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Innovation Policies (vis-à-vis Practice and Theory)

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Synonyms

Governance; Innovation policy; Innovation practice; Innovation theory

Innovation-driven economic social and change is a significant characteristic of today's economies and a driving force for international knowledge production, competition, and trade; this holds certainly for industrialized countries, but increasingly also for a growing number of late industrializing countries. National, often also regional, governments pursue, more or less explicitly, innovation policies, which can be defined as "as the integral of all state initiatives regarding science, education, research, technolpolicy, and industrial modernization, overlapping also with industrial, environmental, labor, and social policies. Public innovation policy aims to strengthen the competitiveness of an economy or of selected sectors, in order to increase societal welfare through economic success" (Kuhlmann 2001, 954). Public innovation policies reflect the "innovation culture" of a given society, not at least characterized by the

particular interrelation of economic, knowledgeproducing, and policymaking actors and organizations ("Triple Helix"), at various levels of 33 action ("multilevel innovation system").

The concept of public innovation policy is 35 built on the assumption that "innovation" - 36 a perceived or intended process of material, 37 social, and often also cultural change, incremen- 38 tal or disruptive – can be "governed." The present 39 entry (largely drawing on Kuhlmann 2007) offers 40 four considerations of this supposition: First, an 41 illustration will be presented of why the gover- 42 nance of innovation is an issue of concern and 43 that there are governance routes of different character and quality. Second, three forces of the 45 governance of innovation will be addressed: 46 The (1) dynamics of innovation in practice, the 47 (2) role of public policy, and (3) the role of 48 Innovation Studies, as "theory in action." In 49 order to illustrate the mutual interaction of the 50 three forces, a metaphor will be used (following 51 Kuhlmann 2007; Kuhlmann et al. 2010). Innova- 52 tion practice, policy, and theory can be seen as 53 "partners on a dancing floor," moving to the 54 varying music and forming different configura- 55 tions (see Figure 1). Taking a closer look at the 56 dance floor, one can see two of the dancers, 57 innovation practice and policy, arguing and nego- 58 tiating about the dance and music while the third, 59 theory – not always, but often and to an increas- 60 ing extent – provides the other two partners with 61 arguments and sometimes also with new music: 62 Practice and policy increasingly have expecta- 63 tions vis-à-vis the contribution of social science- 64

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based intelligence to their dance. Hence, the third consideration: (3) Innovation Studies, by now a widely respected academic field of interdisciplinary knowledge and research, may experience a tension between participating in the dance and academic discourse at arm's length to practice. Yet, there is a chance that Innovation Studies can cope with this tension and, in fact, make it a source of increased reflexivity. The fourth consideration will (4) exemplify some ways of deliberate interaction of Innovation Studies as theory in action, taking a closer look at "fora" for the debate of innovation issues and the role of research-based "strategic intelligence."

First Consideration: Why "Governance of Innovation"?

A better understanding of the governance of innovation both in terms of driving forces and with respect to the room for maneuver policymaking is a precondition of successful practical attempts at shaping the character and direction of innovation processes or even changing them.

Innovation occurs within or vis-à-vis evolving "regimes." The term regime was first introduced by Nelson and Winter (1977) to characterize patterns in technical and economic change such as the frameworks of engineers in an industry constituting the basis for their search activities. Van Ende and Kemp (1999) define a technological regime "as the complex of scientific knowledge, engineering practices, producprocess technologies, product characteristics, user practices, skills and procedures, and institutions and infrastructures that make up the totality of a technology" (835). Rip and Kemp (1998) add to the "grammar" of a regime explicitly the policies and actions of other innovation actors including public authorities.

Regimes differ in terms of the character and quality of their governance. The notion of governance is used here as a heuristic, borrowed from political science, denoting the dynamic interrelation of involved (mostly organized) actors, their resources, interests and power, fora for debate 110 and arenas for negotiation between actors, rules 111 of the game, and policy instruments applied (e.g., 112 Kuhlmann 2001; Benz 2006; Braun 2006). Inno- 113 vation governance profiles and their quality and 114 direction are reflected not at least in the character 115 public debates between stakeholders, 116 policymakers, and experts. Think of the debates 117 on genetically modified organism (GMO), or 118 debates on the governance of an emerging, 119 innovation field such cross-cutting "nanotechnology."

