Developmental Immigration
in the Republic of Ireland and Taiwan

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WP 24
December 2011

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN
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Abstract

Both the Republic of Ireland and Taiwan have followed distinct developmental nation-building projects of economic development since the 1950s. Both late-developing countries have since transformed from predominantly agricultural societies to ones characterised by the rapid expansion of human capital and high levels of recent immigration. The main focus of the paper is upon explaining the influence of Irish developmental goals and choices upon recent immigration policy. Irish choices are contextualised by reference to similarities and differences with Taiwan. This approach highlights the role of national ideological and political influences on economic goals, responses to globalisation and immigration policies.

Introduction

The notion of a ‘Celtic Tiger’ resulted from comparisons drawn with East Asian ‘tiger states.’ The initial analysis was facile – Ireland had achieved levels of economic growth akin to (but of far lesser duration than) Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan - but the name stuck. Subsequent comparative analyses of the Irish and East Asian tiger economies found some commonalities and several differences between the nature of inward investment by Multi-National Companies (MNCs) and where it came to the roles of states in fostering economic development. Both Ireland and Taiwan embarked on developmental nation-building projects of economic modernisation from the 1950s. In both cases these intersected in complex ways with political nationalism. Developmental modernisation in both cases resulted in societies with ‘new immigrant’ populations, a term needed to distinguish these from immigration by co-ethnics in both cases. In seeking to understand how Ireland a mono-ethnic nation state with a long history of emigration came to proactively promote immigration the aim here is to make comparisons and draw contrasts with Taiwan where nationalism and ethnic politics are uniquely configured. Firstly this analysis fleshes out the comparisons draw between Ireland and Taiwan during the 1990s. Then it locates the narrative of Irish economic modernisation – a story of conflicts between developmental and cultural nation-building goals – alongside that of Taiwan. A focus on comparative nation-building narratives as distinct from economic comparisons (the initial comparisons were between ‘tiger’ economies) is employed to interrogate how both countries instigated large-scale immigration and responded to its consequences.

Until its mid-1990s boom Ireland had a long history of large-scale emigration, punctuated by a few short periods during which some members of the Diaspora (former emigrants and descendents of emigrants) returned to live in Ireland. By
European standards Ireland’s experience of immigration – immigrants became more than 10 percent of the population in less than a decade – is unusual but so too, the academic literature on the ‘Celtic Tiger’ phenomena has argued, was Ireland’s trajectory of economic development. When Ireland began to achieve very high growth rates compared to other European countries attention turned towards comparison with the East Asian tiger countries that included Taiwan. This literature suggests some value in further comparisons between Ireland and the so-called East Asian tiger countries. A key focus of comparison is upon how both states precipitated and responded to large-scale immigration. To a considerable extent in both cases the drivers of immigration were indigenous labour shortages. Both cases suggest developmental nation-building projects within which economic growth potentially superseded other political goals. Yet the economic nationalisms that in both cases sanctioned immigration were accompanied by essentialist ethno-nationalist legacies that again in both cases influenced how immigration was regulated.

**Tales of Two Tigers**

The term ‘Celtic Tiger’ was first coined on 31st August 1994 by the author of article in the newsletter of the American investment bank Morgan Stanley that suggested comparisons with the East Asian tiger economies (Gardnier, 1994). It was quickly adopted by Irish financial journalists and economists and soon became ubiquitous within media and political debates. That this re-branding of Ireland coincided with the Irish Republican Army ceasefire was significant; one of the themes of this article is the complexity of intersections between economic nationalism and ethnic nationalism. The Northern Ireland peace process dominated Irish politics yet a key element of this was the abandonment by the Republic of Ireland of aspirations to a united Ireland except by the consent of the Northern Irish population. In effect the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was a metaphor for a break with the past as well as one for rapid economic growth. Comparative analyses on how and to what extent the Irish ‘economic miracle’ bore resemblance to East Asian experiences came later.

In Inside the Celtic Tiger: The Irish Economy and the Asian Model (1998) Denis O’Hearn argued that the few widely agreed characteristics of tiger economies were largely descriptive and superficial. The deeper one looked at particular cases the more disparate these ‘tigers’ appeared to become and the greater the differences how and why particular countries achieved their economic success seemed to be. Yet, the original four East Asian ‘tigers’ shared some core economic characteristics. Each had maintained average annual economic growth rates of more than 8 percent from the 1960s until the 1990s (O’Hearn, 1998: 3-5). Between 1960 and 1990 Taiwan’s GDP rose by an average of 9.3 percent per annum. Such growth rates were very high compared to European averages of 2 percent across the same period. During the same period Ireland’s GDP expanded at almost twice the European rate (averaging 3.9 percent per annum) but also at about half the rate of those East Asian countries to which it was being likened (O’Hearn, 1998: 61). Whilst Irish growth rates stood out compared to the rest of the European Union these were modest compared to Taiwan and the other East Asian economic tigers. But by the early 1990s Irish growth had begun to accelerate for reasons that suggested that comparisons with East Asian economic development were valid. During the 1970s productivity per capita was only half as in the United Kingdom. By 1996 it had exceeded British levels (O’Hearn, 1998: 65).
Ireland and Taiwan had been poor, peripheral and technological backward societies in 1950. By the end of the 1960s, state-led industrial development policies had emerged in both. Both countries rapidly expanded levels of indigenous human capital between 1960 and 1980 (Breznitz, 2007:7). In both cases the state actively promoted economic development. There are some similarities in how they went about this. Both countries introduced duty-free export processing zones – at Shannon Airport in Ireland in 1961 and near Kaolsuing in Taiwan in 1964 – aimed at encouraging foreign manufacturers to establish factories. Ireland attracted a mixture of European and owned companies, Taiwan attracted predominantly Japanese firms. Both have sought to attract MNCs and pressure these to source a significant percentage of their components locally (Breznitz, 2007; 194).

There were some broad similarities between the development trajectories of the Irish and Asian tiger economies. All benefited from large-scale inward investment Multi-National Companies (MNCs). Each developed strong niche sectors in high tech production – computers in all cases and also pharmaceuticals in the Irish case. However, the nature of MNC investment differed in the Irish case from that experienced in East Asia. Inward investment into Europe and Ireland predominantly came from the United States. American MNCs typically established US-owned subsidiaries whereas in East Asian cases inward investment was predominantly from Japan and Japanese MNCs had tended to established joint-owned enterprises. Partly, this came about because Japanese MNCs favoured sub-contracting over direct investment in subsidiaries. Its domestic labour supply was small compared to that of the United States and labor shortages precipitated the shift of productive capacity to other countries. This encouraged the growth of domestic industrial sectors in countries where they invested. This involved the downward shedding of technologies and was met by host countries by concerted efforts to then upgrade their technological capacity. For example, Taiwan built steelworks to supply Japanese industry and then used the steel to build a machine-tool industry (O’Hearn, 1998: 22).

