



# Economies of affect

ANALIESE RICHARD *University of the Pacific*  
DAROMIR RUDNYCKYJ *University of Victoria*

This article develops the concept 'economies of affect' to argue for increased anthropological attention to the roles of affect in facilitating economic transformations. The article draws on evidence from two ethnographic field projects, one in Mexico and the other in Indonesia, to show how affect was mobilized to create subjects commensurable with neoliberal norms. We show how embracing and crying and discourses about love and grief were conjoined to transformations that entailed the cessation of state guarantees and the introduction of market norms. In posing affect and its articulation with questions of economic change as an object of anthropological inquiry, the article argues for the utility of a notion of affect in contrast to other approaches that have stressed emotion. We argue that affect is useful because it is inherently reflexive and intersubjective. Affect refers to relations practised between individuals, in contrast to emotion, which still bears the spectre of a psychological individualism.

How might anthropologists conceptualize the relationship between structures and sentiments? In a moment when religious resurgence and renewed nationalism apparently threaten visions of a global society, the spectre of un-reasonable sentiment looms large. This article analyses the way in which affect is mobilized to produce subjects in the context of neoliberal transformations. We propose the notion 'economy of affect', a zone in which affect serves as a means of conducting conduct and thus forming subjects, to shed new light on those relationships.

Concern with the role of affect in facilitating neoliberal transformation has not been limited to media headlines. Recently, anthropologists and others have shown a renewed interest in affect as a critical component of subjectivity and action. This article considers the role of affect in the shifting relationships between the state, market, and society that have been identified as characteristic of contemporary globalization.<sup>1</sup> As ethnographers, we focus on how the specific practices through which these transformations are enacted and the ways in which they are experienced and reflected upon in the everyday lives of individuals. Our respective research projects examined different sets of economic transformations in Mexico and Indonesia. We found that affect was integral to the production of subjects who laboured in radically shifting economic

circumstances. Although affect has been under-theorized in connection with contemporary political and economic transformations, we argue that it is critical not only in the subjective experience of these shifts, but also in how they are elicited. We offer the term 'economies of affect' to provide analytical purchase on the connection between economic transformations and affective transactions.

Some previous approaches to globalization have treated culture as a dependent variable in economic transformations. However, our analyses of neoliberal transformations in Mexico and Indonesia stand in contrast both to the economic determinism of macro-theories of globalization and to work focused on the discursive production and positioning of subjects. The participants at each of our project sites explicitly linked affect to ongoing political and economic changes occurring in both fieldwork locations. Analiese Richard researched the growing importance of transnational solidarity between Mexican and Northern, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the context of ongoing retrenchment of the Mexican state, the elimination of state-sponsored rural development projects, and the detrimental effects of 'free trade' on small-scale agriculture. She investigated how Rural Development of Hidalgo (RDH), a leader of the regional NGO sector, networked with partners in Europe and the United States using a model based on ritual kinship. Daromir Rudnyckyj's fieldwork focused on an Islamic spiritual reform movement active at Krakatau Steel, a state-owned enterprise in Indonesia. This company was simultaneously preparing for privatization through sale to international investors, facing the elimination of state subsidies and protective national tariffs on its chief commodity, and requiring all its employees to take part in a programme of moderate Islamic religious instruction. Affect was crucial in how Mexican NGO workers and Indonesian steelworkers both were constituted and constituted themselves. Thus, the warm glow of friendship and the ecstatic effervescence of religious renewal were not mere side-effects of neoliberal restructuring. Rather, affect emerged as central to facilitating the very transformations that we had set about to study in our disparate field sites. This article points to commonalities between these distinct settings.

Our conceptual intervention seeks to resolve a series of analytical distinctions that trouble contemporary social science. Specifically, we question the dichotomization of economy and affect, and their relegation to separate spheres of social action and analysis. To do so, this article moves in three phases. First, we build on Foucault's genealogy of economy and his analyses of liberal governmentality and processes of subjectification to argue that affect is a form of 'action upon action' or the conduct of conduct. Second, we explain why affect offers greater analytical purchase on phenomena that an earlier anthropological vocabulary would have classified as emotion. We further distinguish our notion of economies of affect from other social-scientific and cultural studies work that has incorporated a similar conceptual vocabulary. Finally, we use ethnographic material from our respective research projects<sup>2</sup> to demonstrate the empirical material from which our concept economies of affect emerged.

### **Affecting neoliberalism**

The concept economies of affect links Foucault's work on governmentality (Foucault 1991) with his work on subjectification (Foucault 1983; see also Butler 1997). Foucault used the term 'governmentality' to refer to the application of statistics to a population as a means of representing that population and therefore producing it as a knowable and governable object. Central to the emergence of governmentality is the establishment of

‘an upwards and downwards’ continuity of government between the self, the family, and the state. In Foucault’s words, ‘the central term of this continuity is the government of the family, termed *economy*’ (Foucault 1991: 91-2, emphasis original). In Foucault’s account three domains of the government of modern populations are linked through the term ‘economy’, which originally referred to management of the household, but is later transposed to the domain of the state and refers to knowledge deployed in the management of the population. Following Foucault and others, we treat an economy not so much as an always already autonomous realm of exchange and consumption, but rather as a zone for the production of certain types of subjects and practices (Callon 1998; Mitchell 2002).

What role might affect play in the creation of such zones of subject production? The relevance of this question rests on our conviction that the household is a site of deep affective attachments and the scene of forceful affective enactments. It may then follow that, insofar as modern economies involve the creation of continuity between the self, the family, and the state, affect might play some role in forging this continuity. Therefore, we suggest that governmentality is not only a matter of identifying, classifying, and enumerating a population through the science of statistics. Rather, we propose that affect is critical to establishing the continuity of government between the self, the family, and the state that is characteristic of modern polities.

The notion of economies of affect takes governmentality not as an abstract doctrine or policy formulation, but instead focuses on the types of conduct through which government is realized. Thus, this formulation connects Foucault’s work on governmentality with his writings on subjectification – the processes through which a subject of government is constituted. Reflexivity is central to these processes. Foucault writes that power is

a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions (1983: 220).

The word ‘affect’ captures a way of acting on other actions due to its inherently reflexive quality. This reflexivity is critical to our conceptualization of economies of affect. Affect, which can be both a noun and a transitive verb, simultaneously makes both its subject and its object. It is this dynamic and reflexive quality of affect and its ability to act upon (or affect) action that makes it analytically valuable. Parallel terms, such as emotion, lack these dimensions. It is the transitive and reflexive capacity of affect – actions that *affect* others and oneself – that makes it particularly useful for documenting how subjects are mutually constituted. Furthermore, as will become clear, we conceive of affect not so much as an object circulating among subjects, but rather as a medium in which subjects circulate. Particular affects enable certain types of circulation and foreclose others.

In proposing the notion ‘economies of affect’, we hope to focus greater attention on aspects of contemporary global transformations that have been incompletely addressed in the literature on neoliberalism. Jameson (1991) famously asserted that the ‘logic of global capitalism’ set into motion an inevitable ‘waning of the affect’ among fragmented postmodern subjects. However, recent ethnographies closely examine the processes through which globalization is constituted and embedded in specific sites (Ferguson 1999; Hart 2002; Rofel 2007; Tsing 2005; Yanagisako 2002). Such work has revealed a more

complex reorganization of affect, rather than its disappearance. To understand these dynamics, anthropologists have developed more robust theories of subjectivity and social action (Luhmann 2006; Ortner 2005). Anthropologists have much to contribute towards new understandings of how people not only experience but also construct global dynamics.

We focused on neoliberalism not so much as a theory or an epoch, but rather as a set of specific practices and technologies. In so doing we followed the method that Foucault outlined in his Collège de France course 'The Birth of Biopolitics' (Foucault 2008 [1979]; Lemke 2001). He writes that he 'tried to analyze "liberalism" not as a theory or an ideology ... but as a practice, that is to say, a "way of doing things" directed toward objectives and regulating itself by means of continuous reflection' (Foucault 2008 [1979]: 318). Building upon this approach, we approach neoliberalism as a form of practical action, not as an abstract doctrine.

