Policies for Cluster Creation: Lessons from the ISRN Research Initiative

David A. Wolfe Meric S. Gertler

Program on Globalization and Regional Innovation Systems
Centre for International Studies
University of Toronto

and



Context

- Innovation Systems Research Network (ISRN)
- Established in 1998 to support interaction among researchers and their partners
 - SSHRC, NSERC, NRC funding
 - Diffuse research findings to public and private sector partners
- ISRN cluster initiative launched in 2001
 - Support from SSHRC and other federal and provincial partners
- To investigate the process of cluster development in:
 - knowledge-intensive and traditional sectors
 - metro and non-metro regions
- Structure mirrors regions being studied
 - Research methodologies tailored to regions being studied
- Builds upon the capabilities and partnerships of ISRN
 - Links with extensive network of government partners
 - Strong network of international collaborators RAC



The Innovation Systems Approach

- network of institutions that interact to initiate, import and diffuse new technologies
 - government policy
 - corporate R&D
 - education and training system
 - structure of industry
- patterns of interaction between firms as collective learning process in acquisition and use of new knowledge
 - internal organization of firms
 - network of interfirm relationships
 - role of public sector
 - degree of R&D intensity
 - nature of R&D organization

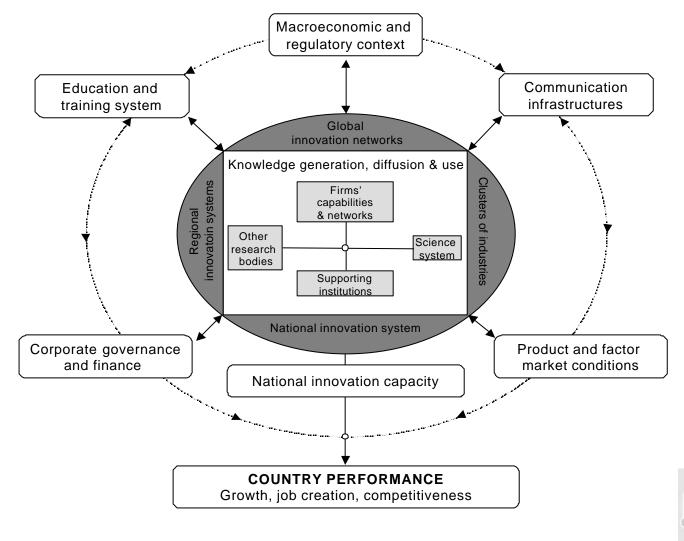


Elements of the Innovation System

- Private firms especially R&D performers
- Science System S&T infrastructure
 - Public research institutions
 - Private and cooperative research organizations
 - Technology transfer agencies
- Government Programs
- Networks to facilitate knowledge and technology transfer
 - Including business organizations
- Education and Training System
 - Including local labour markets and training institutions
- Financial system support for technology financing



National System of Innovation



Innovation Systems Research Network

Spatial Scales

National

- Industry structure
- Corporate organization and governance
- Legal/regulatory framework
- Fiscal (taxation) and macroeconomic environment
- Framework of industrial relations and labour training
- Financial system
- Government policy

State/Provincial

- Regional areas of specialization
- Research infrastructure higher education sector
- Specialized training institutions
- Industrial attraction and retention
- Government policy/support

Local /Cluster

- Civic governance
- Physical /communications infrastructure
- K-12 education system



Sources of Competitive Advantage in Regional Economies

- Distance Matters
 - Strong geographic spillovers between public research centres and industrial R&D
- Knowledge and practices transferred between firms
 - 'untraded interdependencies' technological spillovers
 - not always codified or explicit ie. tacit dimension
 - transferred through networks
- Networking based on trust
 - shared intelligence of group of firms
 - grounded in a regional economy
- Social capital shared norms and trust
 - facilitates cooperation among firms and sectors



Cluster Characteristics

- Defined as:
 - "a geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field linked by commonalities and complementarities" (Porter)
- Competitive advantage of clusters:
 - Superior access to specialized inputs reduces transaction costs - availability of specialized and experienced personnel
 'thick labour market'
 - 'diverse specialization' focus on core competences and increases flexibility
 - Improves capacity to innovate through access to knowledge
 - Stimulates process of firm formation through startups and spinoffs



