Making Sense of Clusters

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Clusters in three words:

- Ideas
- Relationships
- Place

Roadmap

- Definition: What are Clusters? Why do firms cluster?
- Analysis: Finding clusters
- Action: Working with clusters

I. Why Cluster(s)?

What are they? How do they work?

What Kind of Economy?

- While most jobs and businesses in every state area are the same
- Restaurants, grocery stores, hospitals, beauty salons,
- About a third differs: Traded sector

Traded Sector Drives Growth

Most jobs are here: schools, hospitals, grocery stores, restaurants



But firms in this sector drive the economy

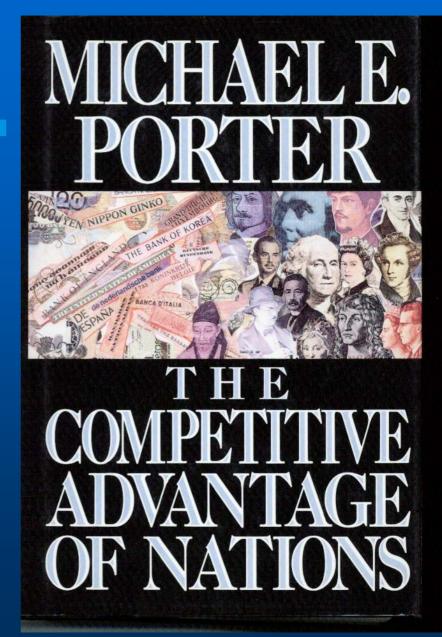
Defining Industry Clusters

Clusters are geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field, including:

- suppliers of specialized inputs, machinery, services
- distribution channels and customers
- manufacturers of complementary products
- companies related by skills, technologies or common inputs
- related institutions such as research organizations, universities, standard-setting organizations, training entities, and others

Porter: Clusters

- Starts from the business strategy standpoint
- Says Economic success isn't random
- Similar and related businesses draw advantages from proximity
- Clustering holds for most "traded" goods: autos, carpets, RVs, others



What makes Clusters Tick?

Rivalry & Cooperation



Suppliers

Source: Michael Porter, Harvard Business School

Oregon's Microbrew Cluster

Rivalry

Competition & Brewer's Guild

Inputs

Hops, Water, Brewmasters



Customers

Savvy Beer Drinkers, Homebrewers Small Restaurants

Equipment Makers, Creative Services

Suppliers

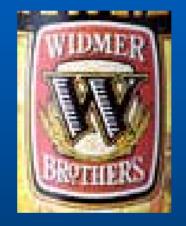
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An Oregon Cluster











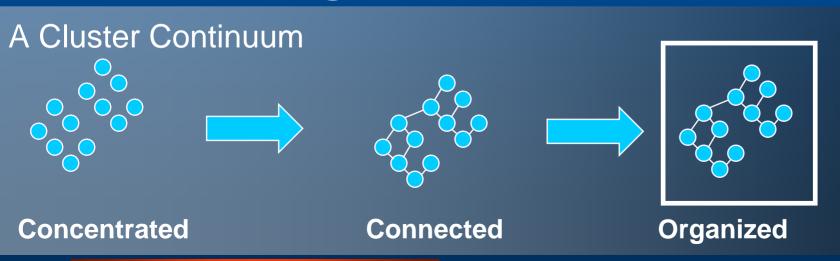


Micro-foundations of Clusters

- Labor Market Pooling
- Supplier Specialization
- Knowledge Spillovers
- Entrepreneurship
- Path Dependence and Lock-In
- Culture
- Local Demand

Stages of Clustering

- Concentrations of firms and workers
- Awareness, Conscious Action & Communication
- Formal Organization



