to illustrate the magnitude of decline, and they also discuss changes in other types of costs (passenger transportation, time costs, reliability), and provide a very brief review of accessibility measures. Whereas this first part mainly summarizes well-known data and results, the second part is more innovative and gives an interesting illustration of how decreasing transport costs and infrastructure investments may change existing spatial patterns, both directly and indirectly. After reviewing the main methodologies for assessing the impacts of infrastructure investment, Oosterhaven and Rietveld argue that spatial computable general equilibrium (SCGE) models and social cost-benefit analysis provide an adequate framework in which to evaluate the potential impacts of infrastructure projects. They offer an interesting numerical application of an SCGE model in

estimating potential impacts of four Magnetic Levitation projects in the Netherlands. Focusing mainly on regional employment, they estimate how the different projects would redistribute jobs between Dutch regions, and also estimate the overall change in Dutch consumer surplus. Quite interestingly, the “core-periphery projects” (linking the Randstad core of the country to the more remote northern regions) would yield the highest increase in consumer surplus, more than would ones aimed at reducing congestion in the already well-integrated core regions.

I view the SCGE part of the essay by Oosterhaven and Rietveld as one of the most interesting contributions of this book, since until now not much is known about the general equilibrium impacts of infrastructure projects. Just as the development of computable regional input–output models has been an important step in the past, developing more comprehensive and better SCGE models will be an important step for future work in regional and spatial economics. Because this aspect is so important, some readers will feel disappointed that the presentation of the model here is rather succinct and not really informative.

Jan Lambooy and Frank van Oort return to the question of spatial agglomeration and investigate the spatial distribution of new “information and communications technology” firms in the Netherlands. After reviewing, in an unfortunately rather confusing manner, some well-known aspects of agglomeration processes and the “new economic geography,” the authors present an interesting application of exploratory spatial data analysis (ESDA) and spatial econometrics. They show that accounting for spatial interdependence and spatial regime changes is important when trying to discriminate between alternative hypotheses of agglomeration economies (Marshall–Arrow–Romer [MAR], Jacobs, Porter). In particular, it seems that inclusion of spatial lags leads to estimates that favor the MAR hypothesis, whereas a very confusing picture emerges under OLS. The inclusion of spatial econometric work is very welcome in this book, since there still remains, in my opinion, a gap between spatial econometrics and its application to such important fields as agglomeration and trade.

Ruud de Mooij, Joeri Gorter, and Richard Nahuis deal with the question whether and how independent decision makers may compete for mobile factors in an increasingly integrated world. They review the various forms of policy competition may take (tax competition, social dumping, ecological dumping) and provide some evidence suggesting that governments do respond to each other and that policies in the EU do seem to converge over time. They then investigate how the explicit introduction of space and “new economic geography” alters the incentives for, and outcomes of, policy competition. They present recent results on how agglomeration may relax tax competition, which may explain why there has not been a strong race to the bottom in the EU. They also discuss how governments may use infrastructure investments as strategic instruments to attract industry. The important policy message is that, as it has been argued for a while, infrastructure is a double-edged sword: linking backward regions to economic centers may well backfire if activities in the periphery are sucked up by the core as juice in a glass is sucked up through a straw.

In the last essay, Roel Beetsma and Koen Vermeylen discuss optimum currency area issues and the impacts of asymmetric shocks on the increasingly integrated European Union. Since increasing integration may lead to more regional specialization, the EU may be exposed to more asymmetric shocks in the future, and under the European Monetary Union, they can no longer be dealt with using monetary instruments. Because of low labor mobility within the EU, fiscal policy and direct transfers increasingly will be required to absorb asymmetric shocks. The obvious question of how to agree on

such policies and transfers then naturally arises, putting national and regional decision makers again in a situation of policy competition triggered by increasing integration.

In summary, the book provides a useful all-round introduction to spatial issues, targeted at an essentially nonspecialist audience. On the one hand, readers with primary interests in data- and policy-oriented exposition will clearly benefit from reading the five essays, which cover a lot of ground, are mostly easy to follow, and convey a good overview of what are the important questions in spatial economics. Readers with more specialized interests in spatial topics and regional policy may, on the other hand, get the impression that the authors and editors just wanted to cover too much ground and included too many different topics in a short book. The natural corollaries being that there are a lot of reviews of well-known topics, that most of the subjects are dealt with in a rather superficial way, and that theory largely gets the short end.

Let me conclude by pointing out two additional weaknesses of the book. First, although it is clearly primarily targeted at a policy-oriented audience, some of the theoretical and analytical developments presented would have benefited from a more concise and, sometimes, more correct exposition. Second, the title *Location and Competition* is somewhat misleading to advertise the contents. Many readers, including myself, would expect to see at least some developments on pricing strategies and spatial competition, which are totally absent. Potential readers of this book should hence keep in mind that the "competition" in the title essentially refers to competition between decision makers in an increasingly integrated world.

Kristian Behrens
*Center for Operations Research and
Econometrics
Université catholique de Louvain*

Evolving Cities: Geocomputation in Territorial Planning, edited by Lidia Diappi. 2004. Urban and Regional Planning and Development Series. Aldershot, U.K. and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate. 229 + xiii. ISBN 0-7546-4194-5, \$89.95.

Modeling complex systems, more particularly urban and regional systems, has occupied the attention of scientists for many decades. Improvements in computational processing capabilities are now allowing scientists to combine sophisticated modeling procedures with geographic information systems (GIS) to handle the spatial and temporal components of dynamic geographic phenomena. One of the recent trends in geographic information science (GISc) is to integrate the analytical power of complex system theory with the spatial representation power of GIS to explore emerging areas such as geocomputation and geosimulation. Diappi's new edited book provides a state-of-the-art collection of research efforts focusing on this integration. The chapters present a set of innovative approaches within urban and territorial planning to meet specific challenges related to dispersion of settlements, urban morphology, mobility and individual behavior, and new economy and globalization, all combined with new technologies such as the Internet, mobile phones, and GIS, among others.

Diappi's main objective is to demonstrate the potential of the integration of new geocomputing tools such as human reasoning, neural networks, adaptive fuzzy systems, evolutionary computing, cellular automata, expert systems, and probabilistic reasoning for generating improved knowledge of territorial phenomena. The book has three parts that follow a comprehensive introduction. The first part examines the capabilities of

neural networks for spatial applications, the second focuses on the use of a large number of intelligent computing approaches to address different land use change problems, and the third examines the power of multiagent systems to simulate interaction among various actors and their behaviors in urban systems. Many of the theoretical concepts are linked with applications that address urban and territorial problems of various European cities and provide a unique flavor to the book.

The three chapters of Part 1 introduce the principles and applications of neural networks. Silvio Griguolo presents an overview of the fundamentals of neural networks and their use in remote sensing land cover classification. His chapter is followed by a novel approach from Manfred Fischer and Katerina Hlavackova-Schindler, who outline the Differential Evolution Method and Alopex procedure in detail and give an application to parameter estimation and comparisons with a neural spatial interaction model for a telecommunication traffic system. In the third chapter Lidia Diappi, Massimo Buscema, and Michela Ottanà focus on the self-reflexive neural networks (RCNN) approach for estimating patterns of urban sustainability. The urban sustainability indices are integrated in the method. The results offer the rankings of cities with respect to socioenvironmental or socioeconomic risks.

Part 2 begins with a chapter by Francesco Bonchi, Silvana Lombardo, and Serena Pecori that “describes the structure of data mining tools which are most suitable for applications in the field of urban and territorial planning” (p. 86), followed immediately by another chapter by the same authors together with Alessandro Santucci. The research here focuses on the application of knowledge discovery learning tools coupled with GIS to find rules for deriving evolution of cities and territories. There are two Italian case studies to demonstrate the concepts, one on evaluation of effects of urban growth on an agricultural system (in the period 1978–1992) and the other on the evolution of land use change in a larger metropolitan area (1981–1991).

