



Europäisches Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung
Tübingen

Roland Sturm and Georg Weinmann

Challenges of the Information Society to the Regions in Europe

A Research Agenda

**Occasional Papers
Nr. 14/2**

Contents

Foreword: *Oliver Will*

4

Roland Sturm

The Information Society and its Regional Dimension. A View from the Social Sciences

I.	Introduction	7
II.	A new regional society or a modernised one?	9
III.	Are the promises of the Information Society socially acceptable?	11
IV.	What are the benefits for my region?	13
V.	A new regional balance in Europe?	16
VI.	Research by area	17

Georg Weinmann

Building Social Consensus.

The 'Multimedia-Enquête' of the *Landtag* in Baden-Württemberg

I.	Introduction	21
II.	The 'Multimedia-Enquête': Emergence, activities and outcome	23
III.	'Datahighway Baden-Württemberg': Organizational difficulties, technical problems and party competition	27
IV.	'Revolution from above' or 'forms of experimental democracy'?	30

The authors

33

Publisher: European Centre for Research on Federalism (ECRF)

Address: Nauklerstrasse 37a
D-72074 Tübingen
Phone: ++49 (0) 7071 / 297 7368 & 297 7190
Fax: ++49 (0) 7071 / 922876

Board: Prof. Dr. Horst Förster
Prof. Christopher Harvie, Ph.D.
Prof. Dr. Rudolf Hrbek (Speaker)
Prof. Dr. Franz Knipping
Prof. Dr. Günter Püttner
Prof. Dr. Roland Sturm
Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg Wehling

Co-ordination: Georg Weinmann

All rights reserved.

Copyright by European Centre for Research on Federalism (ECRF), August 1997.

Occasionals Papers are published and distributed by the ECRF Tübingen.

ISBN-Nr.: 3-9805358-5-1

Price: DM 10,00

FOREWORD

The Information Society is going to change the world! Is it? Certainly, the development of information technology is changing rapidly and almost every-day, but a good deal of the multimedia-euphoria is still more wishful thinking than reality¹. Another point one has to be aware of is the fact that the 'wired world' holds a considerable potential of uncertain developments one can only speculate about.

Nevertheless, there are significant changes taking place in society partly caused partly accelerated by information and communication technology. As all fundamental changes in technology and society the Information Society is influencing all levels of government and administration - the global, the national, the regional and the local level.

The growing economic and political importance of the Information Society for the regions is underpinned by a series of initiatives by the European Union and the regions themselves. Some examples on the European level are the *TeleRegions-Project* and the *IRIS-Initiative* or conferences like the '*Mainstreaming Conference on the Regions and the Information Society*' which took place in January 1997. The regions are also becoming more and more aware of the consequences the Information Society may have for them in future or problems that the Information Society might help them to solve. The so-called 'less favoured regions' discover information technology as an instrument to catch up in the competition among the European regions, whereas the more advanced regions try to keep the lead in the race. Thus almost all German Länder have started initiatives concerning the Information Society, e.g. *Bayern-online*, *media-NRW* and since the beginning of this year *Baden-Württemberg-medi@*.

The European Centre for Research on Federalism (ECRF) is one of the very first social sciences research institutes which focuses particularly on the regional potentials for development and on problems of the Information Society. The ECRF initiated a research project on 'Virtual Regionalization. The cultural, sociological and political aspects of the Information Society'. The approach of the project is multidisciplinary and transnational, in order to gain

¹ According to Opaschowski Germany's transformation into an Information Society, for example, will be considerably slower than often stated. Due to his research only 40% of the German population will use own computers once a week in 2010 (Horst W. Opaschowski: Deutschland 2010. Wie wir morgen leben. Voraussagen der Wissenschaft zur Zukunft unserer Gesellschaft. Hamburg 1997, p. 89).

results. What is going on in small and medium-sized enterprises as well as state administrations? Is there a growing awareness of the importance of multimedia and an 'Information Society-competence'? Will the new technology create new forms of governance?

This Occasional Paper is the second part of a publication² which describes and reflects some regional aspects of the Information Society from the European (Lob and Oel) as well as a *Länder* perspective (Weinmann focuses on the 'Multimedia-Enquête' of the *Landtag* in Baden-Württemberg, the first parliament ever dealing with risks and chances of the Information Society by establishing an Enquête Commission). Professor Sturm asks some general questions from the regional studies point of view: *Firstly, what is the quality of social change the Information Society will bring to the regions? Secondly, how will the regions deal with the problem of popular (un)awareness of the new challenges of the Information Society? Thirdly, how can regions influence the direction of social change, and what are the most promising strategies for regional economic development? Finally, how can the Information Society contribute to interregional cooperation and regional cohesion?*³

The papers of Sturm and Weinmann were given during the international conference 'Regions in Touch with Tomorrow? Regions and the Information Society' which took place in Tübingen from 20 to 22 February 1997. It was planned and organized by the ECRF. All presentations and additional articles will be published with support by the British Council in the series „Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Zentrums für Föderalismus-Forschung“ by the end of 1997.

Finally, I would like to thank Martin Große Hüttmann MA for his effort and competence to produce a professional publication - as usual.

Oliver Will

Tübingen/ Stuttgart, June 1997

² Part one: Harald Lob/ Matthias Oel: Informationsgesellschaft und Regionen. Wirtschafts- und regionalpolitische Aspekte der Informationsgesellschaft. Tübingen 1997.
³ See Professor Sturm's contribution.

Summary:

The paper focuses on the need for research in the social sciences in order to monitor and influence the ways the regions in Europe deal with the evolving Information Society. It concentrates on four questions: What is the quality of social change the Information Society will bring to the regions? How will the regions deal with the problem of popular (un)awareness of the new challenges of the Information Societies, and how can a new consensus on technological and social innovation be created? How can regions influence the direction of social change, and what are the most promising strategies for regional economic development? What can the Information Society contribute to interregional co-operation and to a greater regional cohesion of the European Union? - It is essential to keep in mind that the future of the regional Information Society is neither the product of a purely economic nor a technological logic, but that there are political options for its shape between which regional societies and governments can choose. The regional legitimization of the new communication structures can be strengthened by an application of new technologies which are shaped by regional and local needs and by the establishment of a 'regional dialogue' between interest groups, local/ regional government and business. Social science could support these processes by producing regional profiles of the awareness of problems of the Information Society, the stereotypes and fears it provokes, the capacity of opinion leaders to contribute to a more informed dialogue and the need for additional networking to stabilize the information structures and the regional and local dialogues. - The multi-layered political system of the EU exerts considerable influence on the regions' scope for action. Especially in the economic field, the public sector and with regard to the emergence of new lifestyles the efficient balance between regional self-determination and the complex interdependence with other policy levels (local, regional, national, supra- and international) has to be found and evaluated by social science research.

Zusammenfassung:

Der Beitrag konzentriert sich auf Desiderata der sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung, die in der Auseinandersetzung von Regionen in Europa mit der entstehenden Informationsgesellschaft festzustellen sind. Eine zentrale These besteht in der Annahme, daß die regionale Dimension in der Informationsgesellschaft weder das Produkt einer rein technologischen noch rein ökonomischen Logik ist. Mit der Entwicklung neuer Kommunikationsstrukturen verbinden sich für Gesellschaften und Regierungen auf der regionalen Ebene auch politische Optionen. Dabei kann die allgemeine Akzeptanz neuer Kommunikationsstrukturen gesteigert werden, wenn sich der Einsatz neuer Technologien an den regionalen und lokalen Bedürfnissen orientiert und darüber hinaus ein „regionaler Dialog“ zwischen Interessengruppen, lokalen/ regionalen Behörden und der Wirtschaft initiiert wird. Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung kann entsprechende Prozesse dadurch unterstützen, daß sie „regionale Profile“ erstellt. Es ist jedoch auch zu bedenken, daß das Mehrebenensystem der EU erheblichen Einfluß auf die Handlungsspielräume der Regionen ausübt. Insbesondere auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiet, im öffentlichen Sektor und im Hinblick auf die Entstehung neuer Lebensstile ist es von Bedeutung, daß die Regionen in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der entstehenden Informationsgesellschaft die richtige Balance zwischen regionaler Selbstbestimmung und der Interdependenz verschiedener Politikebenen (lokal, regional, national, supra- und international) finden. Aus sozialwissenschaftlicher Sicht lassen sich in den genannten Bereichen ertragreiche Forschungsfelder erkennen.

The Information Society and its Regional Dimension.

A View from the Social Sciences

Roland Sturm

I. Introduction

Though the concept of an Information Society still remains fuzzy politicians and scientists agree that the advent of the Information Society is unstoppable, and that it will have very fundamental social consequences. With regard to the latter perceptions differ between the worldviews of optimists who expect the Information Society to produce more jobs, less environmental damage, increased economic growth and more democracy and the forecasts of pessimists who see the individual cut off social contacts, the exclusion of the computer-illiterate, an Orwellian universe of control and intrusion into privacy and new forms of crime.

Political initiatives both on the international and the national level are fairly recent. On the European level the Commission's White Paper of 1993 entitled 'Growth, Competitiveness, Employment - the Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century' and the Fourth Framework Programme for EU Research and Technology Policies 1994-98 have initiated an active role of European institutions in the development of the Information Society. The 1994 Naples G7 summit meeting raised the awareness world-wide of the need to cope with the challenges of the Information Society and to use its opportunities. The summit also provoked a number follow-up conferences (Brussels, Johannesburg). Individual nations, too, have come to see the urgency of focusing on this topic. Most influential was the idea of a National Information Infrastructure, an Information Superhighway, which was supported by the American Vice-President, Al Gore, in 1993. The British government was the first European government to produce a programmatic paper in late 1994 entitled 'Creating the Superhighways of the Future: Developing Broadband Communications in the UK'. In Germany the debate arrived in 1995 with the report of the federal government's Council 'Research, Technology and Innovation'¹ on the the new challenges provided by the

¹ Rat für Forschung, Technologie und Innovation: Informationsgesellschaft. Chancen, Innovationen und Herausforderungen. Bonn 1995.

