

A PROPOSAL TO THE BAKER FUND COMMITTEE

TITLE OF PROJECT: Negotiating Crisis

NAME OF APPLICANT: Nicholas Kiersey

STATUS: Asst. Prof. Assoc. Prof. Prof. Administrator

DEPARTMENT: Political Science

CAMPUS ADDRESS: 101 University Drive, Chillicothe OH 45601

E-MAIL ADDRESS: kiersey@ohio.edu

RE-SUBMISSION: YES (Original Submission Date _____)
 NO

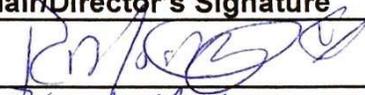
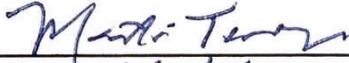
BUDGET: Total Request \$997.09
(May not exceed \$12,000)

IRB AND IACUC APPROVAL:

To ensure that the University is in compliance with all federal regulations, complete the checklist below. Note: your proposal can be approved prior to IRB or IACUC approval, but funding will be withheld until notification of approval or exemption.

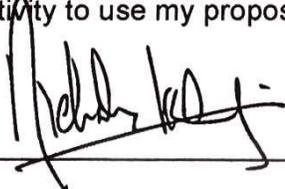
Yes	No	Office of Research Compliance	Policy #
	X	Human Subjects in Research (including surveys, interviews, educational interventions): Institutional Review Board (IRB) Approval #: Expiration Date:	19.052
	X	Animal Species: Institutional Animal Care & Use Committee (IACUC) Approval #: Expiration Date:	19.049

SIGNATURES

Applicant's Signature		Chair/Director's Signature	
Signature		Signature	
Name	Nicholas Kiersey	Name	Robert McATS
Dept/School	Political Science Chillicothe	Unit	ONE AFS Div Coordinator
Date	Feb 12, 2015	Date	2/12/15
Dean's Signature			
Name		Signature	
College	ONE Chillicothe	Date	2/12/15

Optional:

If selected for funding, I give permission to the Office of the Vice President for Research and Creative Activity to use my proposal as an example during training and workshop exercises.

Signature:  Date: Feb 12, 2015

Baker Fund Proposal Checklist

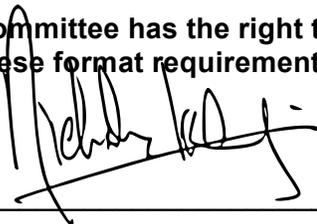
Applicants **must** complete and sign the checklist. The checklist should be included as the second page of the application (following the cover page).

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cover page | use Baker form |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Checklist | use Baker form |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Abstract* | 1 double-spaced page |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Introduction (<i>for continuations or resubmissions only</i>)* | 1 double-spaced page |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Discussion | 10 double-spaced pages |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Glossary/Definition of Terms* (<i>not required</i>) | 2 double-spaced pages |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bibliography (<i>not required</i>) | 3 pages |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Biographical Information (<i>applicant(s) and key personnel</i>) | 3 pages per person |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other Support (<i>applicant(s) and key personnel</i>) | 1 page per person |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Budget and Justification | no limit specified |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Appended Materials | 10 pages; no more than 10 minutes of footage |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Recommended Reviewers | 5 required |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Electronic copy of proposal | Single Acrobat file, containing entire proposal and required signatures |

* These sections should be written in language understandable by an informed layperson to assist the committee in its review.

****Please note: The committee has the right to return without review any proposals that do not conform to these format requirements.****

Applicant signature:



3. Abstract: Negotiating Crisis

This is a request for research funds in order to complete my solo book project, *Negotiating Crisis: Neoliberal Power in Austerity Ireland*, which looks at the role of economic culture in determining policy outcomes in the context of the ongoing Irish financial crisis. While I have been working on this book for three years now, it is now under contract with Rowman & Littlefield, and should be submitted for publication in the spring of 2016. This project involves two kinds of research. The first is theoretical and draws on the work of Michel Foucault, as well as a number of Italian Autonomist Marxists, to create a framework through which I will assess efforts in my discipline to understand the role of culture in global economic governance. The second is empirical, and involves archival research. The empirical work will generate data on textual and pop cultural representations of the crisis in and around a number of Irish and EU-level cultural institutions. For the duration of the empirical work, I will need relocate to Ireland. Being in Ireland will give me access to a number of important research archives. To allow time away from my teaching duties, I have applied for sabbatical from my campus, OU-Chillicothe, for the academic year of 2015-16. I would like to apply to the Baker Award primarily to cover my expenses for travel to and from Ireland.

4. Introduction: NA

5. Discussion:

A. Specific Aims:

My proposed research for the 2015-16 academic year is to complete my book, *Negotiating Crisis: Neoliberal Power in Austerity Ireland*, contracted to Rowman & Littlefield for publication in the first half of 2016. To help me complete the book, I have applied for a full year of sabbatical for the intended research period. The book will be eight chapters long, including the introduction and a conclusion. Two chapters of the work are already completed. My focus in the research period will be on writing the remaining six substantive chapters of the book. I will outline the tasks required for all remaining chapters in the Methods section. However, in the rest of this ‘specific aims’ section I will concentrate on the three outstanding empirical chapters, as these are the chapters that will require me to travel to Ireland.

The first empirical chapter I will be working on focuses on a study of popular discourse surrounding the national Public Service Agreement 2010-2014, or “Croke Park Agreement,” as it is more commonly known, as the latest iteration of Ireland’s historic practice of centralized, ‘social partnership’-style wage negotiation. My preliminary research suggests that debate surrounding the Agreement has drawn on a language of responsibility and partnership in an overall project of restructuring the economy along more neoliberal grounds. Reticent elements of the public sector workforce in this account are characterized as being irresponsible precisely because they have refused to embrace the salutary lessons of the market turndown. In this research I hope to establish that the legacy issue of Ireland’s poor social wage has been all but absent from the conversation to date and, with key media and political figures aligning against any further protection of public sector salaries in the recent renegotiations of the Agreement, a

countervailing discourse which might view public employees as a vital source of consumptive potential shows little sign of taking root. In this sense, the case would seem to affirm Foucault's intuition concerning the biopolitical (see Glossary) nature of neoliberal economic culture.

My second substantive chapter will focus on discourses of partnership and moral responsibility in relation to Ireland's crisis. The chapter will invoke a further concept from the work of Michel Foucault, governmentality (see Glossary), as a frame for understanding the strategies of discipline and subjectification deployed by the European Union and international financial organizations in managing the nation's ongoing financial crisis. The chapter will offer a brief history of the emergence of neoliberal rule in the EU as a response to labor agitation, and examine how Ireland has been progressively inscribed within this regime as a peripheral economy. The chapter will survey official EU discourse, along with popular media representation of this discourse, to establish the case that the Irish crisis has been narrated as a 'homegrown' affair. To make its case, the chapter turns on the discursive shift in EU narratives of the Irish economy. During the 'Tiger' years, the Irish case was held up as an exemplary model for European peripheral development. Today, however, European policy in relation to the economic plight of the Ireland and Greece turns on a discourse of good citizenship, delineated in terms of economic responsibility and moral courage (i.e, Angela Merkel's invoking of the duty of the "good European" to practice tough love).