There were also some crucial differences. Since the late 1960s Ireland has focused mainly on foreign direct investment based industrial development policies. In Taiwan the ruling party, the Kuomintang (KMT), mistrusted large-scale private industry. The state took on a larger role in fostering industrial innovation, for example through state-led research agencies. In Ireland the role of the state in co-ordinating industrial development was more hands-off. The state actively solicited inward investment and provided through its Industrial Development Authority (IDA) advance factory sites and other facilities to attract inward development but the nature and extent of state co-ordination in both cases came to differ. Taiwan had a Japanese-style state bureaucracy where civil servants and even politicians tended to have specialist skills, for example, qualifications in engineering. Ireland inherited an English style bureaucracy dominated by non-specialist civil servants. This contributed to a less-direct management of industry by the state in the Irish case.

Both states successfully attracted foreign-owned computer industries. Unlike Ireland, Taiwan then pushed these to procure an increasing number of components locally and to transfer production expertise to local suppliers. The state also promoted the use of Taiwanese venture capital to expand the information technology sector (Breznitz, 2006: 684). Taiwan developed a viable computer manufacturing industry that included internationally successful brands as ACER. In the Irish case, the state neither prioritised capital investment into computer manufacturing nor did it seek to compel foreign-owned companies to foster Irish supply chains. Partly for these reasons computer manufacturing faltered. American MNCs characteristically shared
technology with and purchased components from their own subsidiaries. More sustainable successes were achieved in software design where human capital was a key factor of production.

Different models of inward investment were met by somewhat different state-led developmental policies. Comparative analyses have emphasised differences between the East Asian Bureaucratic Developmental State (BDS) model and what emerged in the Irish developmental state approach. The BDS model adopted from Japan combined elements of protectionism and state enterprise that differed considerably from what pertained in the West. East Asian developmental states articulated projects of economic nationalism by means of state control over finance and the labour market. These blurred distinctions between public and private ownership and, more generally, ones between the state and the market (Woo-Cummings, 1999: 21). Characteristically the state intervened directly in the economy, for example by controlling wage levels and promoting indigenous capital formation (Huff, 1995).

Academic comparative analyses of the Celtic and East Asian tigers have identified much stronger state controls over the factors of production than were evident in the Irish case. During the 1980s the Irish state put in place a system of developmental corporatism or ‘social partnership’ that negotiated national development plans and wage agreements with employers and trade unions fell considerably short of the degree of state control and coordination of economic activity found in the East Asian tiger countries (O’Riain, 2000: 158). In Ireland, through semi-state agencies like the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) the state gave grants and subsidies to MNCs. It expanded the education system to provide skilled workforces. However, it also removed all protectionisms against foreign capital in 1964. It introduced low rates of corporation tax that succeeded in attracting disproportionate levels of inward investment into the European Union to Ireland. Between 1988 and 1998 Ireland attracted 40 percent of American electronics investment into Europe. A similar but smaller agglomeration of pharmaceutical companies occurred during the same period (O’Hearn, 1998: 73).

Taiwan’s Bureaucratic Development State approach to economic modernisation emerged through top-down directives within a system of authoritarian capitalism. During the period of martial law between 1948 and 1988 strikes were illegal and labour was organised into a government-controlled union (Cheng, 2002: 95). The policy-making processes of the ruling Kuomintang KMT party and the state were effectively indistinguishable (Lin, 2008: 53). Later, during the 1980s and 1990s social movements and civil society emerged to open out political decision-making. An opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was founded in 1986. Martial law was lifted in 1987 after thirty-eight years. Democratic elections to the National Assembly were held in 1991 and to the Legislative Yuan in 1992. In 1994 the Constitution was amended to allow presidential elections. In 2000 the DPP won the Presidential election for the first time.

In the Irish case, according to O’Riain (2006), a ‘flexible-developmental state’ emerged whereby the state encouraged (rather than coerced) corporatist planning along neo-liberal responses to globalisation. Unlike Taiwan Ireland was a multi-party democracy where the state had a limited capacity to command the economy and direct the productive capacities of society. Free-market neo-liberal responses to globalisation were managed through a system of ‘social partnership’ agreements between the state, employers and trade unions. Under Ireland’s ‘competitive corporatist’ or ‘competition state’ model the role of government was to facilitate the
free movement of capital, goods, services and labour (Roche and Craddon, 2003: 73). In articulating these neo-liberal goals Irish politicians and media used terms such as Ireland Inc or Ireland PLC. Between 2001 and 2004 Ireland was ranked as the most globalized country in the world according to the AT Kearney/Foreign Policy Magazine index. During the same period Taiwan was ranked as considerably less globalized. It ranked 32nd in 2002, 34th in 2003 and 36th in 2004. The index measures four kinds of global integration. The first ‘economic integration’ index (where Ireland ranked highest) combined data on trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), capital flows and investment income payments and receipts. Taiwan ranked 27th on this measure in 2004. In 2002 an AT Kearney/Foreign Policy Magazine report noted that Ireland attracted an FDI inflow of US24.7 billion. Ireland ranked second for 2004 on the second ‘personal contact’ index. This compared international, tourism and cross-border remittances. By comparison Taiwan ranked 32nd. On the third ‘technological connectivity’ index Ireland ranked 14th and Taiwan ranked 17th. On the fourth ‘political integration’ index which tracked state membership of international organisations and ratification of international treaties, Ireland ranked 11th and Taiwan ranked as the lowest of all 62 countries included on the Kearney/Foreign Policy magazine Index. That Singapore ranked 2nd on the composite index for 2004 (high on economic integration, low on political and personal integration) suggests the need for caution about grouping all East Asian ‘tigers’ (Hesham, 2006:7). However, comparisons between Ireland and Taiwan reveal that Ireland the Irish economy is considerably more open, that the Taiwanese economy is considerably more protected. This suggests considerable underlying differences in the nature of state developmental approaches in both cases.