Information Society. In 1996 the federal parliament set up its own multi-media commission.²

On the regional level initiatives have developed much more slowly and in most cases in reaction to the paradigmatic change on the European level. Baden-Württemberg is one of the few exceptions where a regional government was not waiting to be confronted with outside change, but decided that it should look for itself into the possibilities the Information Society might or might not provide for the region. In 1994 the regional parliament (*Landtag*) appointed a commission which looked into the potential for increased regional prosperity which might result from multimedia projects.³ Recent initiatives of the regions have concentrated on EU projects (such as IRIS or Teleregions) and the deliberations in the Committee of the Regions.⁴

What is lacking in the debate, especially with regard to more concrete and practical strategic conclusions once the overall consensus on the inevitability of the impending arrival of the Information Society has been established, is a more comprehensive approach to the consequences of the Information Society for the regions - an approach which includes technological change, but avoids seeing every step in the process of innovation separately and technological change itself divorced from social change in the regions. Here is ample scope for social science research.

The possible research agenda will be discussed here with regard to four questions:

1. What is the quality of social change the Information Society will bring to the regions?
2. How will the regions deal with the problem of popular (un)awareness of the new challenges of the information societies, and how can a new consensus on technological and social innovation be created?

² Enquête-Kommission 'Zukunft der Medien in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft - Deutschlands Weg in die Informationsgesellschaft'. Drucksache 13/3219.

³ Bericht und Empfehlungen der Enquête-Kommission 'Entwicklung, Chancen und Auswirkungen neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien in Baden-Württemberg' (Multimedia-Enquête) Drucksache 11/6400 des Landtags von Baden-Württemberg. Stuttgart 1995. See also Hans-Dieter Köder (he was Commission chairman): Die baden-württembergische Multimedia-Enquête als Instrument gesellschaftlicher Konsensbildung, in: Jörg Tauss/ Johannes Kollbeck/ Jan Mönikes (Eds.): Deutschlands Weg in die Informationsgesellschaft. Baden-Baden 1996, pp. 802-823.

⁴ For example: Committee of the Regions: Opinion on Europe's Way to the Information Society: An Action Plan. Brussels 1995 (CDR 21/95).

3. How can regions influence the direction of social change, and what are the most promising strategies for regional economic development?
4. What can the Information Society contribute to interregional cooperation and to a greater regional cohesion in the European Union?

II. A new regional society or a modernised one?

The literature on the Information Society is not giving a straight answer to the question whether when talking about the Information Society we are dealing with a new society based on information as a result of a new industrial revolution, or with a society which simply adds to its inventory information technology as a new leading and omnipresent technology⁵. Most of the pessimists focus their attention on a scenario in which a new world of computer links becomes reality. They describe a dystopia produced by the twin forces of technological modernisation and the spirit of enlightenment. Cognitive elements in their most sophisticated form become the hallmarks of the new world. Philosophers keep stressing the dehumanising potentials of such a society and argue that information is different from knowledge⁶.

The social organisation corresponding to the vision of a post-industrial society as described already more than twenty years ago by Alain Touraine or Daniel Bell is the global village. One worldism at that time not foreign to political science⁷ either, seemed to have one decisive obstacle, however: the Cold War. After the end of the Cold War globalisation could be seen in this perspective as becoming an unstoppable force. We know now, however, that the relationship between global integration and regional and national identities and regional and national contexts of political actions is not unidimensional but dialectic. The greater the importance of global influences for our daily lives, the more important the

⁵ For the debate see also the conclusions of Tauss et al.: Wege in die Informationsgesellschaft, in: Tauss et al. (Fn. 3), pp. 17ff.; Peter Otto/ Philipp Sonntag: Wege in die Informationsgesellschaft. München 1985; Gernot Wersig: Die Komplexität der Informationsgesellschaft. Konstanz 1996; Wolfgang Müller-Michaelis: Die Informationsgesellschaft im Aufbruch. Frankfurt am Main 1996.

⁶ For example Andrzej Szycypiorski: Kant, Voltaire und die kleinen Jungs aus dem Internet. Die Informationsgesellschaft und die Dummheit im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert, in: Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 November 1996, p. 16.

⁷ Ossip K. Flechtheim: Eine Welt oder keine? Frankfurt am Main 1964.

security becomes only local and regional roots can provide for the individual⁸. One reason for this is certainly the fact that human beings are not planning their lives or even see their whole lives determined exclusively by cost-benefit equations⁹. A second factor is that participation and control ask for some familiarity with a territorial dimension of one's existence which is necessarily smaller than the world.

It is therefore more plausible to assume that the new technologies will just as was also the case with the invention of printing, for example, become embedded into regional societies. This is more than a simple addition. It would be misleading either to separate technological from social change or to argue that technological change will only affect the life of a few specialists. A regional society will have to ask what the new technologies mean a) for regional employment and the organisation of work; b) regional economic competitiveness; c) the ecological balance in a region and d) for democratic participation and the safeguarding of privacy rights. The Committee of the Regions supports in this context the Commission's idea to initiate research which evaluates the impact of the new technologies on 'social, economic and regional cohesion'¹⁰.

The fact that regions in the mind of people and as administrative units will survive in a world-wide Information Society makes it essential for every region to shoulder this new responsibility. This can be done either by responding to outside pressures¹¹, by developing genuine regional programmes, or by a combination of both strategies. What remains crucial is that seen from this angle the future of the regional Information Society is neither the product of a purely economic nor a technological logic, but that there are political options for its shape between which regional societies and governments can choose.

Choice is to be understood, however, in a fairly broad sense here. Regional societies may be able to choose how to change their administrative routines or how to integrate modern media into school curricula. In some areas the choice they can make is, however, at best an indirect one. If firms decide to opt for a more flexible organisation of their work, if they need better educated workers, or if they separate their head office from production (which may be now in the

⁸ Rainer-Olaf Schultze/ Roland Sturm: Regionalismus, in: Manfred G. Schmidt (Ed.): Die westlichen Länder. München 1992, pp. 405f.

⁹ Panajotis Kondylis: Wege in die Ratlosigkeit. Die Informationsgesellschaft - Zuwachs an Rationalität?, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 5 July 1995, p. N 5.

¹⁰ Committee of the Regions: Opinion on Europe's Way to the Information Society: An Action Plan. Brussels 1995 (CdR 21/95), p. 4.

¹¹ Kleinstüber distinguishes the European 'top down' and the American 'bottom up' approaches. Hans J. Kleinstüber: Information Superhighway oder digitales Fernsehen, in: Tauss et al. (Fn. 3), pp. 97-113.

individual household or abroad) regional administrations have to ask themselves whether their infrastructure is still tailored to meet the public demand resulting from industry's restructuring.

III. Are the promises of the Information Society socially acceptable?

A recurring topic of the many papers produced on the Information Society is that an essential precondition for political activism which tries to steer the development of the Information Society is that as a first step its visions have to find a much greater degree of acceptance in societies. The Forum Information Society told the Commission:

'Neither our people nor our institutions nor most of our companies are really prepared for the new technologies. For as long as it lasts, this state of unreadiness will be a serious handicap on Europe's capacity to gain the potential benefits they offer...'¹²

One precondition for this kind of precondition is information on the Information Society. Only information will create understanding and a realistic approach of the individual with regard to the dangers and advantages of the Information Society project. So far, fears are plentiful, and there is the feeling that it is a revolution organised from above¹³ and engineered by hidden forces¹⁴. The fact that regional governments have been slower to produce their own initiatives than international organisations may have contributed to this impression. What is more important, however, is that research on technological progress has been given priority over research on the social needs for the new technology and the groups in society which may be the customers.

For the regional dimension of the Information Society this means that what is needed is a regional dialogue on the changes ahead. How far this is developed is

¹² Forum Information Society: Networks for People and their Communities. Making the Most of the Information Society. First Annual Report to the European Commission. Brussels 1996, p. 5.

¹³ See for example: Ute Bernhardt/ Ingo Ruhmann: Mit den Konzepten von gestern in die Gesellschaft von morgen, in: Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 November 1995, p. 18.

¹⁴ 'Schließlich besteht ein von Politikern, Wissenschaftlern und Industrie häufig übersehenes gesellschaftliches Akzeptanzproblem hinsichtlich der Informationsgesellschaft.' Monika Wulf-Mathies: 'Europa und die globale Informationsgesellschaft'. Speech at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB), Berlin 1996, p. 4.

an area underresearched. Here social science research could contribute, for example, by looking through the local and regional press, by monitoring the local and regional electronic media and by interviewing opinion leaders. Such kind of research with a comparative approach could produce regional profiles of

- a) the awareness of problems of the Information Society,
- b) the stereotypes and fears it provokes,
- c) the capacity of opinion leaders to contribute to a more informed dialogue and
- d) the need for additional networking to stabilise the information structures and the regional and local dialogues.

Such research could also help to prevent technological waste and misplaced investments, for which, for example, the German BTX service stands. It may even succeed in an exchange of new ideas with regard to the future role of the new technologies.

Information on the pros and cons of the Information Society, a raised level of public awareness and interest in its potentials and a structured dialogue between citizens, industry and different levels of government may help to reach in a second step the necessary consensus on the greater role new technologies will play in our daily lives. This is important because changes will not only affect electronic equipment and its use, the Information Society requires in addition a wide range of legal reforms, for example with regard to the social situation of teleworkers, data security, electronic signatures or intellectual property. We have already seen the problems this may cause with some recent innovations, such as the use of genetic fingerprints to identify criminals. The Information Society will demand a much greater amount of change almost simultaneously. The hurdles for reform will become bigger with the shrinking of the general acceptance the Information Society enjoys.

