TRANSFORMING ASIA

Edited by Lan Anh Hoang and Cheryll Alipio

Money and Moralities in Contemporary Asia

Amsterdam University Press

Money and Moralities in Contemporary Asia

Transforming Asia

Asia is often viewed through a fog of superlatives: the most populous countries, lowest fertility rates, fastest growing economies, greatest number of billionaires, most avid consumers, and greatest threat to the world's environment. This recounting of superlatives obscures Asia's sheer diversity, uneven experience, and mixed inheritance.

Amsterdam University Press's Transforming Asia series publishes books that explore, describe, interpret, understand and, where appropriate, problematize and critique contemporary processes of transformation and their outcomes. The core aim of the series is to finesse 'Asia', both as a geographical category and to ask what Asia's 'rise' means globally and regionally, from conceptual models to policy lessons.

Money and Moralities in Contemporary Asia

Edited by
Lan Anh Hoang and Cheryll Alipio

Amsterdam University Press

Cover illustration: An itinerant flower vendor in Hanoi
Photograph by Lê Minh Tuấn

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden
Typesetting: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 310 7
E-ISBN 978 90 4854 315 1 (pdf)
DOI 10.5117/9789463723107
NUR 740

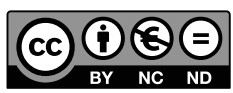

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Illustrations

Acknowledgements

The idea for this edited volume began with a double panel at the 10th International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) conference in Chiangmai, Thailand, 20–23 July 2017. The original conference panel comprised only six papers: Cheryll Alipio, Sylvia Ang, Cassie DeFillipo, Lan Anh Hoang, Esther Horat, and Juan Zhang. However, with the enthusiastic response the panel generated, we were encouraged to develop the collection of papers into an edited volume. We put out a call for additional papers and received superb proposals from Roy Huijsmans, Supriya Singh, and Catherine Gomes and Jonathan Tan. Editing a collection of essays written by scholars from around the world is no easy undertaking but we have enjoyed a smooth journey with our dedicated authors and the excellent editorial team at Amsterdam University Press.

It has been a pleasure to work with editors Saskia Gieling and Shannon Cunningham, whose knowledge and professionalism have made the whole process as painless as possible. We would like to thank the *Transforming Asia* book series editor, Jonathan Rigg, for his guidance and support. We are grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their constructive and insightful feedback and to Brooke Dunnell for her assistance with proofreading and formatting. We acknowledge the generous financial support of the School of Social and Political Sciences and Faculty of Arts at the University of Melbourne, Australia for the preparation of the manuscript and production of the book.

Introduction

1. Money and Moralities

Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Insights

Cheryll Alipio and Lan Anh Hoang

Abstract
The editorial introduction begins with a contextualization of how neoliberal policies, along with global capitalism, vary and are experienced differently in the settings described in the volume. In presenting nine chapters of case studies from across South and Southeast Asia, the introduction develops a framework for the conceptualization of contemporary Asia as an interconnected and transnational region in which money and morality have an ever-expanding role in people's everyday lives. Following a critical review of the international scholarship on money and moralities, the introduction discusses how the chapters speak to each of the volume's three sub-themes: 'Money and Moral Selfhood in the Market Economy', 'Social Currencies and the Morality of Gender', and 'The Social Life of Money in Asian Moral Economies'.

Keywords: money, morality, Asia, neoliberalism, globalization, capitalism

Neoliberalism's Promise of Freedom

Under the guise of neoliberalism, significant changes swept through Asia and around the globe following the end of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. After a series of currency devaluations spread across Southeast Asian and East Asian countries, resulting in stock market declines in the United States, Europe, and Russia, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), Asian Development Bank (ADB), and other entities intervened to stabilize the economies and governments most affected. The reforms imposed laid the groundwork for unprecedented economic and social transformation

Hoang, L.A. and C. Alipio (eds.), *Money and Moralities in Contemporary Asia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.
DOI: 10.5117/9789463723107_CH01

throughout the region and the re-emergence of Asia as an important player in the global economy.

In East Asia, the capitalization of global value chains through high-tech industries has fuelled economic growth in China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. In Southeast Asia, Singapore's urban environment is dotted with constant construction as the country rises as a leading business and economic centre of multi-national companies (MNCs). In cities across the Philippines, mixed-use buildings, international call centres, and other labour outsourcing offices compete and contend with informal settlements and suburban developments alike. Likewise, in Vietnam, roads, factories, industrial parks, and Export Processing Zones (EPZs) are transforming rural land in order to support growing commercialization, while Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are emerging from the Golden Triangle frontier lands of Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar to bolster trade and investment opportunities. In South Asia, India has become a major exporter of information technology services, as has Bangladesh in terms of the garment and textile industry. In addition, microfinance institutions in South Asia and Central Asia, like Kazakhstan, are strongly embedded in these regions' economic development, although their ability to alleviate poverty is much contested.

In their efforts to address the structural weaknesses exposed by the crisis and to acknowledge the importance of the private sector in driving economic growth and remaining competitive in a global market, Asian governments turned towards neoliberalism. As Catherine Kingfisher and Jeff Maskovsky (2008, pp. 117–118) state, 'Where it appears, and under whatever guise, neoliberalism promises "freedom", defined almost exclusively in terms of the rights of individuals to participate in markets and of markets themselves to act unhindered by governmental regulation'. Asian governments selectively adopted neoliberal techniques, modifying their economic models and established governing practices with Anglo-American free-market principles to lower debt, liberalize trade, and increase foreign investment, while retaining traditional, local characteristics and unique cultural values (Steger and Roy, 2010, pp. 78–79).

These changes in employment, production, and governance, for example, have stimulated the economic growth for developing, emerging, and 'miracle' economies in Asia as well as other parts of the global South (Fagertun, 2017). Yet, in the resulting market logics of Asian countries, Aihwa Ong (2006, p. 5) points to the need to pay particular attention to 'exceptions', or what she describes as 'extraordinary departure[s] in policy that can be deployed to include as well as to exclude'. Christina Schwenkel and Ann

Marie Leshkowich (2012, p. 380) explain Ong's 'neoliberalism as exception' as involving two senses:

> [F]irst, where qualities of neoliberalism are perceived as new, unusual, or problematic, even as they may also be powerful, desirable, or ascendant; and second, where specific realms of life or types of people are explicitly excluded from neoliberal visions, either because they are deemed worthy of protection from market forces or because they are judged unworthy of exercising the techniques of self-management and self-discipline that are the hallmarks of a morally appropriate, neoliberal personhood.