For the third chapter I will be looking at aims to demonstrate the historical relativity of domestic crisis discourse. Research here will survey key sources which show how the so-called 'Celtic Tiger' was understood initially not only as a deserved reward for the country's hard work in transforming itself into a productive and innovative site for capital investment but,

additionally, as a fabulous opportunity for the country to overcome a number of legacy issues stemming from the nation's essential lack of an industrial base. The chapter compares this salutary attitude to more contemporary discourses of the crisis, and those especially of Ireland's new generation of 'rockstar economists,' which hinge on an argument that the crisis was essentially 'homegrown' in nature, the result primarily of a failure of economic will in the face of consumerist temptation. Common to these perspectives is the framing of the Irish public as an essentially passive, post-political mass. Such texts inform the popular contemporary view that the crisis has not only been enabled by a certain hedonistic streak in the Irish psyche but that its resolution is being pursued in a vulgar and undemocratic manner which, while deplorable and cruel, is nevertheless to be expected given the one-dimensional passivity of the Irish electorate.

B. Significance:

With the above in mind, my book project represents a contribution to recent debates about cultural political economy and, more specifically, the place of subjectivity in our thinking about world politics. Focusing on the Irish response to the European financial crisis, it explores both discursive and affective facets of neoliberal longevity. To this end, the book adopts Foucault's theory of governmentality to offer a study of the transnational, national, and micropolitical dynamics driving the production of neoliberal responsibility and valorization in Ireland. In contrast with recently popular 'Constructivist' International Political Economy (IPE) approaches to the crisis, however, the book rejects the idea that the crisis is solely a discursive or epistemological phenomenon. By addressing specifically the material practices which are (re)producing Irish society in the context of the crisis, and the struggles which they have provoked, the book hopes to reveal a much more contested and negotiated context than other

approaches might be able to offer. On the other hand, however, the book also recognizes that Foucault's work touches only rarely on the realm of the economic and, even then, in stark contrast with his much more detailed writings on madness and sexuality, he never really offers much detail on the material practices of power that energize and sustain it over time. By way of a remedy for this, the book turns for guidance towards some of Foucault's more sympathetic critics, especially those in Autonomist Marxism, who have much to offer both in terms of interpreting Foucault's understanding of contemporary economic life, and showing how this understanding relates to the hegemony of capitalist practices of valorization. While such work is rarely taken seriously within disciplines like International Relations (IR) or IPE, this book will make the case that Autonomism offers a helpful framework for understanding the place of concepts like immaterial production, indebtedness and precarity in the (re)production of contemporary Irish economic life. Focusing on the ambiguities of actually existing capitalism revealed by this perspective, the book concludes with a reflection on the strategic significance of the Irish 'Occupy' movement in its efforts to confront 'false consciousness' and the post-political in one of the worst financial disasters in modern history.

I should also note here that my teaching obligations at OUC revolve substantially around teaching courses like POLS 1500 'Introduction to Globalization', POLS 2500 'International Relations,' POLS 3540 'Foreign Policy,' and POLS 4400 'Developing Regions'. Successful teaching of these courses requires me to be in contact with the latest debates and research in the social sciences about power, political economy, financialization, political culture, austerity, and resistance. Because my book project involves research in all of these areas, I believe its completion will leave me a stronger and more articulate teacher in a Regional Campus context.

C. Preliminary Studies of Applicant:

My PhD research used the work of Michel Foucault to create a critique of the role of economic ideology in US foreign policy since 9/11. Since completing this work I have published several articles in peer-reviewed journals which refine arguments made in my dissertation and serve as the initial framework for my current research. Importantly, the publication of Foucault's lectures on the importance of economic culture in shaping the mentalities of modern government came to the English-speaking world very late in the day. However, as I argue in my work, it has had a profound effect on our understanding of his views on relations of economic power and knowledge. Indeed, we now know, he believed that contemporary governments comprehend the relationship between national security and economic liberalism in terms that are more or less complimentary, with no necessary tradeoff perceived between the two. Given my success with initial publications on this development in his thought, I believe the next move in my research agenda should be to undertake a more comprehensive study of the situatedness of political action and the role of economic ideologies in the production of global governance.

D. Methods:

Not all of my work on sabbatical will require me to be in Ireland, but much of it will. As suggested by the schedule below, to achieve my goals I intend to go to Ireland for a period of twelve months, starting in May, 2015. There, I intend to carry out the primary research for the remainder of my book. The work carried out will both empirical and theoretical, including archival research. For the ease of comprehension of the reviewers, I am below including a copy of my full anticipated schedule for the 12 month period. For the empirical component of this research, I will be visiting archives of the country's major business-oriented newspapers, such as

the *Sunday Business Post*. This paper does not offer freely accessible online archives. I will also visit television station archives (the materials in this archive are not available for online access), and related organizations in civil society (including unions, non-profits, etc.). It should be understood that the below timetable is an approximation and that, in actuality, the nature of the work will require both theory and empirical research to proceed concurrently.

Timetable / Work Plan

1. May - August 2015: Theory Phase

1. I will create a body of notes on ‘Constructivist’ IPE, and its account of the place of culture as a cause of the 2008 financial crisis; pay attention to whether or how we can see influence of Foucault and Autonomist Marxist literature on IPE, noting any criticisms or misunderstandings as they arise;
2. I will examine recent key Autonomist Marxist texts written in context of the financial crisis; I will focus especially on use in this literature of concepts like work, debt, and precarity.
3. I will survey theoretical literature on the role of emotions and ‘affect’ in contemporary valorization (i.e., sustaining the value of contemporary markets); I will study this literature’s claim that financialization is primarily an affective phenomenon.
4. I will review the recent ‘varieties in/of capitalism’ debate in IPE. I will investigate claims in particular by likes of Bailey and Shibata, that this debate might be improved upon by embracing a Foucauldian ‘assemblage’-style understanding of social power.

