



Erin Y. Huang

**Neoliberal
Post-Socialism
and the Limits
of Visibility**

URBAN HORROR

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For Pao-Cheng, Shu-Ling, and Erica Huang

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Acknowledgments

This book grew from a deeply personal desire to understand and describe the spatial and temporal experience growing up in the aftermath of the Cold War in Kaohsiung, a port city and an export-processing zone surrounded by industrial factories that export goods and energy but leave behind toxic pollutions in the island nation of Taiwan. In fierce competition with other Chinese port cities and industrial zones that rapidly expanded after China entered the era of economic reform in the 1980s, Kaohsiung appears in my memory as a crowded urban space that defies the existing definitions of a political or mercantile city. Having neither historical monuments to mark the city's past political and economic significance, nor a flashy financial district to flaunt its newness as a major transportation center located between Southeast and East Asia, the urbanscape of Kaohsiung consists of the infrastructure of global movement, where endless streams of megasize container ships and trucks load and unload. Although the Taiwanese export-processing zone gradually lost its global competitiveness to the special economic zones in China and other developing countries in Southeast Asia, the space that shaped my life remains mysterious and leaves behind unanswered questions: What are the geopolitical forces that created the export-processing zone? Is space also a technology of governmentality that can be engineered and reproduced? What are the contemporary systems of power that continue to create transnational land and oceanic urbanization with not yet legible human and environmental consequences? Looking at the toxic and hazy skyline of Kaohsiung—a space whose name is unfamiliar to many people but that plays a role in the global logistic routes of supply and demand—these questions haunt me.

Yet what concerns me is not the individual case of Kaohsiung but the proliferation of spaces like Kaohsiung—a model of neoliberal experimentation with the production of space that reduces space to reproducible protocols and procedures. The zones are disposable and can always be replicated elsewhere, in a land or country that offers more competitive resources. The spatial technologies behind the practice of zoning can be further developed, providing not only a tool of economic expansionism but also the means to exert political and military control. Kaohsiung highlights the tip of an iceberg in the advancement of the technologies of space in the aftermath of the Cold War. It is a unique vantage point to see the urban transformations taking place in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan in what I theorize in this book as the neoliberal post-socialist era. Among the Sinophone regions that I examine, two are islands located between Southeast and East Asia. The frequent references to Southeast Asia in this book are meant to pose questions about regional boundaries and explore newly emergent connections that are created under the deterritorialized imaginary of infinite economic expansion. Rather than focusing on the representations of select cities, I am drawn to the theorization of space as a reproducible sociopolitical mechanism of power that creates new types of spaces—special economic zones, special administrative regions, and science and industrial parks—that occupy central roles in Asia's post-Cold War urban transformation.

The years I spent on researching, thinking, and writing led me to the questions above. The process of writing resembles an archaeological excavation, where I peel away layers to collect the traces of thoughts that appeared in different forms and are in search of a language of articulation. There are innumerable people I need to thank in this process, for selflessly teaching me how to think, for reading numerous versions of chapters and drafts, for believing in me and my ideas when things get messy, for long conversations that open my mind, and for simply being who they are. I thank Ackbar Abbas, who has a mysterious way of reading my mind and untangling my thoughts. His love for experimenting with theory taught me the infinite possibilities of reading. I thank Hu Ying and Jennifer Terry, who taught me the foundations of feminist thinking and the importance of feminist doing. Their influence on my work cannot be described in words, and their generosity will always be passed on to my colleagues and students. I want to give special thanks to Jonathan M. Hall for inspiring my passion for film and media theory and for always pushing me to think beyond my limits.

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Introduction. Urban Horror

Speculative Futures of Chinese Cinemas

On October 1, 2014, the National Day of the People's Republic of China, a celebration takes place in the city of Hong Kong, a former British colony now ruled as a special administrative region under China's policy of "one country, two systems." As fireworks illuminate Hong Kong's skyline, the scene on the ground reveals an entirely different landscape. The streets are filled with people and engulfed in a chemical cloud. The police are shooting tear gas at the crowd to disperse the nonviolent and unarmed demonstrators demanding democracy in what will later be called the Umbrella Movement. Against the darkness of the sky, the fireworks' brilliant colors shine above the protest zones that have been transformed into urban battlegrounds. Shots are fired and canisters of tear gas fly across crowded protest sites, where irritant chemicals touch and penetrate the demonstrators' bodies. In the opening scene of Chan Tze-woon's *Yellowing* (*Luanshi beiwang*, 2016)—a documentary that archives the Hong Kong filmmaker's intimate observations of the protesters and their lived experiences in the Occupy movement—the camera captures the chaotic scene as it gazes at Hong Kong's iconic skyscrapers lit up with celebratory slogans in red (see figure I.1). "Prosperous nation; flourishing families [*Guorong jiasheng*]," the

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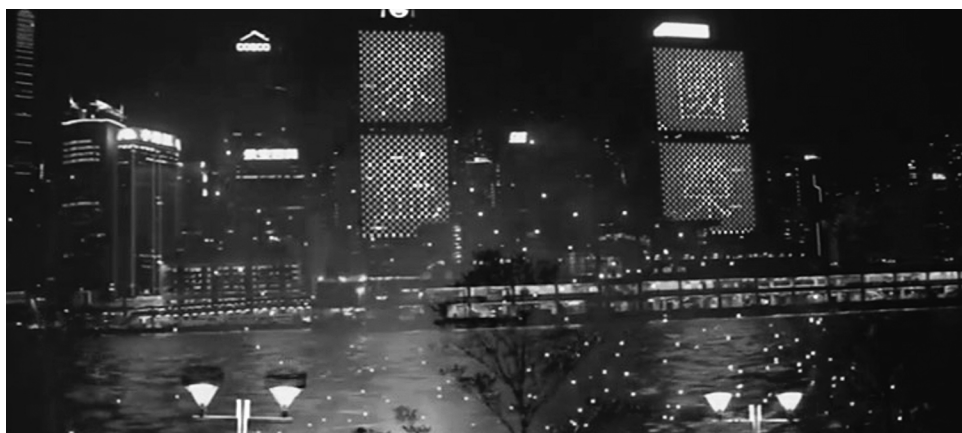


FIGURE 1.1. The camera in *Yellowing* (2016) captures the chaotic scene of the Umbrella Movement as it gazes at Hong Kong's iconic skyscrapers lit up with celebratory slogans in red.

slogan says. Yet it is unclear who the families are and what defines wealth and prosperity. Accentuated as part of the ordinary landscape of post-handover Hong Kong, the image complicates the meaning of “one country, two systems,” in which the imaginary coexistence of socialism and capitalism rehearses a futurity that I theorize as neoliberal post-socialism, referring to a deterritorialized form of market post-socialism and a new global system without a (proper) name that is actively reshaping the lived conditions of the present. The combination of neoliberalism and post-socialism puts the conventional definitions of these terms into question and probes the socialist origin of neoliberalism, suggesting a globally expanding market economy without *laissez-faire* that depends on state intervention, wherein the definition of the state and its relationship with the market undergoes radical transformations.

The Chinese state's suppression of a protest movement demanding political sovereignty and freedom in Hong Kong—a space of neoliberal post-socialist experimentation—illustrates that freedom under “one country, two systems” is a flexible façade, its meaning subject to infinite manipulation and redefinition. The gap between the freedom of free trade and the freedom to perform political sovereignty only highlights the centralized flexibility of neoliberal post-socialist state power rather than its diminishment. Putting the spatial and temporal assumptions of Chinese post-socialism into ques-

tion, the script in red captured in *Yellowing* that is written into Hong Kong's urban landscape suggests a new direction of critical inquiry—specifically, a form of post-socialism in a formerly nonsocialist region of Asia that demands new understandings of what the *post-* in post-socialism means and how its versatility is deployed to dissolve and articulate new borders in the aftermath of the Cold War.

In *Yellowing's* opening scenes, the camera wavers between the spectacles above and below, until they are merged in the same frame, contiguous and indistinguishable. The cuts and movements of the camera suggest the desire to evoke the invisible interrelations in an intensifying ecology of violence that lies beyond the literal representation of clashing police and protesters in a political and economic zone of exception. The force of the images is further conveyed through the film's soundtrack, where the sounds of exploding tear gas canisters and fireworks are mixed with the cry of the crowd, transforming distant images of the protest into an intimate sensory experience. As if tracing the imperceptible connections between two urban landscapes and their incomprehensible juxtaposition, the camera is guided and motivated by an invisible force, a public sentiment that this book investigates: the *urban horror* that springs up when the excesses of contemporary violence embedded in the neoliberal production of space overwhelm the existing frames of cognition. The visible becomes illegible and is deployed in the film to highlight the gap between conflicting realities that are associated with Hong Kong—one as the territory of China, and the other one as a sovereign land. The revolution takes place not only on the street but also in a film produced after the assembly of protesting bodies in the Umbrella Movement came to an end. Rather than a memorial of the demonstration, *Yellowing's* treatment of footage taken during the protest is an experiment with the future of the image. The urban protest has ceased. Yet the potentiality of the image in an image-saturated world has not been fully explored. Drawing attention to urban horror allows for a discussion of the speculative forces of cinema from the 1990s to the present. *Urban horror* is the term I use to denote an emergent horizon of affects, indicating a communicative network of emotions where cumulative intensities of feelings that are searching for new forms of expression travel and disseminate through mediated informational and sensory channels. Looking at cinema from this period urges us to reimagine resistance *after* the presumed end of revolutionary times, in the aftermath of the end of revolutionary Chinese socialism and the catastrophic Tiananmen Square protest of 1989.

