Global Innovation Systems – A conceptual framework and typology from various cleantech industries

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Abstract

This paper proposes a framework for the analysis of technological innovation processes in transnational contexts. By drawing on existing innovation system concepts and recent elaborations on the globalization of innovation, we develop a multi-scalar conceptualization of innovation systems. Two key mechanisms are introduced and elaborated: the generation of resources in multi-locational subsystems and the establishment of structural couplings among them in a global innovation system (GIS). Based on this conceptualization, we introduce a typology of innovation modes in four GIS configurations, building on the knowledge base and valuation system in different industries. The analytical framework is illustrated with insights from four emerging clean-tech industries. We state that a comprehensive perspective is instrumental for developing a more explanatory stance in the innovation system literature and developing policy interventions that reflect the increasing spatial complexity in the innovation process.

Keywords: innovation system; globalization; clean-tech industry; industry typology; innovation policy

1. Introduction

In a globalizing knowledge economy, the mobility and circulation of people, knowledge, and capital increasingly interrelates innovation processes in distant places (Corpataux et al., 2009). The increased spatial complexity of innovation processes raises the question whether a territorial (local, regional, national) *system* perspective is still a valid one as system boundaries get increasingly blurry and porous. More fundamentally, some argue that the innovation system (IS) perspective, on a more general level, is no longer a promising line of research and should be left on the shelves of the history of innovation studies, as concluded in a plenary debate at the 2013 DRUID conference.[1]

In the present paper, we argue against this view and maintain that a systemic perspective still holds considerable explanatory potential, not the least when adapted to increasingly internationalized innovation processes. However, to realize this potential, a number of conceptual improvements are required. The strong focus on actor networks and institutions that condition innovation in regional and national systems needs to be combined with greater emphasis on the role of multi-scalar networks and systematic differences between the innovation processes in various industries. This calls for a more integrative view in which various innovation system perspectives and related literatures on the globalization of innovation stop living parallel lives and start talking to each other in more engaged and reciprocal ways (Martin, 2016; Weber and Truffer, 2017).

To elaborate on this proposition, we take a closer look at the challenge of international interdependencies in the innovation process. Over the last decade, authors have argued the spatial configuration of innovation systems is getting more complex, spanning actor networks and institutional contexts from various places and across spatial scales (Bunnell and Coe, 2001; Carlsson and Stankiewicz, 1991; Coe and Bunnell, 2003). While various analytical approaches have started to

[1] Available at https://vimeo.com/155650827

conceptualize the increasing importance of international linkages between regional and national innovation systems (for an overview see e.g. Carlsson, 2006; Grillitsch and Trippl, 2013), a comprehensive and operable analytical framework for global innovation systems is still missing. In particular, existing concepts were criticized for remaining rather vague in their conceptualization of interdependencies between various territorial subsystems at an international level (Binz et al., 2014; Coenen et al., 2012; Grillitsch and Trippl, 2013; Wieczorek et al., 2015a).

The present paper aims to address this challenge by reinterpreting the overlaps between various innovation system approaches. In particular, we aim at specifying how key system resources for innovation get created and integrated at a global level. In this venture we build on existing multi-scalar perspectives on innovation from various IS traditions, but elaborate two new conceptual dimensions. First, we define subsystems of a GIS not based on pre-defined territorial boundaries, but based on the actor networks and institutions that are involved in creating specific system resources (knowledge, market access, financial investment and technology legitimacy (see Binz et al., 2016b)). Whether or not the actor networks and institutions in each of these dimensions fall within territorial boundaries, is treated as an empirical question. Second, we argue that the performance of a system in developing and diffusing innovation depends not only on the existence of coherent subsystems, but also on the availability of structural couplings between them. Structural coupling is attained if specific actors, actor networks or institutions span across or overlap between various subsystems, be this in a specific region or country, in a global non-governmental organization or a transnational corporation.

Second, we draw on recent insights from the sectorial systems literature to explain differences in the spatial configuration of GIS in various industry types. Our framework differentiates between an industry's dominant innovation mode - STI (science-technology and innovation) vs. DUI (doing, using and interacting) driven (Jensen et al., 2007) - and the economic system of valuation in which markets for the innovation are constructed - standardized products for global mass markets vs. customized products depending on symbolic valuation in local contexts (Huenteler et al., 2016a; Jeannerat and Kebir, 2016). Based on empirical illustrations from recently emerging clean-tech sectors, we illustrate how the spatial configuration of GIS differ between industries that produce standardized commodities with an STI innovation mode (i.e. solar photovoltaic modules) and industries with a DUI innovation mode that depend on a valuation process that is customized to specific territorial contexts (i.e. wind power). This heuristic creates new hypotheses on why in some industries national and regional innovation system boundaries remain relevant, while in others territorial boundaries are increasingly transcended by international interdependencies. Policy interventions that target specific national or regional subsystem will accordingly lead to different spatial spillovers depending on the overall GIS configuration.

These arguments will be elaborated as follows. We first review existing IS literature relative to the role of international linkages. Section 3 integrates these insights to a multi-scalar concept of global innovation systems, focusing on subsystems and their structural couplings. Section 4 develops a taxonomy of GIS configurations in different industry types and illustrates them based on recent case studies from the wind power, solar power, carbon capture and storage, and electric car industries. Section 5 discusses methodological challenges and outlines a broader research agenda in the field of global innovation systems. We conclude with policy implications and the framework's contributions to research at the interface of economic geography and innovation studies.

2. Existing perspectives on innovation systems in transnational contexts

2.1 Earlier attempts to conceptualize global innovation systems

Innovation system studies emphasize that innovation emerges from complex interactions between actors with complementary (technological, managerial, investment or regulatory) competencies, which operate under specific institutional settings (Lundvall, 1992). The use of a system metaphor emphasizes the distributed, yet more or less coordinated agency that underpins the innovation process; interaction between firms, universities, policy makers and various intermediaries creates positive externalities that are of key importance in the innovation process, but very difficult to be produced or controlled by any actor on its own (Nelson, 1993).

Over the years, different variants of IS have been formulated and applied empirically, including a national (Lundvall, 1988), regional (Cooke et al., 1997), sectoral (Malerba, 2002) and technological (Carlsson and Stankiewicz, 1991) approach. Superficially, the distinguishing feature of each framework lies in the way system boundaries are set, i.e. in determining which elements contribute to the generation of innovation-related positive externalities and which ones do not (Bergek et al., 2015). Yet, when comparing the approaches more deeply, one finds significant differences in each tradition's epistemology, research objectives, and methodological approach (Coenen and Díaz López, 2010). Given these differences, various streams of IS research lived largely parallel lives, without much cross-fertilization between their research networks (Coenen and Díaz López, 2010). The existing literature on 'global', 'international' or 'multi-scalar' IS (Archibugi and Michie, 1997; Binz et al., 2014; Bunnell and Coe, 2001; Carlsson, 2006; Dewald and Fromhold-Eisebith, 2015; Niosi and Bellon, 1994; Oinas and Malecki, 2002; Pietrobelli and Rabellotti, 2009; Sagar and Holdren, 2002; Spencer, 2003) generally reflects this lack of interaction between varying research traditions.

First and foremost, NIS and RIS scholars departed from a territorial perspective in emphasizing the importance of institutionally embedded face-to-face interaction in the innovation process (Lundvall, 1992). Capability accumulation, interactive learning and capacity building in national and regional contexts became the key focus of research. When conceptualizing the globalization of innovation, NIS and RIS scholars started from the customary assumption that regional/national contexts matter most for innovation and then moved to explain the links between territorially embedded innovation processes (for a comprehensive overview see Carlsson, 2006). Another illustrative example is the work by Oinas and Malecki (2002), who provide a comprehensive conceptual approach on how innovation processes in various RIS complement each other in a global division of labor.

This approach later got criticized for providing a rather static concept of innovation and employing 'spatial fetishism' (Moulaert and Sekia, 2003). By a priori setting national or regional borders as scalar envelopes, NIS and RIS concepts could not fully capture the activities of organizations, networks and institutions evolving at a supranational level and understanding how they influence territorially embedded innovation dynamics (Coenen et al., 2012). GIS concepts in the NIS and RIS tradition thus mostly showed that territorial subsystems still matter, even though they get increasingly interconnected at supranational levels. Yet, there is no shared understanding on how these interconnections emerge, how they matter, let alone whether they matter for all sectors and markets in the same way (Binz et al., 2014; Coenen et al., 2012).

