



Supporting Smart Specialisation Strategies and Technology Transfer in South-East Europe

Conference summary report

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SUMMARY

On 18 June 2019, the Joint Research Centre (JRC) of the European Commission co-organised the high-level conference "Supporting Smart Specialisation and Technology Transfer in South-East Europe" at the Politehnica University of Bucharest, Romania. The conference, officially part of the programme of the Romanian Presidency of the Council of the EU, was organised in collaboration with the Romanian Ministry of Research and Innovation and the Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding (UEFISCDI).

Over 200 participants attended, including from the neighbouring EU Member States and the Western Balkans, comprising *inter alia* ministers, other policymakers, researchers, enterprises and technology transfer practitioners.

The event represented a thematic continuation of the last year's high-level conference "Smart Specialisation and Technology Transfer as Innovation Drivers for Regional Growth"¹ organised by the JRC in Sofia on 3-4 May 2018. The Sofia Process aims to make Smart Specialisation Strategy and Technology Transfer important tools to promote transnational cooperation in the Western Balkans and to provide a dialogue forum for discussing strategic innovation policies and implementation practices from a European perspective.

While Smart Specialisation Strategy (S3) primarily aims to focus R&I resources on most competitive economic sectors of individual countries and regions (RIS3), Technology Transfer is a necessary component to enable local communities to develop the skills, instruments and ecosystems needed to implement such a strategy.

The 2019 Bucharest event represented the third key political appointment of the Sofia Process that confirms the commitment and support of the JRC to the efforts of the Western Balkans toward political, economic and social transformation in the boarder South-East Europe region (the second one took place in February this year in Montenegro² to support

the wider region cooperation aspect of their Smart Specialisation Strategy).

The plenary and thematic parallel sessions discussed from various perspectives the progress, results and challenges related to the design and implementation of successful Smart Specialisation Strategies, innovation ecosystems and Technology Transfer instruments and strategies. This was done in comparison of the experiences of the Western Balkan economies with those of the EU Member States.

Key conclusions highlighted the need to strengthen the network and community of expertise launched by the Sofia process. The remarkable advancement by some of the Western Balkan economies and the clear recognition of the benefits of the smart specialisation framework, including technology transfer as an implementation tool, for more sustainable results in the long-term, was noted. This has encouraged the other Western Balkan economies to follow suit.

The next step in the Sofia process will be the presentation of Serbia's S3 in the second half of 2019 while the JRC has announced that the next conference to review progress of the Sofia process will take place during the Croatian Presidency of the EU. The closing remarks set the way forward: definition of concrete cooperation achievements and their implementation with the reinforced support of the JRC, which is widely appreciated. Both the S3 platform (JRC Seville) and the newly established Competence Centre on Technology Transfer (JRC Brussels) can support these efforts with reference data, tools and best practices at European level.

The event programme, presentations and video recordings are available [here](#).

1. PLENARY SESSIONS

1.1 Advancing innovation policies in SEE through Smart Specialisation Strategies and Technology Transfer

A high-level discussion panel with representatives, including ministerial level, from the Western Balkans and South-East Europe (SEE) offered insights that informed the conference debates. The panel not only discussed the general priorities in the domain of research, development and innovation across SEE, but also entered into a more realistic stocktaking exercise on the progress and developments in smart specialisation and technology transfer and the necessary improvement for future advancement, including the perspectives for transnational cooperation and actions.

In particular, the panellists presented the state-of-the-art of smart specialisation design and implementation in their countries, providing a heterogeneous framework of developments and concrete considerations for future improvements.

While the Western Balkans are testing, albeit at different speeds and with diverse degrees of commitment, the design and implementation of the Entrepreneurial Discovery Process (EDP) and S3, EU Member States can already elaborate a sound evaluation of smart specialisation implementation, based on their experience from the 2014-2020 programming period.

Montenegro has just adopted its smart specialisation strategy, while Serbia is about to conclude its EDP and is due to finalise its S3 by the end of 2019. Representatives from the rest of the Western Balkans shared their expectations and concerns in the earlier stages of the smart specialisation approach, highlighting particularly the efforts and challenges in the preparation of the EDP and prioritisation of key sectors through the involvement of the quadruple helix³ stakeholders, as well as the need for reinforced capacity building support.