Consequently, neoliberalism's promises of freedom are not only uneven, but also contingent, ambiguous, and unstable (Kingfisher and Maskovsky, 2008, p. 119), such that there remains unequal access to the marketplace regardless of political-economic restructuring and gains in literacy and higher education attainment rates across Asia.

Capitalist Contradictions in Contemporary Asia

With the intensification of neoliberal globalization and capitalism, its attendant effects on culture, society, politics, religious practices, and the environment have undoubtedly led to both new ways of life and new, fundamental moral questions about the circulation and accumulation of capital. For example, in the Philippines development policies have led to a 'remarkable shift in governance' in which the state's emphasis on facilitating overseas employment and enhancing protection of migrant workers has created a 'markedly improved economic situation in recent years' at the expense of labour migration continuing unabated (Asis, 2017). In the absence of sustainable development that could generate employment opportunities at home and so long as 'political-economic restructuring goes hand-in-hand with the imposition of rational and market-driven ideals and values which are extended to individual conduct', Filipinos – driven to uphold idealized Filipino traits of hard work (*sipag*) and perseverance (*tiyaga*) with entrepreneurial, neoliberal qualities of 'self-help', 'self-governance', and 'self-reliance' – wrestle with leaving behind families as they seek work abroad (Ortega, 2016, p. 13; see also Alipio's chapter in this volume).

In Vietnam, the neoliberal logic of a market economy, free trade, and privatization has infused its entrenched socialism, leading to 'the transfer of aspects of governance from state to private, corporate, or transnational

entities' as well as to the individual (Schwenkel and Leshkowich, 2012, p. 382). Despite the boom of commercial activity, poverty and income disparity persists amid high levels of corruption, causing many to join the informal sector throughout East, West, and Southeast Asia; and even in Russia (Davies, 2015; see also Hoang's and Horat's chapters in this volume). Like Vietnam and China, in Laos capitalism has mixed with socialism as the country moves towards modernity (see Huijsmans's chapter in this volume), bringing about the amendment of laws and regulations to attract both foreign investors and those from the Asian region. Yet, in doing so, many have remained marginalized as a complex form of governance and subjectification is produced through the adoption of neoliberal, Chinese values of self-actualizing and self-enterprising (Laungaramsri, 2015).

Similarly, Thailand continues to experience relative poverty, high employment in the informal sector, and the split of Thai society across class lines even with economic growth and the expansion of social security programmes as a result of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra's model of development, called 'Thaksinomics' (see DeFillipo's chapter in this volume). This dual-track policy of pushing foreign investment, international trade, exports, and tourism while strengthening local businesses led to improvements in the domestic market in contrast to the more ambiguous nature of late King Bhumipol Adulyadej's approach of 'sufficiency economy', which argued that 'economics cannot be separated from ethics' and called for self-discipline through 'moderation, due consideration, and risk management […] to guard against external […] and internal shocks to the economic system' (Chambers, 2013, pp. 87–89).

Thailand's hint of a moral fibre tying together the largely Buddhist population with Thai nationalists and monarchists alike in an effort to end economic suffering (Chambers, 2013, p. 88) is seemingly the opposite to the case of Singapore. In this multiracial and multicultural country, Singapore has deregulated, liberalized, and privatized their economy, but has done so by way of engendering a hegemonic ideology of pragmatism in all spheres of life and propagating an idea of self-reliance and 'entrepreneurship of the self', such that social structures and the economy is virtually excluded in determining the outcome of one's existence (Liow, 2012, p. 3, 18; see Gomes and Tan's chapter in this volume). This particular neoliberal rationality and sense of responsibility extends to the implementation of policies regarding the management and 'upgrading' of foreign migrant labourers through the Work Pass system. This system separates the 'foreign talents' – those possessing high levels of education and expertise, who are identified by the People's Action Party as crucial for the 'advancement, growth, and

sustaining of the Singapore economy' – from the 'foreign workers' – those less skilled and educated and 'only allowed to come into Singapore to function as a means to an end', such as construction workers from South Asia, who build infrastructure, or foreign domestic workers from Southeast Asia, who provide household services to local Singaporeans and foreign talents (Liow, 2012, p. 14; see also Zhang's and Ang's chapters in this volume).

The widening of class differentiation and the transfer of responsibility from the state to the individual for one's own well-being is also seen in the local and regional effects of neoliberal transformation in India (Münster and Strümpell, 2014). Kalpana Wilson *et al.* (2018, pp. 1–2) argue that the privatization and liberalization, particularly of land, natural resources, and public services, has led to the 'state's accentuated punitive functions, the criminalisation of excluded and demonised populations, and the targeted mobilisation of moral panics' directed towards 'multiple "disposable" populations as part of the construction of an exclusionary vision of the modern nation'. At the same time, India's aggressive neoliberal growth strategy involves the use of gendered and patriarchal ideologies that emphasize 'altruism', 'entrepreneurship', 'security', and 'protection' to intensify and expand woman's labour (Wilson *et al.*, 2018, pp. 1–2; see also Singh's chapter in this volume).

With state intervention implicit in neoliberal globalization and with capitalist ideologies of market liberalization and the logic of capital accumulation subsuming countries across Asia, David Harvey (2014) moves beyond the usual tensions between class struggle, structural inequalities, and capital, and between productive forces and social relations, to instead observe the interactive and dynamic character of the inner contradictions of capital. One of the most consequential contradictions, Harvey (2014) suggests, is that between reality and appearance. Evoking Karl Marx's use of 'fetishism' to refer to 'the various masks, disguises and distortions of what is really going on around us', Harvey (2014, pp. 4–5) argues that 'we need to unmask what is truly happening underneath a welter of often mystifying surface appearances' to understand the root causes of the issues around neoliberal globalization.

A New Regime of Economy, Work, and Labour

We, subsequently, seek to 'interrogate the *experiential* contradictions' manifest in the neoliberal globalization of contemporary Asia, where contradictions appear 'both to include and to marginalize in unanticipated ways; [and] to produce desire and expectation on a global scale' (Comaroff

and Comaroff 2001, p. 8; emphasis added). In understanding neoliberal globalization, Anette Fagertun (2017, p. 312) states that it cannot only be seen as 'a system of finance but also as a large scale (power) system of unequal exchange imposed by dominant institutions which in turn produce state and empire formations; new capitalist spaces and conditions for class formation'. The volume, then, investigates the tendency of neoliberal globalization to produce an Asian region of increasing differences in wealth; heightened flows of people and value across space and time; gender and class conflicts; and moral narratives and panics (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001). In detailing these experiential contradictions through multiple fields of everyday social life, this volume opens up an empirically grounded, interdisciplinary discussion about contemporary Asia within these experiential, capitalist contradictions between money and morality.