The chapter by Ferdinando Semboloni presents a study of overcoming the common drawbacks of geospatial data available for urban studies. The lack of time series data and the lag between two time periods can be overcome using artificial neural networks and census data. Predicted patterns for various variables (population, industrial, commercial, private, and public service employment) are mapped and calculated with the Spatial System Identifier software. Roberto Gianassi provides details of the software in the appendix to the chapter. In the last chapter of Part 2, Lidia Diappi and Paola Bolchi use a neural network approach based on self-organizing maps for defining the transition rules of a stochastic cellular automata model. Several urbanization scenarios were developed for residential, industrial, and commercial land use dynamics. The results reveal, “spontaneous process follows a logic of expansion around urbanized nuclei and road axes and does not appear to exhibit undifferentiated diffusion” (p. 166).

The book concludes with three chapters in Part 3. Kai Nagel and Bryan Raney develop a multiagent approach for a simulation model of traffic behavior in transportation planning in Switzerland. The study provides a simulation of transportation behavior based on ten million inhabitants. The intensive computational power needed was accomplished with a Beowulf cluster of computers. Emilia Conte and Grazia Concilio propose a knowledge-based decision support system for monitoring traffic behavior related to air pollution. In addition, the system uses agent-based simulations to provide human learning activity and knowledge. The model prototype is tested on data related to the city of Bari, Italy. In the final chapter, Chris Webster presents a model of behavior of urban neighborhoods represented as basic economic units. The proposed cellular automata simulation model demonstrates a chaotic pattern of the evolution that can

lead to various types of neighborhoods: citywide stable, fragmented stable, fragmented unstable, and fragmented anarchy, all derived from a hypothetical study site. The work highlights the importance of model design and parameterization for the outcome results.

The broad range of topics covered make this book suitable as a text for advanced classroom seminars on topics in GISc, geocomputation, spatial modeling, urban planning, or regional dynamics among others. It will be a useful addition to the collections of researchers who model dynamic and complex spatial phenomena.

Suzana Dragičević
Spatial Analysis and Modeling
Laboratory
Department of Geography
Simon Fraser University

Regional Disparities in Small Countries, edited by Daniel Felsenstein and Boris A. Portnov. 2005. Series: Advances in Spatial Science. Berlin and New York: Springer. 333 + vi. ISBN 3-540-24303-8, €85.55.

Some nations are far smaller than certain regions of large countries. Can we treat these small countries as dimensionless economies, and regard regional policy as a non-issue? The mainstream answer in the profession seems to be “yes.” Michael Beenstock figuratively labels this viewpoint the “New Jersey critique” (p. 25): What is the sense in applying regional economics to countries that can be fitted into New Jersey?

The editors’ main aim is to convince readers that spatial disparities do matter. Clearly the first and most obvious question that arises is, what actually is a “small country”? Probably everybody would agree the cases that get special attention in this book (Belgium, Finland, Ireland, Netherlands, Slovenia, Israel, Switzerland, and Austria) qualify as such. But finding a coherent definition is difficult, as Felsenstein and Portnov point out in their introductory chapter. Population, surface, and total national income seem to be possible categories, complemented perhaps by the degree of economic openness. Finland is small in terms of population, but clearly not in terms of territory. In terms of GDP, almost any African or former Soviet state must be regarded as “small.” And what about microcountries such as Luxemburg or Malta? Aren’t they truly small according to any definition? So why are they not covered in this book?

The editors make a wise choice to focus on developed countries that are well integrated into and heavily dependent on international trade. They also require a country to have several meaningful administrative or economic subunits, leaving aside tiny city-states. That may seem like an implicit acceptance of the “New Jersey critique,” because none of the contemplated cases could actually be fitted into New Jersey. Sensible economists would probably not deny a priori the importance of disparities in countries the size of Belgium or Switzerland, but some simple intuition would suggest regional problems are less severe compared to, say, in Germany, France, or Spain.

In Chapter 2, Felsenstein and Portnov deal with the rationale for this expectation and essentially argue that it may be wrong. They present an exhaustive collection of arguments and counterarguments on the impact of “smallness” on the degree of spatial disparities. Climatic and geographical conditions are less likely to vary across regions, commuting is easier, the population is more likely to be homogenous, and access to policy makers is more direct. All of this seems to support the conventional wisdom that small

countries will exhibit less internal differences. However, each of these arguments can also be turned upside down. The most appealing reasoning to me is that small countries are more likely to be monocentric. To exploit scale economies in the production of certain goods and services, many of them are dominated by a single metropolis that attracts a lion's share of the country's production factors. Capital cities such as Budapest or Sofia throw a long "urban shadow" over their hinterlands, and thereby tend to exacerbate disparities. Furthermore, the Swiss experience suggests that even the tiny cantons can create very diverse institutional arrangements that can potentially increase real economic differences. Hence, there is no reason to believe there will be an unambiguous negative relation between country size and regional disparities.

Michael Beenstock adopts a more formal approach, and asks if economic theory makes any clear predictions. He starts by considering two independent countries A and B between which capital can move freely. Labor is initially immobile, and the countries have an identical ability distribution across workers. This gives rise to an initial level of intra- and interregional earnings disparities. How does economic integration of the two countries, that is, the introduction of perfect labor mobility, affect inequalities? Using Roy's selection model and extensions thereof, Beenstock shows that integration increases average wages, but in general nothing can be said about how earnings disparities within or across regions will change. Economic disparities in the integrated country (A + B) need not be larger than in either one alone. Moving to macroeconomic considerations, Beenstock summarizes that one cannot expect real income per capita or growth to depend positively on country size, because evidence overwhelmingly rejects scale effects in endogenous growth models (pp. 34–35). He also suggests growth need not be more volatile in small countries. Even if large countries tend to have a better-diversified industrial structure, he postulates (yet without presenting the basic evidence) that in practice diversification is sufficient in small countries, so that volatility and exposure to asymmetric shocks is not notably different.

In my view, Beenstock's competent theoretical analysis is a core chapter of this book. It is comprehensive in combining statistical, micro-, and macroeconomic perspectives, but at the same time inevitably is constrained not to address too many issues. Perhaps the book should have had additional theoretically oriented chapters. For example, a perspective from urban economics might have been useful, that is, an attempt to formalize why small countries are often monocentric and what follows from that.

The major part of the book consists of empirical case studies of regional disparities in several small countries. The methodologies used in these studies are quite heterodox, encompassing purely descriptive overviews, econometric attempts to disentangle the sources of disparities, and visualization techniques more common in geography than in economics. An interesting parallel is the use of econometric analogues of the traditional deterministic shift-share method (e.g., by Olivier Meunier and Michel Mignolet on Belgium and by Eoin O'Leary on Ireland), which suggests that this methodology might potentially become something like a "workhorse model" for regional analysis. The basic result of the case studies perhaps can be summarized: Each of the small countries exhibited quite substantial regional differences in economic activity, which did not vanish over time.

The chapter by José Corpataux and Olivier Crevoisier on the evolution of differences in Switzerland is particularly noteworthy. This essentially nontechnical paper is so neat, because it offers a very appealing story that links economic geography with international monetary economics—something that is very rarely done in the literature! The Swiss economy is divided between financial metropolises (mainly Zurich and Geneva)

and the rest of the country. Between 1975 and 1995, Switzerland's financial sector developed rapidly to become a worldwide center for private transborder asset management and headquarters services for multinational enterprises. The resulting huge inflow of capital was associated with a considerable appreciation of the Swiss franc, which in turn affected the traditional Swiss export industries (watchmaking, textiles) adversely on the export front. The only way for the export industries to react was to increase productivity by specializing in high-end niche products. This led to considerable job losses in manufacturing, and—on a spatial level—to increasing divides between the financial cities and the regions specialized in industrial mass production (like Eastern Switzerland). Negative repercussions of the currency appreciation were particularly harmful for the tourism regions. Corpataux and Crevoisier emphasize that not only the traditional agglomeration forces but also monetary phenomena can have a deep impact on structural change and economic geography.