Urban Horror: Toward a Theory of Marxist Phenomenology

Distinct from the legible forms of Euro-American gothic literature and the Hollywood-centric horror genre that already propose a provocative history of monstrous bodies and their relations to the violence of capitalism (e.g., Dr. Frankenstein's monster, Dracula, the phantom of the opera, etc.), urban horror continues this line of inquiry but shifts focus to the post-Cold War, contemporary Sinophone world, including China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Here the continuities and discontinuities of socialist, post-socialist, capitalist, and neoliberal economic histories pose new questions about the relationship between aesthetics (i.e., the forms of cultural ambivalence and resistance) and politics (i.e., the geopolitical and economic system shaping global orders). This relationship is particularly relevant for the time period under discussion, in which the era of neoliberal post-socialist economic transformation corresponds to the era of hypermediality, referring to the transformations in the meaning of the image and its relation to the concept of reality, when the production of the image no longer depends on an externally existing reality and now exists in the realm of digital technologies and computer algorithms.¹ In this book about the aesthetics of cinema—with discussions of texts that were produced when the concept of the image and its power to shape reality underwent fundamental changes during the media revolution after the Cold War—the motivating question concerns how the cinematic aesthetics of urban horror play a role in dramatizing, influencing, and shaping future urban revolutions that may or may not ever be actualized.

Horror—a socially produced affect that responds to contemporaneous forms of violence and that is basically antirepresentational but requires a form of representation—has produced a new species of monstrous bodies in the Euro-American tradition since the Industrial Revolution. Proposing a Marxist sociology of the modern monster, Franco Moretti links the emergence of capitalism and nineteenth-century monsters: “The fear of bourgeois civilization is summed up in two names: Frankenstein and Dracula.” Interpreting both as “totalizing” monsters that are distinct from earlier bodies of monstrosity, Moretti reads Dr. Frankenstein's monster as “a pregnant metaphor of the process of capitalist production, which forms by deforming, civilizes by barbarizing, enriches by impoverishing—a two-sized process in which each affirmation entails a negation.” Whereas Frankenstein's monster resembles the conditions of the proletariat, denied a name and individuality, Dracula represents the antirepresentational Capital itself, alluding to an incorporeal vampiric body of accumulation that “impelled towards a continuous growth, an unlimited expansion of his domain.”² Jack Halberstam

further suggests a Foucauldian approach to historically shifting concepts of monstrosity when he traces a new genealogy of horror in a combined study of nineteenth-century gothic literature and twentieth-century horror films. Calling for an investigation of specific racialized and sexualized bodies and the social affects they mediate, Halberstam's analysis of gothic horror, which begins with Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and ends with Dr. Hannibal Lecter in *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991), illustrates that monstrosity is a historically contingent concept shaped by the technologies of representation.³ Yet, as this genealogy of gothic horror that extends from literature to contemporary Euro-American film culture suggests, the notion of totalizing monsters whose bodies provide an identifiable form of representation amid contemporaneous, antirepresentational systems of violence has witnessed a change in recent decades. The bodies of monstrosity continue to exist but are regenrefied through waves of commodified nostalgia in the form of remakes and sequels. The bodies of hybrid humans-machines as well as vampires and zombies still serve as cultural metaphors for anxieties over capitalist accumulation, technological advancement, and the alienation of human labor. However, the emergence of cultural texts without an identifiable agent of horror, where monstrous bodies are replaced by nature, an invisible virus, or another unspecified calamity, suggests a diffusion of body-centered horror and an increasingly noticeable gap between currently existing cultural forms of representation and the excesses of contemporary systems of violence that await naming. The study of neoliberal, post-socialist urban horror takes up this gap and theorizes the historical conditions leading up to the diffusion of horror.

Before introducing the geopolitical and economic transformations of neoliberal post-socialism and the new aesthetic forms of urban horror, the term *horror* requires more careful theorization. The brief history of Euro-American gothic horror presented above complicates the meaning of *horror*, especially when the term is conflated with the study of horror as a genre. The word refers to a commodity of attraction where monstrosity is exhibited as a spectacle, producing sensationalized social affects that allow spectators to enjoy the feelings of thrill and fear that are sold as horror; it also suggests an elusive sensory communicative channel, where the excessiveness and incomprehensibility of the global systems that shape the conditions of everyday life emerge as sights and sounds that overwhelm the senses and the capacity to think. Rather than pursuing a horror genre study where the focus is often on categorizing a collection of cultural texts and figures using a legible convention—generally already defined in the aesthetic and

economic traditions of Euro-American productions of body-centered horror—my interest lies in the second definition, which opens up horror as a historical mode of perception arising when the perceived external reality exceeds one's internal frame of comprehension.

To further elaborate on this definition of horror as a constantly morphing assemblage of social forces that conjure different bodies, spaces, temporalities, images, and sounds—rather than a scripted and commodified feeling that is presumed to be uniform throughout history and across languages and cultures—we can examine the history of horror in Chinese cinema. Introduced as part of urban spectacle and consumer culture in Republican Shanghai, Ma-Xu Weibang's *Song at Midnight* (*Yeban gesheng*, 1937) is recognized as the first Chinese horror film. It is modeled after Rupert Julian's Hollywood film *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925), which in turn is based on French writer Gaston Leroux's serialized novel depicting a ghost-like, disfigured man who haunts the Paris Opera House. Ma-Xu obsessed over makeup artistry, and the film's success in introducing a sensationalized grotesque body was further amplified by the technology of sound. Due to sound media's dissemination of the film's theme songs, the phantom's presence did not depend on the theatrical release of the film but could be found in any space in the urban fabric connected by sound technology. As Zhang Zhen argues, *Song at Midnight* introduced an acoustic horror to Chinese cinema, where the technologies of sound combined with the visual techniques of making monsters on screen, leading to the film's unrivaled popularity.⁴ However, like the careers of many other Shanghai filmmakers of the Republican era, Ma-Xu's work was interrupted by the Chinese Civil War (1945–49) fought between the Chinese Communist Party and the Guomindang Party following the end of World War II.

The account of the horror genre's origin in China reveals, first, the displacement of a Shanghai filmmaker to Hong Kong in the postwar era, where Ma-Xu continued to make sequels to *Song at Midnight*, and, second, the obscured history of “Chinese horror” as an artistic experimentation with a Western form and a part of a globally circulating cosmopolitan urban culture that was produced in a semicolonial Chinese port city. As one of the first treaty ports opened to free trade with the West after the First Opium War in 1842, Shanghai was ruled under semicolonialism, the city divided into concessions that were ceded to foreign control. Produced under the condition of semicolonialism, the horror that was born in the city does not speak to the realities of colonialism but rather presents itself as a cinematic and technological attraction. Flaunting itself as an artistic achievement that longs

for the film spectators' acknowledgment, the monster in *Song at Midnight* does not hide behind the camera but longs to be seen. To further enhance the pleasures of the Chinese phantom as a cinematic spectacle, the phantom is given the benevolent identity of a leftist revolutionary who fought against feudal landlords. Calling the Chinese phantom Song Danping a "benevolent monster," Yomi Braester further notes the creation of this Chinese monster as part of a "theatrical phantasmagoria."⁵ Changing the urban setting of *The Phantom of the Opera* to an unspecified scenic countryside in *Song at Midnight*, the Chinese adaptation stays away from the space of semicolonialism, so the phantom's disfigured and scarred face can be loved as a humanized spectacle in a cinematic excursion to the countryside.

In a milieu filled with the desire to become modern—to be contemporaneous with the cultural and artistic metropolitan West without confronting the colonial West—*Song at Midnight's* obsession with new cinematic aesthetics and technologies associated with cosmopolitan horror is representative of the political unconscious that motivated the production of Shanghai modernisms.⁶ Instead of presenting a Shanghai urbanscape that was fissured and controlled by competing Western colonial powers, *Song at Midnight* is arguably celebrating the Chinese reinvention of commodified Euro-American horror. The sensationalized horror that the film associates with the phantom's disfigured body remains a part of Shanghai's New Sensationalism, which flourished before the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. A critical rereading of Chinese horror's origin story reveals that the body-centered horror genre is a globally circulating commodity and an aesthetics of cultural translation. The camera's love of the phantom's face, seen in prolonged close-ups and multiperspective angle shots, evokes the fascination and allure with cosmopolitan urban culture rather than the communicative channel of emergent feelings that respond to the contemporaneous forms of systematized violence. The horror associated with *Song at Midnight* refers to a commodified thrill and not the sentiment that arises in the face of an unnamable crisis. Therefore, distinguishing horror as a commodified genre and a sensory communicative channel poses new questions about the history of horror in modern China, especially while considering the socialist era and the socialist realist cinema that indirectly banned the production of horror genre films. This distinction also opens up a new breadth of texts across multiple genres that probe the meaning of horror as the gap of cognition produced under the intensive conditions of capitalist, socialist, and neoliberal post-socialist economic developments.

