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## **Redefinition of the Role of Asia-Pacific Region in the Global Economy**

edited by  
Bogusława Drelich-Skulska  
Anna H. Jankowiak  
Szymon Mazurek



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## Contents

Preface.....	9
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### Part 1. Current Trends and Perspectives in Economic Policy of the Asia-Pacific Countries

---

<b>Katarzyna Żukrowska:</b> The role of Asia-Pacific region in current stage of development of world economy .....	13
<b>Elżbieta Czarny, Jerzy Menkes:</b> Role and significance of Asia and Europe in the U.S. policy .....	28
<b>Marcin Grabowski:</b> The role of transnational integration in forming of Northeast Asian Community.....	41
<b>Szymon Mazurek:</b> Diversity of cluster policies in Asian countries.....	57
<b>Tomasz Wojciech Wiśniewski:</b> The concept of energy security – overall analysis approach.....	71
<b>Magdalena Broszkiewicz:</b> Corporate Social Responsibility as a new source of competitiveness in Asia.....	89
<b>Joanna Kos-Łabędowicz, Sylwia Talar:</b> South Korea model of development of Internet economy infrastructure .....	100
<b>Po Kai Fang:</b> Taiwan’s position in Asia-Pacific economic integration after the ECFA.....	116
<b>Sebastian Bobowski:</b> Thai clustering – typology of the emerging market .....	127
<b>Paweł Dobrzański:</b> Government’s role in Asia-Pacific market economies. Japan vs. China .....	138

---

### Part 2. Prospects of Trade, Investment and Finance in Asia-Pacific Region

---

<b>Elżbieta Majchrowska:</b> New trends in the global trade: TPP – pivot to Asia? .....	153
<b>Jerzy Dudziński:</b> Remarks on export of developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the 21 <sup>st</sup> century .....	164
<b>Elżbieta Czarny, Paweł Folfas:</b> Changes in trade introversion of Asian regional trade agreements as a measure of their openness to regional and global cooperation (comparative analysis) .....	176
<b>Artur Klimek:</b> Asian stock exchanges: Position and development.....	188

<b>Ewa Trojnar:</b> Taiwan's trade relations in the Asia-Pacific: Current stage and future challenges.....	197
<b>Agnieszka Kukulka:</b> Natural disasters and FDI inflow in the developing countries of South-Eastern Asia.....	208
<b>Paweł Pasierbiak:</b> International fragmentation of production and foreign trade of Japan.....	217
<b>Iwona Pawlas:</b> The role of India in the global economy in the beginning of the 21 <sup>st</sup> century .....	228
<b>Iwona Sobol:</b> Islamic banking – the case of Malaysia.....	240

---

### Part 3. The challenges for the Chinese economy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

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<b>Marcin Jałowiecki:</b> China's economy in the future till 2030.....	253
<b>Anna H. Jankowiak:</b> Economic differentiation of regions in China .....	267
<b>Małgorzata Smagorowicz-Chojnowska:</b> <i>Xiao</i> as a way to the future capital leadership of the Asian-Pacific region founded on Confucian values (based on the Chinese example).....	281
<b>Małgorzata Dziembala:</b> Prospects for the development of economic cooperation between China and African countries.....	294
<b>Kuang-yi Chao:</b> Leadership or partnership – how China's Shanghai Pilot Free Trade Zone will promote RMB internationalization?.....	305
<b>Łukasz Gacek:</b> Challenges for the gas sector in China.....	313
<b>Tomasz Bieliński:</b> Development of human capital and governmental support as strategic advantages of Chinese high technology companies .....	326
<b>Karolina Łopacińska:</b> The competitive advantage of Chinese companies on the European market, and methods of building their market position.....	342

### Streszczenia

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### Część 1. Współczesne trendy i perspektywy w polityce ekonomicznej regionu Azji i Pacyfiku

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<b>Katarzyna Żukrowska:</b> Rola regionu Azji-Pacyfiku na obecnym etapie rozwoju światowej gospodarki .....	26
<b>Elżbieta Czarny, Jerzy Menkes:</b> Rola i znaczenie Azji i Europy w polityce USA.....	40
<b>Marcin Grabowski:</b> Rola integracji regionalnej w Azji w tworzeniu Wspólnoty Azji Północno-Wschodniej.....	55
<b>Szymon Mazurek:</b> Zróżnicowanie polityki klastrowej w krajach azjatyckich	70

<b>Tomasz Wiśniewski:</b> Pojęcie bezpieczeństwa energetycznego – podejście do całościowej analizy .....	88
<b>Magdalena Broszkiewicz:</b> Społeczna odpowiedzialność przedsiębiorstw jako nowe źródło konkurencyjności firm azjatyckich .....	99
<b>Joanna Kos-Łabędowicz, Sylwia Talar:</b> Południowokoreański model rozwoju infrastruktury gospodarki internetowej.....	115
<b>Po Kai Fang:</b> Pozycja Tajwanu w integracji ekonomicznej regionu Azji-Pacyfiku po ECFA.....	126
<b>Sebastian Bobowski:</b> Tajski klastering – typologia rynku wschodzącego.....	137
<b>Paweł Dobrzański:</b> Rola państwa w gospodarkach rynkowych Azji i Pacyfiku. Japonia vs. Chiny .....	150

