Book Reviews

Inventing Ourselves Out of Jobs? America's Debate Over Technological Unemployment 1929–1981

Amy Sue Bix

Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 2000, x + 376 pp., US$45.00, ISBN 0-8018-6244-2

There is a large gap in recent literature on technological change. Despite all the publication on the information technology paradox, little attention has been given to the downside—to the loss of jobs, the costs of change generally, and to who bears those costs. Amy Sue Bix has contributed significantly to filling the gap. It is to be hoped her book stimulates interest and provides the basis for further inquiry into the consequences of these aspects of the Information Revolution.

She reminds us that David Ricardo back in 1817 endorsed the optimistic faith in technical advance as 'a general good', reasoning that in the long run, there would be a sufficient growth in demand to outweigh the ill effects of new technologies. On second thoughts, a few years later, Ricardo changed his evaluation: mechanization was 'often very injurious' to workers while benefiting others. He was not led, however, to abandon the endorsement he had earlier given to new technology. If it were introduced gradually, the economic effects would be ameliorated. In any case, competition left no alternative.

This reasoning, in one form or another, has continued to dominate in market economies, through periods of both growth and depression. Bix chronicles the upsurge of challenges during the Depression of the 1930s and the counter-offensive by the promoters of technology with their public relations advertising, publication, speeches, and World Fair exhibits. A crucial role was played by CEOs, distinguished scientists, and engineers. All gave an assurance that technology was the best route to American happiness. This is a book to put on the shelves beside the earlier contribution by J.F.Kasson.[1]

The period covered by Bix ends before the full impact of computerization and the Information Revolution were being felt. These were to continue the earlier processes of mechanization in a very pervasive way and these have given cause to reopen the issue that worried Ricardo: the trade-off between the speed of change and the capability of accommodating adjustments. A recent US study concludes that

> the story of the computer revolution is one of relatively swift price declines, huge investment in IT equipment, and rapid substitution of this equipment for other inputs … However, these changes are not ushering in a period of faster growth of output and total factor productivity. … The rewards are large because of the swift pace of technical change in the production of computers and the rapid deployment of IT equipment through substitution, not because of spillovers to third parties standing on the sidelines of the computer revolution.[2]

If complementary resources, i.e. what is usually lumped together as social or organiza-

tional capital, do not change quickly enough and in appropriate ways, it would seem that the adjustments Ricardo envisaged are improbable. What is appropriate is largely unknown, neither by the participant workers, unions, CEOs, MNCs nor by governmental agencies; and the effects have to be viewed in the international setting. OTA and *Foresight*-style projects may not have been conspicuously successful but there is a case for trying harder to understand how things fit together—and for trying to bring about an element of international co-ordination.

In a world where international laws and regulations grow apace but leave freedom to MNCs and financial institutions, there is a case for co-ordinated action on the introduction of new technologies. This could aim at linking and co-ordinating technological change, e.g. communication systems, for the benefit of the population generally and not just to further the interests of business and the state. It could be part of a much-needed reorientation of international efforts. The supposed inevitability of technological change and globalization is modified once the whole chain of events is put under scrutiny. These issues are becoming more and more important in a world where political stability is again under threat.

Returning to Bix's chapters, she attempts to focus on what was unique to the American response to technological change. 'Discussion about workplace change became entwined with particular musings about the meaning of American history, the western frontier, and a sense of national destiny' (p. 8). Perhaps the American focus could be on the uniqueness of the American story but that story has a great deal in common with other countries.

This is a book for both specialists working on technological change and those primarily concerned with social issues.

Notes and References

1. J. F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America 1776–1900*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977.
2. D. W. Jorgenson and K. J. Stiroh, 'Information technology and growth', *American Economic Review*, 89, 2, 1999, pp. 109–115.

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The New Research Frontiers of Communications Policy

D. M. Lamberton (Ed.)

Amsterdam, North Holland, 1997, vii + 283 pp., US$115.00, ISBN 0-444-82251-8

The New Research Frontiers of Communications Policy edited by Donald Lamberton is based on a workshop on research in the telecommunications area which took place in the summer of 1994 after the International Telecommunications Society biennial conference in Sydney. This provided a unique opportunity to bring together a significant number of researchers in order to discuss developments and needs of analysis in a changing technological environment. Having divided the participants into groups which discussed specific issues, the outcome can be seen in this book which covers 13 papers summarizing

the various discussions. Eight of these have comments from other participants at the workshop.