According to Rei Terada's historicization of feelings in theory, drawing from the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Gilles Deleuze, and others, emotions arise from the gap between one's perceived interiority and the realities that are associated with the external world. For this reason, emotions always already exceed the limit of one's imagined subjecthood. And the emergence of emotions depends on a phenomenological process in which human feelings (i.e., the biological, the interior, the subjective, etc.) are the result of sociopolitical processes.⁷ Terada's analysis sheds new light on the common narrative that emotions are an expression of an ingrained and universal human nature, leading to new questions about the normative definition of horror as the expression (i.e., externalization) of an internally existing and innate subjective feeling. For this reason, this book theorizes horror as the torsion between socially constructed interiors and exteriors and moves away from the expressive hypothesis of emotion. As illustrated in *Yellowing's* evocation of contemporary Hong Kong as sights and sounds that are visible but incomprehensible—where a perceived externality exceeds the audience's previously existing frame of interior cognition—the question that emerges is the role of visual media in creating public sensory channels that are actively producing feelings of not knowing how to feel and disseminating sentiments and affects that are in search of reactions to a newly discovered present. Accentuating the gap between vision and cognition, contemporary urban horror is consciously produced and sustained. The emergence of horror means the paralysis of the former order of the world and its system of signification, revealing them as the structures that condition our knowledge of the world and potentially igniting what Jacques Rancière calls a revolution of the sensible world.⁸

From the comparative analysis of Euro-American and Chinese horror genres, it becomes clear that horror as a commodity genre and horror as a sociopolitical sentiment of potential dissent are distinct. Whereas the former has generated distinguished studies, thinking about the latter kind of horror requires a new genealogy of the history of feelings in political theory. The affective excess that the camera in *Yellowing* evokes highlights the social function of horror as a communicative channel of public sentiment that was already present in nineteenth-century Marxist urban theory based on industrializing European cities. The sentiments and affects that were disseminated in the critique of capitalism have a specific urban setting that probes the relationship between capitalism and the systematized production of space. To further theorize the circulation of contemporary urban horror, an early Marxist text that describes the emergence of factory towns helps

shed light on, first, the phenomenological method of observing the impact of the industrialization of space, and second, the birth of an industrial horror that belongs to the modern era. Derived from Friedrich Engels's early writing, in a text that I read as a Marxist phenomenological treatise on an English factory town, horror performs the role of describing the sentiment that arises when human subjects are seen as no longer commensurable with the abstracting industrial landscape. In classical Marxian theory, questions about the modern city never have the same scope as they do in Engels's early work.⁹ In *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Engels records his experience working at his father's cotton mill in the factory town of Manchester from 1842 to 1844. In chapters that detail the urban sensoria he experienced as a young adult—from the sights and smells of workers' dwelling spaces and their deteriorating bodies, to the emergence of new slums amid the infrastructural network of industrial railways and bridges—the visible sight of Manchester paradoxically became incomprehensible. He writes, "Everything which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the *industrial epoch*."¹⁰ "Horror," in this case, is not used to preach moralism and resentment, an approach that can obscure and paralyze the potential for radical critique. Rather, Engels's statement draws a distinction between the perceived reactive sensations and the true causes of the problem that remain in the dark. A set of implied questions emerges regarding the horror and indignation that are tied to the industrial epoch—an industrial horror. Already suggesting a Marxian structure of feeling, the affects that pervade Engels's urban treatise refer not to inherent humanist expressions but to emotive categories that are created in the abstracting system of capitalist industrial modernity. The horror is socially produced and refers to a set of social relations that materialized in a quintessentially capitalist affect that ramifies through homogenizing processes of global urbanization. The work that horror performs here is the opening of a phenomenological channel of perception that introduces the body as a perceptive surface where the external conditions of capitalist abstraction are producing a new kind of human sensation, appearing whenever a gap is opened between one's imagined interior reality and the perceived external world. Once the gap closes, horror disappears, or becomes the conventional, scripted horror that no longer unsettles the perception of reality.

The Condition of the Working Class in England represents an early Marxist critique of the capitalist production of space that also probes the potentialities of an industrial horror in rehearsing and inciting future revolutions. The text is a performative theorization of not only a capitalist affect but also

the emergence of Marxist phenomenology, a method of inquiry that unravels the human sensorium as the torsion of interiorities and exteriorities, wherein lies the desires, anxieties, ambivalences, and potential strategies of resistance toward an invisible totality called Capital. The emphasis on capitalism alone was further complicated, considering the histories of socialisms that competed with the capitalist mode of production that climaxed during the twentieth century. To trace the genealogy of Marxist phenomenology against the backdrop of intensifying urbanization of the last century, the writings of the urban theorist Henri Lefebvre and the phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty bring into view a set of historical mediations and debates on the body as a surface of perception and a site of individual consciousness when the boundary between capitalism and socialism that produces military-industrial urbanization began to blur.

The question of individuality and individual consciousness in the Marxist imaginary of collective action and revolution represents a particular strand of Marxist intellectual history, present in the work of Marx, Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, Georg Lukács, and Antonio Gramsci.¹¹ The theoretical inquiry into the place for subjects and subjecthood in Marxist thought became the foundation for existential Marxism in postwar European society. Represented by the works of Jean-Paul Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, their contribution (especially the latter's) to Marxist theory remains an ongoing theoretical debate. Sartre's visit to China in 1955, for example, opens up a new intellectual horizon for thinking about Sino-French Marxist humanism during the Cold War as an important component of the global 1960s.¹² Compared to Sartre, whose name is often associated with Marxist thinkers of the same generation, the ambiguity of Merleau-Ponty's Marxist writings and his early death contributed to the underexploration of his existential Marxism.¹³ In addition to Merleau-Ponty's multiple books on the subject of Marxism in response to Lukács, G. W. F. Hegel, and the young Marx, *Phenomenology of Perception*, *Humanism and Terror*, and the later *Adventures of the Dialectic* represent an extensive body of work that wrestles with the relationship between phenomenological inquiry and Marxist historical materialism. For example, in "Marxism and Philosophy," Merleau-Ponty explains the linkage between Marxism and phenomenology: "If it is neither a 'social nature' given outside ourselves, nor the 'World Spirit,' nor the movement appropriate to ideas, nor collective consciousness, *then what is, for Marx, the vehicle of history and the motivating force of the dialectic?* It is man involved in a certain way of appropriating nature in which the mode of his relationship with others takes shape; it is concrete human intersub-

jectivity, the successive and simultaneous community of existences in the process of self-realization in a type of ownership which they both submit to and transform, each created by and creating the other.”¹⁴ For Merleau-Ponty, the phenomenological method does not attribute human experience to reactive responses toward external stimuli, nor does it attribute human experience to consciousness that springs from an internal essence. Rather, it is a critical inquiry that theorizes the body-subject in motion and that looks at how concepts of the world are formed through mobile perspectives and intersubjectivity. Through continuously forming relations that blur the boundaries of the body-world-beyond, the phenomenological theory of the body is already a theory of perception, as Merleau-Ponty suggests in *The Phenomenology of Perception*.¹⁵ Opening up the field of perception as the site of an infinitely expandable torsion of the exterior and interior worlds, phenomenology suggests an open-endedness and temporality to social relations that are also at the core of Marx’s theory of Capital, in which Marx theorizes Capital not as a thing but as a “social relation of production.”¹⁶ A person, a thing, or a machine becomes a part of Capital only when it is entered into a social relation of production. Marxism and phenomenology’s shared emphasis on intersubjectivity and social relation as infinitely expandable processes binds them together and opens up room for potential collaboration.

In the writings of Lefebvre, exemplified by *The Production of Space* (*La production de l’espace*) that critiques the competitive Cold War urban industrial development in both capitalist and socialist blocs, Marxist phenomenology can be further explored with Lefebvre’s elusive theorization of “lived experience” and “lived space” as strategies of resistance. Emphasizing that “space” is not a thing but a cumulative process of rendering space reproducible, Lefebvre’s Marxist urban theory moves through different spatial categories, beginning with absolute space, transitioning to abstract space and contradictory space, and ending with differential space as the site of consciousness and the locus of the performative production of differences.¹⁷ In addition to writing against the systematized abstraction of space, *The Production of Space* is also a theory that speculates the place and role of the body in producing the space of resistance. Specifically, the meaning of the book’s title is twofold: one refers to the production of “space” by rendering space into a thing-like object and repeatable procedures, and another refers to the production of the space of resistance. Appearing throughout the text, the body figures centrally as another type of space. For example, Lefebvre asks:

Can the body, with its capacity for action, and its various energies, be said to create space? Assuredly, but not in the sense that occupation might be said to “manufacture” spatiality; rather, there is an immediate relationship between the body and its space, between the body’s deployment in space and its occupation of space. Before *producing* itself by drawing nourishment from that realm, and before *reproducing* itself by generating other bodies, each living body *is* space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space. This is a truly remarkable relationship: the body with the energies at its disposal, the living body, creates or produces its own space; conversely, the laws of space, which is to say the laws of discrimination in space, also govern the living body and the deployment of its energies.¹⁸

Using a set of vocabulary that evokes the “living” body—rhythms, gestures, beyond “subject” and “object”—Lefebvre treats the body as an “enigma” that has the capacity to “produce differences ‘unconsciously’ out of repetitions.” The capitalist production of objectified space is countered with body-centered spatial practices that can arguably take any form, as they emerge out of contingency. Lefebvre’s Marxist phenomenological theorization of the body stops here, reaching a limit and leaving the “differential body” to the imagination. What the “body” means is never clarified in Lefebvre’s prolific writings. Not referring to the biological body, it becomes instead an elusive synonym for a set of spatial and temporal practices that produce what Lefebvre describes as “energies,” “laws of space,” “occupation,” and “spatiality.”¹⁹ The temporal dimension of the differential body is central to his theorization of resistance, for it implies repetition, dispersal, and dissemination—in other words, an unspecified network of communication that extends from the body to the ultimate transformation and disruption of the urban fabric, leading to the discussion of the dissemination of contemporary urban horror and cinema’s role in helping to produce a *different* space.