Our ethnographic work occurred in two distinct settings, but contributes to the emerging anthropological focus on neoliberalism (Comaroff & Comaroff 2000; Ferguson 2006; Ong 2006; Rofel 2007; Sawyer 2001). Building on Foucault's empirical approach to forms of conduct, we have focused on specific neoliberal practices, although in widely divergent settings. Daromir Rudnyckyj examined the introduction of a moderate Islamic spiritual reform programme active in a state-owned enterprise planning for privatization and facing the elimination both of domestic tariffs on its chief commodity (steel) and of government subsidies to fund modernization of its ageing production facilities. Analiese Richard studied connections between Mexican and Northern NGOs as Mexican NGOs became increasingly responsible for the provision of services formerly offered by the state. This latter transformation was taking place in concert with the eradication of formerly state-sponsored rural development projects and increasing pressure on small-scale agriculture in the wake of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). While these research sites differed institutionally, a certain set of concepts that Nikolas Rose (1999) has identified as central to what he terms 'advanced liberalism' – responsibility, accountability, risk, and freedom of choice – were deployed to meet the challenges of globalization that faced participants in our respective research projects.

While we expected that neoliberal transformations would be a common topic of reflection among the participants in our research, we were surprised by the fact that affect emerged as critical to facilitating those changes. In Rudnyckyj's study, affective practices and discourses about affect were frequently invoked in connecting Muslim piety to becoming a responsible, productive, and competitive employee. In Richard's case, similar invocations were made to strengthen transnational partnerships between Mexican and Northern NGOs. This article describes some of the affective forms that facilitated economic transformation. The term 'economies of affect' is meant to capture the ways in which affect was mobilized to facilitate neoliberal transformation and achieve what Foucault referred to as the rationalization of the 'exercise of government'.

We argue that affect is not epiphenomenal to global transformations. Rather it is absolutely crucial to producing the subjects who in turn create global economic shifts through cultural labour. Our ethnographic research highlights the role of affect in enabling specific forms of global connection. The quality and configuration of intersubjective ties matters deeply to how people experience and enact structural transformations.

### Reflexive conduct: from emotion to affect

In this section, we outline how attention to affect diverges from other anthropological work that has focused on emotion.<sup>3</sup> Previous studies of emotion have focused heavily on language and discourse (Abu-Lughod & Lutz 1990), yet we seek to emphasize both the discursive and extra-discursive aspects of affect. Affect is a powerful form of communicative action that is visible both within and outside language. In both of our field sites affect was enacted through discourse, but also through powerful embodied practices. When researching Islamic spiritual reform in Indonesian corporations, Rudnycky was told that certain forms of religious speech were thought to be more effective if they were articulated through tears. In Richard's work on NGOs in contemporary Mexico, she learned that without a customary embrace, pledges of institutional support conveyed insincerity or invoked paternalism. Practices such as crying and embracing were critical means through which subjects worked on both themselves and others.

A major objective of the anthropology of emotions has been to seize analytical terrain from the discipline of psychology by demonstrating how emotions are socially mediated, historically constructed, and culturally meaningful. However, as anthropologists have recently noted, such anthropologists have sometimes assumed emotions to be isomorphic with stable cultural forms (Boellstorff & Lindquist 2004). Furthermore, emotion as an analytical concept still bears the spectre of a psychological individualism (Good 2004). By positing emotion as an inner state manifested through outward expression, this approach falls short of illuminating the reflexive and reciprocal relationships between subjective experiences and social orders.

We find affect to be a conceptually richer term than emotion. Affect indexes intersubjective relations such as the 'deep, horizontal comradeship' upon which Anderson's imagined communities are founded (Anderson 1991 [1983]). In contrast with emotion, affect suggests relations practised *between* individuals rather than experiences borne by sole individuals. The intersubjective nature of affect is apparent in words derived from the same root, such as affection, a 'favourable or kindly disposition towards a person or thing; fondness, tenderness; goodwill, warmth of attachment' (*OED*). It is this relationality and movement, simultaneously producing its progenitor as well as its recipient, that we find analytically valuable.

The transitive verb form of affect is defined as 'to have an effect on, either materially or otherwise' (*OED*). This aspect of the term 'affect' resembles the reflexive quality of what Foucault refers to as 'conduct', which is simultaneously a means 'to "lead" others ... and a way of behaving within a more or less open field of possibilities. The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome' (1983: 220-1). We take affect to be a form of conduct; a means through which people both conduct themselves and conduct others by structuring possible courses of action. However, the courses of action structured through affect are never completely determined. Contrasting affects to drives, Sedgwick (2003) points out that there is no necessary correlation between affects and the objects to which they are directed. We underscore this indeterminacy. While affect is a limited set of possibilities, the outcome of any deployment of affect is never guaranteed. Indeed, by focusing on the role of affect in the production of economic subjects, we want to draw attention to the contingency of neoliberal projects.

The transitive aspect of affect also captures how it might be useful in conceiving of economic relations as something more than transparent rational choices borne by self-interested individuals. Affect is a means of subjectification that simultaneously

produces those who enact it and those upon whom it acts. In substituting affect for emotion, we argue that affect is critical to producing the subjects of contemporary political economic transformations. In other words, we are not so much interested in what structures feeling, but rather in what feeling structures (Williams 1977). Amidst the surfeit of anthropological research on neoliberalism, those who seek to map social and economic transformation might be well served by attending to the role that affect plays in enabling these sorts of changes.

Our use of the notion 'economies of affect' emphasizes the importance of attending to these ties in addressing dimensions of neoliberalism and globalization. Recently scholars have used variations of the term 'economy of affect' to describe links between economic processes and affective discourses and practices. Our purpose is to develop the concept 'economies of affect' into a more precise analytical tool with broader utility for the anthropology of neoliberalism and globalization.

Sara Ahmed (2004) uses the term 'affective economies' to describe how emotions bind subjects together into collectivities, taking on a life of their own through circulation and exchange. In her cultural Marxist account of the post-9/11 'global economy of fear', she proposes an 'economic model of emotions' to show how the circulation of emotions between subjects creates the effect of a collective, an effect she calls 'surfacing'. We are also interested in how the transaction of affect enables forms of connection at a distance. However, we do not see economies of affect as closed, self-regulating circuits. In our conceptualization, affect is less an object that circulates than a medium through which subjects act on others and are acted upon.

Ahmed's emphasis on circulation resonates with Niko Besnier's account of the materialization of love, or '*alofa*', among letter-writers on the Nukulaelae Atoll in the Pacific Ocean. The affect deployed in letter-writing (*alofa*) is part of an 'economy of affect – the flow and exchangeability of affect on one hand and economic resources on another' (Besnier 1995: 99). Here affect figures as a means of socially controlling the flow of gifts and reciprocity between residents of Nukulaelae and their relatives living and working abroad. Our research, however, shows that affect is more than an object of circulation; it is a mode of action upon action. Thus, rather than seeing it as an object that circulates among subjects, we conceive of it as a medium through which subjects circulate. Hidalgo NGO workers often worry that their appeals for aid will be misapprehended by potential foreign partners as a simple exchange of love for donations. The term *chantaje emocional*, or emotional blackmail, is used locally to describe such attempts to manipulate the flow of gifts and favours by evoking guilt or pity. The goal of RDH's strategy of 'building bridges of love' is precisely to circumvent pity or superiority on the part of foreign NGO representatives and instead to convert them into solidary subjects.

Other theories linking affect and economic action have posited affective management as a form of alienation required of capitalist labour (Hochschild 1983; McElhinny 1994; Zaloom 2006). Both Zaloom and McElhinny show how a purging of affect is required of labouring subjects in order to demonstrate the sobriety and detachment expected of both police officers and commodities traders. In both cases, detachment is a necessary pre-condition for rational calculation and impartiality. Our goal is not so much to emphasize such detachment, but rather to show how affect and reason are not necessarily confined to separate realms of social action, and in some cases are in fact mutually constitutive. Thus, we are interested in how affect creates new types of subjects and new relations between those subjects.