Scholars in the SIS tradition complemented the spatial fetishism in the NIS and RIS concepts by arguing that industry- and technology-related rather than country-related or regional factors mostly affect the (spatial) organization of innovation (Breschi et al., 2000; Malerba, 2005; Spencer, 2003). Comparative empirical work in a broad range of sectors (such as semi-conductors, cars, pharmaceuticals, telecommunications, machine tools, etc.) consistently showed similarities between innovation processes of the same sector in different regions (Jung and Lee, 2010; Malerba, 2005; Malerba and Nelson, 2011; Yu et al., 2016). The SIS literature developed elaborate sector taxonomies, which were grounded in the technological regimes and trajectories that structure the innovation process (Castellacci, 2008). Yet, while this approach developed rigorous and operable analytical frameworks, it was also increasingly criticized for its technology bias which downplays the importance of more distributed forms of agency, non-firm actors and the influence of informal institutions on the innovation processes (Coenen and Díaz López, 2010). Also, given the concept's roots in evolutionary economics and its reliance on standardized quantitative databases (e.g. NACE codes), it tended to focus on long-term industrial dynamics in existing manufacturing sectors (Castellacci, 2008), while lacking explanations for the emergence of new sectors and technologies (Coenen and Díaz López, 2010).

This latter critique was taken up by TIS scholars who focused their empirical work almost exclusively on the dynamics of system building and industry formation in emergent (clean-tech) sectors. To cover these dynamics, the analytical focus was extended beyond system elements and structure to core processes (or activities) as a means to assess system performance (Bergek et al., 2008; Hekkert et al., 2007). Seven key system processes were identified from an extensive literature review and an inductive aggregation of empirical studies, including knowledge production and diffusion, entrepreneurial experimentation, resource mobilization, guidance of the search, market formation, creation of legitimacy, and creation of positive externalities (Bergek et al., 2008; Hekkert et al., 2007). Since, various empirical applications have validated and refined the use of this analytical framework (Markard et al., 2015). Yet, most empirical work in the TIS tradition also set a priori system boundaries at a national level and restricted the analysis to cleantech industries, arguing that this was a coherent set of industries with similar technological trajectories. So, even though the TIS framework offers explicit concept of system dynamics and in principle embraces an international perspective, it recently also attracted criticism for spatial fetishism in its empirical application and a neglect of differences in the innovation process between sectorial contexts (Bergek et al., 2015; Binz et al., 2014; Coenen et al., 2012).

Summarizing this short discussion, existing attempts to internationalize the innovation system concept did not take advantage of the ample complementarities that exist between different IS perspectives. In our view, three key improvements are needed in a more integrative GIS perspective. First, it should conceptualize the key system elements and the contexts in which positive externalities (or system functions) emerge from a spatially open, multi-scalar perspective. The key question for IS research is not whether the embedding of innovation processes in national or regional territorial contexts still matter, but how it matters and whether it matters differently for different types of technologies and industries. Secondly, the perspective should be dynamic and able to explain the processes that lead to the creation (and decline) of new technologies and industries. Third and finally, it should be able to account for systematic differences between various industries. In the remainder we will address these issues by first reassessing the basic conceptual notions of the IS literature (actors, networks and institutions) and introducing a process-based evaluation of resource formation at a (global) system level. Second, inspiration is drawn from the work on the internationalization of NIS and RIS to conceptualize the complex spatial interplay of circulation and anchoring of innovation-related system resources in territorial and non-territorial contexts. Finally, we rely on recent advances in the SIS literature to define a typology that distinguishes the GIS configuration of four generic industry types.

2.2 Re-thinking the structure and key processes of multi-scalar innovation systems

The core structural element of innovation systems are the actors engaged in the development and diffusion of new technologies, the formal and informal networks they form as well as the institutional contexts that regulate these interactions (Bergek et al., 2008; Lundvall, 1992; Malerba, 2002). Actors include firms, research organizations, government departments, NGOs and other intermediary organizations that contribute to the development and diffusion of innovation. In IS approaches, actors have been conceptualized as internally homogenous entities with clearly defined interests and pursuing coherent strategies with respect to the innovation-related objectives (Morrison et al., 2008). When extending the analysis to international contexts, actors have to be conceptualized not as atomistic agents per se, but as a "constitutive part of the wider network through which emergent power and effects are realized over space" (Hess and Yeung, 2006: 1196). This point applies most directly to multinational companies, but is equally relevant for other actor groups such as research and education organizations, professional and industrial associations, (international) non-governmental organizations, citizens' movements or even regulatory bodies with global reach (Boli and Thomas, 1997; Gosens et al., 2015; Meyer et al., 1997).

The conceptualization of actor networks has to be reconsidered accordingly. The seemingly obvious distinction between networks at the regional, national and international scale becomes increasingly blurred (Coe and Bunnell, 2003; Crevoisier and Jeannerat, 2009). Firms may coordinate activities in various intra-organizational or extra-organizational networks and along a continuum of governance forms ranging from market exchange, to network forms of inter-firm governance, to full integration and direct ownership (Gereffi et al., 2005). International networks are a materialization of different geographic and non-geographic proximities that can be institutionalized to different degrees ranging from the full integration in a formal organizational context (hierarchy) to loosely coupled virtual and epistemic communities as in the field of software development (computer games, Wikipedia). They can be long-living and continuous such as international professional associations or topical and ephemeral such as conferences of epistemic of practice-based communities (Maskell et al., 2006).

Also formal and informal institutions may have varying spatial reach (Drori et al., 2003; Fuenfschilling and Binz, under review; Meyer et al., 1997). Among the often-cited regulatory institutions in IS research are international policy regimes and treaties (Conca K. et al., 2006), as well as technology transfer mechanisms (for instance the clean development mechanism of the Kyoto protocol), that set boundary conditions for innovation processes (Gosens et al., 2015; Lema and Lema, 2016). Intellectual property rights (IPRs) are a specific form of an internationally valid institution that is crucial to the functioning of many innovation activities (Auerswald and Stefanotti, 2012). But also cognitive and normative institutions can develop validity beyond specific territorial contexts in the form of technological paradigms, professional cultures, or dominant rationalities of world culture (Boli and Thomas, 1997; Drori et al., 2014; Strang and Meyer, 1993).

Overall, in an internationalized perspective, innovation systems are constituted by multi-scalar actor networks and institutional contexts that jointly support (or hinder) the formation and diffusion of novelty. In some cases they may be reducible to specific territorial contexts, yet in others, they may depend on actor strategies, networks and institutional dynamics that co-evolve between different parts of the world. The combination of actors, networks and institutions that support or hinder innovation in GIS are thus almost countless and alternative configurations of the system structure can lead to similar performance characteristics (Bergek et al., 2008; Edquist, 1997). As the different system elements become more complexly structured in an international context, relating back to the key system functions from TIS literature seems promising. It allows structuring the externalities that support industry formation and innovation into four generic types of system resources – knowledge, market access, financial investment and technology legitimacy - which may evolve in their own spatial configuration (Binz et al., 2016b). In this perspective, global innovation systems consist of sub-systems which create these four system resources and which are linked by multi-scalar actor networks and institutional contexts. This spatially open understanding of IS comes near to the core ambition of global innovation networks formulated by Ernst (2002), namely to assess "how the combinations of concentrated dispersion with systemic integration determines the emergence of new opportunities for transnational knowledge diffusion and adoption". Yet, the GIS approach goes beyond this view by encompassing non-knowledge based activities like market formation, investment mobilization or the creation of technology legitimacy.

3. Layered structures and processes in Global Innovation Systems

Two new conceptual elements thus have to be elaborated in more detail: 1) subsystems[2] of a GIS in which system resources form and 2) structural couplings between subsystems. In the following, we will elaborate these elements and then propose a heuristic for assessing their spatial configuration.

3.1 Subsystems and structural couplings

In NIS and RIS studies, positive externalities were assumed to emerge more or less uniformly within a national or regional territory. Also work on international or global innovation systems argued that regional or national levels remain the key scales for externality formation, but added an international interaction layer. In a GIS perspective, this seems too simplified. Giuliani and Bell (2005) and Giuliani (2007) used the global wine industry as a case to show that knowledge resources in RIS are available in highly selective and uneven ways, also at the regional level. When adopting an internationalized view and considering not only knowledge-based resources, this asymmetry gets further intensified.

The question of "where" system resources form and which actors can access them therefore moves center stage. For this purpose, we propose introducing the concept of subsystems not in a spatially pre-defined way, but as the actor networks and institutional contexts involved in the formation of system resources (Binz et al., 2014; Coenen et al., 2012). Subsystem boundaries can correspond to national or regional borders, but they may as well develop in networks that transcend national and regional borders. An example of a subsystem developing in a multi-scalar network would be legitimacy for an agricultural produce that stems from a fair trade label which is constructed between globally active NGOs, a transnational company, and farmer's collectives in developing countries. Other examples of relational externality formation processes are those created by dispersed communities of practice like in the open source software field. Here, actors are often not spatially collocated, but still develop shared cultures, knowledge stocks and investment models that are hard to copy and access for outsiders (Lakhani and Von Hippel, 2003). A similar example is knowledge on membrane bioreactor technology, which initially emerged from a global innovation network spanning engineers in French transnational water companies and research institutes in various places around the world (Binz et al., 2014).

