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Cinematic animism and contemporary Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices MAY ADADOL INGAWANIJ

The concept of the Capitalocene is, I believe, especially relevant for contextualizing how contemporary Southeast Asian film and artists' moving-image practices respond, allude or relate to climate and ecological change. As the introduction to this dossier suggests, the Capitalocene draws attention to the relationship between climate change, the long history of the region's colonization by western powers, and the continuing structural dynamic of coloniality.¹ Within this regional context, coloniality signals the structural continuity of regimes and practices of capitalist extraction and necropolitics, thereby connecting the long history of colonization to the aftermath of official national independence. Various post-independence forms of disaster-capitalist regimes in the region are underpinned by political systems of authoritarianism and impunity, whose foundational institutions, mechanisms and ideologies - such as developmentalism, patriarchy, racialization and racial hierarchy – are traceable to the *longue durée* and legacies of colonization.² Instead of resorting to the generalizing language of human culpability in the Anthropocene, the conceptual framing of Southeast Asia in the Capitalocene would ask which peoples, other-than-human beings, and resources are acutely vulnerable to the acceleration of environmental degradation and climate disruption caused by powerful institutions and agents of coloniality and disaster capitalism. Importantly, rather than focusing on climate trauma or victimhood, such a framing would pay attention to the agency of peoples and beings whose lives and habitats have been made precarious and increasingly uninhabitable. Of central concern would be the agency of powerless people in imagining and enacting the possibility of living, relating, and future-orientating within existentially threatened worlds.

My conceptual experiment here is to propose a definition of Southeast Asian artists' moving image as animistic cinematic practice: that is, as a concept and a method for regionalizing artists' moving-image practices within the broader problematic of aesthetic practices engaging with the Capitalocene. I propose a definition of a regional aesthetics of enunciation and temporalization connected to Southeast Asia's genealogy of animistic praxis, and I do so in this article using examples of film and installation works by such artists as Lav Diaz, Tuấn Andrew Nguyễn and Apichatpong Weerasethakul. These artists' practices consistently demonstrate a fascination with ontological multiplicity, folk and mythic figures referencing the deep past, and human–spirit relations and communication. Animism here refers less to the notion of objects having soul and agency than to the regional paradigm of Southeast Asian practices of human–spirit sociality and communication, which taken together form part of both an ecology of experiencing, relating and existing, and a repertoire of speculative future-making practices on the part of the powerless.

Before developing this argument, it is useful to provide an overview of the main aesthetic and processual tendencies of contemporary Southeast Asia artists' moving-image practices that allude to or engage with the Capitalocene. This work can be classified into four main groupings. First are interdisciplinary artistic research practices, which usually take the durational form of a long-term and open-ended project revolving around a key ecological theme. Important examples include Lucy Davis's *Railtrack Songmaps* project, which explores relations between people and birds on a micro-site on the verge of historical erasure through property speculation in Singapore; and Charles Lim's *SEA State* project, a series of video and sculptural multimedia installations exploring land reclamation, extraction, and Singapore's relationship to the sea that surrounds it.

Second are the locally operating participatory projects engaging in the possibility of sustainable economies and communal production modes, often situated in non-urban communities and incorporating moving-image production or exhibition as part of their activities. An example is Yee I-Lann's *Borneo Heart*, a communal mat-weaving project that takes place in the artist's hometown of Kota Kinabalu in East Malaysia, and embraces a traditional form of democratic and egalitarian women-led collaborative production through the channels of art and moving-image exhibition. This work creates an occasion to repurpose mat-weaving as an alternative economy to fishing.