Cultural Contexts of Economic Development

Taiwan’s experiences of state formation and ethnic politics clearly differ from any norm (Chun, 2007: 77). In 1896 Taiwan formally became a province of China (the Taipei Prefecture), was ceded to the Japanese Empire in 1886 and remained under colonial rule until after WW2. The dominant sense of ethnic nationality in Taiwan - The Republic of China (ROC) - has developed in complex symmetry with that of the mainland People’s Republic of China. Lucie Cheng identifies the emergence of a Diasporic concept of ethnic Chinese as Zhouguoren during the early twentieth century. Both Chinese states came to enshrine ethnic conceptions of nationality whilst at the same time contesting the legitimacy of one another since 1948 (Cheng, 2002: 92). The arrival of over a million migrants from mainland China in the aftermath of Chaing Kai-Shek’s defeat by the People’s Liberation Army, in essence China’s old government and army in exile profoundly changed Taiwan’s ethnic and culture composition. Before 1949 mainlanders made up just one quarter of Taiwan’s population. By the early 1950s two million refugees from the mainland were claimed to live Taiwan, forming one third of a total population of 6 million. Excepting only small minorities of Aboriginal peoples most of the rest of the Taiwanese population consisted two Han Chinese ethnic groups (Minnanre and Hakka) Other accounts in Taiwanese peer-revised journals put the number of mainlander migrants figure much lower (Lin and Lin, 2005: 71).

Post-1949 Taiwan has been characterised as ‘a newly formed quasi-nation seeking a new republican identity to mark itself off from the colonial past, as a capitalist society performing some socialist practices and as an allegedly democratic
polity under military dictatorship’ (Wang, 2009: 22). The Republic of China (ROC) based in Taiwan retained a government structure that claimed sovereignty over all 35 provinces of China as well as layers of ‘local’ government. The ROC was based in Taiwan but symbolically and institutionally distinct from the province of Taiwan. By the 1950s, as the exile of the ROC in Taiwan looked increasingly long-term but political goals of preparing for return to power remained, a new state-led modernisation project emerged. The population of Taipei rose from 200,000 in 1949 to more than one million by the mid-1960s. By 2005, Taiwan had a population of 23 million. Of these, mainlanders and their children comprised 13 percent. Yet many Taiwanese Minnanren and Hakka (52 percent in a 1989 survey) came to identify themselves as Chinese rather than as Taiwanese (Lin and Lin, 2005: 71).

The cultural politics of post-1949 Taiwan encompassed a period of de-Japanisation followed by a pronounced ‘Sinic Revival’ during the 1960s (Wang and Heath, 2008: 35). In reaction to Mao’s 1966 ‘cultural revolution’ on the mainland Chinese culture was strongly promoted by the ROC in school curricula and other areas. As put by Cheng-yi Lin and Wen-cheng Lin:

Through politically-screened teachers and deliberate design of the school curriculum, the ROC government promoted China as the motherland as well as a Chinese national identity among Taiwanese. Mandarin was stipulated as the sole language, and other dialects were banned at schools, in the military, and at all levels of the government. TV and radio programming in dialects was kept to a minimum. To an extent, political socialisation in Taiwan was successful during the first four decades of KMT rule. The majority of the people in Taiwan identified themselves as Chinese and supported Taiwan’s unification with China in 1989 (Lin and Lin, 2005: 72).

In effect, the post 1949 period witnessed the growing dominance of Chinese culture. As summarised by Wang and Heath citing the work of Alan Chun this occurred in several phases (Wang and Heath, 2008: 37, Chun, 1996: 55). Firstly a period of ‘cultural reunification’ (1945-67) the emphasis was upon reconsolidating Chinese culture, purging Japanese influences and upon suppressing local Taiwanese cultural expression. This included imposing Standard Mandarin as the official language and banning Taiwanese and Japanese from the mass media. It also saw, through the ‘Model Taiwan’ policies of the 1950s, a strategic focus on modernization and industrial development (Chun, 1996: 45). Secondly, a ‘cultural renaissances’ period witnessed a systematic attempt ‘to cultivate a large-scale societal consciousness’ of traditional Chinese culture. Here the ROC deployed the classic nation-building techniques as depicted in the West by Benedict Anderson (1983) and Ernest Gellner. (1987). As put by Chun; ‘By invoking ‘tradition’, the authorities appeared to resuscitate elements of the past, but they were clearly inventing tradition (by virtue of their selectivity). The government in effect played an active role (as author) in writing culture (Chun, 1996: 56).

Ireland achieved independence in 1922 and before that had been since 1801 part of the United Kingdom. Its post-independence politics were preoccupied with cultural nationalism and de-colonisation. Its education system prioritised the intergenerational reproduction of Catholicism and cultural identity (the Irish language) over the expansion of human capital. Cultural protectionism was paralleled after 1932 by economic protectionism that included a prohibition on the investment of foreign capital. Its politics were preoccupied, to a considerable extent with the ideal of
a 32 county united Ireland, the incorporation of Northern Ireland into the 26 county Irish Free State that in 1948 was declared the Republic of Ireland.

The political sanctioning of large-scale immigration would have been difficult to foresee given the mono-ethnic history the Irish nation-state constructed for itself and given Ireland’s long history of emigration (Fanning, 2010). In many respects Ireland was a typical European **kulturnation** built upon the foundations of 19th century romantic nationalism to create a dominant shared sense of ethnic shared identity made possible by mass literacy and education other aspects of modernity. This Irish-Ireland nationalism came symbolically to dominate the new state from the 1920s to at least the 1960s (O’Tuathaigh, 1991). After independence Irish-Ireland cultural nationalism served to promote both cultural and economic isolationism. According to Garvin:

> From the 1890s to 1960s, nationalist and nativist themes were used to erect ideological and organisational defences against the cultural and political assaults seen to be emanating from the Anglo-Saxon world and elsewhere... In particular, the fear of secular individualism, seen as threatening Irish communal values, was often associated with a fear of the modern and an imperfectly camouflaged hatred of Protestant culture. (Garvin, 1998: 146).

The 1932 **Fianna Fáil** government was elected on a platform of economic isolationism. Eamonn de Valera, the dominant political figure for the next two decades promoted a doctrine of economic self-sufficiency, preventing imports, discouraging foreign capital and promoting import substitute manufacturing. Once elected in 1932 he introduced the Control of Manufactures Act. This required that the majority of capital in Irish companies should be Irish-owned. The aim was to undermine British dominance within Irish industry. de Valera also imposed tariff barriers aimed at fostering import substitution. It precipitated the so-called ‘economic war’ with the United Kingdom, of mutual tariff barriers that lasted until 1938 when the British removed restrictions on imports for Ireland (Garvin, 2005: 113).

