# The Scottish Parliament: [Re-]Shaping Parliamentary Democracy in the Information Age

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## *Introduction: a new beginning for Scottish Parliamentary democracy*

After nearly 300 years of full participation in a parliamentary union, Scotland is in the throes of the re-establishment of its own parliamentary democracy. A perceived democratic deficit is being addressed through institutional innovation, and the parliament is expected to become not just the mechanism through which much of Scottish public policy is developed and scrutinised, but also the national forum for civic life. It is perhaps ironic then, that much of the attention of political science over the past 30 years has been upon identifying the complicity of institutional arrangements, such as parliamentary bodies, in a deepening political malaise. If parliaments elsewhere have been unable to reverse an increasing dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of contemporary processes of democracy, why should the establishment of a new forum in Scotland address these same issues for the Scottish polity?

Much of the optimism for the future of Scottish democracy under the new parliamentary arrangements is directly related to the notion that the Parliament represents a fresh break from established British parliamentary tradition and practice. The debates around the establishment of the parliament, especially those which took place within the Scottish Constitutional Convention, have been characterised by an insistence that the new body should be free to adopt what it sees as democratic best practice, free to innovate in the establishment of novel forms of working, rather than aping Westminster precedent.

What has been striking in this, is the extent to which new technologies of information and communication have been envisaged and anticipated as part and parcel of these invigorated democratic relationships within and around the new parliament. The power of information and communications technologies (ICTs) to bring about 'better' ways of working within the parliament, and also to support new forms of participation around it, has been explicitly recognised and addressed in the formulation of initial plans and in the design of the technological infrastructure. In the process, the potential of ICTs to enable and support new democratic arrangements has, for the first time, become a visible stream in Scottish political discourse.

This chapter sets out to analyse why this is the case. It first traces the processes towards the establishment of the Parliament, placing the debate on the role of ICTs in a proper context. The later chapter 'Supporting key relationships around Parliament', for which the factual information was provided substantially by Paul Gray, Chair of the ICT Project Board for the Scottish Parliament, defines some of the key democratic relationships around the Parliament, and explains how ICTs are envisaged as affecting these relationships. This section explores the extent to which the Parliament will exploit capabilities offered by new ICTs, and considers the role of new technologies in supporting and enhancing democratic practice. The chapter then goes on to analyse some of the implicit assumptions concerning technologically-facilitated political change which are contained in many of the plans. In this way, the chapter sets out both to explain and critique the role of new technologies in supporting the democratic functioning of the Parliament.

## *The background to devolution*

The Parliament of Great Britain was created from the Union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England in 1707. While Scotland retained many of the other institutions of nationhood, including a separate legal system, the Union halted the development of a distinctive Scottish Parliamentary tradition. The Scottish institutions which remained after the Union have, since 1939, been bolstered through a large degree of administrative devolution from central government to the Scottish Office, which has been accountable to Westminster through the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The movement for the Scottish Covenant in the 1950s was the first modern manifestation of a public debate about Scotland's role in the Union, the modern Covenanters identifying the postwar Labour Government's policies as posing a threat to the distinctiveness of Scotland. The source of such concern was the government's homogenous approach to policy implementation throughout the UK, which raised concerns over the continuation of distinctly Scottish policy arrangements. The leaders of this campaign sought to place themselves in a long tradition of Scottish resistance to Westminster's desire for conformity throughout the UK, hence their self conscious adoption of the word Covenanters.[1] This rather romantic approach to the assertion of identity was superseded in the 1960's by a wider critique of Scotland's place in the UK, which fed into the emergence of Scottish nationalism as an increasingly credible political movement. This did much to accelerate the topic of Scottish Devolution to the higher reaches of the policy agenda.

The first legislative efforts to establish devolution in Scotland came in the late 1970s, when the then Labour Government brought forward proposals to establish a Scottish Assembly. A Scotland Bill received its

Royal Assent on 31 July 1978, with the Act requiring a referendum before full implementation. While the referendum of 1 March 1979 resulted in a majority of over 77,000 in favour of an Assembly, this figure represented only 32.9% of the electorate, short of the 40% which was required for the Act to be implemented. The Labour Government fell soon after this event, and was replaced by a Conservative administration concerned with pushing back the administrative manifestations of the State, rather than re-casting them in a new form.

