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Book Reviews

The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Re-invention in Australia

Simon Marginson and Mark Considine

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, 272 pp., AUS$34.95, ISBN 0521 79448X

It is commonly observed that universities are not what they used to be, though what that might mean is seldom clarified by specifying what they have now become. Part of the reason for this lies in the lack of explanatory understanding of the way universities themselves actually function. Traditionally, universities have been identified largely in terms of the conditions under which they see themselves operating; principally, autonomy in terms of the research they undertake and what students are taught. Autonomy, it is argued, underpins the ability of universities as institutions to function as the 'conscience of society' but it also governs the operations of the disciplines, giving each the freedom to pursue their inquiries wherever they might lead. The link between the two is a grey area and, in managerial terms, is conventionally described in terms of collegiality. In this framework, collegiality operates to exclude outside interference in the performance of teaching and research and this includes the operation of institutional governance structures. In relation to substantive activities, academics, themselves, know best.

The authors of this book try to take us beyond this view by specifying governance as the link between the academic heartland on the one hand, and the external environment, on the other hand. In this view, governance becomes the principal vehicle for determining university identity. And to the extent that governance structures differ across institutions, universities become different and the education system more diversified. *The Enterprise University* is the outcome of these processes and it is the category under which the authors organise their study of 17 universities in Australia which cover about half of the higher education system in that country. Topics covered include: the nature of the external environment (national and global); an historical analysis of the changing relationship between government and universities; a description of the internal governance of the universities in the sample analysed in terms of executive power, institutional power and research power; and exploration of national system dynamics. In a final chapter, the authors return to explore the linkages between governance and identity.

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The findings of the case studies suggest that the most successful of the present Enterprise Universities are those which conjoin three elements: an entrepreneurial capacity to create and exploit income earning opportunities; organisational coherence, and the capacity to focus performance; and strong academic cultures. Of course, this brief summary of success factors does not do full justice to the depth of the analysis contained in the book, but it does serve to direct attention to some of its important findings. First, universities differ according to the nature of the effectiveness of their chosen governance structures. This is the source of institutional creativity as well as system diversity. It is a prime factor explaining the differences amongst universities. Secondly, and conversely, the authors are able to demonstrate that failure to develop these structures lock universities into making incremental innovations around a single model which not only reduces diversity but passes the competitive advantage to the major providers. Paradoxically, the 'new openness to outside funding and competition is (also) a process of "isomorphic closure" through which universities with diverse histories choose from an increasingly restricted menu of commercial options and strategies' (p. 4). The need is for universities to use governance structures to articulate the link between internal resources and the external environments in ways which inhibit such closure.

But perhaps it is the third success factor which requires the greatest attention by those responsible for developing governance structures, because it seems that many universities do not develop sufficient strong linkages with their respective academic heartland. Each institution has only a finite set of disciplines and, therefore, its teaching and research capabilities. To optimise these resources requires that universities, whatever their particular configuration of resources, use governance structures to develop and utilise robust academic cultures. Alas, the converse often seems to be the case. The least successful 'Enterprise Universities' seem to be those where the academic heartland interacts only weakly with the institution. This, it seems to me, lies at the heart of the problem of university identity and its importance is well argued in this book. Each university represents a unique configuration of disciplinary resources. Indeed, it is the only intellectual resource that it can use to link effectively with its environment. Governance is a necessary, but perhaps not a sufficient condition, for identifying the configuration collaboratively, moulding internal resources appropriately and rewarding its academics accordingly. This book constitutes an important resource for those seeking to adapt their universities to a new environment. It will provide them not only with a wealth of empirical material to contemplate but also a language within which to articulate appropriate governance structures.

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Technology and the Contested Meanings of Sustainability

Aidan Davison

Albany, State University of New York Press, 2001, 281 pp., ISBN 0-7914-4979-3 hbk, ISBN 0-7914-4980-7 pbk

Increasingly, the impact of new technologies can—deliberately or otherwise—be extreme. Thus, the question of how much those who create new technologies can

leave the wider implications to those who make technology policy is a difficult one. Even then, the question of how much policy makers can leave the questions of ethics and morality to professional ethicists and philosophers, is equally as problematic.