However, a collection of single-country studies is only partly useful for addressing the main concern of the book: Is there a difference between small and large economies? A chapter by George Petrakos, Yiannis Psycharis, and Dimitris Kallioras finally adopts a multicountry perspective and addresses precisely this question. The authors look at disparities in the ten EU accession countries. Using traditional indicators and the concept of β -convergence, they notice a tendency for disparities to widen in virtually all accession countries over the period 1995–2000. There is no clear pattern of divergence being stronger in large countries such as Poland, or small ones such as the Baltic states. When they group countries by size, they find that divergence is significant only in large countries, but also that the level of disparities (measured by the coefficient of variation of regional GDP per capita) is almost equally large in small countries, which seems to be driven mainly by the presence of one dominating metropolitan area. In sum, Petrakos, Psycharis, and Kallioras present somewhat mixed evidence on the relationship between country size and regional disparities, but they show clearly that disparities are not at all meaningless in countries of Estonia's or Slovenia's size. Again one may argue that more space should have been devoted to such multicountry empirical work (probably at the expense of one or two single-country case studies), in order to present robustness checks and to develop more definite conclusions.

The only other essay that adopts a comparable multicountry perspective is one by Carlos Gil, Pedro Pascual, and Manuel Rapún, who investigate the relationship between fiscal decentralization and regional disparities. Theory is ambiguous on this point: A centralized state may exhibit less internal differences, because the government can more easily pursue active redistributive policies. On the other hand, the interests of policy makers from the central government may be biased toward particular regions like the capital, leading to a neglect of peripheral areas. Using data from OECD countries, Gil, Pascual, and Rapún find in fact a negative correlation between standard indices of fiscal decentralization and regional disparities in GDP per capita. Hence, according to them decentralized states exhibit less internal disparities in real economic activity than centralized ones, and this conclusion holds similarly (or even with greater confidence) for the subsample of small countries. These are surely interesting and challenging results, whose robustness, however, should be checked in future research, as the authors base their results on a pure cross-section analysis of a rather small sample.

All in all, the book stands out from many other edited volumes by being clearly focused on one particular topic, rather than being a collection of loosely related individual papers. This makes for an exciting and inspiring reading for geographical economists.

Small countries—in the definition of Felsenstein and Portnov—do not appear to be much different from large countries when it comes to regional disparities.

Jens Suedekum
Department of Economics
University of Konstanz

Taking the High Road: A Metropolitan Agenda for Transportation Reform, edited by Bruce Katz and Robert Puentes. 2005. James A. Johnson Metro Series. Washington: Brookings Institution Press. 331 + ix. ISBN 0-8157-4827-2, \$24.95 (paper).

With passion and conviction, Katz and Puentes take on a number of transportation issues facing metropolitan areas. The selection of essays and policy briefs in their book revisits the traditional nagging problems of congestion and lack of and misdirection of funding, and also includes new concerns over mobility for an emerging elderly population and infrastructure security. The authors of the essays examine all these issues with an eye to a metropolitan agenda for transportation reform. The materials are intended to “educate” Congress regarding changes that need to be made through the previously pending reauthorization of the next transportation legislation in the United States.

The reality that “timing is everything” unfortunately leaves the reader feeling somewhat embarrassed by the fact that Congress passed the Safe, Accountable, Flexible, Efficient, Transportation Equity Act: A Legacy for Users (SAFETEA-LU, 2005) without heeding much of their advice. In fact, there are rumblings among some scholars that SAFETEA-LU is an earmarking extravaganza, with the total amount of funds slated for projects and programs being greater than available funds. However, since the new legislation dealt with so few of the issues addressed in the book, the real audience may be a future Congress facing yet another round of reauthorization decisions.

The central theme of the book is the perceived need for a comprehensive policy framework, including attending to system rehabilitation and maintenance and improving operations. To accomplish these objectives, metropolitan areas need to be given more power and a stronger set of tools. Referred to as devolution, metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs) were promised more power, but as Katz, Puentes, and Scott Bernstein point out in one essay, states failed to use the tools and discretion envisioned in previous legislation. The lack of success in garnering appropriate transportation assets should not be a surprise as MPO-selected projects face the veto authority of both governors and state departments of transportation. In a number of states, rules for the allocation of transportation funds (i.e., gas taxes) require equal distribution across counties, regardless of demographics or economic activity.

Traditionally, the primary source of funds for transportation projects is the gas tax, collected at the federal, state, and local tax levels. Other sources include vehicle taxes and fees, tolls, local property taxes, general fund appropriations, other taxes, and bond issues. Puentes and Ryan Prince review in detail the current practices of the gas tax programs. Central to the issue of who gets how much money is the propensity of states to fund rural roads, leaving MPOs to find alternative means of funding both road improvements and urban transit. The battle over funding between states and MPOs is well illustrated by Edward Hill et al. with a case study of Ohio. They recommend fixing the classification system to include major urban arterials as part of the state system, fixing the formulas used to distribute funds, continuing to make MPOs more powerful,

adding more flexibility to infrastructure spending, and making the spatial distribution of spending more transparent with better data on gas tax revenue collection and spending patterns.

From another perspective on funding, Martin Wachs suggests in the future there will be a reduced reliance on gas taxes with the promise of electronic tolling systems to collect user fees. He points out that traditionally roadways are public property, but SAFETEA-LU now provides for the possibility of roads and other transportation infrastructure to be privately owned and operated, a new form of innovative financing being considered by some states. There is a completely new set of issues surrounding the placement and operation of privately held transportation infrastructure. Would the market for transportation services exist only where demand is high (i.e., metropolitan regions)? Would the concerns that states were unfairly distributing transportation funding to rural areas be replaced by issues over connectivity to places where demand is too low for an acceptable rate of return?

The issue of how and on which modes to spend funds is just as serious as the source of funds. There are several essays in the book on how to allocate resources between highways and transit. Transit is often cited as vital for reducing congestion, providing an essential service for lower-income workers, and mobility for the elderly. For all the discussions surrounding cures for congestion, economists know the latent demand for automobile trips will swamp any reductions owing to the substitution of trips on transit. The reader is left to conclude that investing in transit services is not a particularly effective strategy to reduce congestion or improve air quality.

Evelyn Blumenberg and Margy Waller look at transit as a means of moving people from welfare to work. The reality of reverse commuting (e.g., low-income residents needing to get to remote suburban job locations) has the expected "back haul" service of a return trip after delivering suburbanites to their downtown jobs, but the service becomes unsustainable when the ridership from the suburbs is minimal. The authors found excessive cost to be a factor in low paratransit services for these workers. The best solution appears not to be transit at all, but rather to provide automobiles for the working poor. Sandra Rosenbloom observes that the elderly are unable and unwilling to use transit because of the lack of adequate pathways from their front doors to transit stops—and no party or agency seems to be particularly interested in providing and maintaining the necessary pedestrian infrastructure. In addition, she finds special transit services are nonexistent in rural areas and available only in limited circumstances for the elderly in suburban areas, where two thirds of the elderly reside.

Despite these findings, Edward Beimborn and Puentes want to level the playing field between highways and transit. They are upset by the provisions of the "New Starts" program that require extensive studies prior to building a fixed guideway transit project. A number of fixed guideway projects built in recent years have not gained the anticipated ridership. The authors admit the new standards make for "better transit projects," but complain that highway projects never have to submit to such a rigorous review.