---

## Część 2. Perspektywy handlu, inwestycji i finansów w regionie Azji i Pacyfiku

---

<b>Elżbieta Majchrowska:</b> Nowe trendy w światowym handlu: TPP – zwrot w stronę Azji? .....	163
<b>Jerzy Dudziński:</b> Uwagi o eksporcie rozwijających się krajów Azji, Afryki i Ameryki łacińskiej w XXI wieku .....	175
<b>Elżbieta Czarny, Paweł Folfas:</b> Zmiany wewnętrznej orientacji handlowej azjatyckich ugrupowań integracyjnych jako miary ich otwarcia na współpracę regionalną i globalną (analiza porównawcza).....	187
<b>Artur Klimek:</b> Azjatyckie giełdy papierów wartościowych: pozycja i rozwój .....	196
<b>Ewa Trojnar:</b> Stosunki handlowe Tajwanu z regionem Azji i Pacyfiku: bieżący stan i przyszłe wyzwania .....	208
<b>Agnieszka Kukulka:</b> Katastrofy naturalne a bezpośrednie inwestycje zagraniczne w krajach rozwijających się Azji Południowo-Wschodniej .....	216
<b>Paweł Pasierbiak:</b> Międzynarodowa fragmentaryzacja produkcji a handel zagraniczny Japonii .....	227
<b>Iwona Pawlas:</b> Rola Indii w globalnej gospodarce początku XXI wieku.....	239
<b>Iwona Sobol:</b> Bankowość islamska – przykład Malezji .....	250

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## Część 3. Wyzwania dla gospodarki Chin w XXI wieku

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<b>Marcin Jałowiecki:</b> Gospodarka Chin do roku 2030 .....	266
<b>Anna H. Jankowiak:</b> Zróżnicowanie ekonomiczne regionów Chin.....	280
<b>Małgorzata Smagorowicz-Chojnowska:</b> <i>Xiao</i> jako droga wiodąca do przywództwa regionu Azji i Pacyfiku, oparta na wartościach konfucjańskich (na przykładzie Chin) .....	293

---

<b>Malgorzata Dziembała:</b> Perspektywy rozwoju współpracy gospodarczej Chin z krajami Afryki .....	306
<b>Kuang-yi Chao:</b> Przywództwo czy partnerstwo – jak pilotażowa szanghajska strefa wolnego handlu będzie promować internacjonalizację RMB?.....	312
<b>Łukasz Gacek:</b> Wyzwania stojące przed chińskim sektorem gazowym .....	325
<b>Tomasz Bieliński:</b> Rozwój kapitału ludzkiego oraz pomoc rządowa jako przewagi strategiczne chińskich firm sektora wysokich technologii.....	341
<b>Karolina Łopacińska:</b> Konkurencyjność firm z kapitałem chińskim na rynku europejskim i sposoby jej kształtowania .....	355

**Szymon Mazurek**

Wrocław University of Economics

e-mail: [szymon.mazurek@ue.wroc.pl](mailto:szymon.mazurek@ue.wroc.pl)

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## DIVERSITY OF CLUSTER POLICIES IN ASIAN COUNTRIES<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** Cluster policies around the world take many shapes and forms. This statement is particularly true in case of Asian countries where cluster policies are as much differentiated as the economies of the region. This diversity is illustrated by the following examples: the Knowledge Clusters in Japan, Specialized Towns Program in China, provincial cluster development policy in Thailand, craft villages in Vietnam and Micro and Small Enterprises – Cluster Development Programme in India. This paper indicates the policy creation process based on multi actors and multi levels as the source of this diversity. On the road to the best possible cluster policy mix, one should take into consideration the cohesion and adequacy of the policy established in the particular economy.

**Keywords:** clusters, cluster policy, cluster initiatives, knowledge clusters, industrial clusters.

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### 1. Introduction

Cluster policies around the world take many shapes and forms. This diversity begins with the cluster definition itself. Some of the descriptions emphasize the networking aspects of cooperation between companies, others stress the need for creating a regional (or local) hub of business cooperation composed around governmental and scientific entities. Nowadays clusters are in fashion as they are connected with innovation – a popular keyword associated with economic growth and development. Therefore, in most cases clusters are perceived as structures that the regional economy can be proud of.

Clusters in Asian countries differ significantly from each other and there is no single Asian model of clusters. On the one hand it is an outcome of differences

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<sup>1</sup> The paper is the result of the research done by the author for the project “Clusters as an innovation carrier of enterprises and regions. Verification and implementation of Asian models in terms of the Polish economy,” funded by National Science Centre, Poland (2011/01/B/HS4/00639).

among Asian economies (including institutional and cultural context). On the other hand it is a result of various assumptions of policies formulated around business clustering concept.