Further, Hochschild focuses on the commercialization of emotional labour in the post-Fordist service economy. She demonstrates how airline flight attendants learn to 'induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind' in customers (Hochschild 1983: 7). She argues that this commodification of emotion results in the estrangement of parts of the worker's private self. This clean distinction between 'staged' and 'authentic' feeling is problematic both methodologically and theoretically. We argue that economies of affect are by no means inherently alienating. In fact, in both of our case studies the management of affective displays was viewed by informants as an antidote to estrangement. In Rudnyckij's Indonesian study, employees of Krakatau Steel viewed Emotional and Spiritual Quotient (ESQ) training as a reversal of earlier infrastructural development strategies that had emphasized only technical competence. In order to compete in a global market, they reasoned, Krakatau Steel needed employees who could form strong connections with their colleagues. An economy of affect was a powerful zone through which these bonds were forged. Likewise, RDH workers in Mexico saw their techniques of affective management as a form of 'therapy' capable of restoring alienated first world visitors' ability to form strong relationships of solidarity. We conclude that an economy of affect captures not the circulation of emotion between discrete individuals, but rather the way in which affect serves as a medium in which different types of subjects are formed.

### **Building 'bridges of love': economies of affect in transnational NGO networks**

Affect structures cultural logics of global connection, as affective management techniques shape the situated subjects who enact global networks. Richard's research illustrates the role economies of affect play in the articulation and maintenance of a transnational solidarity network linking a Mexican rural development organization with partners in Europe and the United States. NGOs have been characterized as key mediators of political, economic, and social change, through which neoliberalizing projects become embedded in specific locales (Leve & Karim 2001; Paley 2001; Wallace 2003). Development experts have lauded NGOs as efficient conduits for aid and pointed to the recent NGO 'boom' as an indicator of strong civil societies, while anthropologists have analysed the various ways in which NGOs help to remake forms of social organization and government. Grassroots networking strategies, like the 'bridges of love' created by RDH, have helped shape the course of globalization in Mexico. Extensive transnational networks drove the pro-democracy and human rights movements of the 1990s, resulting in Mexico's historical political change in 2000. In the years since, complex political and economic shifts from within Mexico and from abroad have forced NGOs like RDH to rely more heavily on international support. Through the production of solidary subjects and the careful management of friendships, RDH seeks to reshape transnational networks without relinquishing its autonomy.

As part of the first wave of independent<sup>4</sup> organizations to be tolerated under Mexico's one-party regime, RDH reflects through its history the country's three-decade experience of simultaneous economic and political liberalization. RDH was founded in 1978, when neoliberal reforms in Mexico began displacing *campesinos* (small farmers) as important actors in national development schemes. RDH was originated by provincial elites, who sought to prevent violent agrarian uprisings taking place

elsewhere in the region from spreading to the Tulancingo Valley. These ranchers and businessmen hoped to pre-empt land invasions and demands for further redistribution by ameliorating poverty through rural development. Their strategy was based on the organization and capitalization of small *campesino* co-operatives. By offering *campesinos* a 'hand up' ('brindar la mano solidaria'), these businessmen and landowners hoped to mould them into co-operative micro-entrepreneurs who could constitute a united, productive force for Mexican modernization.

While RDH initially succeeded in transforming a semi-arid subsistence farming region into a centre of dairy production, its vision of *campesino* solidarity proved difficult to realize. The new advantages enjoyed by co-operative members did not motivate them to unite but rather served to exacerbate social inequality in rural villages. The organization's co-founder lamented:

I believed that by making the *campesino* a subject of credit, we would make him a human subject. But little by little we realized that cultural education was what was lacking, not just capital. The *campesinos* had a little more money in their pockets, perhaps a cow, or the use of a tractor, which had been their life's dream. But had their *hearts* really changed?

Instead of investing in communal resources or sharing with those less fortunate, he complained, *campesinos* used their new income to expand household consumption. RDH staff attributed this refusal to *envidia*, or a 'closed *campesino* mentality'.<sup>5</sup>

In response, the organization created new programmes to develop *campesinos* as solidary subjects. Its co-founder, a former seminarian, found inspiration for this new venture in the Latin American liberation theology movement, which advocated breaking down social hierarchies to form co-operative communities of faith. He and his staff were also influenced by the emerging Mexican movements for human rights and democracy, which stressed the equal value of individuals and the obligation of citizens to participate in their own government. In the mid-1980s, RDH refocused its development programmes around inducing a 'change of heart' in *campesinos*. RDH promoted the 'human development' of *campesino* youth through popular education initiatives, inter-village exchanges, workshops, and community-building retreats called *encuentros*. *Encuentros* were explicitly focused on consciousness-raising and the creation of an extended 'family' of *campesino* communities. The relationships among participants in these retreats were articulated using the metaphor of siblinghood; delegates and the communities they represented were encouraged to think of one another as brothers and sisters in faith and in struggle. Participants were expected to report back to their communities on what they had learned and foment discussion of the issues covered. These *encuentros* created long-lasting social networks among participants from different regions, producing both a shared sense of belonging and a shared experience of working and learning together. Many of RDH's current staff members are products of these youth programmes.<sup>6</sup> Whereas their parents joined RDH co-operatives as a means of improving their material well-being, this new generation (now in their thirties) views solidarity as both the means to and end of development.

RDH's popular education and political mobilization efforts also made it a significant player in the national human rights and pro-democracy movements of the 1980s and 1990s. Extensive transnational networks supported grassroots democratization in Mexico, which resulted in an end to one-party rule in 2000. However, in the wake of the Washington consensus, free trade and shifts in domestic economic policy have posed



new challenges to rural development. RDH must confront these challenges in an atmosphere of shrinking domestic funding sources and increased competition for international support from NGOs in the United States and European Union. By enlisting the solidarity of key foreign partners, the organization hopes to rectify the social inequalities produced by structural adjustment and 'free trade' in rural Mexico. 'We think that LOVE is the only thing that's going to save us from this crisis caused by the neoliberal system', declared a thank-you letter RDH sent to a European donor. RDH seeks to create strong, flexible ties to foreign organizations through an economy of affect aimed at converting foreign NGO representatives into solidary subjects.

RDH staffers use the Spanish term *palanca* to refer to these subjects. Literally speaking, a *palanca* is a tool (a lever or crowbar) that enables the movement of large or heavy objects by extending the user's reach and magnifying his/her strength. As a metaphor for social ties, the notion of *palancas* embodies the relationality and movement that characterize economies of affect. In popular Catholicism, a *palanca* is a prayer offered to God in order to move something (a difficult situation or resistant heart) beyond human efficacy. In Mexico, *palanca* traditionally denotes political leverage via 'friends in high places', a notorious component of the patron-client relations that characterized the old corporatist political system. Despite recent reforms, popular wisdom still dictates that 'para moverse, se necesitan palancas' ('in order to "move things" or get things done, *palancas* are necessary'). However, *palancas* must be chosen and managed carefully to prevent reciprocity from slipping into clientelism (see Richard 2005).<sup>7</sup>

RDH's strategy of cultivating foreign *palancas* who can serve as 'bridges of love' intentionally personalizes NGO partnerships. The form of solidarity organized by a network of *palancas* differs dramatically from an NGO network based on the logic of representation. Transnational advocacy networks link NGOs on the basis of shared ideology or interests (see Keck & Sikkink 1998), but these ties are often too fleeting and too issue-specific to serve as a basis for the long-term co-operation that RDH seeks. In conventional networks, Northern NGOs have the power to shape the agendas and practices of their Southern partners by imposing conditions on their support. Mexican organizations complained that this power differential often leads to an attitude of *protagonismo*<sup>8</sup> on the part of Northern NGO representatives that mars attempts at forming long-term transnational partnerships.