To some extent the economic development policies of the post-independence era 1932 resembled those of the KMT. In addition to restrictions on foreign capital these centred on the formation of semi-state companies to produce electricity (ESB), harvest turf for use as fuel (Bord na Mona), process sugar beet (Comhluacht Suí Eireann) or develop air travel (Aer Lingus). This predominance of state-led capital investment in the Irish economy coincided with a de-colonising period of pronounced cultural nationalism.

> ‘Irish-Ireland’ nationalism depicted the new state as homogenous even though there were a number of distinct minority communities. These include the Travelling People whose claims of ethnic distinctiveness continued to be opposed by the state, a small Jewish community who experienced overt discrimination before, during and after the Holocaust (Irish anti-Semitism resembled that found in other European nation-states) and the once-dominant Protestant minority who became marginalised within the new state (Fanning, 2002). Catholic nationalism became the bearer of a sectarian and exclusionary religious-ethnic conception of nation.

> From the 1950s the ‘Irish-Ireland’ nation-building project became contested by a developmental modernising one, which came to emphasise economic and human capital reproduction as utilitarian nation-building goals. Political conflicts centred on the education system as a mechanism for cultural reproduction. The institutional narrative of Irish developmental modernisation has tended to focus on influential state-of-the-nation reports seen to exemplify emerging new political and economic
orthodoxies. Protectionism unravelled during the 1950s when import substitution policies proved unable to sustain employment (O’Grada and O’Rourke, 1996:141). The emergence of a new developmental paradigm was signalised by the high profile publication in 1958 of a report entitled Economic Development. Its significance was that it institutionalised the perspective that protectionism did not work. An OECD/Irish Government 1965 report Investment in Education has been credited with jolting the focus of Irish education from character development and religious formation to one on economic development and the human capital needed for industrial development. Investment in Education (1965) amounted to a paradigm shift whereby a combined mercantile and human capital paradigm broke an earlier approaches to education. The state promoted educational reform to support economic development objectives. For example, in The Second Programme for Economic Expansion expenditure on education was described as ‘an investment in the fuller use of the country’s primary resource – its people – which can be expected to yield increasing returns in terms of economic progress’ (Government of Ireland, 1964: 193).

Key landmarks in the liberalisation of trade included the removal of restrictions on foreign capital investment in 1964, the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement in 1965 and EEC membership in 1973 (Fitzgerald, 2000: 3). In an example of developmental realpolitik a 1976 report National Economic and Social Council (NESC) argued that if the foreign investment needed to provide new jobs were discouraged Irish people would still have to work for foreign capital, but would be doing so outside of Ireland rather than at home (1976: 20). The Irish developmental settlement occurred partly due to the co-option of erstwhile blocking coalitions within a competitive corporatist system of social partnership. Trade unions and employers repeatedly signed up for the pursuit of economic growth as a national project (O’Riain, 2006: 213). Symbolic political preoccupations with a United Ireland seemed unfeasible. Urbanisation and the expansion of education fostered secularism. Economists achieved an influence once held by clerics (Garvin 2005, Fanning, 2008). In sociological terms a modernisation of belonging occurred that prioritised human capital over forms of cultural capital (Fanning, 2010). In the language of sociologists the pursuit of economic growth became a hegemonic neo-liberal ‘competitive corporatist’ national project. ‘Social partnership’ agreements negotiated by the Irish state with employers and unions were in effect national plans for economic development. In this context, large-scale immigration later became justified within ‘a national interest discourse’ of economic growth (Boucher, 2007:6).

In summary, in Taiwan cultural nation-building coexisted with economic nation-building whilst in the Irish case the main phase of cultural nation-building proceeded developmentalism. Irish academic narratives emphasise the role of developmental modernizers who broke with the shibboleths of cultural nationalism. The ideological conflict was one between economic liberalism and protectionism. Having abandoned all forms of protection by the mid-1960s Ireland was open to neo-liberal development project that resulted in becoming the most globalised economy in the world. The underlying political acceptance of such openness – exemplified by various social partnership agreements - contrasted with a resistance to some forms of globalisation in Taiwan. Clearly the uneasy relationship between the ROC and the PRC has kept the politics of nationality in the foreground whereas there has been little emphasis on cultural nation-building for several decades in the Irish case. Simply put, the goal of economic development came to subordinate other political goals in the Irish case more than it appears to be the case in Taiwan. Both states – Ireland before
the 1960s and Taiwan until more recently - witnessed the subordination of education systems to cultural-nationalist goals. Sociological accounts of Irish modernisation infer that increased emphasis on human capital alongside a corresponding de-emphasis upon religious or ethnic rules of belonging produced de-ethnicised rules of belonging. Such an analysis suggests a hypothesis that Irish society might be more open to immigration than in the case of Taiwan where cultural nationalism remains in the political foreground.

**Developmental Contexts of Immigration**

A 2004 report prepared for the World Bank grouped Ireland and Taiwan together amongst a small group of countries that have benefited economically from recruiting from their diasporas. It noted that both countries had ‘reverse brain drain programs that offer generous research funding and monetary incentives, as well as services and assistance to attract medical professionals’ (Lucas, 2004: 14). Another attributed Taiwan’s leapfrog technology advancement is in no small degree to returning scientists (Saxenian, 2002). It’s Hsinchu Science-Based Industrial Park, for example, a government-led initiative to attract Taiwanese R&D professionals back in Taiwan, had 2,563 returnees in 1996. This number had more than doubled by 2000, reaching 5,025 (Lucas, 2004). By 2000, over half of the companies in the Hsinchu Industrial Park had been started by expatriates returning from Silicon Valley (Saxenian, 2000). Taiwan has tended to recruit professionals and highly skilled workers from Taiwanese working abroad (Lee, 2009: 335). However, the number of such migrants was miniscule when compared to Taiwan’s 23 million plus population.