As such, this volume explores case studies from Singapore, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, India, and the Philippines to illustrate how contemporary Asia is an interconnected and transnational region that is central to world events, such as the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, and crucial to the functioning of different countries worldwide. We conceptualize contemporary Asia as composed of diverse societies, communities, and nation-states that face distinct problems as they grapple with the economic and social forces of globalization, modernity, capitalism, and neoliberalism, while trying to maintain a sense of their national, cultural, and even religious identities. Yet, rather than attempting a comprehensive overview of Asia, we take a more fluid, fragmentary, and intentionally partial approach to the ways in which diverse actors – individuals, families, communities, states, and institutions – are transforming life in Asia and around the world. We, thereby, seek to examine what is at heart of the issues surrounding the circulation and accumulation of capital – that is, the multiple intersections of neoliberal governance techniques, moneyed practices, and moral ideas as they are variously experienced among different segments of the population in contemporary Asia and as they are framed within particular places, histories, cultures, and modes of power.

In doing so, we consider questions around underlying moral discourses, values, and judgements as part of the inner contradictions surrounding money and capital. Specifically, how have these matters of morality been rendered particularly complex by the rise of neoliberal globalization and a consumerist culture? With a renewed emphasis on money as both a fetish and an organizing principle of life, how do these moral discourses, values, and judgements offer insight into localized negotiations with money? How do lived experiences and cultural worldviews from Asia, in turn, complicate

the normative, neoliberal ideal that entrepreneurial beliefs, attitudes, and thinking structure lives, identities, subjectivities, and various relationships with global capitalism? In challenging the dominance of neoliberalism and the inevitability of capitalism, what new kinds of moral landscapes and moral selves arise in Asia?

In the case studies given by this volume we examine such questions in order 'to develop a more critical approach to the political and ethical stakes of neoliberalism' (Hoffman *et al.*, 2006, p. 10). Here, we move beyond paradigms that Kingfisher and Maskovsky (2008, pp. 118–119) claim 'speak of neoliberalism as a thing that acts in the world' as 'a unitary external structural force [...] that bears down on states, civil society institutions, populations or individuals'. Our volume, instead, draws upon the actions, that individuals, families, communities, states, and institutions take to make sense of economic and social transformations arising from neoliberal globalization's wide reach across Asia. Doing so allows for agency, power, and resistance to reside in actors rather than enabling neoliberalism and its different articulations to be exceptional or 'perhaps more powerful and all-encompassing than it really is' (Kingfisher and Maskovsky, 2008: 119).

From this experiential embodiment of acting upon money and morality, a new regime of economy, work, and labour has emerged, resulting in the relocation of people, reorganization of social relations, regulation of money, and the reproduction of 'historically produced structures and cultural systems of meaning' (Fagertun, 2017, p. 312). Moreover, the wider range of job opportunities available has had an impact, especially on gendered roles and sexuality, which further exposes the contradictions and contestations of money and morality. As such, the critical approach advocated by Hoffman *et al.* (2006) allows for substantive insight into this regime in terms of the following: 1) New forms of moral selfhood in Asia's market economy, which place responsibility on individuals for their own well-being (introduced above); 2) New conjunctures and discourses of money as 'social currencies' that index gender and family relations; and 3) New fields of everyday life, within which money has an expanding role, as well as moral discourses and judgements, which are deeply embedded in a cultural matrix. In the next sections, we will detail the latter two features.

The Gendered Discourse of Money and Morality

As the case studies will illustrate, this new regime finds people variously working in offices, markets, casinos, churches, the sex industry, and the

global labour market of both undocumented and institutionalized labour migration. Through the transaction, trade, and exchange of money, remittances, goods, and commodities in and out of these workplaces, the case studies reveal the different capitalist contradictions and tensions in relationships between casual and potential romantic partners, familial kin, parents and children, co-ethnics, pastors and worshippers, and even the government and its citizens. While various forms of currencies are used to further the exchange of material goods in formal and informal avenues, the case studies highlight the significance of what David Graeber (2012, p. 412) refers to as 'social currencies', or the various types of monies, commodities, or items of value that have the potential to transform social relationships. As Graeber (2012, p. 412) suggests, these social currencies have the ability, for instance, to arrange alliances or sort affiliations, assemble followers or resolve conflicts, and make gifts or reward services. Consequently, the economic systems in which social currencies predominate are what Graeber (2012, p. 412) calls 'human economies'. In these economies, not only are people profoundly entangled and their social relationships greatly transformed within an economy (Fagertun, 2017, p. 312), but we also have the 'creation and mutual fashioning of human beings' (Graeber, 2012, p. 412).

Hence, the case studies in this volume examine the powerful discourses produced historically and reproduced culturally that simultaneously create and fashion, as well as value and devalue, certain types of individuals in these human economies. Mary Beth Mills (2017, p. 316) terms these discourses 'gendered morality tales', revealing the complex cultural, moral, and ideological work that goes into making visible, and meaningful, the stigmatization of 'autonomous, mobile and desiring' women and men, who sustain neoliberal models of economic development. For example, these are the so-called immoral or scandalous women and girls who attract social censure and blame, like the Sri Lankan '*juki* girl', whose 'employment outside the home leads to suspicions of sexual promiscuity' (see Lynch, 2007, pp. 107–108 in Mills, 2017, p. 316), or the young Japanese female 'parasite singles', whose 'selfish consumerism is blamed for dangerously delayed marriage rates and a looming crisis of national reproduction' (see White, 2002, p. 23 in Mills, 2017, p. 316). However, while Mills (2017, p. 316) primarily focuses her attention on the proliferation of 'localised images of feminine immorality in widely divergent parts of Asia', this volume considers the broader, more diverse representations of gendered morality tales that expose the tensions of class formation and inequality that are implicated in discourses of gender and value for both women and men (Fagertun, 2017, p. 312).

From Thai *kiks* ('casual sex partners'), who blur the boundaries between sex worker and girlfriend in Cassie DeFillipo's chapter, to mainland Chinese *nuan nans* ('warm men'), who eagerly attend to domestic work to win over future partners in Sylvia Ang's chapter, we see the tension between hegemonic notions of femininity of accomplished wives and mothers and hegemonic notions of masculinity of career men. Through the *nuan nans*, who engage in favourable duties, and through other migrants in Singapore in Juan Zhang's chapter, who embrace the new ethics of professionalism and self-responsibility in their 'sinful jobs' as casino workers, we see women and men who negotiate, or 'make exceptions', in order to obtain their desired class and citizenship status (Ong, 2008). For market traders in Vietnam in Esther Horat's chapter and for Vietnamese market traders in Russia in Lan Anh Hoang's chapter, notions of 'good' persons are intimately tied up, and yet still conflict, with Confucian values of community and governmental notions of citizenship and civility that constrain the establishment and nurturance of social relations both at home and at work.