Key to the success of any regional agency is the delegation of power from the federal and state governments. Anthony Downs and Puentes review a variety of institutional arrangements, dismissing the most comprehensive one—full metropolitan government—as unlikely: "it has virtually no political support because it involves regional control over all land uses. Such control is opposed by both suburban residents and by central-city elected officials. That leaves almost no one in favor of these arrangements" (p. 179). They describe the multipurpose specialized regional entity as the most feasible model despite the lack of participation in such arrangements.

Metropolitan agencies need better data and new measures of performance. Puentes and Linda Bailey recommend the establishment of a new federal framework for accountability and performance. The problem with their suggestion is the desire for “annual” measures. To deal with the dynamic nature of transportation problems, MPOs need near-term measures from real-time data systems. Performance varies by location and time of day—new technologies are available now to better understand how transportation services are being delivered. The available data can be aggregated in any number of ways to provide a set of service diagnostics. An annual measure is probably the least informative of the potential aggregations.

Only brief mention is made regarding smaller MPOs and their lack of expertise in travel demand forecasting models. No reference is made to the promising application of microsimulation at the MPO level as an appropriate tool for modeling. There is also little discussion of freight, both interurban and intraurban. Wachs does point out the damage caused by trucks and the consequences of mispricing highway use. Yet, readers need to know the increasing reliance on logistics within and between industry operations puts more and more trucks on the road. Weight-mile taxes and enforcement of size and weight limits strikes fear in the hearts of politicians, but are critical for planning and preserving transportation assets.

In the final chapter, Arnold Howitt and Jonathan Makler discuss terrorism and how security for surface transportation has had little attention to date. For the most part, transportation systems in the United States were built intentionally open and transparent to serve the public, making them vulnerable to attack. According to the authors, MPOs are not playing a major role with respect to homeland security in the cities they reviewed. Yet, MPOs could be the most logical agencies to deal with regionwide coordination in the event of an attack or a natural disaster.

All the authors contribute to the reader’s understanding of how important these issues are to metropolitan areas and what changes need to be made. Indeed, Downs and Puentes point out how a “crisis” focuses the public’s attention, yet the nature of congestion makes it unlikely to rise to the level of a true crisis. Should Howitt and Makler have made a stronger case for homeland security and natural disasters being designated as the “crisis” that puts MPOs in the right place at the right time? Readers may wonder whether a regionwide agency could manage to serve the public on “good days” with daily operations and planning, while also preparing for a “bad day” event. Such an agency would have access to all the necessary data and information on traffic flows, transit ridership, and freight movements regionwide. Wouldn’t it take into consideration the value of new pieces of infrastructure with respect to disaster or attack? For example, any new infrastructure project would use emerging design strategies to reduce property and personal damage and permit easy access for recovery. Pedestrian pathways would need connectivity so people can move away from areas quickly and without barriers. Is there an opportunity for transportation, land-use, public health, and emergency management planners to think strategically about the planning needs of an MPO region?

The authors have not called explicitly for what MPOs really need—a completely new charge from Congress. Many issues discussed in the book could be addressed successfully if the next legislation changed the responsibilities and resources of MPOs. Originally, MPOs were envisioned as an instrument for federal and state governments to take a role in planning and investment at the local level, acting as a funnel for funds. MPOs were then expected to be involved in “brokering” the decisions on how to implement transportation capital improvements, but did not have adequate resources or power over local jurisdictions.

In order for the MPOs to deal with the problems discussed here, Congress needs to expand their mission to include a regionwide integrated/interoperable management and operations system capable of responding to emergency situations and day-to-day operations. Furthermore, Congress needs to charge them with using the regionwide data generated from these systems to develop an understanding of how efficiently and effectively the system is fulfilling various functions—using a public sector “services science” approach to establish performance measures. This would effectively transform these data into information that can be used for transportation planning—by identifying where infrastructure changes are needed or as feedback to operations to update system decisions. MPOs have not been in the business of working with archived real-time data, and without compelling legislation most of the data being generated from these systems will continue to be wasted.

“Timing is everything” when it comes to gathering public and political support for change. Research and demonstrations need to be underway now to experiment with and perfect methodologies and technologies, making them “practice ready” for all MPOs to implement. The threat of terrorist attacks and the expectation of the next natural disaster have consequences for transportation systems in urbanized areas. We accomplished the building of the Interstate Highway System with a cry for national security. Could this same level of crisis accomplish the reform needed for metropolitan planning or has the public’s attention to national security already passed?

Taking the High Road provides the fundamental details for the debate on the future of metropolitan planning and investment strategies, yet the context for such reform is not articulated at a level sufficient to provide immediate guidance for substantial change. It will be important to remain current with rapidly changing industry practices and travel preferences in order to develop policy recommendations for the implementation of an agenda of metropolitan reform.

Catherine T. Lawson
Department of Geography and Planning
University at Albany

REFERENCE

Safe, Accountable, Flexible, Efficient, Transportation Equity Act: A Legacy for Users. 2005. Available at: <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/safetealu/>.

New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures, by Emily Talen. 2005. New York: Routledge. 318 + x. ISBN 0-415-70132-5, cloth, \$112; ISBN 0-415-70133-3, paper, \$30.40.

New Urbanism and American Planning is an ambitious book. Emily Talen argues there are four traditions in American urbanism that evolved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first she terms incrementalism, the attempt to improve existing cities through a bottom-up, small step approach that values the complexity of urban accretions, a field that grew out of the settlement house movement that is closely associated with the antiplanning structures of the late Jane Jacobs. The second, urban plan making, or the creation of large, visionary, but elite-driven plans, is perhaps most closely associated with Daniel H. Burnham’s Plan of Chicago (1909) and the McMillan Commission plan for Washington, D.C. (1902). The third culture, planned communities, extends back to Frederick Law Olmsted’s plan for the suburban community at Riverside,

Illinois (1868), which Talen traces through the creation of industrial communities and exclusive planned suburbs. Finally, she examines the regionalist tradition in American urbanism, which is most clearly developed in the writings and designs of Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, and Henry Wright, and other members of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), a small but brilliant group that emerged in the early 1920s and that has undoubtedly received more scholarly attention than any other moment in American planning history. What characterizes each of these traditions in American urbanism, Talen argues, is “the vision and the quest to achieve the best possible human settlement” (p. 2).

As an analytical construct for each of the urbanist cultures, Talen adopts the grid/group box popularized by cultural anthropologist Mary Douglas. In this formulation, the grid side of the box represents externally imposed controls, while the group side represents social groups. In each case the level of control and the cohesiveness of society range from weak to strong. Talen applies this to urbanism by transforming grid into a measure of intensity and group into a concern for social order. Regionalism, for example, she characterizes in terms of weak intensity and weak order, incrementalism as being strong in intensity but weak in order, urban plan making as strong in intensity as well as order, and planned communities as weak in intensity and strong in order. She argues these four urbanist cultures were originally much more interrelated than they have been in the last 70 years. Her intent is to demonstrate that American urbanism “needs to reconcile these cultures in such a way that the best parts of each are brought together, while still retaining their individual integrity” (p. 35).

Talen then turns to a discussion of urbanism versus antiurbanism. Urbanism she defines in terms of “human settlement that is guided by principles of diversity, connectivity, mix, equity, and the importance of public space” (p. 37). By contrast, she excludes from her analysis planning ideas or cultures that are antiurban in orientation, such as Frank Lloyd Wright’s plan for Broadacre City and the American experience with tower-in-the-park modernism that grew out of the *Congres Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), as well as the post–World War II paradigm of single-use zoning, suburban sprawl, and urban redevelopment that destroyed neighborhoods and communities, which she characterizes in terms of the “fostering of separation, inequity, and various conditions that impede the principles of diversity, connectivity and equity” (p. 38). Ironically, these antiurban cultures were arguably more influential in the shaping of the modern era of planning and building than the four cultures that are the focus of this book.