The East Asian tigers experienced rapid economic growth from the 1960s that led to chronic labour shortages. Economic growth was initially concentrated in labour-intensive activities, which used up more unskilled and semi-skilled labour than was being supplied by migration from rural to urban areas and rising female participation in paid work (Breznitz, 2007: 113-4). Taiwan reached full employment by the late 1960s and chronic labour shortages became a problem thereafter. Between 1976 and 1980 wages doubled due to these pressures (Gold 1986:98). By the mid-1960s in Taiwan one third of the workforce consisted of young women who moved in and out of the workforce according to their marriage and child-bearing status (Gold, 1986: 89). Low-skilled labour shortages in export-orientated manufacture and other sectors were exasperated by rising levels of education and skills and the increased unwillingness of Taiwanese to undertake so-called 3D (‘difficult, dangerous and dirty’) low paid jobs (Cheng, 2002 p.95).

Since the late 1980s Taiwan has recruited temporary unskilled foreign migrant labour. In 2008 some 373,336 low-skilled migrants were resident in Taiwan out of a total number of 417,385 foreign residents. Those other than low-skilled migrants included 3474 traders, 2072 engineers and 6009 teachers, again very small numbers when beside the population of Taiwan. Well over half of all foreign residents were female. In 2008 only 7332 of Taiwan’s foreign population were children under 15 years of age. The majority of migrants entered Taiwan with temporary visas, administered restrictively (Lee, 2007: 225).

In Ireland as in Taiwan labour shortages fostered immigration following a period of growing female participation in paid employment. During the late 1990s women took some 70 percent of new jobs (O’Hearn, 1998: 99). However, labour shortages persisted in the face of continued economic growth. As in Taiwan, the state
encouraged the return of high-skilled Irish working abroad though the scale of returnees was proportionally much larger than in the Taiwanese case. The return of highly skilled Irish migrants was one of the factors of paramount importance behind the fast and successful development of the Irish IT industry (Asish and Gambardella, 2004). The aforementioned World Bank report concluded that Irish efforts to tap into its Diaspora exceed those of other countries that tried to do so, including Taiwan (Lucas, 2004: 14). A state funded ‘Jobs Ireland’ initiative ran from 2000-2002 aimed at attracting skilled co-ethnics in areas such as information technology. It held employment fairs in cities around the world with Irish emigrant populations (Hayward and Howard, 2007:50). However, as the pool of such high-skilled Irish appeared to become exhausted the Jobs-Ireland campaign then extended its remit to potential high-skilled immigrants from Britain, EU member-states, east European states and to non-EU English-speaking countries like India. The demographic profile of immigrants shifted over time as the supply of persons of Irish ancestry willing to migrate to Ireland declined over time. Between 1995 and 2000 almost one quarter of a million people (248,100) immigrated to Ireland. This amounted to an aggregate figure of seven percent of the total population as recorded in the 1996 census. About half were returned Irish emigrants. Some eighteen percent (45,600) were immigrants from the United Kingdom. Thirteen percent (33,400) came from other EU countries and seven percent (16,600) came from the United States. Twelve percent (29,400) came from the rest of the world. From 2000 non-Irish migrants exceeded migrants with Irish citizenship or ancestry. 18,006 work permits were granted to migrants from non-EU countries in 2000, 36,436 in 2001, 40,321 in 2002, 47,551 in 2003 and 34,067 in 2004. When the EU enlarged in 2004 the Irish state decided to permit migrants from the ten new East European member states to live and work in Ireland without visas. All other pre-2004 EU states except Sweden and the United Kingdom delayed doing so for several years. This accelerated the pace of immigration. Between 1 May 2004 and 30 April 2005 some 85,114 workers from the new EU-10 were issued with national insurance numbers entitling these to work in Ireland, This amounted to more than 10 times the number of new work permits admitted to migrants from those countries in the preceding 12 months (National Economic and Social Council, 2005: 26). By 2005 Ireland’s proportion of 10.4 foreign-born (as estimated by the OECD: 2007) exceeded that the United Kingdom (8.3 percent) and was similar to countries with a longer history of immigration. This included by 2005 an estimated 75,000 migrants from China admitted on student visas as part of a policy by the Irish state to pursue economic links with China (Observer, 3 April 2005). In effect, Ireland became more open to migration from mainland China than Taiwan even though under the Taiwanese constitution mainlanders have a right to citizenship. The 2006 Irish census identified 610,000 (14.7 percent) of the population of 4,239,848 persons to have been born outside the state. Taiwan in 2006 had a smaller foreign-born population even though its overall population was four times greater than that of Ireland (www.cso.ie).

A 2006 National Economic and Social Council (NESC) report, Managing Migration: A Social and Economic Analysis, advocated large-scale and ongoing immigration as a means of sustaining economic growth (2006: xxi). It strongly advocated ongoing immigration as a means of sustaining economic growth. The foreword of the report stated that ‘immigration did not create the Irish economic miracle but, properly managed, migration can sustain Ireland’s economic growth and generate many other benefits’ (2006: xxi). The report argued that from the 1960s and 1970s government policies concerning trade liberalisation and foreign direct investment began to improve the domestic economic situation and hence, eventually,
reversed the net loss of population due to migration. Weak economic performance during the 1980s was accompanied by a net outflow of migrants, a trend that was reversed in the mid-to-late 1990s. Economic growth during the 1990s saw the rapid expansion of the labour force from about 1.4 million in 1994 to just over 2 million in 2005. This increased labour demand was met initially by Irish nationals who had been previously unemployed or outside the labour market, the by returning Irish migrants and as these reduced as a proportion of in-migration by non-Irish migrants; by 2004 Irish returnees constituted less than 25 percent of total immigrants. Managing Migration claimed that ongoing immigration was likely to make the Irish economy more adaptive and boost economic competitiveness (2006:93).

In 2007 the Office of the Minister of State for Integration Policy published its first major report, Migration Nation: Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management. This stated that recent immigration was the result of the developmental ‘opening to the world’ institutionalised as a political project during the 1960s. Other key reports have emphasised education, welfare and labour market policies aimed at promoting social conditions that would nurture and sustain individual adaptability, flexibility and risk-taking; a ‘sustainable balance between dynamism and security (National Economic and Social Council, 2005: 36).’ In this context it was unsurprising that the major statements since about immigration and integration policy examined here have de-emphasised ethno-cultural rules of belonging.

In summary, state-fostered recruitment of migrant workers in both Taiwan and Ireland occurred when labour needs of both respective expanding economies could no longer be met domestically by the entrance of women into the labour market. From the 1960s in both countries female participation in both countries rose significantly but in both high percentages of married women remain outside the labour market. Both countries encouraged the recruitment of high-skilled co-ethnics. Taiwan was restricted in doing so due to its problematic relationship with mainland China. Ireland by contrast overtly encouraged co-ethnic migration. This included descendents of Irish emigrants to the United States, Britain and Australia. Once the available supply of skilled migrants declined the move towards actively encouraging non-Irish migrants was seamless. Irish labour migration policy in many respects reflected its economic openness to globalisation.