This issue has emerged in a new form with the rise of the concept of sustainability. In response to perceived environmental stress, but also in part due to an increasing critique of technological society itself, the idea of sustainability has grown perhaps as the core ideational response. Seen as radical only a few years ago, now everyone is jumping on the sustainability bandwagon. Even the Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard, a man otherwise widely criticised for his government's reticence to foreground environmental issues in policy making, has at last adopted the term.

With this focus on sustainability and its meaning, the publication of a book examining the fundamental character and meaning of sustainability is timely. Aidan Davison confronts head-on the basic questions related to achieving genuine sustainability in what he terms 'latemodern' society, and specifically the way the term is being co-opted by prevailing socio-economic powers to continue the socio-technical trajectory which generated the problems in the first place.

It is Davison's assertion that 'ecomodernist' approaches essentially integrate the previously critical perspectives and values of sustainability into a response to environmental and social crises which perpetuate the same basic mistakes. The book begins with a survey of the short descriptive history of sustainability as a concept and shows it has been increasingly redefined to fit mainstream ideas about economic growth and technological development. Indeed, Davison argues that, owing to its co-option by various interests with greatly differing agendas, sustainability is becoming all things to all people and rapidly losing any real meaning.

Having discussed the policy-making and the politics of the issue, Davison goes on to explore the metaphysical roots of our perceptions of technological society, in particular investigating the ideas of Martin Heidegger. Many readers would find this section less accessible, but Davison's instinct that we need to understand the ideological roots of our practices is sound. Heidegger is relevant because of his emphasis on technology as a life transforming process, and not just a means to uncontentious ends. Because Davison explicitly commits himself to reconciling the technological character of modern society with the need for meaningful lives, he is a trustworthy guide through the sometime murky depths of the philosophical literature on the subject.

The dislocation between means and ends is one of Davison's themes. He sees the reconstruction of human life by technology as a fundamentally problematic thing, although he does not, like some critics, abhor technology. Indeed, for Davison the development and utilisation of technology is a central human activity, and one we cannot nor should not avoid. Nevertheless, he argues, the dislocation of these two things—means and ends—has led to the creation of a 'deformed world' which is inherently unsustaining. The key to understanding this world is to understand our forms of technology as a 'world-building' practice. As Davison explains, this misunderstanding is rooted in past misconception, especially in seeing technology as simply a means to an end: 'Understanding technology as world-building is first of all a matter of recovering our experience of technology, that is, our practices, from the philosophical strictures of instrumentalism' (p. 95).

In the last part of the book Davison attempts a reconciliation of quotidian life experiences with the exigencies of living in the modern, technological world. To do this he does a very brave thing, and one that academic intellectuals would usually never try. What he does is to examine his own life, the particularities of time and

place as he goes about his work as father, gardener and academic in an old wooden house in the coastal town of Fremantle, Western Australia. His point, of course, is that regaining the specifics of each lived life is the only way for humans to reconstruct meaningful relationships that are socially and environmentally sustainable. As such, technologies that are conducive to a balanced life (such as, he argues, the baby sling) reinforce the most beneficial personal and social experiences. However, at the same time as Davison asserts the need to return to consideration of specifics he also acknowledges the peculiarity of each life, including his own, and the need to recognise contradictions. For instance, as a well-educated citizen of a wealthy nation Davison's personal exploitation of techno-economic efficiencies of the global economy allows him to live comfortably in his wooden house with a nice garden and plenty of good quality red wine.