## 2. Cluster policy mix

As previously mentioned, cluster policies take many shapes and forms. They may vary in terms of:<sup>2</sup>

- understanding (definition) of clusters,
- levels of governance (national, regional, local),
- policy targets (areas, sectors, type of firms),
- identification and selection of clusters to support,
- institutional configurations of cluster initiatives,
- instruments used to support clusters,
- time point and/or duration of support.

All those factors lead to a vast range of possible solutions. Each of them as a mixture of assumptions, objectives and instruments we can be called the policy mix.<sup>3</sup> The policy mix should be a coherent set of policy components answering the following basic questions (Figure 1):

- Why do we run this policy?
- Who is it addressed to?
- When do we want to start and end?
- What are we doing?
- How do we want to do it?
- Where to start?

Policy mix cannot therefore be a random set of elements. The idea behind the policy mixing is not about the diversity of options itself. The process of policy creation (e.g. cluster policy) according to given circumstances is much more important. Figure 2 shows how complicated it can be. Essential (rational) part of the process starts with a scholarly research and ends with the choice of proper policy instruments. But a steady influence of other factors forming the policy choices cannot be overlooked. The policy learning and the evaluation cycle is shaped by the policy making process which is not technocratic (this means implying linear transformation of scholarly ideas to policy rationales and then to policy instruments<sup>4</sup>).

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<sup>2</sup> E. Uyarrá, *Cluster Policy in an Evolutionary World? Rationales, Instruments and Policy Learning*, presentation for Cluster Policies from a Cluster Life Cycle Perspective, International Dissemination Workshop, 23–24 June, Berlin 2014.

<sup>3</sup> K. Flanagan, E. Uyarrá, M. Laranja, Reconceptualising the ‘policy mix’ for innovation, *Research Policy* 2011, vol. 40, pp. 702–713.

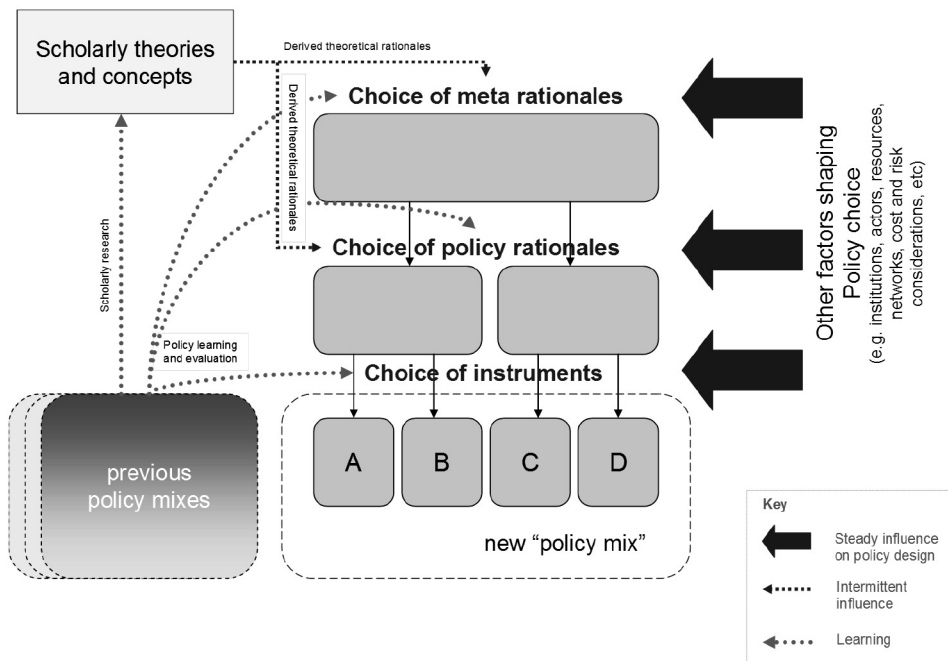
<sup>4</sup> K. Flanagan, E. Uyarrá, M. Laranja, *The “Policy Mix” for Innovation: Rethinking Innovation Policy in a Multi-level, Multi-actor Context*, Manchester Business School Working Paper, no. 599, Manchester 2010.





**Figure 1.** The policy-mix

Source: adapted from E. Uyerra, *Cluster Policy in an Evolutionary World? Rationales, Instruments and Policy Learning*, presentation for Cluster Policies from a Cluster Life Cycle Perspective, International Dissemination Workshop, 23–24 June, Berlin 2014.



**Figure 2.** The complexity of a policy

Source: E. Uyerra, *op.cit.*

A. Kay<sup>5</sup> describes it as a dilemma of decisions and choices: “public policy depends on human decisions. All decisions are made in historical context; they are inevitably influenced by the legacy of the past and the uncertainty of the future. Thus the description of individual decisions requires a sense of memory and expectation; these are subjective, personal and partial [...]. Policy is about choice: the choice of objectives; the choice of reasons for (in)action; the choice of policy instruments; the choice of how to respond to the consequences of policy outputs.” All those decisions and choices are made by actors intimately but also marginally involved in policy making process. M. Howlett and M. Ramesh<sup>6</sup> call it a *policy subsystem* which may embody almost an infinite variety of actors and institutions. “Composition varies by country, by policy domain and over time” – K. Flanagan et al<sup>7</sup> recapitulate.