The participating EU Member States brought to the discussion a fair and realistic evaluation of S3, highlighting the strengths but also challenges of the approach, while confirming their commitment to enhance the process further to ensure sustainable results in the long term.

Among the key challenges noted were:

1. the novelty of the approach and its understanding by relevant stakeholders;
2. involvement and commitment;
3. the prioritisation of key sectors;
4. the development of value chains and connection with industrial policies;
5. the digitalisation processes;
6. the coordination and flexibility of S3 to ensure the capacity to adapt to the rapidly evolving socio-economic context.

It was underlined that, for the dynamics and interests of the private sector, the process has been perceived as too slow and complex.

A jointly recognised pivotal strength of S3 is its role to drive prioritisation dynamics to generate, in the medium to long-term, real economic added value by clustering interests, funds, stakeholders and policies around shared priorities.

Among other key aspects was the necessity to reinforce ownership and commitment of political actors to energise the process. S3 should not be considered as an external element foisted on a country, but rather as an answer to real needs identified by the countries themselves.

Furthermore, S3 and Technology Transfer are not only pivotal pillars of the socio-economic development path of each country, but they can equally unlock the untapped potential of an integrated transnational dynamics within the Western Balkans and the broader SEE. To this extent, it is necessary to reinforce and develop further cooperation within the

region to create and boost untapped transnational value chains.

Finally, skills and education are the crosscutting pillars that should be addressed to ensure the long-term sustainability of the S3 process.

1.2 Smart Specialisation as a driver of innovation in SEE

The session gave a more detailed overview of the implementation of the smart specialisation approach in SEE. Since the approach is currently being introduced in the Western Balkans, experiences from the EU Member States in SEE, such as Slovenia, Romania, Greece and Bulgaria can help overcome challenges in the EDP, the formulation of Research and Innovation Strategies for Smart Specialisation (RIS3) and the subsequent strategy implementation and monitoring.

In some parts of Northern and Western Europe, institutional conditions have facilitated cooperation so that smart specialisation has been happening naturally without necessarily being titled as such. In other parts of Europe, notably in SEE, institutional conditions are very different and cooperation routines have been more difficult to establish. Support to smart specialisation is thus an important impetus for cooperation and experience sharing by EU Member States in the region. For example, the Romanian approach of gathering technological and market-related news in a so-called "technology radar" for companies can be replicated elsewhere.

In the case of larger countries where national smart specialisation strategies co-exist with the regional ones, aligning national RIS3 with sub-national priorities is important. In Romania, RIS3 implementation has pursued a dual approach at national and regional levels. At national level, four RIS3 priorities were identified through a wide consultation of the scientific community and were included in the 2014-2020 National RDI Strategy. At regional level, seven out of the eight regions elaborated their own RIS3 strategies, using inter alia a methodology recommended by the JRC. National and regional RIS3 implementation followed different paths, not only in terms of identification of priorities, but also in terms of management authorities, funding sources and process, monitoring and evaluation, as well as the EDP process. The JRC support in the framework of the "Targeted Support

to RIS3 in Romania"⁴ played a key role in aligning the national and regional perspectives to RIS3 and establishing a coordinated approach. In Greece, national and regional RIS3s co-exist. In terms of governance, every region has established its own innovation council and the alignment and mutual reinforcement are functioning in synergy.

The Slovenian government has considered smart specialisation as an umbrella strategy and with this approach it has integrated industrial policy with other policy areas, for example, digitalisation and culture. Slovenia has demonstrated that smart specialisation can contribute substantially to the improved internal cooperation between the stakeholders, as well as enhanced interregional, transnational and international cooperation in R&I activities. In particular, stakeholders began to cooperate in areas where there was no cooperation before.

The key message was that the smart specialisation approach is a critical tool for SEE countries to modernise their processes of innovation policy-making, to base them on solid regional and national-level evidence, to mainstream the role of innovation across sectors, and to involve various actors in the process. In particular, the approach serves to anchor cooperation within the quadruple helix in SEE countries that do not yet have a long-standing tradition of innovation-oriented cooperation.

2. THEMATIC PARALLEL SESSIONS ON SMART SPECIALISATION

2.1 Engaging the actors in the innovation ecosystem in Smart Specialisation in the Western Balkans

The session focused on the state of play in smart specialisation approach, the developments in the innovation ecosystems and subsequent needs for EU support in the Western Balkans.