The impetus for devolution eventually came to be concentrated in the Scottish Constitutional Convention, a cross-party campaign for constitutional change formed in 1988. This body had a membership drawn from Members of Parliament of the Labour and Liberal Democrat parties, Labour members of the European Parliament, local authorities, the STUC, business, church and civic groups and other political parties. The Constitutional Convention developed detailed proposals for a Scottish Parliament, contained in its final report—Scotland's Parliament.[2]

With the election of the Labour Government on 1 May 1997 the way was clear for Labour, the chief partner in the Constitutional Convention, to implement its recommendations. The Government published its detailed plans for the Scottish Parliament in its White Paper,[3] 'Scotland's Parliament', on 24 July 1997, proposing the establishment of a Parliament with law-making and tax-varying powers. A referendum on these proposals was held on 11 September 1997, endorsing them in their entirety,[4] and the Scotland Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on 17 December 1997 and given Royal Assent the following year. The first elections to the Scottish Parliament are scheduled for 6 May 1999, and the Parliament should be in place by the year 2000.

## *Creating a 'wired Parliament'*

The final report of the Scottish Constitutional Convention echoed that body's sentiment that a devolved parliament should take its cue from democratic 'best practice', either anticipated or already in operation elsewhere, rather than from existing Westminster procedure. The Convention envisaged a Parliament of its time, with sensible working hours, state-of-the-art information resources and sophisticated communications arrangements between Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs), the Scottish Executive and the electorate. Central to this vision was that the Scottish Parliament should make extensive use of new technologies of information and communication to create and support a dynamic new democracy.

This was a vision which politicians both promoted and responded to. For example, Jim Wallace MP, leader of the Scottish Liberal Democrats, used a speech at Heriot Watt University to call for the Scottish parliament to be 'the engine of an IT revolution and the blueprint for a new style of computerised democracy, by harnessing digital power and

the Internet to put voters and MSPs in permanent instant contact'. Wallace proposed that broadcasters, communications specialists and information technology experts be brought together to devise a scheme which would 'maximise the opportunity for every Scottish resident to participate in the democratic process'. The report by the John Wheatley Centre, 'A Parliament for the Millennium',[5] further developed these themes, which the government broadly endorsed when Scottish Office Minister for Devolution, Henry MacLeish said that he hoped a Scottish parliament would become a 'modern Parliament for a modern Scotland', and a 'laboratory for democracy'. What marks out the debates around the development of the Scottish parliament is the extent to which information and communications technologies were considered as part and parcel of the democratic processes. In a sense, ICTs became part of the rhetoric of democracy in Scotland during this period.

Following on from the positive referendum result, an all-party Consultative Steering Group (CSG) on the Scottish Parliament was established by the Secretary of State for Scotland to take forward consideration of how the Parliament might operate. The CSG was chaired by Henry McLeish MP, but its membership covered the four main political parties and also included members intended to represent a broader range of Scottish society.[6] The remit of the CSG was to consider the operational needs and working methods of the Scottish Parliament, and to develop proposals for the rules of procedure and Standing Orders which the Parliament might be invited to adopt. The CSG delivered a report at the end of 1998 to the Secretary of State, to inform the preparation of draft Standing Orders.[7]

The CSG was supported by Scottish Office officials who were able to draw on advice from a number of expert panels in the relevant fields in preparing proposals for further consideration by the Consultative Steering Group. One of these expert panels was established to assess how the Parliament might make best use of IT and telematics,[8] and the CSG also commissioned research into transferable democratic telematics applications in use in other parliaments.[9] In appointing the expert panel and bringing in specialist knowledge concerning the democratic application of ICTs the CSG continued to respond to the telematics agenda set by the Constitutional Convention, an agenda which found widespread support among party spokespersons. The extent to which parties took up the cause of ICTs, and particularly the Internet (especially its graphical aspect, the world wide web) in 're-inventing' Scottish Democracy was itself symptomatic of the extent to which the transformative potential of new technologies had become common currency. If the capabilities offered by ICTs could revolutionise the worlds of business and commerce, then could the same powerful technologies be applied in the arena of parliamentary democracy; and if so, with what results?