In texts that were written in response to the global urban uprisings of 1968 with a vantage point of continental Europe, Lefebvre’s elusive descriptions of the “differential body” and “differential space” that are envisioned as embodied actions and performativity of resistance against both capitalism and socialism pose old and new questions to the neoliberal post-socialist system that arose in the aftermath of the Cold War. Highlighting the indistinguishability of capitalist and socialist production of space, Lefebvre’s Marxist phenomenology is already mapping the emergence of a mutative system—without a (proper) name—that thrives on the combined structure

of capitalism and socialism. To elaborate on the contemporary conditions producing the “urban” in urban horror, the next section focuses on the emergence of Chinese neoliberal post-socialism, a contemporary system beyond capitalism and socialism that resides in the imaginaries of the post-

Neoliberal Post-Socialism: A Globalizing System without a (Proper) Name

The juxtaposition of fireworks and police tear-gassing captured in *Yellowing* in a space like Hong Kong—a historical zone of exception that evolved from a colonial port city ceded to England in the nineteenth century to the PRC’s special administrative region after 1997—raises questions about the deployment of horror as a public sentiment of dissent in a documentary produced in the aftermath of the Umbrella Movement and about the evocation of a new system of political and economic extraction whose name is not yet determinable. The sights and sounds of urban horror the film disseminates are produced and mediated by a unique urbanscape that is constructed by spatial technologies that already exceed Engels’s description of a nineteenth-century factory town. Increasingly integrated in the archipelagoes of South China’s expanding special economic zones that are creating an underexplored history of global post-socialism, Hong Kong is a case that illustrates the post-socialist spatial technology of creating and managing proliferating zones of exception in and outside of post-socialist China for the purpose of political integration and financial profitability. I will leave the detailed study of post-socialism in Hong Kong to chapter 4. The evocation of the urban that now mediates the production of affect in the media of resistance requires a more detailed introduction, beginning with a fundamental rethinking of what Chinese post-socialism means, the kinds of deterritorializing histories it engenders, and the work that post- as a sliding signifier performs. It is one task to meticulously compile a post-socialist urban history that includes architectural designs, engineering blueprints, finance reports, and environmental evaluations for the numerous megaports, bridges, expressways, dams, canals, railways, and energy plants. It is another to theorize the “production of space” under the condition of Sinocentric neoliberal post-socialism, whose complexity I present below.²⁰

From the collapse of the Soviet Empire to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the past few decades have witnessed a surge of narratives recounting and imagining the end of socialism and the beginning of the neoliberal post-socialist era. However, as post- becomes a common trope used to describe the geopolitical and

economic relations between the capitalist and socialist blocs after the Cold War, the imagined spatiality of post-*socialism*—especially the issue of whether it is a phenomenon happening only within formerly socialist countries—highlights an area of opacity that the emphasis on neoliberal post-socialism addresses. As the dissolution of socialist state powers swept across Eastern Europe and China, creating a diverse variety of post-socialist pathways after 1989, what is commonly perceived as the end of the Cold War was in reality the beginning of a new historical moment that we can characterize as the era of neoliberal post-socialism.²¹ Distinct from the post-socialism that refers to the historical transformation of the juridical, economic, and political structures of formerly socialist states and societies, neoliberal post-socialism refers to the ongoing formation and rearticulation of the geopolitical relations between formerly socialist and nonsocialist countries in the era of the post-. Considering their intensifying economic, political, and cultural interdependence, where post-socialism begins and where it ends becomes conceptually blurred. Yet the idea of a world that has moved past Cold War divisions seeps into the political unconscious of the global post-socialist world and motivates new financial, infrastructural, technological, and transnational neocolonial projects. A new logic of the post- is at work, and calls for an excavation of the post— a site where the anticipation of the post- generates lived global histories that expand like a rhizome with incommensurable differences—that each chapter of this book presents. The attention to lateral and comparative histories of post-socialism—with special attention to the formation of post-socialist relations between the PRC and the rest of the world—is the underlying theme that motivates this study.

To analyze the new logic of the post-, one needs to consider its proliferation in the post-Cold War era. As post-socialism became ubiquitous in describing the end of socialism during the early 1990s, the idea of post-capitalism—an information-based knowledge society that ended capitalism as the developed First World knew it—was also being introduced.²² The coexistence of these notions emphasizes how the iterations of post-Cold War geopolitical relations are in search of a new name and a new spatial-temporal metaphor. The crisis of socialism also reflects the crisis of capitalism, highlighting a bigger issue that remains elusive and opaque. Rather than making a case for the end of either socialism or capitalism, neoliberal post-socialism considers their interrelation and reads the proliferation of the post- as the symptom of a new economic rationality: the logic of the post-X.

Although the post- is commonly associated with a mode of anticipation that evokes a different future path, the temporal logic embedded in the rhetoric of post-socialism is paradoxically hyphenated and reverts back to

socialism. The anticipation is built upon a mode of regression, where the future is conceptualized through indeterminable relations with a former system that is neither alive nor dead. Rather than describing a new era to come, the post- conjoins a suspended future with a reimagined past. The result is a new mode of temporality characterized by infinite deferment and a prolonged anticipation of a future that may never come. The global post-socialist condition can thus be characterized as a perpetually extended *present* that renders the traditional categories of past, present, and future obsolete (see chapter 3).²³ Therefore, I use the post- not to describe the era following the end of the Cold War but to ask how the post- is put to work as a temporalized and spatialized imaginary in the production of post-socialism as a global reality. The new global condition that characterizes the present is not so much the end of socialisms as the emergence of a post-X logic, where the allusive power of the post- and the conjoining effect of the hyphen contribute to an extended and intensified present, leaving in question the place of the past, the role of the future, and the power of the post- that subjects both to infinite redefinitions.

The post- as an active cultural field that is continuously remade to rehearse the desires and anxieties of an era can be glimpsed from the term's intellectual history in English-language scholarship. In the year of the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989, Arif Dirlik described post-socialism in a hopeful light, calling it "a radical vision of the future" that "offers the possibility in the midst of a crisis in socialism of rethinking socialism in a new, more creative ways."²⁴ Still envisioning a distinction between post-socialism and capitalism in a text written in the 2000s, Xudong Zhang describes the post- in post-socialism as a potential space of resistance against global capitalism: "Like the prefix *post-* in *post-colonialism*, the *post-* in *post-socialism* indicates a new socioeconomic and cultural-political subjectivity which prefigures the new but is embedded in an order of things that does not readily recognize the ideological claim, political legitimacy, and cultural validity of capitalist globalization for the totality of human history and its future horizon."²⁵ Yet in his study of emergent post-socialist cultural forms of the 1990s and 2000s and their relationship with market forces, Jason McGrath defines post-socialism as global capitalism: "I argue that not only have the forces of marketization resulted in a new cultural logic in China, but this development is part of a global condition of post-socialist modernity and must be understood in the context of the history of the global capitalist system, which not only transforms China but also is thereby transformed."²⁶ Rather than a stable and consistent concept, the meaning of the post- evolved from

a utopianized beginning of a new era to the synonym of global capitalism, revealing the function of the post- as a sliding signifier that mediates the relationship between China's past and future, while both are subject to infinite reconstructions. Absent from these definitions is the consideration of post-socialism(s) that can no longer be contained in the territorial borders of formerly socialist countries, as a globally imagined post- shifts the course of history and spatial expansion after the Cold War.

Temporal anticipation defines the global condition of post-socialism, referring not only to the disintegration of an organized alternative to capitalism but also to an emergent post-socialist economic rationality, where the post- becomes an essential instrument for maximizing and managing a conceptual space of flexible ambiguity that aids the creation of transterritorial, neoliberal technologies of economic extraction and political integration. Instead of periodizing a bygone era that is no longer relevant in the temporal logic of global capitalism—with the assumption that post-socialism is an interchangeable synonym for global capitalism—I examine post-socialism as a present global condition affecting the entire world, with an emphasis on Chinese post-socialism as a mutative and transregional imaginary creating concrete post-socialist histories in the PRC and the Sinophone world beyond.²⁷ I choose the phrase *Chinese post-socialism* rather than “PRC post-socialism” to invoke the flexibility and ambiguity that are associated with the former in the creation of transregional economic integration. The post- refers to an empty signifier where tangible historical meanings and consequences are created, as the prefix is claimed and reclaimed in different geopolitical and national contexts. Evoking a future that is framed as the aftermath to an obfuscated past, the structure of the post-X—with the emphasis on the post- and a system that conjoins—captures the underlying operational techniques in the mutative system of neoliberal post-socialism, where the contingent iterations of neoliberalism depend on the condition of global post-socialism.

The term *neoliberal post-socialism* arises out of the desire to theorize an impasse in the study of the contemporary Sinophone world after China implemented economic reform policies in 1978. The crisis manifests most visibly in the static language available to describe the decades of economic and political expansions and integrations that have taken place across and beyond the Sinophone world. From socialism with Chinese characteristics to market socialism, late socialism, and post-socialism, to capitalism, late capitalism, state capitalism, and neoliberalism, the proliferation of terms and conceptual frameworks used to identify China's state-managed and globally

expansionist economic development suggests a new global phenomenon that struggles to find a language of articulation.²⁸

Decades have passed since China entered the era of economic reform. The events that followed signaled for many the beginning of a new era when the globalization of capitalism was conflated with the promise of individual freedom and democracy.²⁹ However, amid the familiar narrative describing China's liberation from a Cold War totalitarian socialist regime, the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989 broadcast to the world that the post- in Chinese post-socialism has distinct meanings in the economic and political realms. The "freedom" associated with the "free" market economy is only a flexible façade, subject to infinite redefinition. The utopic and ambiguous myth of a democracy expanding through market forces rebounded, leaving behind shock and disappointment but also the searing inscriptions of a new post-socialist economic rationality that now creates its own kind of mutative state apparatus. Under neoliberal post-socialism, the state can no longer be understood as the centralized locus of political and economic sovereignty but has instead become what Michel Foucault describes as the *mobile effect* of multiple governmentalities that produce and organize the condition for freedom.³⁰ The new state in the post-socialist world is therefore best characterized by its mutative contingency rather than by a traditional decision-making center.