Converting a foreign 'representative' of an organization into a *palanca* is a risky prospect involving intensive, ongoing investment of affective labour. Hence potential *palancas* are chosen carefully. As RDH staffers say, quoting the Gospel of Matthew, 'many are called but few are chosen'. The conversion process is referred to as 'conquest through caring' (*conquistar con cariño*). RDH staff attempt to 'open' and 'warm' the hearts of foreign partners, to administer a 'change of heart' by facilitating interpersonal experiences with *campesinos* at village project sites. RDH's co-founder explained this practice via a Mexican proverb: 'Ojos que no ven, Corazon que no siente' ('That which the eyes do not see, the heart cannot feel'). The site visits are aimed at opening visitors' eyes to the daily reality of rural poverty, and thereby touching their hearts.

Key aspects of the visits are carefully managed to create an economy of affect through which solidary subjects are produced. Although visits may last only an afternoon, they often take the form of an extended 'solidarity tour' where groups of five to twenty foreign visitors spend several weeks in a village, living with *campesino* families and working alongside them on development projects. Solidarity tour participants are asked to contribute funds towards the projects they participate in, but often bring

additional gifts and donations for distribution in 'their' village. By participating in community development projects, the visitors experience a shared sense of purpose and attachment to their adopted villages. Working shoulder-to-shoulder enables a form of 'muscular bonding' (McNeill 1995) between villagers and visitors. Especially in the case of non-Spanish-speaking delegations, co-ordinated labour such as planting trees or mixing cement by hand facilitates feelings of solidarity. Working hard affords them an opportunity to express their commitment to their adopted villages concretely; so much so that many US-based delegations requested opportunities to 'do more' during follow-up visits. Development projects completed during site visits (such as reforestation areas, community buildings, and irrigation systems) become part of the cultural landscape of the village, serving as permanent reminders of the relationships between villagers and foreigners. They are, quite literally, building something in common.

The fellow-feeling elicited via shared labour is consolidated via the incorporation of visitors into domestic family life. Visitors assist their host families with daily chores and take in community celebrations such as dances and fiestas. *Campesino* host families 'dote upon' their charges (*los consienten*). The women cook special 'mild' versions of local foods for them. Visitors are addressed using the diminutive local forms of their names, so that 'James' from New York is called 'Dieguito' and 'Francesc' from Barcelona becomes 'Panchito'. Many families keep letters and photos from their foreign visitors as mementos and are fond of recounting stories about teaching them how to herd sheep or make tortillas. These newly formed bonds are cemented in tearful leave-taking rituals, where host families and village representatives embrace the foreign delegates, and seal their promises to return with vigorous handshakes.

RDH staff meet representatives of foreign organizations in a variety of settings, including human rights network meetings, development summits, and conferences. Some are referred to the organization by existing contacts abroad, or by NGO partners elsewhere in Mexico. Occasionally, international NGO representatives visiting the region to establish other projects are taken to RDH headquarters as part of a tour of Tulancingo, since RDH is the city's oldest independent NGO and its co-founder has long been a key player in the city's political and civic affairs.

In this sense, the site visits serve not only as a setting for the creation of affective collectivities, but also as proving grounds for selecting potential *palancas*. A good potential *palanca* will be amenable to forming strong personal ties with distant others (*encarinarse*), and will demonstrate a commitment (*compromiso*) to act on their behalf by proffering resources or offering to help in specific ways. This is illustrated by the example of Emily,<sup>9</sup> a representative of a US-based democracy promotion NGO who visited RDH on a regional search for Mexican partners. She was invited to tour one of RDH's village sites, where she spoke with *campesino* families whose children work as undocumented migrants in California. A former paralegal, with contacts in the California court system, Emily offered to serve as a legal resource for migrants from the village. She was initially called upon six months later to help arrange for repatriation of the remains of a former village resident. While RDH has not yet pursued any joint projects with the organization that Emily represents, they have begun to cultivate her as a *palanca*. Caring for this friendship over time is the first step to an institutional alliance between the two organizations.

Once potential *palancas* are identified, RDH staff keep in contact with them, building a caring personal relationship and affectionately reminding them of their commitment to 'their villages' when opportunities for action emerge. One technique for

managing affect is *terapia*, or 'therapy', which works by reminding subjects of their bonds with and responsibilities towards a collective. Such techniques were thought necessary in order to convert 'individualists' from Europe and the United States into solidary subjects capable of sustaining long-term co-operation at a distance. Whereas *envidia* was deemed the downfall of un-co-operative *campesinos* in the 1980s, *egoísmo*, or self-centredness, is now faulted for first-world subjects' *protagonismo*. Both RDH staff members and villagers described their visitors from the United States and Europe as initially 'cold' and 'closed'. For example, their initial reluctance to maintain close bodily contact is interpreted as signalling social distance and mistrust. Mexicans, by contrast, were represented as paragons of *calidez*, or emotional warmth. Esperanza, an RDH staff member, declared that as Mexicans 'our culture is more from the heart' and 'we express our sentiments more freely'. This perception was often shared by solidarity tour participants from United States and European NGOs, who explained how the desire to experience 'real community' first-hand had motivated them to visit rural Mexico. According to Juan Carlos, an RDH staff member:

They come here from other places because they want to feel a part of something larger than themselves. That is something they are missing at home. They are always surprised by the atmosphere here, shocked that you greet them with a kiss on the cheek. Their tears are so sincere. And when you see that you have awakened such a sentiment in someone who is used to only thinking of themselves, well ... that is something that stays with you.

RDH's strategy is highly dependent upon the ability of staff members to create close personal ties with virtual strangers, in effect serving as 'specimens' of proper affective economy. Eliciting emotion from others and helping to shape moments of connection into more permanent alliances is a powerful experience. For some staff members, who joined the organization through its popular education programmes for *campesino* youth in the 1980s, the 'change of heart' they are administering to foreign visitors is reminiscent of their own earlier transformations. In fact, they deploy many of the management techniques in their work, such as *terapia*, that an earlier generation of RDH staffers used to cultivate solidarity among *campesino* youth from distinct villages and regions.

However, this construction of caring cultural selves risks reinforcing the very gulf between foreigners and *campesinos* that RDH seeks to bridge. *Terapia* is rooted in the immediacy of the village experience, but cultivating a *palanca* also involves inducing material enactments of solidarity. RDH staff commonly remind foreign partners of the love of 'their villages' and their 'Mexican families' as part of appeals for aid, but they also worry that the foreigners will mistake *terapia* for 'emotional blackmail' (*chantaje emocional*). According to Maria, an RDH staff member:

It is difficult, yes, but necessary because we are struggling for something in common. The point is not to have more paternalism, for them to come here and pity us, to say, 'look at those poor idiots, let's help them'. No, it is to work together, to learn from one another. If they have more possibilities, then they should share what they have just as we share of ourselves. We should both share willingly, with pleasure (*con gusto*). That is the true meaning of solidarity.

RDH members' struggle for something in common, a new form of connection with foreign NGO partners, is enacted through an economy of affect. The difficulty and indeterminacy of this work contradicts theories of globalization that assume spontaneously self-generating networks.

### Managing the heart and circulating tears in an Indonesian economy of affect

In this section Rudnyckyj shows how affect was critical to connecting the project of religious reform to economic transformation. Participants in his study connected affective practices, such as the ability to cry during religious worship and a feeling of shame, to producing oneself as a labourer amenable to changing norms and forms of economic practice. This section illustrates how affect acts on the actions of both oneself and others. This in turn is linked to specific embodied practices. For example, being 'able' to cry during religious worship is a material sign of one's subjective transformation. Further, the section depicts how economies of affect entail both a mode of producing new economic relations and a medium of subjectifying those who are enmeshed within these relations.