Whatever the difficulties of this personalised approach, it reminds us that no one can escape the responsibility to investigate their own works and make judgements about their inherent value. This is particularly true in relation to creating and developing new technology. It is no longer acceptable to claim moral distance due to technical skill, as if it was some sort of natural division of labour that separates the thinking about the 'what' and 'how' from the 'why'. This is true not only because we see how so many technologies have become destructive, but that some technologies are intended to be destructive and we cannot continue to allow politics, so often incapable of analysing technological character, to decide their use. A good example of this, is the way in which the current American political leadership misrepresents the technological capability of ballistic missile defence because it suits their political and ideological interests to do so (indeed, this attempt has been so blatant it has been physical scientists leading the criticism of the current project on techno-scientific grounds).

Davison's book is a timely and effective reconsideration of the modern technological project and its real costs to human lives and the environment. Ultimately, Davison reminds us, technology is not an end in itself, but one of the ways we act to improve the lives of human beings and better understand the planet we inhabit. And since human beings are most importantly moral creatures, as every one of our religious and legal systems attests, true sustainability occurs where the need to live materially viable but also moral lives intersects. Thus, according to Davison, 'Sustainability is nothing less, in late modernity, than the craft of moral life' (p. 177). In other words, this book informs us, the Promethean impulse to change the world through technology has to be continually guided by a constant awareness that human life is intrinsically worthwhile in a context of environmental integrity, and that technology should be intended to enhance that quality.

This book takes a tough look at our technological society and the changing character of the idea of sustainability. While investigating the ideational roots of the technological project, it nevertheless attempts to reconstruct a meaning that enables us as individuals to live moral as well as materially viable lives. The book is an interesting mix of the abstract and specific, the intellectual and sensual, and as such it treads ground all too often avoided by specialists or grand theorists. In this reviewer's opinion, there should be more books like this one.

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Wiredlife: Who Are We in the Digital Age?

Charles Jonscher

London, Anchor (Transworld Publishers), 2000, 293 pp., AU$22.00,
ISBN 1862 30035 6 pbk

The author of this book, Charles Jonscher, is well known in academic circles as an insightful commentator on information economics and information policy matters. He trained in electrical sciences at Cambridge University in the UK and completed his Ph.D. at Harvard University with Nobel laureate, Kenneth Arrow. Jonscher now runs the London-based investment firm Central European Trust Co., while maintaining his academic base at Harvard University's Program on Information Resources Policy. *Wiredlife* is a paperback (first published by Bantam Press in the UK in 1999) and directed at a general readership. There is no detailed footnoting or referencing in this style of book and Jonscher prefers to direct the reader to several pages of references to 'Further Reading', loosely connected to the argument in the text. None of this should put the academic reader off this valuable book. If anything, Jonscher's ability to write engagingly for a general audience and his skill in communicating complex ideas in an understandable and persuasive way underlines the mastery he has over his topic.

Reviewer comments from various newspapers on the back cover of this book provide a succinct overview of Jonscher's approach. I will include some extracts here:

> Jonscher is a humanist who urges students facing the challenges of the next millennium not to drop literature and history in favour of computer science. We still need to understand human nature more than the details of this or any other technology (*Daily Telegraph*).
>
> . . . mercifully free of the sort of cyberbollocks that infest so much writing on the subject (*New Statesman*).

There are nine chapters in *Wiredlife* as well as a prologue and epilogue. Jonscher uses the prologue and epilogue to set the boundaries for his argument. In the prologue, Jonscher talks about the life of his great-grandmother growing up in 1870s Krakow and the sorts of technological and social changes confronting people of that time. It is an introduction that clearly reinforces Jonscher's interest in people and the fact that technology, while it may appear awesome, has limits when it comes to human behaviour. Likewise, the epilogue, reflecting on the lifestyle of an 11-year-old girl called Emma in Boston, underlines change, but it also has limits. This is a theme that Jonscher returns to repeatedly in the book.