In a report of a European Expert Group on 122 "Science and Governance" (Felt et al. 2007), 123 two basic types of what the authors call 124 "regimes" of innovation were identified:

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The regime of "economics of technoscientific 126 promise": Promises to industry and society, 127 often far reaching, are a general feature of 128 technological change and innovation, particu- 129 larly visible in the mode of governance of 130 emerging technosciences: biotechnologies 131 and genomics, nanotechnologies, neurosci- 132 ences, or ambient intelligence, all with typical 133 characteristics: They require the creation of 134 a fictitious, uncertain future in order to attract 135 resources and political attention. They come 136 along with a diagnosis that "we" are in a world 137 competition and that "we" (Europe, the USA, 138 etc.) will not be able to afford "our" social 139 model if "we" don't participate in the race 140 and become leaders in understanding, fuel- 141 and exploiting the potential of 142 technosciences. The regime "works with 143 a specific governance assumption: a division 144 of labour between technology promoters and 145 enactors, and civil society. Let us (= pro- 146 moters) work on the promises without too 147 much interference from civil society, so that 148 you can be happy customers as well as citizens 149 profiting from the European social model" 150 (Felt et al. 2007, 25). Under this regime of 151 technoeconomic promises, politics, science, 152 and industry take the lead, while the innova- 153 tion needs and expectations represented in the 154 society appear to remain in a rather passive 155 consumer role.

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The second regime, "economics and sociopolitics of collective experimentation," is characterized by emerging or created situations which allow to try out things and to learn from them. The main difference with the other regime is that "experimentation does not derive from promoting a particular technological promise, but from goals constructed around matters of concerns and that may be achieved at the collective level. Such goals will often be further articulated in the course of the experimentation" (Felt et al. 2007, 26f). This regime requires a specific division of labor in terms of participation of a variety of actors, investing because they are concerned about a specific issue (see also Callon 2005). "Users matter" in innovation (e.g., Oudshoorn and Pinch 2003). Examples of such demand- and user-driven innovation regimes include the information and communication sector (where the distinction between developers and users is not sharp), or the involvement of patient associations in health research (e.g., Boon et al. 2008). The concept of "open innovation," debated around the user-driven development of non-patented Open Source software, and more generally in Chesbrough's influential book (2003), is largely overlapping with the collective experimentation concept. The governance of such regimes is precarious since they require longterm commitment of actors who are not always equipped with strong organizational and other relevant means, and there is always some room for opportunistic behavior. Nevertheless, the promise is innovation with sustainable effects.

In other words, the governance of innovation and related policies are neither neutral nor innocent. The precarious governance of the experimentation regime or the missing emphasis on stakeholder inclusion and demand-orientation indicate that strategists and policymakers may run the risk of missing valuable opportunities offered through variety and experimentation in the development of innovation processes. This leads to the second consideration.

Second Consideration: Three Interrelated Forces of Innovation Governance and Their Dance

An analysis of the governance of innovation has 207 to cope with at least *three major forces*: 208

First force: While since the 1950s in economics and sociology "science," "technology," and 210 "innovation" processes were plotted a sequence of activities of institutionally and 212 organizationally distinct units ("linear 213 approach"; Bush 1945), this has changed in the 214 course of the 1980s and 1990s. Today science, 215 technological development, and innovation are 216 conceived by most scholars as overlapping fields 217 of social practice, forming a shared "space" of 218 interactivity, driven by knowledge dynamics, 219 economic forces, and framed by inherited insti- 220 tutions. Most concepts emphasize the interactive 221 character of idea generation, scientific research, 222 development, and introduction of innovative 223 products and processes into markets or other 224 areas of use - take as a simplifying tag the per- 225 vasive concept of an alleged new "mode 2" of 226 knowledge production suggested by M. Gibbons 227 et al. (1994). Eventually, the mode 2 perspective 228 on knowledge production and innovation is 229 building on a long strand of studies into the rela- 230 tion of science and technology (e.g., Zilsel 2003; 231 Rip 1992) and, at least implicitly, alluding to 232 older, more systemic concepts (e.g., List 1856). 233 The evolutionary approach of Nelson and Winter 234 (1977), the innovation system tradition as 235 inspired by Freeman (1987) and developed fur- 236 ther by many others (e.g., Lundvall 1992; Edquist 237 1997; Hekkert et al. 2007), take on board an 238 interactive, holistic understanding. Also studies 239 into the social construction of technology (Bijker 240 et al. 1987), "system transitions" in socio- 241 technical landscapes, related regimes, "innova- 242 tion journeys" and niche management (see e.g., 243 Geels and Schot 2007; Van de Ven et al. 1999), 244 technology assessment and its "constructive" turn (Rip et al. 1995), understand science, tech- 246 nological development, and innovation as a an 247 interactive social continuum.