Critical Factors for Cluster Emergence

- Strong, diverse and tech-savvy talent pool
 - Florida's three 'T's
- Presence of established pillar companies with global reach
- Strong knowledge infrastructure
 - research university, government labs etc.
- Specialized support services such as
 - Tech-savvy law and accounting firms
- Risk tolerant venture capital and angel investors
- Entrepreneurial culture that nourishes innovation
- Sustained development strategies by civic entrepreneurs and local governments (social capital)

Cluster Case Studies

- Size and composition of the cluster
- History of the cluster's evolution, including key events (intentional and accidental)
- Relationships between firms
- Relationships between firms, research infrastructure, other institutions/organizations
- Geographical structure of these relationships
- Role of finance capital (especially angel investors and venture capitalists)
- Role of local social capital and 'civic entrepreneurs'



Common Themes

- Learning
 - Old and new industries
 - In-house and inter-firm
 - Local buzz and global pipelines
- Labour
 - Talent and creativity
 - Thickness, opportunities, depth of local labour market
- Leadership: @ 2 scales
 - Firm: managerial talent differentiates one firm from another (e.g. Steel)
 - Community: 'civic entrepreneurs' (e.g. Ottawa telecom, Calgary wireless)

Common Themes

- Legislation/Laws/Labs: Public sector role
 - Institutions, regulatory frameworks
 - Research infrastructure
 - Public labs, universities, colleges
 - Collective assets
 - AGT
 - Local agencies ('animateurs')
- Location
 - A more nuanced understanding of its importance
 - Tension between local and non-local relationships, flows
 - Specificity: respecting regional, national, sectoral, historical variation



Two 'models' emerging

- Type I: Regionally embedded, anchored
 - Global knowledge flows important
 - But local knowledge/science base is a major contributor
 - Local universities/research institutes are an important part of this base
 - One or a few lead, 'anchor' firms or institutions
- Type I: Examples
 - Montreal biotech
 - Ottawa telecom/photonics
 - Hamilton steel (esp. Dofasco)



Two 'models' emerging

- Type II: 'Entrepot'
 - Much of knowledge base acquired through market transactions, global sources
 - Local institutions, firms exploit this knowledge effectively and combine it with local assets, capabilities for success
- Type II: Examples
 - Montreal aerospace
 - Saskatoon agri-biotech
 - Calgary wireless



Key cluster indicators

- Flows, dynamics
- Inflows
 - Capital
 - VC, FDI, M&A
 - People
 - Stars, post-docs
 - Talent (other highly skilled labour)
- Outflows
 - Products (goods, services) to world markets
- Knowledge/learning: embodied, other
 - IP (licensing; other codified forms)



Key cluster indicators: Local social dynamics

- Co-operation, networks
- Competition
- Circulation of labour, entrepreneurs
- Community-level associative governance
- Key elements, assets, drivers: "what is it that anchors this industry in this region?"



Key cluster indicators: History and path dynamics

- Discontinuities, shocks
- Resilience, robustness
- Adaptation, evolution
- Learning from success
 - spinoffs, demonstration effects
- Learning from failure
 - release of surplus assets: key to next wave of prosperity



Policy Implications

- Importance of social factors and institution building
- Linkages between elements of the system
 - Especially research infrastructure and clusters
 - Not just a 'supply-push' phenomenon
- Importance of demand side of innovation system
 - Absorptive capacity at both firm and regional level
 - Knowledge is not a 'free good'
- National policies impact at the local level
 - Interact with the other spatial scales
- Growing role of networks and clusters
 - Talent as a key attractor 'Competing on Creativity'
 - Combination of educational resources and quality of life factors

Policy Implications II

- Requires broad mix of policies
 - Support for upgrading innovative capacity of firms
 - Infrastructure to promote rapid diffusion of technologies
 - Support growth of SME's through networking and interaction
 - Creation and retention of 'talent' is critical
 - Stimulate both supply of and demand for new knowledge
 - Role of financial system
- Critical role of strategic planning and regional foresight at the local and community level
 - Coordinate federal agencies at local level