Before starting to read the book I was very curious to see whether the participants had mentioned research items about the most important market trends of today on their agenda six years ago, for example, the Internet Revolution or the booming mobile phone market and the changes that such developments have already brought and might also bring in the future. Although not all contributions to the book can be discussed here, some of those papers which contain an outlook in this direction will be mentioned.

The book reflects the very extensive discussion of the range of participants at the workshop, covering for example demand studies, the issue of networking, technological change, innovation and its effects, market structure, growth and productivity, regulation and the social dimension. As can be seen, a number of research issues were interdisciplinary and were looked at from various perspectives.

From today's perspective it is very interesting to note which questions were discussed and which directions those researchers believed would be relevant in the next few years. It was well recognized that technological change will lead to a completely different market structure in the future; however, beside the decrease of importance of wireline voice telephony no other major trend or development neither in real market developments nor in research needs was formulated concretely.

However, clearly enough it was recognized that and the pace of change is constantly accelerating (Alleman/de Fontenay on p. 44). The growth we have experienced through the Internet Revolution was not foreseen, especially not in terms of household theory when we think of the budget that a household spends for communication needs and services. The shift towards substituting shopping by e-commerce thereby also shifting the way income is spent and reducing transaction costs was not in their minds back in 1994.

A very interesting contribution comes from Swann who discusses the broad field of technological change and its role in influencing the communications industries. The developments of the most recent years confirmed that one of his assumptions about the interrelationship between a high degree of competition and inventions and innovations is correct. Furthermore, the last few years have shown that it is very difficult to look at a static market structure in telecommunications. Especially the European experience after 1998 shows that it is a more fruitful approach to analyse dynamic market structures as the changes that have taken place are so significant and have come so quickly that dynamic analysis serves as the only possible way to analyse market structures.

Nightingale is one of the few authors who addresses the impact of the Internet in his paper (p. 146). However, it becomes clear that in 1994 there was still a number of open issues (as there are today) about what influence the Internet might have: 'The internet is another example of a set of services provided in this case by a decentralized set of users/providers who had no idea what they were doing, and to a considerable extent still do not know' (p. 127). In his paper Nightingale addresses many questions around the analysis of market structure and research items in this area. However, one of the interesting facets we have seen in later years was not on the agenda a few years back, i.e. the very strong recent trend to (unfriendly) take-overs and mergers in the telecommunications area.

The question addressed by Maddock about the interrelationship between telecommunications and economic development is probably one of the issues which is still of utmost relevance today. The past few years have shown that the gap between industrialized and developing countries has not become smaller but even larger and one of the questions discussed today of whether we need specific measures in order not to let the gap between 'information-haves' and 'information-have nots' become too big. This is also one of the

questions which is intensively discussed in the communications review of the European Commission when considering the future scope of universal service.

The contribution on telecommunications regulation by Martin Cave draws a picture of the historical development of telecommunications regulation. One of the interesting aspects is the choice which countries have in introducing a regulatory system. Cave presents five options (p. 179) and from the experience of the past six years one can say that most countries have chosen option (d), which is the regulation of a publicly or privately owned sector by an independent regulatory agency. However, as is correctly noted, in many countries the competition authority also plays a significant role. This is quite a natural development after the successful introduction of competition as the questions to be answered move away from being sector specific to be more of a general competition perspective kind. Cave identifies four main areas of regulation, e.g. licensing, interconnection, universal service obligations and price control. Very clearly, these topics are still of highest relevance in telecommunications regulation as of today. Additionally, issues like data and consumer protection and regulation of convergence have arisen as important issues. There is a very clear need for most of the regulatory regimes to move away from a strictly voice telephony-based regulation to a more intensified regulation of convergent services and convergent industries including the regulation of mobile communications as well as of data.

Finally, Martin in his contribution includes a discussion about the prospects of the Internet. He foresees many of those developments which we have experienced in recent years, especially the trend towards e-commerce.