As innovation ultimately depends on how actors combine knowledge, investment, markets and legitimacy to new configurations, the overall development of a GIS will depend on whether and how

[2] The RIS approach also draws on the notion of sub-systems (Asheim and Gertler, 2005) through a distinction between knowledge exploration and knowledge-exploitation. In our paper we extend this basic idea by incorporating additional dimensions like investment mobilization, market formation and technology legitimation.

the resource formation processes in various subsystems are coupled to each other. Such ‘structural coupling’ relates to the foundational elements of an IS - actors, networks or institutions (see Bergek et al., 2015). Examples of coupling domains could be an internationally active firm that is able to connect knowledge resources from a regional innovation system to market segments in distant places. An example of institutional couplings is given by professional cultures (e.g. of engineers or technology consultants), which enable the formulation of globally shared technology standards and by this enable economies of scale to be reaped in different markets. Network coupling might happen at international conferences and trade fairs, where information from different subsystems of the GIS get exchanged and recombined (Maskell et al., 2006).

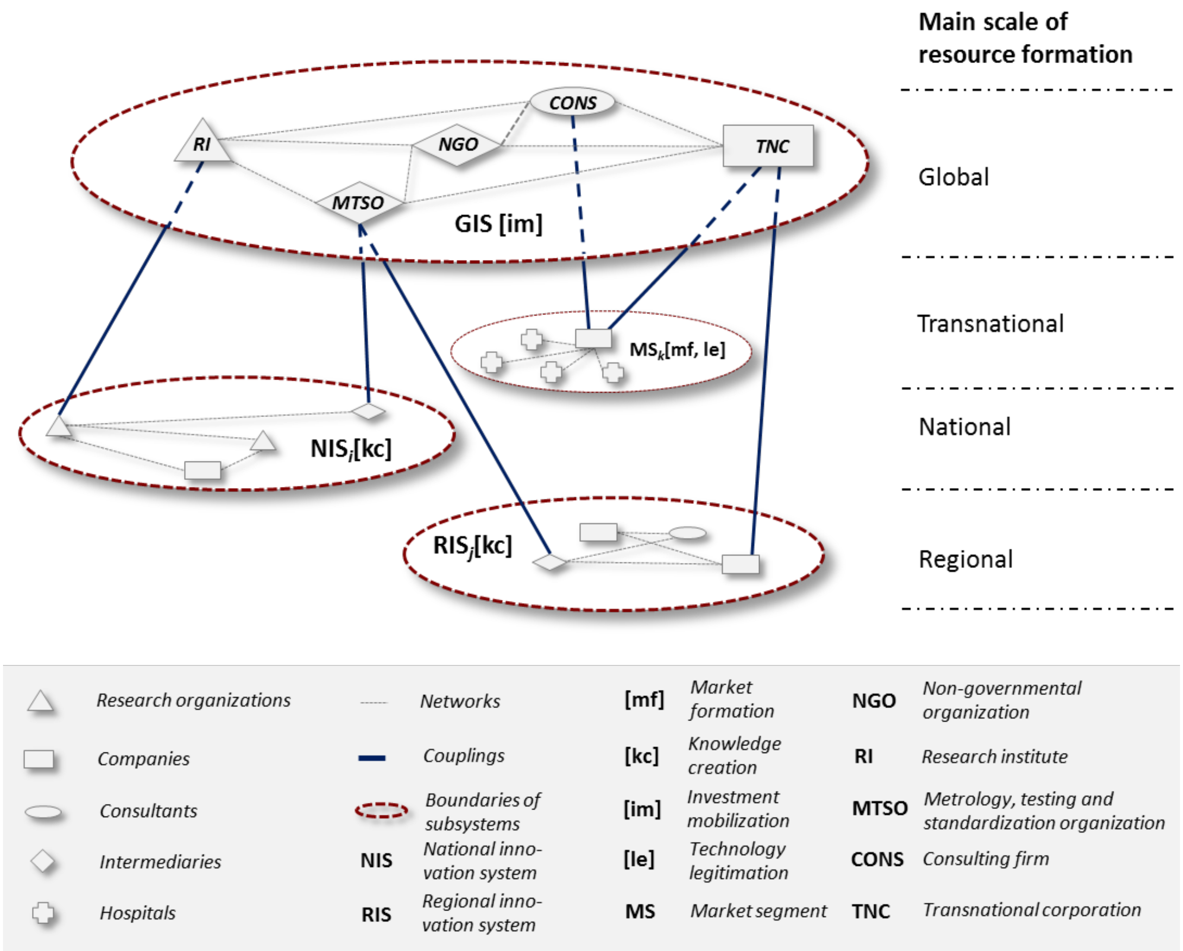
In GIS, resource formation and structural coupling are accordingly multi-polar, fluid and subject to intensive contestation. As key system resources are emerging in subsystems with varying geographies, actors in the GIS will in many cases not be able to directly appropriate a dominant share of them in-house or inside a given region or country, but will have to create strategic alliances and rely on non-geographic types of proximities to access and anchor a full resource portfolio in a given place (Binz et al., 2016b; Boschma, 2005). Concentrations of innovative activity develop in hubs where the actors involved in different subsystems meet and interact (Binz et al., 2014). In some cases, these hubs may be territorially confined, in other cases they may develop temporarily at international conferences and trade fairs (Bathelt et al., 2004), or emerge from the international networks of TNCs or global NGOs (Dicken, 2015). Resourceful actors with a global reach (such as TNCs, global donor organizations or professional and industry associations) are in a structurally superior position to facilitate effective hubs, but they might as well emerge in a specific region with very dense personal and inter-organizational networks, or even from a loosely coupled community of traveling technology experts (Larner and Laurie, 2010).

3.2 A multi-scalar representation of GIS

Resource formation in subsystems may accordingly give rise to a host of multi-scalar system topologies, especially compared to the geographically rather flat representation of system structure in the NIS and RIS tradition. Figure 1 provides an illustrative mapping of a hypothetical GIS structure in the public health domain. On a first layer, actors with global reach (a TNC, as well as a consortium of research institutes, standardization bodies, consultancies and international NGO’s) interact to ascertain the mobilization of financial investment (GIS [im]). An example could be an initiative by the Bill and Melinda Gates foundation, which provides funding for R&D on a cure for AIDS. A second layer is constituted around the process of knowledge creation, which is here happens in specialized (biotechnology) research institutes and start-ups in a specific NIS (NIS_i[kc]). Structural couplings are provided through international research programs and the integration of the national standard setting bodies into the technology standardization committees of the World Health Organization. A third layer is provided by a regional technology cluster which provides a supportive institutional environment for specialized technology development (e.g. for advanced vaccination technology, (RIS_j[kc])). Structural couplings are facilitated by a branch plant of a TNC located in the RIS that actively contributes financial investment and knowledge to the local innovative milieu. The fourth layer is provided in a new market segments (MS_k[mf]) which is established by a TNC and a consulting company in well-renowned university hospitals in selected cities around the world. In this subsystem, learning about market needs and user response take place and the initial legitimacy for the product is established (MS_k[le]).

Success of the GIS will now not only depend on the quality of the resource formation processes in each subsystem, but on the ability of key actors to couple these dispersed activities into a coherent innovation trajectory at a global level. The global innovation system will perform well (here: develop a cure for AIDS) if different subsystems are well established and interconnected and thus able to mobilize and re-combine system resources for the development and diffusion of the innovation.

Figure 1: Generic structure of a hypothetical global innovation system in healthcare



Source: Author's own elaborations

4. Towards an industry-sensitive perspective on GIS evolution

So far, our elaborations mostly focused on the interface of RIS/NIS and TIS studies, outlining how our framework captures the tension between territorial embedded and spatially dispersed externality formation. In the remainder we will connect these insights to research in the SIS tradition (Abernathy and Utterback, 1978; Dosi and Nelson, 2013; Malerba and Nelson, 2011; Schmidt and Huenteler, 2016) in order to explore how the spatial configuration of GIS differs between sectors/industries and how it evolves over time.

Our framework starts from the basic tenet from SIS literature that differences in the properties of the knowledge base, technological opportunities, cumulativeness and appropriability conditions influence the technological paradigms of an industry, which in turn influences the spatial contexts in which innovation takes place (Malerba, 2005). Yet, the perspective proposed here extends on the conventional model with a more structured view on the 'demand side' of innovation. We follow recent criticisms that SIS research is rather downplaying user-producer interaction as a constitutive element of the innovation process (Coenen and Díaz López, 2010; Geels, 2004; Lundvall, 1988). As Jeannerat and Kebir (2016: 277) put it, SIS scholars have "analyzed in ever more complex ways the endogenous knowledge processes driving economic change in production, but have usually left aside the question of how this change is endogenously valued in and related to market construction". The GIS framework addresses this criticism by emphasizing the co-evolution of a technology and its institutional embedding not only for knowledge-based technological innovation, but also for three complementary subsystem that spur market formation, resource mobilization and technology legitimation. This basic idea can be further condensed into two principal components that shape industry dynamics in an orthogonal way: (technological) innovation and (product) valuation.