The core of Jonscher's argument commences in Chapter 2 which has the title 'The Ancient Mystery of Human Knowledge'. In this chapter, Jonscher clarifies the distinction between data, knowledge and wisdom, characteristics all too often ascribed to computers, with the human activities of communications, processing and thinking. This is a skilfully written chapter, and Jonscher maintains the quality throughout the rest of the book. Jonscher compares what computers do with what people do and in doing so, critiques a metaphysics of computing with reason. He draws on philosophy frequently to justify the distinctions in a way that always seem educative for the reader.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 deal with each of the themes of communicating, processing information and thinking. Chapter 3 ('Wiring the Planet') provides a simple explanation of the technological basis of communications (telecommunications) and concedes that in this area, technology has fared reasonably well. In Chapter 4 ('The Chip, Master Logician') we see that the theoretical idea, the *turing* machine, can be programmed to solve any computable problem. The constraint is that not all problems are computable. Jonscher implies that this point needs to be reinforced in a world willing to adopt computing to any task. Chapter 5 deals with the rise and fall of artificial intelligence and as might be expected, Jonscher remarks 'no machine has come anywhere near—not even within the remotest sight of interacting with us as would a human being . . . Our minds have so far remained stubbornly "non-digital" ' (p. 153).

In Chapters 6, 7 and 8 Jonscher deals with the Internet, computers and economic progress and the digital technologies of tomorrow. His analysis of the Internet is thorough and he clearly presents a challenge to educators who have fallen head over heels with on-line delivery:

> Digitization is a characteristic of the way facts are encoded—not of what they mean, of their importance, of relevance or of their value. We must always keep in mind that this is fundamentally a technology of transmission, an efficient means of accessing knowledge which must originate ultimately with people. The Internet is a new way of accessing content . . . The quality of human creative output is not primarily dependent on the quality of the available technical facilities; the content is greatly more important than the conduit, and here digital technology has much less to offer (p. 182).

Chapter 7 discusses the productivity paradox in some detail and while there are many explanations for it, Jonscher proffers the following:

> The computer is commoditizing the processing of digital data, not of human knowledge, and if it is not bringing the expected gains it is because what goes down in cost also goes down in value. The value has stayed, so far, with the creative energies of people (p. 208).

Chapter 8, which looks to the future, is one of the more interesting of the book. Having established that computers have their limitations when it comes to communicating, data processing and thinking (activities that humans do in the abstract), there may be major ramifications for their application in biology and chemistry. Jonscher does not spend too much time on prognostication but this reviewer needs little convincing (as Jonscher argues) that the impacts here are likely to be very significant and transformative. Unfortunately, there will be no guarantee that the world will be a better place as a result of this potential application of computing to biology—far from it. As to the question, who are we in the digital age, Jonscher's answer is decidedly human. He concludes Chapter 9 with the comment:

> Fifty years of computer technology will not substitute as easily as technology enthusiasts would have us think for the natural processes of interaction between people and other people, and between people and their surroundings (p. 274).

In sum, Jonscher's book is very readable and he has stuck to his central question well—who are we in the digital age? Its strength lies in the acknowledgment that the digital age is not the product of the computer. Jonscher executes his argument with a skilful interweaving of philosophy applied to an understanding of information machinery. Are there any omissions or shortcomings? Jonscher seems remarkably silent on matters to do with the political economy of the digital age. For some readers, failure to be explicitly critical of the economic system could be an omission. Jonscher also seems to prefer a view of information as something other than real, a feature of the economic superstructure (even though Jonscher does not use this term). He remarks, that for the consuming public at least, 'information is a descriptor, and will not transcend in value the things it is describing' (p. 226). While Jonscher certainly does not deny the importance of ideas, he does seem to favour a materialist approach. There seems to be some considerable wisdom in not losing sight of this, even in a digital age.

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Building the Trident Network: A Study of the Enrollment of People, Knowledge, and Machines

Maggie Mort

Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2002, x + 217 pp., £22.50, ISBN 0-262-13397-0 (hbk)

This book provides an analysis of the life of the Trident nuclear submarine building programme that is wide in theoretical scope and narrow in empirical focus. The Trident programme was concluded only three years ago with the launch of the final vessel of four in Barrow-in-Furness in the north of England, yet it has already been largely forgotten outside that region. The author of this book is concerned with the 'actor world' of Trident, the overall environment of the technology that Trident became. Thus, her analysis incorporates facts, machines, people and administrative and managerial systems, all of which interact to produce a successful technology. Through this, a successful book has been produced, marred only by a series of minor printing errors and a neglect of recent developments in organization studies.