This section examines the role of affect in the project of spiritual reform as it was carried out at Krakatau Steel between 2003 and 2005. In 2002, managers at the company contracted a Jakarta-based company to conduct spiritual training sessions in order to cultivate an 'Islamic work culture' (*budaya kerja Islami*) among the company's 6,000 employees. By enhancing their own religious practice and that of other employees, the managers and union leaders reasoned that they could eliminate chronic corruption, make the company more internationally competitive, and prepare employees for privatization of this state-owned company. The introduction of Islamic practice at Krakatau Steel was unprecedented. This initiative required employees to attend sessions totalling forty hours over three days, during which they were introduced to this novel form of moderate Islam. These sessions, called Emotional and Spiritual Quotient (ESQ) training, drew on a stirring, if somewhat unwieldy, mix of Qur'anic recitation, current management training ideas, Islamic history, and popular psychology. The enactment of affect and the production of affective ties among co-workers, clients, and business contacts were taken to be critical to eliciting the new worker deemed necessary at Krakatau Steel.

The project of spiritual reform was being deployed in explicit connection with rapidly changing international steel markets and the global consolidation of the steel industry. Krakatau Steel was a centrepiece of industrial modernization and state patronage under Indonesia's authoritarian New Order<sup>10</sup> regime. Historically the company was a privileged site for Indonesian national development and received billions of dollars of state-directed investment during the thirty-two-year presidential administration of the former autocrat Suharto. However, this company, the largest steel factory in Southeast Asia, was faced with dramatic economic restructuring, including planned privatization through the sale of the company to private investors, the end of state subsidies, and the elimination of national tariffs on steel that had long protected the company from transnational competition. During the New Order, senior employees profited from such patronage by setting up their own shell companies through which they obtained favourable contracts from Krakatau Steel. Lower-level employees tolerated wage inequalities and the abuses of higher-level employees under the assumption that employment and welfare were guaranteed. However, the gigantic state expenditures that for years ensured the company's viability ended in 1998 with Suharto's resignation and the near bankruptcy of the Indonesian government. Insider contracts, once an accepted practice, were now classified by reformers inside and outside the company as 'corrupt' and lifetime employment for lower-level workers was no longer assured.

The articulation between spiritual reform and the production of new economic subjects relied on a subjective transformation that was both experienced and represented

through affect. During ESQ sessions, intense displays of affect, such as shame, grief, joy, and fear, were notable because according to prevailing anthropological wisdom such displays are rare in Indonesia. Conventional anthropological representations of 'inner' Indonesians (residents of Java and Bali) hold that tremendous personal pride is placed on the exercise of *halus* (refined) behaviour. Thus, anthropologists have held that visible displays of affect are often restrained in Indonesia (Geertz 1961: 110-18). Anthropologists have in fact argued that a personal ethics of restraint often masks inward states of discord and turbulence for many Indonesians (Lindquist 2004; Wikan 1990). Many anthropologists of insular Indonesia have noted that the emphasis on emotional restraint is often contrasted with the threat of becoming *amok*, a temporary period of frenzy and hysteria that violates normal conventions of *halus* comportment (Boellstorff & Lindquist 2004; Kresman, Hadin & Sumarni 1989; Winzeler 1995). Yet neither an ethics of restraint nor *amok* quite captured the way in which affect was mobilized as a medium of subject formation at Krakatau Steel.

Rudnyckyj's attention to affect was inspired by Carla Jones's description of how middle-class Indonesian women engage in what she terms 'emotion work'. Given the widespread presence of domestic servants, such women do not engage in much physical labour within the household. Rather, Jones shows how they are CEOs 'of the house', responsible for managing domestic emotions (2004: 513). For Jones, emotions are 'one set of resources among many (material, institutional, social) that are unequally produced and distributed among members of the household' (2004: 510). Thus, Jones is interested in the ways in which emotions circulate in households and in the role of domestic CEOs in ensuring their proper management. Where an economy of affect differs from emotion work is that we focus on the way in which subjects circulate within and are formed through affect, rather than the circulation of emotions between subjects.

The emergence of an economy of affect was evident in expressions of grief and effusive weeping that took place during the training, and which Rudnyckyj terms the circulation of tears. At key moments of spiritual training and in other public practices of Islam in contemporary Indonesia, participants engaged in what James Fox (2004) has described as 'ritual weeping', in which Muslims seek atonement for 'sins in a concentrated effort to achieve purity of heart (*qolbun salim*)'. This weeping, often elicited through a moving collective prayer or lecture on a religious topic, is central in ESQ and other 'spiritual training' programmes. Tears are a material representation of the transformation of the heart that is the object of spiritual reform. At key moments of the training, tears visibly circulate on the bodies of those affected, rolling down their cheeks, accompanied by mournful wails. Furthermore, what began as a small number of people weeping during a particular session elicited tears from the bodies of other participants in an escalating fashion. Sometimes it seemed that everyone in the room was crying.

Weeping occupies a central place in spiritual reform, and many participants indicated that the programmes's effectiveness in bringing participants to tears was an indication of its ability to 'open one's heart'. For example, on several occasions when Rudnyckyj brought up ESQ with Kusmanto, a long-time employee of Krakatau Steel, Kusmanto repeatedly focused on the fact that many participants in ESQ cry. This had made a profound impression on him. He was from the central Javanese court centre of Solo, whose inhabitants are reputed to be some of the most *halus* in the archipelago and are thought to be able most effectively to mask outward signs of affect. He had first

attended ESQ in 2002 and repeatedly expressed amazement that his attendance marked the first time he was 'able to cry' during religious activity. The collective public expression of grief through crying impressed him more than any other aspect of the programme. Kusmanto invoked verse 2 of Al-Anfal (the Spoils) in the Qur'an to demonstrate that there is justification for feeling moved in one's heart when the verses of the Qur'an are recited.<sup>11</sup> It helped him to account for the fact that he unexpectedly broke into tears when Qur'anic verses were recited during his participation in ESQ. He said that this was a sign of 'divine revelation (*wahyu*) from Allah. If we hear Allah's name (*asma Allah*) and we then tremble (*gemetar*), it means that our hearts have been touched (*hati tersentuh*)'. The project of spiritual reform takes the heart as its central object of intervention and thus involves an extensive discourse about transforming affective practices.

During ESQ a recurrent connection is made between one's tears and the subjective transformation metaphorically represented as 'opening the heart' (*membuka hati*). Both trainers and participants in ESQ cited this as a primary goal of the training. Many of those who professed spiritual transformations averred that they knew that their heart had been opened because they were finally able to cry during religious practices such as prayer (*sholat*), which they attested occurred only after they had attended spiritual reform sessions. Thus, a definitive indication of the transformation of one's heart is an outward display of grief through crying. This metaphor of opening the heart circulates in a wider Indonesian discursive frame in which the heart is viewed as a site of interventions toward personal transformation. As Boellstorff and Lindquist note, '[T]he key Indonesian term *hati*, which means both "liver" and "seat of the emotions", is thus sometimes rendered as "heart" ' (2004: 438).<sup>12</sup>

The connection between the circulation of tears, the management of the heart, and subjective transformation is common in other contemporary Indonesian projects of spiritual reform. One manifestation of this is the hugely successful Islamic business Manajemen Qolbu Corporation, recently described by C.W. Watson in this journal (Watson 2005). This prominent Islamic media and direct marketing conglomerate fuses one English and one Arabic word to yield a name that translates into Indonesian as 'Management of the Heart'. Managers at Krakatau Steel had initially considered contracting Manajemen Qolbu to carry out the project of spiritual reform at the company, but decided upon the ESQ Leadership Center because the latter could do 'in-house training' at the factory complex. Seminars intended to improve economic practice through the cultivation of Islamic virtues, such as through the Manajemen Qolbu and ESQ programmes, illustrate one manifestation of what we term economies of affect. In both these programmes, affective practices, including ritualized weeping, are central to the project of producing a reformed economic subject. This subject is a disciplined but entrepreneurial worker who will work hard and avoid corruption because he or she<sup>13</sup> is aware that every action is observed by Allah.