4.1 The technological innovation dimension

In the technological innovation dimension, the RIS, NIS and SIS tradition provide well-established arguments on the spatial configuration of knowledge production. At a most aggregate level, one can distinguish industries dominated by a science and technology driven (STI) innovation mode from industries where innovation relies more strongly on learning by doing, using and interacting (DUI) (Jensen et al., 2007). The STI mode plays an important role in science-based industries with an analytical knowledge base (i.e. biotechnology, pharma, solar PV), while the DUI mode characterizes innovation in engineering-based industries with a synthetic knowledge base (car manufacturing, machine tools, wind power) (Asheim et al., 2007; Herstad et al., 2014; Martin and Moodysson, 2013). Innovation in STI-based industries depends on knowledge that develops from the application of scientific principles and which can get codified in models, patents and reports. Formalized R&D inside the company, tight industry-university linkages and repeated radical technology breakthroughs characterize these industries (Huenteler et al., 2016a). As knowledge is codifiable into patents, rules, blueprints etc., it can get disembodied to some degree - especially if compared to DUI-based knowledge (Jensen et al., 2007). Knowledge exchange in internationalized networks, e.g. in scientific communities or international professional networks, thus plays an important role in STI-based innovation processes (Asheim and Coenen, 2005; Martin and Moodysson, 2013). This industry type will accordingly depend on significant knowledge spillovers beyond regional and national borders (Moodysson and Jonsson, 2007; Schmidt and Huenteler, 2016), so the innovation-related subsystems of their GIS develop in complex, multi-scalar networks that transcend regions and countries.

In industries where the DUI-based innovation mode is more dominant (e.g. car manufacturing, machine tools, wind power), in contrast, learning depends more strongly on novel recombination of experience-based knowledge and competencies (Huenteler et al., 2016a; Jensen et al., 2007; Martin and Moodysson, 2013). New knowledge is not predominantly developed through scientific abstraction, but rather through on-the-job training, as well as by interaction between various firm departments and outside actors. New combinations emerge not predominantly from formal R&D, but from solution-oriented producer-user interaction (Huenteler et al., 2016a; Jensen et al., 2007). In this more incremental way of learning, tacit knowledge embedded in craft and practical skills is of high importance (Asheim and Coenen, 2005). Innovation processes in a DUI-based GIS accordingly generate spatially 'sticky' externalities because spatial co-location facilitates tacit knowledge circulation in continued face-to-face interaction (Martin and Moodysson, 2013; Schmidt and Huenteler, 2016). Innovation processes in GIS with a DUI-based learning mode will thus be characterized by subsystems which are more deeply rooted in specific region's historically grown institutional contexts.

This first distinction is well aligned with existing conceptualizations in various IS traditions. Yet, it is important to note that most industries will not be clearly attributable to either the DUI or STI-based innovation mode alone. Innovation in many cases depends on some combination of both elements. We thus posit that it is possible to roughly position industries on a continuum (the x-axis in Figure 2) between being dominated by STI-based knowledge (e.g. biotechnology, semiconductors) or alternatively a relatively strong reliance on DUI-based knowledge (e.g. machine tools, construction and trade) (Jensen et al., 2007). Some industries such as car manufacturing or business software programming may in turn depend on more equal mixes of both DUI and STI- based learning (ibid.). The specific mixture might also change over the course of industry maturation where less mature designs may need more synthetic knowledge, whereas more mature design will increasingly rely on highly codified knowledge (cf. section 4.4).

4.2 The product valuation dimension

The second dimension assembles industry characteristics that are related to our other three system resources, particularly to market access, financial investment and raising technology legitimacy. We conceptualize these characteristics as different aspects of valuation processes. By valuation we mean the processes by which a new technology becomes a valued product for a specific customer segment. This process is first of all dependent on mechanisms of 'market formation' in a narrow sense, i.e. the formation of preferences and use-patterns among users, the establishment of socially accepted price-performance relationships and the reputational capital accumulated by suppliers in the form of brands and labels (Dewald and Truffer, 2011; Fligstein, 2007). However, market formation is not enough. Broader processes of technology legitimation come into play before actors may derive value of existing technologies and products (Johnson et al., 2006; Suchman, 1995). Products have to be aligned with pre-existing institutional structures in order to be accepted as valuable ways of consumption (Bork et al., 2015; Markard et al., 2016). Well known examples are genetically modified organisms in the food sector, which have shaped food markets in fundamentally different ways in Europe compared to the US, for instance (Murphy et al., 2006). Finally also financial investment may be characterized as an important dimension of valuation which has undergone increasing pressures for globalization (Yeung and Coe, 2015). In general, investments can be raised for the promise of future turnover generated by new products (Karltorp, 2016). In that sense it can be understood as the anticipation of future market formation and legitimation processes.

The different valuation processes play out differently in specific sectors. In some industries, they lead to products that are very homogenous across different contexts. For instance, markets for commodity goods like detergent, shampoo or even cellphones look similar all over the world. Knowledge and financial channels to support valuation are rather standardized and markets and technology legitimacy are well-established. However, in industries with more complex or radically novel products, the valuation process requires a broad range of proactive social construction processes that deal with (niche) market formation, attracting investment and legitimacy conditions (Binz et al., 2016a; Jeannerat and Kebir, 2016). In these cases, technological knowledge may result to be of less decisive importance for overall innovation success. In the extreme, we may think of industries where the management of valuation processes is overwhelmingly important while technological advances may almost be neglected - as in the case of luxury watch making or micro beer brewing (Jeannerat and Crevoisier, 2013). The dichotomy of standardized and customized valuation can be translated into a gradient (the y axis in Figure 2) that runs from industries with predominantly standardized products and distribution channels (consumer goods, commodities, solar PV) towards industries where new products and markets are co-produced between suppliers and consumers in highly specific territorial contexts (construction, legal advice, biogas) (Abernathy and Utterback, 1988; Davies, 1997; Huenteler et al., 2016a; Jeannerat and Kebir, 2016). In between the two extremes are industries which depend on local value formation processes at the beginning of a new product cycle, like in the case of new music styles, fashion or luxury items. Once established, these valuation styles can be reproduced all over the world with little adaptation.

In the case of 'standardized valuation', consumption and legitimacy are stabilized around clearly identified goods, services and producers. End-users have relatively undifferentiated preferences that are uniform in various parts of the world and base their acquisition choices mainly on price signals (Jeannerat and Kebir, 2016). Demand articulation, marketing, and sales are relayed through specialized market research organizations, and user demand can be served by standardized distribution channels (ibid.). As a consequence, financial investment can operate on rather standardized assessment procedures that have been established by specialized investment banks or large companies. Once a mass market has formed, it constitutes a system resource to which actors from the whole GIS have access. They can supply it with standardized products without much need for adaptation to specific regional contexts. Valuation processes in this industry type are accordingly relatively footloose; globally valid dominant designs and quality standards will homogenize valuation dynamics in various parts of the world.

In contrast, in industries that depend on 'customized valuation', products need to be tailored to the needs of specialized user groups or depend on symbolic embedding in historically grown territorial contexts (Jeannerat and Kebir, 2016). New market segments are constructed in a complex negotiation process in which users and producers attach specific symbolic meaning to a new technology or product (Dewald and Truffer, 2012). Design and branding get incrementally adapted to shifting user needs, changes in the wider institutional context, or new technological opportunities. Innovation, marketing and sales strategies accordingly rely on various types of institutional entrepreneurship which aligns consumer's normative and cognitive associations with specific types of technology (Binz et al., 2016a; Jeannerat and Kebir, 2016; Wirth et al., 2013). Financial investment needs to build on this highly specific local knowledge in order to identify future winning products. We would therefore expect financial investment to be mobilized by local banks or firm-internal financial assets. Successful valuation in one specific region of the GIS does thus not automatically imply that a system resource is created that is easily accessible for actors in other places. To access such markets, outsiders would have to invest heavily in getting embedded into local networks and institutional contexts. The valuation-related subsystems in GIS with customized valuation can thus be expected to rely on actor networks that remain spatially sticky and concentrated in specific regional/national contexts.

We may now construct a stylized typology of four distinct GIS configurations based on the two dimensions of innovation and valuation (see Table 1 and Figure 2). The differences in the GIS configuration between each quadrant in table 1 has far reaching consequences for the spatial spillovers we expect in the innovation process and related policy implications (cf. section 5.3).