Following this lengthy presentation of theory, Talen devotes a chapter to each of the four urbanist cultures. Beginning with the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century origins of each culture, she then turns to connections, or the analysis of the interrelationships among each specific culture and the other three, and also to conflicts among them. In the case of the City Beautiful Movement, exemplified by Burnham’s Chicago plan, she points out its merits, notably its breadth of vision and concern for civic spaces, but also its limitations, particularly the top-down emphasis on order and relative neglect of neighborhoods, especially those occupied by the urban poor. Similarly, she points out the benefits of planned communities as an alternative to the grime and social complexity of the industrial city, yet also the drawbacks—exclusion, lack of diversity, and emphasis on conformity.

Most interesting to readers of *Journal of Regional Science* is Talen’s explication of regionalism, which she traces to European beginnings and especially the work of the RPAA in the United States, which found its most notable expression in the 1925

issue of *Survey Graphic* devoted to the "Regional City," which included articles by Mumford, Stein, Wright, Frederick Ackerman, and Benton MacKaye, among others, and in MacKaye's regionalist manifesto, *The New Exploration* (1928). She characterizes the first generation's embrace of regionalism in terms of emphasis on the countryside at the expense of the metropolitan core. The visionary idealism of the first generation of regionalists, she believes, "was reinvented as 'regional science,' a scientific approach that stressed industrial location, economic modelling, and the establishment of growth centres for depressed regions," which she judges to be a departure from the "social, ecological and economic balance" at the heart of the RPAA agenda (p. 228). While some readers might find this accurate, others will surely conclude that it misrepresents the creative energies of regional science.

The tragedy of American urbanism in recent years is that, despite important connections, each of Talen's four cultures exists in isolation from the others. Thus she explains the need to reestablish the connections, to find what Mumford, in essays and such books as *Sticks and Stones* (1924) and *The Brown Decades* (1931), considered a usable past for American architecture and planning. This usable past is what she considers the real promise of the New Urbanism—a planning and community design movement most closely associated with architects Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Peter Calthorpe, and fellow members of the Congress for the New Urbanism—which she sees as embodying the very synthesis she considers the only hope for urbanist culture in the United States. But there is an element of self-fulfilling prophecy in all of this, one that, for all the pretensions of scholarly research, remains problematic. For example, the New Urbanists point to Clarence Perry's conceptualization of the neighborhood unity as the cardinal principle of community design. Perry, a social reformer and author of *Neighborhood and Community Planning* (1929), believed that the neighborhood unit would break down the isolation of urban life and promote a commitment to civic culture. Yet there are real limits to Perry's conceptualization of the neighborhood: it was designed and functioned as an instrument of social conformity, a euphemism for social and ethnic exclusion, and in the schematic he prepared to illustrate a typical neighborhood unit only a couple of streets linked directly with the grid pattern beyond the larger roads that effectively served as boundaries separating the "village civic cell" from the surrounding city. In terms of diversity and connectivity, Perry's neighborhood unit fails the very tests Talen uses to measure urbanist cultures. It is telling that Alfred Levitt used the neighborhood unit as the basis for his design of Levittown, Pennsylvania, in the early 1950s, which at the time of its completion was the largest completely segregated community in the United States.

Historians of planning will find issues with which to disagree with Talen's interpretation or approach. For example, she presents Olmsted's parks as anticity, which would have been news to the landscape architect, who in an 1867 report to the Philadelphia Park Commission described parks as part of the "general municipal economy of a great City" (Olmsted, Vaux & Company, 1867, p. 232), or to the hundreds of thousands of residents who descend upon Central Park on a glorious spring day. Others will wonder why Talen pays little attention to developments such as Lincoln Center, a stunningly successful example of the mega-projects she disdains and which some have argued was integral to the revitalization of the west side of Manhattan. Still others will find cause to question her overreliance on secondary sources.

While it is important to read *New Urbanism and American Planning* with a critical eye, there is also reason to commend the author for attempting to forge a new synthesis,

to rediscover history and use it to point toward the ideal of a metropolitan region that invests in its central city, that cares about issues of equity and connectivity, and creates livable communities on the periphery instead of the mindless sprawl that has been the dominant pattern of development since World War II. If American society can adopt the public policies and the incentives that will make this possible, the New Urbanism might indeed represent the synthesis Talen presents.

David Schuyler
American Studies Program
Franklin & Marshall College

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Olmsted, Vaux & Company to the Chairman of the Committee on Plans of the Park Commission of Philadelphia, Dec. 4, 1867. 1992. in David Schuyler and Jane Turner Censer (eds.), *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, Vol. 6: *The Years of Olmsted, Vaux & Company 1865-1874*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 232.

Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History, edited by Bradley J. Parker and Lars Rodseth. 2005. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 294 + vi. ISBN 0-8165-2452-1, \$50.

A negative reaction to Frederick Jackson Turner's influential thesis, which linked the frontier of the American west to rugged individualism, has long acted as a brake on frontier studies. Similarly, comparative studies acquired a bad reputation due to functionalist attempts in the 1960s by anthropologists and archaeologists to seek cross-cultural laws. In contrast, historians' traditional emphasis on chronologically linear narratives, and their innate distrust of laws and models, tended to discourage such comparison altogether. Parker and Rodseth's collection of papers, stemming from a conference held at the University of Utah in 2001, heralds a renewed and more mature interest in studies that are simultaneously interdisciplinary, comparative, and historical. These new studies have fortunately moved on in rejecting preconceived determinist frameworks.

Despite economic globalization, the frontier remains crucial to an understanding of the nation state, regionality, ethnicity, and social identity. Postmodernist concepts of how geographic space is socially constructed and perceived have also nuanced recent frontier studies. The editors' introduction emphasizes that frontiers are simultaneously both barriers, whether physical or man-made, and zones of trade and acculturation. Several authors here make the contrast between military boundaries, whether fixed or fortified zones, and rolling zones of agrarian and cultural expansion. These, and other multiple perspectives, are examined in nine essays, all located in the Asian and American continents apart from one Africanist study. The geographic bias is perhaps inevitable in a conference-based volume as opposed to a solicited collection.

Peter Perdue notes how the Chinese imperial state experimented over time with a wide range of approaches to stabilizing its vast and diverse frontiers. In addition to the Great Wall, they included relocating peasant colonists on its borders, encouraging trade,

and building zones of forts or fortified towns. Richard Eaton examines how environmental changes in the 16th and 17th centuries shifted the frontier of peasant agriculture eastward in Bengal, and also discusses the role of Muslim holy men in organizing reclamation. Lars Rodseth's study of the Himalayas examines topography, ethnicity, religion, and politics to explain the complex patterns of interaction between Buddhist and Hindu cultures over the last four centuries.

Sonia Alconini uses archaeological evidence to study military cultural interaction on the southeastern edge of the Inka empire in South America. The data suggest a military frontier marked by small outposts that acted as warning posts rather than large garrisons. Furthermore, there was little evidence of Inka cultural influence on either settlement or material culture on either side of the frontier. Archaeological evidence is also used by Prudence Rice and Don Rice in their study of ethnic origins, especially the impact of refugees, on the frontier of Spanish expansion in 16th century Guatemala. They find, for example, that the Kowoj people, despite being pushed between Spanish and native Itza polities, maintained a strong ethnic identity, reflected in their ceramics and architecture. Stephen Aron makes a brave effort to rescue the concept of frontier in relation to the American West, notably the region of the confluence of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers. His Braudelian approach contrasts changing attitudes and practical adjustments to the frontier zone by Native Americans, French, British, and colonial Americans.