Many Different Kinds of Clusters

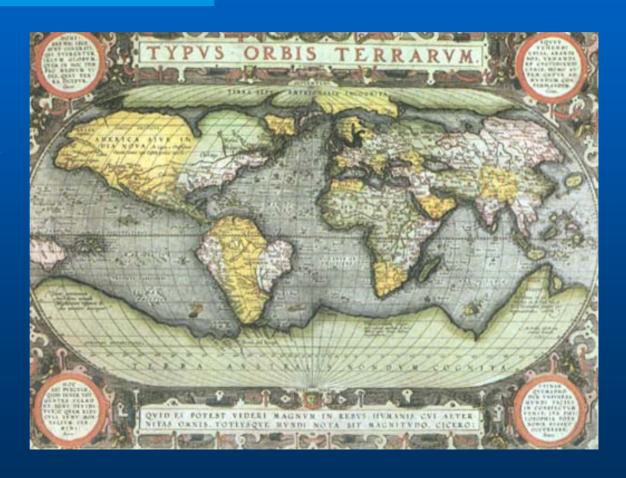
- Buyer-Supplier and Value Chain
- Inter-Firm Relationships
- Geographic Extent
- Level of Activation/Awareness
 - Working, Latent, Potential
- Cluster Life Cycle- Phase
 - Embryonic, Growing, Mature/Declining, Renewing
- Other Issues

II. Finding Clusters

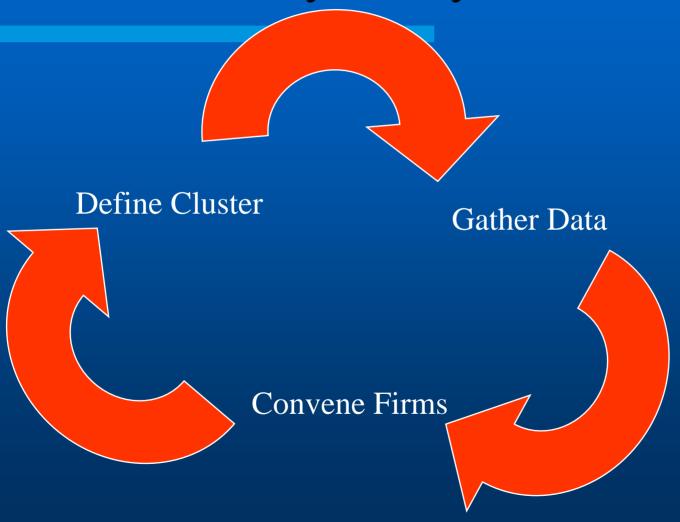
- Applying our definition to the real world
- Quantitative and Qualitiative
 Techniques are complementary

Cluster Mapping

- A few places are well explored
- Outlines are (mostly) clear
- Much detail is still unknown



Cluster Analysis Cycle



Sectors are not Clusters

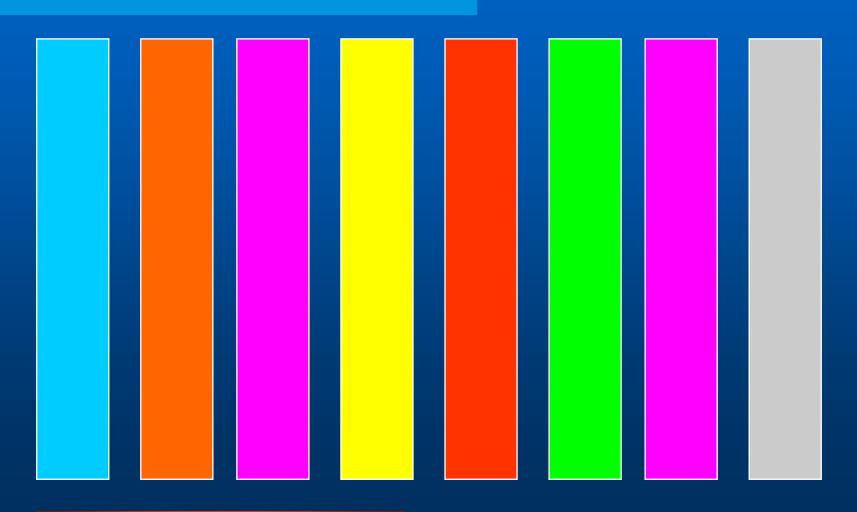
SECTORS

Most quantitative analysis relies on data organized according to the SIC or NAICS classification schemes to define industries