## *Supporting key relationships around Parliament*

The outcome of the planning processes around the parliamentary procedures, and the relationship of ICTs to those procedures, has now been fairly well advanced. This section examines the key relationships within and around the Parliament, and assesses the role of ICTs in developing and supporting these relationships.

The Scottish Parliament is being set up in the face of great expectations. It is to be the central forum of a new, inclusive and participative democracy. But beyond the rhetoric, who will participate in that democracy, in what manner will participation occur, and how will it be facilitated? Will the Parliament operate as busy hub of democratic information exchange, a 'trading floor' through which all important democratic 'transactions' will be routed? Or will the parliament sit as one element (albeit an important one) in a wider polity around which information flows? This is an important question which encapsulates two rather different visions about the parliament, and has consequences for how ICTs are applied around it. Through an analysis of the debates so far, the latter vision, of the parliament as part of a democratic 'network' (in a non-technological sense) seems likely to prevail. In order to arrive at a definitive answer to the question, we must give further attention to determining exactly where the Parliament fits within the polity of Scotland.

The Parliament, by its very nature, cannot be a stand-alone organisation. Introducing the White Paper 'Scotland's Parliament', the Secretary of State for Scotland, Donald Dewar made it clear that the Parliament must set new standards of openness, accessibility and responsiveness to the people of Scotland. He described the people of Scotland as the people the Parliament serves. The degree of responsiveness to public opinion, and the ways in which this might be underpinned, has been identified as a key criteria of the Parliament's effectiveness One of the primary relationships, then, is that which exists between the Parliament and the people, specifically the Scottish electorate.

Yet this key relationship is complemented and made effective because it sits within a web of other relationships; inter alia, there must also be links to the Scottish Executive, to the Scottish Administration, (the names for some of these organisations have not yet been decided), to local government, to the business community, to the education sector, and to the voluntary sector. Linkages must also anchor the Parliament beyond the borders of Scotland; to other legislatures and administrations within the UK, and to Europe and beyond.

ICTs clearly have a vital role to play in establishing, fostering and maintaining these links. The question which is yet to be resolved is in what manner and how effectively this will occur. The Consultative Steering Group has already accepted that the Parliament will definitely need a satisfactory level of ICT provision from the outset, rather than

leaving the development of systems completely to the first intake of Members. The issue is further complicated because the first Parliament will sit in temporary accommodation, the Church of Scotland Assembly Building, while a new Parliament building is constructed at Holyrood. Initial provision has had to reflect what was practically possible in the short time available to set up the interim accommodation; and it has also been designed to reflect the fact that there is inevitably some uncertainty about the precise needs of the Parliament and its staff—because the Parliament does not yet exist. There is a clear expectation that once the Parliament has been in operation for a year or two, information and communications technology will have developed further and there will be an opportunity to address medium to long-term needs and planning for ICTs at Holyrood. The basic provision which has been outlined and is being put in place is designed to address the fact that the Parliament must get off to a sound start, if it is to meet the expectations of Scotland.

The Consultative Steering Group has accepted that ICT is essential in assisting democratic participation, and has defined that participation in a wide sense, to incorporate ideas such as community governance as well as individual citizen participation. It also accepted that emerging technologies could make a tangible contribution to greater openness and accessibility and to the increased efficiency of the Parliament itself. This, then, is the second main area of innovation around ICTs; the internal aspect of the 'business' of the parliament. The Parliament has been established against an expectation that it will follow modern and efficient ways of working, and that its accommodation will allow Scottish Parliamentarians and their staff to work efficiently, harnessing the best of modern technology. The Report by the CSG's Telematics Advisory Panel also proposed that the Parliament should establish a general rule of public access to all electronic and printed data, unless a committee voted to the contrary for a specific purpose and under conditions acceptable to the Presiding Officer. The Consultative Steering Group accepted that ICT for the Parliament would be set up on the presumption that Parliamentary information contained on any system will be made publicly available through the Parliamentary web-site unless it is specifically restricted for reasons of security or privacy. The web-site itself is being developed and presented in such a way that it is intended to develop life-long awareness of the Parliament, not simply restricted to those of voting age. It is also intended that the design should accommodate the ability of the public both to make comments, and where possible to take part in open discussions.