Second force: If the dynamics of science, tech- 249 nological development, and innovation are 250

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295 296 interwoven in practice, then "policy" and "governance" in a given innovation field will reflect this heterogeneity. Today, innovation policy is characterized by an "increasing 'sophistication' of policy instruments" (Boekholt 2010, 334). Concepts on innovation policy have evolved from a linear model to a more systemic and even "holistic" model of innovation policy (e.g., Smits and Kuhlmann 2004). Consequently, the scope and variety of involved organized actors (such as science organizations, industries, governmental agencies, parliaments, nongovernmental organizations) has become broad and heterogeneous. Actors have different interests, resources, and power, and they negotiate in various interlinked arenas on all kinds of rules and policy instruments. Political science studies have shown that the patterns of policy governance for science, technology, and innovation develop mostly in an incremental and only rarely radical way (Bozeman 2000; Larédo and Mustar 2001; Biegelbauer and Borrás 2003; Edler 2003). The organizations involved in policymaking and the arenas for the negotiation of options and decisions are mostly characterized by institutional inertia. They evolve to path dependence, interwoven with historical innovation regimes. One can analytically distinguish between two types of policy rationales in the context of science and innovation (EPOM 2007): "Knowledge production policy rationales," on the one hand, are built on causal beliefs, often derived from Innovation Studies' insights, about the production of knowledge, providing a theoretical framework for the type of policy proposed, especially with socioeconomic arguments. An advanced production rationale is characterized by the fact that knowledge is often tacit, partial, scattered and collectively distributed, and built through collective processes of creation, sharing, access, diffusion of knowledge, and more generally through learning processes. "Governance policy rationales," on the other hand, reflect general causal beliefs in the political system about how the state should govern (EPOM 2007). An advanced governance policy rationale is offered by a "decentralized multispace model, with a growing importance of

a large variety of public and scientific interest 299 groups (public opinion, consumers, patients, 300 NGO, etc.) willing to be associated into the pol- 301 icy design, with a high heterogeneity among them 302 (in terms of level of knowledge, means of expres- 303 sion, financial resources, representativity, etc.)" (EPOM 2007). Following this rationale, the 305 actual policy choice and mixes depend on nego- 306 tiation and learning processes in the development 307 of a given regime: Whether the future governance 308 of nanotechnologies, for example, will be driven 309 mainly by technoeconomic promises or by socio- 310 political collective experimentation hinges not at 311 least on the way how the involved heterogeneous 312 actors in multi-space articulation processes will 313 interpret the production rationales associated to 314 nanotech.

Third aspect: Social science research, in par- 316 ticular Innovation Studies, can turn into "theory 317 in action." Given the variety and potential com- 318 plexity of governance in the practice of innova- 319 tion as well as in related policymaking, actors tend to develop assumptions or "folk theories" on governance, simplifying, guiding, and stabi- 322 lizing their action: Innovators and policymakers 323 develop rules of thumb based on experience, own 324 analysis, or prejudice – or they refer to and utilize 325 expertise based on Innovation Studies. Take, for 326 example, the utilization of the "System of Inno- 327 approach: This analytical concept, 328 a heuristic developed by economists and innovation researchers since the late 1980s, has been 330 increasingly utilized by policymakers around 331 the world. Innovation systems have been concep- 332 tualized as the "biotopes" of all those institutions 333 which are engaged in scientific research and the 334 accumulation and diffusion of knowledge, which 335 educate and train the working population, 336 develop technology, produce innovative products 337 and processes, and distribute them; to this belong 338 the relevant regulative bodies (standards, norms, 339 laws), as well as the state investments in appro- 340 priate infrastructures. Innovation systems would 341 extend over schools, universities, research insti- 342 tutions, industrial enterprises, the politico- 343 administrative and intermediary authorities, as 344 well as the formal and informal networks of the 345 actors of these institutions (Kuhlmann 2001). 346