However, as the analysis is located within actor-network theory, labels such as 'successful' and 'technology' are recognized as contested. The book begins by concisely setting out the fundamental assumptions of the analytical framework, often in opposition to accounts of technological progression that put the complex processes of development into a closed black box. Mort argues that previous academic and journalistic treatments of Trident in the US and UK have done two things: first, they have presented the end-points of complex, socially negotiated processes as inevitable and pre-determined; and second, they have written out the 'roads not taken' through these processes. This book sets out in part to make explicit the social construction of the technology of Trident, and in part to revive and give voice to those 'disenrolled' from the network.

This latter aspect of the analysis forms the key to the book. The author's profound local knowledge and networks, gained in part through six years of

journalistic experience on the local newspaper, enabled her to both identify and form relationships with those involved in putting Trident together, and those excluded from the project as it progressed. This in turn allows the analysis in the book to explore the disenrolled non-human actors that form an integral part of the final technology. In addition, it is a pleasure to read such a clearly structured and concisely written academic analysis.

The book begins then by exploring how the chosen theoretical framework allows for the inclusion of the hidden histories and tacit knowledge involved in producing a successful technology. The introductory summary of science and technology studies (focusing on the work of Callon and Law), alongside brief accounts of the sociology of scientific knowledge (primarily Collins) and industrial sociology (the labour process tradition), enables the reader to grasp the complex theoretical surroundings of the empirical analysis. In addition, this section firmly locates Trident as a value laden political technology with some analytical autonomy. Following on from this, Mort then locates the organization that produced the Trident technology Vickers, historically and culturally, skilfully combining internal and external archival documents with contemporary and post-hoc accounts from human actors. This sets the scene for Vickers to become a one-trick company, entirely reliant on nuclear submarine production.

Mort then explores the discarded technologies that the company rejected in its drive towards specialization. Here, the notion of disenrollment is central. The analysis also makes clear how employees who sought to argue against the exclusion of all other work but that pertaining to Trident, were marginalized and placed within a network outside the core submarine technology development network. Here, the use of structural political and economic conditions in the process of human actor enrollment becomes central. The widespread use of share options in British industry, encouraged by successive governments, is here seen to operate as a means of constructing a core within company and wider communities, reinforcing the chosen non-human technology within Vickers. However, the conclusion reached in relation to the development of the socio-technical networks that would form the bedrock of Trident production emphasizes the ambivalence of many Vickers employees, to the work they were being asked to do and to the shareholding role that they took on.

The value of the actor network perspective begins to come through at this stage of the analysis. Mort argues that it allows for the processes of social and technological enrollment to be seen as fluid, with space for human actors to resist and acquiesce. This echoes the labour process analyses that the book also draws on, with the result that both the technological and labour processes necessary for the production of Trident can be seen as contested on both 'sides', managerial and productive. This takes the reader into an account of the counter network constructed around Trident and Vickers, in a region that was effectively a company town. This network explored alternative technologies that could support the region and the company, but was ultimately sidelined by the stronger networks formed around Trident. Mort however, outlines how the reports and analysis produced by the union-supported counter network continue to live, as the structural conditions of the company have changed since the end of the Cold War.

Finally, this book deals with closures, through accounts of redundancy and network decline around Trident. Here the analysis brings something quite distinct. As Mort notes, science and technology studies have largely neglected the ejection

of people from actor networks, concentrating more on heroic stories about the originators of networks. Central to this section is the argument that (dis)engagement in a network based on an economic work organization can involve an element of coercion. This section also makes clear how little influence individuals and collectives could have on the direction of large companies towards the end of the 1980s in the UK; partial and temporary resistance was all that could be achieved in that (this?) context. As Mort notes, both the alternative technologies network and the disenrolled employees could only hope to deconstruct managerial, technological, and economic rationales. Little could be done to influence or re-direct processes.