Water, like the tears that it composes, was a central symbol in creating an economy of affect at Krakatau Steel. On the first day of training, Rinaldi, the lead trainer, metaphorically alluded to the possibility that weeping would enable employees to open their hearts and effect personal transformation. He said, 'God willing at the end of these three days, we too will find the water inside of us'. Shortly thereafter in the assembly hall an animated video played on the three large projection screens that showed blocks of ice melt away to reveal a pulsating heart. Rinaldi continued by elucidating this agenda of the training during a long communal prayer:

Let these hearts bathe (*siram*), these hearts that are so hard, our hearts that are seldom bathed in Allah's verses. Our hearts that have already become frozen (*beku*), that's how hard our hearts are. Every piece of advice whatsoever we are given does not stick with us. Portrayed here is their entombment in this ice. [He gestured to an animated image of a heart encased in dark ice projected onto the massive floor-to-ceiling screens at the front of the large hall.] We see the deep freezing, how little light shines on it, hard like this ice, but with the permission of Allah, finally even this hard heart can begin to be opened. Wherever there is a heart that is hard, there are actually the values of softness and wisdom that are symbolized (*dilambangkan*) by water, the water that gives life.

Critical here are allusions to water, such as bathing, freezing, and ice. Tears, or what in Indonesian are literally 'water of the eyes' (*air mata*), represent the melting of the ice, which is symbolically seen to entomb the emotional centre of those who are deficient in Islamic practice and whose hearts therefore remain closed. However, water was not merely a symbol, but a physical object that was produced by the body and circulated on the faces of subjects of spiritual reform. A return to Islam, partially attained through ritual weeping, is depicted as the means to know oneself and in so doing transform oneself. Producing tears is the means through which one produces oneself as a new subject. By transforming oneself, one can transform the company, and in transforming oneself and the company, one transforms the nation as a whole.

One senior manager at Krakatau Steel, Djohan, who had attended several years of graduate school in the United States, connected the affective practices of spiritual reform to new economic norms. He explained what it meant to 'manage the heart' and evocatively demonstrated how it was conjoined to the circulation of tears. He gave a personal account of his spiritual awakening as a labouring subject. In somewhat stiff English he poignantly confided:

ESQ helped me communicate with God. Sometimes, when my feelings are very clean, when I pray, I cry. Nobody is there, I am alone, and I cry, not because of my life or bad things, but because I am very happy that I can communicate with my God ... This is how you can manage your heart through the methods of ESQ ... When someone asks for bribe,<sup>14</sup> if they have already managed their heart well, their heart will urge them 'please don't do that!' ... That is built-in control. If you can manage your heart well, you can develop your built-in control ... The employees don't do corruption, not because they are afraid of their superiors, not because they are afraid of their leaders, not because they are afraid of regulations that will have them sent to gaol. But I am afraid, why, because I have already seen how someone who does corruption is tortured in hell.

Invoking training videos that show a corpse being interrogated after death, Djohan argues that enhanced Islamic practice is a method of achieving more effective self-control and management. Central to achieving this ethical disposition is 'managing the heart' through the circulation of tears. In this instance, Djohan shows how crying is a physical sign of atonement that represents the subjective transformation of an economic subject. Endemic corruption, glossed here under the general term 'KKN', is a specific object of spiritual reform. In this instance, the concept 'economy of affect' captures the logic of a project of spiritual reform in which ritual weeping and an 'open heart' metaphorically represent a figure with 'built-in control' whose interests are no longer determined by a passion for individual gain.

The notion of built-in control has further significance. During the Suharto era the state's monopoly on violence and willingness to use it on occasion was a brutally effective check on collective political action by workers and other potentially politically active groups. The end of the Suharto regime meant that the state no longer acted with

such impunity, hence Djohan's emphasis on the importance of developing methods of 'built-in control'. Given the reduced repressive capacity of the Indonesian state and the precarious position of Krakatau Steel, which must compete in an increasingly globalized steel market, managers like Djohan see the formation of an economy of affect as indispensable to the survival of the company. Spiritual reform involves eliciting discrete affective states in order to affect the conduct of company employees.

However, some employees of Krakatau Steel were not so affected as Djohan and Kusmanto. Towards the end of one ESQ training session, Sutiono, an electrical engineer employed at the plant, expressed some regret that he had not wept yet. Rudnyckyj had come to know him well and they had often visited one another at home after work. He was well educated, thoughtful, and spoke carefully about what was going on at the company and in Indonesia more broadly. Rudnyckyj had the fortune to attend the sessions to which Sutiono was 'called'. On the third day of ESQ training he expressed disappointment that he had not cried. He explained that he was unable to do so because 'my heart is still closed or just open slightly'. The ability to participate in the circulation of tears was the criterion by which one could effectively manage one's heart. Thus, the circulation of tears provided the contest in which one could understand oneself as a successful (or unsuccessful) subject of spiritual reform. Sutiono still recognized himself as an incomplete subject of the emerging economy of affect, but he expressed optimism that, through 'learning to cry', he could engage in the production and circulation of tears.

Employees at all levels of Krakatau Steel's corporate hierarchy were implicated in what we have termed an economy of affect. In fact, senior-level managers like Djohan were in some respects most vulnerable to this form of 'built-in control'. On the one hand, ESQ could be interpreted as a means of deploying affect to manipulate employees and make them complicit with the new, neoliberal economic order in which the factory was increasingly implicated. On the other hand, even those who sought to manage affect were not outside its effects. As Djohan's evocative confession suggests, even those who held positions of power and prestige within the factory were vulnerable to the same affective forces that circulated in these spiritual training sessions. Even the trainers and staff of the ESQ organization were motivated in this economy of affect. When Rudnyckyj observed several sessions from behind the stage, he was surprised to see that the assistant trainers and staff of ESQ, who had participated in the programme dozens if not hundreds of times, cried deeply and embraced during the same portions of the training that affected the regular, first-time participants.

These employees were implicated in what we have termed an economy of affect insofar as affect was a critical medium in a zone for the production of certain types of labouring bodies. In seeking to become more globally competitive and address a set of neoliberal changes, Krakatau Steel initiated a programme of Islamic spiritual reform. This programme was premised on the notion that enhanced Muslim piety would develop a more productive, competitive, and accountable 'work culture'. Certain affects, such as being 'able to cry' during religious worship and 'managing one's heart', were taken as confirmation that one had achieved the subjective transformation commensurable with this broader economic transformation.

## Conclusions

In an article entitled 'The autonomy of affect', Brian Massumi concludes that the 'ability of affect to produce an economic effect more swiftly and surely than economics itself



means that affect is itself a real condition, an intrinsic variable of the late-capitalist system, as infrastructural as the factory' (1995: 106). In our respective research projects in a Mexican NGO and an Indonesian steel factory we came to a similar conclusion as Massumi regarding the centrality of affect to some neoliberal (or what he terms 'late-capitalist') projects. We have demonstrated in empirical, ethnographic terms how the ability of affect to induce economic effects is not only an issue of mere scholarly interest, but also intrinsic to the ways in which the participants in our respective research projects have self-reflexively conceived of the problems of economy that they have faced. Further, we have sought to mark out a terrain of investigation for future ethnographers to navigate across the boundaries of political, economic, and psychological approaches in anthropology.

The concept 'economies of affect' is perhaps more a methodological intervention than a theoretical one. We have argued that any economic relation may conceivably have affective dimensions. Lest it be concluded that we are making an Orientalist assumption, it should be underscored that economies of affect are not found only outside the North Atlantic. Other examples might include Bill Clinton's 'cuddly capitalism' (Rouse n.d.) and the 'compassionate conservatism' of President George Bush and, more recently, of the British Conservative Party leader, David Cameron. This is not to say that affect is everywhere. From an analytical standpoint little would be gained by making such a claim. Rather, we suggest that the notion of economies of affect might draw attention to the role that affect plays in forging workers, volunteers, soldiers, students, and other modern subjects. This point may be of particular use to anthropologists and other ethnographers who seek to diagnose empirical examples of the changes that characterize neoliberalism. Future ethnographic work might explore the myriad ways in which affect is deployed as a means of rationalizing the exercise of government according to what Foucault termed 'the internal rule of maximum economy' (1997: 74).