Underlying all this is an important realisation that has informed much of the decision making process around systems development. This realisation is a simple one; that making the Parliament open and accessible depends on a great deal more than simple technology. Fundamentally, openness and accessibility depends on how Parliamen-

tary information is managed and presented—and this includes paper as well as electronic information. For example, one important concern is that it is essential to have robust archiving procedures in place to allow long-term access to Parliamentary information. These managerial challenges must be addressed thoroughly from the start, and the Parliament has therefore allocated responsibility for information management to a senior member of its staff.

Against the background that Scotland is moving from a purely representative democracy to a participative democracy, it has been acknowledged that the widest democratic participation will be assisted by ensuring that all the people have access to all the information. This is another significant challenge, but one that must be met. If the information provided is weak, then there is a significant likelihood that this itself will lead to weak participation. From this point of view, an investment in information is an investment in democracy. To a great extent this is a matter which is initially in the hands of the first intake of MSPs, and then to their successors. The onus (and the spotlight) will be on MSPs to ensure that information provision and collection is part of a structured communications' plan and given high priority. It has already been accepted that a great deal of thought and effort will have to go into information content; but once the content is decided an equal amount of thought will have to be given to accessibility and to the infrastructure to deliver and collect the information. Against an acknowledgement that the quality of access to information is a basic right of all citizens, there is a need for access methods which meet the needs of a range of personal abilities and circumstances, and these might include varying levels of reading ability, visual impairments, or the use of English as a second language.

There is some further important background to the notion of democratic participation, and the possible role of ICTs in facilitating that participation. Much of the debate around the democratic application of ICTs has focussed upon the Internet. Yet perhaps only 10% of the population of Scotland have access to the Internet in their homes, with a similar number having access to digital television. So this new, participative democracy must ensure that information is delivered to the citizens of Scotland in ways which are accessible to it. That is likely to mean an important role for familiar media, such as television, radio and papers, rather than an unbalanced concentration on the Internet. It also means that libraries are likely to have a key role to play. Parliament itself will have to consider how it might make use of ICTs to deliver information to the people of Scotland and to seek their views; but it cannot do so on the basic assumption that the citizens of Scotland as a whole use, or want to use, ICTs.

Of course, none of the planning for new democratic mechanisms around the parliament should be set upon the assumption that the majority of the population of Scotland actually knows how the Parlia-

ment works. It is the first time since 1707 that the people of Scotland will have its own directly elected Parliament. Collective memory may be long, but it is not that long. So in setting up ICTs, and in designing the information content which will flow through them, it is essential that consideration is given to the level of knowledge which different groupings will require in order to participate meaningfully in the democratic processes associated with the Scottish Parliament.

This relates to the question of political literacy. Is there a role for ICTs in securing and maintaining political literacy among the Scottish public, or is this best achieved in the long-term through the education system? Should the Parliament's investment in ICTs for schools, colleges and universities be centred on seeking to encourage and engage young people in the work of the Parliament? And should the Parliament be using similar, though less formal, initiatives to encourage and sustain interest in the population in life-long learning about the workings of the Parliament? To bring about such a process, the Parliament might consider establishing partnerships with educational organisations in Scotland, such as the Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum and the Scottish Virtual Teachers' Centre, to develop appropriate educational materials and to ensure their inclusion in school curricula.

What is clear from all this is that the use of ICT is not an end in itself. To be worth while, it must help materially and measurably in the achievement of the overall objectives set out in the White Paper. The ICT Expert Panel found that objectives generally fell under two headings—promoting Parliamentary efficiency through supporting modern ways of working with well-defined information technology; and promoting openness, accountability and democratic participation in Scotland by using technology to make information about the Parliament and its work available to everyone. The provision of ICT must therefore be set in the context of the Parliament's businesses, in order that its success can be measured against the degree to which it helps meet the objectives of the organisation.

With that background in mind, ICT for the Parliament has been developed in the light of several principles. It should be innovative, but it should allow the Parliament to develop its use of ICT in a planned and coherent way. It should seize the opportunities which modern well-designed information systems offer for improving openness, accessibility and responsiveness to the people of Scotland. Overall, it should aspire to be an example of best practice in Parliamentary information systems, both in terms of external communications and internal efficiency; and it should lay the basis for delivering the business of the Parliament efficiently and effectively. All in all, the burden of expectation is considerable.