The question raised by acts of state violence in post-socialist times—the Tiananmen massacre, the civil unrest in Xinjiang, the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong, the political suppression of Tibet and Taiwan, and many more that remain unnamed—is captured in the intensification of transnational Sinocentric economic integration, financial speculation, and trans-Asian infrastructural urbanization—in other words, the contradiction between economic freedom and the political undoing of freedom. Here transnational Sinocentric economic integration is used to describe Chinese post-socialism as a deterritorializing machine of desires that produces speculative fantasies of limitless and borderless economic accumulation and growth, with the PRC as the nexus of these desires. Some observers attribute contemporary state violence to the Cold War narrative of socialist totalitarianism, while others dismiss the escalating regional tension as due to China's domestic and international problems. But neither claim provides the tools to theorize an emerging system that challenges the conventional origin story that capitalism, including its advanced form of neoliberalism, emanates from the West and expands worldwide. In Foucault's theorization of neoliberalism in postwar Germany, France, and the United States, he distinguishes between liberalism

and neoliberalism. The difference resides not in the state's adoption of new market-oriented policies but in a fundamental redefinition of the state itself: instead of an autonomous governing entity, the state has become the mobile effects of a new order of economic rationality.³¹ Contradicting the common belief that neoliberalism is the withering away of the state through practices that maximize deregulation and nonintervention (the classic ingredients of laissez-faire economics), the neoliberal world that Foucault describes has a market economy without laissez-faire and depends on state intervention. Fundamentally, the relationship between the market and the state shifted in the neoliberal era, and the state can no longer be understood as an autonomous source of power. Foucault writes, "Government must accompany the market economy from start to finish. The market economy does not take something away from government. Rather, it indicates, it constitutes the general index in which one must place the rule for defining all governmental action. *One must govern for the market, rather than because of the market.*"³² The overlapping intensification of state violence, surveillance, and state-managed neoliberalism in the Sinocentric post-socialist world suggests a different origin story. Yet it remains unclear what has emerged. How do we comprehend a "neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics" that exposes the assumptions of a Eurocentric capitalist and neoliberal developmentalist model? How do we decipher the intricate mechanisms and lived experiences of a Sinocentric "Chinese neoliberalism" with full acknowledgment of the flexibility and ambiguity of these terms?³³

A new type of neoliberal state has arisen in the People's Republic of China—a regime alternately called authoritarian socialist, post-socialist, and post-capitalist—that operates according to the logic of the post-X. The shifting terms and conceptual frameworks capture the limits of the language available to describe neoliberalism, especially its relationship to an Asia that has historically been relegated to passively receiving capitalist imperialism—a history that has led Western philosophy to speculate about how the "lack" of an indigenous capitalism in Asian countries subjected these countries to the violence of imperialism. Naming this tendency the "white mythologies" of Western philosophy, Shih Shu-mei highlights the way China is discussed in Hegel, Marx, and Max Weber. These eminent figures provide interconnected theories on the lack of the concept of freedom, the depth of interiority, and the desire to conquer nature in Chinese society, all of them contributing to the notion of incommensurability between China and global capitalism.³⁴ Chinese historians' critiques of global capitalism during the socialist era further encouraged the idea that capitalism was a totalizing sys-

tem that existed elsewhere and then entered an insulated China. Such claims are echoed in the common narrative that defines post-socialism as the final triumph of global capitalism, wherein the capitalist economic system—and more recently the neoliberal economic system—entered socialist China while transforming everything within. But this view obscures the fact that socialism and capitalism share a developmentalist logic that provides the basis for a new economic rationality in the era of the post-

When confronted with the expansion of Chinese state power that governs *for* the market with Chinese characteristics, the crisis induced by the global condition of post-socialism shifts from the expansion of neoliberalism, assumed to be a known global phenomenon that replaces capitalism, to a problem that is perceivable only in an unnamable economic rationality and that exists in fragile connection to what was known as socialism, capitalism, and neoliberalism. In the era of economic reform, “socialism with Chinese characteristics,” describing either an Asianized Chinese socialism or a late developmental stage of socialism (mirroring late capitalism), indicates the radical transformation of the state and its sociopolitical functions. The common rhetoric used to describe China’s state capitalism, authoritarian capitalism, or state neoliberalism indicates not adequate frameworks or proper names but a shadow archive of conceptual proximities that capture the difficulty of remapping an emergent power structure after the collapse of existing geopolitical imaginaries in the post-Cold War world.

From state-led economic reform policies and the strategic deployment of economic and political zones of exception (e.g., special economic zones and special administrative regions) to the recent Belt and Road Initiative (*yidai yilu*) that aims to create an integrated infrastructural network connecting China to Western and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Central, South, and Southeast Asia, the prominent role of the Chinese state in what has been theorized as a rapidly neoliberalizing global economy has become a hypervisible blind spot.³⁵ In David Harvey’s *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, where China is portrayed as a key player in the global economy since the 1970s, neoliberalism in China is given special treatment in the description “neoliberalism ‘with Chinese characteristics.’”³⁶ Unable to decipher China’s state-managed neoliberalism, Harvey’s term can be read as a rupture in neoliberalism’s apparent origin in capitalism, since China’s case clearly presents a different origin story rooted in state socialism. “Chinese characteristics” also offers more questions than answers. Namely, what does it mean to suggest that there is an “exception” to the economic model that explains the global expansion of neoliberalism? Does “neoliberalism with

Chinese characteristics” propose a specific “China model” that is replicable in other parts of the world?³⁷ Neither a representative history of neoliberalism nor the only text that deals with the nuanced relationship between Asia and neoliberalism, Harvey’s approach to Chinese post-socialism is reminiscent of the historical tension between Asia and capitalism in theoretical discourses that continues to the present day. Narratives on the origins of capitalism tend to view it as a Eurocentric economic system that manifests in the combined forms of European colonialism and imperialism, leading to post-colonial critiques of centers and peripheries as well as the temporal grid of advancement and backwardness.³⁸ The assumption that a totalizing system is moving across different countries, languages, and cultures predominates and has intensified in recent years, especially in the discourse of economic development used to describe the post-socialist world, where capitalism is perceived as expanding beyond its geopolitical borders and opening up formerly closed territories.

The genealogy of the crisis in language elucidates a new global impasse: the logic of the post-X, where the post- is affixed to existing namable systems not for the purpose of clarifying a future path or relationship with the past but to create a perpetual present that allows for maximum economic and political impunity. The problem of the present moment is not how to choose the perfect or politically correct word but the fact that no proper name can be selected for the new economic rationality that shapes a predatory global system. Due to the flexibility and ambiguity of the post-, a new neoliberal post-socialist system that strategically assigns vulnerability and profits from the management of precarity has come into being.³⁹ The post- is strategically deployed, managed, and instrumentalized to allow for complicit participation among both formerly socialist and nonsocialist countries in the development of new state and extrastate technologies of governmentality. The logic of the post-X—a temporal iteration of a teleological future that hinges on a strategically obfuscated relationship with an infinitely reimagined past—is at the core of a new global imaginary that depends on post-socialism as a global condition with concrete histories that await genealogical excavation.

The *Urban* in the Horror

The opacity of the post-X—an intensifying focus on the current practices of expansion and extraction that fade away the past and eradicate the future—provides the condition for a new Sinocentric expansionism that

has been transforming the physical landscape of China and its neighboring regions. With the aim of creating better connectivity and extending its military presence, China has been aggressively developing new spatial technologies on air, land, and maritime waters to connect old and new economic trade routes and initiate new pathways for military logistics. Expressways and train tracks cut across remote mountains and deserts, connecting Chinese cities to Central Asia and Europe. In addition, satellite megaports extend China's logistics routes to the maritime waters of South and Southeast Asian countries, while oil and gas pipelines grow between Central Asia and China. These techniques of infrastructural and urban expansionism raise new questions about how we understand post-socialist urbanization—as not only a domestic Chinese occurrence but also an expanding global phenomenon.⁴⁰

Under the guise of a flexible post-, new technologies of spatial management proliferate, including the practice of zoning, infrastructural diplomacy, the expansion of the urban fabric, land speculation, and dispossession.⁴¹ These technologies create new kinds of displacement that are both physical and psychological. The evocation of urban horror in the Hong Kong-produced film *Yellowing* proposes a new record of urban affect that demands a parallel examination of the spatial transformations that are produced under the neoliberal post-socialist condition, and cinema as a mediator and disseminator of emergent feelings that are produced in specific social settings. Before the question of cinematic mediation is addressed, the *urban* in the horror requires clarification.

Although Sinocentric urban development has homogeneity as its goal, it is never a homogeneous process. As new spaces are produced and rendered reproducible, new psychological structures and networks of communication emerge. Post-socialism means different opportunities—and the loss of opportunities—for various countries and groups of communities, creating dissimilar urban realities that confront distinctly gendered, ethnicized, and classed subjects. The moment has arrived to question the claim of authority given only to the *visible* evidence of urbanization that is already conditioned by a specific regime of visibility, where human subjects and other ecological actors are stripped away and rendered as blurred, omitted, and blotted blind spots by post-socialist economic rationality. The issue here is less a question of competing discourses of urban history and more the lack of critical analytical tools for remapping how the violence of space (as evolving technologies and procedures for managing and abstracting space) operates differently across the neoliberal post-socialist world.