In conceiving of economies of affect, we have sought to emphasize the relationality and mobility inherent in affect. To accomplish this task we have sought to draw on the inherently transactional and intersubjective character of affect, in an effort to move away from the intransitive interiorization that saddles alternative terms like emotion, sentiment, or feeling. Affect does not circulate from one sovereign subject to another. Rather, an economy of affect forms a milieu in which subjects find themselves enmeshed. In our conceptualization, affect is less an object that circulates than something in which people find themselves circulating.

Further, as Sedgwick notes, the force of affect lies in the fact that it appears to lie on the hazy boundary between biology and culture (2003: 112-14). The biological component of affect was apparent in various aspects of ESQ training. Certain parts of the training made recourse to affect and elicited almost predictable reactions. The lights in the room, the temperature, the images on the projection screens, the music, and the timbre of a speaker's voice were all calibrated in such a way as to activate an affective potential that was assumed already to exist in those participating in the programme. The fact that the physical environment elicited predictable affective responses not only among the participants, but also from the observing ethnographer, attests to the force of affect. However, our argument should not be taken to suggest that there is a sovereign subject that exists prior to this process. The subject of the economy of affect formed at Krakatau Steel was elicited through the activation of his or her affective potential. Similarly, representatives of foreign NGOs had to be produced as solidary

subjects via a 'change of heart' induced through carefully managed interactions with their Mexican hosts. The experience of daily life in the countryside, punctuated by the 'muscular bonding' of shared labour and celebration, created an affective milieu carefully crafted to 'open' and 'warm' the hearts of visitors whose normal environments their hosts deemed incompatible with such interactions. 'Therapeutic' techniques were thought to re-activate and revitalize intersubjective connections at a distance, strengthening the personalized 'bridges of love' across which institutional funding and political support could be mobilized.

In conclusion, the concept 'economy of affect' sheds light on various projects of contemporary subject-making and self-making. We have shown how affect can operate in concert with reason and, thus, is not necessarily opposed to it. Our account has documented how even powerful individuals may be vulnerable to their own desire to manipulate the affects of their subordinates. Furthermore, we have shown how the concept 'economy of affect' illuminates the forms of connection and friction that compose contemporary globalization (Tsing 2005), while simultaneously remaining vigilant to the proliferating rationalities that characterize such forms (Ong 2006). Future research programmes may further suggest that, just as affect enables circulation within an economy, it is also a medium within which subjects are formed.

#### NOTES

An earlier version of this work was presented at the 2006 Meetings of the American Anthropological Association in San Jose, California. We thank Sylvia Yanagisako and William Mazzarella, who served as panel discussants, and our fellow panellist Margaret Dorsey for their keen insights and helpful suggestions. Roger Rouse, Laura Hubbard, Joshua Levy, Kevin Karpiak, and Jerome Whittington read and critiqued preliminary drafts. Their questions and insights enabled us to think the article differently and to clarify the argument. We are also grateful to the three anonymous referees whose careful evaluations of our work helped us to strengthen it further. Any remaining limitations and errors are ours alone. Finally, our attention to circulations of and within affect would be incomplete without an acknowledgement of the support and inspiration provided by Anissa, Maksym, and Paul.

<sup>1</sup> See Appadurai (1996); Beck (1994); Comaroff & Comaroff (2000); Ferguson & Gupta (2002); Ong (1999); Rudnyckyj (2004); Sassen (1998); Tsing (2005).

<sup>2</sup> This work is drawn from Richard (2005) and Rudnyckyj (2008; 2009). While space does not permit us to present lengthy ethnographic analyses, we refer the reader to the preceding texts for more detailed discussions of the research upon which our approach is based.

<sup>3</sup> For examples see Abu-Lughod & Lutz (1990); Boellstorff & Lindquist (2004); Lutz (1988); Lutz & White (1986); Rosaldo (1980); Rosaldo & Lamphere (1974).

<sup>4</sup> Not directly affiliated with the state or the Catholic Church.

<sup>5</sup> Social envy and enclosure are frequent themes of early to mid-twentieth-century ethnographies of rural Mexico as well (see Foster 1965).

<sup>6</sup> Many former participants not only made lifelong friends at these events, but also met their future spouses there. Hence RDH's youth programmes had an impact on *campesino* youth ideologically, but also in terms of social networks.

<sup>7</sup> These relationships are based loosely on the model of *compadrazgo*, a form of ritual kinship with a deep history in Mexico. The predicament of Mexican NGOs, who need political and economic sponsors but must finesse these ties to avoid the taint of partisanship, is discussed in detail by Miraftab (1997).

<sup>8</sup> *Protagonismo* connotes a know-it-all quality, an insistence that regardless of one's merits (or lack thereof), one is the most necessary and qualified leader or decision-maker in a particular situation.

<sup>9</sup> With the exception of recognizable public figures, we have used pseudonyms to conceal the identities of all individuals referred to directly in this article.

<sup>10</sup> The New Order refers to the period in Indonesia's history that coincides with Suharto's tenure as national leader, 1966 through 1998. Suharto coined the term to contrast the period of his rule with the 'Old Order' under Sukarno.

<sup>11</sup> This verse reads: 'Those only are believers who, when God is mentioned, their hearts quake, and when His signs are recited to them, it increases them in faith, and in their Lord they put their trust' (Arberry 1955: 8:2).

<sup>12</sup> The Indonesian word which denotes the heart as a physical object (not the seat of emotions) is *jantung*. Some adherents of ESQ, like Arief, a veteran worker in the hot strip mill, connected the two signifiers by explaining that one's physical heart (*jantung*) 'beating more quickly' is a sign of the transformation of one's metaphorical heart (*hati*).

<sup>13</sup> Although 97 per cent of the workforce of Krakatau Steel is male, there was usually a small group of women, mostly clerical staff, in attendance at ESQ training sessions.

<sup>14</sup> Djohan actually used the acronym 'KKN' here, which technically stands for *korupsi, kolusi, dan nepotisme* (corruption, collusion, and nepotism). This acronym is often idiomatically used to refer to a bribe, and this is how I have translated it here.

## REFERENCES

- ABU-LUGHOD, L. & C. LUTZ 1990. Introduction: emotion, discourse, and the politics of everyday life. In *Language and the politics of emotion* (eds) C. Lutz & L. Abu-Lughod, 1-23. Cambridge: University Press.
- AHMED, S. 2004. Affective economies. *Social Text* 22, 121-39.
- ANDERSON, B. 1991 [1983]. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- APPADURAI, A. 1996. *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- ARBERRY, A.J. 1955. *The Koran interpreted*. New York: Macmillan.
- BECK, U. 1994. The reinvention of politics: toward a theory of reflexive modernization. In *Reflexive modernization: politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order* (eds) U. Beck, A. Giddens & S. Lash, 1-55. Stanford: University Press.
- BESNIER, N. 1995. *Literacy, emotion and authority: reading and writing on a Polynesian atoll*. Cambridge: University Press.
- BOELLSTORFF, T. & J. LINDQUIST 2004. Bodies of emotion: rethinking culture and emotion through Southeast Asia. *Ethnos* 69, 437-44.
- BUTLER, J.P. 1997. *The psychic life of power: theories in subjection*. Stanford: University Press.
- CALLON, M. 1998. *The laws of the markets*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- COMAROFF, J. & J.L. COMAROFF 2000. Millennial capitalism: first thoughts on a second coming. *Public Culture* 12, 291-343.
- FERGUSON, J. 1999. *Expectations of modernity: myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 2006. *Global shadows: Africa in the neoliberal world order*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- & A. GUPTA 2002. Spatializing states: toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality. *American Ethnologist* 29, 981-1002.
- FOSTER, G.M. 1965. Peasant society and the image of limited good. *American Anthropologist* 67, 293-315.
- FOUCAULT, M. 1983. The subject and power. In *Michel Foucault: beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (eds) H.L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow, 208-26. Chicago: University Press.
- 1991. Governmentality. In *The Foucault effect* (eds) G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller, 87-104. Chicago: University Press.
- 1979. The birth of biopolitics. In *Ethics: subjectivity and truth. The essential works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1989, vol. 1* (ed.) P. Rabinow, 739. New York: New Press.
- 2008 [1979]. *The birth of biopolitics: lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- FOX, J. 2004. Currents in contemporary Islam in Indonesia. Unpublished paper presented at Harvard Asia Vision 21 Conference, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- GEERTZ, H. 1961. *The Javanese family: a study of kinship and socialization*. New York: Free Press.
- GOOD, B. 2004. Rethinking 'emotions' in Southeast Asia. *Ethnos* 69, 529-33.
- HART, G. 2002. *Disabling globalization: places of power in post-apartheid South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- HOCHSCHILD, A.R. 1983. *The managed heart: commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- JAMESON, F. 1991. *Postmodernism or, the cultural logic of late capitalism*. London: Verso.
- JONES, C. 2004. Whose stress? Emotion work in middle-class Javanese homes. *Ethnos* 69, 509-28.