In his study of the Egyptian and Nubian border in the second millennium B.C., Stuart Tyson Smith contrasts the emphasis by the Egyptian state on separation and otherness with the individual agency of both Egyptians and Nubians on the frontier. Some chose to emphasize their distinctiveness while others interacted or intermarried. Lynn Swartz Dodd examines the disintegrating frontier between the Iron Age kingdom of Gurgum in Anatolia and the expanding Assyrian empire. She outlines the Syrian strategy of destabilizing the petty kingdoms on its borders ahead of eventual annexation. The local elites responded by attempting to legitimate their crumbling power through emphasizing the antiquity of their dynastic lineages. In the final essay James Millward examines the dynamics of the clash between tradition and modernity as modern education was introduced to the complex, multicultural environment of the Sino-Central Asian frontier.

This collection of essays marks a newfound, theoretically flexible, and sophisticated approach to comparative studies, capable of highlighting both the shared and unique aspects of frontiers. There is a good balance between the analysis of real data and theoretical explanation, and the essays are skilfully placed in a wider context by the editors. Disciplinary barriers have not fallen to the extent that one cannot readily recognize the academic origins of the individual scholars. However, the essays also illustrate the extent to which anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians increasingly share a common theoretical reading list and vocabulary: ethnogenesis, orientalism, acculturation, and creolization. To a European, the absence of any contribution by a historical geographer might appear remarkable. Unfortunately, this presumably reflects the sad decline of geography as a discipline in a good number of American universities in the 1950s. Above all these essays are highly readable, interesting, and inspiring. The book can be recommended to anyone interested in the geographic/spatial aspects of the past from literate amateur to doctoral level.

Paul Courtney
Independent Scholar
Leicester, United Kingdom

Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South, edited by Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie. 2005. Series: New Currents in the History of Southern Economy and Society. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press. 240 + x. ISBN 0-8262-1583-1, \$24.95 (paper).

As a study in history, this book is “revisionist” in orientation, requiring that part be occupied with discussions of historiography that will interest regional scientists in differing degrees. As a study in economic transformation, this historiography helps regional scientists interpret historical data sources on the southern economy as well as studies of southern economy and society conducted by authors from this and other “schools” of southern economic history.

The book is presented as the first in a series on New Currents in the History of Southern Economy and Society under the general editorship of the same two scholars as the editors of the book. “This series demonstrates the complexity of the southern economy across time and place, as well as its profound impact on the varieties of people who have inhabited the region. The series stresses the importance of comparative and trans-Atlantic perspectives and strives to reintegrate southern history in relation to the rest of the nation and the globe” (from the publisher’s web site, <http://www.umsystem.edu/upress/new%20currents%20series.htm>).

The new series “grew out of the Southern Industrialization Project (SIP), a professional organization that seeks to foster a greater understanding of the history and culture of industrialization in the American South” (this book, unnumbered page). The SIP and the book series are said to represent collaboration between historians and economists. Delfino is Professor of American History at the University of Genoa and is well known for revisionist historical studies of economy and society of the American South (including comparisons with southern Italy). Gillespie teaches at Wake Forest University and is well known for her historical studies of southern society. Previous cooperation between the two includes coediting a revisionist history titled *Neither Lady Nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South* (2002).

After a Foreword and Preface describing the series and the book’s place in it, the book has an editors’ introduction and nine essays by authors whose own backgrounds range from an eminent economist/economic historian to a newly minted Ph.D. In the introductory essay, Delfino and Gillespie lay down the gauntlet: “Ultimately, this volume can be understood as the *manifesto* of a revisionist scholarship on southern history that aims at bringing together the vast knowledge accumulated by historians of the southern economy and the fresh perspectives of Atlantic history” (p. 6, italics in original). The book scores a number of revisionist touché, three of which (as implied by the title) stand out: (a) southern history is more *complex* than the conventional wisdom of social and economic (and perhaps ethical) backwardness—with that sense of complexity reinforced by the number of major and minor touché chronicled in the essays; (b) the southern economy was and is much more *globalized* than commonly appreciated and that the relevant unit of comparison for assessing southern “backwardness” is with the rest of the world rather than with the U.S. northeast; (c) based on an appropriate global comparison, the antebellum south would have ranked among the most *industrialized* regions of the Western world, after the northeastern United States and England.

Beyond the editors’ introduction, the nine remaining essay titles convey much of the content: (a) “Southern Industrialization: Myths and Realities” by Stanley Engerman; (b) “Charleston and the British Industrial Revolution, 1750–1790” by Emma Hart; (c) “Alternatives to Dependence: The Lower South’s Antebellum Pursuit of Sectional Development

through Global Interdependence” by Brian Schoen; (e) “Industrialization and Economic Development in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. South: Some Interregional and Intercontinental Comparative Perspectives” by Shearer Davis Bowman; (f) “The Idea of Southern Backwardness: A Comparative View of the United States and Italy” by Delfino; (g) “Markets and Manufacturing: Industry and Agriculture in the Antebellum South and Midwest” by John Majewski and Viken Tchakerian; (h) “Southern Textiles in Global Context” by David L. Carlton and Peter Coclanis; (i) “Beginnings of the Global Economy: Capital Mobility and the 1890s U.S. Textile Industry” by Beth English; and (j) “Black Workers, White Immigrants, and the Postemancipation Problem of Labor: The New South in Transnational Perspective” by Erin Elizabeth Clune.

With revisionist history, the reputation of the scholar(s) and the quality of their documentation determine the effectiveness of their rapier(s). On both counts, this is a work worth reading. Second, the increasing importance given to economic history in development studies following recent Nobel Economics Prizes to at least two who consider themselves economic historians (one of whom has coauthored with Engerman) increase the relevance of works such as this—in particular when combined with the growing importance given to institutions (and their time-path dependence) in economic development.

William A. Ward
Center for International Trade
Clemson University

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Delfino, Susanna and Michele Gillespie (eds.). 2002. *Neither Lady nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Asian Urbanization in the New Millenium, edited by Gayl D. Ness and Prem P. Talwar. 2005. Geography & Environmental Research Series. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, for Asian Urban Information Center of Kobe (available from International Specialized Book Services, Portland, Oregon). 508 + iv. ISBN 981-210-345-7, \$26 (paper).

It is now generally agreed that Asia (conventionally defined in this volume as all countries included in the regions of South, Southeast, and East Asia) is now at the center of the second wave of global urbanization, characterized by increases in urban population in most of its countries. This rapid urban growth means it is expected that by 2030 Asia will have 58 percent of the world's urban population and will have experienced an amount of population increase in urban areas unparalleled in the history of world urbanization. At that time the level of urbanization in the region of 53 percent will still have to increase considerably to reach the current levels between 70 and 80 percent in developed countries. What is more, the uneven pace of urban change throughout Asia—in which the giants of India and China that make up some 40 percent of the contemporary population are still at lower levels of urbanization—further compounds the dimensions of this urban increase. Indeed some estimates translate the shift in urban population into an annual increase of 78 million—more than the present population of most countries in the world.

The sheer pace and volume of the urban increase in Asia thus commands attention. From a policy point of view, the urban explosion is often presented as a major problem,

fueling “doomsday scenarios” of cities collapsing under the pressure of population growth with limited resources to provide the infrastructure and services that could cope with it. An alternative viewpoint argues that urbanization is both a reflection and a driver of economic growth and thus is a necessary requirement of the developmental transition of Asian societies.

Thus, as editors Ness and Talwar point out, there is need for increased understanding of the features of this urban revolution in Asia. The book, consisting of a general Introduction and Conclusion by the editors and 15 chapters on individual Asian countries, attempts to add to understanding through a focus on the demographic components of urban change. It summarizes demographic research being carried out at the Asian Urban Information Center of Kobe (AUICK) over the last few decades. Its main aim is to present a compilation of comparative urban demographic data since 1960. The essays are presented in a standard framework dealing with such issues as urban definition, changes in urban population, the relative importance of the main demographic contributors to urban growth (including migration, natural increase, and administrative reclassification), the city system, rural–urban differences, and finally major challenges posed by urban growth.

