

rail counterparts from a congestion scheme, since bus speeds could increase due to less road congestion. In their respective chapters, Bendixson, Glaister and Graham, and Richards suggest that pricing schemes need strong political leadership supported by electoral mandates. They claim that urban travelers would likely be the beneficiaries of rural drivers' disproportionate taxes under a national congestion scheme in the U.K. May, Shepherd, Sumalee, and Koh discuss road pricing cordon designs, an area of congestion pricing schemes that has received little focus.

Unlike the above studies, Hargreaves and Echenique detail a nonprofit group's study of Cambridge, England, and the effects of a possible pricing scheme on its local economy. They find that property values, rental prices, and the cost of living in Cambridge would likely go down, whereas commuter times and pollution emissions would rise.

Part II presents the London scenario of road congestion pricing in four chapters that describe the pros and cons of the London congestion charging scheme (LCCS); the aim of which was to reduce congestion in and around the charging zone. Santos posits that this goal has been achieved with expensive operating costs and that it lacks pricing variations based on type of vehicle based on its congestive effects, time, and location. Contrarily, in Banister's and Ho and Maddison's chapters, it is argued that although the LCCS has reduced air pollution within the pricing zone, it has increased particulate matter in the outer periphery.

Part III presents international experiences of implementing road congestion pricing and focuses on Asia and Europe. Examining heavy goods vehicles charging systems in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, Nash, Menaz, and Matthews claim that the advantage goes to operators in those countries using toll roads, because they can purchase cheaper fuel before they transport goods abroad. Prud'homme and Kopp suggest that although the LCCS reduced traffic and increased bus patronage and travel speeds, the Paris scheme only reduced traffic congestion. Eliasson, Brundell-Freij, and Hugosson claim that the Stockholm pricing scheme reduced travel times in Stockholm, encouraged more people to ride public transportation, and increased the numbers of its buses and bus lines.

In Parts II and III, respectively, Lee's and Rye and Ison's chapters discuss the possibility of adopting the London congestion scheme for U.S. cities. They suggest that a congestion pricing scheme would be difficult to implement in the U.S. and that any U.S. programs will require strong political backing and consideration of issues related to equity.

Part IV details U.S. examples of congestion pricing and presents the political calculus in U.S. context. Citing the use of global positioning systems (GPS) in Seattle's Puget Sound congestion pricing pilot experiment, Bae and Bassok suggest that economies of scale should allow future programs and schemes to use GPS technology on a regular basis and as a means to impose fees and tolls. On the other hand, Lee and Gordon posit that high occupancy vehicle lanes should be considered for conversion into high occupancy toll lanes, given the travel habits and patterns of many U.S. drivers and their suburban residences. Richardson et al. describe California's SR 91 and establish a network model aimed at accounting for the "effects of tolls on selected freeway lanes" (p. 355). Lastly, King, Manville, and Shoup make the bold proposition that instead of taking the traditional approach to earmarking toll revenues for "programs or

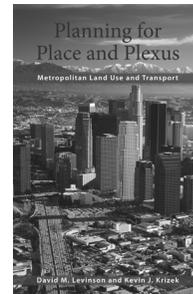
purposes," U.S. authorities and politicians should set aside toll revenues for "specific places and people" (p. 378).

The litmus tests in London and Stockholm, as well as attempts elsewhere around the world, offer the U.S. a great catalog of lessons to be learned about pricing schemes. However, implementation of such programs in the U.S. would require several key components, not the least of which seems to be strong political support. Unfortunately, American drivers are quick to lash out against those politicians who would dare impose higher taxes on our automobility. The largest stumbling block to establishing congestion pricing in the U.S. appears to be the willingness of politicians to convince the driving public that these schemes are a good thing.

Although the book does a good job in presenting European experiences and comparing them to U.S. contexts, it lacks examples from Asian countries. It could have been a pioneering piece of record if the editors had included successful examples of road congestion pricing throughout the world and explained their implications within the U.S. context rather than limiting the text to European countries.

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*Planning for Place and Plexus: Metropolitan Land Use and Transport*

David M. Levinson and Kevin J. Krizek. Routledge, New York, 2007. 352 pages. \$150, \$50.95 (paperback).

Students new to a field repeat back what they have been told and trust there are good reasons behind having to learn what they are learning. As they become more comfortable with the material, they start asking "Why?" Masters of a subject appreciate that there are various worldviews and methods of assessment and draw on complex webs of information and experience to understand different situations. Doing this for any one field is a challenge, but for interdisciplinary fields like planning, the challenge is magnified as professors and practitioners balance the need for in-depth knowledge of subfields with the need to understand how the subfields affect one another. In *Planning for Place and Plexus: Metropolitan Land Use and Transport*, Levinson and Krizek take on this huge challenge for at least two subfields: transportation and land use planning. Like masters, the authors easily move back and forth between specifics and generalizations, while never forgetting to bring their readers along.