Altogether, this book provides a very interesting perspective of how researchers evaluated the (future) developments in telecommunications and where they believed the most relevant aspects of research could be found from a 1994 perspective. The value of this book also lies in the combination of descriptions of past development and the outlook into future trends as it still provides guidelines on which topics we should put our specific interest in today.

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All Connected: Universal Service in Telecommunications

Bruce Langtry (Ed.)

Carlton South, Victoria, Melbourne University Press, 1998, xii + 234 pp., AU$32.95, ISBN 0-522-84784-6

This book is an edited text of some nine chapters together with an introduction and afterword. It is the product of a working group of the Centre for Philosophy and Public Issues at the University of Melbourne. In line with the Centre's objective of directing the excellence of philosophy within the University to pressing issues of national and international concern, this text addresses the important theme of universal service in telecommunications.

The contributors to this book are nearly all well-known commentators on Australian telecommunications policy issues, especially as it relates to universal service. As a result the book draws extensively on Australian case material and has a predominantly

Australian focus. There are, however, valuable insights uncovered in this book that have applicability in a context much wider than Australia.

The book addresses three broad questions (p. 2):

1. What kind of telecommunications access should be guaranteed to all Australians?;
2. How are people's telecommunications needs and uses to be conceptualised for the purpose of assessing policy proposals?; and
3. In the current state of government policy development, and especially given the advent of an open market in telecommunications, what are some of the other big questions which urgently need attention?

Holly Raiche (Chapter 1) provides an excellent introduction to the history of universal service in Australian telecommunications. She approaches the issue from a legal perspective and while a few things have changed since it was written, this chapter clearly discusses legislative definitions and how costs are determined. The reader has to change gears somewhat in Chapter 2, which is a contribution by Bruce Langtry on telecommunications and justice. This is a most interesting chapter and perhaps reflects where the book makes a real contribution: the introduction of philosophical thinking into a policy area has for far too long been devoid of discussion about ethics. Langtry analyses universal service from a number of perspectives: participation; equality; justice; the market; and non-discrimination. Langtry's conclusions are not surprising in that he sees a strong case on the grounds of justice for governments supporting universal service to promote the good of Australian society. He does not go as far as specifying what the good society would be. However, the contribution lies in the application of philosophical thinking to a policy issue that has for far too long been dominated by a discourse relying on social benefits being delivered through market outcomes.

Two chapters by Gerard Goggin (Chapters 3 and 4) bring the reader back into policy mode again. Goggin, a policy researcher who has acted as an advocate for consumer interests in Australian telecommunications, attempts a forward-looking approach by considering 'voice-telephony and beyond' and 'citizenship and beyond'. Both concepts are important aspects of the universal service debate and Goggin is keen to explore the interrelationship between the technological systems we use and our identity in modern society.

Chapter 5 represents a contribution by Michael Roche, investment manager, from Telstra on meeting user needs in an open market. This chapter in itself is interesting in that it records the view from Australia's major telco and universal service provider. It is a necessary chapter in that if progress is to be made in widening the debate, the prevailing discourse will need to be closely analysed. Chapter 6, by Bruce Langtry, brings us back into philosophical mode again, this time looking at the ethical motivations behind the delivery of universal service. Langtry observes that there is a case to consider the ethical motivation of business firms as a possible way of organising policy. In Chapter 7, Patricia Gillard laments the paucity of reliable research on telecommunications users and the extent to which the telcos themselves keep this information closely guarded. Christopher Newell looks at disability and telecommunications in Chapter 8 and Judy Taylor explores electronic banking and consumer access in Chapter 9. These latter chapters of the book demonstrate more of an awareness of the philosophical issues that have been introduced earlier whereas the earlier chapters seemed not so well integrated. Taylor makes an interesting observation that 'In an economy where medical services are rationed, it does not seem likely that Internet access be viewed as a fundamental necessity' (p. 182). This point seems not to have been squarely addressed in the book despite the sentiments for policy-makers to consider ethics, fairness and justice. The issue

of how a more reasonable view of the need for universal service can be placed on the political agenda is unfortunately not developed in the book.

