

The New Knowledge Economy in Europe

A STRATEGY FOR INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS AND SOCIAL COHESION

Bengt-Åke Lundvall Gøsta Esping-Andersen Luc Soete Manuel Castells Mario Telò Mark Tomlinson Robert Boyer Robert M. Lindley

Edited by

Maria João Rodrigues

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Professor, University of Lisbon – ISCTE and Special Advisor to the Prime Minister, Portugal, Chair of the Advisory Group of Social Sciences in the European Framework Programme, EU.

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Contributors

Maria João Rodrigues

Professor of Economics at the University of Lisbon – ISCTE Chair of the Advisory Group of Social Sciences in the European Framework Programme for Research (EU) Special Advisor to the Prime Minister

Luc Soete

Professor of International Economics at the Faculty of Economics, University of Maastricht

Director of the Maastricht Economic Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (MERIT)

Gøsta Esping-Andersen

Professor at the Universita di Trento Professor at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona Member of Scientific Council, Juan March Foundation

Robert M. Lindley

Professor, Faculty of Social Studies, University of Warwick Director, Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick Associate Director of the Business Processes Resource Centre of the Economic and Social Research Council, based at the International Manufacturing Centre, University of Warwick.

Robert Boyer

Professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris Economist at CEPREMAP
Senior Researcher at CNRS
Head of URA CNRS 922 'Regulation, Human Resources and Economic Policy'

Bengt-Åke Lundvall

Professor in Economics at the Department for Business Studies at the Aalborg University

Research Manager for the nation-wide Danish network DRUID (Danish Research Unit for Industrial Dynamics)

Mark Tomlinson

Research Fellow at the Centre for Innovation and Competition, University of Manchester

Manuel Castells

Professor of Sociology and Professor of City & Regional Planning, University of California at Berkeley

Research Professor, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Barcelona (on leave)

Mario Telò

Professor, Université Libre de Bruxelles J. Monnet Chair for Political Problems of the European Union Research Director, Institute for European Studies (IEE, ULB)

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I hope this publication will be useful for all who want to discuss and to build Europe both in political and scientific terms.

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1. Introduction: for a European strategy at the turn of the century

Maria João Rodrigues

At the turn of the century, we must think in the long term. With this endeavour, the Presidency of the European Union organised a special interaction between the scientific and the political agenda. The purpose of this introduction is to reveal how this cross fertilisation was developed, leading to a new European strategy which aims to build a knowledge-based economy with more competitiveness and social cohesion. The main political dilemmas, the main theoretical issues, the new proposals and, finally, the political outcomes will be presented, providing a preliminary framework to highlight the following chapters.

1 EUROPEAN DILEMMAS

1.1. What scenarios for Europe?

Europe is facing a crucial period in its history. All the main issues of European civilisation are at stake and very contrasting scenarios are possible as shown in a wide range of literature (Delors, 1992; Wallace, 1990; Jacquemin and Wright, 1993; McRae, 1994; Bressard, 1997; Telò, 1998 and Fitoussi, 1999).

There is a bifurcation in each of the main factors shaping the European scenarios:

- In the international order, will we have a lasting American leadership or a more multipolar structure?
- In enlargement, will we have a slower or a faster pace?
- In the institutional reform, will we have a more confederal or a more federal evolution?
- In the creation of a single currency, will we have more or less credibility in the financial markets?

- In the specialisation pattern, will we have more or less polarisation between high-skilled and low-skilled European regions?
- In macroeconomic policy, will the emphasis of the fine tuning be on inflation or on unemployment?
- In structural policies, will we have less or more effectiveness in economic redeployment?
- In combating the different risks of social exclusion, will we have less or more effective policies?

The most likely combinations of these alternatives can lead us to some very different scenarios:

- In the scenario 'Slow integration', Europe retards both enlargement and deepening, faces difficulties in affirming euro, cannot avoid the rise of unemployment and social exclusion and loses influence in the international game.
- In the scenario 'Enlargement as the priority', Europe speeds up enlargement and reaches more credibility with euro, but faces some difficulties in regional development, employment and social exclusion.
- In the scenario 'Enlargement and deepening', Europe also has success in enlargement and in the single currency, achieving it with more economic and social cohesion associated with some kind of political deepening and increasing international influence.