**Ethnic Politics, Citizenship and the Regulation of Immigration**

Ireland is considerably more open to immigration than Taiwan. It operates no visa or residency restrictions for citizens of EU states. In effect a country of about 4 million people has opened its borders to a population 100 times this size. It also has effectively opened its borders to over 70 million people of Irish ancestry who are entitled to claim Irish citizenship under *jus sanguine* criteria. In Ireland much of the debate on the regulation of immigration has related to non-EU migrants, where the state continues to have latitude. Taiwan, because of its problematic relationship with mainland China at once entitles mainlanders to Taiwanese citizenship yet effectively restricts their access to this and to work visas. The 1992 Employment Act made a clear distinction between *guonin*, a term that translates as ‘nationals’ or ‘citizens’ and *waiguoren* or aliens.
In 1992 Taiwan’s Mainland Affairs Council proclaimed that nationals of Mainland China were also nationals of the Republic of China, that they had permission to enter Taiwan to live and work but the edict also contained a caveat that because of ‘population pressure, national security and social stability, it is necessary to impose certain limitations (Mainland Affairs Council 1992 cited by Cheng 2002: 9). Entitlements to citizenship in Taiwan were on the basis of descent and ancestry and whilst the key basis for solidarity was ethnic there were limits to this solidarity. As explained by Lucie Cheng:

The principle of descent and ancestry gave the Taiwan state a rationale for claiming special affinity with Chinese in the diaspora, but political and economic considerations operate to differentiate among them. While mainland Chinese are excluded, overseas Chinese, especially who are highly trained or from whom Taiwan can benefit, are given preferential treatment in law and in practice. The fact that the Nationality Law specifically allows some highly skilled occupational positions to be held by Chinese with dual citizenship, while excluding other positions, is a clear example (Cheng, 2002: 92).

The Constitution of ROC defines mainland Chinese as compatriots rather than foreigners – a colloquial term for foreign workers waitao distinguishes these from benlao, meaning local labour. According to Cheng waitou are presumed to be temporary migrants and to some extent mainland Chinese are treated as such, exempt from some of the restrictions applied to waitou but not others. The specific faction that distinguishes their treatment from other members of the Chinese Diaspora is anxiety within the state about being overrun by mainland China (Cheng, 2002: 93).

Under Article 67 of the Act Chinese persons (Zhouguoreu) resident in the state who held foreign nationality were regarded as guonin irrespective of what other nationality they possessed. Yet Article 68 stipulated that the hiring and regulating of ‘people of the mainland region’ must adhere to criteria affecting foreign workers. This ambivalence towards mainland co-ethnics reflected sovereignty conflicts between the ROC and the PRC (Cheng, 2002: 93).

In Taiwan when the Employment Services Act (1992) was introduced to regulate immigration there were 44,441 foreign residents living in the country. By 2009 some 403,700 foreign residents lived in Taiwan constituting just 1.75 percent of the then-estimated population of 23,063,027. The restrictions on foreign workers in Taiwan imposed by the 1992 Act were strict by international standards. In common with many other countries work permits were generally temporary (restricted to three years) and more restrictive conditions applied to unskilled workers than to professionals and high skilled foreign workers. Employers in designated industries, including domestic were required for a quota permit before they could hire a foreign worker. Under the 1992 Act employers had to demonstrate that posts could not be filled by Taiwanese workers and non-transferable work permits were granted to the employers rather than migrants themselves; similar measures applied in the Irish case. In both case this fostered exploitation of migrants by employers. Specifically, such restrictions undermined the rights of migrants under employment legislation. Cheng, for example, described how employment standards mandated by the Council on Labor Affairs have not applied to migrant workers:

(…) the Council clearly violated this position by prohibiting foreign workers from organizing unions or going on strike, rights that are accorded to local
labor. According to law, foreign workers should be paid the same wages as locals, work the same hours, enjoy the same numbers of days off, and have the same mobility. But in actuality none of the above obtain. Such inconsistencies abound but are almost never challenged, partly due to the underdevelopment of administrative law and partly to the way the legal profession is structured (Cheng, 2002: 101-2).

In the Irish case, migrant workers faced similar barriers as a result of state neglect, from poor enforcement of employment standards – rather than from having lesser rights under employment law. The end result can be the same. Both countries have Filipino migrant populations who have experienced quite similar forms of exploitation especially in domestic work. In both cases this patterns of exploitation are influenced by trans-national factors as well the acts or omissions of host societies (Cheng, 2003, Nititham, 2011).

In Taiwan, the criteria for admitting foreign workers under the 1992 Act were broadly similar to those imposed on non-EU emigrants by Irish legislation yet somewhat more stringent when it came to preventing entry by family members of these (Cheng, 2002: 93). Under the 1992 Act migrants were required to have regular physical examinations, including pregnancy tests, with pregnancy deemed grounds for deportation. Migrant workers were prohibited from bringing their spouses to Taiwan or getting married, all measures designed to prevent permanent settlement (Cheng, 2002: 98). These restrictions account for the very low numbers of migrant children living in Taiwan. Some of these restrictions have been removed or ameliorated over time. The 1992 Act stipulated mandatory health checks for migrants and identified pregnancy as ground for deportation (until 2003 according to Lee 2009: 338).

Hsiao-Chuan Hsia locates such restrictions on immigrant families and state antipathy towards immigrant children within a discourse of national anxiety about immigration. In particular popular anxiety about ‘foreign brides has been highlighted as a pivotal issue in immigration debates. In a 2003 The Earth: Geographic Monthly survey 60 percent of respondents believed that the numbers of foreign brides whether from Southeast Asia or Mainland China should be restricted. A sociological study reported beliefs amongst officials and journalists that such marriages would cause the quality of the Taiwanese population to deteriorate (cited in Hsai, 2007: 75). This emphasised a mixture of essentialist chauvinism - a general antipathy towards immigration shared with other Asian countries like Korea and Japan (Skrentny, Chan, Fox and Kim, 2007: 797-802) - with entrenched beliefs amongst policy makers (contradicted nevertheless by research) that ‘foreign brides’ were predominantly from lower socio-economic groups and that their children would lag behind Taiwanese children in schools. A statement in 2004 by the junior Minister of Education exhorting foreign brides ‘not to give too many births’ exemplified a wider moral panic response to these (Hsai, 2007: 77).

