

# The Government's Role in Stimulating Clusters

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# Cluster Policy in Context

- We're interested in clusters as means of promoting economic competitiveness
- Clusters are but one means to organizing for competitiveness
- There are many other institutional arrangements critical to competitiveness
- The government's role in supporting clusters needs to be considered in the context of its various efforts to promote competitiveness

# Government's Role in Promoting Economic Competitiveness

- To promote competitiveness, government needs a multi-faceted economic strategy
- Assess
  - the competitiveness of traded sector industries
  - the adequacy of the resource systems that generally support traded industries, such as
    - education
    - workforce
    - financial capital
    - transportation and communications infrastructure

# Government's Role in Promoting Economic Competitiveness

- Design and implement combination of “bottom-up” and “top-down” policies
  - Bottom-up – stimulates the competitive efforts of market actors through information, facilitation, regulation, money
  - Top-down – strategic investments in key industries
- Support for clusters should be an integral component of the whole

# The United States Has No Economic Strategy

Federal macroeconomic policy seeks to manage economic cycle, not structure

- Employment Act of 1946—Keynesian, post-Depression and WWII
- “(I)t is the . . . responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means ... to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.”
- Created Council of Economic Advisers, annual economic report, Joint Economic Committee
- Macroeconomic policies are aspatial

# The United States Has No Economic Strategy

1940s-1970s

- Substantial national and household economic growth
- The nation's economic structure looked stable and not in need of central policy attention
  - largely manufacturing-based
  - dominated by a relative handful of major corporations
  - based in well-established regional clusters
  - not vulnerable to foreign competition
- Efforts to enhance economic structure were addressed outside of traditional economic policy – e.g., National Science Foundation, Federal Highway Administration, Small Business Administration

# The United States Has No Economic Strategy

1980s-2010s

- Ongoing restructuring in the face of global competition and technological change
  - Of regional economies, industries, and labor markets
- Federal policy responses to competition are ad hoc, disparate, siloed, insufficient, underfunded
  - For example, Economic Development Administration, Technology Administration, Manufacturing Extension Partnership, Workforce Investment Act, America COMPETES
- There is no set of competitiveness policy institutions analogous to that for macroeconomic policy
  - Lack of emphasis on regional

# Relevance of Clusters to Economic Competitiveness/Strategy

- Regional traded sectors are the building blocks of the national economy
- Clusters are the engines of regional traded sectors
- Most traded industries have a small number of dominant regional clusters
  - Centripetal force
- Geographic disaggregation of functions reshapes some clusters from industry- to function-focused
- In a world of perpetual economic transition and technological change, regional/cluster dominance cannot be taken for granted



# Policy-relevant Characteristics of Clusters

- Each cluster is unique—in content, process, culture, and trajectory
- Critical factors of cluster success—relationships and collaboration, creativity and innovation, investments, core skills and abilities
- Importance of effective cluster initiatives—formally organized efforts to promote cluster competitiveness and growth

# Collaborative Activities Facilitated by Cluster Initiatives

- Market development
- Education and training activities
- Research, development, and commercialization
- Innovation adoption
- Networking within cluster, within region, and with clusters in other locations
- New business development, firm, and worker attraction
- Representation of cluster interests before external organizations

# Characteristics of Successful Cluster Initiatives

- Are industry-led
- Are inclusive
- Involve state and local government decision-makers
- Create consensus regarding vision and roadmap
- Encourage broad participation and collaboration in implementation
- Are well-funded initially and self-sustaining over the long-term
- Link with relevant external efforts

# Implications for Competitiveness Policy

- In light of the importance of clusters to competitiveness, it's in the nation's interest to have effective cluster initiatives across traded industries
- However, while cluster initiatives often emerge as a natural, firm-led outgrowth of cluster development . . .

# Barriers to the Creation of Cluster Initiatives

- Public good and free rider problems
- Mistrust among firms
- Lack of knowledge ("how-to")
- Lack of relationships or standing with key organizations
- Lack of financial resources

# Rationale for a Federal Support of Cluster Initiatives

- A robust set of cluster initiatives among key traded industries would be a valuable asset for competitiveness
- However, the nation's set of cluster initiatives is thin and uneven in terms of geographic and industry coverage, level of effort, and organizational capacity
- State- and region-led efforts to support cluster initiatives are insufficient—spotty, uncoordinated, lacking in knowledge and resources

# Rationale for a Federal Support of Cluster Initiatives

For the purposes of national competitiveness, federal government involvement is needed to facilitate a robust set of cluster initiatives

- comprehensive regional and industry coverage
- efficiencies of providing data and information to cluster initiatives to support strategy
- development and dissemination of knowledge about effective cluster practices