Other combinations and other scenarios are of course possible and this makes the European path a complex and an uncertain one.

The focus of this book will be on the economic and social development of the European Union, whilst bearing in mind this more general framework.

1.2. A new paradigm creating a new context

Europe is at the crossroads in a changing landscape. A completely new environment is being created by globalisation, technological change and an ageing population with its impact on the welfare state. With globalisation, nations are competing to attract investment, which, on the one hand, depends increasingly on the general conditions supporting business competitiveness. On the other hand, business competitiveness depends increasingly on the capacity to answer just in time to the specific needs of the customer. This involves managing a greater amount of knowledge with the intensive use of information technologies.

Knowledge is becoming the main source of wealth of nations, businesses

and people, but it can also become the main source of inequalities among them. A new paradigm is emerging creating knowledge-based economies and societies. This is the broader significance we should give to the recent terminology about the 'new economy'.

Knowledge has always been an ingredient of human societies, but what is radically new is the speed of its accumulation and diffusion, due to information and telecommunication technologies. Working conditions and living conditions are being redefined. Markets and institutions are being redesigned by new rules based on the new possibilities of exchanging information. Internet is becoming the main infrastructure of this new paradigm.

Europe is somehow lagging behind in this transition and can learn a lot from the United States. But the point is not to imitate the United States, but rather to define the European way to the knowledge economy.

The challenges embodied in the European scenarios must be reexamined in the light of this emerging paradigm.

1.3. Dilemmas and possibilities

Some of these challenges concern competitiveness on the one hand and social cohesion on the other. Here we have a crucial dilemma. A realistic assessment might conclude that it is not possible to keep up with the so-called European social model, as this is now, in the new conditions created by globalisation and technological change, aggravated by ageing populations. Hence, a defensive answer to this prospect might consist of downgrading this European social model in order to increase competitiveness. A more affirmative answer, and also a more complex one is threefold: to build new competitive factors, to renew the European social model and to regulate globalisation.

Regulating globalisation depends on the ongoing reform of the United Nations and Bretton Woods institutions, namely the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in financial markets, and on the next round of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in order to foster multilateral trade. Better coordination of the foreign policies of European countries can also play a relevant role in this framework.

When building new competitive factors, a range of possibilities opened up by the knowledge-based economy should be explored in order to modernise companies, public services, schools, transports, cities and all the surrounding environment.

Renewing the European social model should create the conditions to help people move from jobs with no future to jobs with a future. This involves active employment policies, education and training, collective bargaining with a greater focus on change and more active social policies ensuring a safety network. This also involves making a special effort to prevent the digital divide, the new forms of social exclusion arising from the information society.

1.4. Two central questions for Europe

Two central question seem to emerge for Europe: How is it possible to speed up the transition towards a knowledge-based economy with more jobs and more social cohesion? How is it possible to make Europe a more competitive and dynamic economy, able to create more and better jobs and greater social cohesion?

These were exactly the central questions posed to Europeans leaders at the beginning of the century, the right moment to think in the long term.

As a background to their decision making, they were given a broad picture on the emerging knowledge-based economy.

2. THE EMERGENCE OF THE KNOWLEDGE-BASED ECONOMY AS A GREAT TRANSFORMATION

2.1 The nature of the knowledge-based economy

The knowledge-based economy is more than the so-called new economy. The fashionable term 'new economy' is sometimes limited to software and multimedia business, supported by active financial markets. But this is the tip of the iceberg. A much wider change is going on which encompasses all sectors of activity, from services, to manufacturing and even agriculture under the pervasive effect of information technologies and telecommunications (Cairncross, 1997; Thurow, 1999). A deluge of technological innovations is invading all these sectors and transforming our lives, from computers to computer-aided manufacturing, and from mobiles phones to digital TV, but even the other usual concept of 'information society' is limited to capturing the in-depth nature of the ongoing change.