Right away the title of the book reflects Levinson and Krizek's approach to the topic. "Place refers to the land use pattern and the distribution of activities across space," which is pretty straightforward, but plexus is the "complex of networks that connect people and

places" (p. 1). I will never forget the first time I heard someone refer to transportation as a form of communication. This opened a new way of thinking for me in which transportation became more than just moving people from place to place but a form of information exchange. Similarly, Levinson and Krizek write about "stimulating plexus" or how land use and transportation create, inhibit, and reinforce social, infrastructure, economic, or information networks, along with whole networks of cities. Focusing attention on networks provides readers with a handle upon which to grip how land use and transportation come together.

The book is divided into three major parts: individuals, business firms, and governments. These are the major agents whose actions shape metropolitan areas and, of course, in true networked fashion, the actions of each one affect the actions of the others. To sort through these impacts, the authors rely on diagrams called *diamonds* to illustrate the relationships. For example, in the diamond of exchange, the behavior of firms in choosing locations is shown as they respond to *complementors* (businesses providing support functions or competitors located nearby that bring customers to one area), competitors, connectors, and customers. Planners in the public sector can often lose sight of what is driving the private sector and vice versa. The diamonds make these different worldviews clear.

Of particular interest is the diamond of evaluation. Planning has always focused on the need to balance competing goals, but the hard part comes in making a decision. At times, normative ideals can lead to endless evaluations of alternatives that paralyze action. Levinson and Krizek try to balance ideals and reality by drawing attention to the four primary Es (efficiency, equity, environment, and experience [livability]) while being mindful of the fifth E, expediency. They explain that expediency is accomplished through the use of "human judgment" (p. 210), which is enhanced when planners and policymakers grasp the connections between land use and transportation.

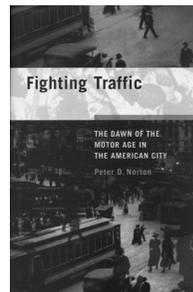
While tackling the complexities of a challenging topic, the authors bring their readers along by focusing on the action of agents, then presenting generalizations (theory) in the form of diagrams and specifics (evidence from research) in the text and in separate boxes. Some may become weary of one more discussion of utility curves, but the authors regularly lighten up the text with pop culture references. At first, I was dubious when the first pop culture reference was to the 1955 movie *Marty*, but later they cite *The Simpsons* and *Seinfeld*.

In the end, the authors do not present a neat set of solutions to issues of congestion, aging demographics, or climate change. What they do provide is a new way of thinking and a way of moving ourselves further down the line from novice land use and transportation planners to masters. Through understanding networks, we will make the most of our human judgment. In *Planning for Place and Plexus*, Levinson and Krizek reference the *Seinfeld* episode where "a teenager seeking a scholarship initially says he wants to be an architect and later realizes, 'I think I'd really like to be a city planner. Why limit myself to just one building, when I can design a whole city?'" (p. 222). Heck, why limit ourselves to cities when we can design whole networks!

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*Fighting Traffic: The Dawn of the Motor Age in the American City*

Peter D. Norton. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2008. 396 pages. \$35.

**F**ighting Traffic tells the story of how, at the dawn of the 20th century, the advent of motorized transportation led to battles over the use of street space in American cities. From the viewpoint of the pedestrian, this truly was a battle, with often fatal consequences. Customary uses of the street, which allowed equal access to all users, were challenged by the speed of traffic; cars were personified as the enemy of city dwellers and pedestrian fatalities were characterized as innocent victims, especially children. Norton chronicles how the motor car industry changed these traditional viewpoints that were seen as damaging to the growth of the new motor industry.

The various players in this story include police departments, the new field of traffic engineers, motor car industry interest groups, and ultimately highway engineers who reconstructed the city for the car. Notably absent are city planners, since they were not actively involved in thinking about the consequences of motorization of older cities.

Police departments were primarily concerned with protecting traditional uses of the street for all users, primarily by slowing and regulating traffic in cities. Motor traffic was seen as an unwelcome interloper. Traffic engineers, frequently supported by business interests, saw streets as public utilities to be regulated for efficiency. This led to experiments in traffic control and early success at synchronization of traffic signals, but often at the expense of pedestrian movements.

During the 1920s, the motor industry began to react to attempts to regulate the use of the street by motor vehicles. This was in reaction to an unsuccessful initiative in Cincinnati to require speed governors on all vehicles, limiting their speed within the city to 25 mph. The newly formed American Automobile Association began to take control of the safety agenda by funding education programs for school children and reframing the safety message. Rather than focusing on the innocence of pedestrian victims, these were redefined as foolish jaywalkers; rather than blaming speed for crashes, the minority of reckless drivers were blamed. This reframing of the message was ultimately successful and stifled attempts to control the speed of vehicles.

The role of interest groups and the new traffic engineering profession in shaping the city was critical. Secretary of Commerce Hoover believed that business associations, that is, interest groups,