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The innovation system concept turned out to appeal to policymakers a lot, not at least because the systemic perspective provided an argument for a broadened scope and reach of public innovation policy (Smits and Kuhlmann 2004). Many used it as a sort of programmatic device: Since a number of years, for example, the Swedish state office for innovation policy calls itself "Governmental Agency for Innovation Systems." Actually, when taking a closer look, it turns out that the very concept of innovation systems while being designed by innovation researchers had at the same time been inspired and strongly supported by Scandinavian policymakers (see Carlsson et al. 2010) and by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Lundvall 2007) - the concept became "theory in action." Scholars could have tried to maintain academic distance to the lifting of their concepts and findings by policymakers or practitioners in innovation – but they chose to offer the policymakers information, heuristics, analysis, and theory, longing further than their "folk theories." In other words, they danced with innovation practice and policy and even jointly composed new melodies.

Considering innovation practice, policy, and theory as "partners on a dancing floor," moving to varying music and exposing different configurations, one can interpret the "regimes" of innovation and their evolution from the perspective of learning. The ideas, rationales, and instruments – finally the governance – of innovation and related policy emerge as a result of interactive learning between actors involved in innovation practice, intervention strategies and policies, and Innovation Studies and theory. Figure 1 (above) represented an attempt to characterize the dance of the three groups. Practice, policy, and theory can be conceived as dancing partners in a performance setting. The dancers observe each other and react on the partners' movements: They comment, complement, counteract, neglect, learn, and thereby create and change configurations. Sometimes innovation practice is the driving force in a configuration, sometimes theory, sometimes public, or private policy.

Learning on the innovation policy dance floor 394 may occur as first-order or as second-order 395 learning. According to Argyris and Schön 396 (1978), first-order learning links outcomes of 397 action to organizational strategies and assump- 398 tions which are modified so as to keep organiza- 399 tional performance within the range set by 400 accepted organizational norms. The norms them- 401 selves remain unchanged. Second-order learning 402 concerns inquiries which resolve incompatible 403 organizational norms by setting new priorities 404 and relevance of norms, or by restructuring the 405 norms themselves together with associated strat- 406 egies and assumptions, hence escaping tunnel 407 vision and crossing borders. In other words, 408 while first-order learning would help to improve 409 the expression, harmony or elegance of an other- 410 wise unchanged dance (or make an innovation 411 regime more effective), second-order learning 412 would help to change the melody and the dance 413 (or introduce new directions and modes of 414 governance).

Third Consideration: The Potential of 416 Innovation Studies as a Dancing Partner 417

Today, Innovation Studies are a respected aca- 418 demic field of interdisciplinary knowledge and 419 research, loosely interlinked with Science and 420 Technology Studies (STS; Hackett et al. 2007). 421 In short, most of the enormous scope of topics 422 covered by Innovation Studies and STS can be 423 subsumed within two very general rubrics (Silbey 424 2006, 538): First, the institutionalization, recep- 425 tion, and appropriation of science and innovation 426 and, second, the production of science and innovation as a social process. The first perspective is 428 interested in the working of institutions, organi- 429 zations, policies (expectations, rules, regulation, 430 funding), strategy-making and planning, the 431 assessment of potential developments and 432 impacts of science and innovation, and their 433 constructive shaping (Constructive Technology 434 Assessment, CTA). The other, second 435 perspective of studies adopts an anthropological 436 view on the working of scientists, engineers, or 437 users trying to reveal the intrinsic organization, 438

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culture, and epistemology of social groups. The ambition is to understand innovation not as a completely distinct realm of social action but like other social settings ruled by habits, rules, conflict, compromise, constructions, and narratives (Silbey 2006, 539). Consequently, this perspective concentrated rather on innovation as social practice than on policy. This approach, nevertheless, has an important impact on policy concepts: It helps to understand that modeling the governance of "innovation in the making" would fall too short if practice were conceptualized mainly in terms of functional and normative requisites, suggesting rather mechanistic designs of public policy ("mode 1"). Applying the constructivist approach to technological development and innovation as fields of social practice, strategists and policymakers developed more and more sophisticated policy designs ("mode 2"). The above-sketched "production governance rationale" can be understood as a result of this new perspective.

