

should decide, where and about what?). “Imaginaries”, in this extended meaning echoing current works in the field of Science and Technology Studies (Jasanoff and Kim, 2010), then appear as powerful analytical tools for the description of technological programs, while also helping us locate the sites where the political issues of nanotechnology are made explicit. In this perspective, imaginaries are less pervasive “structures” defining our perceptions of the past and the future than instrumented assemblages, which practically construct technical objects and social practices. Understanding imaginaries as such relocates the political issues of nanotechnology at the heart of the making of objects and visions. It might offer a path for the practical elaboration of the “partnership” between the artificial and the natural with which Marina Maestrutti concludes her book.

### Reference

- Jasanoff, S. and Kim, S.-H. (2009) *Containing the atom. Sociotechnical imaginaries and nuclear power in the United States and South Korea*, in “Minerva”, 47, pp. 119-146.

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Herman Galperin and Judith Mariscal  
(eds.)

### **Pobreza Digital – Perspectivas de America Latina y el Caribe**

2009, CIDE, 213 pp.

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I would like to start this review by situating my viewpoint. Likely, I was asked to read this book because of my long lasting interest to conduct research ‘beyond’ the digital divide. A decade ago, when I started my PhD research on a telemedicine system in the Peruvian upper amazon, it sounded ‘exotic’ -to say the least- to my colleagues and supervisors. Indeed, the digital divide problem proved to be “out there” as much as in the tacit empirical assumption that the amazon is not a relevant setting to study telemedicine from an organizational perspective. Subsequent success of that research proved that ‘digital divide’ is a ‘real’ problem (still in search for solutions) as much as a reflexive problem for research practice, often too slow in revising own assumptions.

This book addresses the former issue but overlooks the latter, which could be quite relevant for Tecnoscienza readership.

Overall, “Pobreza Digital. Perspectivas de America Latina y el Caribe” [Digital Poverty. Perspectives from Latin America and the Caribbean] focuses on an important issue, both for research and practice.

In fact, it is true that market economy has been contributing greatly to lifting out of poverty a remarkable portion of the world population, but it achieved that also exacerbating inequalities. Acknowledging this lays underneath the ‘pro-poor’ stance of this collection of works.

This book is articulated in six chapters. The first introduces the reader to the idea of digital poverty and puts down the cornerstones for its measurement. Key stakeholders (private sector, government, beneficiaries) are considered. Chapter two looks at the demand side of ICT and applies an econometric scheme to Peru’. This part is well done according to standard research techniques, but overlooks a key issue about ICT demand among poor people: how to identify demand? Is it based on expressed need? On actual need, perhaps derived by comparing to other average values? How to discriminate need from desire? It is known that in developing economies non-necessary goods may substitute basic services (I myself saw flat TV sets in accommodations without sanitation). Chapter three offers an overview on the changes across Latin American ICT markets, paying specific attention to big companies. Then, it is showed how the privatization of the sector contributed substantially to increased penetration of ICT in Latin American societies, especially with mobile phones. Chapter four seeks a balance by looking at micro, and often grass-root, initiatives. The

relevance of an adequate regulative environment is argued as determinant. Chapter five pull the treads of sustainability by articulating three different domains: basis, users and technology. Finally, chapter six proposes pro-poor ICT strategies and research. As argued later, policy makers are those who may benefit most by the research models and strategies proposed here.

An important aim of these works is to measure the unmeasured (Déjean et al.: 2004). This is not pursued according to a simple positivistic approach of finding what the reality is. Saetnan and colleagues (2010) ask “for whom the bell curves?” hinting at the mutual construction of statistics and society. Here, authors aim at curving the bell in a specific way: Authors are well aware that measures allow fostering pro-poor policy claims, therefore they can affect the agendas in policy making arenas.

In this sense, this book is quite articulated, chapter two in particular. So, the natural audience for this publication comprises policy makers and practitioners at all levels. Also Spanish speaking people approaching issues related to the digital divide may find this collection useful, even though they will have to look somewhere else to gain a more complete overview.

In my opinion, researchers interested in new understandings of digital divide would find the scope of this book a bit narrow. The problem I see is that critical assumptions are not questioned. Let me go into this

because I think that Tecnoscienza readers may find it relevant. The introduction to this book states that “authors of this book accepted the challenge of thinking in creative ways and of exploring novel strategies to help solving the problems that digital poverty creates in Latin America and the Caribbean” (p. 10). I have done quite some work in Latin America and the problem I pinpoint here is that poor people are depicted -or simply assumed- to be in lack of something. I do not deny it, but I find this a narrow view. The consequences are that homogenizing the problems results in homogenizing solutions. The risk is of what I call here “Engineering the other”. Are all poor the same? Not always, not necessarily. ICT are not a panacea. Therefore, ‘Where can ICT help?’ “in which sectors?”, “with what applications?”, “in what kinds of organizations?” are among the discriminatory questions to ask.

I now take a different angle on the same problem. Is being connected via ICT good? It depends on who and what one connects to. For sure ICT allow novel organizational forms, but this does not mean that they are all good. There are plenty of services that are failures or a waste of time and resource, at least. Brazilian ex-president Lula stated, about the still unfolding economic crisis that “it has blue eyes”, meaning that western experts had no idea of the risks of what they were doing promoting tight interconnections of markets. So, how to learn from mistakes? How to discriminate?

By assuming acritically that ICT are good, we would miss to realize how the digital divide is in the eye of the beholder also.

In conclusion I invite to reconsider the ageing notion of ‘digital divide’ (and a recent re-incarnation in ‘digital poverty’) without scrutinizing general concepts which showed limits, already. The consequences of a more open-ended approach can be far-fetched, but at the end of the day, this is what social studies of technologies are about.

## References

- Déjean, F., Gond, J. P. and Leca, B. (2004) *Measuring the unmeasured: An institutional entrepreneur strategy in an emerging industry.* , in “Human Relations”, 57(6), pp. 741-764.
- Saetnan, A. R., Hammer, S., and Lomell, H. M. (2010) *The Mutual Construction of Statistics and Society*, Routledge.

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### **Politikkens natur. Naturens politikk**

*(The Nature of Politics. The Politics of Nature)*

2011, Universitetsforlaget, 304 pp.

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