Table 1: Expected spatial configuration of various industries' global innovation system

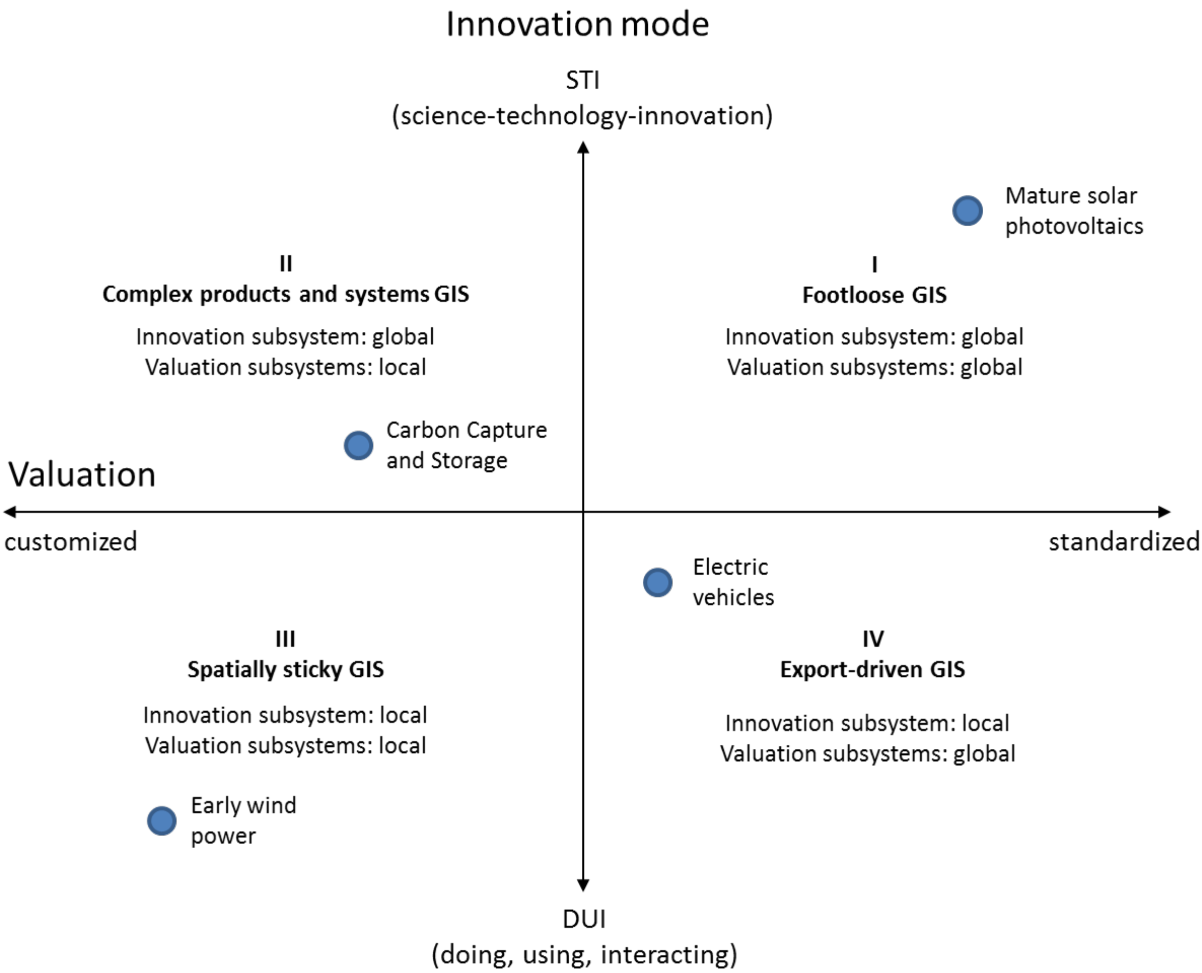
		Valuation: Customized	Valuation: Standardized
Innovation	STI mode	**Complex products and systems GIS** *Knowledge*: Footloose. Strong role of international university-industry networks - *Financial Resources*: Rather footloose. Channeled through TNCs and large institutional investors - *Market formation*: Sticky. Adaptation of products to local contexts, subsidies for local niche markets - *Legitimation*: Sticky. Strong local embedding, but scope for global technology standards and codes *Structural couplings:* TNCs, academic networks, transnational demonstration projects, internat. NGOs *Typical examples:* Carbon capture and storage, biomass power plants, utility services	**Footloose GIS** *Knowledge*: Footloose. Strong role of international university-industry networks - *Financial Resources*: Footloose. Venture capital, investor-driven. Company listings at international stock exchanges - *Market formation*: Footloose. Mass markets to reap economies of scale, market-based price competition - *Legitimation*: Footloose. International standards and technology codes. New products conforming to established institutions *Structural couplings:* Equipment sales, patens/publications, international trade fairs, academic networks *Typical examples:* Solar photovoltaics, semiconductors, biotechnology, telecommunications
	DUI mode	**Spatially sticky GIS** *Knowledge*: Sticky. Regional milieus, local user-producer-intermediary interactions - *Financial Resources*: Sticky. Focus on local funding sources, patient capital, seed funding from technology pioneers - *Market formation*: Sticky. One-of-a-type niche markets. 'Project' business models, customization to local conditions - *Legitimation*: Sticky. Embedding in (and adaptation of) local institutional contexts. *Structural couplings:* Long-established knowledge pipelines, mergers and acquisitions, mobility of technology experts *Typical examples:* Wind power, biogas, aerospace technology	**Export-oriented GIS** *Knowledge*: Sticky. Regional manufacturing clusters, specialized knowledge providers - *Financial Resources*: Rather sticky. Local institutional investors, family ties, focus on brand value and reputation - *Market formation*: Footloose. Relying on regional cultural milieus from which symbolic meaning is up-scaled to global markets - *Legitimation*: Footloose. Local to global legitimacy transfer through standard marketing *Structural couplings:* TNCs, Joint ventures, global marketing & sales organizations, industry associations, international professional communities *Typical examples:* Cars, apparel, furniture, financial services

Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3 Illustration: GIS configuration in four emerging cleantech industries

To further substantiate this point, we will illustrate the heuristic with examples from the burgeoning literature on innovation systems in clean-tech sectors. Figure 2 synthesizes the above discussion by positioning four industries from the 'clean-tech' space in our four field table. As many industries are characterized by complex combinations of DUI and STI-based learning as well as standardized and customized valuation, the use of Cartesian coordinates in Figure 2 does not imply that industries can be precisely positioned in the two dimensional graph with a numerical value, but rather that they can be compared in a two-dimensional continuum relative to each other. Also, their position in the coordinate system is in most cases not stable, but subject to considerable dynamics over time (sees section 4.4).

Figure 2: Allocating clean-tech industries to the four GIS types



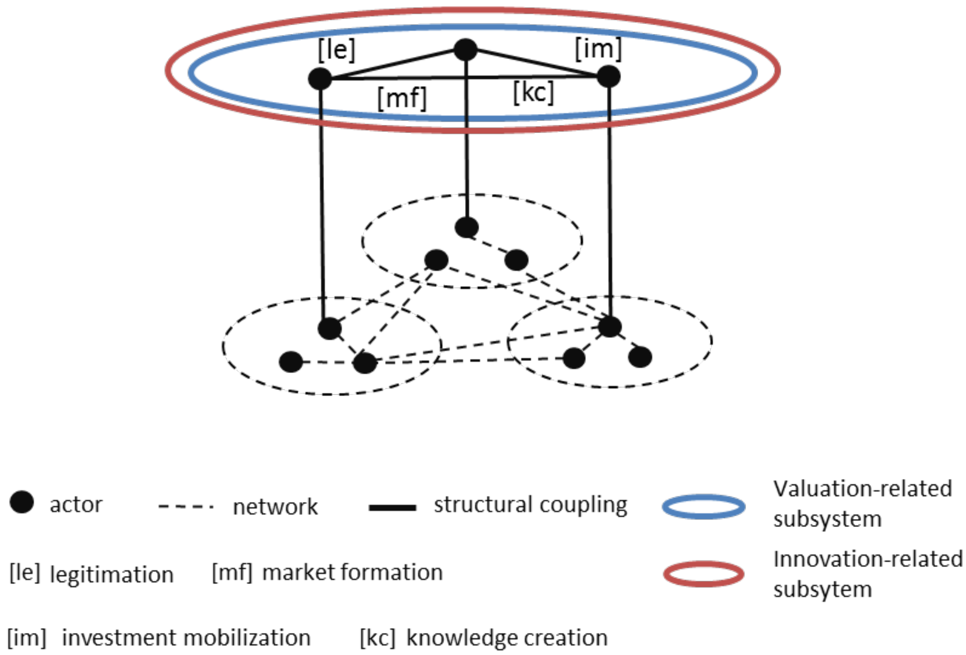
Source: Author's own elaborations

Quadrant I) Footloose GIS: Solar photovoltaics

The top-right quadrant exemplifies the GIS of industries that are subject to the highest possible level of global interdependencies: As the relevant knowledge bases, investment mechanisms, market conditions and quality specifications can easily be codified and standardized, international networks will play a key role at both the technological innovation and valuation side (Figure 3).