# Rationale for a Federal Support of Cluster Initiatives

- financial resources at a scale necessary to catalyze cluster initiatives
- cluster initiative access to an array of complementary national economic and workforce development program resources
- cluster initiatives that cross state boundaries enabled
- coordination with a national competitiveness strategy



# Federal Role in Supporting Cluster Initiatives – Principles

- 1) The federal government's approach should be flexible, "bottom-up," and collaboration-oriented, rather than prescriptive, "top-down," or input-focused
- 2) The government should have a diverse tool kit, including information, knowledge, and grants
- 3) The federal effort should be funded at a level appropriate to the need

# Federal Role in Supporting Cluster Initiatives – Principles

- 4) The federal effort should build and rely on the capacity of state and regional organizations to catalyze cluster competitiveness
  - Sub-national partners are adept at relational and technical assistance tasks
- 5) Federal policy should provide incentives to link, leverage and align existing federal programs that support regional economic development

# Brookings Proposals – 2008

- 1) Create an information center to trace cluster activity and support cluster initiative efforts (\$10 million)
  - Current, data-rich picture of the geography of cluster activity in the U.S. and world
  - Register of U.S. cluster initiatives
  - Knowledge collection and dissemination on cluster initiative impacts and best practices

# Brookings Proposals – 2008

- 2) Establish a grants fund to support cluster initiative programs nationwide (\$350 million)
  - Program feasibility study, planning, initiative start-up grants ( $\leq$  \$1 million)
  - State and regional cluster initiative operational grants (\$1 million - \$15 million)
  - Criteria to be met, 1:1 match

# Federal Cluster Policy Efforts 2009-2011

- This Administration and Congress see clusters as an important component of competitiveness
- Regional Innovation Program, Section 603, America COMPETES (2010)
  - Authorizes \$100M for EDA
    - Cluster Grants
    - Regional Innovation Research And Information Program

# Federal Cluster Policy Efforts 2009-2011

- Taskforce for the Advancement of Regional Innovation Clusters (TARIC), promoting multi-agency cluster grants
  - Jobs and Innovation Accelerator Challenge (20 grantees, \$37M)
  - Research-to-deployment
    - I6 (6 grantees, \$12M)
    - I6 Green (6 grantees, \$12M)
    - E-RIC (1 grantee, \$130M) – Building Energy Efficiency

# Federal Cluster Policy Efforts 2009-2011

- Economic Development Administration
  - Reorientation of investment priorities
    - #1 Collaborative Regional Innovation--Initiatives that support the development and growth of innovation clusters based on existing regional competitive strengths.
  - Manages i6 Challenge and Jobs and Accelerator Challenge
  - Clusters Mapping Project (\$1M)
  - Regional Innovation Acceleration Network

# Federal Cluster Policy Efforts 2009-2011

- Small Business Administration
  - Innovative Economy Clusters grants (10 grantees, September 2010)
  - Partner in Jobs and Innovation Accelerator Challenge



# Federal Cluster Policy Challenges

- Develop a competitiveness strategy for U.S. traded sectors and define a clear, substantial role for clusters policy within that
- Articulate and implement a clusters strategy that seeks to improve the capacity of all clusters to be more competitive, through various means:
  - Data and information
  - Knowledge development and sharing
  - Strategic use of scarce federal funds from multiple sources
  - Increase funding for cluster grant efforts

## Way in the Past

- The Federal government understood the importance of mapping the geography of clusters

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# CENSUS REPORTS

## VOLUME VII

TWELFTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
TAKEN IN THE YEAR 1900

WILLIAM R. MERRIAM, DIRECTOR

# MANUFACTURES

PART I

UNITED STATES BY INDUSTRIES

PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF S. N. D. NORTH,  
CHIEF STATISTICIAN FOR MANUFACTURES



WASHINGTON  
UNITED STATES CENSUS OFFICE  
1902

*Bureau of the Census  
Library*

TABLE LXXXII.—*Boots and shoes: Localization by cities, 1890 and 1900.*

[Cities of 20,000 population and over.]