The 'Afterword' by C. A. J. Coady on the philosophical aspects of policy formulation serves less as a summary and more as a reflective piece on the general themes of the book. There is much wisdom in this contribution. Coady talks about the need to be imaginative in the way we see policy problems and he is quite correct in concluding that several of the contributions to this book have had this aim. However, despite Coady's call to look at problems from a different and novel perspective, he seems quite implicitly comfortable with a pluralist political perspective that sees the government as an impartial arbiter of competing interests. A contribution to this book that provided a more structuralist account of the universal service issue may have allowed Coady to incorporate that perspective and make something of it. Likewise, Coady includes a section titled, 'the problem of information' and observes that 'Indeed, information is the stock in trade of the telecommunications industry' (p. 204). Unfortunately this is as far as it goes because information is treated in terms of asymmetry, with secrecy and public accountability being the main concern.

While it is possible to point out shortcomings, one must be reminded that this is an edited text. A book of this type is long overdue in Australia and the debate about universal service has been for far too long the preserve of specialist scholars, industry, government or communications policy advocates. The incorporation of the philosophers to the debate is refreshing and has the potential to open up new options. The book is a useful contribution to a better understanding of universal service in Australia. There is scope for going further with some deeper thinking and this reviewer would like the philosophers to tackle the question of information and justice more seriously. This is especially so if Australia is to benefit from universal service in the 'information age'.

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Private Networks, Public Objectives

Eli Noam and Aine Níshúilleabháin (Eds)

Amsterdam, Elsevier, 1996, xxv + 439 pp., US$140.75, ISBN 0-444-82549-5

Globalism and Localism in Telecommunications

E. M. Noam and A. J. Wolfson (Eds)

Amsterdam, Elsevier, 1997, xxxix + 391 pp., US$129.50, ISBN 0-444-82382-4

Both these edited volumes originate from the research programme of Columbia University's Institute for Tele-Information (CITI).

Private Networks, Public Objectives, which consists of some 26 chapters by leading telecommunications scholars, was based on a project supported by CITI affiliate NTT of Japan and Telia of Sweden. The aim of the project was to:

model and explain the reason for various networking arrangements—public, private, hybrid, group, intra-organizational, virtual, etc,;

> project the evolution of the telecommunications network into a pluralistic federation of subnetworks;
>
> analyze the economics of private networks, and the technological options and network configurations available both of public and private capacity; and
>
> examine the policy implications of use-privatization for social objectives traditionally incorporated in public networks, such as technical compatibility; universal service, common carriage, privacy, consumer protection, service quality; urban/rural service similarity; ability to fashion national and international policies. (p. xix)

In short, the volume aims to address 'the future of telecommunications and information systems, and the maintenance of traditional public objectives within the emerging network of networks' (p. xix). The chapters are arranged under various headings: Taxonomy-defining the network environment; History and recent developments; The economics of private networks; Interoperability—technical; Interoperability—economic and legal; Interoperability—domestic and international policy; and, International studies—towards the future. There are some excellent contributions in this book by some of the most respected authors in the field. Having said this, the reader has to be prepared for a mix of technical chapters together with some quite reflective and philosophical chapters. As a result, from this reviewer's point of view, not all the chapters were equally of value.

The theme of *Private Networks, Public Objectives* is best summarised by Noam himself:

> Telecommunications are moving from the traditional monopoly, by way of a 'network of networks', to a 'system of systems' in which users are served by systems integrators that access each other. This environment will not be the 'end of history' as far as regulation is concerned, and government is not likely to disappear from this area. (p. 430)

This conclusion is in line with Noam's view that the more successful the monopoly system, the more it is undermined. The dynamics of group formation, informed by evolutionary thinking, is an important part of the intellectual framework underpinning the analysis of this book. I think this text makes an important contribution towards answering the question: after competition, what? By thinking about telecommunications in new ways such as attempted in this book, we may be able to move beyond some of the outmoded views that tend to lead to lock-in. One such view is private versus public ownership of network infrastructure. Noam lists a number of others too, and universal service too is high on the list. While, expensive, this book will be an invaluable acquisition for university libraries.