The third significant grouping relates to documentary practices that portray daily local realities of environmental degradation, and people's efforts to survive and seek prospects in toxic zones. A significant yet understudied body of works in this category are the observational and hybrid documentaries portraying such an existence in Myanmar in the conjuncture of economic globalization. This has led to a form of militarized disaster capitalism, whose dynamics of extraction, precarity, escalating inequality and racialization can be mapped onto the country's legacy of colonial rule. Examples are the documentaries City of Jade (Midi Z, 2016) and Where We Belong (Myo Aung, 2017), which portray the experiences of men who seek a livelihood, and nurture the hope of making a small fortune, in the jade mines of Hpakant in Kachin state. This 'jade rush' has accelerated with the neoliberalization of the economy and with China's regional dominance in the present geo-political conjuncture.⁴ *City of Jade* is an essay film and a portrait of the filmmaker Midi Z's older brother, a middle-aged man and an ex-boss who has previously struck it rich in the jade mines and subsequently served time in jail, and who is now seeking a second or third chance in life. Like the gambler in Walter Benjamin's vignette,⁵ his passion for another kind of life and his hope for a different fate, one that would secure his future and ennoble his past, means that he cannot resist seeking another chance in the mines. Midi Z's camera follows his brother at close range; the shaky framing registers the poor condition of the dirt road leading to a mine as his brother rides in the pickup truck, stopping to gather a few workers to dig for jade stones with rudimentary tools. The small band of men belatedly join the fortune hunters in the mountainous terrain, now stripped bare. The only visible sights in the landscape are the brown rock and earth, and the dots of tarpaulin-covered shacks. Here the fortune seekers, ever watchful for the armies who lay claim to the area, return to sleep and to anaesthetize themselves with drugs at the end of long days digging in the harsh sun. At the beginning of the film, Midi Z's voiceover tells us that the occasion for the caravan of unlicensed diggers to enter the mine at this particular time was its abandonment by the corporations when fighting resumed between the government army and the

Kachin Independence Army. A small window of opportunity was now available for them to enter this conflicted territory and try their luck while ceasefire negotiations recommenced.

The fourth grouping grounds my definition of artists' moving-image practices as cinematic animism in the Capitalocene. As Philippa Lovatt and Graiwoot Chulphongsathorn demonstrate in their analyses of works by Nguyễn Trinh Thi and Apichatpong in this dossier, Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices tend not to explicitly thematize the consequences and experiences of environmental degradation. Instead they relate or allude to regional histories and realities of the Capitalocene through associative, rhizomatic and atmospheric forms.⁶ Other examples include films, installations and processual practices by Martha Atienza, Thao Nguyen Phan, Truong Minh Quý, Dinh Q. Lê, Chris Chong Chan Fui, Riar Rizaldi, Ho Tzu Nyen, Korakrit Arunanondchai, Diaz and Tuấn Andrew Nguyễn. These artists' practices share an interest in pluriversal worlds; the potential of the fable and mythic forms for presenting tales of entangled ecologies and histories; sociality and communication across beings and species; and the capacity of cinematic aesthetics to assemble and connect multiple temporal scales and durations.

Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices can be defined as a kind of cinematic animism, and their aesthetics of temporalization, relationality and enunciation respond to the lived experience of time and powerlessness in the Capitalocene. They are practices embodying and evoking the sensorial intensities of living in a world of accelerated instability and of a totalizing and presentist horizon, and there is a sense of extinction and time's dystopian repetition. These practices also respond to a sense of urgency regarding the need for regenerating imaginaries of possible common lives and futures. I propose that there is a regional sense of time to which Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices respond, a sense of a world in repetitious end-time intensely captured by the 'realism' of disaster capitalism. That capitalist-realist sense of time is entwined with a sense of living in the aftermath of official independence and its catastrophe, in the shadow of the promise of anticolonial nationalism, and in the wake of its modernist teleology accompanied by the ideology of temporal acceleration towards the future. This sense of a world in the aftermath is

crucial for grasping Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices as a kind of historiographic work and a temporalizing form.

Creating temporalizing forms that fabulate the connection between the present, the deep past and the potential future constitutes a defining element of the cinematic animism of Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices. Other aspects include portravals of entangled ecologies, territories and enunciations underpinning human-nonhuman communication. To attend to the latter, it is useful to turn briefly to the revival of theoretical interest in animism within Southeast Asian anthropology, in light of debates within what has come to be called the New Animism. Kaj Århem and Guido Sprenger's book on Southeast Asian animism uses a comparative method to theorize a heuristic model of Southeast Asian hierarchical animism in relation to Latin American horizontal animism.⁷ The latter primarily indicates human–animal sociality premised on the assumption of ontologically equal personhood. In contrast, hierarchical animism refers to ecologies of humanspirit sociality, constituted and sustained through improvisatory communicative, ritualistic and performative relations of communication between precarious humans and invisible, opaque and locally sovereign spirits. A regionally focused model of hierarchical animism provides a means of conceptualizing Southeast Asian cinematic animism, thanks to its emphasis on a model of animism based on ecological and communicative relationality, whereby vulnerable humans are agents whose actions for life's enhancement and endurability take the form of communicative relations with spirits. As a kind of theory of cosmological media and mediation, Southeast Asian hierarchical animism pays attention to the enunciative and performative aspects of human-spirit communication. Humans address spirits through ritual actions whose performative repertoires are typically iterative and processual, involving an apparatus or assemblage of technical devices, sounds and bodily gestures, and often taking place on specific territorial sites of founding, ancestral or guardian spirits.