CITIES.	VALUE OF PRODUCTS.		PER CENT OF TOTAL.	
	1900	1890	1900	1890
United States .....	\$261,028,580	\$220,640,358	100.0	100.0
Brockton, Mass .....	19,844,897	16,171,624	7.6	7.3
Lynn, Mass .....	16,830,733	20,190,695	6.4	9.2
Haverhill, Mass .....	15,231,440	16,137,352	5.8	7.3
Cincinnati, Ohio .....	8,788,424	6,024,454	3.4	2.7
St. Louis, Mo .....	8,286,156	4,250,960	3.2	1.9
Rochester, N. Y .....	6,933,111	6,480,332	2.6	3.0
Philadelphia, Pa .....	5,931,046	6,861,834	2.3	3.1
Brooklyn borough, N. Y .....	5,733,432	2,480,885	2.2	1.1
Chicago, Ill .....	5,723,126	7,257,034	2.2	3.3
Manchester, N. H .....	4,052,204	( <sup>1</sup> )	1.6	.....
Boston, Mass .....	3,882,055	1,508,697	1.5	0.7
Columbus, Ohio .....	3,505,126	359,000	1.4	0.2
Manhattan and Bronx boroughs, N. Y .....	3,391,063	5,206,411	1.3	2.4
Salem, Mass .....	2,974,631	1,178,724	1.1	0.5
North Adams, Mass .....	2,881,474	( <sup>2</sup> )	1.1	.....
All other cities and outside of cities.	147,089,663	125,483,806	56.3	57.3

<sup>1</sup> Not reported separately.

<sup>2</sup> Under 20,000 population in 1890.

TABLE XC.—*Cotton goods: Localization by cities, 1890 and 1900.*

[Cities of 20,000 population or over.]

CITIES.	VALUE OF PRODUCTS.		PER CENT OF TOTAL.	
	1900	1890	1900	1890
United States .....	\$339,200,820	\$257,981,724	100.0	100.0
Fall River, Mass .....	29,286,526	24,925,764	8.6	9.3
Philadelphia, Pa .....	17,620,298	11,514,601	5.2	4.3
Lowell, Mass .....	17,046,070	19,789,111	5.0	7.4
New Bedford, Mass .....	16,748,783	8,188,286	4.9	3.1
Manchester, N. H .....	11,720,508	10,957,219	3.4	4.1
Lawrence, Mass .....	8,151,194	6,046,914	2.4	2.3
Pawtucket, R. I .....	5,636,455	3,954,960	1.7	1.5
Lewiston, Me .....	4,638,115	5,013,337	1.4	1.9
Taunton, Mass .....	4,593,406	2,747,816	1.4	1.0
Warwick, R. I <sup>1</sup> .....	4,413,897	( <sup>2</sup> )	1.3	.....
Holyoke, Mass .....	3,764,848	4,392,722	1.1	1.6
Augusta, Ga .....	3,429,348	3,979,042	1.0	1.4
All other cities and outside of cities.	212,149,352	166,474,952	62.6	62.1

<sup>1</sup> Under 20,000 population.

<sup>2</sup> Not reported separately.

TABLE CXXXVIII. *Localization of specified industries, by cities:*  
Summary, 1900.

[Cities of 20,000 population or over.]

INDUSTRIES.	Value of products in the United States.	Cities.	Value of products in the city named.	Per cent of the United States in the city named.
Collars and cuffs.....	\$15,769,182	Troy, N. Y.....	\$13,460,196	85.3
Oysters, canning and preserving.	3,670,134	Baltimore, Md ...	2,364,968	64.4
Coke .....	35,585,446	Connellsville, Pa. <sup>1</sup>	17,125,112	48.1
Brassware .....	17,140,075	Waterbury, Conn.	8,183,492	47.8
Carpets and rugs, other than rag.	48,192,351	Philadelphia, Pa.	21,986,062	45.6
Gloves.....	16,721,234	Gloversville, N. Y. <sup>2</sup>	6,487,227	38.8
	16,721,234	Johnstown, N. Y. <sup>2</sup>	2,576,048	15.4
	16,721,234	Chicago, Ill. ....	2,209,529	13.2
Silverware .....	10,509,121	Providence, R. I..	3,834,408	36.3
	10,509,121	Manhattan and Bronx boroughs, N. Y.	2,741,994	25.9
Slaughtering and meat packing, wholesale.	698,206,548	Chicago, Ill.....	248,811,937	35.6
Plated and britannia ware	698,206,548	Kansas City, Kans.	78,205,027	10.5
Jewelry .....	12,608,770	Meriden, Conn. ...	4,129,896	32.8
	46,501,181	Providence, R. I..	12,719,124	27.4
	46,501,181	Manhattan and Bronx boroughs, N. Y.	9,172,849	19.7
	46,501,181	Newark, N. J. ....	7,364,247	15.8
	46,501,181	Attleboro, Mass. <sup>2</sup>	5,701,802	12.3
Agricultural implements.	101,207,428	Chicago, Ill.....	24,848,649	24.5
Silk and silk goods .....	107,256,258	Paterson, N. J. ....	26,006,156	24.2
Tobacco, chewing, smoking, and snuff.	103,754,362	St. Louis, Mo.....	24,411,307	22.7
Corsets .....	14,878,116	Bridgeport, Conn.	8,224,198	21.7
	14,878,116	New Haven, Conn.	1,893,956	12.7
Worsted goods.....	120,814,344	Lawrence, Mass. ...	24,678,138	20.5
	120,814,344	Providence, R. I..	16,603,252	13.8
	120,814,344	Philadelphia, Pa.	10,242,250	13.5
	27,811,187	Danbury, Conn. <sup>2</sup>	5,007,095	18.0
Fur hats.....	27,811,187	Newark, N. J. ....	8,463,619	12.4
	27,811,187	Philadelphia, Pa.	3,075,470	11.1
Brass castings and brass	80,848,044	Waterbury, Conn.	5,040,520	16.2