The study of urban horror is not meant to designate the history of specific Chinese cities for two main reasons. The first concerns how space is approached in Marxist thought. Whereas Marx and Engels are invested in the space of production—the factory city, the production line, and the space and time of labor—Lefebvre extends these Marxian inquiries and draws attention to space as not merely a physical or architectural site but a process of rendering space reproducible through abstraction, homogenization, and repetition. As he points out, space is a live and mutative process of rendering rather than a stationary and unchanging object. Writing *The Production of Space* during the Cold War, Lefebvre explains the rationale for his treatise on the violence of objectification that intensifies under capitalism: “Perhaps it would make sense to decide without further ado to seek inspiration in Marx’s *Capital*—not in the sense of sifting it for quotations nor in the sense of subjecting it to the ‘ultimate exegesis,’ but in the sense of following *Capital*’s plan in dealing with space.” In a speculative mode, Lefebvre’s *Production of Space* and numerous books on the urban revolution do not apply Marxist thought to postwar European society, but rather take Marx and Engels’s initial inquiries as methodological leads in order to confront the new technologies of space that are produced in the advanced stages of capitalism, socialism, and neoliberalism. Writing about the urban as a problematic in both capitalist and socialist systems, Lefebvre raises crucial questions about the production of space that move beyond ideologically constructed dichotomies. For example, he asks, “Has state socialism produced a space of its own?”⁴² Concluding that it has not, he observes the similitude between the capitalist and the socialist production of space, paving the way for a future Marxist urban theory where we encounter Chinese post-socialism—a socialist regime that is strategically adopting and reinventing neoliberal economic techniques to manage its participation in the world market. In addition to indicating a possible socialist origin to neoliberalism, the post-X logic that characterizes the global condition of post-socialism has become the general means through which new technologies of space are deployed.

The second reason for not conceptualizing the book as an introduction to major urban transformations in specific Chinese cities is due to the elusiveness of the city as an analytical category. In the context of transnational post-socialist urbanization, where new procedures of producing, reproducing, abandoning, and marginalizing space have created numerous types of spaces (e.g., special economic zones, special administrative regions, science and industrial parks, and factory cities), the city as a historical category for analyzing urbanization provides only a limited vantage point. Rather than

focusing on Beijing, Hong Kong, and Taipei as the quintessential Chinese cities, the chapters unravel the violent process of *producing* these post-X spaces through the repeated subjections to techniques of dispossession, political integration, and zoning. Cities like Hong Kong and Shenzhen, for example, have become code names for spatial software to be copied and deployed elsewhere in the global proliferation of replicated space. Urban horror addresses not the specific history of each city's evolution but the new technologies of producing space that each city helps make visible. The problems they highlight are not unique but belong to a globalizing epidemic. As these spatial techniques are revised and redeployed, dispossession and inequality are programmed into the way space is reproduced, transmitting and mutating the origins of the problem. The *urban* in urban horror therefore is not used to indicate specific city-based studies but is meant to open up the city as a process that invokes a particular treatment of space to render it reproducible according to the logic of neoliberal economic expansionism and Sinocentric post-socialism.

The emergence of Engels's industrial horror corresponds to the global proliferation of factory towns that created a new spatial technology of economic extraction and industrial colonialism. Therefore the question that contemporary urban horror poses is the emergence and evolution of new methods of producing and managing space—embedded in socialist and post-socialist factory spaces (chapter 1), apartments and urban dwelling spaces as the mechanisms of maintaining gender hierarchy (chapter 2), the compression of space and the production of an intensive present (chapter 3), zoning and the creation of economic and political zones of exception (chapter 4), and the management of precaritized bodies (chapter 5). Responding and reacting to the invisible techniques and protocols of rendering space reproducible, new aesthetic forms emerge as they provoke, convey, and rehearse the elusive sentiment of horror that belongs to the neoliberal post-socialist epoch.

The goal of the book is thus not to take horror that is loosely defined as physical fright or fear as the framework of reading contemporary Chinese cinemas, but rather to collect a wide spectrum of sentiments and feelings circulating in the sensory network of cinema and ask: What does horror mean in the neoliberal post-socialist world? What are the images, people, temporalities, and spaces that are associated with the affect of horror? What are the aesthetic forms that now accommodate the excesses of systematized violence that redraw the boundary between the visible and the invisible, and the perceptible and imperceptible worlds? Shifting the focus from body-centered

horror that was produced in industrializing Euro-American societies to the diffusion of horror in contemporary Chinese cinemas, the emergence of urban horror on one hand suggests the changing scale of a global system that is no longer containable in perceivable bodies of monstrosity, and on the other hand stresses the importance of theorizing *relationalities*, where the body is a nodal point in the social network of relations that extend to the urban fabric and the manufactured environment beyond.

Speculating the Futures of Film: The Forces of Resistance in the Era of Hypermediality

To close this introduction, I return to Chan Tze-woon's *Yellowing* on Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement, a recent film that I choose to open the discussion of contemporary urban horror that explores the forces of resistance in the era of neoliberal post-socialism. In the book's collection of films from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan—including popular post-socialist nostalgia films, feminist blockbusters, experimental documentaries, commercial horror-comedies, art house films, and more—the mixing of genres is not meant to erase individual generic traditions and filmmaking practices but to suggest a way of capturing the circulation and accumulation of urban horror and the futurity of resistance that seep into different generic forms. The Umbrella Movement represents a visible point in recent history when embodied actions were taken against an accumulating history of making Hong Kong a space of exception. However, the images of ordinary citizens taking action against the unknown and the richness of other political performativities of protests that are surging and circulating in Chinese cinemas suggest the presence of an invisible archive of public sentiments, arising as the present becomes increasingly incomprehensible.

Across different genres, the rehearsal of urban horror implies the anticipation of a different futurity that is captured in *Yellowing's* documentary form, for instance. Composed of a series of video diaries where the same cast speaks to the camera and regularly records their thoughts and feelings during the protest, the dominant sentiment that motivates their performance is to leave records for the future—suggested by the film's Chinese title, *Luanshi beiwang* (Memorandums of troubled times)—as a reminder for themselves, for Hong Kong, and for the future world from where the revolution will be continued. Ending the film with a monologue from the aftermath of the Occupy movement, the filmmaker talks through a series of images: a shot of the wind blowing on the curtains in his studio in the present, excerpts of

the protesting footage, the tents that occupied the streets, the protesters who slept on the pavements, hands held tightly together to form a human shield, and more. Has the protest changed anything? The images are the only things left, as Chan says with a melancholic tone. Yet cutting to an interview with a young adult protester, who is asked to imagine whether he will be the same person in twenty years, the film ends with his reply: “If I were different, hit me hard and wake me up. Your film will be important evidence, to show me who I had been twenty years ago.” The statement is simple and common, conveying a documentary mode that treats the image as a retainer of the past. Yet the real question raised by the film that is made to visualize resistance lies in the nuanced change in the meaning of the image and image-making in the contemporary world. For the filmmaker and the filmed subjects in *Yellowing*, the Umbrella Movement refers not to the urban revolution that is contained in seventy-nine days of footage, but to a deterritorialized event that sets off a sensory revolution made up of infinite series of future virtual encounters that are mediated by the images they made. The film initiates communicational channels that expand through circulation, creating unpredictable results that are beyond the temporality and space of filmmaking. As the subjects speak intently in front of the camera, with full knowledge of the forces of disseminated images, their act of recording suggests a different understanding of mediated resistance in the era of hypermediality.

The production and dissemination of urban horror require a medium that opens sensory channels and circulates accumulated affect. The forces of resistance refer not simply to the change in the aesthetic style of horror (i.e., the transition from body-centered horror to the diffusion of horror), but to the fundamental change in the meaning of the image and of image-making practices in the era of hypermediality, when instantly transmitted sights and sounds of neoliberal post-socialism saturate technologically enhanced media cultures. The time period this book examines corresponds to major shifts in the geopolitical relations in Sinophone Asia after the putative end of the Cold War and to a transnational media revolution. From the invention of the Video Home System (VHS) in the late 1970s that destroyed the Asian film markets due to the prevalence of piracy, to the ubiquity of digital recording technologies in the 1990s that changed the logic of recording from reproduction to intervention and manipulation, the era of neoliberal post-socialism coincides with a time of radical transformations in the meaning of the image.⁴³

While it is possible to examine the post-Cold War era as the era of mass protests, democratization, human rights movements, and the recent Occupy

movements across the region, these forces of resistance cannot be fully understood without considering the fact that we have entered the era of hypermediality, when the fundamental definition of revolution is determined by the mediated meanings of images and sounds.⁴⁴ The revolution—as the physical gathering of protesting bodies—has undergone a dramatic transformation. The conventional logic of capture that relies on the notion of an original and the reproduction of mimetic copies has been subverted. The revolution can no longer be understood as the sequential movement from a preconstituted event to its capture on media technology but should instead be interpreted as precisely the *effect* of the image. As Rey Chow argues in the theorization of transmedial entanglements, reality in the contemporary world of hypermediality should be treated as the mobile assemblage and movements across multiple entangled media and cultural platforms. The traditional correspondent relationship between the original and the copy has collapsed, calling for a new metaphor for theoretical thinking in the twenty-first century. Chow writes, “Rather than reality being caught in the sense of being contained, detained, or retained in the copy-image (understood as a repository), it is now the machinic act or event of capture, with its capacity for further partitioning (that is, for generating additional copies and images ad infinitum), that sets reality in motion, that invents or makes reality, as it were.”⁴⁵ The cinematic dissemination of urban horror probes, therefore, not how the realities of social protests are represented in films but rather how the speculative futures of the image help create mobile realities wherein lie the forces of resistance.