An industry that nicely illustrates this GIS-type is solar photovoltaics (PV) (for an in-depth discussion see Huenteler et al., 2016a; Schmidt and Huenteler, 2016). Innovation in PV depends on advances in analytical knowledge bases like material sciences or nanotechnology (Huenteler et al., 2016a; Peters et al., 2012), while economic valuation is organized in standardized, global mass markets (Dewald and Fromhold-Eisebith, 2015; Quitzow, 2015). System resource formation accordingly depended on specific territorial subsystems only in the earliest life-cycle phases, e.g. when the pioneering companies in the USA and Japan created initial knowledge and technology legitimacy in 1970-1990 (Varadi, 2014), or when pioneering markets were constructed in Germany between 1990 and 2005 (Dewald and Truffer, 2012). Yet, once these system resources had been created in one place, technology latecomers - most prominently from China - could mobilize and anchor them in their own industry formation process quite easily (Binz and Diaz Anadon, 2016; Quitzow, 2015). Nowadays, all subsystems in the PV field depend on complex networks spanning several regions in developed and emerging economies (Binz and Diaz Anadon, 2016; de la Tour et al., 2011; Gallagher and Zhang, 2013; Quitzow, 2015) and it is hardly possible to identify specific places or regions that dominate the innovation process in this industry (Binz et al., 2017). Structural couplings at an international level are ubiquitous. Emblematic examples comprise US and European investment banks that organized IPOs for Chinese PV module manufacturers in the mid-2000s (de la Tour et al., 2011; Zhang and White, 2016) or German suppliers of turnkey manufacturing lines that base their innovation activities on close interaction with Chinese manufacturing companies and Australian universities (Dewald and Fromhold-Eisebith, 2015; Quitzow, 2015). Also in the valuation dimension, the PV industry only initially relied on policy support in specific national contexts. Today, the valuation subsystems are complexly coupled at an international level, i.e. with the World Bank and the international electrochemical commission (IEC) developing globally harmonized quality standards and testing procedures for solar PV modules that essentially harmonize market entry barriers in various parts of the world (Cabraal, 2004; Varadi, 2014).

Figure 3: GIS configuration in the solar photovoltaics industry



Source: Author's own elaborations

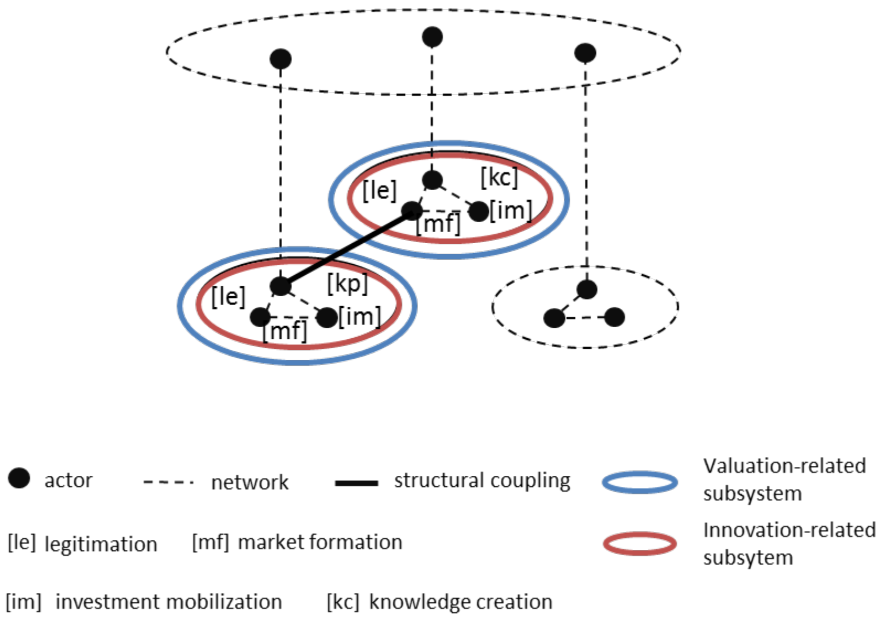
Quadrant III) Spatially sticky GIS: wind power

The GIS configuration of industries in quadrant III of Figure 2 (i.e. the early wind power industry), directly contrast the case described above. The technological innovation side depends most strongly on subsystems and couplings in territorially delimited contexts (for a detailed discussion see Huenteler et al., 2016a; Lewis, 2011). Especially in the earlier industry lifecycle phases, the wind power GIS was dominated by complex 'bricolage' processes in which synthetic knowledge stocks interrelated with experience-based skills and crafts (see Garud and Karnoe, 2003). Also at the valuation side, markets were not globally homogenous, but showed strong geographic variation in terms of specialized user needs, regulation, and levels of technology legitimacy. In such a setting, global couplings are achievable only if strong and sustained pipelines are established between territorial subsystems of the GIS.

In the early wind power industry, turbine manufacturers strongly drew on a DUI innovation mode (Garud and Karnoe, 2003; Huenteler et al., 2016a), while market deployment depended on institutional embedding and regional technology legitimation (Garud and Karnoe, 2003).[3] As expected by our framework, empirical case studies confirm that innovation in spatially clearly distinguishable subsystem - e.g. in the USA, the EU, and in particular Denmark – played a key role in steering the wind industry from a long era of ferment to a dominant product architecture (Karnøe and Garud, 2012; McDowall et al., 2013; Simmie et al., 2014; Wieczorek et al., 2015a). Territorially embedded learning by doing and interacting and co-located actor networks with complementary knowledge in manufacturing and application (turbine manufacturers, farmer's collectives, research and testing organizations, governmental intermediaries) initially constructed the relevant system resources in only two countries: Denmark and the US (Garud and Karnoe, 2003; Karnøe and Garud, 2012; Simmie, 2012). Later on, activities emerged also in Germany as well as India and China (Lewis, 2011). Structural couplings started playing a role only after a dominant turbine architecture had stabilized in the late 1990ies, and were constrained to the build-up of stable knowledge pipelines, e.g. through M&A and long-term technology licensing agreements between European and Chinese/Indian firms (Lema and Lema, 2012; Lewis, 2011). Nowadays, innovative turbine designs are still predominantly developed in the few countries that were involved in early industry formation and market deployment (in particular Denmark, Germany and the USA). Territorial subsystems thus retained considerable first mover advantages through later industry life cycle phases (Huenteler et al., 2016b; Lewis, 2011; McDowall et al., 2013). This stands in contrast to the solar PV case, where various coupling at an international level made the technology pioneers from the USA and Japan lose their initial supply and market dominance over a relatively short period of time (Binz et al., 2017; Nahm and Steinfeld, 2014).

Figure 4: GIS configuration in the early wind power industry

[3] A possible reading of the seminal paper by Garud and Karnoe (2003) would suggest that the Danish DUI mode won out against the STI mode predominant in the United States for gaining leadership in the wind industry.



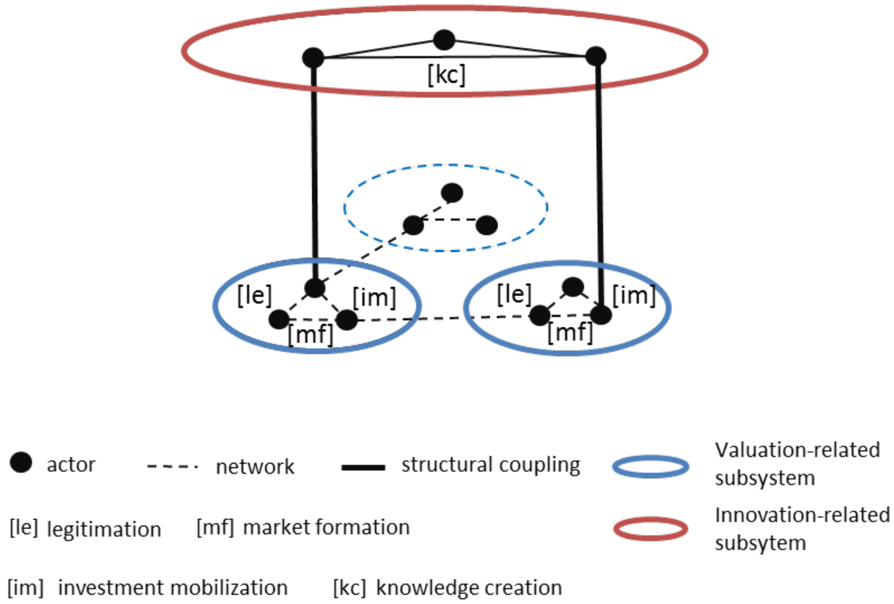
Source: Author's own elaborations

Quadrant II) Complex products and systems GIS: Carbon capture and storage (CCS)

The other two GIS types in quadrant II and IV are variations of the two extreme cases just presented. Industries with an STI innovation mode and customized valuation system will depend on GIS in which knowledge-related subsystems transcend territorial boundaries, while product valuation is embedded in specific territorial contexts (see Figure 5). CCS technologies[4] are a telling illustrative example here. Technology innovation in this industry draws on basic science in STI-based knowledge fields such as geology or analytical chemistry (Markusson and Chalmers, 2013; van Alphen et al., 2010). Considerable technological progress was recently reported in this field, with significant structural couplings at an international level achieved through international research consortia and intermediaries like the International Energy Agency (IEA) or the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (Markusson and Chalmers, 2013; Nykvist, 2013; Pickard and Foxon, 2013). Still, considerable knowledge dynamics are confronted with persistent (and spatially highly variegated) challenges in the valuation dimension. High-profile CCS programs in the US, the Netherlands, Norway or China all struggle with funding problems that are related to public debates about the technology's legitimacy, market prospects and other incompatibilities with the relevant regulative, normative and cognitive institutional contexts (Haarstad and Rusten, 2016; Nykvist, 2013; van Alphen et al., 2010). Even though technology proponents are continuously exploring ways to better embed CCS in specific regional contexts, pilot projects still fail in spectacular and often highly context-specific political struggles (Haarstad and Rusten, 2016).