TABLE CXXXIX.—*Specialization of cities, by specified industries:*  
Summary, 1900.

[Cities of 20,000 population or over.]

SPECIFIED INDUSTRIES. <sup>1</sup>	SPECIALIZED CENTERS.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF WAGE-EARNERS IN SPECIALIZED CENTERS.		
		All industries.	Specified industry.	Per cent of specialization.
Slaughtering and meat packing, wholesale.	South Omaha, Nebr..	6,606	5,938	89.9
Iron and steel.....	Kansas City, Kans....	10,544	7,684	72.7
	McKeesport, Pa. ....	7,605	6,763	88.8
	Youngstown, Ohio ...	9,150	6,644	72.6
	Newcastle, Pa.....	4,992	3,820	66.5
	Johnstown, Pa.....	6,116	3,871	63.3
Pottery, terra cotta, and fire-clay products.	East Liverpool, Ohio. <sup>2</sup>	4,473	3,908	87.4
Fur hats .....	Bethel, Conn. <sup>2</sup> .....	780	671	86.0
	Danbury, Conn. <sup>2</sup> .....	4,206	3,113	72.5
	Orange, N. J. ....	2,712	1,457	53.2
Glass.....	Tarentum, Pa. <sup>2</sup> .....	1,420	1,152	81.1
	Charleroi, Pa. <sup>2</sup> .....	1,270	983	79.1
	Millville, N. J. <sup>2</sup> .....	2,290	1,463	63.9
	Gas City, Ind. <sup>2</sup> .....	1,427	890	62.4
	Alexandria, Ind. <sup>2</sup> .....	1,003	986	98.3
Cotton goods.....	Fall River, Mass.....	32,780	26,371	80.4
	Worwick, R. I. <sup>2</sup> .....	5,544	4,851	78.7
	New Bedford, Mass....	16,409	12,256	74.9
	Lewiston, Me.....	7,159	4,804	64.3
	Manchester, N. H. ....	19,032	10,616	55.8
Boots and shoes.....	Brockton, Mass.....	10,086	8,498	77.4
	Haverhill, Mass.....	10,600	7,376	69.6
Silk and silk goods.....	West Hoboken, N. J. .	3,028	2,306	76.2
	Paterson, N. J. ....	30,190	15,948	52.8
Gloves, leather.....	Gloversville, N. Y. <sup>2</sup>	8,111	6,075	74.9
	Johnstown, N. Y. <sup>2</sup>	3,884	2,816	59.6
Jewelry.....	North Attleboro, Mass. <sup>2</sup>	2,162	1,550	71.7
	Attleboro, Mass. <sup>2</sup>	5,106	2,883	56.5
Collars and cuffs.....	Troy, N. Y. ....	21,564	14,822	68.7
Worsted goods.....	Lawrence, Mass.....	22,358	10,998	49.2



18. *The Universal Character of the Localization of Industries.*—The tables presented in this chapter indicate statistically the localization of the industries selected. In some of these cases the causes are apparent, while in others there is a variety and complexity of causes which makes an explanation of the phenomenon a very difficult matter. Most of these causes are not local or even national in their character, for they operate in all industrial nations to bring about the same results. Nearly all of the industries shown above have a localization in England which is quite as marked as that in this country. In Russia there are over 500 villages devoted to the various branches of wood work, in one village practically nothing being made except spokes for the wheels of vehicles, in another nothing but the bodies, etc. Moreover the phenomenon is not a modern one.

for it has appeared in every manufacturing country as soon as local communities have developed trade with each other. A lawyer's handy book written about 1250, and quoted by J. E. Thorold Rogers in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," tells of the localization of scarlet cloth in Lincoln, burnet at Beverly, russet at Colchester, needles at Wilton, razors at Leicester, etc.

20. *The Causes of Localization.*—Seven of the various advantages which give rise to the localization of industries may be stated as follows: 1, nearness to materials; 2, nearness to markets; 3, waterpower; 4, a favorable climate; 5, a supply of labor; 6, capital available for investment in manufactures; 7, the momentum of an early start.

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