The importance of multiple actors involved in the policy building process is also shown in *flowchart approach* proposed by A. Kuchiki.<sup>8</sup> The flowchart approach to cluster policy is a practical answer to Porterian diamond model of factors which is important for industrial clusters: factor conditions, demand conditions, related and supporting industries, firm strategy, government and chance. Its goal is to prioritize policy measures needed to support clusters, to identify important players and to give prescriptions to the policy.<sup>9</sup> As Figure 3 indicates, each step in building effective policy according to flowchart approach is connected with finding actors which may be involved on that stage.

K. Flanagan et al.<sup>10</sup> prefer more general approach to actor roles in policy making process. They define five basic groups of actors:

- 1) policy principals (actors mobilizing government resources in order to achieve a policy goal or goals),
- 2) policy entrepreneurs (actors promoting a policy problem/solution package),
- 3) policy targets (actors targeted by policy action for behaviour change, or new actors created by policy action in order to fill a perceived gap in the system),
- 4) policy implementation agents (existing or newly created actors in receipt of resources from a policy principal in order to achieve a policy outcome),
- 5) policy beneficiaries (actors who benefit).

Interaction between full array of stakeholders during policy making and policy implementation phases leads to an existence of diverse policies having their source

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<sup>5</sup> A. Kay, *The Dynamics of Public Policy: Theory and Evidence*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham 2006, p. 2.

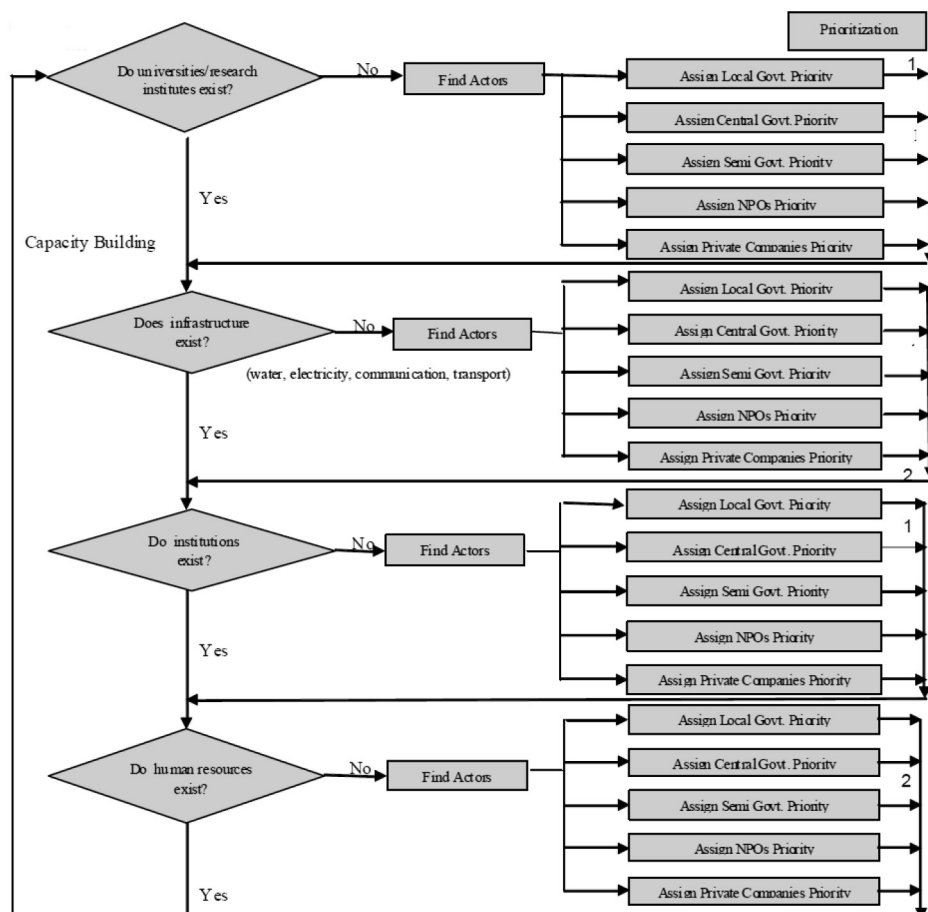
<sup>6</sup> M. Howlett, M. Ramesh, *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford University Press, Toronto 2003.

<sup>7</sup> K. Flanagan, E. Uyarra, M. Laranja, *The “Policy Mix”...*

<sup>8</sup> A. Kuchiki, *Theory of a Flowchart Approach to Industrial Cluster Policy*, Institute of Developing Economies Discussion Paper, no. 36, Chiba 2005.

<sup>9</sup> A. Kuchiki, M. Tsuji (eds.), *The Formation of Industrial Clusters in Asia and Regional Integration (Midterm Report)*, IDE-JETRO, Chiba 2008.