Prior to the 2000 Nationality Act there was no specific provision for naturalisation except through marriage. The 2000 Act sets out conditions for naturalisation. These include five years continuous residence in the ROC, having no criminal record, and possessing a certain amount of property or professional skills. Lucie Cheng has argued that Act, taken together with the 1992 Employment Services Act, enforces a very strong conception of *jus sanguine* dominated by the notion that ‘blood is a very special juice’:
When we juxtapose the Nationality Act with the Employment Services Act we find that it is impossible for a designated foreign worker to acquire ROC nationality, since she is prohibited from marrying or residing in Taiwan for more than three years! As the Chinese adage goes: ‘For every policy issued by the state there is a way to circumscribe it by the people’. A foreign worker who intends to marry a Chinese national will leave Taiwan according to the legal requirement and return as his spouse. Quite a large proportion of so-called ‘foreign brides’ are a result of this arrangement. (2002:.103)

According to Article 3 of the 2000 Nationality Act long-term migrants (those resident for more than 183 days each year for more than 5 years) can apply for citizenship. However the Act appears to be administered in concert with visa requirements for migrant labour so that many of these do not become eligible to apply for citizenship. The Law also allows spouses of Taiwanese citizens to naturalise after 3 years. In 1990 to thirds of foreigners naturalised as Taiwanese citizens were women. By 2007 this rose to 99 percent (Lee 2007: 346). Most of these were naturalised as spouses of Taiwanese citizens. In 2007 some 10,764 persons naturalise of which 10,670 were female. The intention to prevent foreign workers becoming citizens of the ROC was explicitly stated in the 2002 revision of the Employment Services Act. Article 52 extended the length of permissible employment from three to six years. However, to guard against foreign workers applying for naturalisation on the grounds that they had met the residence requirements stipulated in the Nationality Act, the revised Employment Services Act mandated a 40 day break in residence after the first three days of employment.(Cheng, 2002: 103).The defining political response to immigration in the Republic of Ireland has been the 2004 Referendum on citizenship. In 2004 more than eighty percent of the Irish citizens who voted in the Referendum endorsed an amendment to the constitution that removed the birthright to Irish citizenship of the children of immigrants. This removed the *jus soli* citizenship criteria that had never previously problematic because Ireland was historically experienced emigration. The new settlement retained *jus sanguine* provisions which permitted the descendents of Irish emigrants to claim Irish citizenship. Specifically the Referendum was directed against asylum seekers, who were not entitled to work, rather than migrant workers and their families (Fanning and Muwarasibo, 2007). The contemporaneous government decision in 2004 to engineer rapid large-scale immigration from within the EU barely caused a political ripple. The suggests a distinction between immigration and naturalisation debates in the Irish case with stronger opposition amongst existing citizens to the latter than to the former. The main political party in government ran a campaign in 2004 using the slogan ‘commonsense citizenship.’ However, the crucial cognitive distinction in the debate leading up to the referendum, made repeatedly by government officials, politicians and the media was a distinction between ‘nationals’ and ‘non-nationals’. Immigrants were generally referred to as ‘non-nationals’.

The term ‘non-national’ derived from the *Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act* (2001) that superseded the *Aliens Act* (1935) It systematically replaced the term ‘alien’ in Irish legislation and was used by the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform in security debates - in reports about crime, human trafficking and illegal immigration - and by the Department of Enterprise and Employment to describe immigrant workers. By 2004 the ‘national/non-national’ dualism had become the prevalent commonsense conceptual framework for political and media debates about immigration. Various opinion surveys on immigration have reported a similarly large
majority of citizens supportive of ethnic chauvinism. All Irish political parties contain significant numbers of supporters who endorse strict limits on the numbers of immigrants coming to Ireland. The findings of the Irish National Election Study (INES) 2002-2007 indicate that some 62.4 per cent of respondents in 2002 (falling to 58.8% in 2007) agreed or strongly agreed that there should be ‘strict limits’ on immigration (Marsh and Sinnott, 2009: 137). To a considerable extent Ireland’s strongly pro-immigration settlement has been managed by elites whether in politics, social partnership or business. Irish immigration policy is consistent with the country’s wider neo-liberal openness of globalisation. During 2010, in the midst of an economic recession, precipitated by an international banking crisis and economic mismanagement by the Irish state both GNP and GDP levels fell into decline. Emigration reached its highest levels since the 1980s (second quarter of 2010). Yet non-Irish nationals accounted for 12.4 percent of the workforce (and 46,000 of these were unemployed (Economic and Social Research Institute, 2010).

Discussion and Analysis

This article has examined how intersections of cultural and economic nation-building goals might account for the respective immigration policies of Ireland and Taiwan. Simply put, a different balance of cultural and economic preoccupations seem to have informed the modernising projects of the Irish and Taiwanese states. In Ireland economic development became fore-grounded when a post-colonial cultural nation-building project had become exhausted. In Ireland this seems to have contributed to a seamless acceptance of large-scale immigration during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ boom years. Ireland’s political acceptance of large-scale immigration was in keeping with other aspects of Irish open economy developmentalism. One sociological reading of the Irish case might be that cultural rules of belonging have come to matter less than human capital, or, put otherwise, neo-liberalism has crowded out nationalism (Fanning, 2010). Comparisons with the Taiwanese case, where opposition to immigration is strong and where cultural nation-building goals co-exist with economic ones, seem to bear out this analysis (Figure One).