2. September - November 2015: Empirical phase (archival visits):

1. I will carry out a literature survey for a background chapter sketching Ireland's economic history, focusing on issues of distributive justice; I will investigate the case that Ireland is an exemplary model of a debt economy, in Lazzarato's (2012) sense of the term.
 2. I will survey news archives (electronic and, if necessary, physical) and academic sources for key speeches and background history attesting to positions on austerity held by European leaders like Angela Merkel, as well as various government figures in Ireland;
 3. I will survey media archives and possibly academic sources for insight on the relatively new phenomenon represented by Ireland's 'rock star' public intellectual economists; using archives, I will try to establish when and how these individuals became preminent in the media;
 4. I will survey academic literature, news media and union archives in order to glean information for a brief history of the evolution of 'social partnership' in Ireland, especially the recent 'Croke Park' and 'Haddington Road' agreements; I will investigate use of language of responsibility and partnership in negotiations and public statements surrounding these agreements; I will explore the case that this language has played a role in the wider project of restructuring the economy along more neoliberal grounds;
 5. In the context of the above research, I will try to zoom in on whether/how in the context of the start of crisis, there may have been a shift in rhetorical tone from the idea that somehow Ireland deserved the relative wealth it enjoyed during the 'Celtic Tiger' years to the more contemporary idea that Irish culture is ill-prepared to withstand the trials of economic globalization.
3. December - March 2016: Drafting New Chapters:

1. Chapter 1: Introduction. Present the core empirical puzzle of the book along with a brief discussion of the principle theoretical controversies it provokes for the study of IPE; briefly review EU and Irish governmental discourse justifying austerity as a policy response to the country's recent financial crisis;
2. Chapter 2: Death of a Precarious Tiger? Write a thumbnail sketch of Ireland's economic history up to the time of the crisis, identify some of the key issues of distributive justice prompted by this history, and offer a theoretical interpretation of the stakes of this reading in terms of the concept of precarity.
3. Chapter 3: Of Good Europeans and 'PIIG' Mettle. Use Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' as a frame for understanding the strategies of discipline and subjectification deployed by the European Union and international financial organizations in managing the Ireland's ongoing financial crisis.
4. Chapter 4: "We All Partied." Compare the popular moral discourses of the 'Green Tiger' decade to those of today, and those especially of Ireland's new generation of 'rockstar economists,' which hinge on an argument that the crisis was essentially 'homegrown' in nature, the result primarily of a failure of economic will in the face of consumerist temptation.
5. Chapter 5: Citizen Croke Park. Explore how 'technologies of citizenship' have been deployed in context of social partnership governance in Ireland, focusing on case of public sector workers, and investigate whether or to what extent the rhetoric guiding Irish economic restructuring has drawn on a language of neoliberal responsibility and partnership.

6. Chapter 8: Precarity, Debt, and Abundance: Reflect on the key findings of the previous chapters, and underscore once again the shortcomings of a merely epistemological, or ‘Constructivist’, approach to understanding the Irish crisis. Close chapter with some speculations on how a democratic reclaiming of Irish economic life might proceed.
4. April 2016: Compiling the manuscript; Editing
 1. At this time I will carry out any finishing work required for the manuscript.

E. Collaborations: NA

F. Confidentiality: NA

6. Glossary/Definition of Terms

• Biopolitics:

A term coined by the French philosopher Michel Foucault which draws attention to the primary importance of subjectivation for the reproduction of modern life. Whereas medieval societies gave power to the sovereign king or monarch, who had the power to dispose of life as he saw fit, modern societies give power to government, which must arrange and defend an imagined form of optimal social life. Thus, as Foucault defines it, biopolitics is: "...the endeavor, begun in the eighteenth century, to rationalize the problems presented to governmental practice by the phenomena characteristic of a group of living humans beings constituted as a population: health, sanitation, birthrate, longevity, race..." (Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth, p.73)

• Foucault, Michel (1926-1984):

A French historian and philosopher. His studies of madness, medicine, punishment, sexuality, and government have had significant impact on a range of disciplines. His work on power and its relation to knowledge have been particularly important. In stark contrast with many modern theories of power, including Liberalism and Marxism, Foucault argues that power flows through society rather than from a central source, and that it is best analyzed through a series of relations.

• Governmentality:

With "governmentality," Foucault develops a new understanding of social power, inviting us to consider power not only in terms of the more hierarchical, top-down power of the state but also diagnostically, in terms that include social institutions (schools, hospitals, psychiatric institutions, etc.) as well as forms of social knowledge. Thus construed, power can be understood to function 'bottom-up', as it is internalized by individuals and guides the behavior of populations. As

governmental knowledge elicits self-governance from populations in this sense, it leads to ever more 'efficient' forms of social control.

- **Neoliberalism:**

Generally understood to be an ideology of economic government that became popular in the late 1970s and, more generally, in the aftermath of the collapse of the Bretton Woods system established after World War II. It emphasizes non-intervention from government and rejects regulation in laissez-faire free markets as inefficient. It is associated with neoclassical price theory and libertarianism and the rejection of Keynesianism in favor of monetarism.

7. Bibliography

Theoretical Texts:

- Berardi, F., 2009. *The Soul at Work*, New York: Semiotext.
- *Capital & Class*, Special issue on “Critical political economy and capitalist diversity,” co-edited by Ian Bruff and Matthias Ebenau, 2014, 38 (1). Issue includes relevant pieces from a number of scholars, including Bob Jessop, Ian Bruff and Eva Hartmann, Matthias Ebenau, and David J. Bailey and Saori Shibata.
- Cruikshank, Barbara. 1999. *The Will to Empower; Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects*, New York: Cornell.
- Eden, D., 2012. *Autonomy: Capitalism, Class and Politics*, London: Ashgate.
- Foucault, M., 2008. *The Birth of Biopolitics; Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hardt, M. & Negri, A., 2000. *Empire*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Holland, E.W., 2003. ‘Optimism of the Intellect...’, *Journal of Theory, Culture & Politics*, 16(2), pp.121–131.
- Lazzarato, Maurizio. 2012. *The Making of the Indebted Man*. New York: Semiotext.
- Ong, Aihwa. 2006. *Neoliberalism as Exception*, Duke University Press.
- Ong, Aihwa. 1999. *Flexible Citizenship*, Duke University Press.
- Read, J., 2003. *The Micro-Politics of Capital*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Surin, K., 2009. *Freedom Not Yet; Liberation and the Next World Order*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Varoufakis, Yanis. 2011. *The Global Minotaur*. London: Zed Books.

- Walters, W. 2012. Governmentality. London: Routledge.
- Wright, S., 2002. Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism, Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.

Texts on the Irish Crisis:

- Allen, Kieran, and Brian O' Boyle. 2013. Austerity Ireland. Pluto Press.
- Donovan, Donal, and Antoin E Murphy. 2013. The Fall of the Celtic Tiger: Ireland and the Euro Debt Crisis. Oxford University Press
- Hobbs, Eddie. 2014. Own Our Oil. Turnaround Publisher Services.
- Kerrigan, Gene. 2012. The Big Lie. Transworld Ireland.
- McCann, Gerard. 2011. Ireland's Economic History. Pluto Press.
- McCabe, Conor. 2011. Sins of the Father. Nonsuch Publishing, Limited.
- McWilliams, David. 2012. The Good Room. Penguin UK.
- Kay, Sean. 2011. Celtic Revival? Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kirby, Peadar. 2010. Celtic Tiger in Collapse. Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kinsella, Stephen, and Anthony J Leddin. 2010. Understanding Ireland's Economic Crisis. Blackhall Publishing Limited.
- Ging, Debbie, Michael Cronin, and Peadar Kirby. 2009. Transforming Ireland. Manchester Univ Pr.