## *ICTs and democracy: a causal relationship?*

The previous sectioned outlined some of the key areas where new technologies are expected to impinge upon the practice of democracy in

Scotland, through the Scottish Parliament. ICTs have been credited with a degree of transformative potential; potential not only to support the operations of the parliament in terms of representative democracy, but to also shift the nexus of political engagement away from pure representative democracy towards actual participative engagement in the political process, possibly through the utilisation of forms of direct democracy.

That technology is such a strong part of the democratic debate in Scotland is a victory for those who have long insisted that the implication of new technologies goes beyond their an efficiency agenda, and that new networks and the informational relationships which they support also contain an important power dimension which should be recognised and analysed. Yet the social science of new technology also suggests that the 'impact' of ICTs on the democratic process is far from clear, and can never be planned with certainty.[10] This is particularly the case when the object of attention is an organisational component of government such as a Parliament, which is both embedded by and serves to embed a set of institutional factors, the longstanding values, norms and conventions which moderate and shape the potential for any change.[11]

The Scottish Parliament may be a new body, but the processes surrounding its creation and initial operations will still be affected by institutional factors. Such factors tend to militate against any aspirations for sudden or radical change in the way the Scottish Parliament goes about its business, in comparison to dominant parliamentary practice in the United Kingdom. It is this realisation which leads us to offer a critique of some of the statements of intent about the role of ICTs in supporting democratic practice around the Scottish Parliament.

The first assumption which must be engaged with is the notion that the Parliament is being drawn upon a blank slate. True, the new parliament will occupy a space long emptied by the previous body, which went under the same name despite the fact that its suspension in 1707 came before the development of full parliamentary democracy. The new Scottish Parliament will bear little relation to that body in terms of its composition, practice or authority. But this does not imply that the Parliament is entirely free from other forces which may intervene to condition the development of its processes, including the uptake of new capabilities offered by ICTs.

This is an important point, especially because much of the potential to create new social and political outcomes with which new technologies are often credited is characteristic of a profound technological determinism. This manifests itself where the technology itself is understood to be capable of achieving certain outcomes; the power of the technology, in terms of what it can do, is seen to have its own internal logic which will transform the setting in which it is utilised. Further, such deterministic approaches concentrating on the transformative power of new technologies, are often associated with either very gloomy or unreasonably optimistic scenarios. There is a tendency, then, to see the application of

ICTs in a social or political setting as either helping to strengthen the capabilities of elites and usher in greater social control in an almost Orwellian manner, or creating the conditions for an unprecedented renaissance in political life, along the lines of Athenian democracy. Beyond these limiting approaches, and the extremist scenarios with which they are associated, a number of scholars have attempted to explain why there are such few concrete examples of ICTs ushering in great change in the operation of politics. These analyses place greater emphasis upon the organisational and institutional realities of the social world, and their role in mediating and shaping outcomes facilitated by new technologies. Notably, academics in the United States associated with what has become known as the 'Irvine School' have emphasised the ways in which the capabilities offered by new technologies are often applied in organisational and institutional settings in ways which serve to reinforce existing organisational orders and biases.[12] King and Kraemer,[13] also argue that while ICTs may have serious implications for the establishment and maintenance of political society, those implications are not yet manifest in either the balance between individual rights and government power or the wider relationships between government and the people.[14] However, their research does identify the processes by which governmental officials are elected and appointed, and collective decisions are taken, as being one of the realms where new technologies have had and will continue to have an impact. More specifically, they also suggest there is substantial evidence to show that communications technologies have had a profound effect on the conduct of political campaigns, and in the mobilisation of political action. Such trends are also increasingly apparent in the UK in the arena of party politics.