The promoters of the Information Society believe that in a much more general way the legitimacy of political actions can be enhanced. They believe that the new forms of communication will contribute to forms of electronic democracy¹⁵, such as the 'electronic townhall', in which every citizen can participate via his or her home computer. Already in 1989 Robert A. Dahl, a leading American scholar on theories of democracy, wrote:

'By means of telecommunications virtually every citizen could have information about public issues almost immediately accessible in a form (print, debates, dramatisation, animated

¹⁵ For a critical view see Manfred Steger: Partizipation und Demokratie im Cyberland, in: Tauss et al. (Fn. 3), pp. 785-799.

cartoons, for example) and at a level (from expert to novice, for example) appropriate to the particular citizen. Telecommunications can also provide every citizen with opportunities to place questions on this agenda of public issue information. Interactive systems of telecommunications make it possible for citizens to participate in discussions with experts, policymakers, and fellow citizens.¹⁶

New perspectives are also seen for local governments (local data networks) and the way they operate and involve the citizens. The Committee of the Regions has stated in this context:

'The new Information Society is also going to affect the public authorities as regards procedures for providing more efficient and transparent public services and the relationship between administration and citizen.'¹⁷

IV. What are the benefits for my region?

It is all very well to argue that the Information Society as such has great potentials for economic growth and the reduction of unemployment. Decision-makers in regions want to know, however, what this means in terms of the territory they are responsible for. It is still too early to answer this question from the point-of-view of technological progress. Social scientists could, however, contribute to analyse what has been called the endogenous potential of regions¹⁸, the growth potential specific to every region. What is needed is an application of the new technologies which is driven by regional and local needs. What has to be avoided is a neutral technostructure which forces the regional and local users either to accept its design or to be left behind. One other precondition for more than a passive role of the region in the process of technological innovation is the development of a role model (*Leitbild*), of the values and visions of the future

¹⁶ Robert A. Dahl: Democracy and its Critics. New Haven and London 1989, p. 339. See also: Ted Wachtel: The Electronic Congress: A Blueprint for Participatory Democracy. Pipersville 1992; Richard J. Varn: Electronic Democracy, in: Journal of State Government, Vol. 66(1993), No. 2, pp. 21-25.

¹⁷ Committee of the Regions: Opinion on Europe's Way to the Information Society: An Action Plan. Brussels 1995 (CdR 21/95), p. 2.

¹⁸ Roland Sturm: Die Industriepolitik der Bundesländer und die europäische Integration. Baden-Baden 1991.

regional Information Society - a task in which social science could assist. Without such a role model technological innovation contributes more to the disintegration than to the integration of regional societies¹⁹.

Central to the mobilisation of regional economic forces is the inclusion of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in the process of technological change. Data networks should, for example, provide them easy access to information which before was difficult to get at all or required extensive travelling. The Committee of the Regions has argued that special initiatives are needed to guarantee the inclusion of SMEs, especially because they may even have a greater flexibility than big firms when it comes to innovation²⁰. In Baden-Württemberg the suggestion was made not to target single SMEs but clusters of SMEs in order to efficiently combine production and marketing.²¹

Crucial to regional interests is also the universal character²² of multimedia services. There are no technical reasons for denying access to users, only commercial ones. No potential user should, however, be excluded for such reasons. The privatisation of natural monopolies has shown the way here²³. Either European, national or regional legislation is needed to regulate the provision of multimedia services in order to control prices and accessibility. The Commission has stressed the interconnectedness of the liberalisation of the new markets and universal service:

'We can be confident that universal service will not be compromised by full telecoms liberalisation. (...) The most advanced and

¹⁹ Georg Ruhmann: Multimedia im Alltag. Zur Differenzierung der Chancen- und Risikodiskussion in der Informationsgesellschaft, in: Tauss et al. (Fn. 3), pp. 230-246.

²⁰ H. Jensen: Entwurf einer Stellungnahme der Fachkommission 3 zum Grünbuch 'Leben und Arbeiten in der Informationsgesellschaft: Im Vordergrund der Mensch', Brüssel 1996, (CdR 365/96 (DA) K/el), p. 5.

²¹ Hans Dieter Köder: Die baden-württembergische Multimedia-Enquête als Instrument gesellschaftlicher Konsensbildung, in: Tauss et al. (Fn. 3), p. 811.

²² Committee of the Regions: Opinion on Europe's Way to the Information Society: An Action Plan. Brussels 1995 (CdR 21/95), p. 2. For a debate on the different meanings of universal service see: Herbert Kubicek: Allgemeiner Zugang und informationelle Grundversorgung in der Informationsgesellschaft, in: Tauss et al. (Fn. 3), pp. 156-182.

²³ For an example see the privatisation of the British electricity industry. Roland Sturm: Voraussetzungen und Rahmenbedingungen einer Reform der nationalen Wettbewerbsordnungen in der Elektrizitätswirtschaft im deutsch-britischen Vergleich, in: Roland Sturm/ Stephen Wilks (Eds.): Wettbewerbspolitik und die Ordnung der Elektrizitätswirtschaft in Deutschland und Großbritannien. Baden-Baden 1996, pp. 67ff. For different types of regulation in the EU see also: Peter Curwen: Telecommunications Policy in the European Union: Developing the Information Superhighway, in: Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 33(1995), No. 3, p. 354.

cheapest universal service will be that which is provided over a complex web of interleaving systems and technologies; and by a variety of providers competing to best match the product to the needs of the consumer. When this is coupled with a regulatory framework which ensures that, come what may, a minimum service is available for all at a reasonable cost, the choice for competition is clear.²⁴

What is also needed is an educational fresh start, a skill revolution which spreads the competence to communicate²⁵ via the new media to the proverbially man-in-the-street. Without such a generalised competence there is little hope that many or even all aspects of life in a region can, if this is wished, get involved in the Information Society. Further research is needed to see what this might mean for the regional educational system, for curricula, teachers' training and the organisation of schools and universities.

Three policy fields gain particular relevance with regard to the use of the new technological tools, namely health care, transport and the environment. Telematics²⁶ will pool medical knowledge and provide easier access for patients to medical treatment. It is expected that intelligent telematics solutions may help to control traffic and reduce congestions²⁷. This may also reduce air pollution. Environmental benefits were also expected from teleworking arrangements, but critics (for example the Öko-Institut Freiburg²⁸) have pointed out that it was an illusion to assume that teleworking needed fewer resources.

It should not be forgotten that the application of new information technologies, which may lead to greater competitiveness of old branches of industry and create new ones, is only one side of the coin. For regions which have an adequate potential or succeed in developing it is also of great importance to secure for themselves a share of the production of such technologies. The EU Commission has developed a programme ('Info 2000') to promote such industries. This pro-

²⁴ Karel van Miert: Universal Service Will not be Compromised by Full Telecoms Liberalisation, Statement G7 panel discussion on regulatory framework and competition policy. Brussels, 25 February 1995.

²⁵ Peter Glotz: Änderung des Schaltplans, in: Die Zeit, 10 November 1995, p. 58.

²⁶ European Commission (DG XIII-C): Telematics Application Programme. Brussels 1995.

²⁷ OECD: Road Transport Informatics. Institutional and Legal Issues. Paris 1995; OECD: New Information Technologies in the Road Transport Sector. Paris 1995.

²⁸ Expertise 'Umweltschutz im Cyberspace' quoted in: Der Spiegel, 27 January 1996, p. 150.

gramme by itself is, however, 'region-blind', i.e. it ignores regions as relevant actors in the promotion of the new information industries²⁹.

V. A new regional balance in Europe?

One of the great hopes connected with the Information Society is that it will provide the tools for bridging the gap between the poorer and richer European regions³⁰. European test programmes, such as the IRIS programme, which brings together six disadvantaged regions, will perhaps soon provide us with more information in this respect. The Commission increasingly sees the Information Society in the forefront of both its research and technology and its regional and structural policies. Interregional cooperation should indeed be facilitated by the use of the new media and it should be possible to transfer work more easily from one part of the European Union to the other. Still, language barriers remain, although it is part of the Commission's planning to support Europe's language industry in order to overcome such difficulties.

Before transfers can take place the infrastructure for such transfers needs to be in place. Here the richer regions have already advantages which may well lead to an increased cooperation between them at least in the next few years³¹. There is a danger that catching up for the poorer regions will be a slow process, because modernisation in the Information Society is not restricted to technological change.

As with the Structural Funds in general there are a number of problems connected with the optimism invested in the use of Structural Funds for the purpose of creating many local and regional information societies. One problem is the question of national versus European contributions for the necessary investments. The traditional principle of additionality of regional policies will probably not suffice to finance the massive reorientation of priorities if the information technology is to have a serious impact. In addition local and regional research on

²⁹ See 'Mitteilung der Kommission an das Europäische Parlament und den Rat über ein mehrjähriges Gemeinschaftsprogramm zur Anregung der Entwicklung einer europäischen Industrie für Multimedia-Inhalte und zur Förderung der Benutzung von Multimedia-Inhalten in der entstehenden Informationsgesellschaft (INFO 2000)'. Brüssel 1995 (KOM(95) 149 endg.).

³⁰ H. Jensen (Fn. 20), p.11.

³¹ Harald Lob/ Matthias Oel: Informationsgesellschaft und Regionen. Tübingen 1997, p. 10f.

promising concepts for the use of such technology is desperately needed. And finally there should be an ongoing organised learning process with regard to its use. It would be helpful if the Commission defined its role more as that of a catalyst³² to mobilise the regions and bring them together than as the great equaliser who knows best what they should do. Such reliance on regional self-determination is not only of great practical advantage. It would also take into account demands of the regions for greater respect for the principle of subsidiarity in their dealings with the Commission.³³

What this means in a more structured form with regard to the different fields in which the new technologies develop also deserves additional research. Such research would have to include the development of efficiency indicators and indicators which connect the efficient use of technological equipment with the broader question of how the social development of regions progresses. One should be aware of the fact that it is a characteristic trait of information technology to open up choices in a rather broad and anarchic way. This means that even if one might see one day greater regional cohesion in the European Community this will probably take the form of greater regional diversity.

VI. Research by area

To further map the field for research, social change - in addition to the agenda connected with the four questions identified in the Introduction - can be investigated in three social sectors which are interrelated:

- a) The economy/ the individual firm: Social science research has recently started to refocus its attention on the role of the firm in economic development and has begun to compare different forms of corporate governance all over the world³⁴. Little has been written about regional corporate governance and nothing about corporate governance in the information age.

³² Which it did for example in the paper: Die Europäische Informationsgesellschaft. Eine erste Bilanz seit Korfu. Luxemburg 1995.

³³ See for example: Klaus von Trotha/ Heribert Knorr: Die Rolle der Länder und Regionen in der europäischen Forschungs- und Technologiepolitik, in: Roland Sturm (Ed.): Europäische Forschungs- und Technologiepolitik und die Anforderungen des Subsidiaritätsprinzips. Baden-Baden 1996, pp. 75-91.