While the above model highlights the improvisatory and hierarchical characteristics of communicative ritual, Isabell Herrmans's work on human–spirit sociality among the Luangan

people of Indonesian Borneo adds an important emphasis concerning the future-oriented temporal dimension of human-spirit sociality. Her work aligns the ritual praxis of the Luangans with a model of Southeast Asian animism, and similarly casts the cosmological role of spirits in terms of beings through which humans' relations (with each other, with nonhuman beings, and with the environment) are mediated.⁸ But her proposed problematic concerns the persistence of communicative relations with spirits amid a fast-changing environment in East Kalimantan, the result of the expansion of palm oil plantations. In Herrmans's analysis it is the open-ended and future-oriented implication of the Luangans' healing rituals, more than their conventionally assumed connection to tradition and the past, which accounts for the resilience of such rituals in the present. When reality is contingent and impossible to foresee, and the world as locally experienced is increasingly unpredictable, the continuing maintenance of communicational relations with spirits becomes a form of agential and temporal practice sustained by those who are most vulnerable. Humans' maintenance of the capacity of ritual to address spirits, and to sensorially perceive communicative exchange with them, constitutes a mode of precarious becoming, a way of harnessing the prospect and hope of the continuing liveability of one's life and one's habitat as well as an orientation towards possible futures.⁹

Grounding Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices in proximity to a model of Southeast Asian hierarchical animism highlights forms of enunciation, address and relationality across various types of being. How do such practices portray entangled ecologies, and to what extent do they do so through fabulating human–spirit communicative relations? How do they present human vulnerability and agency in a pluriversal world comprising interconnected ecologies, human–spirit relations and large cosmological scales? This definition of the cinematic animism of Southeast Asian artists moving-image practices present a scenario of human–spirit sociality different from established film-theoretical discourses concerning the animistic properties of cinema, which focus largely on issues of technological automatism, post-humanist consciousness or cinematic conceptions of life in the post-internet age.¹⁰ The concept of Southeast Asian cinematic

animism shares some of the paradigmatic concerns of theorists of the medium characteristics of cinema as an atmospheric medium.¹¹ Its approach to the question of relationality differs, however, from theoretical paradigms conceiving animism as the epistemic and aesthetic work of projection and boundary-making constitutive of western modernity.¹²

I now turn specifically to the films and moving-image installations of Diaz, Nguyễn and Apichatpong as examples of Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices that are animistic in terms of their exploration of the relationship between past, present, and possible futures. These examples create speculative cinematic forms of enduring and re-existing in the fabulated worlds alluding to end-time.

Diaz's films in particular portray the ruined world of Philippine society in the aftermath of independence, anticolonial nationalism, and the modernist nationalist teleology of progress. Alongside the narrative aspects of his films that do this representational work in an explicit register – such as the characterization of the politically defeated and psychologically destroyed male artist-intelligentsia, or setting the story in the time of the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship – Diaz responds more obliquely to the regional sense of end-time through portraying animistic beings. The priestess, the healer, the indigenous mother and the tribe in the forest in *Mula sa Kung Ano ang Noon/From What Is Before* (2014) and *Kagadanan sa banwaan ning mga Engkanto/Death in the Land of Encantos* (2007) are represented as ontologically indeterminate and anachronistic beings, yet they are not antiquated. The uncanny on-screen and off-screen movement of these untimely and contemporary figures signals an ongoingness. This turn to the pre-colonial and the animistic in terms of time–space relations, figuration and the symbolization of the potentiality of the deep past enables the re-imagining of the relationship between the past, present and future.¹³