[4] Technologies to filter CO_2 from the exhaust of fossil fueled power or production plants and store it in underground geological formations or in the ocean.

Figure 5: GIS configuration in the carbon capture and storage industry

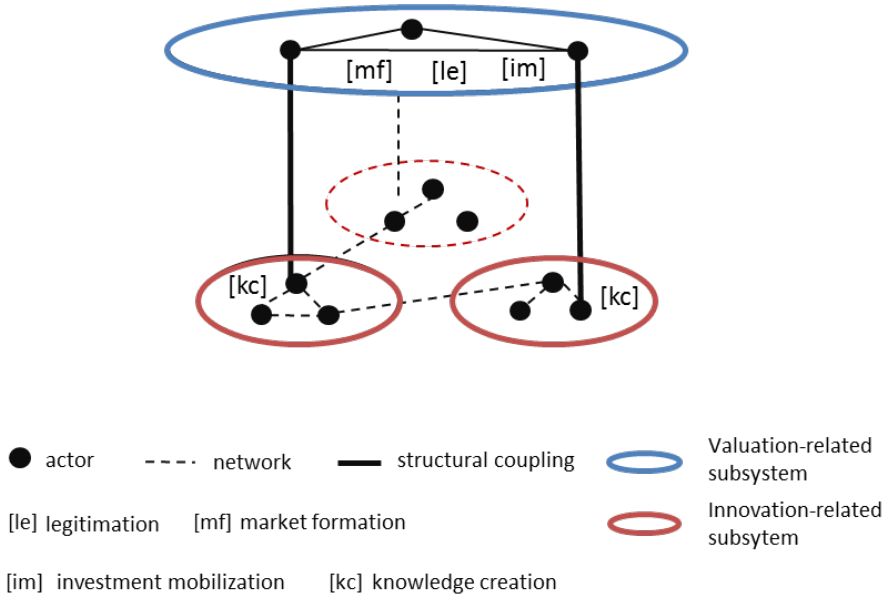


Source: Author's own elaborations

Quadrant IV) Export-driven GIS: Electric cars

The GIS type that depends on DUI-based learning and standardized valuation (i.e. electric vehicles), finally, is characterized by territorially embedded subsystems at the innovation side, while new product valuation can be organized in international mass markets with well-developed supply channels. The car industry has for several decades depended on a GIS configuration in which US, European, and Asian clusters with cumulative synthetic knowledge bases in engineering, research and design played a key role in driving innovation (Dicken, 2015). At the same time, the industry's markets, distribution channels and quality criteria got strongly homogenized globally, with user tastes gravitating around a few standardized product categories (Hård and Knie, 2001). The increasing introduction of electronics into the car and the emergence of electric cars now threatens to shake this well-aligned global GIS configuration (Dicken, 2015): New entrants like Tesla or Google use IT technology and new media applications to valuate electric cars as a customizable and luxurious high-tech gadget (Jeannerat and Kebir, 2016; Wesseling et al., 2015). With the introduction of analytical (and increasingly symbolic) knowledge bases, we would expect the global GIS to be deeply transformed over the next decades. Our framework would predict a situation in which newcomers can suddenly enter STI-driven market niches and cater for user needs that are highly embedded in specific local institutional contexts. Even though incumbent car manufacturers are still successfully protecting the status quo, disruptive change and a deep reconfiguration of the car GIS may already be under way (Dijk et al., 2016; Truffer et al., forthcoming; Wesseling et al., 2014).

Figure 6: GIS configuration in the car industry



Source: Author's own elaborations

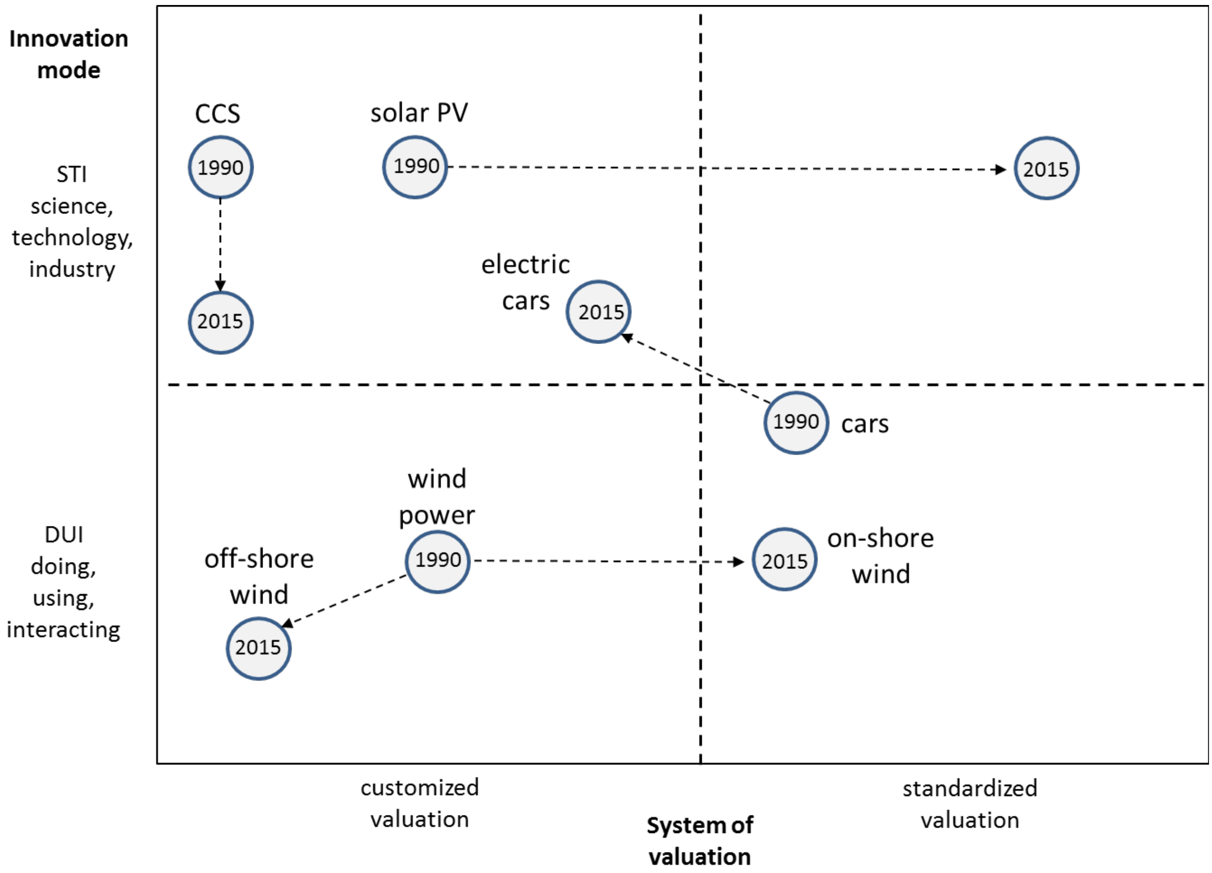
4.4 *Dynamics in GIS configuration*

As repeatedly alluded to above, the spatial GIS configurations cannot be expected to remain stable for a specific industry over time. Industries may be allocated to one of the four quadrants at any specific moment in time, yet in a dynamic perspective, both the knowledge base and the valuation system may shift, e.g. when initially complex engineered products get standardized around a dominant design and develop into uniform products for global mass markets, as in the case of the solar PV around 2008 (Dewald and Fromhold-Eisebith, 2015).

In general, we would expect customized valuation strategies to be more important in early phases of industry emergence whereas more mature products will increasingly be characterized by standardized valuation. The solar PV and wind power GIS both support this general pattern; They both initially emerged in institutionally embedded niche markets and over time developed into standardized products for global mass markets. In the PV GIS, standardization is now highly advanced in both the innovation and valuation dimension (Dewald and Fromhold-Eisebith, 2015; Quitzow, 2015). In the wind case, institutional embedding still plays a key role for technological innovation in specialized market segments like off-shore wind turbines, while standard on-shore wind turbines developed into a standardized product with price-driven global market competition. In both cases, a significant transition in the GIS's spatial configuration was thus observable after a dominant design or product architecture emerged (Huenteler et al., 2016b).