³⁴ For example: Jonathan Clarkham: Keeping Good Company. A Study of Corporate Governance in Five Countries. Oxford 1994.

b) The public sector: The literature on new public management nationally and internationally grows rapidly. It still concentrates, however, on organisational and budgetary questions. Little has been written on new forms of public administration in the Information Society or the role of public administration as its catalyst.

c) New lifestyles: The literature here is speculative and mostly pessimistic. We can at best have opinion polls on attitudes and expectations. But research accompanying the introduction of individual technologies could teach us more about their social consequences. The Commission has always stressed that the Information Society should safeguard and not destroy Europe's cultural diversity. The Information Society Forum is even enthusiastic with regard to this topic. It wrote:

'The Information Society could give birth to a 'Second Renaissance' in Europe based on a fuller and more enriching exploitation of its cultural and linguistic diversity.'³⁵

This is a note on which a report like the one given here may very well end.

³⁵ Forum Information Society: Networks for People and their Communities. Making the Most of the Information Society in the European Union. First Annual Report to the European Commission. Brussels 1996, p.7.

Examples of applications from European Commission actions:

STAR

ITC Information Technology Centre
CAD/CAM Telemetering project for clothing manufacturers
MARAC Telemetering project

TELEMATIQUE

Telespazio
RAIAR Network for access to road, vehicle and driver information
Telepac
ITPA Irish Trade Protection Association
Tradelink

Esprit

MUSA Multimedia for protecting Europe's cultural heritage
I-SMILE Special action in microelectronics
HELL-MME-CU Hellenic multimedia action - Multimedia and preservation of cultural heritage
CITED Copyright in transmitted electronic documents

TELEMATICS for Administrations

Telematics for administrations

TECN Transplant Euro Computer Network
SOCENET Social Security Network
ENVIRONET Environment Network

Telematics for transport

PORTICO Portuguese road traffic innovation in a corridor
METAFORA Major European testing of actual freight operations using road transport informatics on an axis
PLEIADES Paris-London corridor

Telematics for education

SMILE Small and medium-sized enterprises infrastructure
FARMERS Multimedia distance learning for farmers and rural development

Telematics for the disabled and elderly

HELP-ME Handicapped elderly lonely persons multimedia equipment

Telematics for health care

CoCo Co-ordination and continuity in primary health care

Telematics for libraries

MOBILE Extending European information access through mobile libraries
PLAIL Public libraries and independent learners
RITE Regional infrastructure for teleworking
EPRI-net European Parliament research initiative

ARTICLE 10 - ERDF

WOLF Internet and WWW opportunity for the less favoured regions
Scientific Centres
ERNACT European regions' network for the application of communications technology
EURISLES European islands system of links and exchanges
European Urban Observatory
"Quartiers en crise"
IRISI Interregional Information Society Initiative

Source:

European Commission: The deployment of the information society for regional development - examples of applications from European Commission actions. Preliminary version. Luxembourg 1997, pp. 8-9.

Summary:

Political actors in the regions of Europe regard the developing Information Society not only as a potential for economic growth and a means for securing or improving the regions' national and international competitiveness. The new communication infrastructure also implies the need to make the evolution of the Information Society a part of public discourse in order to raise awareness and to interlink the political sphere with technology assessment as well as social development.

The *Landtag* (Regional Parliament) of Baden-Württemberg on a world-wide scale was the first parliament to deal with the risks and chances of the Information Society by setting up a 'Multimedia-Enquête'. The paper argues that the committee mainly served three functions: networking, stocktaking and conceptualizing new policy initiatives. The failed pilot project, however, shows that technical problems, an unclear division of work and party politics exert enormous influence on shaping the Information Society profile of Baden-Württemberg.

In more general terms it seems necessary to overcome traditional ways of analyzing characteristics of the Information Society. The polarization of approaches ('top down' or 'bottom up') neither mirrors the facts to a satisfactory extent nor provides an adequate method for dealing with possible future social, economic, political and cultural trends. It rather seems important to regard the two approaches as *complementary* and concentrate on how regions find *individual regional equilibriums* in dealing with the evolution of the Information Society.

Zusammenfassung:

Politische Akteure in den Regionen Europas betrachten die sich rasant entwickelnde Informationsgesellschaft nicht nur als ein Potential für wirtschaftliches Wachstum und Instrument zur Sicherung der nationalen und internationalen Wettbewerbsfähigkeit von Regionen. Mit der Entwicklung neuer Medien verbindet sich auch die Notwendigkeit, die Entstehung der Informationsgesellschaft zum Bestandteil des öffentlichen Diskurses zu machen, um zur Bewusstseinsbildung beizutragen und die Verbindung von Politik, Technikfolgenabschätzung und sozialer Entwicklung zu vertiefen.

Der Landtag von Baden-Württemberg bediente sich als weltweit erstes Parlament einer „Multimedia-Enquête“, um sich mit den Chancen und Risiken der Informationsgesellschaft auseinanderzusetzen. Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird die Auffassung vertreten, daß die Enquête vor allem drei Zwecken diene: dem Aufbau eines themenbezogenen Netzwerkes, der Durchführung einer Bestandsaufnahme sowie der Ausarbeitung von Konzepten als Anregung für die Gestaltung künftiger Politik. Das Scheitern des Pilotprojektes zeigt jedoch, daß technische Probleme, Unklarheiten in der Kompetenzverteilung und parteipolitische Überlegungen einen enormen Einfluß auf die Gestaltung der Informationsgesellschaft in Baden-Württemberg ausüben.

Grundsätzlich erscheint es notwendig, bei der Analyse von Entwicklungen, die zur Informationsgesellschaft führen, traditionelle Interpretationsmuster zu überdenken. Die Polarisierung von „top down-“ und „bottom up-approach“ ist weder in der Lage, den status quo angemessen zu beschreiben, noch kann sie das methodische Instrumentarium zur Untersuchung möglicher sozialer, wirtschaftlicher, politischer und kultureller Entwicklungen liefern. Die beiden Ansätze sollten vielmehr als *komplementär* begriffen werden. Dieses Vorgehen kann verdeutlichen, auf welche Art und Weise die Regionen versuchen, in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der Informationsgesellschaft *individuelle regionale Gleichgewichte* herzustellen.

Building Social Consensus.

The 'Multimedia-Enquête' of the *Landtag* in Baden-Württemberg

Georg Weinmann¹

I. Introduction

The evolution of 'the' Information Society in the European Union is interconnected with wide-ranging social, economic, cultural and political consequences. On every level of policy making - be it supranational, international, national, regional or local - one can see that managing change and exploiting the potential of the latest communication technology are areas which key decision makers are taking increasingly seriously. The appearance of the Information Society is perceived - more and more - as a 'fact of life'. It needs to be dealt with in a way, that enables citizens, enterprises and organizations alike to benefit from the emerging new communication infrastructure. Reports of the European Commission and single member states emphasize the need not only to passively accept the recent developments in this field but to link the EU's transformation into an Information Society with matters of regional cohesion, economic growth and competitiveness as well as socially balanced ways of coping with possible changes in everyday life of European citizens².

This is also true for the regions in Europe³. On this policy level a considerable amount of programmes have already been or are just about to be realized⁴. Con-

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Roland Sturm and Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg Wehling for their advice. I am also grateful to Oliver Will MA for his assistance and Gordon Shields MA for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

² European Commission: Living and Working in the Information Society: People First. Green Paper. Luxembourg 1996, p. 3; Forum Information Society: Netzwerke für Menschen und ihre Gemeinschaften. Die Umsetzung der Informationsgesellschaft in der Europäischen Union. Erster Jahresbericht des Forums Informationsgesellschaft an die Europäische Kommission. Brüssel, Luxemburg 1996; Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft: Info 2000. Deutschlands Weg in die Informationsgesellschaft. Bericht der Bundesregierung, Bonn 1996, p. 3; Andreas vom Bruch: Die Informationsgesellschaft als gesellschaftliche Herausforderung, in: Vorgänge, Vol. 35(1996), No. 1, pp. 20-29.

³ Harald Lob/ Matthias Oel: Informationsgesellschaft und Regionen. Wirtschafts- und regionalpolitische Aspekte der Europäischen Informationsgesellschaft. Tübingen 1997, p. 10.

ceptualizing and implementing measures is closely related to and concerned with the *institutional structures* of the regions, their *political culture* and *distribution of power*. Indeed, if technological change is regarded as an important parameter of social and economic development, then regions are constantly faced with the challenge of organizing the political discourse in a way that leads to a minimum of social consensus. This is especially the case with regard to the evolution of the Information Society. Actors in the regional political arena are therefore not only confronted with the need of enlarging their own technological know-how but also to establish structures and procedures which enable a broad public discussion on how to cope with the economic, cultural and social 'gains' and 'losses' interconnected with the evolution of new communication structures. Thus channels for participation of *interest groups* and the influence of *experts* are essential in this respect.

The following case study deals with the '*Enquête-Kommission Entwicklung, Chancen und Auswirkungen neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien in Baden-Württemberg (Multimedia-Enquête)*' (Enquête-Commission on the Development, Chances and Effects of New Information and Communication Technologies in Baden-Württemberg - Multimedia-Enquête). This body was established by the *Landtag* (Regional Parliament) of Baden-Württemberg⁵ on 1 December 1994. On a world-wide scale the commission represents the first attempt of a parliament to deal with the risks and chances of new information and communication technologies by using the means of an enquête-commission. According to its chairman, Hans-Dieter Köder, the committee not only served as an instrument for mapping Baden-Württemberg's economic potential for coping with the challenges caused by the evolution of the Information Society. It was also supposed to function as a way for building social consensus⁶. Common aims and models of cultural, social and economic progress

⁴ European Commission: The Development of the Information Society for Regional Development. Examples of Applications from European Commission Actions. Preliminary Version. Luxembourg 1997.

⁵ For a general introduction: Herbert Schneider: Der Landtag. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Länderparlamentarismus im politischen System der Bundesrepublik, in: Herman Bausinger/ Theodor Eschenburg et. al.: Baden-Württemberg. Eine politische Landeskunde. Vierte, völlig überarbeitete Auflage. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln 1996, pp. 89-111.