8. Biographical Information: Nicholas Kiersey

Highest Academic Degree

- **Ph.D., Planning, Governance and Globalization (Government and International Affairs Stream) - Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA, May 2007**

Position & Duration at Ohio University

- **Associate Professor, Political Science, Ohio University, Chillicothe, Ohio (August 2008-present)**

Select Recent Awards

- *Ohio University Chillicothe Summer Research Grant* (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)
- *Ohio University Regional Campus International Travel Fund: Travel Award for Joint Conference of the International Studies Association and the British International Studies Association, Edinburgh, Scotland (Summer 2012) (\$1234.39)*
- *Ohio University International Travel Fund: Travel Award for Joint Conference of the International Studies Association and the British International Studies Association, Edinburgh, Scotland (Summer 2012) (Matching funds: \$750)*
- *ISA "seed grant": Travel Award from International Studies Association for 2011 World International Studies Committee (WISC) Annual Conference, Porto, Portugal (Summer 2011) (\$1500.00)*
- *Ohio University Regional Campus International Travel Fund: Travel Award for 2011 World International Studies Committee (WISC) Annual Conference, Porto, Portugal (Summer 2011) (\$1500.00)*
- *Ohio University International Travel Fund: Travel Award for 2011 World International Studies Committee (WISC) Annual Conference, Porto, Portugal (Summer 2011) (Matching funds: \$500.00)*
- *Ohio University-Chillicothe Faculty Travel Fund, Ohio University-Chillicothe: Travel Award for International Studies Association Annual Conference, Montreal, (Spring 2011) (\$1382.00)*
- *Ohio University-Chillicothe Faculty Travel Fund: Travel Award for International Studies Association Annual Conference, New Orleans, Ohio University-Chillicothe (Spring 2010) (\$884.00)*

Publications

Academic Publications

- Edited Volumes & Special Issues
 - Nicholas Kiersey and Iver B. Neuman, Eds., *Battlestar Galactica and International Relations* (Routledge, 2012)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, Ed., "#Occupy IR Theory/IPE," a special issue of *Journal of Critical Globalization Studies* 1:5 (2012)
 - Nicholas Kiersey and Doug Stokes, Eds., *Foucault and International Relations; New Critical Engagements* (Routledge, 2010)
- Journal Articles

- Nicholas Kiersey and Wanda Vradi, “A Convergent Genealogy? Time, Space, and the Promise of Horizontal Politics,” *Capital & Class* - under review for publication in special issue “Left-Wing Convergence?” (Alex Prichard and Owen Worth, Guest Eds., 2015)
- Nicholas Kiersey, Review Essay, “Slaves to Love: Marx, Spinoza and the Surprising Longevity of Crisis Capitalism” *Capital & Class* (forthcoming 2015)
- Nicholas Kiersey, “Retail Therapy in the Dragon’s Den: Popular Culture in Ireland’s Financial Crisis,” *Global Society* (2014)
- Nicholas Kiersey, “Occupy Dame Street as Slow-Motion General Strike? Justifying Optimism in the Wake of Ireland’s Failed Multitudinal Moment.” *Global Discourse* (2014)
- Nicholas Kiersey, “Everyday Neoliberalism and the Subjectivity of Crisis: Post-Political Control in the Era of Financial Turmoil,” *Journal of Critical Globalization Studies* 1:4 (2011)
- Nicholas Kiersey, Review Essay, “Love is a Battlefield; Post-Political Control in the Era of Financial Crisis” *New Political Science* 33:2 (2011).
- Nicholas Kiersey, Jason Weidner and Doerthe Rosenow, “Response to Chandler,” *Global Society* 24:2 (2010)
- Book Chapters
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “Neoliberalism and the Biopolitical Imagination,” in Simon Springer, Kean Birch, and Julie MacLeavy, Eds., *Handbook of Neoliberalism* (Routledge: forthcoming 2015)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “Power and the Debate About Empire in International Relations Theory,” in Scott Nelson and Nevi Soguk, Eds., *Modern Theory, Modern Power, World Politics: Critical Investigations* (Ashgate, 2014).
 - Nicholas Kiersey & Iver Neumann, “Introduction: Circulating on Board the Battlestar” in Nicholas Kiersey and Iver Neumann, Eds., *Battlestar Galactica and International Relations* (Routledge, 2012)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “‘The Future of Humanity Begins With a Choice’; Narrating Identity, Techno-Rational Subsumption and Micropolitics in International Relations and Battlestar Galactica” in Nicholas Kiersey and Iver Neumann, Eds., *Battlestar Galactica and International Relations* (Routledge: 2012)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, Jason Weidner & Doug Stokes, “Introduction” in Nicholas Kiersey and Doug Stokes, Eds., *Foucault and International Relations; New Critical Engagements* (Routledge ‘Interventions’ Series: 2010)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “Neoliberal Political Economy and the Subjectivity of Crisis; Why Governmentality is Not Hollow” in Nicholas Kiersey and Doug Stokes, Eds., *Foucault and International Relations; New Critical Engagements* (Routledge ‘Interventions’ Series: 2010)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “Foucauldian Political Economy: the Biopolitics of the Iraq War” in Marc Doucet and Miguel de Larrinaga, Eds., *Security and Global Governmentality* (Routledge: 2010)
- Peer-reviewed online publications:
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “Popular Culture and International Relations,” in Patrick James, Ed., *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations* (Oxford University Press: early 2015)

- Nicholas Kiersey and Iver Neumann, “Variance/Invariance: The Politics of Pop Culture in IR,” in Federica Caso and Caitlin Hamilton, Eds., *World Politics and Popular Culture* (E-International Relations Edited Collections: early 2015)
- Reviews & Miscellaneous
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “Mark Blyth, *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea*.” *New Political Science* 36:3 (2014)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “David Eden, *Autonomy: Capitalism, Class and Politics*.” *New Political Science* 36:1 (2014)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “Review of Laura Zanotti, *Governing Disorder, UN Peace Operations, International Security, and Democratization in the Post-Cold War Era*,” *H-Net Reviews* (Fall, 2012)
 - Nicholas Kiersey, “Commonism: Empire, Crisis and Occupation in IR Theory,” *Journal of Critical Globalization Studies* 1:5 (2012)