<sup>10</sup> K. Flanagan, E. Uyarra, M. Laranja, *The “Policy Mix”...*



**Figure 3.** A part of an exemplary flowchart of policy building according to flowchart approach

Source: A. Kuchiki, M. Tsuji (eds.), *The Formation of Industrial Clusters in Asia and Regional Integration (Midterm Report)*, IDE-JETRO, Chiba 2008.

in the same basic idea. Cluster policies formulated in different countries are an excellent example of this process.

### 3. Examples of different cluster policies in Asia

Asian cluster policies are as diversified as the Asian economies. Furthermore they are internally differentiated and consist of miscellaneous approaches to the support of clusters or just to the use of clustering concept in other areas of socio-economic policy. The variety of ideas and solutions in the field of cluster policies is a result of policy making process described above. Multi-level and multi-actor reality in each

country leads to the formulation of different policy-mixes (sets of policy goals and instruments) associated with local capabilities and limitations.

### 3.1. Knowledge cluster initiative in Japan

Current approach to cluster policy in Japan can be described as *challenge driven* or *vision led*. Clusters – defined as a network among industry, academia and government – are seen as a tool for triggering innovations and leading to the realization of quite a broad idea (e.g. next generation automobile or environment friendly city). Linking cluster initiatives with the concept of knowledge-based economy is the core issue of Japanese cluster policy formulated by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT).

MEXT has been implementing the “Knowledge Cluster Initiative” since 2002 with the aim of creating Knowledge Clusters and revitalizing regional economies. They are currently implementing the Second Stage programme (since 2007), which seeks to accelerate cluster development in light of past results. According to MEXT documents a “Knowledge Cluster” is a system fostering technological innovation organized around local universities and other public research institutions with the participation of companies inside and outside the region. S. Bobowski explains:<sup>11</sup> “According to MEXT, cluster structure should be based on tight collaboration and frequent communication among the participants, provide various new technological «seeds», while attracting external human resources, companies, information and capital.”

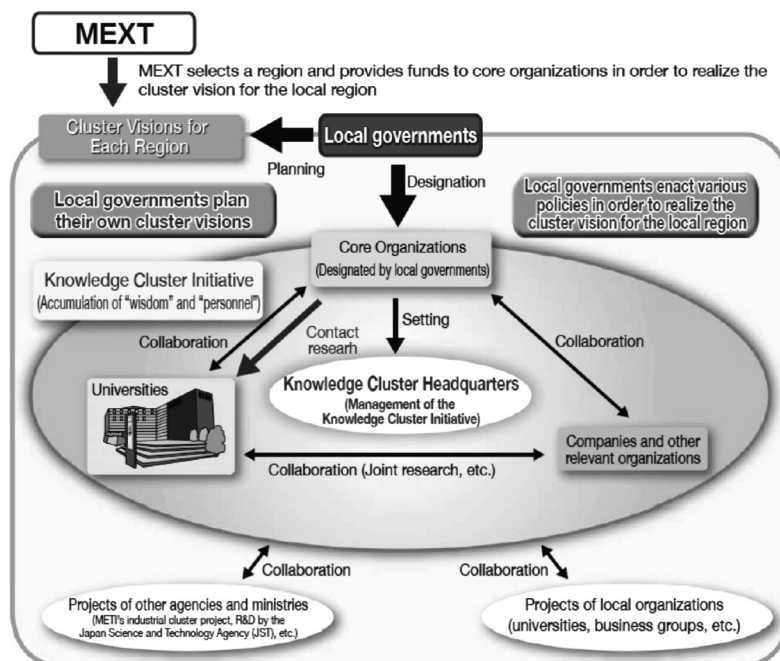
As Figure 4 shows, the collaboration among triad of core organizations, universities and companies should trigger accumulation of wisdom, personnel and funding. Subsequently it shall spill off to the region, so as to build regional innovation system under the Regional Innovation Cluster Program. For regions which have especially outstanding strategies, the government shall build supporting systems with all measures of relevant ministries to support the regional activities from fundamental research to commercialization (Regional Innovation Strategy Support Program). The last step would be the globalization of chosen world-class regional clusters.

Japanese knowledge cluster concept (and associated policy) is concentrated on stimulation of regional economies. In a broader perspective it may be perceived as a part of recently formulated Japan Revitalisation Strategy (Japan is Back).<sup>12</sup> Clusters

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<sup>11</sup> S. Bobowski, Knowledge cluster initiatives by MEXT – case of Tokai Region Nanotechnology Manufacturing Cluster in Japan, [in:] A.H. Jankowiak, S. Mazurek, B. Skulska (eds.), *Clusters, Networks and Markets in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Research Papers of Wrocław University of Economics, no. 295, Wrocław 2013, pp. 27–41.

<sup>12</sup> Website of Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, [http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96\\_abe/documents/2013/1200485\\_7321.html](http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/documents/2013/1200485_7321.html) (retrieved: 17.07.2014).



**Figure 4.** Knowledge Cluster Initiative by MEXT

Source: *Cluster brochure 2009*, MEXT, [http://www.mext.go.jp/a\\_menu/kagaku/chiiki/cluster/1288448.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/kagaku/chiiki/cluster/1288448.htm) (retrieved: 17.07.2014).