Taiwanese responses to immigration are dominated according to Chen by a ‘monocultural nationalist hegemony’ that if anything has deepened in the post-Kuomintang era:

In many regards the DPP has extended the KMT’s cultural nationalist mindset and policies to new heights, evidenced party by the first revision of the Immigration and Nationality Act in seventy years, with its slow phasing out of dual nationality, bringing in new containment policies regarding foreign labour and more ‘liberal’ policy towards permanent residence, which now enables non-ethnic Chinese to live long-term in Taiwan but only as a permanently invisible caste, like Japan’s Koreans… People seem to have only recently discovered the advent of foreign labour, e.g. Filipino maids and Thai construction workers, despite their long presence. Even at Academia Sinica, when colleagues talk about the massive influx of foreign researchers (mostly South Asian and East European pos-docs), they are not referring to their ethnic Chinese research fellows (a quarter of whom probably have US green cards or passports). (Chen, 2007: 80)
In both Taiwan and Ireland academic debates about immigration seem to have focused to a considerable extent on dominant ethnic group narratives of Diaspora and return migration. Wider cultural and economic nation-building narratives present national stories that in each case have yet to come to terms with new immigrants. A combination of domestic economic prosperity and new patterns of global migration have in both countries resulted in immigration by co-ethnics and by new immigrants. In both countries new immigrants have been at once invisible within nation state identity politics and narratives of belonging yet the subject of state regulation. When Irish or Taiwanese scholars write about immigration it is often difficult for them to break free of dominant nation-building narratives that find no place for outsider ‘non-nationals’ or ‘waiguorem’. In both countries there has been considerable debate about relationships with co-ethnics – Han Chinese in the case of Taiwan and descendants of emigrants in the Irish case – but there seems to have been scant discussion about how new immigrants fit into either nation.

For example, a 2006 academic study of second-generation migrants from mainland China drew analogies with post-1960s migrations from Castro’s Cuba to the United States and of migrations of asylum seekers into Fortress Europe from the 1990s (Tsay, 2006: 751). The thesis of the article was that the descendents of post-1947 migrants shared characteristics with refugee migrants in other countries is curious, not least because migrants from mainland China dominated Taiwan. Generally refugees do not manage to politically dominate a host state or arrive with a large standing army. How such second-generation migrants have fared is obviously of immense interest to Taiwanese policy debates. Yet obvious comparisons (from a non-Taiwanese perspective) with new immigrants in Taiwan who like Cubans in America or refugees in Europe are not co-ethnics of the host population are not discussed. An non-Taiwanese reader such as this author might wonder why until informed that the numbers of second generation new immigrants (children of foreigners born in Taiwan) are very low because of strict labour migration rules.

Ireland by contrast already has a large rising second-generation immigrant population. It placed some restrictions on family immigration by non-EU migrants but has otherwise not sought to prevent immigrant family formation. The defining response of the Irish state to immigrant children was to remove the citizenship birthright from these in 2004. Although overt essentialist nationalism has declined in the post-‘Irish Ireland’ developmental era some vestiges of cultural chauvinism have continued to be politically influential. For example, the Belfast Agreement in 1998 stated that ‘the Irish nation cherishes its special affinity with people of Irish ancestry living abroad who share its cultural identity and heritage.’ New immigrants and their children to a considerable extent remain invisible within social policy debates that tend to focus on the social inclusion of citizens. In the Irish case there remains a disjuncture between economic rules of belonging and those pertaining to naturalisation and citizenship. Ireland’s inclusive response to its Diaspora and its ambivalence to the integration of new immigrants through naturalisation suggest that essentialist ethnic conceptions of Irishness continue to have considerable salience. Yet, in Ireland as in Taiwan the response of the state to co-ethnics abroad have often been ambivalent. The Irish state actively recruited high-skilled Irish living abroad and high-skilled descendents of emigrants but it also prioritised the recruitment of high-skilled migrants from other countries. Prior to the 1990s economic boom, and now once again, the Irish state has presided over high levels of emigration in the national interest.
Writing in 2002 Lucie Cheng argued that Taiwan ‘as a state-in-formation in need of outside labor, must evaluate its state building ideology.’ There were she argued two possible routes, both calling for new modes of incorporation. Taiwan could either privilege foreign labor over mainland Chinese and change its descent-centred exclusionist policy, or privilege ethnic Chinese and relax its political vigilance towards PRC residents. What seems to have happened is the persistence of vigilance towards both. Irish debates have not presented such either-or options. During the Celtic Tiger era the Diaspora proved incapable of meeting Irish labour shortages and while symbolic expressions of solidarity with the Global Irish play well within Irish debates the dominance of developmental over cultural nation-building goals resulted in large-scale immigration from both within the EU common travel area and from non-EU countries such as China.

Figure One:

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<th>Cultural, developmental and immigration nation-building trajectories in Ireland and Taiwan</th>
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<td>In Ireland: A post-independence cultural nation-building period coincides with economic</td>
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protectionism and high emigration. After 1958 the state plays a key role in shifting towards a new phase of developmental nation building.


Economic nation-building coordinated by the state and legitimised through corporatist politics. Ireland becomes a flexible developmental state with a strategic focus on encouraging unrestricted MNC capital investment (incentives include low corporation tax and tariff-free access to European community markets) and availability of Irish human capital.

During the Celtic Tiger Period (post-1994) developmental nation-building unhampered by cultural nation-building goals. National interest predominantly defined in terms of GNP.

Celtic Tiger fed by ongoing expansion of labour market to include women, return Irish migrants and, from 2000, new immigrants

Irish state proactively recruits skilled emigrant Irish from abroad and explicitly encourages immigration from Irish Diaspora (those with Irish ancestry entitled to Irish citizenship. Low-skilled co-ethnics not encouraged to migrate to Ireland

Irish state proactively encourages large-scale immigration from new EU member states (2004) and non-EU states.

In 2004 Irish constitution changed to remove jus soli rights to citizenship. New immigrants face barriers in becoming naturalised. Jus sanguine citizenship rights of Irish Diaspora unrestricted.

period. An authoritarian state plays a strong command role in both cultural and economic nation-building.

Economic expansion occurs in a context of problematic relationships between the Republic of Taiwan (ROC) and the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). It coincides with decolonisation yet Japan becomes a key inward investor. Taiwanese development emphasises indigenous control of capital investment and bottom-up growth of industrial capacity. Taiwan categorised as a Bureaucratic Development State.

Economic-nation building directed by the state within a Bureaucratic Development State/ Authoritarian capitalist model. The state retains the power to direct economic development. It fosters inward capital investment but prioritises Taiwanese ownership of capital.

Although marshal law is abandoned and multi-party democracy emerges cultural nation-building persists as a political priority under the DPP.

Taiwanese economic expansion produces labour shortages leading to expansion of labour market to include women, return Taiwanese migrants and new immigrants

Policy of ethnic preference for high-skilled overseas Taiwanese and Chinese migrants. Taiwan state proactively recruits skilled emigrant State opposes immigration by low-skilled Chinese entitled to Taiwanese citizenship. Low-skilled co-ethnics prevented from migrating to Taiwan.

Taiwanese state imposes strict controls on labour migration from select countries. State inability to control ‘foreign bride’ immigration expressed as moral panic.


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