The result is that the country treatments are repetitive and uneven. For example the chapters on Malaysia and China, two countries in which I am currently working on urbanization studies, are representative of this unevenness. The chapter on Malaysia is a comprehensive and careful analysis of the trends in Malaysian urbanization since independence, and it shows an excellent grasp of literature, critically evaluates the quality of demographic data, and discusses the implications of government development policy. Of particular interest is the remarkable urbanization of the Bumiputra (largely Malay) community who has moved from rural to urban life reversing their rural condition that had characterized their existence in the colonial period. On the other hand, the chapter on China is short, descriptive, and of limited help in the interpretation of postreform urbanization experience. The volume is thus more a data bank that is valuable for accessing recent census data, but it lacks critical evaluation.

The editors’ essays in the Introduction and Conclusion attempt to contextualize and synthesize the Asian urban experience, and they warn the reader of the dangers of regional generalization as well as suggest research lacunae and some policy implications, but these chapters lack critical commentary. For example, on the issue of urban definition the editors recognize quite correctly that country variations in levels of urbanization do reflect different definitions, but they do not explore this critical dimension. For example, the chapter on India indicates that definitions of urban in that country severely underestimate the levels of urbanization. This situation is also true of Indonesia. On the other hand, in Malaysia the increase in the level of urbanization from 34.2 percent in 1980 to 61.6 percent in 2000 can largely “be attributed to the changes in definition and reclassification of rural areas as urban centers, as well as the agglomeration of surrounding areas” (p. 181).

This issue of urban definition is not simply a matter for academic debate, for it is central to the macroanalysis that associates urbanization levels with levels of economic development. The issue also complicates much of the discussion of urban systems. While many of the country chapters indicate that the growth of larger metropolitan regions is an important feature of their countries’ urbanization, the true dimensions of this megaurbanization are masked by a limiting statistical definition, thus leading to “invisible urbanization” as an important process in Asian countries. In this respect, the Japanese practice of collecting detailed occupational data that can be analyzed at small

spatial levels enables a much more precise method for the spatial measurement of urbanization.

For the reader seeking a deeper analysis of the relationships between urbanization and development in the Asian region, the book is disappointing. While there is some discussion, for example, of the relationship between city size and productivity, it is not pursued in depth. There is also little attention to the economic role of urban centers and the relationship with the demographic components of urbanization. The book would have benefited from more engagement with such issues as globalization, the emergence of global cities, and the growth of metropolitan clusters—issues that are the focus of much of the contemporary urban research in Asia. In addition, there is virtually no discussion of the issue of city growth and sustainability. For example, the current trajectory of Chinese urbanization that is focused on the private ownership of automobiles presents immense challenges to energy needs, traffic management, and the transactional and environmental aspects of the Chinese city. Overall, the authors do not really address the implications of the rapid increase and large volume of urban population increase in Asian cities.

While the general argument of the book for improved systems of data collection is exemplary, the plea means little if it is not linked to the reconceptualization of the relationship between urbanization and development that is necessary to improve these data collection systems.

Terry McGee
*Department of Geography and
Institute of Asian Research
University of British Columbia*

Globalization and Its Outcomes, edited by John O'Loughlin, Lynn Staeheli, and Edward Greenberg. 2004. New York: Guilford Press. 404 + ix. ISBN 1-59385-046-8, cloth, \$65; ISBN 1-59385-045-X, paper, \$30.

Growth of the literature on globalization continues apace, and the term has clearly captured the popular as well as the academic imagination. Yet the literature remains a long way short of a consensus as to the nature of globalization, the novelty of the processes that constitute it, its causes, or its impact on economic, political, and social life. *Globalization and Its Outcomes* makes a valuable contribution to this literature. It does so while largely avoiding a commitment to a particular interpretation of globalization and its effects and by recognizing the disparate ways in which globalization is experienced in different places. It encompasses a range of disciplinary perspectives on globalization and brings together the work of both established and younger scholars. Indeed, the contributions of the latter represent some of the most compelling and valuable chapters in the collection.

The book contains 18 chapters divided into four parts. Part I incorporates the editors' introduction, which draws attention to the uneven and incomplete nature of globalization and the differential nature of its effects. While providing a thorough introduction to the contents of the book the editors' own conclusions are sensibly agnostic about the outcomes of globalization.

The six chapters in Part II examine the "processes of globalization." This is the most disparate of the three major parts, although beyond Andrew Kirby's insightful chapter on the production of global culture the contributions have a decidedly economic

bent. The foundation for this part is James Mittelman's examination of globalization as an ascendant paradigm for international studies. His chapter is, like a number of the other contributions, previously published although it provides an interesting and critical account of globalization studies as an emerging field. Other chapters range broadly and encompass a general account of the rules of international trade by Keith Maskus, a discussion of technology transfer from rich to poor countries by Michael Nicholson, a sectoral study of the apparel industry by Gary Gereffi and Olga Memedovic, and a detailed study of the effects of liberalization and globalization on the economic geographies of Ghana and India by Richard Grant and Jan Nijman. Grant and Nijman argue persuasively that we have yet to recognize fully the complex geographies of globalization and to do so requires analysis across a range of geographic scales.

The four chapters in Part III examine globalization's outcomes in terms of "human well-being." This is a Herculean charge; and while the contributions usefully widen the scope of the book, the inevitable tendency to highly generalized argument rather limits their effectiveness. Michael Ward and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch boldly examine the relationship between globalization and poverty, inequality, conflict, and democracy. David Richardson then presents a brief assessment of the economic effects of globalization on the United States, while Michael Shin analyzes the relationship between globalization and health, including an engaging discussion of the globalization of disease. In the final chapter in Part III George Avelino, David Brown, and Wendy Hunter examine the relationship between democracy and social spending in Latin America. There is much of value in the chapters in this section although the task of relating globalization to issues such as "health," "democracy," "conflict," and "well-being" is arguably an overly ambitious one.

This brings me to the seven chapters that make up Part IV. Collectively they focus on citizenship and civil society, and there are a number of excellent examples of how best to address the complexities of globalization. Caroline Nagel focuses on the idea of citizenship and explicitly recognizes the oblique relationship between globalization and concepts such as citizenship, identity, and sovereignty. Her chapter, and the three that follow, provide the book's high point. In the first of those three, Victoria Lawson examines the reworking of state sovereignty in Ecuador through an examination of internal migration. Then Anna Secor examines the ways discourses of globalization articulate with political identity in contemporary Istanbul. Using rich and original household-level data, she concludes that "the black box within which economic globalization is thought to give rise to particular modes of identity formation seems to dissolve into an insubstantial conjuncture" (p. 289). While many contributions to the book recognize the multifaceted nature of globalization, Secor goes further to suggest the bundling together of disparate and unrelated processes under "globalization" not only "forecloses important questions about the relationships between these processes, but also imposes particular narratives of space and time" (p. 292). There is insufficient space here to do justice to her argument, but it is an important one that provides a helpful alternative to the notion that globalization marks a coherent process that licenses particular "impacts" or "effects." The last of the three is Patricia Martin's contribution, in which she examines the emergence of autonomous public spheres in Mexico and the ways in which they are linked to the process of democratization.

Those three chapters underscore the value of theoretically informed empirical work and a direct ethnographic engagement with the ways in which globalization weaves its way into the fabric of everyday life. While addressing very different concerns and contexts, on balance the accounts generate more valuable and compelling insights than the

chapters that adopt a more distanced reading of globalization and its outcomes. Part IV is rounded out by William Muck's account of the role of the World Bank in creating social capital, Takashi Yamazaki's fascinating look at political mobilization in Okinawa, Japan, and Colin Flint's essay on the endemic tension between the extraterritorial projection of power and influence on the part of the United States and its attempt to secure domestic stability and "homeland security." Flint argues, quite rightly I think, that the tensions associated with globalization presage an uncertain future. To this end his contribution provides a fitting finale.