Likewise, cultural values and moral imperatives are embedded in both transnational migrant and immobile families in the Philippines in Cheryll Alipio's chapter and in Indian transnational migrant families in Australia in Surpriya Singh's chapter, leading to constructions of filial children – 'good daughters' and 'good sons' – that govern the practice of receiving, saving, and sending remittances. While these cultural values and the morality of money are perpetuated through the social institution of the family, in Alipio's case study, they additionally emanate from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the state, and public media. In Catherine Gomes and Jonathan Tan's case study of megachurches in Singapore, values of capitalism can also be shaped by religion. Through a 'proliferation of new value forms and [the exchange of] new media', which – in contrast to Michele Gamburd's (2004) 'money that burns like oil' – Bill Maurer (2012, p. 480) sees as not being incited 'by "money" per se but by the "new oil" of data', institutionalized discourses can be used strategically and at a scalar level, spearheading the rise in prosperity and wealth of superstar pastors, like Joseph Prince, or leading to their fall like 'konvict' Kong Hee. Consequently, moral and immoral figures, such as those described above, and images of ideal persons, such as Roy Huijsmans's descriptions in his chapter of the representation of ethnic Lao women on *kip* banknotes, call attention to the ideologies influencing the individual, social, and structural transformations associated with money and capital.

In gathering together these case studies, this volume follows Mills's (2017) lead in critically assessing how gendered morality tales encode, narrate,

dramatize, and localize the twin demands of morality and money through everyday experiences within the social life of various institutions of national and transnational regimes. In so doing, it asks both how gender and class hierarchies are on the one hand maintained, and how people navigate systems of moral and monetary power on the other. In addressing, then, the social currency of these gendered morality tales, the case studies point to a moral dilemma that takes into account not only wisdom and knowledge of what is good and bad, but also what Mills (2017, p. 318, 326) describes as a 'wider discursive terrain of aspiration and risk', in which both women and men are positioned 'as desiring but disciplined subjects' constrained by global capital and 'the ongoing contradictions of Asia's neoliberal economies and hierarchical social orders'.

The Cultural Matrix of Money and Morality

In contemporary Asia, a desire or fixation on money is generally seen as incompatible with moral integrity – a perception that was earlier observed by Georg Simmel (2004 [1900]) and Marx (1978 [1972]), who treated money as a powerful force that had the potential to corrupt social relationships, rending our lives cold, distant, and impersonal (Helleiner, 2017, p. 145). Ironically, money has become crucial in societies when neoliberal policies hold the individual solely responsible for their own well-being and wholly accountable for their success or failure. As noted by Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch's (1996 [1989]) influential volume of essays, *Money and the Morality of Exchange*, the authors document money's cultural variability as a way to dispute money's universally homogenizing powers (Zelizer, 1998, p. 1376). Quoting Maurice Bloch (1994), Viviana Zelizer (1998, p. 1376) writes that the dominant 'economic mythology' of money is debunked through detailing the cultural distinctiveness of non-Western societies.

Here, instead of subverting social ties, money is incorporated into specific cultural matrixes in which people then 'create, define, affirm, represent, challenge, or [even] overturn their social ties' (Zelizer, 1998, pp. 1376–1378). Money, then, is 'not a neutral or meaningless social object' (Carruthers and Espeland, 1998, p. 1401). Rather, as Bruce C. Carruthers and Wendy Nelson Espeland (1998, p. 1401) argue, 'its meanings are consequential', such that people treat money depending on cultural context and 'on what it means – good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate, right or wrong, dirty or clean'. While these meanings change over time, they show the social life of money in which the 'monetarization of economic life has led to the penetration of

money into many (but certainly not all) spheres of exchange' (Carruthers and Espeland, 1998, p. 1401).

In addition, Keith Hart (1986, pp. 638–639) notes that 'money is [...] an aspect of relations between persons and a thing detached from persons'. As part of this kind of fetishism, Hart points to 'money's simultaneous connection to social processes and its transactional anonymity', in which it is, at the same time, what Gamburd (2004, p. 169) explains as 'an impersonal medium of exchange, a store of wealth, a standard of value, a unit of account, and a means of deferred payments'. Arising through a collective imagination, money relies on mutual trust, reflecting the cultural matrix or what Gamburd (2004, p. 169) calls, a 'microcosm [of] the larger social world'. Like Georg Simmel's (2004 [1900]) view that money's form correlates with the form of society, Gamburd (2004, p. 169) also suggests that 'the symbolic and structural properties of money' have the ability to 'reveal complex cultural logics' as well as 'moral contexts' [that] affect how people think about money. In this vein, Graeber (2011, p. 89), like Parry and Bloch (1996 [1989]), states that, 'If we really want to understand the moral grounds of economic life, and by extension, human life, it seems to me that we must start instead with the very small things: the everyday details of social existence' (2011, p. 89).

This volume, subsequently, draws from Daromir Rudnyckyj's (2014) 'economy in practice', a conceptualization that seeks to illuminate the various everyday techniques through which individuals are made economic – and we would add, moral – subjects. As a result, the chapters in this volume actively reflect upon the actual moneyed and moral practices, debates, and struggles of people throughout contemporary Asia, which, together, overturn dominant economic mythologies of money and economism. By approaching the case studies through an economy in practice, we, therefore, seek to illuminate the various Asian cultural notions about the nature and morality of money that Gamburd (2004, p. 170) argues, '[Governs] proper and improper modes of exchange [that] shape actors' sense of themselves and the world around them' (Gamburd, 2004, p. 170).

Toward a Moral Economy in Contemporary Asia

In analysing two classic works of moral economy, Didier Fassin (2005, p. 365) notes that E.P. Thompson's historical study of the British poor refers to moral economy as a 'traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties in the community', which 'impinged very generally on eighteenth-century government' (Thompson, 1971, p. 79).