S3 is now being applied in many countries worldwide, also without EU funds. In the Western Balkans, introducing the smart specialisation approach is a logical extension to the work of Directorate-General Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations (DG NEAR), which supports the process. The characteristics of the approach, i.e. prioritisation, strategic vision and evidence base, can be very useful for cross-sectoral policymaking in the Western Balkans.

Collaboration in R&D exists within the Western Balkans, as the upcoming report on innovation in the Western Balkans and knowledge-based economic cooperation will show. This collaboration is widespread upstream (on publications), but much less so downstream (on patents and European Commission funded projects).

Serbia and Montenegro offer good examples of how to implement the smart specialisation approach. Montenegro has recently adopted its RIS3⁵. Serbia has secured funds for RIS3 implementation through national Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) funds, but additional regional IPA funding for S3 implementation is recommended because challenges are similar across the Western Balkans.

Experiences with smart specialisation in the Western Balkans so far show that from the beginning it is important for stakeholders to understand the nature and advantages of the S3 process and results it can deliver. Once adopted, it is important to create coherence and consistency between other strategies and to focus on institutional capabilities.

For Serbia and Montenegro, the upcoming challenge

is the creation of a suitable environment for implementation. For example, Serbia is currently working on its innovation ecosystem, including its future research and education strategy, innovation law, creation of the science fund and set-up of science and technology parks.

The key message was that smart specialisation could help the Western Balkans in building on their pockets of excellence and increase cooperation particularly in downstream areas of R&D which requires high standards of excellence. However, successful implementation will depend on allocating adequate funding to improve the innovation ecosystems.

2.2 Challenges and achievement in the economic transformation of the SEE economies

The session focused on operational issues in innovation policy and smart specialisation in SEE, including support measures offered by the JRC.

Mapping the economic, scientific and innovation potential of economies is critical to the S3 approach, not least because pockets of excellence already exist in the SEE region. Mapping for S3 combines quantitative (statistical data) and qualitative analyses, which is important to reveal strengths at the regional level. Since there is no single methodology for mapping, it is vital that the methodology is adapted to the specifics of each territorial level – in the Balkans mainly at the country level.

Monitoring was mentioned as an important element to adjust strategy implementation and can benefit from new technologies such as machine-learning algorithms. Evidence-based outcomes are necessary for the development of appropriate monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. The development of such mechanisms in the economies of the Western Balkans is a demanding task and the insights from the EU experiences can be very helpful to the region.

The JRC support to RIS3 implementation in Romania was provided through two projects running in close

synergy: "Targeted Support to RIS3 in Lagging Regions"⁶ and "Targeted Support to RIS3 in Romania". In this context, the JRC assistance was directed to the country through two mechanisms:

- i. "Vertical support" is implemented through the country-specific project and targets the needs of the eight regions and of the various managing authorities at national level (implementation of the EDP, project management skills, various aspects of RIS3 governance, etc.).
- ii. "Horizontal support" is implemented through the broader "Lagging Regions" project and targets needs that are common to all the countries/regions that are covered by the Lagging Regions project (including Romania), such as peer learning and exchange of experience in monitoring and evaluation, and general governance of RIS3.

The recent JRC comparative study of the Danube macro-regional R&I potential⁷ through the H2020 participation and S3 priorities has shown that there is a great untapped cooperation potential in the region especially in the domains of Better Societies, Advanced Manufacturing and Materials, Agro-Food and Sustainable Energy.

Smart specialisation is one of the key elements of the EU Cohesion Policy and will be very important in the upcoming programming period. The main

challenges for Europe in regard to research are to turn excellence into success (e.g. the number of unicorns is much higher in the US and China) and to decrease disparities in innovation capacities. In terms of development of the smart specialisation approach, stronger emphasis should be put on complements to physical investment (such as intangibles and IP) and on reinforced governance of the process.

The innovation performance of SEE countries is lagging behind the rest of Europe and economic growth is insufficient. There are some warning signs in some of the SEE countries in terms of innovation performance. Better use of available place-based resources and strengths, which is a cornerstone of the smart specialisation process, is proposed for enhancing the position of the region in this regard.