Select Major Conference Activities

- Invited Conference Activities
 - The Body in IR. Conference semi-plenary presentation, ‘The Body in/and International Relations’, at the 8th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, Warsaw, Poland, September 18-21, 2013
 - Occupy Wall Street as Immanent Critique: Why ‘Commonism’ Matters for International Relations. Invited presentation at “Transformations of the Public Sphere” Conference, Mershon Center, The Ohio State University, April 13-14, 2012
- Conference Presentations
 - Between US Imperialism and ‘Empire’; World Politics and the Globalization of Neoliberal Subjectivity. Paper presented at the International Studies Association Global South Caucus Conference, Singapore, January 8-10, 2015
 - (With Stefanie R. Fishel) Does Russell Brand Have a Point, or does being cheeky count as revolution? Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association - North East Region, Baltimore, MD, November 7-8, 2014
 - Powerful Life, Indebted Life: Precarity and the Rise of the Post-Neoliberal State. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of the British International Studies Association, Dublin, Ireland, June 18-20, 2014
 - Of Good Europeans and ‘PIIG’ Mettle. Paper presented at the 55th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 26-29, 2014
 - Occupy Dame Street as Slow Motion General Strike? Challenging Neoliberal Responsibility in Ireland’s Economic Crisis, Paper present at the 54th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 3-6, 2013
 - Irish Public Sector in Crisis: An Economic Pedagogy for the Pope’s Children. Paper presented at the Joint Conference of the International Studies Association and the British International Studies Association, Edinburgh, June 20-22, 2012
 - (With Wanda Vrasti) Occupy IR Theory? The Horizontalist Left and Its Ontological Challenge for the Study of World Politics. Paper presented at the 53rd Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, April 1-4, 2012

9. Other Support

A. Previous University Funding

A. Summer 2013:

A. Sponsor: OU-Chillicothe Faculty Research Committee

B. Title: 'Funding to Support Book Project'

C. Award date: October 1, 2013

D. Dollar Amount: 1151.77

E. Outcomes: I applied for travel money to Ireland, in order to do some research on my book. With the money I received I was able to do some research on the Irish 'Occupy' movement, an Irish expression of the US-based horizontalist anti-austerity movement. The research resulted in the publication of an article in a peer-reviewed journal, "Occupy Dame Street as Slow-Motion General Strike? Justifying Optimism in the Wake of Ireland's Failed Multitudinal Moment." *Global Discourse* (2014). A version of this work will also be included as a chapter in my book.

B. External Funding: NA

C. Sustainability: NA

10. Budget & Justification

A. Consumable Supplies n/a

B. Travel (incl. Meals and Lodging):¹

- Flight: Return: Columbus - Dublin, May 11, 2015 - January 7, 2016: **\$997.09**
- Meals & Lodging: NA

C. Student Wages n/a

D. Equipment n/a

E. Faculty Stipend n/a

F. Other n/a

G. Total **\$997.09**

¹ The dates I have used here are May 11, 2015, to January 7, 2016. Please note that Orbitz does not allow quotes to be searched for dates further into the future than this at time of writing. In actuality, I will pursue tickets with a return date of one year later. As such, these dates are an approximation.



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Return Thu, Jan 7, 2016

Columbus (CMH) > Dublin (DUB)
Dublin (DUB) > Columbus (CMH)
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Flight

Leave	Mon, May 11	Total time: 13hr 10min
Depart 12:40 PM	Columbus, OH , United States Port Columbus Intl (CMH)	Finnair 5686 Economy Embraer RJ145 474 mi 2hr 4min Seat map
Stop 1 2:44 PM	New York, NY , United States JFK Airport (JFK) Terminal 8	
Change of planes. Time between flights: 4hr 1min Flight 5686 Operated by /ENVOY AIR FOR AMERICAN AIRLINES		
Depart 6:45 PM	New York, NY , United States JFK Airport (JFK) Terminal 8	Finnair 4022 Economy Boeing 757 3,176 mi 7hr 5min Seat map
Arrive 6:50 AM	Dublin , Ireland Dublin Airport (DUB) Terminal 2	
Flight 4022 Operated by AMERICAN Arrives Tue, May 12 (1 day later).		
Return	Thu, Jan 7	Total time: 11hr 27min
Depart 11:05 AM	Dublin , Ireland Dublin Airport (DUB) Terminal 2	American Airlines 723 Economy Boeing 757 3,264 mi 7hr 55min Seat map
Stop 1 2:00 PM	Philadelphia, PA , United States Philadelphia Airport (PHL) Terminal A	
Change of planes. Time between flights: 1hr 55min Flight 723 Operated by US AIRWAYS		
Depart 3:55 PM	Philadelphia, PA , United States Philadelphia Airport (PHL) Terminal C	American Airlines 4499 Economy Embraer 175 On-time: 70% 406 mi 1hr 37min Seat map
Arrive 5:32 PM	Columbus, OH , United States Port Columbus Intl (CMH)	
Flight 4499 Operated by US AIRWAYS EXPRESS-REPUBLIC AIRLINES		

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11. Appended Materials

I am including here a copy of my book prospectus.

NEGOTIATING CRISIS: NEOLIBERAL POWER IN AUSTERITY IRELAND

By Nicholas Kiersey (kiersey@ohio.edu)
Assistant Professor, Ohio University

1. STATEMENT OF AIMS

Despite an abundance of evidence that the Irish financial crisis might more appropriately be interpreted as merely one episode of a truly globe-spanning financial disaster, the dominant domestic narrative has revolved around the idea of a homegrown failure, measured in terms of public expenditure and weak governance (see, for example, Kinsella and Leddin, Eds., 2010). Accordingly, policy debate has turned on the question of balancing the budget and the need for a broad commitment from social partners to principles of fiscal responsibility. 'From above,' leading EU authority figures like Angela Merkel have complemented this discourse, speaking of a culture of profligacy on the periphery of Europe which, left unaddressed, will surely place the euro itself "in danger." Domestically, meanwhile, politicians and public figures regularly decry the hedonism they believe characterized the country during the so-called 'Celtic Tiger' years, a refrain echoing Minister of Finance Brian Lenihan's 2008 primetime interview claim that the crisis was nobody's fault in particular because, as he put it, "we all partied." With unemployment high and emigration at rates unseen since the recession of the 1980s, the government has adopted a deflationary strategy, implementing a series of crippling cuts in hopes of regaining the nation's competitive edge. Attention in this context has focused sharply on specific groups, seen as complacent in the face of the austerity agenda. Public sector employees, for example, often viewed as an entrenched class with protected jobs and well-funded retirement benefits, are regularly denounced as a principle barrier to the nation's return to economic health. Meanwhile, demand-side alternatives are dismissed as impossibly expensive luxury in the current context, and unsuitable, besides, for a "small open economy."