⁶ Hans-Dieter Köder: Die baden-württembergische Multimedia-Enquête als Instrument gesellschaftlicher Konsensbildung, in: Jörg Tauss/ Johannes Kollbeck/ Jan Mönikes (Eds.): Deutschlands Weg in die Informationsgesellschaft. Herausforderungen und Perspektiven für Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft, Recht und Politik. Baden-Baden 1996, pp. 802-823. In 1980 the Conservative Government of Baden-Württemberg decided - in accordance with all parties represented in the *Landtag* - to establish a '*Expertenkommission Neue Medien*' (EKN) (Commission of Experts on New Media). The EKN was therefore

agreed by politicians and interest groups were to contribute to the *Land's* perception of the Information Society not only as a threat but also as a *chance* for its further development.

After a description of the Enquête's composition, work and outcome the paper will focus on the pilot project '*Application of Multimedia Services*'⁷ for which preparations started in 1994. Though it was cancelled in October 1996 for a number of reasons which are to be dealt with later, the outcome, however, shows that technical difficulties, problems in the co-ordination between industry and politics as well as tactical considerations in party politics can impede the testing of new technologies and the ascertaining of information on the consumers' willingness to take advantage of unfamiliar means of interactive communication.

II. The 'Multimedia-Enquête': Emergence, activities and outcome

In September 1994 the governing coalition of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats in Baden-Württemberg established a '*Kabinettsausschuß Medien*' (Cabinet Working Group on Media)⁸. The body intended to co-ordinate various ministries' activities⁹ in media policy more effectively and was part of the 'catch up-strategy' in the field of new technologies. Details were outlined in the final report of the '*Zukunftskommission 2000*' (Future Commission 2000). It tried to forecast economic and social development trends in Baden-Württemberg.

not a solely parliamentary initiative. It's activities mainly concentrated on the economic and social consequences caused by the introduction Broad Band Communication in Baden-Württemberg (Expertenkommission Neue Medien-EKM Baden-Württemberg: Abschlußbericht. 3 Volumes. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1981). For a general introduction on mass media in Baden-Württemberg: Hans-Peter Biege (Ed.): Massenmedien in Baden-Württemberg. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln 1990.

⁷ This project is also described as '*Datahighway Baden-Württemberg*'.

⁸ Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 17 September 1994, p.1.

⁹ The Government's activities included a new judicial framework for the media sector, an altered structure of financing public broadcasting corporations, the promotion of pilot projects like '*Digital-Audio-Broadcasting*' (DAB) and '*Application of Multimedia Services*', the support of telematics, the introduction of new courses in computing at universities and polytechnics as well as the improvement of the hard- and soft-ware infrastructure in the academic field (ibid.).

berg¹⁰. According to the Minister of Trade and Commerce of that time, the Social Democrat Dieter Spöri, the possibilities of the Information Society could function as a catalyst for industrial modernization and enable the *Land* to remain at the top of Europe's economically strongest and technologically most advanced regions¹¹.

It was this 'new sensitivity' towards the enormous importance of information and communication technology as a source of economic growth and a sector immensely important for Baden-Württemberg's ability to compete in the world market which led to the establishment of the 'Multimedia-Enquête'. Originally initiated by the faction of the Liberals in the *Landtag* - the FDP/ DVP - the motion for setting-up the committee was supported by *all* parties represented in the Regional Parliament¹². The Commission consisted of 12 parliamentarians¹³ and 9 external experts representing industry, trade, business, science and the unions¹⁴. Its agenda covered a broad spectrum of topics which can be subdivided into three main areas:

1. Identifying the technological *status quo* in Baden-Württemberg, determining the role of science in the development of new products and services, finding new ways of co-operation and networking between different policy levels (local, regional, national, supra- and international);
2. Exploring the potential of the Information Society concerning the labour market, public services, education, health, public administration and traffic;
3. Confronting problems concerning the acceptance of the new information and communication technology by consumers - and citizens - as well as evalua-

¹⁰ Landtag von Baden-Württemberg: Drucksache 11/ 4721, 29 September 1994 and ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung: Der Wirtschafts- und Forschungsstandort Baden-Württemberg. Potentiale und Perspektiven. München 1994.

¹¹ Interview in: Superhighway, Vol. 1(1994), No. 11, p. 1, 16-18.

¹² These were the Christian Democrats (CDU), the Social Democrats (SPD), the Liberals (FDP/ DVP), the ecological party GRÜNE and the extreme right wing party Die Republikaner (Landtag von Baden-Württemberg: Drucksache 11/ 5026, 1 December 1994).

¹³ The single parties were represented as follows: CDU: 5, SPD: 4, FDP/ DVP: 1, GRÜNE: 1, Die Republikaner: 1.

¹⁴ The relationship between the unions and the governments of Baden-Württemberg concerning technology assessment was tense for most of the time since the foundation of the *Land* in 1952. Only when preparations for the establishment of the 'Akademie für Technikfolgenabschätzung' (Centre of Technology Assessment) started at the end of the 1980s was an antagonistic approach gradually replaced by a more co-operative style (Welf Schröter: Soziale Technikgestaltung. Von der Konfrontation zur Kooperation, in: Arbeitskreis Wissenschaftsstadt und Regionalentwicklung (Ed.): Die Region fordert die Wissenschaft heraus. Wissenschaftsstadt Ulm - Regionaler Forschungsbedarf und soziale Technikgestaltung. Mössingen-Talheim 1993, pp. 165-196).

ting possible effects of the Information Society on the economy, society as a whole and the legal system.

Despite a broad consensus, representatives of the parties emphasized different parts of the agenda. Members of the governing coalition mainly concentrated on the positive *economic* effects that the evolution of the Information Society may have for Baden-Württemberg while the ecological party was of the opinion that *reducing uncertainty* and gaining as much information as possible was a *conditio sine qua non* for future policy initiatives¹⁵.

The broad range of activities which became characteristic for the 'Multimedia-Enquête' during the time of its existence, however, led to an extensive treatment of the key issues. Between December 1994 and October 1995 the Enquête held 17 meetings. Eight of them were in public. More than 50 external experts were invited to eight hearings which took place between March and July 1995¹⁶.

The commission regarded it as essential to combine the expertise of interest groups, political parties and science in order to increase the success of future coping strategies:

'(...). The start into the Information Society rests on an integral way of thinking and problem-oriented concepts including technical, economic, social and educational innovations. This approach demands co-operation between business, science, unions, politics and social groups. The success of the 'Info-Land Baden-Württemberg' depends on the quality of locational factors like the competence for innovation, communication, the realization of ideas and negotiation. (...). The Enquête-Commission sees clear chances for strengthening Baden-Württemberg's competence for innovation if it is possible to initiate a (...) discourse which considers as many interests as possible and which is dominated by transparency. (...)'¹⁷

The work and outcome of the 'Multimedia-Enquête' can be regarded as the beginning of a building of social consensus on the treatment of the pros and cons of the emerging Information Society for Baden-Württemberg. Therefore, in order to promote economic growth and industrial innovation the Commission regarded it as essential to search for new models of technological, economic

¹⁵ Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 7 December 1996, p. 5.

¹⁶ Each of the hearings concentrated on a particular topic (Landtag von Baden-Württemberg: Drucksache 11/ 6400, 20 October 1995, pp. 1, 12-16). See also Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 2 January 1996, p. 6 and Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 October 1995, p. 6.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 47. Unauthorized translation by the author.

and social progress. According to the 'Multimedia-Enquête' the following aims ought to serve as guidelines in this process:

1. Access to information for every individual in the widest possible range as a contribution to better education opportunities,
2. Improvement of possibilities for citizens to participate in the shaping of public policy,
3. Promotion of sustainable development,
4. Reduction of costs in the health sector by taking advantage of an enforced use of health telematics,
5. Cost-saving and more effective ways to organize public administration,
6. New methods of production and the organization of work,
7. Compensation for structural differences between the rural areas of Baden-Württemberg and industrial centres with regard to their complex infrastructure and high population density,
8. Deepening international economic, political and cultural co-operation¹⁸.

In order to realize these aims the Commission proposed to set up a publicly and privately financed project '*Innovationsforum Multimediaanwendungen*' (Innovation Forum for the Application of Multimedia)¹⁹ to serve as an information pool and a forum for public discourse. This initiative was the *second step* of the multimedia offensive the Commission regarded as important for the future development of Baden-Württemberg. After having started - and largely completed - the process of stocktaking, the main task now was to transform the results of the enquiry into concrete measures. The enforcement of pilot projects such as '*Application of Multimedia Services/ Datahighway Baden-Württemberg*' formed an important part of this strategy.

¹⁸ Landtag von Baden-Württemberg: Drucksache 11/6400 (Fn. 14), p. 25. See also Köder in: Tauss/ Kollbeck/ Mönikes (Eds.) (Fn. 5), pp. 805, 821.

¹⁹ Landtag von Baden-Württemberg: Drucksache 11/6400 (Fn. 14), p. 57.

III. 'Datahighway Baden-Württemberg': Organizational difficulties, technical problems and party competition

As already mentioned the government coalition between Christian and Social Democrats in Baden-Württemberg between 1992 and 1996 initiated a number of pilot projects in order to promote technological progress in the field of multimedia and to find out whether consumers were ready to accept new forms of communication and information. One of the key undertakings in that respect was '*Application of Multimedia Services*' or '*Datahighway Baden-Württemberg*'. Minister Spöri promoted it enthusiastically and regarded the project as a cornerstone in the transformation of Baden-Württemberg's communication infrastructure²⁰. Preparations were to be enforced in August 1994 with the first of the 2 500 to 4 000 households to be selected and supplied with a wide range of interactive multimedia services. The offer planned included Video on Demand, Teleshopping, Telelearning, Teleteaching and Telegames. The project was financed by both private companies as well as the Regional Government and was supposed to become the largest experiment of its kind in Europe²¹. As already mentioned the whole project was cancelled at the end of October 1996. Numerous reasons were responsible for this decision²²:

1. Conceptual and organizational reasons:

From an early stage on critics of the experiment were of the opinion that the lack of detailed planning led to considerable delays in implementing '*Application of Multimedia Services*' and its final stop. They regarded the continually shrinking number of households which were to be involved in the project²³ as the clearest sign that the conceptual and organizational challenge was vastly underestimated. From the critics' point of view the Ministry of Trade and Commerce failed to clearly define its own role in the whole process. Although politicians described its function as 'catalyst' and 'mediator' the specific division of work between the Ministry and the responsible operator of the net - the *Deutsche Telekom AG* - remained confusing at least to the public. Problems of transparency in the conceptualization and implementa-

²⁰ See Fn. 8 and Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 19 February 1996, p. 10.