Smart specialisation is having a strong, often ground-breaking effect on the entire innovation ecosystem of SEE countries. The region can take advantage of this effect and the JRC support can help them do so.

Finally, regional alignment of smart specialisation approaches is very important to the concept of identifying regional value chains in the Western Balkans and SEE as a whole. Cooperation of the countries in the Danube region represents a valuable example of how countries could work together for the benefit of an entire region, using the existing pockets of excellence.

3. THEMATIC PARALLEL SESSIONS ON TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

3.1 New emerging trends in Technology Transfer

The presentation by the new Competence Centre on Technology Transfer⁸ at the JRC of the European Commission gave insights into the key developments in technology transfer and its role as an implementing tool of smart specialisation strategies. The Centre works in three core domains: financial instruments for technology transfer, capacity buildings and skills, and innovation ecosystems design.

The growing global role of China was stressed. China is catching up with Europe in terms of research funding and high-impact publications. The world economy has drastically changed in the last couple of decades with the dominance of intangible assets over tangibles and of internet/digital companies over energy and manufacturing ones. The basics of technology transfer were said to be more of an art than a science due to the reliance on a complex chain of activities, which are all necessary to get over the so-called "valley of death". Smart specialisation and technology transfer are part of the same family: while the former is a top-down strategy focusing

resources on competitive areas of the economy, the latter is a bottom-up catalyser to enable the process to be implemented in a local ecosystem. The JRC is developing a Community of Practice to support policy development on technology transfer in SEE.

The activities of the International Association of Science Parks and Areas of Innovation (IASP) were introduced. IASP is a worldwide network with over 353 Members in 77 countries.

Berlin's science park Adlershof was a central case study. It is the largest in Germany covering a total area of 420 ha. Its re-development started two years after the German reunification and the park is now managed with clusters in physically close proximity. Its technology transfer activities include four programmes: a pre-seed programme (with about 15 start-ups/ year); an incubation programme for national and international companies (about 85 companies); a growth programme (with 350 companies being incubated); and a maturity programme (including over 30 SMEs). In 25 years, Adlershof has created 19,000 jobs and 1100 firms and is steadily growing.

An overview of the activities of ASTP-Proton, a knowledge transfer association, was presented. It was established 20 years ago and includes today 900 members from 647 institutions in 48 countries. Once again, it was confirmed that from research to utilisation the scope is very wide and complex. A successful Technology Transfer Office (TTO) utilises a balanced set of tools including spin-off, licencing contract, research contract, and non-commercial activities.

However, universities focus most of their resources on education and research and have not yet understood the importance of utilisation. Technology transfer requires several skills, which need to be acquired or developed. Therefore, universities are advised to create and develop an office for utilisation in parallel to those for research and education.

Finally, insights were given into the Romanian initiative to create a smart territorial development concept named "The Laser Valley-Land of Lights" centred on Magurele city, near Bucharest. Magurele hosts the Extreme Light Infrastructure - Nuclear Physics (ELI-NP) project. Recently the laser component achieved a power of 10 Peta Watts, proving to be the highest level of power in the world. Another line will include a gamma beam generator

in particular for cutting edge research in physics. The laser machines have several applications ranging from advanced materials to medical treatments and precision imaging. The laser valley concept has been proposed to orchestrate the innovation ecosystem development and to inspire actions of different public and private actors. Two initiatives are being implemented, the Magurele Science Park and Magurele smart city. Both are to be developed around ELI-NP for scientists, start-ups and SMEs which would take advantage of the unique facilities and would be connected to the nearby Bucharest, facilitating knowledge and economic spill-overs.

3.2 Tech Transfer: Supporting promising ideas with Proof of Concept

The session was opened with a question around de-risking technology transfer investment and making Proof of Concept (PoC) schemes more widely available in the SEE ecosystem.

An overview was given of the experience with early stage finance at Catalyst Fund Romania (part of EIF Jeremie programme)⁹ and the European Investment Council. Two major points were made, namely that the investment in the region so far has been mostly into IT and ICT and that more support would be needed for IP commercialisation in the other heavy IP dependent sectors like biotech or engineering. It was stressed that PoC will need to go beyond the technical validation of a new technology and include also activities such as scaling up, market assessment and even initial product deployment.