As a matter of fact, the ongoing change is not only technological but also institutional, and it concerns something more than information, namely knowledge. We are living through a great transformation (with the meaning given by Polanyi [1944], 1983) which concerns the very social processes of knowledge production, diffusion and utilisation. Knowledge accumulation was speeded up in the past by major inventions, such as writing and printing. Communication between different communities was made more independent of their co-existence at the same time and in the same space.

The current technological revolution is making human communication even more independent of time and space constraints, speeding up knowledge accumulation. The available knowledge at the cultural or scientific level is transformed in new contents and widely spread by increasingly powerful combinations of software and hardware. The knowledge intensity of products and services is also increasing, as can be seen in transport, health, education or entertainment. Knowledge is becoming the main raw material in many manufacturing companies. All social institutions work in a different way and even markets become more knowledge intensive, as displayed by financial markets or e-commerce.

A virtual reality is being built, the so-called cyberspace, whose main rules and architecture are still being defined, but which is already having powerful interactions with the existing world (e.g., Lévy, 1997). The organisation of the cyberspace is re-organising the existing world, shaping its economic, financial, political and cultural exchanges. Cognitive capacities, connectivity and cultural identity become the key instruments for survival in the new world. Internet and its social use is the most striking outcome of all this great transformation.

2.2. Economic and social implications of the knowledge-based economy

Knowledge is becoming the main source of wealth and power, but also of difference, between nations, regions, companies and people (Castells, 1996). Innovation based on a specific knowledge is the main competitive advantage. Competitiveness means to answer just in time to the personal needs of the customer, which requires a very sophisticated knowledge management. Mass customisation is succeeding to fordist standardised mass production (Tapscott, 1995). The foremost companies focus on the most value-added productions, build trade marks and launch wider operations of outsourcing and delocalisation. Network companies are spreading in all sectors and nations, reorganising the international division of labour. With e-commerce, businesses trade directly with businesses and the company dimension can become more irrelevant when taking advantage of globalisation. But soon the old intermediators are replaced by new intermediators capable of reorganising the market places in the cyberspace.

Knowledge management becomes a key component of corporate strategic management, activating the relationship between marketing, research and production. Corporate organisation is reshaped to build a learning organisation. New types of workers emerge, knowledge workers who have been categorised in different ways (Reich, 1991). Castells (1996) identifies new profiles, such as captains, innovators and connectors. Human resources

management focus with increasing sophistication on the production of new competences as a source of competitiveness (e.g., Le Boterf, 1998). In the meantime, new risks of social exclusion, of a digital divide, emerge involving all the workers who cannot keep up with this pace of change.

Labour markets tend to new forms of segmentation between workers with voluntary mobility based on up-dated skills and workers who run the risk of involuntary mobility due to out-dated skills. The institutional framework of labour markets is being shaped in order to recombine employability and adaptability with basic conditions of security and citizenship (e.g., Esping-Andersen, 1999; Fitoussi and Rosanvallon, 1996). Labour market services are more focused on active employment policies; social protection systems on activating social policies; industrial relations on negotiating new trade-offs between flexibility and security. Finally, education and training systems are facing the challenge of building a learning society as a pre-condition to having a knowledge-based society and not only a knowledge-based economy (e.g., Lindley (with Nadel), 1998). To sum up, institutional innovations are emerging and new social rules are being invented.

How can we highlight our possible paths in this great transformation? In order to foresee and to discuss the possible scenarios, we must come back to some foundations underpinning this analysis of the emerging knowledge-based economy.

3. THE INTELLECTUAL HORIZON AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Thinking in the long term at the turn of the century requires a prospective effort, building on our intellectual legacy. Hence, some major breakthroughs of the past century should be underlined, namely in the philosophy of knowledge, the philosophy of science and the philosophy of politics, because they are shaping our intellectual horizon.

3.1. Philosophy of knowledge: theory shaping empirical evidence

The approach about the relationship between theory and empirical evidence is a key issue for the development of science. The central controversy in the philosophy of science between rationalism and empiricism yielded important outcomes throughout the twentieth century. Overcoming the established tradition of the experimental method giving birth to hypotheses, the Vienna school stressed the preliminary role of theory by defining the hypothetico-deductive method. Moreover, the role of empirical evi-