What is interesting is that this language of self-blame contrasts so strongly with that which circulated in the years prior to the crisis. Back then, the prosperity of the 'Tiger' was understood not only as a deserved reward for the country's hard work in transforming itself into a highly productive and technologized site for capital investment but, additionally, as a fabulous opportunity for the country to overcome a number of legacy issues stemming from the nation's essential lack of an industrial base. Against this background, it seems apt to ask how the Irish public has been lead to understand its relationship to economic necessity. After all, the dominant narrative today is an especially narrow one; the roots of the crisis can quite plausibly be traced back to poor planning decisions in the state's early economic history, not to mention the successive waves of neoliberal or supply-side deregulation of global finance, dating back to the 1970s (McCabe, 2011). Moreover, such reforms can hardly be claimed to have a uniquely Irish provenance, constituting as they do an important part of the historical context for what is now a long string of financial crises around the world, from Argentina to Southeast Asia (see Harvey, 2007, and Stiglitz, 2003). Nevertheless, in February 2011, the general election in Ireland revealed massive support for centrist, pro-market political parties, all more or less committed to the austerity regime, and one of the most spectacularly unjust and undemocratically decided transfers of wealth, from the taxpayers of an advanced Western nation to foreign bondholders (in this case, German, British, and French banks) in history.

A central premise of this volume is that an answer to the above question necessarily involves an account of the place of subjectivity in the reproduction of neoliberal social order. As Foucault argues in *Birth of Biopolitics*, neoliberalism is not so much a discourse of economic deregulation as it is a worldview that incorporates its own anthropology of man as a container or vessel of *human capital*. As such, the subject of neoliberalism is one who is called on to embrace the idea that the true value of one's life can be measured by the price that one's capacities and skills command in the marketplace, and to engage with ever greater sophistication in the conversion of his or her potential *qua life* into value. To be sure, neoliberalism in Ireland has had to contend with a gamut of other discourses and practices, which have constrained it or modulated it, over time. Yet, and this makes for a further premise of this book, a study of the quotidian cultural dimensions of the crisis reveals normative commitments not only to the production of a subject of neoliberal responsibility but to the recruitment of practices and strategies of producing value which are themselves distinctly subjective in nature, thus also requiring of us an understanding of the place of affect in the resolution of the crisis. In the context of financial crisis culture in Ireland then it is perhaps no surprise, for example, that locally-produced Reality TV shows might reveal much about the nation's struggle for economic recovery, and not only in the sense of the passion and drive of the Irish entrepreneur but also in terms of the craft and skill of the retailer who excels at producing personal relationships with his or her customers.

With the above in mind, this book represents a contribution to recent debates about cultural political economy and, more specifically, the place of subjectivity in our thinking about world politics. Focusing on the Irish response to the European financial crisis, it explores both discursive and affective facets of neoliberal longevity. To this end, the book adopts Foucault's theory of governmentality to offer a study of the transnational, national, and micropolitical dynamics driving the production of neoliberal responsibility and valorization in Ireland. In contrast with recently popular 'Constructivist' International Political Economy (IPE) approaches to the crisis, however, the book rejects the idea that the crisis is solely a discursive or epistemological phenomenon. By addressing specifically the material *practices* which are (re)producing Irish society in the context of the crisis, and the struggles which they have provoked, the book hopes to reveal a much more contested and negotiated context than other approaches might be able to offer. On the other hand, however, the book also recognizes that Foucault's work touches only rarely on the realm of the economic and, even then, in stark contrast with his much more detailed writings on madness and sexuality, he never really offers much detail on the material practices of power that energize and sustain it over time. By way of a remedy for this, the book turns for guidance towards some of Foucault's more sympathetic critics, especially those in Autonomist Marxism, who have much to offer both in terms of interpreting Foucault's understanding of contemporary economic life, and showing how this understanding relates to the hegemony of capitalist practices of valorization. While such work is rarely taken seriously within disciplines like International Relations (IR) or IPE, this book will make the case that Autonomism offers a helpful framework for understanding the place of concepts like immaterial production, indebtedness and precarity in the (re)production of contemporary Irish economic life. Focusing on the ambiguities of actually existing capitalism revealed by this perspective, the book concludes with a reflection on the strategic significance of the Irish 'Occupy' movement in its efforts to confront 'false consciousness' and the post-political in one of the worst financial disasters in modern history.

2. DETAILED SYNOPSIS

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5. Citizen Croke Park
6. Retail Therapy in the Dragon's Den?
7. Occupy Dame Street as Slow Motion General Strike?
8. Precarity, Debt, Abundance: Concluding Notes for IPE

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the core empirical puzzle of the book along with a brief discussion of the principle theoretical controversies it provokes for the study of IPE. The chapter opens with a brief review of the place of concepts of economic citizenship and responsibility in official EU and Irish government discourse in justifying austerity as a policy response to the country's recent financial crisis. Against this background, it is argued that 'Constructivist' IPE scholarship can provide some useful cues in terms of trying to explain why such discourse has gone relatively unchallenged. While encompassing the role of 'everyday' social norms and expectations in directing financial policy, however, Constructivism avoids discussing the fundamental role of capitalist practices of valorization in sustaining economic life. To make my case I invoke Foucault's (2008) discussion of neoliberal 'crisis subjectivity' and the closely attendant notion of human capital in order to suggest a need to examine neoliberal technologies of the self. I argue that his comments on neoliberalism posit not only a 'positive' ontology of subjectification but also make strong hints towards a theory of immanent social control through the market, akin to that outlined by Deleuze in his famous 'Postscript on the Societies of Control'. In more recent formulations of the crisis, such as in Hardt and Negri's *Commonwealth* (2000), this mode of control is posed as the only mode of control adequate to a regime of capitalist valorization premised on the productive potential of the common. This move allows Hardt and Negri, rightly, to associate today's crisis with a more profound, ontological crisis, grounded in the relative autonomy of labor from contemporary capitalist command. Based on this argument, the chapter argues that discourses of the Irish financial crisis can be observed at work on at least three levels: the transnational, the national, and the micropolitical. This framework inspires the division of labor in the chapters that follow. Practices associated with the first two levels are characterized by the classic Foucauldian themes, discipline and governmentality, hence the inclusion of chapters examining EU and IMF texts and statements surrounding the so-called 'troika' negotiations, as well as national-level reports and debates pertaining to the way the Irish have been called on to govern themselves as 'partners' in managing the crisis. However, taking seriously the existence of micropolitical capitalist valorization, other chapters address themes arising from the need for emotional labor, and personal resilience in the face of precarity. Hence, for example, the presence of a chapter on the pedagogical significance of Irish 'Reality TV' programming as a vector of entrepreneurial responsibility.

CHAPTER 2: DEATH OF A PRECARIOUS TIGER?