Nguyễn's single-channel video, *The Boat People*, is a fable of the sojourning and the acts of creation of the last five humans on Earth.¹⁴ The location is the Bataan coastal province in the Philippines, and the fable alludes to the micro-histories of the entanglement of this place in the country's colonial wars and the developmental drive of its authoritarian oligarchic regimes. As

noted by one reviewer, during the Asia War towards the end of the US colonization of the Philippines, Bataan was the site of a major battle that led to the Japanese occupation. Several decades later, with the US defeat in Indochina, the coast of Bataan became a landing site for Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian refugees. The province is also the site for a controversial nuclear power plant, which was constructed under the Marcos regime and later abandoned. In the 1990s the government then designated the area around the refugee-processing centre a special economic zone.¹⁵ The Boat People creates a montage out of fragments of images alluding to this palimpsest: a signpost pointing to Plutonium Avenue, lichen-covered reproductions of ancient stupas, headless statues of Buddha, a Guan Yin statue, Christian figures. Carved into the stone are the dates '1980' and 'January 1988', and the phrase 'made by Lao refugees'. The video transforms the location of Bataan into a site for a speculative fable about the world at the end of human-time. It also portrays the connection between past, present, and still-possible futures, creating a temporal form through the rhythmic charting of wandering and encountering, and the labour of caring and becoming on the part of the young humans. Importantly it does this aesthetic work of temporalization through configuring the children's ritualistic communion with objects, and centring the story around conversational scenes of sociality with a more-than-human being.

The fable begins with a rickety, whimsical-colored yellow boat landing on the seashore. Five scrawny, brown-skinned children clamber out, and the world's last surviving humans, all wearing fantastical headdresses, wade ashore to a deserted, sun-dappled island. The tallest of them, a long-haired girl with a spear in hand, leads the others inland as they wander into the tropical thicket, accompanied by a strange, syncopated soundtrack that is dominated by the uncannily futuristic sound of the gamelan. These young global wanderers and more-than survivors of displacement and annihilation encounter abandoned sites, timeworn monuments and replicas of monuments, sculptures and religious icons; they also come across many objects that they silently gather up. The children's meandering and their cryptic acts of collecting give *The Boat People* a sense of animation that chimes with the infectious pulse of the musical soundtrack, creating a lively rhythm of ongoingness in this place at this edge of the Earth, despite the end of human-time. The children occupy themselves with carving wooden replicas of the abandoned things they come across, such as a gun, a boat and a lotus plant on a plinth, which they then burn. One day the girl finds a severed head on the beach, which alternately takes on the appearance of a carved wooden statue representing the head of a kind of deity, and an animate, ontologically indeterminate talking head. Is this a female? Goddess? Spirit? A multilingual conversation takes place between the two cosmologically and ontologically differentiated beings, the shape-shifting statue and the last girl on earth. The girl tells the statue that they are wandering the planet, seeking 'the stories of our ancestors of who we once were', and gathering things to recreate as wooden replicas to be burned. Towards the end of the video there is a scene of the head engulfed in flames on the beach, gently caressed by small lapping waves. Some forms of burning are not acts of annihilation but of caring for others and for objects, ritually attending to the possibility of their freedom and endurance in the world to come. As Nguyễn puts it in an interview:

as we're being confronted with multiple species extinctions, including our own, these same notions of time, place, self, action, consequence, and identity also become expanded realities to be re-examined on a wider perspective and communally. Maybe the ideas of reincarnation and extinction are not opposites to be juxtaposed but are the same ideas of death and transformation taking different forms at different scales.¹⁶

The Boat People's fabulation of the end-time of human extinction is a form of temporal speculation and a gesture of historiographic repetition. The recent historical moment of catastrophe in a region engulfed by the Cold War, causing mass annihilation and mass displacement, registers as an echo accompanying the fabled scenario of human end-time. Nguyen's work teaches us that in this conjuncture the responsibility of culture and the arts goes beyond registering climate trauma and its accompanying *unheimlich* affect, and must also work towards imagining life as collective reexistence, beyond bare survival, and to connect the past with the ongoing possibility of the future. *The Boat People*'s sense of the temporal, relational and enunciative work of animistic moving-

image aesthetics is shared by Apichatpong's feature film, *Cemetery of Splendour*. While the former combines rhythmic musicality, the motif of constantly moving flames, and the gesture of burning to register possibilities of transformation and to affirm the necessity of transmission of collective memory across generations and beings, Apichatpong's film aestheticizes touch and the radiating energy of artificial light as something which connects and habituates beings in plural ecologies. It evokes a sense of common entanglement and immersion in a shared world in and through the mediating agency of invisible and opaque beings.