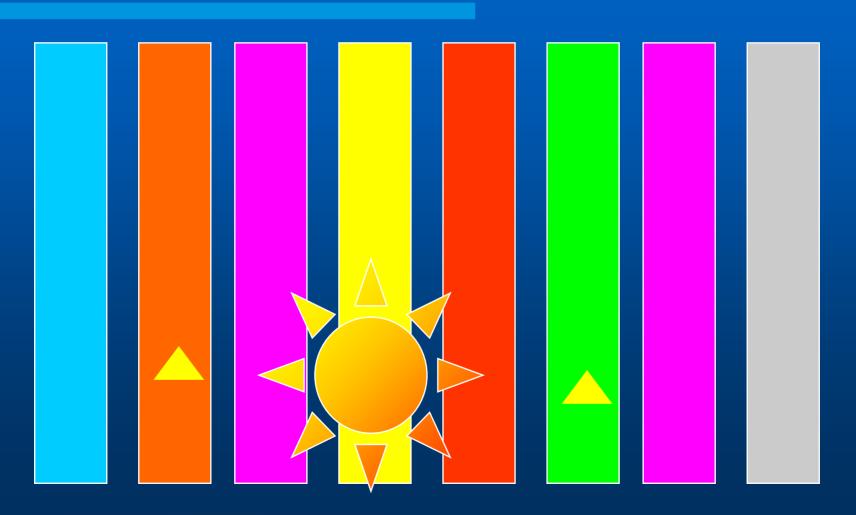
CLUSTERS

Qualitative analyses define clusters according to local relationships. Cluster theory maintains that clusters cut across sector lines; many clusters are highly specialized