(defined as above) as a source of regional innovation answer following objectives of this strategy:

- vitalizing industries (accelerating structural reform program),
- strengthening Japan's international competitiveness as a business hub,
- building regional communities that use their unique local resources to appeal to the world,
- creating "the world's most innovation-friendly country."

As B. Ganne and Y. Lecler<sup>13</sup> point out, Japan "intends to adjust by giving more and more space to research compared to production. This is doubtless one of the most novel aspects of Japan's strategy."

### 3.2. Specialised Town Program in China

In 1980 China created first Special Economic Zones (SEZ) as a beginning of Open-Door Policy and in order to modernize industry and boost economy. The leading

<sup>13</sup> B. Ganne, Y. Lecler (eds.), *Asian Industrial Clusters, Global Competitiveness and New Policy Initiatives*, World Scientific Publishing Company, Singapore 2009, pp. 16, 17.

role of SEZs in shaping regional development of China in the next 20–30 years has been emphasized by a great number of studies.<sup>14</sup> There are also numerous types of development zones, offering different kinds of incentives and benefiting from different levels of autonomy, e.g. Economic and Technological Development Zones, High Tech Development Zones, Free Trade Zones or Export Processing Zones.<sup>15</sup>

All of those zones are the agglomerations of specialised enterprises. This type of clustering policy concentrates mainly on shaping the industry geography by concentrating business activities of the same type in the prescribed area. Spatial point of view directs the policy towards development of lagging areas and better arrangement of development process in other areas.

Specialised Towns Program introduced in 2000 by the government of Guangdong Province may be given as a unique example of the policy implementing both of these assumptions. Under the slogan “one city – one product” regional government experts choose cities which may be labelled “specialised towns” (at least 30% of its industrial output or employment has to be concentrated in one industry called “specialised sector”). Then, a number of preferential policies are granted in order to encourage agglomeration of enterprises all focused on the production of one specific item (or of a limited range of similar products, or of part of it). Further, the officially recognized Specialised Towns are entitled to receive funds for the creation of innovation centres or platforms, whose aim is to help firms in the development of new technologies and to favour the birth and consolidation of relations among actors. “Through the innovation centres firms should be able to increase the quality of their products and the town will benefit from an improvement in the reputation of the whole city, possibly developing a common and easily recognizable brand.”<sup>16</sup>

In 2010 there were 277 specialised towns in Guangdong Province in contrast to only 21 in 2001.

### 3.3. Provincial cluster development policy in Thailand

In Thailand, the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) drafts new National Economic and Social Development Plan every five years. In 2002 (9<sup>th</sup> National Plan) NESDB launched provincial cluster development policy. It is connected with the strategy on sustainable rural and urban development through empowering communities, reducing rural & urban poverty and developing urban-rural linkages. In general this policy aims to reduce economic and social disparities between Bangkok, the capital, and other cities and, as a consequence, to restrain

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<sup>14</sup> S. Demurger, J.D. Sachs, W.T. Woo, S. Bao, G. Chang, The relative contributions of location and preferential policies in China’s regional development: Being in the right place and having the right incentives, *China Economic Review* 2002, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 444–465.

<sup>15</sup> E. Barbieri, M.R. Di Tommaso, S. Bonnini, Industrial development policies and performances in Southern China: Beyond the specialised industrial cluster program, *China Economic Review* 2012, vol. 23, pp. 613–625.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

expansion and migration of population from rural areas (problems of Bangkok's Primacy have been identified already in the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Plan).<sup>17</sup>

As B. Ganne and Y. Lecler point out,<sup>18</sup> the Thai economy has a dual structure. On the one hand there is a concentration of enterprises in industrial areas being a result of industrial policies and the attraction of FDIs. On the other hand, traditional activities are being held in the villages or in certain specialised urban districts. This situation leads to a dual track policy of reinforcing the competitiveness of the industries which are "visible from the outside" (high-tech export industries) and to raise the capabilities of the "interior economy" (domestic or rural industries).

The goal of provincial cluster development policy is to develop each province and provincial cluster as a self-contained settlement able to compete with Bangkok. According to NESDB officials, "it emphasizes self-contained development in accordance with the potential and socio-economic background of each province, working under collaborative effort of every part of the society. In this regards the Government needs to support each provincial cluster in terms of education, research & development, information technology, health services, transportation network and efficient logistics system, as well as institution and funding arrangement."<sup>19</sup>

The provincial industrial cluster strategy has the plan to set up 19 clusters in 4 regions of Thailand as follows:<sup>20</sup>

- The North (16 provinces, 3 clusters) should be composed of IT cities and software parks by means of foreign direct investment from US, Japan and India;
- The Northeast (19 provinces, 5 clusters) should be composed of One Tambon – One Product (One Village – One Product) movement related R&Ds and supporting industries with investment from US and Japan;
- The Central and the East should be composed of bio-technology, agro-related R&D, automobiles, electronics, tourism and distribution related industries by way of investment from Japan, South Korea, U.S. and EU;
- The South (14 provinces, 5 clusters) should be composed of tourism, distribution, rubber, halal food for Moslem considering the linkage with Malaysian and Singapore.