In short, one can state that Innovation Studies contributed a lot to a better understanding of the driving forces of each of the two other dancers, innovation in practice and policy, and became to some extent interwoven with them - sometimes very tightly, sometimes at some academic distance. Innovation Studies cope with this tension and even make it a source of increased reflexivity and enlightenment for their own purposes. The reflexive potential of Innovation Studies arises from the combined perspective of the interaction of practice, policy, and theory: Observing the dance and getting involved into it, Innovation Studies hardly can avoid adopting a constructivist position and reflecting upon their own impact on the dance and the evolution of images and beliefs of the other partners. And one step further - Innovation Studies cannot escape questioning the origins and dynamics of their own beliefs. To which extend are they driven by concerns of practice and policy? Could such a drift be pictured as second-order learning, or are Innovation Studies scholars' beliefs sometimes also echoing the trends or fashions of their dancing partners or of the surrounding societal and cultural movement?

Obviously, Innovation Studies are not made 487 up of one dominant theory; rather they appear as 488 an assemblage of quite diverse intellectual 489 strands, sometimes converging, sometimes 490 Accordingly, innovation practice 491 diverting. might prefer dances with other theory than public 492 policy would like. In sum, there is no single 493 recipe for coping with the ambiguity of being 494 involved in the dance with practice and policy. 495 Innovation Studies scholars moving with some 496 passion on the dancing floor can only try to 497 keep a precarious balance, based on some dis- 498 tance through reflection.

Fourth Consideration: Dance in Practice 500 (Fora and Strategic Intelligence)

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For a number of reasons, the governance of inno- 502 vation and related policy has become ever more 503 complex: Innovation processes themselves are 504 subject of multiple forces and have become 505 more uncertain; the number and heterogeneity 506 of actors involved has grown, hence also the 507 plurality of interests and values; and the borders between public and private spheres have become 509 blurred. In order to cope with these challenges, 510 actors seek to base their policy initiatives on 511 increased interactivity, and often also on more 512 evidence of actual or potential conditions, cost, 513 impacts, etc. Interaction may be formally institu- 514 tionalized and regulated, while in early phases, 515 interactivity may occur in emerging spaces and 516 semi-institutionalized platforms, where 517 policymakers, public researchers, and industry 518 as well as experts meet, articulate their views, 519 provide intelligence in order to inform the pro- 520 cess, and make attempts to set the scene. One 521 means of organizing a policy-oriented discourse 522 in semi-institutional environments are "fora," defined as institutionalised spaces specifically 524 designed for deliberation or other interaction 525 between heterogeneous actors with the purpose 526 of informing and conditioning the form and direc- 527 tion of strategic social choices in the governance 528 of science and technology (see Figure 2, and 529 Edler et al. 2006).

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For a can be seen as a dancing floor, a meeting place for innovation practice, theory, and policy with two related effects: (1) Interactive learning of policy analysts, policymakers, and relevant stakeholders and (2) improving the functioning of science and innovation policy and strategy. For acan adopt several governance functions on the dance floor: They can offer a general, nondirected policy discourse, or offer policy information on specific issues, or prepare policy planning and development (visions, agenda, implementation), or facilitate the resolution of conflict and the building of consensus, or they can improve the provision and application of policy intelligence (e.g., see Edler et al. 2006).

In practice, there are manifold variations of fora. A specific characteristic of the sort of forum I am alluding to is the prominent role played by "strategic intelligence" (SI). SI has been defined as a set of sources of information and explorative as well as analytical (theoretical, heuristic, methodological) tools - often distributed across organizations and countries employed to produce useful insight in the actual or potential costs and effects of public or private policy and management. Strategic intelligence is "injected" and "digested" in fora, with the potential of enlightening the debate (Kuhlmann et al. 1999).