Sectors

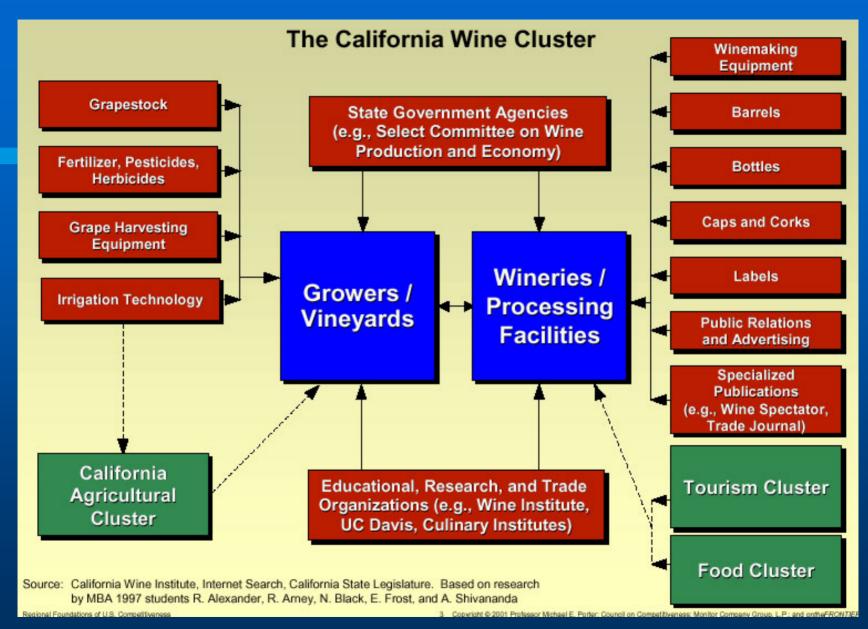


A Cluster can span sectors



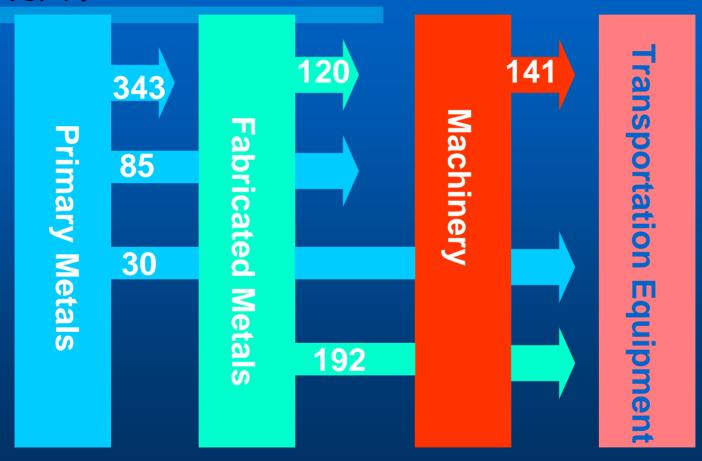
Or be a small part of a larger sector





Source: Michael Porter

Metals Industry Value Added Chain



Estimated Inter-Industry Purchases, \$ Millions, 1992

Athletic Apparel & Footwear

- Nike, Adidas, Columbia
- Nearly 10,000 employees
- Leading center for design
- Attracting others, creating startups





Nursery Products

- \$800 million annual sales
- 1,000 producers
- Economies of scope



Micro foundations

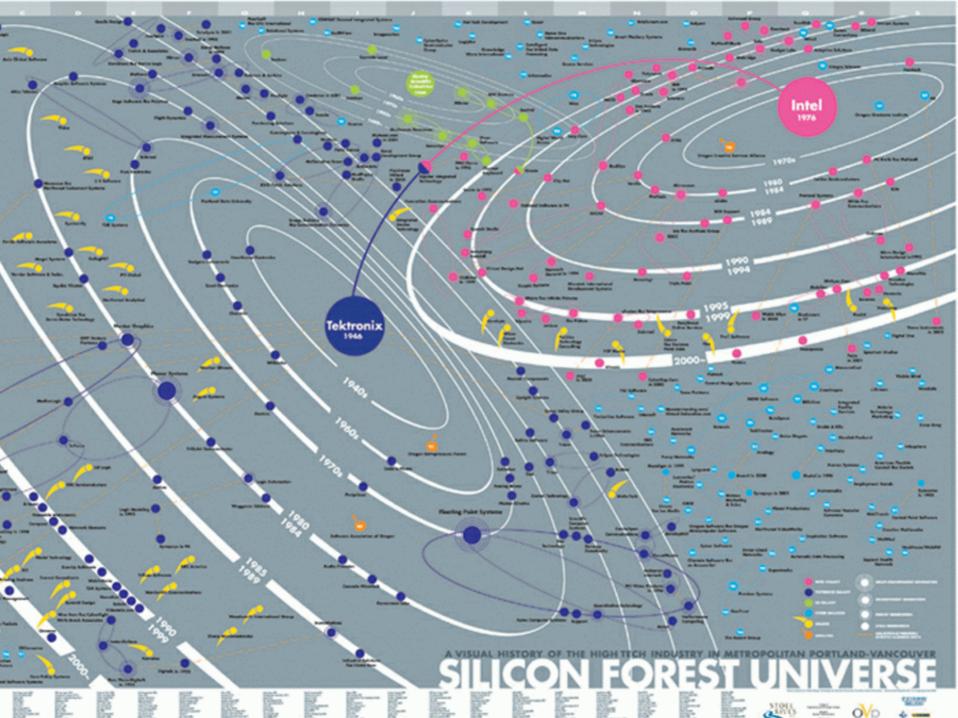
- Relatively little effort to characterize the different sources of cluster advantages across clusters, over time and among geographies
- The "Murder on the Orient Express" problem: All factors potentially contribute to clustering