The Innovation Fund in Serbia is about to start a PoC programme in autumn 2019 focused on supporting early stage inventions from the private sector. Opportunity for 'de-risking' is identified in the area of IP ownership, as the situation in Serbia is still confused at the level of identifying patent owners, education about IP, Tech Transfer and the importance of devising proper procedures in the TT process. Grant beneficiaries are already receiving 'mandatory mentorships'.

A short description was given of how IP is commercialised at the University of Rijeka and more broadly in Croatia. The past Bicro PoC programme (funded by the World Bank) has had a tremendous impact on IP commercialisation in Rijeka. However,

without availability of dedicated, continuous budget, the tech transfer efforts start to lose momentum. The sustainability of the PoC programmes means that more money is available for early stage projects, but also TTOs continue to be funded and to be operational. Recent licensing activities in Rijeka have brought revenues, however without continuous funding the successes might not be repeated.

Looking into recent developments at international financial institutions, a number of activities in supporting early stage companies have been launched by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). Although these activities have not been part of the bank's core business, EBRD sees value in supporting entrepreneurship and early stage business development and the bank has recently started incubator programmes. While PoC funding per se is not sufficient, the concept of Proof of Capabilities has been introduced, meaning that funding and advice should go hand in hand. To de-risk the technology transfer process there needs to be continuity in the support and encouragement for instruments to inform of the potential impact.

The Innovation Centre in Zagreb runs a novel 'convertible loans' based programme with a grant component. This instrument can support early stage development as the highest risk is absorbed by the grant component, while companies who perform well can return the loan without necessarily giving away equity. To de-risk the technology commercialisation process, however, the

need for follow-on investment was stressed, which is very scarce in Croatia. Success stories from the region play a role in activating the wider community of researchers and entrepreneurs. A cultural change is necessary to learn to accept failure and to focus on the long-term impact of technology transfer.

The discussion session focused on the best model of PoC and the need for public support. There seems to be no "one size fits all" but many types of PoC could be considered, including using crowdfunding for product validation. It was reiterated that the region would benefit from more specialised support to hard IPR (meaning patents) and from extending focus beyond IT. For this, the right skill set will be needed and therefore a PoC fund with mentoring/ advisory is the preferred model. Some panellists expressed that it is less dependent on the type of financing instrument, however they agreed that grant based schemes are most logical at the earliest stage of risk.

On the topic of government support to start-ups and technology transfer, the panellists had diverging opinions. Some believe that the government has an obligation to also stimulate the local ecosystems, employment and social impact and therefore should intervene more consistently. Others expressed opinion that a start-up should think globally from its beginning and should be ready to re-allocate operations and raise funds abroad if necessary and if more financing is available outside Europe, provided however that R&D operations are sustained locally.

4. THEMATIC PARALLEL SESSIONS ON JRC ANALYTICAL STUDIES

4.1 Facilitating access to finance for high-growth innovative enterprises: Do's and Don'ts

This session focused on how to facilitate access to finance for young high-growth innovative enterprises (HGIE) and the policy measures that can contribute to their growth. The role and impact of public schemes in facilitating access to finance for HGIEs was discussed. Particular attention was drawn to the efficiency of different types of instruments based on

the JRC analytical work comparing equity, grants and tax incentives¹⁰.

It was noted that the extent and ease with which finance is available to HGIEs nowadays would have been unthinkable 10-15 years ago and continues to improve. However, faster progress is needed if Europe is to reap the full benefit for the economy and society including retaining in Europe those HGIEs, which are likely to move to the US market to benefit from easier growth and expansion possibilities. The all-pervading backdrop to the problem in Europe is the persisting market fragmentation.

Emphasis was placed on the need and importance to develop in Europe the following:

- Quicker and more reactive public support;
- Larger and better-tailored loan guarantee schemes;
- Instruments to fill the scale-up financing gap especially for financing investments of the order of 20 million euros;
- Mezzanine finance to cater for entrepreneurs who do not want to relinquish (part of) ownership of their business.

4.2 Assessing the regional innovation impact of universities

This session discussed how universities in Europe can strive to realise important contributions to the regional innovation ecosystems in which they are embedded. In 2018, the JRC published RIIA framework for assessing the impact of universities on their regional innovation ecosystems¹¹. The objective of this assessment framework is to provide a reliable and workable basis on which an additional institutional funding stream for universities could be built based on the contribution they can have on their regional innovation systems.