The result of the speed and intensity of the production and circulation of the image, as Chow describes, is “the collapse of the time lag between the world and its capture.”⁴⁶ A new notion of reality emerged: reality is made *for* the image rather than the image’s representing a preexisting reality. This notion highlights how little we know about the potential futures of the image, which is an approximate term for the transmedial and multisensory spectrum of perception that suggests a possible revolution of the sensible world. From Walter Benjamin’s discussion of the waning of the aura in the age of mechanical reproduction to Jean Baudrillard’s theorization of the precession of simulacra where the signs of the real substitute for the real, the image in the tradition of Marxist criticism has been turned into a site for symptomizing commodity fetishism and value abstraction.⁴⁷ While it is well established that the image is moving further away from reality and has lost its representational power, the theoretical debates that center on mimesis and antimimesis have reached a limit. The challenge that confronts the contemporary

world as newer technologies of image capture and distribution continue to accelerate image reproduction and circulation is no longer the question of what is true or false. Rather, as the notion of a totalizing reality crumbles, the more urgent task is to acknowledge that the image has become *the condition of reality, before reality can be real*. A new logic of technologized visibility has emerged, where images are meant and required to produce new realities, perceptual frames, and the distribution of the sensible world. Visibility has become the constitutive condition of feelings, sensations, political domination, and public dissent that are premised upon speculations about the afterlife and futures of the image.

Like Rancière, I ask if there is another way to understand the relationship between aesthetics and politics, following decades of reading aesthetics as the reflection of politics. When the two are put in a hierarchical relationship (i.e., politics creates aesthetics), how does one reimagine a different political landscape and system? How does one create Lefebvre's differential space? Rancière opens up both aesthetics and politics for questioning. "Politics," in his usage, "revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time."⁴⁸ For Rancière, politics refers to the frame of the sensible world that separates the legible from the illegible, a frame that is constituted and determined by hierarchical power relations in the existing world. Resisting and reframing politics, Rancière's aesthetics is infused with revolutionary potentialities. Rather than a set of generic practices, aesthetics refers to the mode of *dis-sensus*, a term he uses to evoke the fracturing of social hierarchy, a process of reordering the senses, and the redistribution of the sensible world. Aesthetics is the revolution of the sensible world and the locus of the forces of resistance. The elusiveness of urban horror as emergent aesthetic forms draws upon the envisioned power of aesthetics. Regardless of the actions, inactions, and social movements they produce, cinema's rehearsal of public sentiments presents a new affective landscape that is actively revising the meaning of reality.

Although I use the term *film* to invoke the medium specificity of cinema, the ambiguity of what film or cinema is referring to when film is becoming digital offers, in fact, an opportunity to retheorize the question of medium specificity and mediation. The slippage among film, video, cinema, and multisensory image asks a different kind of question that suggests the affective sociality of what is approximated as film. The term is evocative of a dispersed and contingent network of circulation, constituting a mode of visibility that extends beyond the contents of the film—a reality that is set

in motion, connecting cinema to social movements, feminism, and political protests and giving rise to more social futurities that this book traces.

Chapters

Urban Horror begins with a historical study of the factory space—the quintessential figure in both capitalist and socialist mass dreams of industrial modernity—in cinematic representations. While theorizing the factory as a Foucauldian heterotopic space—an *othered* space that delineates a history of marginalization and reflects modernity's contingent imaginaries of economic centers and peripheries—chapter 1 traces the factory's marginalized significance in socialist and post-socialist Chinese cinema.⁴⁹ Addressing the cultural obsession with factory ruins in the global post-socialist era, the chapter historicizes the factory gate as a persisting cinematic technology that demonstrated the dichotomy between socialism and capitalism during the Cold War and framed post-socialism as a specific global imaginary in the aftermath of the Cold War. Departing from the conventional nostalgic approach to factory ruins in the post-socialist era, the chapter illustrates through a collection of factory films—including the Lumière brothers' first actuality film, the first and the last PRC factory films, and contemporary post-socialist factory ruin films—the enduring persistence of the factory gate in assigning socialist and capitalist values to the factory interior, wherein lies the space of work and production. Arguing that the post-socialist nostalgia for the socialist glorification of labor is nostalgia without origin, the chapter performs a socialist cognitive mapping based on two factory films released in the PRC in 1949 and 1976.⁵⁰ As they bracket the socialist era's visual spectrum, these Chinese factory films reveal not how socialism as an industrial system of production is seen but the many contradictions and impasses in a system constructed on the attempt to reverse capitalism, another antirepresentational system. The result is the infinite abyss of mirror reflections, a *mise-en-abîme* where the notion of the original is paralyzed. Given that socialism was never realized and lies beyond representation, the question that post-socialist factory ruin films pose is never a matter of socialism's disappearance. As global post-socialism continues to reinvent its own socialist past—reanimating the past as imagined from the present's perspective—we are confronted with the factory gate as a persisting mechanism of revelation and concealment that regulates the divide between the visible and the invisible world.⁵¹ Noting the contrast between the hypervisibility of the ruinous socialist-era factory and the oppressive invisibility of

new factory cities in China's special economic zones, the first chapter traces the factory's displacement in the mass dream of industrial modernity, which I argue is not the result of de-industrialization (or the disappearance of factories) but comes from the emergent neoliberal post-socialist regime of visibility that masks the global migration of production sites from developed countries to the special economic zones of Asia.

The second chapter examines the evocation of urban horror from a post-socialist feminist perspective, where I observe the emergence of *intimate dystopias* that critique the spectacle of Chinese post-socialist and masculinist phantasmagorias of the interior in filmmaker Li Shaohong's commercial blockbuster films on romance, love, and domesticity, produced in the 2000s.⁵² Emerging from decades of state feminism, where gender as a social category was violently subordinated under class interests, the imaginary of the post- in the post-socialist era further subjects femininity to the commodifying forces of the market, contrary to the common narrative of a post-socialist liberation of gender and sexuality.⁵³ Rather than taking feminism as a transhistorical and universal category, this chapter excavates the nuanced and complex meanings of femininity in order to theorize a space for post-socialist (nonstate) Chinese feminism.⁵⁴ Drawing on Li's ambivalent relationship with socialist (state) and post-socialist (market) femininities in a set of films about women and China's megatropolis, the chapter focuses on the 2000s as a significant decade of transition, when film as a medium became a commercial commodity after China's accession to the World Trade Organization.⁵⁵ In films that introduce an urbanscape centered on the everyday, the intimate spaces of gendered domestic life, and the post-socialist logic of interior design in urban apartments and lofts, the urban is deconstructed from within. Urbanization is cynically visualized as a spectacle of commodified interiors that give the illusion of living in a box in the theater of the world.⁵⁶ Adding a gendered twist to Benjamin's Marxist critique of the phantasmagorias of the interior, Li's feminist interior portrays a post-socialist masculinist urban (bodies-cities) network, where women are seen as displaced, homeless, and disappeared—physically, psychologically, and symbolically.⁵⁷ In the struggle for space, both the body and the city are portrayed as intimate dystopias, where the most familiar things become the most estranging sites of horror.⁵⁸

Chapter 3 addresses the rise of urban horror from the changing concept of time that is mediated by post-socialist Chinese documentary films, where an intensive present is seen replacing the traditional chronological succession of time and creating a crisis of memory in the digital age. Focusing

on the New Documentary Movement in the PRC that is also a movement of digital filmmaking, I read documentary films and their mediation and production of post-socialist temporalities through digital filmmaking techniques, including ruin gazing, forwarding and reversing, and accelerating and decelerating film speed. In a comparative study of experimental documentaries on post-socialist temporalities in Eastern Europe and China—including the work of Chantal Akerman, Cong Feng, and Huang Weikai—the chapter examines documentary’s performativities of time that illustrate the post- as a locus of desires and anxieties, backward and forward glances that create heterogeneous relationships—with their own economy of stasis, velocity, and speed—in relation to the homogeneous and teleological time of Capital. Each representation of time indicates a relationality and positionality toward the post- as a transitional device and foregrounds emergent public sentiments about the neoliberal myth of economic progress.

Contesting the existing spatial imaginary of post-socialism’s territoriality—deployed under the guise of neoliberal post-socialism’s deterritorialization and reterritorialization—chapter 4 performs a speculative reading of post-socialism in Hong Kong and locates a transnational neoliberal post-socialist history in a formerly nonsocialist region. Reading the Umbrella Movement as a recent rupture of accumulating urban horror, the chapter focuses on post-1997 Hong Kong cinema to locate the public sentiments that are rehearsing perceptions and reactions to Chinese post-socialist zoning technologies that transform Hong Kong into a political and economic zone of exception.⁵⁹ Existent before the protesters occupy the streets of Hong Kong in 2014, the relationship between human bodies and Hong Kong as a part of the expanding archipelagoes of special economic zones in South China is already undergoing a crisis in films that centralize the imaginary of a city-without-bodies—a way of seeing Hong Kong as an abstracted urban space where the human body becomes increasingly unimaginable. Speculating a way of rereading post-1997 Hong Kong cinema that is characterized by the narrative of decline as filmmakers emigrate to China, the chapter draws connections between Hong Kong cinema as where the sentiment of urban horror conjures new aesthetic forms and the Umbrella Movement that actualized the futurity of the image. Detailing zoning and the creation of zones of exception as the primary characteristic of neoliberal post-socialist urbanization, the chapter paves the way for future studies on the infrastructural revolutions that create not yet legible affective and urban post-socialist landscapes beyond the Chinese border.