²¹ The estimated costs were 80 million DM (Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 30 October 1995, p.1).

²² Landtag von Baden-Württemberg: Drucksache 11/6418, 25 August 1995.

²³ After an initial number of 2 500 to 4 000 in the end only 50 were left (Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 18 March 1996, p. 1 and 30 September 1996, p. 3).

tion of media policy were also caused by the fact that four ministries - the Ministry of State and the Ministries of Education, Trade and Commerce as well as Science and Research - were involved in shaping the profile of multimedia initiatives in Baden-Württemberg.

2. Technical reasons:

The deficits mentioned were enforced by delays in the construction and production of the hard- and software necessary to realize '*Datahighway Baden-Württemberg*'. Delays in the development of the so-called 'top-set-box' which should have been produced by a consortium of firms forced the politicians in charge of the project to postpone its start several times. Minister Spöri emphasized on numerous occasions that the experts' search for adequate equipment on the world market had not been successful. For him the only promising solution therefore was to enforce the development of a 'top-set-box' which was technically more advanced than the products on offer²⁴. In retrospect this decision seems to have been the right one from the technical point view. It led, however, to further delays in the implementation of the experiment. Hold-ups were interpreted by the public and political opponents as incompetence and mismanagement. Other critics emphasized that the technology favoured by the Ministry of Trade and Commerce became increasingly outdated. They were of the opinion that the popularity of the internet and the various commercial online-services required a new profile for '*Datahighway Baden-Württemberg*'²⁵. Furthermore, from their point of view future research in this field should concentrate on the computer and not on the TV-set as the core of multimedia application in private households²⁶.

3. Political reasons:

Representatives of the Social Democratic Party accused the Christian Democrat Ministers of boycotting the realization of the experiment for political reasons. Mainly the Ministry of State was seen as an obstacle in that respect²⁷. During the parliamentary term tensions generally began to rise

²⁴ Landtag von Baden-Württemberg: Drucksache 11/ 6500, p. 2.

²⁵ Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 11 November 1996, p. 2.

²⁶ Landtag von Baden-Württemberg, Plenarprotokoll 12/ 12, 13 November 1996, p. 549. See also Dieter Spöri's response: *ibid.*, pp. 550-551.

²⁷ The Minister in charge at that time, Erwin Vetter, denied on various occasions that he wasn't convinced of the necessity to realize '*Application of Multimedia Services*' (Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 2 January 1996, p. 6). The Christian Democrat

within the Government coalition and culminated in a serious crisis occurring in July 1995. The Christian Democrats as well as the Social Democrats increasingly replaced co-operation by competition in order to improve their starting positions for the *Landtag*-election which took place on 24 March 1996²⁸. The Social Democrats were clearly defeated and had to cope with the worst election result ever for the SPD in Baden-Württemberg²⁹. The outcome led to the formation of a new coalition between the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Party. The new Minister of Trade and Commerce, Walter Döring (FDP), stated at the end of September 1996, that '*Datahighway Baden-Württemberg*' was to start in the middle of October 1996. However, he announced the cancellation of the pilot project on 31 October 1996. From his point of view there was no opportunity to realize '*Application of Multimedia Services*' within a reasonable period of time.

The retreat of the Regional Government from the project can be regarded as a renunciation of information on how consumers and citizens react to the possibilities of interactive communication. Apart from that possible technological spin-offs were more or less neglected. Nevertheless, the abandonment of '*Datahighway Baden-Württemberg*' contributed to a number of alterations in the media policy of the *Land*³⁰. Many of the measures were taken before the experiment was stopped, but the changes show that the project exerted considerable influence on the reorientation of policies. First of all the new Government initiated an organizational reform in order to co-ordinate initiatives more effectively. For that purpose a '*Lenkungsgruppe Informationsgesellschaft*' (Information Society Steering Group) was established in the Ministry of State which attempts to function - more than in the past - as a think tank and an instrument for implementing programmes. Especially the *Staatsministerium* is now responsible for a new multimedia offensive named '*Baden-Württemberg medi@*'³¹. Furthermore all relevant projects are to be financed by a '*Programm-*

Ministers for science and research as well as education were optimistic that the future policy initiatives would benefit from the pilot project (Landtag von Baden-Württemberg: Drucksache 11/ 5695, 23 March 1995, p. 4 and Drucksache 11/ 6760, 17 November 1995, p. 7).

²⁸ Roland Sturm: Die baden-württembergische Landtagswahl vom 24. März 1996: Normalisierung oder kleinster gemeinsamer Nenner?, in: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, Vol. 27(1996), No. 4, pp. 602-616.

²⁹ Forschungsgruppe Wahlen e.V.: Wahl in Baden-Württemberg. Eine Analyse der Landtagswahl vom 24. März 1996. Mannheim 1996.

³⁰ Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 15 July 1996, p. 1.

³¹ The initiative '*Baden-Württemberg medi@*' supports the following activities: promotion of Digital Audio Broadcasting, improving net-access in rural areas, development of new methods in electronic publishing, assisting the establishment of firms in the field of mul-

budget Medien' (Programme Budget Media) which consists of 52 million DM. Despite serious financial restrictions the Government expressed its willingness to support multimedia projects to an extent which goes beyond this limit.

The most striking alteration, however, is the new emphasis on the *support of small and medium-sized enterprises* (SMEs) and the expansion of initiatives in the fields of *education* as well as *vocational training*. Although the 'integrated approach' of the former Government also considered these areas, the new focus indicates a shift away from the private application of new information and communication facilities towards the economic and education sector. These areas are an integral part of the '*multimedia-offensive for new services*' which the Christian-Democrat-Liberal coalition regards as being a vital step towards securing the international competitiveness of '*Info-Land Baden-Württemberg*'³². In order to reach this aim the Ministry of Trade and Commerce established a working group which consists of representatives of the Ministry of State, trade, industry, the Chambers of Commerce, business and science³³.

IV. 'Revolution from above' or 'forms of experimental democracy'?

In sum, the 'Multimedia-Enquête' served - generally speaking - *three main purposes*. First of all, the body functioned as a means for *networking*. Apart from the political parties experts and representatives of interest groups were involved in the work of the committee. Its composition not only was an attempt to bring together various actors who had the political responsibility for shaping future initiatives in the field of media policy. The participation of interest group members in the 'Multimedia-Enquête' contributed to a discussion process within the numerous organizations. However, it is open to question, whether it reached a level which would justify the term 'intensive discussion'. Evidence shows that this was not the case. Baden-Württemberg's way into the Information Society remained - and to a large extent still remains - almost exclusively a topic for experts. Nevertheless, the synergy within the committee led to an extensive *stocktaking* activity. This being the second purpose for which the 'Multimedia-

timedia, enforcing the electronic modernization of SMEs as well as improving the multimedia infrastructure of schools and universities.

³² Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg, 25 November 1996, p. 1.

³³ Plenarprotokoll 12/ 12, 13 November 1996, p. 557.

Enquête' had been established. Defining the *status quo* as a basis for the *creation of concepts* was the third main function the body had to fulfill.

Although it is very difficult indeed to foresee the long-term effect of the steps proposed by this body, one could say that its conclusions are likely to have a considerable impact on the way the evolution of the Information Society will be dealt with in Baden-Württemberg. But it should be kept in mind, however, that with regard to the realization of ideas various restrictions have to be considered:

1. Transforming concepts into action is mainly a task of the Regional Governments. Therefore shaping initiatives can be subject to tactical party politics which consider the outcome of an all-party body like the 'Multimedia-Enquête' only selectively. The cancellation of '*Datahighway Baden-Württemberg*' after the *Landtag* election in 1996 seems to prove this assumption. As far as the multimedia projects of the *Land* are concerned the distribution of power, learning from experience and the reorientation of problem solving by the Christian Democrat-Liberal coalition contributed to an altered agenda.
2. As Hans-Dieter Köder states, the integration of a wide range of interests in the process of technology assessment is only possible to a certain extent³⁴. Once bodies dealing with relevant questions have reached a certain degree of momentum the consideration of numerous - often heterogenous - interests seems to become increasingly difficult. 'Filters' may lead to new focuses which are likely to be not the same compared to initial phases of technology assessment.

With regard to the evolution of the Information Society on a regional level the way of dealing with '*critical stages*' in the process of integrating or excluding societal interests is important for the extent to which policy initiatives are legitimized and accepted by the citizens. If interest groups are not considered satisfactory the evolution of the Information Society could be perceived as a 'revolution from above'³⁵. According to Ulrich Beck, however, the treatment of technological change on the parliamentary level does not lead to 'forms of experimental democracy'³⁶. This seems to be even more true with regard to the Information Society. In the regions new ways of political action and building social consensus, however, may help to deal successfully with the cultural, social and economic changes which the emergence of new communication

³⁴ Hans-Dieter Köder (Fn. 8), p. 823.

³⁵ Ute Bernhardt/ Ingo Ruhmann: Revolution von oben - Deutschlands Weg in die Informationsgesellschaft, in: Jörg Tauss/ Johannes Kollbeck/ Jan Mönikes (Eds.) (Fn. 5), pp. 114-129.