Royal Decree on Integrated Administration of Provinces and Provincial Clusters issued in 2008 requires provinces to prepare provincial development plans and for government agencies to align their interventions to support these provincial development plans.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> N. Kmonwatananisa, *Thailand's Management of Regional and Spatial Development*, National Economic and Social Development Board, 2008, <http://eng.nesdb.go.th/> (retrieved: 2.06.2014).

<sup>18</sup> B. Ganne, Y. Lecler (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> N. Kmonwatananisa, *op.cit.*

<sup>20</sup> T. Tsuneishi, *The Regional Development Policy of Thailand and Its Economic Cooperation with Neighboring Countries*, Institute of Developing Economies Discussion Paper, no. 32, Chiba 2005.

<sup>21</sup> O. Kerdpibule, *Linkages between Planning and Budgeting in Thailand*, Macroeconomic Strategy and Planning Office Of National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), Thailand, 2012, June 18.



### 3.4. Craft villages in Vietnam

In Vietnam, there are clusters of local industries in rural areas called “craft villages” (*lang nghe*) where hundreds to thousands of households are engaged together in the economic activities. Many of these villages are described as traditional and some have even hundreds years of history.

After years of development since *doi moi* reform (liberalisation of all the sectors of the economy of the country in 1986), some craft villages have increased their size and level of industrialization. Some have been successful in exporting goods, while others have become big suppliers of industrial goods. Main business actors in these industrialized craft villages are engaged in various types of production and services, attracting labourers not only from their villages and surroundings but also from other provinces.<sup>22</sup>

Craft village clusters in Vietnam work with totally national investment (mainly family, with some bank loans). Many of the entities in such villages are very small family companies that employ 2.56 people on average. This may explain the low level of production of the majority of the enterprises and their still informal character. But anyway those specific clusters form a solid basis of possibilities for going from the artisan phase to forms of enterprise or small businesses which are much more organised.<sup>23</sup>

Craft villages as a community clusters are a massive phenomenon in Vietnam (there are about 1,490 craft villages in 2006<sup>24</sup>). The grouping of enterprises by poles of activity turns out to be greater in Vietnam than elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> Craft villages not only contributed essentially to the production but also have become indispensable part of Vietnam culture (craft village-based tourism).

### 3.5. Micro and Small Enterprises – Cluster Development Programme in India

In 2007 The Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) in Government of India (GoI) has adopted the cluster development approach as a key strategy for enhancing the productivity and competitiveness as well as capacity building of Micro and Small Enterprises (MSEs) and their collectives in the country. In the context of that MSEs policy a cluster is a group of enterprises located within nearby locations and producing the same or similar products or services.

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<sup>22</sup> S. Sakata, Clusters of modern and local industries in Vietnam, [in:] I. Kuroiwa (ed.), *Spatial Statistics and Industrial Location in CLMV (Interim Report)*, IDE-JETRO, Chiba 2010.

<sup>23</sup> B. Ganne, Y. Lecler (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> P.T. Luong, *Craft village-based tourism: current situation and development orientation in Vietnam*, APEC/SME Seminar “Support for Local and Cottage Industries”, 2006, September 21, Ha Noi, Vietnam.

<sup>25</sup> M. Kagami, M. Tsuji, *Industrial Agglomeration: Facts and Lessons for Developing Countries*, Institute of Developing Economics (IDE) – Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), Chiba 2003.



According to the official documents, objectives of the Micro and Small Enterprises – Cluster Development Programme (MSE-CDP) are:

- to support the sustainability and growth of MSEs by addressing common issues such as improvement of technology, skills and quality, market access, access to capital, etc.,
- to ensure self-sustainability, growth & employment generation for enhancing competitiveness of the MSEs units,
- to build capacity of MSEs for common supportive action through formation of self- help groups, consortia, upgradation of associations, etc.,
- to create/upgrade infrastructural facilities in the new/existing industrial areas/ clusters of MSEs,
- to set up common facility centres (for testing, training centre, raw material depot, effluent treatment, complementing production processes, etc.).

In that case clustering policy is strictly combined with the development policy of rural areas. The main concept behind MSE-CDP scheme is to build small local cooperation networks of MSEs outside big agglomerations. Cooperation and innovation triggered inside of those small clusters will then change their surroundings in a positive way. Construction of cluster development programme gives the opportunity (for both companies and government) to learn the real infrastructural needs of a region or area. On the other hand it forces to find in local business branches which promise positive effects for the area in the long run.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4. Differentiation of cluster policies in Asia

Differentiation of cluster policies discloses even at a fundamental level. As stated at the beginning of this article, cluster policies vary even in terms of basic assumptions. In this respect, the previously presented examples should be described by several characteristic showing the spectrum of policy mixes used in Asia. Those key features are as follows:<sup>27</sup>

- parent policy,
- definition of cluster,
- role of government,
- level of governance,
- policy targets,
- policy goals.