- KECK, M. & K. SIKKINK 1998. *Activists beyond borders: advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- KRESMAN, R.A., Y.M. HADIN & D.W. SUMARNI 1989. Amok: sebuah ilustrasi kasus. *Jiwa* 22, 49-52.
- LEMKE, T. 2001. 'The birth of bio-politics': Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality. *Economy and Society* 30, 190-207.
- LEVE, L. & L. KARIM 2001. Privatizing the state: ethnography of development, transnational capital, and NGOs. *PolAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 24, 53-8.
- LINDQUIST, J. 2004. Veils and ecstasy: negotiating shame in the Indonesian borderlands. *Ethnos* 69, 487-508.
- LUHRMANN, T.M. 2006. Subjectivity. *Anthropological Theory* 6, 345-61.
- LUTZ, C. 1988. *Unnatural emotions: everyday sentiments in a Micronesian atoll*. Chicago: University Press.
- & G.M. WHITE 1986. The anthropology of emotions. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15, 405-36.
- MCELHINNY, B. 1994. An economy of affect: objectivity, masculinity and the gendering of police work. In *Dislocating masculinity: comparative ethnographies* (eds) A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne, 159-71. New York: Routledge.
- MCNEILL, W.H. 1995. *Keeping together in time: dance and drill in human history*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- MASSUMI, B. 1995. The autonomy of affect. *Cultural Critique* 31, 83-109.
- MIRAFITAB, F. 1997. Flirting with the enemy: challenges faced by NGOs in development and empowerment. *Habitat International* 21, 361-75.
- MITCHELL, T. 2002. *Rule of experts: Egypt, techno-politics, modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ONG, A. 1999. *Flexible citizenship: the cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- 2006. *Neoliberalism as exception: mutations in citizenship and sovereignty*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- ORTNER, S. B. 2005. Subjectivity and cultural critique. *Anthropological Theory* 5, 31-52.
- PALEY, J. 2001. *Marketing democracy: power and social movements in post-dictatorship Chile*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- RICHARD, A. 2005. *Cultivating El Cambio: NGO networks and democracy in neoliberal Mexico*. Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- ROFEL, L. 2007. *Desiring China: experiments in neoliberalism, sexuality, and public culture*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- ROSALDO, M. 1980. *Knowledge and passion: Ilongot notions of self and social life*. Cambridge: University Press.
- & L. LAMPHERE (eds) 1974. *Woman, culture, and society*. Stanford: University Press.
- ROSE, N. 1999. *Powers of freedom: reframing political thought*. Cambridge: University Press.
- ROUSE, R. n.d. *Cuddly capitalism: neoliberal legitimation and the meanings of Bill Clinton's body*. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.
- RUDNYCKYJ, D. 2004. Technologies of servitude: governmentality and Indonesian transnational labor migration. *Anthropological Quarterly* 77, 407-34.
- 2008. Worshipping work: producing commodity producers in contemporary Indonesia. In *Taking Southeast Asia to market: commodities, nature, and people in the neoliberal age* (eds) N.L. Peluso & J. Nevins, 73-89. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- 2009. Spiritual economies: Islam and neoliberalism in Indonesia. *Cultural Anthropology* 24, 104-41.
- SASSEN, S. 1998. *Globalization and its discontents*. New York: New Press.
- SAWYER, S. 2001. Fictions of sovereignty: of prosthetic petro-capitalism, neoliberal states, and phantom-like citizens in Ecuador. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 6, 156-97.
- SEDGWICK, E.K. 2003. *Touching feeling: affect, pedagogy, performativity*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- TSING, A.L. 2005. *Friction: an ethnography of global connection*. Princeton: University Press.
- WALLACE, T. 2003. NGO dilemmas: Trojan horses for global neoliberalism? In *The socialist register 2004: the new imperial challenge* (eds) L. Panitch & C. Leys, 209-19. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- WATSON, C.W. 2005. A popular Indonesian preacher: the significance of Aa Gymnastiar. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 11, 773-92.
- WIKAN, U. 1990. *Managing turbulent hearts: a Balinese formula for living*. Chicago: University Press.
- WILLIAMS, R. 1977. *Marxism and literature*. Oxford: University Press.
- WINZELER, R.L. 1995. *Latah in Southeast Asia: the history and ethnography of a culture-bound syndrome*. Cambridge: University Press.
- YANAGISAKO, S. 2002. *Producing culture and capitalism: family firms in Italy*. Princeton: University Press.
- ZALOOM, C. 2006. *Out of the pits: trading and technology from Chicago to London*. Chicago: University Press.

## Les économies de l'affect

### Résumé

Cet article développe le concept des « économies de l'affect » pour attirer l'attention des anthropologues sur le rôle de l'affect dans la facilitation des transformations économiques. Il s'appuie sur les résultats de deux projets de terrain ethnographiques, l'un au Mexique et l'autre en Indonésie, pour montrer comment l'affect a été mobilisé pour créer des sujets pouvant être appréhendés selon les normes néolibérales. Les auteurs montrent comment l'étreinte, les pleurs et les discours sur l'amour et le chagrin ont été associés à des transformations impliquant la cessation de prestations de l'État et l'application des lois du marché. En faisant de l'affect et de son articulation avec le changement économique un objet d'étude anthropologique, l'article affirme l'utilité d'une notion d'affect se démarquant d'autres approches qui mettent l'accent sur l'émotion. Les auteurs affirment que l'affect est utile parce qu'il est, par nature, réflexif et intersubjectif. L'affect renvoie aux relations pratiquées entre les individus, à la différence de l'émotion, toujours marquée par le spectre d'un individualisme psychologique.

Analiene Richard is Assistant Professor of Anthropology in the School of International Studies at the University of the Pacific. Presently her research examines citizenship practices and the cultural politics of food sovereignty in Latin America. Earlier research projects included investigations into the role of rural NGOs in the Mexican democratic transition as well as analysis of modes and models of transnational networking among Northern and Southern NGOs.

*School of International Studies, University of the Pacific, 3601 Pacific Avenue, Stockton, CA 95211, USA. arichard@pacific.edu.*

Daromir Rudnyckj is Assistant Professor of Pacific and Asian Studies at the University of Victoria. His current research projects examine Islam and globalization in contemporary Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei. Previous research projects analysed the networks and institutions that enable transnational labour migration from Indonesia through the Indian and Pacific Ocean regions.

*Department of Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Victoria, PO Box 3045 STN CSC, Victoria, BC V8W 3P4, Canada. daromir@uvic.ca.*