Globalism and Localism in Telecommunications consists of some 25 chapters and also is the product of a two-year study by CITI. The central idea informing this research project is that the

> telecommunications industry, long organized along geographic and product lines that were both a shield and a weapon, is being transformed by contradictory forces: on the one hand, the trend toward global expansion by carriers, and on the other hand, fragmentation and entry in local communications. These transformations represent two sides of the same issue: a blurring of market boundaries created through technical innovation, policy liberalization, user initiatives and entrepreneurialism. (p. xvii)

The chapters in this book are arranged under the following themes: Introduction—the end of territoriality in communications; Dynamics of the new local communications markets; Universal service—creating effective policies for the future; Communications

beyond frontiers—expansion of national carriers across borders; Investment drivers for global telecommunications; and, Policy issues for the new global communications environment.

The political line adopted in this book is strongly in favour of liberalization, but with an acknowledgement that regulation will still be necessary. Noam and Wolfson argue in their introduction

> After liberalization, there will still need to be coordination for some policy problems, such as redistributive goals, law enforcement issues, and the transition to a competitive system, which may require interconnection arrangements. It will only hamper the global economy if one tries to protect social subsidies through a protection of the entrenched monopoly market structure and through a defense of that system internationally. What the world of telecommunications needs today is more policy experimentation rather than trying to create a homogeneous solution for a heterogeneous world. (p. xxiii)

The call for policy experimentation may sound appealing if one can afford it but for many countries, I suspect, the promises of liberalization will be held more circumspectly. Their voices are not heard in this volume. *Globalism and Localism in Telecommunications* is a valuable text reviewing some of the most pressing questions in telecommunications policy. It is an invaluable acquisition for university libraries.

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History of International Broadcasting Volume 2

James Wood

Stevenage, UK, The Institute of Electrical Engineers, 2000, xxiv + 266 pp., £35/$65, ISBN 0 85296 920 1

At a time when the word 'Internet' is associated with all things modern and important in communications, James Wood's second volume on the history of international broadcasting may appear as a nostalgic look to a bygone era. While there is much to be remembered and celebrated about short wave and medium wave broadcasting, Wood is of the firm belief that this form of communication technology has an essential role to play in the future. With audiences to services such as the BBC World Service growing and steady sales of short wave transmitters, current indications are positive. Within the context of uncertainty in international politics, Wood believes that the ability of broadcasters to reach mass audiences without the intervention of a third party (unlike satellite and the Internet) assures the need for short wave broadcasting well into the future.

Where the first volume of this series was devoted to the early history of short wave broadcasting (see Mary Cawte's review in *Prometheus*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1995, pp. 310–312) the main purpose of Volume 2 is an analysis of the Cold War period and the role of international broadcasting in the dissolution of the USSR. As Wood recounts, the chairman of the US Presidential Task Force on international broadcasting stated in 1991 that ' … they [international broadcasters] sent out words, not bullets, ideas not bombs, and they broke down a wall and helped break an evil empire …' (p. 1). I initially thought

that this was the contention that Wood was setting out to test but it quickly becomes apparent that these words from the chairman of the Presidential Task Force are taken by Wood largely at face value. What follows is a journey over many different subject areas, the relevance of each never fully explained beyond the implicit relationship between international broadcasting and the fall of communism. These include a review of listening audiences, an analysis of short wave transmitter sales, the role of international broadcasting in projecting foreign policy of the USA and Western Europe, case studies on over 16 international broadcasters, company histories of manufacturers and the specific technical details of antenna design and modulation techniques. Wood also devotes some of his analysis to assessing the state of play since the Cold War and the increasing prominence of religious broadcasters in the short wavebands.

It is apparent that the reason Wood never fully engages with the need to test the central connection between international broadcasting and the fall of communism in the USSR is because of his partiality to the West's cause and his fascination with the technical details of the artefacts at the centre of this technology. The lack of citations to back up claims which lie quite outside his expertise as a consulting engineer contribute to a general feeling of unease. The analysis lacks the kind of rigour one would normally associate with an historical text. Certainly, the emphasis on matters technical leaves Wood open to accusations of technological determinism. But this is probably too harsh a criticism because he does succeed in places to link social contingencies with technological developments.