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<sup>26</sup> S. Mazurek, Clusters in India as an instrument for enhancing the innovation, productivity and competitiveness of micro and small enterprises, [in:] A.H. Jankowiak, S. Mazurek, B. Skulska (eds.), *Clusters, Networks and Markets in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Research Papers of Wrocław University of Economics, no. 295, Wrocław 2013.

<sup>27</sup> Based on E. Uyara, R. Ramlogan, *Cluster Policy: A Review of the Evidence. Compendium of Evidence on the Effectiveness of Innovation Policy Intervention* (report), Manchester Institute of Innovation Research, Manchester Business School, University of Manchester, March 2012.

Each cluster policy can be considered a part of specific policy area which can be called parent policy. In general parent policy is the main presupposition about the vision of cluster policy and its goals. In most cases cluster policy can be attributed to one of the following socio-economic policy areas: industrial, technology (innovation), regional or development policy. Of course, the distinction between all those types may not be clear. Japanese Knowledge Clusters are strictly connected with the policy promoting innovations but at the same time they are a part of the strategy of boosting regional economies and replace older approach of industrial policy. Chinese concept of Specialised Towns can be placed between industrial and regional policy. Vietnamese craft villages, provincial clusters in Thailand and Indian MSEs clusters are an important part of development policy for rural areas.

Definitions of clustering used in cluster policy are a simple consequence of the assumptions of this policy. In most cases some kind of academic generalized definition (cluster as a geographic concentration of interconnected businesses, suppliers, and associated institutions in a particular industry or sector) is used as a starting point but it is treated arbitrarily when it comes to details. Currently in Japan clusters are defined as networks among industry, academia and government. Using this definition Japanese policy makers give a clear signal of the end of an old industrial cluster policy, while the Chinese approach still focuses on geographical concentration and specialization (with an additional component of R&D and innovations). The Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises of India uses simple approach to define clusters (group of enterprises located within nearby locations and producing the same or similar products or services) because it suits their aim of supporting entrepreneurship in rural areas.

Japanese government plays the most active role in cluster policy among all four described examples. Knowledge Clusters Initiative is a part of catalytic and interventionist actions of governmental institutions which should result in the revitalization of Japanese economy (Japan is Back). Catalytic approach can be observed also in Thai and Indian policies but after all supportive strategy is the most important. Support instruments are the essence of Specialised Town Program in China.

Level of governance of cluster policy corresponds to the organization of statehood in each country. In federal states or states with quite strong autonomous regions local governments play a crucial role in planning and in implementation of cluster policies. This can be seen probably in all the cases presented in previous chapter.

The term “policy targets” refers to the question who is affected by the policy. In case of Knowledge Clusters in Japan we are dealing with a complex approach to economy recovering. Consequently there are many entities affected by the implementation of cluster policy, starting from core organizations, through universities, ending with companies. Chinese Specialised Town Program or Vietnamese craft village concept is addressed to local authorities but supports business located in a specific area. MSE-CDP scheme in India was designed to support local consortia of small companies directly.

All those differences described above are a consequence of different goals of analysed cluster policies. The aim of Knowledge Cluster Initiative in Japan is to stimulate economy by triggering innovations. This complex and ambitious objective fits good to the highly developed economy with structural problems. Much less developed countries as Thailand, Vietnam and India need to focus on completely different problems. Therefore, in their case the fight against poverty and the development of rural regions becomes foreground.

## 5. Conclusions

The diversity of cluster policies however logical in terms of policy mix concept does not facilitate comparative analysis. Because the rationales, instruments and goals of cluster policies are so various, the comparative method is certainly not an effective one for the policy evaluation. When looking for the best possible cluster policy mix, one should take into consideration the cohesion and adequacy of the policy established in the particular economy.

Nevertheless, the overview of unusual cluster policies in Asian countries presented in this article gives the opportunity to see the whole spectrum of clustering concept possible usage. This knowledge may be useful when it comes to formulation of new cluster policies, for example in Polish conditions.

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## ZRÓŻNICOWANIE POLITYKI KLASTROWEJ W KRAJACH AZJATYCKICH

**Streszczenie:** Polityka klastrowa przyjmuje różne formy i kształty w różnych miejscach świata. Widać to wyraźnie chociażby w krajach azjatyckich, gdzie podejście do klastrów jest zróżnicowane tak samo, jak zróżnicowane są gospodarki regionu, co zostało pokazane na przykładzie klastrów wiedzy w Japonii, wyspecjalizowanych miast w Chinach, regionalnej polityki rozwojowej w Tajlandii, wiosek rzemieślniczych w Wietnamie oraz klastrów małych i średnich przedsiębiorstw w Indiach. Niniejszy artykuł jako źródło tego zróżnicowania wskazuje proces tworzenia polityki oparty na wielu aktorach i wielu poziomach decyzyjnych. Dążąc do idealnej kombinacji składników polityki klastrowej (*policy mix*), musimy zacząć doceniać spójność i adekwatność polityki realizowanej w warunkach określonej gospodarki.

**Słowa kluczowe:** klastry, polityka klastrowa, klastry wiedzy, klastry przemysłowe.