Other academics have been concerned with the structural effects of ICTs on the bureaucracy of government.[15] In Zuurmond's view, the application of ICTs in organisational settings of public administration assists in the transformation of bureaucracy into 'infocracy'. ICTs may be hailed as having the potential to cut through the bureaucratic structures of government, but in actual fact the technology is used in such a way as to transform bureaucracy from an organisational to a 'virtual' reality. The application of new ICTs is carried out in such a way that while formalisation and standardisation seem to disappear from the organisation, these characteristics of bureaucracy are in fact translated and transformed into the information systems and their architecture. The resultant forms of organisation may appear to be flat, lean, less hierarchical and more open and flexible, but the bureaucratic structure of the organisation is maintained in an 'infocracy'.[16] It is often the case that bureaucratic aspects of organisation are not overcome and certainly do not disappear, but are modernised and standardised through incorporation in the new systems. Theories such as this claim that the interaction between new technologies and their organisational and institutional setting is far more subtle than that anticipated by a deterministic outlook,

and that the eventual outcome can only be understood through an appreciation of the choices involved in the development of new systems, and therefore the institutional background against which those choices are made. The crux of the matter, then, is that the technology is essentially neutral; it does not embody any defining characteristics necessarily favouring one set of organisational or political outcomes over another.

Applying this knowledge to the Scottish Parliament, we should consider the nature of the factors which will intrude to shape the uptake of new technologies by that body, the ways in which the technology might actually be used, and the democratic consequences of this. One of the key relationships around the Scottish Parliament, and paradoxically one rarely fully articulated, is that which exists between the Parliament and political parties. Indeed, the electoral system adopted for the parliament (the additional member system) gives greater discretionary power to parties, since they are able to nominate a number of candidates who will be elected through appearing on a list. rather than standing as a candidate in a first-past-the-post constituency contest. Those who gain a seat through this method will then be free of traditional constituency duties, and one can only speculate as to whether their workload will be augmented with party duties. At Westminster, the Whip's Offices are the de facto party offices, with the majority of MPs standing on a party ticket and organised into party groupings in the chamber. Much of the political communication which occurs between the MPs and the public actually occurs through party channels rather than independent or parliamentary channels. Similarly, much of the communication which occurs within Westminster, including those few channels into which ICTs have intruded, depend upon the party. There is a dilemma here, in that parties are an essential part of the existing Westminster parliamentary process, and look certain to continue to be in the new Scottish Parliament, yet the relationship between the two cannot be fully acknowledged because of the dominant doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty. What, then, will be the role of political parties in influencing the direction of ICT use at Holyrood? Will it be neutral, or will parties bring their own agendas, consciously or unconsciously, to bear?

Political parties themselves make good case studies of how the institution of party politics, and the norms and values which the institution encompasses, has acted to moderate any possible new outcomes brought about through the application of ICTs. A great deal of speculation has occurred that new technologies would be used within parties in an explicit attempt to rebuild the mass organisational structures which they once were, and the notion of which they still subscribe to. Evidence suggests that ICTs have actually had a greater effect in strengthening the party's knowledge of the electoral landscape, and in allowing parties to move to take advantage of where majority opinion lies on that landscape, than in widening participation in their organisational structures.[17]

Parties have undergone processes of change which at times seem to border on total re-invention, and the capabilities associated with ICTs have facilitated much of this change, yet the change has not occurred in the way that most people expected it might. The 'effect' on the practice of democracy is difficult to judge, but this outcome is largely in line with other studies suggesting that democracy is now practised to a greater extent at the 'consumption nexus', (the boundary between government and citizen as 'consumers of services') than at the traditional nexus of representative democracy, the Parliament. In other words, the main democratic focus of ICTs has been to promote the ability of government, and parties, to discern and respond to its citizens as 'customers', not to bolster traditional ideas of representative democracy, of which a parliament is such an important part.

## *Conclusion*

That the Scottish Parliament represents an unparalleled democratic innovation in the governance of Scotland is a fact which few would seek to challenge. The new body represents an opportunity for democratic renewal which cannot be underestimated; and the role of new technologies in supporting such a renewal seems to be well articulated by those responsible for identifying the key areas where ICTs may play an important part. Yet at the same time, caution should prevail over the extent to which new technologies can shape the actual end result. The technology itself may be capable of a great deal, but the ways in which it is used will be shaped and conditioned by its users. And, despite overwhelming optimism, the unequal power relationship between elected and electors suggests that the capabilities offered by technology are as likely to favour the interests of the former over those of the latter.

1 The original Covenanters resisted moves by the Crown to force Episcopal forms of worship onto Presbyterian Scotland in the Seventeenth Century.