Khon Kaen, a major city in Thailand's northeastern region, is the sole location for *Cemetery* of Splendour and its accompanying two-channel installation, Invisibility (2016). The long history of this northeastern region is as part of the Lao Lan Xang kingdom, spanning what is now Laos and north/northeast Thailand. In the 18th century it was annexed by Siamese kings and subsequently incorporated into the Thai nation-state. Auto-coloniality and intense entanglement in the Cold War thus characterize its modern history. Khon Kaen is currently undergoing accelerated capitalization in the orbit of Chinese regional dominance and military/royal rule. In his study of the entrepreneurial urbanism driving the present-day financialization of the city, the media ethnographer Richard MacDonald characterizes Khon Kaen as a speculative capitalist frontier whose clique of elite entrepreneurs energetically prospect the future through their championing of a transport infrastructure project and the imaginary of the smart city.¹⁷ These elite futurologists are mobilizing media-saturated events, CGI urban dream images and promotional discourses to energize and affectively legitimize their vision of a private-financed future, under local leadership and guided by the mentorship of the military-oligarchic regime. This is accelerating in the orbit of the new superpower, and anticipates the climate flight of national elites and transnational investment from a capital megacity that will soon be under water.

Cemetery of Splendour is an archaeological portrait of a city; a portrayal of a careworn woman, a survivor of domestic abuse and serious injury, living her second, third or possibly last chance in life; and a fable of a mysterious kind of narcoleptic sickness among low-ranked Thai

soldiers in a land cursed by illusions and unspoken fear. Apichatpong presents the citizens of this accursed land in various figural forms. Two characters function as the fable's citizen-figures: Itt, the handsome sick soldier; and Jen, simultaneously the middle-aged hospital volunteer who cares for Itt, and the Auntie Jen who is Apichatpong's muse. The latter's life story often feeds into the plot of his films, her ageing and her transformation are documented across his work over the past two decades. Itt and Jen are both quietly preoccupied with the future. Itt is sick of his prospectless job as a soldier, his days spent washing the general's car. Jen searches both for skin cream to stem the tide of time, and for another chance at life in the form of a new relationship with a white, retired US soldier. She does what she can to bolster that prospect with regular trips to make votive offerings at the shrine of two Laotian female ancestral spirits. A key scene in the film is a long sequence in which a young female medium, Keng, channels the dreaming-being of Itt, whose life-force has wandered to the still present deep past, visible neither to Jen nor the spectator. Keng/Itt takes Jen walking through an unkempt park in the city, in which stands the non-visible presence of the grand palace of Lao Lan Xang kings. At this point Keng/Itt and Jen are connected to each other primarily through voice and conversational exchange, and through the mediumistic mode of touch. Jen and Itt touch and communicate through the skin surface and movement of Keng's body. The sight of a digger at the beginning and the end of the film, and the constant ambient sound of excavation, could indicate workmen laying fibre optic cables, but perhaps it could be men undertaking infrastructural work to install some kind of surveillance system for the military regime. Here Apichatpong simultaneously alludes to the global present-future of networked capitalist expansion and the national time of nihilistic repetition, the time of yet another coup regime.

Cemetery of Splendour portrays a world diminished by dictatorship and increasingly captured by frontier capitalism, yet it still presents the possible connection between the deep past and a potentially different future through its diffusion of intense, intimate and affecting energies of relating, caring, communicating, socializing and touching. This occurs both between humans, and between humans and spirits, and creates a cinematic form of animistic ecology. Keng cares for others as a mediumistic node who connects different temporal spans and facilitates the communication and contact between the women yearning to reach their slumbering loved ones and the wandering life-force of the men afflicted by the sickness. Their tool is the simplest of touch. The Laotian princess spirits approach Jen without fanfare or ceremony while she is whiling away her time in a garden pavilion. They tell the only mildly surprised Jen that they have shape-shifted from their usual statue form into beautiful human form to tell her that the soldiers will not recover from the sleeping sickness, and that they are transmitting this cosmological knowledge to Jen as a gesture of reciprocity and an expression of their appreciation for her votive offerings. *Cemetery of Splendour* translates familiar techno-imagistic notions of communications networks, light radiation and energy flow into a cinematic ecology of human–spirit sociality. As figured by the film, the world is simultaneously one of capitalist end-time and political hopelessness, a realm of human–spirit relations and a radius of spirit territoriality, affecting energy and power.