However, considerable shifts are conceivable also in more mature industries, for instance as in the watch industry where a highly standardized mass market product got more and more attached to symbolic meanings (Jeannerat and Kebir, 2016). Also the car GIS seems to experience significant shifts at both the innovation and valuation side. Especially with the recent move from traditional synthetic knowledge to more analytical knowledge bases, a shift from spatially sticky territorial production subsystems and standardized mass products toward more internationalized couplings in production and regional variation of valuation strategies can be expected. Shifts from old regions with synthetic knowledge bases (i.e. Detroit) to regions with strengths in analytical knowledge (i.e. Silicon Valley) are accordingly already visible and likely to continue in the future. Innovation in CCS technologies, finally, has so far developed in a relative stable GIS configuration over time.

Figure 7: Evolution of the GIS configuration in four industries



5. Outlines of a research agenda and key methodological challenges

The conceptual discussion and empirical illustrations above show that operationalizing the global innovation system framework raises novel hypotheses on how systemic innovation processes in various regions, nations, and internationalized arenas interrelate. These feed into a novel research agenda with potentially highly relevant policy implications if a variety of further conceptual and methodological challenges can be solved.

5.1 GIS – Foundations for a new research agenda

Overall, we argue that our framework provides a rich meso-level heuristic for more empirically informed comparative analyses. In particular, it is intended to provide a framework that allows re-interpreting the plentiful single-industry case studies from various IS traditions in a theoretically more informed, comparative perspective. Its value and quality may thus ultimately be judged on whether it is able to generate new interesting research questions and hypotheses at the interface of various IS approaches. For the time being we can outline a – necessarily partial and incomplete – list of promising research fields that could be informed by this framework.

First, one can explore in more depth for each GIS type how and where subsystems emerge, how subsystem formation differ between regions and what type of system resources get created where and how. Ultimately, a GIS view provides new perspectives on the *conditions for the emergence of positive externalities* in an innovation system. Future work would have to discern in detail how interdependencies between heterogeneous actor groups lead to externality formation at and beyond territorial boundaries and how access to the resulting system resources is organized and governed in different industries. Ideally, this work would go beyond the manufacturing industries in focus of most SIS literature and this contribution and include service sectors and various creative industries (Castellacci, 2008; Martin and Moodysson, 2011). More work is needed on the question how spatially dispersed communities of practice or temporary clusters support and sustain the generation of system resources like knowledge, markets, financial investment, or legitimacy.

Second, *structural coupling* as a key process in innovation system formation should be further explored. How exactly does structural coupling work, what types of actors are important, and how do more informal mechanisms (i.e. at a cognitive institutional level) connect the activities in various subsystems of a GIS? One key set of research questions can be related to the *role of system builders and intermediaries* (Hughes, 1979; van Lente et al., 2003)*:* GIS need a minimum of system coordination. As discussed above, our concept emphasizes that not only transnational corporations, but also industry and professional associations, international NGOs, city networks, international donors, consultancy firms, etc. can play an important integrative role. Yet, how exactly they connect subsystems of a complex GIS is largely uncharted terrain. Another stream of research could be related to the *anchoring of external system resources* in specific regions and countries: How do system externalities that developed in international networks get anchored to specific local contexts and how does contextualized knowledge get up-scaled to global technology and market standards? And how does this process differ between industries? A delicate balance of external structural couplings and embedding in regional institutional contexts will be needed to connect innovation process at various spatial scales (Crevoisier and Jeannerat, 2009).

Third and finally, an agenda that was downplayed in the above discussion relates to *issues of power*. GIS will likely not develop through harmonious cooperation, but rather be subject to permanent contestation and power struggles among interested actors (Zeller, 2000). An improved understanding has to be developed on how specific actors attain a structural superior position to influence innovation beyond regional contexts. How do power asymmetries in global network architecture influence how and where novelty is developed and diffused (or not)? Connecting IS approaches more explicitly to concepts such as network governance in GPN/GVC literature (Gereffi et al., 2005) or the socio-technical regime concept (Fuenfschilling and Binz, under review) appears very promising here. An initial hypothesis derived from our framework is that industries which generate hard-to-control spatial spillovers (e.g. solar PV) will be less likely to develop captive value chain governance modes than industries in which territorial embedding provides early movers with sustained competitive advantages (e.g. wind power).

Also, the *role of powerful actors* may be scrutinized in more detail: Structural couplings may on the one hand limit the room for maneuver in subsystems (due to actors having to accommodate different rationalities at the same time) but they are also essential for the mobilization of resources. This is especially important when incumbents enter an innovation system and try to influence the course of development. While resourceful actors like TNCs might be particularly apt to manage structural couplings, they might also induce tradeoffs between innovation and the potential for lock-in into well-established cognitive frames. As a consequence, the relative role of incumbents in GIS may be indirectly proportional to the disruptiveness of the innovation in focus. Various connections to recent work in sustainability transitions literature and organization studies could be explored here (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011; Geels, 2014; Lavie, 2006; Wesseling et al., 2015).

5.2 Methodological challenges

The multi-layered topology of GIS implies a set of formidable methodological challenges. Analyzing the activities of all actors that participate in a GIS and considering all the relevant networks and institutional contexts can quickly prove to be an overwhelming task. However, if the goal is to adapt the IS concept to ongoing economic globalization, this challenge will have to be confronted. Innovative methodological proposals have recently been formulated on how specific resource formation processes like knowledge creation (Binz et al., 2014), legitimation (Markard et al., 2016), or financial investment (Karltorp, 2016) can be analyzed beyond pre-set spatial boundaries. At the same time, the increasing quality of global databases on patents, publications, trade statistics or pilot plant experimentation creates opportunities to define system boundaries in an empirically more informed way (Binz et al., 2014; Wieczorek et al., 2015b). Finally, recent advances in social network analysis and stochastic actor-based modeling might open new inroads to empirically delimiting and analyzing GIS subsystems and their dynamic international coupling patterns.

Ultimately, the choice of methodology should relate to the needs of the conceptual focus chosen and the case analyzed. The sector typology developed in section 4 might further inform system boundary setting as it provides theoretical hypotheses on the geographic configuration of GIS in various industries. A global innovation system perspective may thus provide an encompassing heuristic for positioning partial IS analysis in specific countries or regions in broader sectorial and spatial contexts. It may also allow for a more causal understanding on how innovation processes in various industries develop over time and in space and on how policy making can influence the process.

5.3 Policy implications

Last but not least, our considerations show that conventional innovation and industrial policies often fail to reflect an industry's GIS configuration. What sort of new governance approaches and institutions are needed to get to grips with dynamically evolving global innovation systems? We argue that industries with a footloose GIS like solar PV are quite challenging to govern with conventional industry and innovation policies as their system resources emerge in international networks that are hard to control in any national or regional context. The experience with the national feed-in tariff for solar PV in Germany in the early 2000s illustrates this challenge. When Germany implemented an ambitious national market deployment subsidy in 2002, it aimed – among others - at creating a mass market that would provide the German PV manufacturers with a first-mover advantage (Hoppmann et al., 2014; Peters et al., 2012). Yet, given the ubiquitous international structural couplings in this GIS type, the policy did not create sustained first mover advantages for the German panel manufacturers, but induced substantial spillovers to various other subsystems, in particular to China, Korea, Taiwan or the USA (Binz and Diaz Anadon, 2016; Dewald and Fromhold-Eisebith, 2015; Quitzow, 2015). The high spatial fluidity of this industry (which came as a surprise to German policy makers (Hoppmann et al., 2014)) could have been explained and anticipated to some degree based on our analytical framework.

Our framework also hints at a need for better international policy coordination and/or global governance schemes in footloose (and to a lesser degree in export-oriented and complex product and systems) GIS. In industries like solar photovoltaics, international NGOs or industry associations could in principle integrate and coordinate innovation dynamics in various parts of the world in order to create a common pool global knowledge platform that is accessible to firms and policy makers around the world. Such a global governance structure could also be used to mitigate trade disputes and reduce overcapacities while speeding up policy learning and transition dynamics in various parts of the world. Overall, while GIS are emergent phenomena that cannot be actively designed or governed in a top-down manner, our framework provides new hints on how policy could provide the basic support structures that are adapted to an industry's specific needs.

Innovation and industrial policies at a national or regional level should accordingly more closely reflect the targeted industry's GIS configuration. This may help to avoid unintended spatial spillovers as in the solar PV case. It might also be used for identifying and eliminating system failures that inhibit the development of an innovation both in specific subsystems and the structural coupling patterns of a GIS. Based on our framework we would add a 'global policy coordination failure' which extends on Weber and Rohracher's (2012) national policy coordination failure. E.g. in the solar PV case, uncoordinated national policy interventions resulted in global overcapacities and trade disputes which significantly lowered the efficiency of the GIS in diffusing the innovation. Finally, GIS-based global governance systems could be designed that reflect a sector's specific innovation and valuation characteristics and thus constructs more level playing field for all involved actors around the world (Schmidt and Huenteler, 2016).

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