Similarly, in James Scott's study of Southeast Asian peasants and their risk behaviours, Fassin (2005, p. 365) finds that moral economy is defined as a 'notion of economic justice and [a] working definition of exploitation' (Scott, 1976, p. 3). These two important studies of moral economy, as Fassin (2005, p. 365) argues, give a specific economic meaning to the concept, yet they also 'open it to a broader sense: the economy of moral values and norms of a given group in a given moment'. With the rapidly changing economic and social landscape of contemporary Asia, the concept of 'moral economies', rather than 'affective' or 'intimate' economies as used respectively by Ann Anagnost (2013) and by Rhacel Salazar Parreñas *et al.* (2016), is thereby utilized in this volume as it provides a productive framework for tracking the everyday capitalist contradictions and their contestations in the realm of social norms and moral production, and in the new regime of economy, work, and labour.

While diverse in their geographic and thematic focus, the chapters in this volume share the same concerns around social meanings of money, capital, and wealth in moral economies of Asia. Drawing on case studies from Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand, India, the Philippines, and Laos, they reveal nuanced insights into how the new mobilities and wealth created by neoliberal globalization transform people's ways of life, notions of personhood, and their meaning making of the world. In what follows, we discuss in detail the unique contributions of each study as well as the intellectual connections between the chapters. The chapters are organized into three thematic sections, namely: 'Money and Moral Selfhood in the Market Economy', 'Social Currencies and the Morality of Gender', and 'The Social Life of Money in Asian Moral Economies'.

Money and Moral Selfhood in the Market Economy

One of the hallmarks of modernity, Anthony Giddens (1991) remarks, is the deepening of reflexivity in our social life. That is, social practices are constantly examined and reformed in light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character. In her study of the 'special zone' of the casino in Singapore, Juan Zhang (Chapter Two) finds that casino work brings a good income and certain prestige, but it also places employees in a state where they constantly battle with their own moral codes and have to develop strategies to cope with internal conflicts. The exceptionality of the casinos shapes how employees, most of whom are transnational migrants from Southeast Asia, understand and perform their work through moral ambiguities. Her research offers interesting insights into

moral–economic implications of casino work on the self and the various ways employees have learned to cope with the so-called 'sinful work' involved in casino gambling and the quest for wealth. In rationalizing their work amid employment insecurity and family responsibility, employees suppress their emotions and instead draw upon neoliberal discourses of aspiration, material success, status, and flexibility, turning some of these values into new codes of professionalism, such as self-responsibility, self-regulation, and self-discipline, in order to compete and advance in the global economy.

To survive in the moral economy of the casino in Singapore, casino employees in Zhang's research fashion a flexible sense of self, suspend personal emotions in the workplace, and recode their moral values through a logic of 'making exception'. This moral flexibility is explored further by Lan Anh Hoang (Chapter Three) in her study of Vietnamese migrants in Moscow, Russia. Post-Soviet Russia, with a volatile economy, a restrictive (and heavily corrupt) migration regime, and disturbing levels of hostility toward foreign migrants, proves to be a particularly unwelcoming host society to an estimated 150,000 Vietnamese, most of whom are irregular migrants with no prospects for permanent settlement or naturalization. Hoang's ethnographic study sheds important light on how meanings and values of money change in a context where people's radius of trust is disrupted by their physical displacement and the routinization of uncertainty. In her case study of Vietnamese migrant traders in Moscow wholesale markets, the scrimping, scraping, and making of money is a rational, conscious strategy to cushion migrants against the uncertainty and precarity they face through their ghettoization in isolated ethnic enclaves, disenfranchization within Russian society, immobilization beyond the shadow economy, and subjection to a brutal market regime. Consequently, money emerges to hold social ties together. Yet, as Hoang argues, while this monetization of relationships enables traders to establish new ties and nurture existing ones, as well as restore a sense of certainty and security in people's lives, it can also work to replace trust, compassion, and empathy with impersonal, detached cost–benefit calculations. In other words, it is a double-edged sword that cuts both ways, often with significant consequences.

The neoliberal strategy of being entrepreneurial, changing oneself, making informed choices, and taking up opportunities in the market economy is also seen in Chapter Four by Esther Horat. Horat turns to Vietnam and the economic reform stemming from the Open-Door policies (*Đổi mới*) that allowed small-scale trade to become an increasingly popular and often important source of income, particularly for women. The standing of traders in Vietnam has been, and continues to be, particularly ambiguous,

as they were able to quickly seize the benefits of *Đổi mới*, albeit without embodying the state's ideas of modernity. Traders in the commune of Ninh Hiệp on the outskirts of Hanoi, where Horat conducted her ethnographic fieldwork, have been consistently vilified in media reports instead of being lauded for their booming clothing market and the remarkable prosperity that it generates. Caught in the contradiction between market culture and governmental notions of 'modernization' and 'civilization' are the women traders, whose use of money and moneyed activities are scrutinized as they are seen through their household and family care work as the principal agents of the civilizing mission. Drawing on Sheri Lynn Gibbings's (2016) framework of 'citizenship as ethics', Horat analyzes traders' performance of moral identities as a way of dealing with the paradoxical economic and political situation in which they find themselves. Her study, therefore, calls for greater attention to the gender discourses and practices that underpin notions of a 'good woman' and a 'good man', which is followed up by the authors in Part II of the volume.

Social Currencies and the Morality of Gender

In recent years, issues around gender and morality have attracted considerable scholarly attention amidst growing anxieties about the supposedly adverse impacts of the ethos of capitalist economies and a consumerist and materialist culture on society (Hoang, 2016; Hoang and Yeoh, 2015b; Leshkowich, 2011; Walker, 2006). Research shows that Asian girls and boys are socialized into different culturally accepted expectations regarding how they should behave from childhood (Alipio, 2013; Alipio, Lu, and Yeoh, 2015; Yeung and Alipio, 2013) and, as the following chapters show, women and men are subsequently subjected to different systems of moral values and judgement, which are neither static nor universal but historically, socially, and culturally constructed. How men and women grapple with the contradictions brought about by new economic regimes and negotiate a new sense of their moral worth is here addressed by Sylvia Ang, Cassie DeFillipo, and Supriya Singh. Economic development and the increased range and scale of mobilities that it produces, the authors point out, have provided men and women with unprecedented opportunities to achieve their ambitions and improve their lives whilst, at the same time, triggering important questions about their gendered selves and moral worth.