The last chapter of the book explores the work of the Malaysian Taiwanese filmmaker Tsai Ming-liang and the migration of film to the space of art museums and experiential performance art. In the work of a filmmaker who consistently focuses on marginalized and precaritized people and animals, abandoned buildings, and disappearing objects, the question posed by Tsai's phenomenological cinema is the ethics of representing precarity and precaritized bodies through the institutions of art that are created by and therefore complicit in the neoliberal financial system. As Tsai's films and installation art render the experience of precarity—the condition of being assigned the status of nonbeing according to the economic rationality of neoliberalism that considers people and life disposable—a consumable experience of art, how do we think about aesthetic practices and the forces of resistance in the neoliberal environment that sponsors and produces visions and voices of critique? Moving beyond the acknowledgment of complicity, the chapter poses a more urgent question that confronts contemporary filmmakers and artists: How does one rethink the future of the image, where the future is seemingly controlled by the system it critiques? Through Tsai's filmmaking practice, chapter 5 complicates the ethics of representing precarity in the era of global complicity.

A Note on Romanization

The post-socialist PRC and Sinophone world is not homogeneous, as this book illustrates. The heterogeneity of Sinophone cultures is partially reflected in the different romanization systems used in the PRC, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. For consistency, all film titles and most references are romanized using the pinyin system. However, for the names of Taiwanese and Hong Kong filmmakers, writers, performers, and certain references, I have tried to follow the romanization systems used in these specific regions.

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Notes

Introduction. Urban Horror

1. See Chow, “China as Documentary.” Chow describes the era of hypermediality as the age of digital hypermediality, where digital technology has been fundamentally transforming the meaning of the image, the logic of capture, and the process of image dissemination and transmission.
2. Moretti, “Dialectic of Fear,” 83, 87, 91.
3. Halberstam, *Skin Shows*.
4. Zhang, “Song at Midnight.”
5. See a detailed analysis on the sensationalization of *Song at Midnight*’s horror leftism in Braester, “Revolution and Revulsion.”
6. Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*.
7. Terada, *Feeling in Theory*.
8. Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*.
9. Lefebvre, *Marxist Thought and the City*, 6.
10. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, ix, 65.
11. Miller, *History and Human Existence*.
12. See a discussion of Sartre’s visit to China in Shih, “Is the Post- in Postsocialism the Post- in Posthumanism?,” 28.
13. Rockmore, “Merleau-Ponty, Marx, and Marxism.”
14. Merleau-Ponty, “Marxism and Philosophy,” 129.
15. See “The Theory of the Body Is Already a Theory of Perception,” in Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 235–403.
16. Karl Marx writes, “A mule is a machine for spinning cotton. Only in certain relations does it become capital. Outside these circumstances, it is no more capital than gold is intrinsically money, or sugar is the price of sugar. . . . Capital is a social relation of production. It is a historical relation of production” (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, 159–60).
17. Lefebvre’s book is loosely organized by the spatial categories that he develops as tools to read the different types of production of space, with “differential space” as

a method of producing “difference” in an otherwise homogenizing system of space production. For example, he writes toward the end of the book, “The formal theory of difference opens itself onto the unknown and the ill-understood: onto rhythms, onto circulations of energy, onto the life of the body (where repetitions and differences give rise to one another, harmonizing and disharmonizing in turn)” (*The Production of Space*, 373). This is a passage that draws attention to methods of producing difference (producing differential space) that still requires inventive experimentation.

18. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 170.

19. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 395.

20. For example, see Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon*, and Chung and Chang, *Great Leap Forward*.

21. For a collection of essays on comparative politics that focuses on different post-socialist pathways in East Central Europe, including Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, see Stark and Bruszt, *Postsocialist Pathways*.

22. Drucker, *Post-Capitalist Society*.

23. For a detailed discussion of anticipation and post-socialist time, see chapter 3. For the temporal politics of anticipation, see Derrida and Stiegler, *Echographies of Television*.

24. Dirlík, “Postsocialism?,” 43.

25. Zhang, *Postsocialism and Cultural Politics*, 12.

26. McGrath, *Postsocialist Modernity*, 1–2.

27. Shih, “Is the Post- in Postsocialism the Post- in Posthumanism?,” 28.

28. For a provocative study that counters the Eurocentric origin of neoliberalism, see Bockman, *Markets in the Name of Socialism*.

29. For example, Wendy Brown begins her book *Undoing the Demos* by highlighting the irony in the discourse of democracy after the Cold War. She writes, “In a century heavy with political ironies, there may have been none greater than this: at the end of the Cold War, as mainstream pundits hailed democracy’s global triumph, a new form of governmental reason was being unleashed in the Euro-Atlantic world that would inaugurate democracy’s conceptual unmooring and substantive disembowelment. Within thirty years, Western democracy would grow gaunt, ghostly, its future increasingly hedged and improbable” (9).

30. In *The Birth of Biopolitics*, his well-known text about neoliberalism, Foucault argues that power no longer operates through the traditional form of state sovereignty in neoliberalism, which is a new system that redefines state power. He writes, “The state does not have an essence. The state is not a universal nor in itself an autonomous source of power. The state is nothing else but the effect, the profile, the mobile shape of a perpetual statification [*étatisation*] or statifications, in the sense of incessant transactions which modify, or move, or drastically change, or insidiously shift sources of finance, modes of investment, decision-making centers, forms and types of control, relationships between local powers, the central authority, and so on. In short, the state has no heart, as we well know, but not just in the sense that it has no feelings, either good or bad, but it has no heart in the sense that it has

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no interior. The state is nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities” (77).

31. Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, 77.

32. Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, 121.

33. The phrase *neoliberalism* “with Chinese characteristics” comes from Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 120–51.

34. Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 349–50.

35. For a detailed study of China’s infrastructural expansionism (imperialism), see Miller, *China’s Asian Dream*. The book provides a detailed account of China’s empire-building visions in Xinjiang, Central Asia, Russia, Laos, Cambodia, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and Vietnam.

36. Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 120–51.

37. Dirlik, *Complicities*. While observing different cases of authoritarian capitalism in Asia, Dirlik discusses what it means to talk about a “China model” that may be used to describe China’s neo-authoritarian economic reform. He concludes that if there is a China model, it is defined by the willingness to experiment with different models rather than a set of definitive procedures.

38. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

39. For a political theory on dispossession and precarity, see Butler and Athanasiou, *Dispossession*.

40. See Miller, *China’s Asian Dream*.

41. Lefebvre defines the urban fabric in this way: “The *urban fabric* grows, extends its borders, corrodes the residue of agrarian life. This expression, ‘urban fabric,’ does not narrowly define the built world of cities but all manifestations of the dominance of the city over the country. In this sense, a vacation home, a highway, a supermarket in the countryside are all part of the urban fabric” (*The Urban Revolution*, 3–4).

42. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 99–100, 54.

43. For a general introduction to changes in the Sinophone and East Asian cultural industries in recent decades, see Davis and Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries*.

44. Chow, “China as Documentary.”

45. Chow, *Entanglements*, 4.

46. Chow, *Entanglements*, 5.

47. See Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” See also Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*.

48. Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 13.

49. Foucault and Miskowicz, “Of Other Spaces.”

50. The idea of socialist cognitive mapping is borrowed from Toscano and Kinkle’s chapter “Seeing Socialism” in *Cartographies of the Absolute*, 78–100.

51. For a Marxist critique of post-socialist nostalgia, see Dai, “Imagined Nostalgia.”

52. For a detailed discussion of the phantasmagorias of the interior, see “Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” in Benjamin, *The Arcade Project*, 14–26.

53. Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*.

54. For a detailed but concise history of the shifting definitions of femininity in twentieth-century China, see Barlow, “Femininity.”

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55. See Davis and Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries*.

56. Beatriz Colomina introduces a detailed analysis of the house in Euro-American modernist architecture (Le Corbusier and Adolf Loos) that she deconstructs as the assemblage of framing devices, including thresholds, windows, stairways, walls, mirrors, and furniture. These visual and sensory devices in architecture and interior design create dichotomies between interior and exterior, feminine and masculine, and public and domestic, as well as viewing positions that produce and frame specific gender, race, and class subjects. Inherent in these architectural designs is the process of creating subject positions that are given the power to see and to be seen. See Colomina, "The Split Wall."

57. Reading bodies and cities as mutually defining and therefore proposing a new way of understanding the relationship between bodies and the built environment, Elizabeth Grosz writes, "The body, however, is not distinct from the city for they are mutually defining. Like the representational model, there may be an isomorphism between the body and the city. But it is not a mirroring of nature in artifice; rather, there is a two-way linkage that could be defined as an *interface*. What I am suggesting is a model of the relations between bodies and cities that sees them, not as megalithic total entities, but as assemblages or collections of parts, capable of crossing the thresholds between substances to form linkages, machines, provisional and often temporary sub- or micro-groupings" ("Bodies-Cities," 108).

58. The most intimate sites of the interior that extend from one's body to the space of domesticity become the most alienating experience of the familiar. See Freud, "The 'Uncanny.'"

59. Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception*.

Chapter 1. Cartographies of Socialism and Post-Socialism

1. Dai, "Imagined Nostalgia." Dai traces the commodification of cultural nostalgia in the 1990s through a variety of literary productions.

2. Rancière, *Figures of History*, 32.

3. See the collection of footage on workers' strikes in Harun Farocki's film *Workers Leaving the Factory*.

4. Siegert, *Cultural Techniques*, 201.

5. Li, "Gongye ticaì, gongye zhuyi yu 'shehui zhuyi xiandai xing.'" According to Li, industrial-themed literature produced in the first seventeen years of PRC history (1949–66) has comparatively less artistic achievement than works featuring rural or revolutionary topics. While attributing the reason to China's late industrialization, Li further cites the irresolvable conflicts between industrialism and socialism that required time and the accumulation of collective cultural experiences before they could develop meaningfully. Filmed shortly before the People's Republic of China was officially established, *Resplendent Light* was designed to launch the cinematic prototype of industrial factory film and to help create the class image of the Chinese proletariat. Compared to the proletariat literary and cinematic traditions in Euro-American, Soviet, and Japanese cultures, for example, proletarian literature and films in China are fewer in number.