This then sounds like a sad story. The Vickers company now employs fewer people in the north-west of England, and the alternatives to Trident developed there by the alternative network have gathered dust. Some hope may be taken from Mort's final note that black boxes will continue to be opened, both by sociologists and employees; what we do with the knowledge gained from reflection on the processes we see inside is then up to us as social agents.

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Social Change, Public Policy, and Community Collaborations: Training Human Development Professionals for the Twenty-first Century

Penny A. Ralston, Richard M. Lerner, Ann K. Mullis, Coby B. Simerly and John B. Murray (Eds)

Boston, MA, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000, xv + 163 pp., US$95, £66, ISBN 0-7923-8659-0

Health professionals and health professional educators will find this book useful. Concerned with re-establishing the university's significant potential for contributing to the community, the book opens with an overview of the issues relating to training human development professionals for community collaboration. It assumes from the established research that there is a co-morbidity among problem behaviours, ill-health, and poverty, but warns against adopting policies based on deficit views of communities, families, and individuals. Instead, they argue that a 'strong democracy is dependent upon enlightened citizens actively participating in their own governance and in the formulation and shaping of public policy' (p. 2). Ley (Chapter 2) also asserts that professionals who influence public policy should be ethically proficient, although this seems to suggest that it is a skill rather than a moral disposition.

The 13 chapters that provide pragmatic accounts of public policy implementation at the ground level and of educating professionals for this task are uneven in quality. Charles McClintock's chapter on 'Creating Communities of Practice for Experiential Learning in Policy Studies' is, as one would expect, well researched and thorough. His pedagogic approach to developing students' capacity for applied theorizing could be sensibly adopted by those preparing professional students for real world problem solving. Similarly, Clara Pratt's chapter, 'Public

Policy: Roles for Faculty' provides an account of how Boyer's (1990) *Scholarship Reconsidered* was applied to a faculty that deals with government impacts on family policy.

A useful book, but the varied quality of its contributions limit its effectiveness at this price.

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Constructivism in Science Education: A Philosophical Examination

Michael R. Matthews (Ed.)

Dordrecht, Kluwer, 1998, xii + 224 pp., £59, US$98, ISBN 0-7923-5033-2 hbk

The 12 papers in this collection provide an excellent and spirited discussion on constructivism as a philosophy and as a pedagogy, specifically in science education. Even for those who do not teach science, there is much of relevance. For example, Mark Bickhard's chapter provides an excellent summary of the issues and the major constructivist theorists.

Constructivism is significant theoretically in education, philosophy, and sociology. Educational constructivism has been strongly woven into pedagogy by Piaget's work, which concentrates on individual constructions of reality in the various stages of childhood cognitive development, and by Vygotsky's socially produced constructions of reality in discourse. Although the philosophy of science, of course, has been profoundly influenced by Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*, it is clear from this book that Kuhn is less than happy with some of the extensions of his theory into more radical relativism. The third area, the sociology of knowledge, is, as one would expect, limited in application to the sociology of scientific knowledge (e.g. Bloor and Shapin).

Essentially, as Robert Nola points out, constructivism is based on the ancient question of realism and subjectivity. His chapter, in which he provides a thorough outline and critique of radical constructivism, including eight objections to constructivism as an account of knowledge, is well argued.

The duel between constructivist advocate, Ernst von Glasersfeld, and critic, Wallis Suchting, is vigorous and blunt. Suchting also replies to Peter Slezak who argues that constructivists 'seem blind to the deep intellectual qualities [and] the inspiring ideas' (p. 181) of science. Suchting is particularly stung by Slezak's view of the sociology of science as intellectually and morally depraved, largely because of its relativism. Suchting's appendix of 12 theses provides a useful set of understandings for those who wish to better understand relativist-oriented constructivism.