In Chapter Five, Sylvia Ang looks at Chinese migrant men in Singapore and how their masculinities transform with labour migration and their quest for marriage partners. Here, Chinese migrant men engage in flexible

subject-making to perform or 'fit' ideals of hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality to attract a wife. Focusing on higher-wage Chinese migrants, Ang shows that men experience displacement in their social imaginaries of Chinese masculinities through changes in the symbols of Chinese masculinity. While 'successful' masculinity is symbolized by a house and car in China, in Singapore it is symbolized by citizenship or Permanent Residency. Yet, in defining Chinese masculinity, all of these symbols are deeply connected to the role of breadwinners and providers. While they have attained a kind of 'cosmopolitan masculinity' in which, as Ang says, they are transnational, transcultural, and 'globalized', the symbols that show proof of their virility and ability as breadwinners and providers – that is, their money, economic success, and global mobility – are rendered inadequate and ineffective, and thus men are emasculated in the eyes of local Singaporean women who shun and marginalize them based on their nationality. Ang's study underscores the importance of adopting an intersectional approach to the analysis of gender and neoliberal subjectivities and, at the same time, highlights deeply entrenched ideologies about Chinese masculinity as intertwined with money and successful economic providership.

'Neoliberal flexibility' (Ong, 1999) is also a salient element in the gender performances of Thai men and women described in Cassie DeFillipo's study (Chapter Six). Using the sex industry as a lens into Thai culture, wherein the quest for money and upward mobility in a modernized world has reconfigured the lives of Thai men and women, DeFillipo relates intriguing stories about Thai women performing hegemonic femininities in a strategic way and, in so doing, actively perpetuating existing forms of hegemonic masculinity among Thai men. In Thai culture, the woman's body is treated as her 'natural resource' – an economic asset, like a 'rice paddy', which can be harvested when necessary or desired. Sex work is, therefore, one of the few means available for women of lower-income classes to access more money and a higher economic position. It is also an arena in which women can uphold gender roles through performing a more traditionally accepted form of femininity as the 'caretaker', while men can fulfil their masculine duties as 'provider' through financially supporting women. In order to accommodate emergent economic needs and turn new challenges posed by neoliberal globalization into opportunities, women and men are prepared to take on multiple versions of femininities and masculinities through selectivity, modification, and reflexivity (Gee, 2014). In what is characterized by Rudnyckyj (2014) as an 'economy in practice', the moral values embedded in gender performances become more ambiguous and fluid, enabling individuals to adapt, accommodate new needs, and justify their actions.

It is well established in migration studies that remittances are not merely economic activities, but complex and nuanced transnational processes that embody values and relations transcending national boundaries (Alipio, 2015; Hoang and Yeoh, 2015a; Thai, 2014). Where remittances have become the primary currency of care, the making or breaking of family relationships is essentially contingent on how individuals handle remittance processes. In any context, remittances are deeply classed and gendered experiences. This is underscored by Supriya Singh's (Chapter Seven) long-term qualitative research into Indian migration to Australia across five decades. More specifically, she reveals important changes to gender dynamics relating to money, remittance, inheritance, and control of family finance as a result of migration and mobility, with women now having a say in transnational remittances and being more likely to inherit than their mothers. These changes entail shifts in the discourse about money and morality in the Indian family. The 'good son' (that is, the man who sends home money) used to be a central figure in the moral economy of Indian migration. The 'good daughter' now also occupies a position in transnational remittance relationships. The 'good daughter' has become a part of the narrative of transnational filial piety and, at times, of filial care, while the male ownership and control of money is now subject to discussion. Migration and mobility, it seems, have not only changed people's lives for the better, but also reconstituted moral norms and value judgements in what is arguably considered one of the most rigid and oppressive patriarchal systems in the world. The concern with the impact of migration and remittances on intergenerational relationships within the family is also central to Cheryll Alipio's research in Chapter Eight, where we turn our attention to the context of the Philippines.

The Social Life of Money in Asian Moral Economies

Part III of the volume maintains its focus on the social meanings of money and wealth in moral economies of Asia, but goes beyond personal reflexive processes and interpersonal relationships to situate the debates in a broader institutional context. By looking at the very different contexts of the Philippines, Singapore, and Laos, Cheryll Alipio, Catherine Gomes and Jonathan Tan, and Roy Huijsmans relate the anxieties and ambivalences produced by increased mobilities, rising wealth, and modernity across the Southeast Asian sub-region. In Chapter Eight, Cheryll Alipio takes us to the Philippines where the transnational labour migration of overseas Filipino workers, who leave behind children, exposes the costly investment of migrant parents as

their direct, physical love and care is deferred for the promise of economic gain. Recast instead in material goods and remittances, the porous quality of money extends to a range of exchange relationships between migrant parents, left-behind children in the Philippines, and their caregivers. Migrant money is then imbued not only with the power to buy essential and material, luxury goods, but also has the power to substitute for absent love, care, and intimacy. Like previous chapters, the tension that arises in conforming to cultural values morally enmeshes Filipino children and young people in a system of reciprocal obligations and behavioural expectations. In transgressing this system or 'wasting' the productive energy produced by migrant remittances, children face condemnation. To prevent immoral behaviour, nationalist and NGO discourses turn to cultivating values of hard work, discipline, sacrifice, and development that inadvertently create and reproduce a capitalist migrant culture, compelling some children to aspire towards upwards mobility and migration in the future.

The relationship between cultural and Christian values, wealth, and materialism that captures Alipio's attention in the Philippines is also the focus of Catherine Gomes and Jonathan Tan's (Chapter Nine) research in Singapore. In one of the wealthiest nations in the world, where the 'Five Cs' – condominium, car, cash, credit card, and country club membership – have become the mantra for personal aspiration, it is perplexing that Christianity (including Catholicism) is the fastest-growing faith, given its original emphasis on equality and disapproval of the pursuit of material possessions. Through the case studies of two wealthy and popular megachurches in Singapore and their larger-than-life pastors – the New Creation Church with Pastor Joseph Prince and the City Harvest Church with Pastor Kong Hee – Gomes and Tan show how these powerful religious institutions have successfully capitalized on their members' economic prosperity to finance their further growth. Unlike the social gospel of earlier Singaporean Christians, who championed social-economic reforms and worked to change the lives of the economically marginalized and disenfranchised, the 'prosperity gospel' preached by these megachurches' pastors is a strategic blending of the Christian gospel with capitalism and its business- and marketplace-centric emphasis on material success. This proves particularly attractive to middle-class Singaporeans, who are now able to justify their socioeconomic privileges within the stratified Singaporean society as signs of God's blessings and grace on their success. Wealth and material accumulation, as such, are not treated as incompatible with Christian values, but have been incorporated into the essence of Singaporean Christianity.