For example, his discussion on the differing connotations of the word 'propaganda' within the different cultures of Europe leads him to the events from which the word emerged—Pope Gregory XIII's efforts to counter the popularity of Martin Luther during the sixteenth century. This is particularly significant when he later describes the increasing popularity of religious programming on international airwaves. He argues that propaganda is not necessarily a 'dirty' word but can be seen as a legitimate political tool to bring unity within a country—something to which broadcasting is ideally suited. However, the use of corruptive or negative propaganda during World War II has contributed to its negative connotations, at least within English-speaking countries— hence the BBC's disdain for the term. Interestingly, Wood notes that the British Government has been duplicitous in its role within international broadcasting. While proclaiming the need for unmediated access to information for the people of the world, it has been active in censoring international satellite transmission into the United Kingdom.

Wood also provides a wonderful example of how the differing economic and political conditions of the USSR have led to divergent trajectories in transmitter design when compared to the West. Where there was a move in the West to more power-efficient designs controlled by computerised systems (because of the higher costs of energy and human resources) the Russians were at liberty to build transmitters at much higher power outputs (up to 2 million watts!) which could be tended to by a host of engineers. Also apparent in these diverging technological trajectories was the increasing use of semiconductors in Western-built transmitters while the Russians developed a formidable capability in thermionic tube design. With more liberal trade relations, Russian tube manufacturers now compete favourably with Western suppliers in supplying Western broadcasters.

Altogether, I found that the human side of the international broadcasting story was missing. I was wanting to know more about the listeners who tuned into these international broadcasts. For example, Wood claims that for every person who heard an international broadcast many more got to know this information through word of mouth.

Would it not have been interesting to hear some of these stories, to put a human face to substantiate these claims? Similarly in relation to the recent surge in interest in religious programming. While I value Wood's opinions as to why such audiences are increasing I would have appreciated the stories of some of these listeners. Just a few stories would have enriched his analysis significantly.

In a broader sense I was reminded of Staudenmaier's[1] alarm and frustration at the dichotomy which besets the historical study of technology. The apolitical nature of much analysis is a source of dissatisfaction to those, such as Staudenmaier, who are also intensely interested in technology but more as a complex social product rather than as an autonomous and unproblematic object for positive change. Mitcham notes that such criticisms are not left unanswered by those whom he describes as subscribing to an engineering philosophy as opposed to a humanities philosophy of technology.[2] He notes that some engineers are critical of those who fail to engage fully with the technical complexities of technology, asserting that such discourse is thinking ' … on the cheap …'.[3] (Though one could not accuse Staudenmaier of this in his study.) In any event, it is disappointing to me that this text reflects these same tensions and that little progress has apparently been made to bridge this divide.

Wood's second volume on international broadcasting is an informative read for those who have an interest in the art and science of communications in the short wave and medium wavebands. My experience as a technical adviser to a radio station in the central Pacific revealed to me that short wave distance communication has a dedicated global following. I was frequently required to send 'QSL' (a procedure for confirming the reception at a broadcast) cards to those who had monitored the medium wave broadcasts of the radio station from the United States, Japan and New Zealand. On one occasion the radio station was invited by South Korea's broadcasting service, KBS, to provide a half hour programme. The broadcast of this programme on KBS's international service elicited such a flood of mail from listeners around the world that we were busy for over a month sending reply cards. With the booming popularity of the Internet and e-mail, one wonders though, whether interest in short wave broadcasting is a thing of the past, at least in the minds of young people, who were the group which provided the impetus for short wave technology development many decades ago.

Wood is nevertheless confident that short wave broadcasting has a viable future. With a third of the world's population still living in the communist countries of Asia, the attention of many Western international broadcasters is now directed there. However, it is in broadening the scope to matters political that Wood's text is found wanting. He does make significant inroads in establishing links between the development of international broadcasting technology and events of the Cold War and subsequent to this. He also achieves his goal of recognising the contribution of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in the face of revisionist history which overstates the role of Voice of America. All of this is valuable from an historical perspective, yet, more needs to be done in terms of linking Wood's analysis to the expertise of others learned in the history of technology, international politics and communications. Wood's text would be a useful resource for someone interested in following his lead by conducting a study into international broadcasting but perhaps less ambitious in scope and more detailed and rigorous in its analysis.

Notes and References

1. J. M. Staudenmaier, *Technology's Storytellers: Reweaving the Human Fabric*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1985, pp. xvii–xix.

2. C. Mitcham, *Thinking Through Technology: The Path Between Engineering and Philosophy*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994, pp. 13–14.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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