The potential value and utility of the RIIA framework and indicator-based approach is acknowledged and is being used by several universities and public agencies. The panellists considered it to be reasonable and practical for part of a university's public funding to be tied to an indicator based assessment of its regional innovation impact. Such assessments of university regional innovation impact should be more closely coupled with more overarching assessments of broader regional innovation strategies such as the RIS3s. Last but not least, there was a call for regional governments to ensure universities were more actively involved in the development of RIS3 strategies.

CONFERENCE CONCLUSIONS

The Sofia Process, initiated a year ago, has created a community: a network of decision-makers and experts who have become aware of the needs, potential and the dynamics of the SEE region. It is necessary to advance in the same direction, building trust, collaborations, sharing among each other and reinforcing this network as an added value and enabler of sustainable economic transformation and growth in the region, based on Smart Specialisation and Technology Transfer. A creative approach should be adopted, taking advantage of examples and cases of best practices by adjusting them to the concrete realities in the local context.

This year's EU Presidency conference in Bucharest concluded with the clear message that the time has come for tangible outcomes and concrete achievements to be demonstrated. While S3 is not to be considered as an externally imposed obligation for non-EU countries, significant progress has been made by some candidate countries whereas others are not moving forwards at the desired pace. Thus, a major highlight at the 2019 conference was the remarkable advancement implemented in one year by Montenegro and Serbia which can now act as beacons for the rest of the Western Balkans. Regardless of when accession negotiations would be opened significant efforts still remain to be made, including with regards to the integration of Western Balkan economies into the broader region of SEE.

Neighbouring EU Member States have already recognised and experienced that the Smart Specialisation Framework provides for a fair, critical and realistic approach increasing societal engagement. Despite some sceptical attitude at the beginning, there is now a clear recognition of its benefits for more sustainable results for improving regional and national economic performance in the long-term.

The JRC will continue to support the Western Balkan economies in designing and implementing their Smart Specialisation Strategies and with programmes on technology transfer such as Proof of Concept, utilising also the experience, knowledge and the sharing of good practices with and among

neighbouring EU Member States. Capacity building in the wider region should be done in a smart, targeted way and only where necessary. Overall, while the support provided so far by JRC is widely appreciated it should be noted that this process requires a stable commitment and significant efforts on the side of national policy-makers and all relevant quadruple-helix stakeholders.

Some of the concrete topics discussed during the plenary and parallel sessions included the challenges as to the management of the prioritisation process; the S3 thematic platforms; the need to increase sources of funding, the services provided by the newly established Competence Centre for Technology Transfer at the JRC including the design of targeted financial instruments for Proof of Concept; the JRC framework for assessment of the regional innovation impact of universities (well appreciated and recognised as relevant); the need to "connect the dots" in order to address the concrete needs of high growth innovative enterprises.

The next JRC conference on Smart Specialisation and Technology Transfer in South-East Europe will take place in 2020 during the Croatian Presidency of the Council of the EU with a view to take stock of the progress achieved and to discuss what type of concrete positive steps and collaborations have been made in the meantime. It will be preceded by a conference in Serbia (on the example of the conference in Montenegro earlier this year) to allow for a substantive input on the cooperation potential before the Serbian RIS3 is finalised and adopted by their government.

ENDNOTES

- 1 <https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/event/conference/smart-specialisation-technology-transfer-and-digital-economy>
- 2 <https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/event/workshop/smart-specialisation-western-balkans>
- 3 The Quadruple Helix is an innovation model where government, industry, academia and civil participants work together to co-create the future and drive structural changes far beyond the scope of what any one organisation or person could do alone. The model has been increasingly discussed and encouraged, including in the context of Open Innovation 2.0 in the EU. For more information refer to: Open innovation 2.0 yearbook 2017-2018, Directorate-General for Communications Networks, Content and Technology, European Commission, 2018.
- 4 More details on the work carried out in the country in the first stage of this project can be found in the following journal article: Smart specialization as a strategy to develop early-stage regional innovation systems, European Planning Studies, 26 (11): 2125-2146 , also available online at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2018.1530149>
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