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# How Fares the Entrepreneurial State? Empirical Evidence of Mission-Led Innovation Projects Around the Globe

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# How Fares the Entrepreneurial State? Empirical Evidence of Mission-Led Innovation Projects Around the Globe

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## ABSTRACT

While considerable efforts have been made to conceptualize and outline the theoretical and normative logic of mission-oriented innovation policies and the role of the entrepreneurial state, there is a stark lack of empirical studies concerning how missions are designed and executed, and when they may work or do not. This monograph reviews theoretical rationales for mission-oriented innovation policy and provides an empirical overview of 30 articles which together cover 51 concluded or ongoing missions from around the world. We synthesize varieties of mission formulations, actors

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involved, and analyze characteristics of missions described as more or less failed or successful. Among the projects analyzed, many do not fulfill common definitions of “innovation missions.” Missions related to technological or agricultural innovations seem more often successful than broader types of missions aimed at social or ecological challenges, and challenges in the governance and evaluation of missions remain unresolved in the literature. None of the mission cases contain a cost-benefit analysis or takes opportunity cost into consideration.

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# 1

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## Introduction

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Industrial policy is back in fashion. The list of local, national, and global challenges to take on is endless, as is—by necessity—the number of proposed solutions. Certainly, we will *want* to “fix” climate change, sluggish economic growth, inequality, as well as their interactions, if the challenge is our mere ability to do so. As the analysis in this monograph shows, these ideas are far from new. Similar thoughts have in fact permeated innovation and growth policy in the industrialized world for many decades. But it is undoubtedly the case that scholars of a growing literature argue that a proactive government ought to direct technological trajectories and, indeed, determine direction of private and public sector innovation. Yet scientific inquiry into how, when and to what extent these major interventions bring about their stated objectives is almost completely lacking. While belief in the potential of these “missions” is already permeating innovation policy in many OECD countries, both scholars and policy makers lament the lack of systematic knowledge of which past missions have been effective and, worse, knowledge of factors that determine future success. In this monograph we raise some basic, but unanswered, questions about the premises of mission-oriented innovation policy. What can we learn from

historical and contemporary missions in terms of mission formulations, actors involved, and criterion of success? We review and parse the eclectic empirical literature on this topic and assemble the first database to systematically track previous work in the field.

This shift towards “directed” innovation policies has been labelled the “third generation” of innovation policy, following the “first” and “second” generations of innovation policy based on investments in research and development, and establishing regional innovation systems, respectively (Bergkvist *et al.*, 2022; Schot and Steinmueller, 2019). These ideas have been diffused among policymakers and scholars, most notably in books by Mariana Mazzucato, who argued in *The Entrepreneurial State* (2015) and the follow-up *Mission Economy* (2021) that brave and encompassing governmental efforts had paved the way for economic, technological, and social progress. This progress is depicted as not limited to the original technological area of focus, but is carried by private enterprise and other means to new and existing parts of the economy. The creation of the internet is a frequently heralded example (Agarwal *et al.*, 2021).

During the COVID-19 pandemic’s initial strife in ensuring public health, developing vaccines, and protective measures, many authorities noted that to achieve the desired effects, a broader government commitment across policy areas and sectors was required (Sebhatu *et al.*, 2020). The success of the Trump Administration’s “operation warp speed” where public health authorities, pharmaceutical companies and regulations working coordinated and with pre-procured vaccines still in development (Bryan *et al.*, 2022; Kim *et al.*, 2021) highlighted ongoing discussion where traditional innovation policies are deemed as insufficient for large collective endeavours such as health crises due to e.g., weak directionality in R&D, lack of holistic coordination across sectors, and fragmentation of the policy mix (Bergkvist *et al.*, 2022; Schot and Steinmueller, 2019). There are also responses to less immediate threats and challenges. The perceived need for a new approach towards innovation policy has culminated in, for instance, The Biden administration’s new Clean Energy program, the European Union’s Green Deal, and investments in the thousands of billions over the coming years in initiatives seeking to accomplish a plethora of technological,

environmental, and social goals. Large and ambitious programs are put in place, and bold statements have been made concerning the potential of a mission-oriented approach: *The Green New Deal needs to radically transform capitalism—if it is to be saved from itself, and us from it. The only way to do this is through reorienting the economy around mission thinking. This means redesigning financial systems, public–private partnerships and public policy to align with the Sustainable Development Goals* (Bryan *et al.*, 2022; Kim *et al.*, 2021) The European Union’s funding program Horizon Europe, which has committed to spend 5 billion euros until 2027 in five mission areas depicted as “grand societal challenges” and has encouraged member states to re-focus their innovation policies in accordance with a mission-oriented approach. Mazzucato (2021, p. 2) summarizes the mission-oriented logic as that “Innovation requires direction, and direction requires a vision of where we want to go as a society. This is where the state comes in.” In short, missions are already here, they are sizeable and they already permeate innovation policy in many OECD countries, especially in the European Union.

With ideas of *The Entrepreneurial State* and *Mission Economy* put into practice and rolled out across the globe – notably in Europe – researchers and policymakers look to probe the theoretical logic behind such interventions with data on empirical cases of missions. But the state of our knowledge about their effects is still lacking. What types of missions have been conducted and in what settings? How are those missions deployed, by whom, with what constellation of actors, and what have been the outcomes thus far? Can studies of concluded missions be assembled to identify characteristics of mission failure or mission successes? Empirical answers to these questions are still missing in the scientific literature. This monograph represents our ambition to heed that call.

While conceptual and theoretical descriptions of mission-oriented innovation policies are legion, we are unaware of any systematic coverage of the empirical literature hitherto published on the subject. Indeed, we have seen few empirical evaluations or studies of how missions are designed and executed, as well as of their outcomes. As a result, we know little about when missions tend to work and when they do not. In response to this lack of knowledge we review the theoretical rationales

for mission-oriented innovation, summarize central facets of mission-oriented innovation policy, and provide an empirical overview of 51 concluded or ongoing missions from around the world. We synthesize varieties of mission formulations and policy tools attached to such missions and critically discuss what precise characteristics that may define them as “missions.” Finally, we analyze characteristics of missions depicted as more or less failed or successful, and compile policy recommendations and future research recommendations on mission-oriented innovation policy.

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