Providing a thumbnail sketch of Ireland's economic history up to the time of the crisis, this chapter identifies some of the key issues of distributive justice prompted by this history, and offers a theoretical interpretation of the stakes of this reading in terms of the concept of precarity. Targeted especially towards the unfamiliar reader, the chapter starts with a brief review of current debates surrounding the concept of precarious life, and its relationship to indebtedness. In this light, the chapter then proceeds to elaborate the **Irish case as an exemplary model of a debt economy** (Lazzarato, 2012). Offering a brief history of Irish economic development, the chapter focuses on the nation's total failure to develop a meaningful social housing policy, the decision of successive

generations to ignore indigenous industrial development, and the embrace in its place of a strategic **dependency** on a low corporate tax rate in order to attract foreign direct investment. Next the chapter addresses the **evolution of 'social partnership,'** the country's practice of staging periodic centralized wage negotiations. While the latter practice has functioned historically to stabilize industrial unrest in the country, its success has been won at the expense of strategies to develop a meaningful **social wage** and, in the context of the current crisis, has constituted a seriously distorted metric for assessing the impact of austerity on distributive justice. Finally, the chapter examines the emergence of debt as a key problematic in the 'Tiger' years, and its status in relation to public life today. While popular accounts continue to replicate the official government line of a 'homegrown' crisis, the emergence of indebtedness suggests lines of affinity with global financial dynamics.

CHAPTER 3: OF GOOD EUROPEANS AND 'PIIG' METTLE

Presenting the first of a series of case studies focusing on discourses of partnership and moral responsibility in relation to Ireland's crisis, this chapter invokes 'global governmentality' as a frame for understanding the strategies of discipline and subjectification deployed by the European Union and international financial organizations in managing the nation's ongoing financial crisis. Where official EU discourse has made much of the idea that the Irish crisis has been a 'homegrown' affair, many critical accounts of the crisis suggest the causes are to be found more in Berlin or Frankfurt. This chapter attempts to avoid the 'blackmail' of ascribing causality exclusively to either local or European-level dynamics. As a point of departure, the chapter addresses **the recent 'varieties in/of capitalism'** debate in IPE (see Bruff and Ebenau, Eds., 2014). Agreeing with Bailey and Shibata¹ and certain Autonomist Marxists (see Eden, 2012), however, the chapter advocates an 'assemblage' power model, which puts a premium on the idea that capitalism is ontologically secondary to the power of labor. Following this line, the chapter offers a brief history of the emergence of neoliberal rule in the EU as a response to labor agitation, and looks at how Ireland has been progressively inscribed within this regime as a peripheral economy. To make its case, the chapter turns on the discursive shift in EU narratives of the Irish economy. During the 'Tiger' years, the Irish case was held up as an exemplary model for European peripheral development. Today, however, European policy in relation to the economic plight of the PIIGS turns on a discourse of good citizenship, delineated in terms of economic responsibility and moral courage (i.e, Angela Merkel's invoking of the duty of the "good European" to practice tough love). Statements like this lead Irish critics to reflect on the very intentional nature of earlier economic integration and its logic in terms of recycling surplus wealth in the German economy, which permitted German bondholders to flood the Irish market in the first place. Such observations are problematic, however, insofar as they risk producing a totalized understanding of the interests of German capital, delinked from the struggle of German labor. They also occlude the possibility of reading the crisis as one of rich with possibilities for solidarity in the struggle for balanced structural development in Europe.

CHAPTER 4: "WE ALL PARTIED"; AN ECONOMIC PEDAGOGY FOR THE POPE'S CHILDREN

By way of demonstrating the historical relativity of domestic crisis discourse, the chapter surveys key sources which show how the Celtic Tiger was understood initially not only as a deserved reward for the country's hard work in transforming itself into a productive and innovative site for capital investment but, additionally, as a fabulous opportunity for the country to overcome a number of legacy issues stemming from the nation's essential lack of an industrial base. The

¹ Bailey, D J, and S Shibata. "Varieties of Contestation: the Comparative and Critical Political Economy of 'Excessive' Demand." *Capital & Class* 38, no. 1 (February 5, 2014): 239–251.

chapter compares this salutary attitude to more contemporary discourses of the crisis, and those especially of Ireland's **new generation of 'rockstar economists,'** which hinge on an argument that the crisis was essentially 'homegrown' in nature, the result primarily of a failure of economic will in the face of consumerist temptation. The chapter presents a genealogy of this attitude, from the 1981 "demand democracy" speech of Fine Gael politician John Kelly before the Claremorris Chamber of Commerce, to the more recent *All the Pope's Children*, by David McWilliams (a text known more famously for having predicted the crisis). Common to these perspectives is the framing of the Irish public as an essentially passive, post-political mass. Such texts inform the popular contemporary view that the crisis has not only been enabled by a certain hedonistic streak in the Irish psyche but that its resolution is being pursued in a vulgar and undemocratic manner which, while deplorable and cruel, is nevertheless to be expected given the one-dimensional passivity of the Irish electorate. Curiously, this thesis is actually corroborated by many on the Irish left. Drawing on Marxist accounts concerning the **'false consciousness'** of modern consumerism, critical accounts claim the Irish case as confirmation of the 'spectacular' nature of social control in contemporary capitalism. Refusing this presumption of 'one-dimensionality,' however, the chapter concludes by asserting the need among the Irish left for an appraisal of the place of the concept of abundance.

CHAPTER 5: CITIZEN CROKE PARK

Following Cruikshank (1999), the critical premise of the chapter is that "technologies of citizenship" may operate in neoliberalism which "work upon and through the capacities of citizens to act on their own" where the state itself is unable tread in a formal capacity. In Ireland, political leaders and popular commentators across the spectrum in Ireland have narrated the crisis as the result of a multi-level, society-wide short-sightedness, or hedonism. Thus, from the Prime Minister on down, calls have gone out for all sectors of the workforce in Ireland to "share the burden" of setting the nation's finances back to rights. This chapter centers on a study of popular discourse surrounding the national *Public Service Agreement 2010-2014*, or "Croke Park Agreement," as it is more commonly known, as the latest iteration of Ireland's historic practice of centralized, 'social partnership'-style wage negotiation. As the chapter argues, debate surrounding the Agreement has drawn on a language of responsibility and partnership in an overall project of restructuring the economy along more neoliberal grounds. Reticent elements of the public sector workforce in this account are characterized as being irresponsible precisely because they have refused to embrace the salutary lessons of the market turndown. Remarkably, the legacy issue of Ireland's poor social wage has been all but absent from the conversation to date and, with key media and political figures aligning against any further protection of public sector salaries in the recent renegotiations of the Agreement, a countervailing discourse which might view public employees as a vital source of consumptive potential shows little sign of taking root.

CHAPTER 6: RETAIL THERAPY IN THE DRAGON'S DEN?