In Chapter Ten – the final chapter of the volume – Roy Huijsmans reaffirms the position articulated earlier by Sylvia Ang, Cassie DeFillipo, and Supriya Singh that systems of moral values and judgements relating to money and wealth are deeply gendered, regardless of context. With a focus on the newly introduced banknotes in Laos, especially the controversy around their iconography, Huijsmans discusses how cash-related moralities emerge from the loose relation between national currencies and national territory. In Laos, as elsewhere in the broader Southeast Asian sub-region, women are regarded as bearers of tradition and nationalism (see, for example, Nguyen and Thomas, 2004; Sunindyo, 1998), which partly explains why the use of the image of three actual women on a newly introduced 1000 Kip note in 2008 became such a controversial topic in the country. Their iconographic representation underscores their role in preserving the multi-ethnic nation, while the fall-out over using photographic images instead of pen-drawings points at a public fear about the moral corruptibility of such existing women. The introduction of two large denomination notes (50,000 and 100,000 Kip), on the other hand, caused much public anxiety about social (in)equality in the (post)socialist nation-state. The moral tales about banknotes, as shown by Huijsmans's chapter, constitute a productive lens to explore some of the frictions and shifts in moralities brought about by the rapid change characterizing post-socialist societies in Southeast Asia.

Conclusion

The chapters in this volume illustrate the remarkable resilience, flexibility, and resourcefulness with which individuals – from the young women engaged in a range of sex work in Thailand to Chinese migrant men and migrant casino workers in Singapore, Vietnamese traders both at home and abroad in Russia, left-behind children of migrant workers in the Philippines, and members of Indian transnational families in Australia – embrace the opportunities and challenges brought about by neoliberal and global forces and use their agency to recode the traditional values, norms, and practices that shape their social and economic lives. The cases of Christian megachurches in Singapore and banknotes in Laos remind us that the mobilities and wealth created by new economic regimes are not just refashioning individuals' ways of being and doing on a mundane, everyday basis, but are also leading to sweeping changes in broader social and institutional contexts within and beyond the Asian region. The moral dilemmas and anxieties that emerge

from these profound social transformations deepen our understanding of local cultures as well as the inner contradictions of global capital.

The growing importance of money in these societies is seemingly a result of neoliberal policies that hold the individual solely responsible for their own well-being and the well-being of their families, as well as wholly accountable for their success or failure. As we see in these chapters, this has led individuals to pursue risky forms of work in the sex market, small-scale trade, shadow economy, and transnational and global labour markets, while at the same time confronting and reconciling desires of money, love, and care with internal ethical struggles, class conflicts, ethnic stereotypes, and even economic discourses and decrees. With rich ethnographic insights and a diverse range of empirical contexts, chapters in this volume shed important light on the multifaceted complexities and contradictions in the many different forms of relationship between money and moralities. Money, they affirm, is not an impersonal, objective economic instrument with homogenizing powers (Parry and Bloch, 1996 [1989]; Zelizer, 1998), but a culturally constructed and socially mediated currency of which meanings are constantly contested and re-negotiated across time and space in contemporary Asia.

Bibliography

Alipio, Cheryll, 'Young Men in the Philippines: Mapping the Costs and Debts of Work, Marriage, and Family Life', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 646, no. 1 (2013), pp. 214–232.

Alipio, Cheryll, 'Filipino Children and the Affective Economy of Saving and Being Saved: Remittances and Debts in Transnational Migrant Families', in *Transnational Labour Migration, Remittances, and the Changing Family in Asia*, ed. by Lan Anh Hoang and Brenda S.A. Yeoh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 227–256.

Alipio, Cheryll, Melody C.W. Lu, and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, 'Asian Children and Transnational Migration', *Children's Geographies*, 13, no. 3 (2015), pp. 255–262.

Anagnost, Ann, 'Life-making in Neoliberal Times', in *Global Futures in East Asia: Youth, Nation, and the New Economy in Uncertain Times*, ed. by Ann Anagnost, Andrea Arai, and Hai Ren (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 1–27.

Asis, Maruja M.B. 'The Philippines: Beyond Labor Migration, Toward Development and (Possibly) Return', *Migration Information Source: The Online Journal of the Migration Policy Institute*, 12 July 2017. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/philippines-beyond-labor-migration-toward-development-and-possibly-return>, accessed 1 March 2019.

Bloch, Maurice, 'Les Usages de L'argent [Uses of Money]', *Terrain*, 23 (1994), pp. 5–10.

Carruthers, Bruce C., and Wendy Nelson Espeland, 'Money, Meaning, and Morality', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 41, no. 10 (1998.), pp. 1384–1408.

Chambers, Paul, 'Economic Guidance and Contestation: An Analysis of Thailand's Evolving Trajectory of Development', *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 32, no. 1 (2013), pp. 81–109.

Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff, eds., 'Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming', in *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 1–56.

Davies, Nick, 'Vietnam 40 Years On: How a Communist Victory Gave Way to Capitalist Corruption', *The Guardian*, 22 April 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/apr/22/vietnam-40-years-on-how-communist-victory-gave-way-to-capitalist-corruption>, accessed 1 March 2019.

Fagertun, Anette, 'Localising Globalization: Gendered Transformations of Work in Emergent Economies', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 53, no. 3 (2017), pp. 311–315.

Fassin, Didier, 'Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France', *Cultural Anthropology*, 20, no. 3 (2005), pp. 362–387.

Gamburd, Michele Ruth, 'Money That Burns Like Oil: A Sri Lankan Cultural Logic of Morality and Agency', *Ethnology*, 43, no. 2 (2004), pp. 167–184.

Gee, Sarah, 'Bending the Codes of Masculinity: David Beckham and Flexible Masculinity in the New Millennium', *Sport in Society*, 17, no. 7 (2014), pp. 917–936.

Gibbings, Sheri Lynn, 'Street Vending as Ethical Citizenship in Urban Indonesia', *Anthropologica*, 58, 1 (2016), pp. 77–94.

Giddens, Anthony, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in The Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

Graeber, David, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2011).

Graeber, David, 'On Social Currencies and Human Economies: Some Notes on the Violence of Equivalence', *Social Anthropology*, 20, no. 4 (2012), pp. 411–428.

Hart, Keith, 'Heads or Tails? Two Sides of the Coin', *Man*, 21, no. 4 (1986), pp. 637–656.

Harvey, David, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Helleiner, Eric, 'The Macro-Social Meaning of Money: From Territorial Currencies to Global Money', in *Money Talks: Explaining How Money Really Works*, ed. by Nina Bandelj, Frederick F. Wherry, and Viviana A. Zelizer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), pp. 145–158.

Hoang, Lan Anh, 'Moral Dilemmas of Transnational Migration: Vietnamese Women in Taiwan', *Gender & Society*, 30, no. 6 (2016), pp. 890–911.