While this book may appear to be marginally relevant to people outside science education, the issues are still very relevant for those interested in the metaphysics of other disciplines and the approaches to the teaching of those disciplines.

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Poverty and Inequality: The Political Economy of Redistribution

Jon Neill (Ed.)

Kalamazoo, MI, W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1997, 151 pp., ISBN 0-88099-181-X pbk

This small publication has been produced by the W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, a non-profit research organization that seeks solutions to employment-related problems. The six papers are clustered into pairs to consider various aspects of poverty and inequality. It is important that poverty be put back on the political agenda as it seems that political parties have consigned the word to the unspoken and unspeakable. But Neill in his introduction reminds us that poverty is more significant now than when President Johnson launched his Great Society. The 18.1% of American families living in poverty in 1960 fell to 8.8% in 1973, but rose to 11.7% in 1992. Similarly, the distribution of income has led to the rich getting richer and the four lower quintiles getting less.

The papers by Haverman and Blank provide useful guidance for public policy strategists committed to reducing poverty by revealing the inadequacy of the 'rising tide' claims that increased economic growth will reduce poverty. Clearly this is not so any more, although it may have been true to a very limited extent in the 1960s. Haveman effectively shows us how Newt Gingrich's mean-spirited 'Contract with America' ignores the labour market realities faced by those on the cusp of welfare and employment. As an aside, it seems odd to me that the socially conservative pro-family policies of the Mean Right contradict the ideological forced march of young single and married mothers into the workforce. But Haveman puts some statistical meat on the bones of this question. He concludes 'that most current [welfare] recipients lack the basic capabilities to work themselves out of poverty on their own, even if they were to work full time, full year at the wage rate that their education, experience and health characteristics would command' (p. 17). Blank shows that there has been no inverse correlation between GDP and poverty since the late 1980s. Although economic growth increases the demand for workers, a closer examination shows that low-skill work tends to pay at poverty levels. Thus, while the real wages for men with at least a college degree have increased between 1969 and 1992 by 15.7%, they have fallen by the same amount for men with less than a high school degree. While women's wages have increased, the real wage for unskilled women rose by $5 in 23 years while that for college-educated women rose by $119. Nevertheless, all levels of women have lower incomes than comparable men. Blank draws two implications: that economic growth is not an effective anti-poverty tool, and that jobs alone will not solve poverty (pp. 35–38).

In the second pairing, Formby considers the distribution of income inequality within the US, and Smeeding draws unfavourable comparisons with other OECD countries. Formby rightly draws a distinction between poverty, an absolute concept, and income inequality, a relative concept. Formby sensibly discusses the problems of defining and measuring these concepts (e.g. Headcount, Income Gap, Gini Index, and Sen Index).

Smeeding's use of the Luxembourg Income Study provides a fascinating chapter that compares (market and disposable) income distributions in 25 countries including OECD countries and CEE countries, and Taiwan and Israel. Although Smeeding identifies several methodological problems in drawing cross-country comparisons, the data still show some significant differences in inequality

based on 1980s and early 1990s data. Russia has the lowest relative income for the lowest decile and the highest relative income for the highest decile, which indicates that their introduction to capitalism is every bit as brutal as that experienced in the US and England during their industrialization. By comparison, the Czech and Slovak Republics in 1992 recorded the lowest relativities of rich and poor, being similar to Finland, Belgium, and Sweden. Also of note is that of Australia, once considered the 'workingman's paradise', has the third highest relativity between rich and poor (after Russia and the US).

The final pair of papers deals with intergenerational poverty. Jere Behrman uses econometric analysis to test Hernstein and Murray's (1994) *The Bell Curve* hypothesis about the effect of intra-family income movements and 'inherited intelligence' on poverty. He concludes that family background does affect the likelihood of being rich or poor, but that differential intrahousehold distributions of resources vary outcomes. By contrast, the polemical piece by Gordon Tullock is a predictable apologia for the appalling wealth and income differentials in the USA.

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