Departing from the style of the previous chapters to some extent, the argument here engages with the 'micropolitical' level of analysis, turning towards cases drawn from Irish 'Reality TV' programming, in order to present a critique of neoliberal strategies of subjectification during the crisis. A range of scholars accept the concept of economic subjectivity in their analysis of relations of economic power and knowledge. They tend to do so, however, in a way that focuses on the inculcation of norms of individual accountability and self-empowerment. Addressing cases drawn from Irish 'Reality TV' in the context of the current financial crisis, this chapter seeks to expand our understanding of the stakes of economic subjectification by looking at the importance Reality TV also ascribes to capacities of affective labor. The article borrows from Foucault, as well as several Autonomist Marxist sources, to make an argument that these cases indicate not only the subsumption of a wide swathe of social life into the domain of neoliberal governmentality but, also,

the self-conscious turn towards affective labor as a way of refloating the Irish economy. Such a move is significant insofar as it suggests the reinvestment of subjects in a regime of valorization that has proven to be emotionally and financially oppressive, not to mention unstable, all at a time where the capacity of the institutions of the Irish state to equitably distribute social wealth has been called into question.

CHAPTER 7: OCCUPY DAME STREET AS SLOW MOTION GENERAL STRIKE?

As the last substantive chapter of the book, this essay reflects the efforts of Ireland's 'Occupy Dame Street' (ODS) activists to construct subjectivities of resistance. It starts by offering a brief account of the rise and fall of the ODS movement, as it struggled to engage the political imagination of a nation beset by financial crisis, and explores the extent to which its actions conformed to the sort of 'Multitudinal ideals' advocated by Autonomist Marxists Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. It suggests that, in a way, and quite unconsciously, dominant factions in the movement came to embrace Hardt and Negri's arguments, especially in relation to the concept of the event. Ironically, however, and in ways with which other occupy movements around the world simply did not have to contend, this turn actually posed a barrier to the movement's success. Exploring this problem, the chapter explores two alternative modes of constructing such subjectivities. Turning first to Eugene Holland's concept of the Slow-Motion General Strike, we find a more experimental and piecemeal approach to social transformation. This approach, it is concluded, has the virtue of retaining Hardt and Negri's enthusiastic rejection of hegemonic thinking while avoiding becoming caught up in a debate over the relative merits of passively waiting for a constitutive 'event' over reformism. That said, in Ireland at least, there is a certain danger that a 'chronological' approach can cede too much, especially in a time of general neoliberal expropriation of public space. With this urgency in mind, a second position is staked out. While in some ways reprioritizing the event, this position borrows from anarchist understandings of public space, and puts a strong focus on tactics. Inspired by this approach, ODS-affiliated activists have attempted to expose the blatantly undemocratic operations of the country's National Asset Management Agency (NAMA) by occupying vacant commercial properties in Dublin.

CHAPTER 8: PRECARIETY, DEBT AND ABUNDANCE: CONCLUDING NOTES FOR IPE

What lessons might scholars of IPE derive from the preceding discussions? Reflecting on the key findings of the previous chapters, the purpose of this short essay is to underscore once again the shortcomings of a merely epistemological approach to understanding the crisis. At the international, national, and micropolitical levels, the purpose of this book has been to show how a focus on ontology or, more exactly, on precarity, practices of subjectification, and immaterial valorization, can reveal much not only about what exactly it is that is in crisis, but also its stakes. The Irish financial crisis stands in this sense as a powerful case study of the ontological power of contemporary capitalism, and the function of precarity and control in the new, globalized debt economy. Even among leftist critics, normative responses to the crisis have been linked intimately to themes of responsibility, work, and self-renunciation. Reflecting on this troubled terrain, this chapter offers speculations on how a democratic reclaiming of Irish economic life might proceed. That is, how we might assert a genuinely utopian subjectivity, where the ideals of a responsible and austere citizenship are supplanted and replaced by a discourse of value premised on participation, plenitude and enablement.

3. PRODUCT CATEGORY

This book is primarily a research monograph. However, as I explain below, while the volume should have popular appeal in the academic market, it will be sought out well beyond the academic library.

4. DEFINITION OF MARKET

This book is written with three audiences in mind:

1. Primarily, this book is written for an advanced academic audience already interested in debates and controversies within IR and IPE concerning power, subjectivity and economic ideology. More narrowly, it should appeal to those working within an IPE framework and interested in thinking through some of the potential issues and problems with the discipline's recent 'Constructivist' turn, and the role of subjectivity, and affect, in political life. Constructivism is clearly popular at leading institutions staffed with Constructivist scholars, such as Brown University. However, search online and it becomes quickly apparent that Constructivist IPE is being taken seriously on quality, graduate-level syllabi elsewhere, too.
 - Prof. Derek Hall at Wilfrid Laurier University, for example, has a module on Constructivism on his syllabus, here: http://uwaterloo.ca/master-peace-conflict-studies/sites/ca.master-peace-conflict-studies/files/uploads/files/gv_731_syllabus_1.pdf
 - Rob Aitken of University of Alberta includes Constructivism, Governmentality and Cultural IPE on his syllabus, here: <http://www.ualberta.ca/~raitken/syllabusfinal.htm>
 - And Prof. Mark R. Brawley of McGill University teaches Constructivism to his Third Year students, here: http://www.mcgill.ca/politicalscience/sites/mcgill.ca.politicalscience/files/coursewinter2014_poli354.pdf
2. Because of its accessible manner and timely focus, the book would serve well in the classroom as a case study for a range of undergraduate-level courses, including courses like Introduction to Globalization, International Relations, and Contemporary Political Theory.
3. It is imagined that the book would also be amenable to the informed non-academic reader already interested in the politics of the Irish financial crisis, or the reader who might simply be seeking a better understanding of how debates about social power speak to issues arising from the crisis. As I discuss below, there is a huge market for texts on the Irish financial crisis right now. But none of the current texts examine in the way intended here, as a case indicating the critical role of economic subjectivity in the reproduction of politics in times of economic crisis.²

² I wish to underline here that I am not suggesting that this book could be a mass-market best-seller. It's subject matter and tone are intended more for an academic audience. That said, drawing inspiration from works like Dyer-Witthof's *Games of Empire* (2009), for example, it is imagined that this book will also function as a relatively accessible primer, prioritizing case-based application of theory over theoretical innovation, per se. An Autonomist Marxist, Dyer-Witthof's skill is in taking complex ideas from the theories of people like Negri and Deleuze, and applying them in a 'user's manual'-style to everyday themes, like computer gaming, and the impact of the Internet on social relations.

12. List of Recommended Reviewers

I recommend the following reviewers active in my field. I hereby declare that none of the following suggested reviewers have ever served as an advisor to me, nor have they ever collaborated with me for any academic purpose or writing projects. I do know them all individually to some extent, as they are known in my field, and I see them periodically at conferences. Also, I should note that Matt Davies was one of the series editors of a edited volume project I was involved in (although I had no interaction with him during this time).

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