Globalization and Its Outcomes brings together an accessible set of contributions that seek to examine the complex ways in which the processes that we bundle together as "globalization" transform economic, political, and cultural domains. There is, inevitably perhaps, variability in the quality of the chapters and many of the rosier accounts of globalization provide an insufficiently critical view. There is no concluding chapter but then I suspect the state of discussions around globalization would quickly undermine any such attempt to tie things together. The book reflects a healthy diversity of views in terms of theoretical, substantive, and methodological concerns. In reviewing that diversity it is clear to me the chapters that engage most directly with globalization in its everyday forms provide the more valuable insights. Those contributions examine the diverse ways in which globalization is encountered and enacted rather than positioning globalization as an "external" force that "impacts" on social life. Nor is it coincidental that these chapters are based on field work and thus a direct engagement with the complex ways in which globalization plays out in disparate contexts. They suggest, perhaps, that globalization is best approached, examined, and challenged from close quarters, rather than from afar.

Andrew Wood
Department of Geography
University of Kentucky

Globalization and Urban Development, edited by Harry W. Richardson and Chang-Hee Christine Bae. 2005. Series: *Advances in Spatial Science*. Berlin and New York: Springer. 321 + x. ISBN 3-540-22362-2, €85.55, \$99.

The book is a collection of 19 papers (by authors from 12 countries) originally presented in the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center (Italy) in August 2002. Different from the majority of existing literature, which emphasizes either theoretical discussions or developed countries, it is focused on the empirical impacts of globalization in major cities and urban systems primarily in developing countries. It has four major themes. It aims to (a) evaluate the alternative concepts of globalization and come up with a workable definition for urban impact analysis; (b) investigate macro issues, such as foreign direct investment and trade liberalization, in terms of their impacts in cities; (c) report comparative studies; (d) provide a cost-benefit analysis of globalization's effects on urban development. It is dedicated to the memory of Gill-Chin Lim, one of the contributors, who died in an accident as the book neared its completion.

The 19 chapters are divided into four sections. The authors of the two papers in the first section focus on the conceptual issues of globalization and urban development, then the authors of the five in the second section investigate how globalization affects cities and regional systems in five countries: India, South Korea, Indonesia, South Africa, and the Philippines. The third section provides eight case studies from five developing

countries and three developed ones, and a ninth on the Tijuana-San Diego complex in Mexico and the United States. In the final section, authors examine three specific topics, namely, information technology, environmental transition, and changes in urban form induced by globalization.

As for organization, I think there is room for improvement in three aspects. First, Christopher Silver's chapter on Indonesia differs from the others, as it is more about decentralization and its impacts on local governance than about urban development. Second, the last section reads like a stand-alone section with no obvious linkage to the other three. Third, the chapters on developed countries are detached from the ones on developing countries. The editors themselves note "there is no chapter about the links between globalization and deindustrialization in the developed world" (pp. 9–10), but point out "It is impossible to cover all the issues and all the potential locations in a book of modest size. This is a research beginning, not the last word" (p. 10).

There are nonetheless some interesting chapters in each section of the book. Gill-Chin Lim proposes an integrated conceptual framework to analyze the relationship between (broadly defined) globalization and spatial impacts, a welcome addition to the literature. He argues "globalization needs a better definition" to reduce the confusion between economic and noneconomic aspects of the phenomenon (p. 17), and yet he does not attempt to address this important issue in the chapter. His headings of "proponents and opponents" (p. 14)—with the World Bank being in the former and "scholars and civic leaders" in the latter (p. 15)—are surely controversial and probably misleading, as scholars and civic leaders are well represented as proponents as well. This is well illustrated in the next section in the discussion of Stiglitz and Rogoff's debate on the roles of financial institutions (pp. 16–17). This brief review also has limited coverage of the literature, with the noticeable omission of heavyweights in the debate, among others Kenichi Ohmae, Robert Reich, Paul Hirst, Grahame Thompson, etc.

Most chapters of the book are focused largely on economic aspects of globalization and urban development, partly due to the fact that most authors are economists, planners, or geographers. Mike Jenks's chapter on Bangkok and Sanjoy Chakravorty's on ideological globalization are the two notable exceptions. Jenks's chapter provides an interesting discussion of globalization and urban form. The construction of "Skytrain" (the elevated railway) to alleviate Bangkok's congestion has benefited international businesses and individuals much more than the locals owing to the location of stations and high fares. Despite the obvious impacts, such as the dramatic change in physical landscape of a rail network built three to four stories above the ground level, globalization is neither cultural imperialism nor has it affected the urban form much.

Chakravorty's thought-provoking chapter begins with an interesting proposition that one should distinguish economic globalization and ideological globalization. He is right to point out that ideological globalization—the spread of ideas such as the market, governance, and democracy that underlie economic globalization—has farther-reaching impacts than economic globalization "from an intellectual and a policy perspective" (p. 29). For instance, "good governance" is commonly being tied in as one of the numerous conditions associated with programs implemented by major international institutions such as the World Bank and IMF. Chakravorty further argues it is possible some peripheral regions may reject the increasing pervasive influence of ideological globalization (especially "good governance") outright, along with economic globalization (p. 37).

Chakravorty's concern about the ideological globalization in peripheral cities is partly revealed by the increasing divergence of regional development within developing countries. This is illustrated by Ernesto Pernia and Pilipinas Quising's essay on the

effects of economic openness on regional development in the Philippines: globalization contributes to poverty reduction nationwide but at the expense of interregional inequalities as the primate city is normally the main beneficiary. Sang-Chuel Choe also presents a similar case from Korea, where peripheral areas lost out to the primate city in the era of globalization. His discussion of the competition between Korean cities is illustrative: "All major cities in Korea expressed their desire to host certain kind of international events, to establish international organizations, and to build inter-city networks beyond national borders. . . . Hosting the World Cup in 2002 led almost to a *war among Korean cities*" (p. 65, italics added). I wish Choe had elaborated the concept of the Beijing—Seoul—Tokyo transnational urban corridor (pp. 75–76). Why is Shanghai not included, especially given the chapter on it (see below)? (Also, it is bothersome that two cited works are not listed in the list of references.)

Jianming Cai and Victor Sit derive a World City Index to compare Shanghai's economic level and politicoeconomic system with 32 existing and potential world cities. Shanghai's index score is about 30–40 percent of Hong Kong's and Singapore's, and 10–15 percent of the level for the megacities of New York, London, and Tokyo. Notwithstanding the potential controversies provoked by the World City Index, in particular the selection and predetermined weights assigned to the six aspects of economic and politicoeconomic systems, this finding suggests that Shanghai has the potential for world city status, but there may be more media hype than reality in the immediate near future.

Finally, Bae explores the extent to which the San Diego–Tijuana metropolitan region functions as a transborder metropolis. She argues the two areas complement one another, San Diego focusing on high-order services, while Tijuana concentrates on manufacturing. As mentioned by Richardson and Bae in their editorial introduction, the application of the concept of cross-border metropolis in San Diego–Tijuana is controversial due to the two cities' differences in socioeconomic status and their different responses to globalization (p. 2).

Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of the book is a lack of a cohesive analytical framework common to different contributors in the evaluation of globalization. As different methodologies and evaluation benchmarks are employed by different authors, the editors' general conclusion—the effects of globalization are largely positive as it has created numerous economic opportunities for major cities in developing countries (p. 9)—is far from satisfactory. How can one evaluate its impacts when there is no unified definition of globalization in the book? Therefore, the first and fourth themes of the book are not fulfilled fully. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, it covers case studies in 14 cities and 15 countries on four continents, largely in Asia and Latin America, and is a welcome addition to the literature.

Godfrey Yeung
*School of Social Sciences and
Cultural Studies
University of Sussex*