It is interesting to compare the evocation of time in this work with that in Midi Z's *City of Jade*, with its gambler figure characterized as the temptation and promise of sudden temporal shifts and reversals of fortune. With the gambler there is the pathos of yearning for and anticipating the sudden and simultaneous arrival of both the future and the newly invented past. With the animistic temporality and relational tactility of *Cemetery of Splendour*, precarious beings act, address, touch and mediate in order to figure multiple forms of ongoingness and to suspend the foregone conclusion of a futureless world.¹⁸ This sense of a still living world in end-time, of possibilities of relational existence in the Capitalocene and the aftermath of official nationalism, with its developmentalist temporal imagination, is crucial if we are to comprehend Southeast Asian artists' moving-image practices as historiographic, ecological and temporalizing forms.

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² For examples of country studies, see Thant Myint-U, *The Hidden History of Burma: Race, Capitalism and the Crisis of Democracy in the 21st Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2020);
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⁴ Lindsay Bremner and Beth Cullen, 'Jade urbanism', March 2021, *E-Flux: Architecture*, https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/accumulation/378157/jade-urbanism/> accessed 17 September 2021.

⁵ Walter Benjamin, 'In parallel with my actual diary', *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings: Volume II, Part 2, 1931–1934* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 413–14.

⁶ See also Philippa Lovatt, '[Im]material histories and aesthetics of extractivism in Vietnamese artists' moving image', *Southeast of Now: Directions in Contemporary and Modern Art in Asia*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2020), pp. 221–31.

⁷ Kaj Århem and Guido Sprenger, *Animism in Southeast Asia* (London: Routledge, 2016); this summary draws on Århem's essay, 'Southeast Asian animism in context' (pp. 3–30), and Sprenger's essay, 'Dimensions of animism in Southeast Asia' (pp. 31–51).

⁸ Isabell Herrmans, 'Spirits out of place: relational landscapes and environmental change in East Kalimantan, Indonesia', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, no. 26 (2020), p. 769.
⁹ Ibid., pp. 768–70.

¹⁰ See Sarah Keller and Jason N. Paul, *Jean Epstein: Critical Essays and New Translations* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

¹¹ See Weihong Bao, *Fiery Cinema: The Emergence of an Affective Medium in China, 1915–1945*(Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), pp. 1–36.

¹² See Anselm Franke, 'Animism: Notes on an Exhibition', *E-flux: Journal*, no. 36, July 2012,
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¹³ Michael Guarneri, 'The burden of history: a conversation with Lav Diaz', *La Furia Umana*, no. 21 (2014), <<u>http://www.lafuriaumana.it/?id=243</u>; Pujita Guha, 'A forest of national histories: an interview with Lav Diaz,' *Cineaste*, vol. 45, no. 3 (2020), pp. 20–25.

¹⁴ 'Tuan Andrew Nguyen: *The Boat People*; introduced by May Adadol Ingawanij', *Vdrome*, 2020,
<<u>https://www.vdrome.org/tuan-andrew-nguyen></u> accessed 17 September 2021. This section
expands my introduction published on the site.

¹⁵ Mark Rappolt, 'Tuan Andrew Nguyen', Art Review Asia, Summer 2020, pp. 66–73.

¹⁶ 'Tuan Andrew Nguyen: *The Boat People*'.

¹⁷ Richard L. MacDonald, 'The smart city and the extraction of hope', *The Future of Media* (London: Goldsmiths Press, forthcoming); 'Conjuring the people: entrepreneurial localism and the case of the Khon Kaen Model', *Way Magazine*, 13 May 2021, https://waymagazine.org/conjuring-the-people-entrepreneurial-localism-and-the-case-of-the-khon-kaen-model/ accessed 19 September 2021.