SI can draw on semipublic intelligence services (such as statistical agencies), on "folk" intelligence provided by practitioners, and in particular on Innovation Studies. Meanwhile, a number of formalized methodologies, based on the arsenal of social and economic sciences, have been introduced and developed which attempt to analyze past behavior ("Evaluation"; e.g., Shapira and Kuhlmann 2003), review technological options for the future ("Foresight"; e.g., Martin 1995), and assess the implications of adopting particular options ("Technology Assessment"; e.g., Rip et al. 1995). Also, other intelligence tools such as comparative studies of the national, regional, or sectoral "innovation performance" were developed and used (e.g., the European "Community Innovation Surveys (CIS))".

Providers of SI play a number of roles in fora, 578 often in combination: as a facilitator or moderator 579 taking advantage of methodological capabilities, 580 as an enabler or teacher supporting critical anal- 581 ysis and self-reflection (bird's eye view), as pro- 582 vider of issue expertise, or as entrepreneur using 583 application advancing for SI policymaking and for disseminating results 585 (Edler et al. 2006).

Conclusion and Future Directions: "Strategic Intelligence" and New "Spaces" and New Models for **Innovation Initiatives**

Arenas of innovation policy have become more 591 complex and sometimes unclear during the last 592 two decades. Next to national governments, 593 semi-independent regional and transnational 594 institutions and agencies entered the arenas, 595 partly as cooperation partners and partly as competitors. At the same time, public policymakers 597 are confronted with multinational companies 598 developing their innovation projects across the 599 globe, drawing on public policy support wherever 600 easily available, irrespective of the location of 601 exploitation of innovation returns. National inno- 602 vation policy will remain relevant, but actors will 603 be urged to change their perspectives and policy 604 designs: Hierarchical, fragmented, or stubborn 605 strategies will fail in this complex environment.

Furthermore, many late industrializing coun- 607 tries have started to develop own innovation policy approaches, many of them drawing on the 609 model of western industrialized countries. Yet, 610 there are also more radical views, arguing that 611 innovation policies are inspired on the wrong 612 models, aiming at solving the wrong policy prob- 613 lems, too narrowly defined, too poorly managed 614 and implemented, and/or lack the necessary sup- 615 portive conditions from society due to historical, 616 cultural, and political reasons (e.g., Rennkamp 617 2011). In particular, another concept of "innova- 618 tion" will be required, beyond the presently 619 prevailing business orientation, including aspects 620 of social novelty and development, new ideas 621 improving quality or quantity of life, not 622

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necessarily linked with economic profits. "The ultimate end of social innovation is to help create better futures" (Pol and Ville 2009, 884).

Hence, it will be crucial to systematically understand the diverging perspectives and interests of competing actors, to make them transparent and debatable - not aiming at weak compromises but stimulating learning capacity. This will require new interinstitutional and also international "spaces," for a where heterogeneous actors from different arenas meet and interact. "Strategic intelligence" can provide background information and alternative scenarios of potential future challenges for reflection. Otherwise, innovation policymakers will be reminded of the limits of an instrumentalist understanding and see "how great expectations in Washington are dashed in Oakland" (Pressman and Wildavsky

Cross-References

- ► Innovation Policy Learning 643
 - ► Multilevel Systems of Innovation
- ▶ Political Leadership and Innovation
- ► Social Innovation

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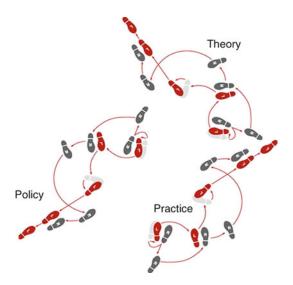
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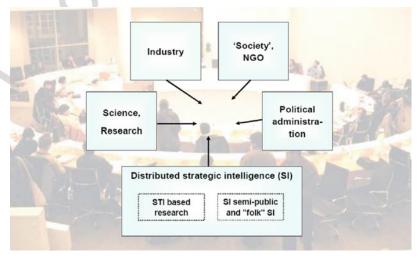
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Innovation Policies (vis-à-vis Practice and Theory), Figure 1 Innovation practice, theory, and policy as dancing partners (Source: Kuhlmann 2007, 5)



Innovation Policies (vis-à-vis Practice and Theory), Figure 2 Forum for debates of science, technology, and innovation issues (Source: Kuhlmann 2007, 17)