Hoang, Lan Anh, and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, '"I'd Do It for Love or for Money": Vietnamese Women in Taiwan and the Social Construction of Female Migrant Sexuality', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 22, no. 5 (2015a), pp. 591–607.

Hoang, Lan Anh, and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, eds. *Transnational Labour Migration, Remittances and the Changing Family in Asia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015b).

Hoffman, Lisa, Monica DeHart, and Stephen J. Collier, 'Notes on the Anthropology of Neoliberalism', *Anthropology News*, 47, no. 6 (2006), pp. 9–10.

Kingfisher, Catherine, and Jeff Maskovsky, 'Introduction: The Limits of Neoliberalism', *Critique of Anthropology*, 28, no. 2 (2008), pp. 115–126.

Laungaramsri, Pinkaew, 'Commodifying Sovereignty: Special Economic Zones and the Neoliberalization of the Lao Frontier', *The Journal of Lao Studies*, 3, no. 1 (2015), pp. 29–56.

Leshkowich, Ann Marie. 'Making Class and Gender: (Market) Socialist Enframing of Traders in Ho Chi Minh City', *American Anthropologist*, 113, no. 2 (2011), pp. 277–290.

Liow, Eugene Dili, 'The Neoliberal-Developmental State: Singapore as Case-Study', *Critical Sociology*, 38, no. 2 (2012), pp. 1–24.

Lynch, Caitrin, *Juki Girls, Good Girls: Gender and Cultural Politics in Sri Lanka's Global Garment Industry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

Marx, Karl, 'Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844', in *The Marx–Engels Reader, Second Edition*, ed. by Robert C. Tucker and trans. by Martin Milligan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978 [1972]), pp. 66–125.

Maurer, Bill, 'Late to the Party: Debt and Data', *Social Anthropology*, 20, no. 4 (2012), pp. 474–481.

Mills, Mary Beth, 'Gendered Morality Tales: Discourses of Gender, Labour, and Value in Globalizing Asia', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 53, no. 3 (2017), pp. 316–330.

Münster, Daniel, and Christian Strümpell, 'The Anthropology of Neoliberal India: An Introduction', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 48, no. 1 (2014), pp. 1–16.

Nguyen, Bich Thuan, and Mandy Thomas, 'Young Women and Emergent Postsocialist Sensibilities in Contemporary Vietnam', *Asian Studies Review*, 28 (2004), pp. 133–149.

Ong, Aihwa, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

Ong, Aihwa, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Ong, Aihwa, 'Self-Fashioning Shanghainese: Dancing Across Spheres of Value', in *Privatizing China: Socialism from Afar*, ed. by Li Zhang and Aihwa Ong (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 182–196.

Ortega, Arnisson Andre, *Neoliberalizing Spaces in the Philippines: Suburbanization, Transnational Migration, and Dispossession* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016).

Parreñas, Rhacel Salazar, Hung Cam Thai, and Rachel Silvey, 'Guest Editors' Introduction: Intimate Industries: Restructuring (Im)material Labor in Asia', *positions: asia critique*, 24, no. 1 (2016), pp. 1–15.

Parry, Jonathan, and Maurice Bloch, *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 [1989]).

Rudnyckyj, Daromir, 'Economy in Practice: Islamic Finance and the Problem of Market Reason', *American Ethnologist*, 41, no. 1 (2014), pp. 110–127.

Schwenkel, Christina, and Ann Marie Leshkowich, 'Guest Editors' Introduction: How is Neoliberalism Good to Think Vietnam? How is Vietnam Good to Think Neoliberalism?' *positions: asia critique,* 20, no. 2 (2012), pp. 379-401.

Scott, James C., *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

Simmel, Georg, *The Philosophy of Money*, trans. by Tom Bottomore and David Frisby (London: Routledge, 2004 [1900]).

Steger, Manfred B., and Ravi K. Roy, 'Neoliberalism and Asian Development', in *Neoliberalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 76–97.

Sunindyo, Saraswati, 'When the Earth is Female and the Nation is Mother: Gender, the Armed Forces and Nationalism in Indonesia', *Feminist Review*, 58, no. 1 (1998), pp. 1–21.

Thai, Hung Cam, *Insufficient Funds: The Culture of Money in Low-Wage Transnational Families* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014).

Thompson, E.P., 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth-Century', *Past and Present*, 50, no. 1 (1971), pp. 76–136.

Walker, Lawrence J., 'Gender and Morality', in *Handbook of Moral Development*, ed. by Melanie Killen and Judith G. Smetana (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2006), pp. 93–115.

White, Merry Isaacs, *Perfectly Japanese: Making Families in an Era of Upheaval* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Wilson, Kalpana, Jennifer Ung Loh, and Navtej Purewal, 'Gender, Violence and the Neoliberal State in India', *Feminist Review* 119, no. 1 (2018), pp. 1–6.

Yeung, Wei-Jun Jean, and Cheryll Alipio, 'Transitioning to Adulthood in Asia: School, Work, and Family Life', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 646, no. 1 (2013), pp. 6–27.

Zelizer, Viviana A. 'Introduction: How People Talk About Money', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 41, no. 10 (1998), pp. 1373–1383.

About the Authors

Cheryll Alipio is Assistant Research Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland, College Park. She contributes to the fields of migration and development studies, economic and medical

anthropology, the anthropology of children and youth, and Southeast Asian studies. She has co-edited a special journal section on 'Asian Children and Transnational Migration' in *Children's Geographies* and a special journal issue on 'Transitioning to Adulthood in Asia' in *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Her work has appeared in these journals as well as others, including *Children and Society* and *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and National Studies of Southeast Asia*.

Address: Cheryll Alipio, University of Maryland, Department of Anthropology, 1111 Woods Hall, 4302 Chapel Lane, College Park, MD 20742, USA
Tel: +1 301 405 1423
E-mail: calipio@umd.edu

Lan Anh Hoang is Senior Lecturer in Development Studies in the School of Social and Political Sciences, the University of Melbourne, Australia. She is a co-editor of the Palgrave Macmillan book series 'Anthropology, Change, and Development'. Her research interests are migration and transnationalism, sexualities and gender, social networks and social capital, and identity and belonging. Her work has been published in *Gender & Society*, *Gender, Place and Culture*, *Global Networks*, *Population, Space and Place*, *Geoforum*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, and *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. She is the author of *Vietnamese Migrants in Moscow: Mobility in Times of Uncertainty* (forthcoming, Amsterdam University Press).

Address: Lan Anh Hoang, School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne, Victoria 3010, Australia
Tel: +61 3 8344 4610
Fax: +61 3 8344 7906
E-mail: lahoang@unimelb.edu.au