³⁶ Ulrich Beck: Risikogesellschaft. Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne. Frankfurt am Main 1986, p. 368.

structures implies. Two conditions should be regarded as essential in this respect:

1. Every region has to consider its own particularities which characterize the 'endogenous potential' for coping with the changes the evolution of the Information Society causes. This means that political solutions should avoid generalizations and pay more attention to initiatives on the sub-regional level. Activities in the 'Technologieregion Karlsruhe' (Region of Technology Karlsruhe), the 'Multimediaregion Friedrichshafen' (Region of Multimedia Friedrichshafen) and 'Mannheim internet-ional' show that individual clusters are of immense importance in that respect. Despite these initiatives there still seems to be a lack of acceptance concerning the new information and communication opportunities. This deficit shows that coping strategies on a sub-regional level do not automatically mean that citizens in this area are broadening their perceptions to a series of new developments.
2. Although initiatives on the sub-regional and regional level can function as a nucleus for building social consensus, the national, supra- and international policy level also exert considerable influence on relevant processes. The activities of the G 7 states, the European Union and single member countries show that a considerable *mix of influences* has to be considered before evaluating the consequences of the emerging Information Society. The regions and their sub-regional entities legally and financially often depend on higher policy levels. This kind of interdependence leads to the conclusion that from the regions' point of view an exclusive perception of the Information Society as a solely 'top down' or 'bottom up' process narrows the scope of detection and therefore the options for building social consensus.

In sum, one can say that the polarized perception of the Information Society as a 'top down' or 'bottom up' development should be replaced by a dialectic perspective. The combination of elements originating from the two approaches can form the basis for *individual regional equilibriums* in dealing with the social, cultural, economic and political challenges which the emerging new information and communication infrastructure causes. It contributes to the identification of additional economic as well as technological potential and can help to find new ways of coping with fundamental alterations in societal and regional identity.

The authors:

Professor Dr. Roland Sturm, born 1953, Chair of Political Science I at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, member of the board of the European Centre for Research on Federalism, Tübingen. He extensively researches on federalism, regionalism, and regional economic policy. He is author and editor of numerous books.

Following publications especially deal with matters of regionalism and federalism:

- Nationalismus in Schottland und Wales, 1966-1980. Eine Analyse seiner Ursachen und Konsequenzen. Bochum 1981.
- Die Industriepolitik der Bundesländer und die europäische Integration. Baden-Baden 1991.
- Federalism, Unification and European Integration (editor with Charlie Jeffery). London 1993.
- Europäische Forschungs- und Technologiepolitik und die Anforderungen des Subsidiaritätsprinzips. Baden-Baden 1996.
- Roland Sturm / Georg Weinmann / Oliver Will (Eds.): The Information Society and the Regions in Europe. Baden-Baden (*forthcoming*).

Georg Weinmann, born 1964, studied German Literature, Linguistics and Political Science at the universities of Heidelberg and Lancaster (GB). 1990 Erstes Staatsexamen, 1992 Zweites Staatsexamen. 1992-1996 Research Assistant at the Institute for Political Science of the University of Tübingen. Doctoral thesis on the British Labour Party's and trade unions' attitudes towards European integration since 1970. 1996/1997 researcher at the European Centre for Research on Federalism (ECRF) and the Research Centre for Social Sciences at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg. Since July 1997 Managing Director of the ECRF.

Oliver Will MA, born 1964, studied History, Political Science and Public Law at the universities of Tübingen and Durham (GB). 1993-1997 Managing Director of the European Centre for Research on Federalism. Since May 1997 project supervisor in the Ministry of Science, Research and Art of Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.

The European Centre for Research on Federalism, Tübingen

Since the beginning of the European Integration process questions of the future structure of the European Union and of a European "constitution" have been prominent. One crucial aspect is finding the right balance of centralized and decentralized federal elements in order to deal with the present and future challenges in Europe. The discussion has intensified since the Maastricht Treaty; in point of fact it has also become more and more important by the increasing self-confidence of the European regions. Finally, tendencies towards regionalization and federalization in many European countries must be reckoned.

These circumstances were the framework for the foundation of the **European Centre for Research on Federalism (ECRF)** at Tübingen University in 1993. The ECRF monitors the developments mentioned and does basic research in relevant fields. The Centre is an interdisciplinary scientific institution, which deals with questions concerning federalism, regionalism and the regions in Europe. Within these areas the ECRF concentrates on the following subjects: federal, regional and decentralized structures and processes within the member states of the European Union; constitutional questions of European Integration; the principle of subsidiarity and the growing importance of the regions within the EU decision-making process as well as the Committee of the Regions. Another focus are the co-operation of regions with particular regard to cross-border problems and questions of regional and structural policies and their development - especially against the background of the enlargement of the EU in Eastern Europe. In this context two regional foci have evolved: Central and Eastern Europe and Northern Europe plus the Baltic Sea region. A more recent focus in the Centre's work is the investigation of effects the information society causes for the regions in Europe.

The European Centre for Research on Federalism is led by an interdisciplinary board of geographers, historians, lawyers, economists and political scientists.

The ECRF carries out transnational research projects and organizes regularly international conferences all over Europe (e.g. in Belgium, Italy, Hungary, Sweden). The topics vary from "Aspects of Cross-Border Co-operation between the States of Central and Eastern Europe" and "The Role of Regional Parliaments with regard to European Politics within the European Union" to "The Regional Impact of Community Policies".

The results of research projects and conferences are published in the Centre's series at NOMOS Publishers and in its in-house "Occasional Papers" series.

In addition to scientific analysis the Centre is equally involved in consulting actors in politics, state-administrations and companies.

The ECRF regards the combination of theory and practice, transnational co-operation and interdisciplinary orientation of research as essential for its work. To this end, the activities of the Centre include the establishment of research and personal networks. The ECRF founded the **European Association of Researchers on Federalism (EARF)**, which includes about 70 scientists from the member states of the European Union, Switzerland and the states of Central and Eastern Europe. The Centre functions as the co-ordinator of this network and serves as administrative nexus.

Le Centre Européen de Recherche sur le Fédéralisme, Tübingen

Depuis le commencement du processus d'intégration européen, la question de la future structure - voire de la "constitution" de l'Europe - joue un rôle prépondérant. Un des aspects décisifs consiste à trouver l'équilibre fédéral entre éléments centraux et décentralisés, afin de relever le défi européen. Depuis Maastricht, cette discussion s'est intensifiée et est devenue incontournable face à la prise de conscience des régions en Europe. Les tendances régionalistes et fédéralistes ont en effet pris une importance considérable dans beaucoup de pays européens.

Dans ce contexte a été créé en 1993 à l'Université de Tübingen le **Centre Européen de Recherche sur le Fédéralisme (CERF)** qui se consacre aux évolutions évoquées plus haut et en analyse les causes. Le CERF est une institution scientifique interdisciplinaire qui travaille sur des thèmes tels que le fédéralisme, le régionalisme et les régions en Europe. À ce sujet, le CERF s'intéresse particulièrement aux questions touchant aux structures et processus fédéraux, régionaux et de décentralisation au sein des Etats membres de l'Union européenne; aux questions constitutionnelles de l'intégration européenne; au principe de subsidiarité et au rôle croissant des régions au sein du système de décision européen ainsi qu'au Comité des Régions. Un autre thème est la coopération entre les régions, en particulier en ce qui concerne les problèmes transfrontaliers, ou la politique structurelle régionale et son évolution, avec, en arrière-plan, l'élargissement vers l'Est de l'Union européenne. Dans ce contexte, deux régions phares déterminent le travail du Centre: l'Europe Centrale et de l'Est d'une part, ainsi que l'Europe du Nord et la région baltique d'autre part. Un nouveau point fort dans le travail du CERF est l'analyse des effets de la société de l'information sur les régions en Europe.

Le Centre Européen de Recherche sur le Fédéralisme est dirigé par un comité directeur interdisciplinaire composé de géographes, d'historiens, de juristes, d'économistes et de chercheurs en sciences politiques.

Le CERF mène des projets de recherche transnationaux et organise régulièrement des colloques internationaux dans toute l'Europe (Par exemple en Belgique, Italie, Hongrie et en Suède). Les thèmes évoqués traitent des "Aspects de la coopération transfrontalière dans les pays d'Europe centrale et de l'Est" en passant par "Le rôle politique européen des assemblées régionales" jusque "The regional impact of Community Policies".

Les résultats des projets de recherche et des conférences sont publiés dans la Collection du CERF auprès des Editions NOMOS ou dans la propre série Occasional Papers.

Parallèlement à la recherche scientifique, le CERF exerce une activité de consultation dans le domaine politique, administratif et économique.

Le CERF est particulièrement attaché à lier théorie et pratique, à renforcer la coopération transnationale et à promouvoir l'interdisciplinarité dans la recherche. Le développement des réseaux fait aussi partie du travail du Centre. Le CERF a ainsi créé la **European Association of Researchers on Federalism (EARF)**, laquelle regroupe plus de 70 chercheurs appartenant aux Etats membres de l'Union européenne, à la Suisse ainsi qu'à l'Europe centrale et de l'Est. Le CERF gère ce réseau et sert de bureau de liaison.

Das Europäische Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung, Tübingen

Seit Beginn des europäischen Integrationsprozesses spielt die Frage nach der künftigen Struktur Europas bzw. einer europäischen „Verfassung“ eine wichtige Rolle. Ein entscheidender Aspekt ist dabei, die föderale Balance zwischen zentralen und dezentralen Elementen zu finden, um die zukünftigen Herausforderungen Europas zu bewältigen. Seit Maastricht hat sich diese Diskussion wieder intensiviert; sie erhält zusätzliche Brisanz durch das zunehmende Selbstbewusstsein der Regionen in Europa. Unübersehbar sind schließlich Regionalisierungs- und Föderalisierungstendenzen in vielen europäischen Staaten.

In diesem Zusammenhang steht die Gründung des **Europäischen Zentrums für Föderalismus-Forschung (EZFF)** an der Universität Tübingen. Es begleitet seit 1993 diese Entwicklung und erforscht ihre Hintergründe. Das EZFF ist eine interdisziplinäre wissenschaftliche Einrichtung, die sich mit Fragen des Föderalismus, Regionalismus und den Regionen in Europa beschäftigt. Innerhalb dieser Bereiche konzentriert sich das **Europäische Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung** dabei auf folgende Themenschwerpunkte: föderale, regionale und dezentrale Strukturen und Prozesse in den Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union; verfassungsrechtliche Fragen der europäischen Integration; das Subsidiaritätsprinzip und die wachsende Bedeutung der Regionen im EU-Entscheidungssystem sowie den Ausschluß der Regionen. Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bildet die Kooperation von Regionen, insbesondere im Hinblick auf grenzüberschreitende Probleme, sowie Fragen der regionalen Strukturpolitik und ihrer Entwicklung, insbesondere vor dem Hintergrund der EU-Osterweiterung. Dabei haben sich zwei Schwerpunkte herausgebildet: Mittel- und Osteuropa sowie Nordeuropa und der Ostseeraum. Einen neuen Schwerpunkt in der Arbeit des Zentrums stellt die Untersuchung von Auswirkungen der Informationsgesellschaft auf die Regionen in Europa dar.

