

# The Politics of High-Tech Growth

## Developmental Network States in the Global Economy

This book provides a new account of the sources of industrial development in the "Celtic Tiger", the booming economy in the Republic of Ireland since the 1990s. Drawing on extensive research in the software industry and in state industrial development agencies, the book argues that a system of regional innovation was forged out of the global ties of the Irish economy by an alliance between state agencies and local technical communities. The book provides a detailed study of the institutions and political conditions which promoted this regional innovation. It also explores how this alliance was governed through a decentralized set of state institutions, drawing on "global" and "local" economic and political resources. Challenging the conventional focus on the primary role of foreign investment in industrial development, the book develops the concept of the "Developmental Network State" in order to account for the role of state agencies in shaping the growth of Ireland's high-tech cluster and the emergence of an international network of "global high-tech regions" from Silicon Valley to Ireland, Taiwan, and Israel. Ultimately the analysis points to an emerging political choice between neo-liberal policies which attack these social and political institutions and social democratic policies which sustain the social embedding of the global information economy.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ABT An Bord Tráchtála

BDCC Buyer-Driven Commodity Chain BIRD Bi-National Industrial R&D CBT Computer-Based Training

CS Computer Science

CSE Center for Software Engineering

CSO Central Statistics Office

DBS Developmental Bureaucratic State

DCU Dublin City University

DNS Developmental Network State

EC Electronic Commerce

EDB Economic Development Board EDP Enterprise Development Program EEC European Economic Community

EI Enterprise Ireland

ELI Export Led Industrialization EPTR Export Profit Tax Relief EPZ Export-Processing Zone

ERSO Electronics Research and Service Organization

ESRI Economic and Social Research Institute

EU European Union

FÁS Forás Áiseanna Saothair (labor-market services agency)

FDI Foreign Direct Investment GDP Gross Domestic Product HEA Higher Education Authority

HSIP Hsinschu Science-Based Industrial Park (Taiwan)
IBEC Irish Business and Employers Confederation

IC Irish Computer

ICSA Irish Computer Services Association (currently ISA)



xiv	Abbreviations
ICSTI	Irish Council for Science, Technology, and Innovation
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IDA	Industrial Development Authority
IEP	Irish Pounds (unit of currency)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISA	Irish Software Association (formerly ICSA)
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
IT	Information Technology
ITRI	Industrial Technology Research Institute (Taiwan)
LRC	Localization Resources Center
LSM	Labor Settlement Movement (Israel)
MAC	(National) Microelectronics Application Center
MNE	Multinational Enterprise
MTI	Multimedia Technologies Ireland
NBST	National Board for Science and Technology
NESC	
NESF	National Economic and Social Forum
NIHE	National Institutes for Higher Education
NMRC	National Microelectronics Research Center
NSC	National Software Center
NSD	National Software Directorate
OCS	Office of the Chief Scientist (Israel)
ODM	Original Design Manufacturing
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEM	Original Equipment Manufacturing
OTP	Office of Technology Policy (Israel)
PAT	Program in Advanced Technologies
RTC	Regional Technical College
PAP	People's Action Party (Malaysia)
PDCC	Producer-Driven Commodity Chain
PRC	People's Republic of China
R&D	Research and Development
SLIG	
SME	Small/Medium Sized Enterprise
SSISI	Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland
STAG	Science and Technology Advisory Group
STIAC	Science, Technology, and Innovation Advisory Council
TDCC	Technology-Driven Commodity Chain
TFP	Total Factor Productivity
TNC	Transnational Corporation
UCD	University College Dublin
UL	University of Limerick
VEC	Vocational Education Committee
WAIPA	World Association of Investment Promotion Agencies



#### **PREFACE**

In 1992, I took the path followed by many young Irish people at that time and emigrated to the United States. In my case, I left Dublin for Berkeley, California, to get a Ph.D. in sociology and, within a year or two, I found myself beginning to study the Irish software industry from 6,000 miles away in Silicon Valley. Over the next ten years or so, I followed the social ties within the industry – at first through the transnational ties that connected Silicon Valley and Ireland, then within a software development team in a Silicon Valley company in Dublin, and on through interviews in corporate and state offices, as well as with software developers themselves.

Ultimately, this project took me far from where I had expected to travel in the course of my sociological journey. I had begun my research as an investigation into the underdevelopment of the Irish economy and the accompanying mass unemployment and emigration of the 1980s. My initial research, however, revealed a more complex picture with glimmers of industrial revival – an impression confirmed by my early visits to Irish software firms. To my surprise, I found myself walking through the cubicles of youthful software developers as I met the managers that I was interviewing, and I discovered a world of vibrant social spaces and commercial entities that turned my project on its head. The ethnographic moment of those interviews challenged what I felt I knew about the inevitability of industrial underdevelopment in Ireland and defined the puzzle for my research: how to reconcile the development that I observed around me, which soon became central to the "Celtic Tiger" boom, with the empirical reality and sociological theorization of overpowering global forces. This book is an attempt to grapple with the ambiguities of this situation and to provide a way to think through its dilemmas and possibilities.

However, if this research took me to unexpected sociological destinations, it also took me to social destinations more familiar than I had expected. I had expected to face the ethical and political dilemmas of "studying down" – a male, middle-class researcher eliciting stories of exclusion in the kitchens of the high-unemployment



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regions around Dublin. Instead, I found myself sitting in comfortable offices and the bars of affluent Dublin, getting to know a world parallel to that in which I had grown up - a world dominated by middle-class men.

By the time I carried out my research in Ireland, I had made many of the connections and followed many of the transnational career paths that were such a big part of my coworkers' experience. My own life in the social sciences had mirrored the experiences of many of those I met in my research – educated on different sides of the same college campuses; working at home and abroad on emerging meanings and logics; one foot in the local culture, the other in the global economy. Software had seemed like a distant world, only for ethnography to reveal the many aspects already familiar to me from life in the Irish knowledge-worker diaspora.

To my surprise, I was "studying up" and even "across" in socially familiar and politically uncertain territories. The dilemmas of this research were challenging – trying to maintain political heterodoxy without breaching the assumed trust that comes with social similarity; respecting the abilities and insights of participants in the high-technology world of the Celtic Tiger, while maintaining an analytical distance from the assumptions of that world; and attempting to fashion an argument that might bridge the worlds of high technology and progressive political change. This social separation also made me less comfortable in the worlds of sociology and progressive politics because there have been few clear-cut political projects to which I could connect the findings of my research. This book is an attempt – written from a place of social familiarity and sociological ambiguity – to make some of those connections among the global information economy, its social conditions and consequences, and the political choices and possibilities contained within them.

Individual projects are always profoundly shaped by their barely hidden foundation of institutional and, more importantly, social supports – both the research in this book and the trajectory of the project itself have confirmed this for me. Financial support for this research was provided by the Graduate Division, University of California, Berkeley; the Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley; the John L. Simpson Fellowship of the Institute for International Studies, University of California, Berkeley; the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), Dublin; Forfás and Forbairt, Dublin; the Joint Committee on Western Europe of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, with funds provided by the Ford and Mellon Foundations; the Academic Senate, University of California, Davis; Institute for Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis; and the Institute for Labor and Employment, University of California.

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