2 *Scotland's Parliament. Scotland's Right*, Scottish Constitutional Convention, November 1995.

3 White Paper, *Scotland's Parliament*, July 1997, HMSO.

4 Of those voting, 74.3% supported the principle of the creation of a Scottish Parliament and 63.5% voted to support the proposal to give the Parliament limited tax varying powers (+/– 3% in the pound). The turnout at the Referendum was 60.4%.

5 *A Parliament for the Millennium*, Advisory Committee on Telematics for the Scottish Parliament, John Wheatley Centre, July 1997.

6 The membership of the CSG was: J. Wallace MP (Orkney and Shetland), A. Salmond MP (Banff and Buchan), P. Cullen QC (representing the Scottish Conservative Party), K. Geddes CBE (Convention of Scottish Local Authorities), Canyon K. Wright (Scottish Constitution Convention), Professor A. Brown (Department of Politics, University of Edinburgh), Dr J. Stringer (Principal of Queen Margaret's College), J. McMillan (writer and journalist who chaired the Constitutional Commission), E. Robertson (Scottish Constitutional Convention), D. Hutton (Scottish Consumer Council), A. Cubie (Lawyer and former chair of the CBI in Scotland) and C. Christie (General Secretary of the STUC).

7 *Final Report to the Consultative Steering Group*, Expert Panel on Information and Communications Technologies for the Scottish Parliament, Scottish Office, Edinburgh, 1998.

8 The membership of the Expert Panel on ICT was: A. Brown (Director of Administrative Services, Scottish Office (Chairman)), A. Baker (Scotland Country Manager, Microsoft Corporation), R. Beattie (Chair of Edinburgh Telematics Partnership and Community Investment Coordinator Edinburgh, IBM UK

Scotland), P. Black (Network Services Director, Scottish Telecom), L. Beddie (Professor of Computing, Napier University), P. Dixon (Regional Director Scotland, Oracle Corporation UK Ltd), P. Grice (Head of Legislation and Implementation Division, Constitution Group, Scottish Office), N. Hopkins (Technical Director, CCTA), A. Mathieson (Keeper, National Library of Scotland), R. McFarlane (General Manager, Office of the Director, BT Scotland), A. Nairn (Secretary, Society of IT Managers (Scotland) and Director of IT, Perth and Kinross Council), M. O'Connor (Director of Business Services, Telewest Communications), J. Wainwright (Director of Information Systems, House of Commons Library), and A. Weatherstone (Head of Architectures and Change Programme, National Australia Group).

9 *Telematics and the Scottish Parliament: Transferable Democratic Innovations*, Centre for the Study of Telematics and Governance (CSTAG), Scottish Office, Edinburgh, 1998.

10 C. Bellamy and J. Taylor, *Governing in the Information Age*, Open University Press, 1998.

11 J.G. March and J.P. Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organisational Basis of Politics*, New York, Free Press, 1989.

12 K.L. Kraemer and J.L. King, 'Social Analysis of Information Systems: The Irvine School, 1970–1994', *Informatization and the Public Sector*, 3, IOS Press, 1994, pp. 63–182.

13 J.L. King and K.L. Kraemer, 'Information Technology in the Establishment and Maintenance of Civil Society' in I. Snellen and W. van de Donk, *Public Administration in an Information Age: A Handbook*, IOS Press, 1998.

14 Ibid., p. 522.

15 A. Zuurmond, 'From Bureaucracy to Infocracy: Towards Management through Information Architecture' in J. Taylor, I. Snellen and A. Zuurmond (eds), *Beyond BPR in Public Administration. Institutional Transformation in an Information Age*, Amsterdam, IOS, 1996; and C. Bellamy and J. Taylor, *Governing in the Information Age*, Open University Press, 1998.

16 A. Zuurmond, 'From Bureaucracy to Infocracy: Towards Management through Information Architecture' in J. Taylor, I. Snellen and A. Zuurmond (eds), *Beyond BPR in Public Administration. Institutional Transformation in an Information Age*, Amsterdam, IOS, 1996.

17 C. Smith, 'Political Parties: Continuity and Change in a Consumerist Democracy' in J. Hoff and I. Horrocks (eds), *Democratic Governance and New Technology*, Routledge, 1999.