Different Explanations for the Same Clusters

- Silicon Valley Explanations
 - Subsidies from defense spending (Markusen)
 - Local higher education spillovers (Rogers and Larsen)
 - Unique business culture and relationships (Saxenian)
 - Extraordinary academic leader (Krugman)
 - Long history of radio & television (Sturgeon)

Top Down v. Bottom Up Approaches

Characteristic	Top Down	Bottom-Up
Approach	Quantitative	Qualitative
Principal Data	Secondary Data	Primary Data
Methodology	Statistical Modeling	Case Studies
Industrial Proximity	Classification System	Descriptive
Scope	Nationwide,	Local,
	Multi-Industry	Single-Cluster
Dominant Logic	Deductive	Inductive
Measures	Employment, Patents,	Relationships,
	Wages, Sales	Institutions
Findings	Broadly Applicable	Narrowly Limited



The universe is expanding



III. Action

Working with clusters

Clusters as a Framework for Policy

- An organizing principle for engaging a region in a discussion of its economic strengths and weaknesses
- A flexible tool at the intersection of analysis and policy-making
- Best efforts integrate quantitative and qualitative methods

Policy Measures and Micro-Foundations

- Labor Market Pooling: Labor market information, specialized training
- Supplier Specialization: Brokering, recruiting, entrepreneurship, credit
- Knowledge-spillovers: Networking, public sector R&D support
- Entrepreneurship: Assistance for start-ups, spinoffs
- Lock-In: Work to extend and refine (and recombine) existing distinctive specializations
- Culture: Acknowledge and support cluster Organization
- Local Demand: Aggregate and strengthen local demand

Wishful Thinking

- Generally not possible to create a cluster where none exists
- Policy should focus on conditions for cluster growth, revival, and creation
- Identifying emerging clusters should be a priority

Get Real

- Assess your cluster's competitive strength
- Benchmark against leading clusters elsewhere
- How is your cluster different or better?

General Policy Approaches

- Improve the technical support services
- Invest in social capital and social infrastructure
- Empower and listen to cluster leaders
- Encourage cross-fertilization of ideas across clusters
- Recruit companies that fill gaps in cluster development
- Develop and organize supply chain associations
- Support employee/entrepreneurs

After Rosenfeld (2002)

Gaps remain in many cluster efforts

- Goals of economic development not aligned with clusters
- Programs still oriented to "one business at a time"
- Staff and management not recognized or rewarded for cluster work
- Cluster information is ad hoc, not systemic

Integrating clusters into economic development

- Make cluster success an economic goal
- Design programs that reward collaboration
- Reward and recognize managers and employees for cluster successes
- Provide ongoing information and training
- Create a cluster network to share ideas

IV. Biotechnology

Industry Segmentation

Pharmaceuticals

- **♦ Very large, global firms**
 - Top ten average \$15 billion sales
- Assets are products, distribution, manufacturing expertise
- **♦ Very Profitable**

Biotechnology

- ♦ Small, mostly single establishment firms
 - ◆Top ten average \$700 million sales
- ◆ Principal assets are people, research and future potential
- **♦ Lose Money**

Nine Metros Dominate



Two Pillars of Biotech Development

Research

NIH GrantsPatents

Commercialization

Venture Capital

- R&D Partnerships
- Startup Firms
- **Established Firms**

Leaders vs. the Pack

Average Levels of Activity

	Top 9	Bottom
Metric	Centers	42
NIH\$ (millions)	812	104
Patents	2,641	263
Venture Capital	957	27
R&D Alliances	1,089	11
New Firms	35	2.3
Large Firms	24	1.5
Biotech VC Firm	ns 47	4

Research Dispersing

Top 9 Centers Share

	1980s	<u>1990s</u>
NIH\$	63%	59%
Patents	71%	68%

Commercialization Concentrating

Top 9 Centers Share

1980s	1990s

Venture Capital* 81% 86%

R&D Alliances* 89% 96%

New Firms 61% 77% 1

^{*}Base data from early to mid-1990s www.impresaconsulting.com



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