Das Europäische Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung wird von einem interdisziplinär zusammengesetzten Vorstand aus Geographen, Historikern, Juristen, Ökonomen und Politikwissenschaftlern geleitet.

Das EZFF führt transnationale Forschungsprojekte durch und veranstaltet regelmäßig internationale Konferenzen in ganz Europa (z. B. Belgien, Italien, Ungarn, Schweden). Die Themen reichen von „Aspekten der grenzüberschreitenden Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Staaten Mittel- und Osteuropas“ über „Die europapolitische Rolle der Landes- und Regionalparlamente in der Europäischen Union“ bis zu „The Regional Impact of Community Policies“.

Die Forschungs- und Konferenzergebnisse werden in der Schriftenreihe des Zentrums bei der NOMOS-Verlagsgesellschaft und in der Serie „Occasional Papers“ publiziert.

Gleichberechtigt neben der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit steht die Beratungstätigkeit des EZFF für Politik, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft.

Besonderen Wert legt das Europäische Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung in seiner Arbeit auf die Verbindung von Theorie und Praxis, transnationale Kooperationen und die interdisziplinäre Ausrichtung seiner Forschungsaktivitäten. Zur Tätigkeit des EZFF gehört deshalb auch der Aufbau von Netzwerken. So hat das Zentrum die **European Association of Researchers on Federalism (EARF)** gegründet, der etwa 70 Wissenschaftler aus den Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union, der Schweiz und den Staaten Mittel- und Osteuropas angehören. Das EZFF betreut dieses Netzwerk und dient als Geschäftsstelle.

Book Series of the European Centre for Research on Federalism with NOMOS Publisher, Baden-Baden:

- Volume 1: **KNIPPING, Franz** (Ed.), *Federal Conceptions in EU-Member States. Traditions and Perspectives*, 1994, ISBN 3-7890-3663-3, DM 78,-
- Volume 2: **HRBEK, Rudolf** (Ed.), *Europäische Bildungspolitik und die Anforderungen des Subsidiaritätsprinzips*, 1994, ISBN 3-7890-3656-0, DM 48,-
- Volume 3: **RAICH, Silvia**, *Grenzüberschreitende und interregionale Zusammenarbeit in einem "Europa der Regionen". Dargestellt anhand der Fallbeispiele Großregion Saar-Lor-Lux, EUREGIO und „Vier Motoren für Europa“ - Ein Beitrag zum Europäischen Integrationsprozeß*, 1995, ISBN 3-7890-3657-9, DM 58,-
- Volume 4: **ALEN, André**, *Der Föderalstaat Belgien, Nationalismus - Föderalismus - Demokratie. Mit dem Text der neuen Belgischen Verfassung*, 1995, ISBN 3-7890-3791-5, DM 36,-
- Volume 5: **STURM, Roland** (Ed.), *Europäische Forschungs- und Technologiepolitik und die Anforderungen des Subsidiaritätsprinzips*, 1996, ISBN 3-7890-4149-1, DM 48,-
- Volume 6: **WEBER-PANARIELLO, Philippe A.**, *Nationale Parlamente in der Europäischen Union. Eine rechtsvergleichende Studie zur Beteiligung nationaler Parlamente an der innerstaatlichen Willensbildung in Angelegenheiten der Europäischen Union im Vereinigten Königreich, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 1995, ISBN 3-7890-4120-3, DM 79,-
This volume has been awarded the „Wissenschaftspreis des Deutschen Bundestages für Arbeiten zum Parlamentarismus“ in 1996.
- Volume 7: **KINSKY, Ferdinand/KNIPPING, Franz** (Eds.), *Le "fédéralisme personnaliste" aux sources de l'Europe de demain. Der personalistische Föderalismus und die Zukunft Europas, Hommage à Alexandre Marc*, 1996, ISBN 3-7890-4190-4, DM 79,-
- Volume 8: **HRBEK, Rudolf** (Ed.), *Die Anwendung des Subsidiaritätsprinzips in der Europäischen Union - Erfahrungen und Perspektiven*, 1995, ISBN 3-7890-4142-4, DM 49,-
- Volume 9: **COLLIER, Ute / GOLUB, Jonathan / KREHER, Alexander** (Eds.), *Subsidiarity and Shared Responsibility: New Challenges for EU Environmental Policy*, ISBN 3-7890-4647-7, DM 60,-

- Volume 10: **AGRANOFF, Robert** (Ed.), *Asymmetrical Federalism (in preparation)*
- Volume 11: **AMMON, Günter et al.** (Ed.), *Föderalismus oder Zentralismus? Europas Zukunft zwischen dem deutschen und dem französischen Modell*, 1996, ISBN 3-7890-4446-6, DM 58,-
- Volume 12: **SCHULTZE, Claus J.**, *Die deutschen Kommunen in der Europäischen Union - Europa-Betroffenheit und Interessenwahrnehmung*, 1997, ISBN 3-7890-4830-5, DM 60,-
- Volume 13: **HRBEK, Rudolf** (Ed.), *Die europapolitische Rolle der Landes- und Regionalparlamente in der Europäischen Union (forthcoming)*
- Volume 14: **STURM, Roland / WEINMANN, Georg / WILL, Oliver** (Eds.), *The Information Society and the Regions in Europe (forthcoming)*
- Volume 15: **KRETSCHMER, Otto / HRBEK, Rudolf** (Eds.), *Standortpolitik und Regionalisierung in Europa. Probleme - Kompetenzen - Lösungen (forthcoming)*

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Edited and distributed by the European Centre for Research on Federalism (ECRF), Tübingen

- ☐ Nr. 1: **STURM, Roland**, *Economic Regionalism in a Federal State: Germany and the Challenge of the Single Market*, 1994, ISBN 3-980 3672-0-7, DM 5,-
- ☐ Nr. 2: **HAVERLAND, Markus**, *Europäische Integration im Spannungsverhältnis von Zentralisierung und Dezentralisierung*, 1995, ISBN 3-980 3672-1-5, DM 6,-
- ☐ Nr. 3: **FECHTNER, Detlef**, *Abschied vom kompensatorischen Föderalismus*, 1995, ISBN 3-980 3672-2-3, DM 8,-
- ☐ Nr. 4: **SCHÖBEL, Norbert**, *Der Ausschuß der Regionen*, 1995 (out of print)
- ☐ Nr. 5: **GROSSE HÜTTMANN, Martin**, *Das Subsidiaritätsprinzip in der EU - eine Dokumentation*, 1996, ISBN 3-980 3672-5-8, DM 14,-
- ☐ Nr. 6: **ILLÉS, Iván**, *Carpathian (Euro)Region*, 1996, ISBN 3-9803672-6-6, DM 10,-
- ☐ Nr. 7: **HORVÁTH, Gyula**, *Transition and Regionalism in East-Central Europe*, 1996, ISBN 3-9803672-7-4, DM 10,-
- ☐ Nr. 8: **HRBEK, Rudolf** (Ed.), *Erfahrungen, Probleme und Perspektiven grenzüberschreitender Kooperation (in preparation)*
- ☐ Nr. 9: **HANNOWSKY, Dirk/RENNER, Andreas**, *Subsidiaritätsprinzip, Bürgersouveränität und Ordnungswettbewerb. Ordnungstheoretische Überlegungen zur Ausgestaltung einer präferenzkonformen Ordnung Europas*, 1996, ISBN 3-9803672-4-X, DM 10,-
- ☐ Nr. 10: **KROPP, Sabine**, *Dezentralisierung und Transformation in Rußland*, 1996, ISBN 3-9803672-8-2, DM 10,-
- ☐ Nr. 11: **STURM, Roland**, *Strategien intergouvernementalen Handelns. Zu neueren Tendenzen des Föderalismus in Deutschland und den USA*, 1996, ISBN 3-9803672-9-0, DM 8,-
- ☐ Nr. 12: **LÜTZEL, Christof**, *Frankreich auf dem Weg zum Föderalismus? Regionalisierung, Dezentralisierung, Subsidiarität und die künftige Struktur der Europäischen Union aus französischer Sicht (forthcoming)*
- ☐ Nr. 13: **HRBEK, Rudolf** (Ed.), *Regionen und Kommunen in der EU und die Regierungskonferenz 1996*, 1996, ISBN 3-9805358-0-0, DM 10,-
- ☐ Nr. 14/1: **LOB, Harald / OEL, Matthias**, *Informationsgesellschaft und Regionen in Europa. Wirtschafts- und regionalpolitische Aspekte der Europäischen Informationsgesellschaft*, 1997, ISBN 3-9805358-1-9, DM 8,-
- ☐ Nr. 14/2: **STURM, Roland / WEINMANN, Georg**, *Challenges of the Information Society to the Regions in Europe. A Research Agenda*, 1997, ISBN 3-9805358-5-1, DM 10,-
- ☐ Nr. 15: **MÜHLBACHER, Georg**, *Italien auf dem Weg zu einem föderalen Staat? (forthcoming)*
- ☐ Nr. 16: **Kommission Gerechtigkeit und Frieden der Diözese Mailand**, *Regionale Autonomie und solidarischer Föderalismus. Übersetzt von Thomas Häringer und Ulrich Rösslein (forthcoming)*
- ☐ Nr. 17: **SCHÖBEL, Norbert**, *Der Ausschuß der Regionen* (ISBN 3-9805358-2-7);
SCHÖBEL, Norbert, *The Committee of the Regions* (ISBN 3-9805358-3-5);
SCHÖBEL, Norbert, *Le Comité des Régions* (ISBN 3-9805358-4-3), DM 12,-

You can order any of these titles from your bookseller or directly from NOMOS Verlagsgesellschaft, Vertrieb, D-76520 Baden-Baden (Fax: ++49 7221 / 21 04 27).

ISBN 3-9805358-5-1