

“Candlelight Documentary” as the Cultural Politics of Recording and Memorizing, and the Emergence of the Candlelight Plaza

Woohyung CHON

Abstract

The amateurism, spatial, and temporal expansions of the documentary films Gwangjang (Candle in the Wave) and Modeunnal-ui chotbul (All Day Candles), screened at Gwanghwamun Plaza in June 2016, dismantled the imaginary boundaries that existed between us and the Other. This paper examines how such dismantlement has moved to a new era and aesthetic strategy to bring the candlelight protests to the public's eyes. The Sewol Ferry Disaster led to the rediscovery of reportage in Korean literature and the local art scene, and to the strengthening of amateurism in documentary films as a result of dismantling the authority of representation through omnibus and episodic formats in these two works. Beyond fostering our integration, they have played a political aesthetic role in increasing solidarity by revealing the boundaries of imagination created by our inner unconsciousness, where the dominant languages of integration and exclusion have been internalized. These two documentaries rewrite the origins of the Candlelight Plaza as cultural politics of recording and memorizing. In the two films, the movement and expansion of the plaza provide ways to make it accessible and visible to the indivisible beings standing on these boundaries to relieve the absurdities of Korean society.

Keywords: Gwangjang (Candle in the Wave), Modeunnal-ui chotbul (All Day Candles), Reportage, Documentary, Candlelight Documentary, Candlelight Plaza, Amateurism, Community Screening, Boundaries, Cultural Politics of Recording and Memorizing, Solidarity

This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2017S1A6A3A03079318).

Woohyung CHON is an Associate Professor at the Institute for Historical Studies at Chung-Ang University. E-mail: wooh21@hotmail.com

How Candlelight Documentaries Brought the Candlelight Plaza to Light

On June 23 and 24, 2017, when it was no longer easy to remember the luminous candle lights from the earlier massive candlelight protests in Seoul's Gwanghwamun Plaza, two documentary films on the protests were screened to bring a vitality and tension back to the Plaza. At 7 pm on June 23, the Omnibus Documentary Project by the People's Action for Immediate Resignation of President Park Geun-hye screened the film *Gwangjang* (Candle in the Wave). The next evening, *Modeunnal-ui chotbul* (All Day Candles) was screened, followed by a conversation between the producers and the audience. The screenings, sponsored by the Commemorative Committee of the National Action for the Resignation of the Park Geun-hye Regime, physically transformed Gwanghwamun Plaza into a theater where the audience became immersed in the films.¹

This affect (Deleuze 2014, 23) created under such fluid emotional states may be due to the structural similarity between the Candlelight plaza and documentary film. The documentary film, full of unnamed heroes and their ordinary lives, called attention to the candlelight protests to which many citizens dedicated their lives. The screening on that day brought the candlelight protests of Gwanghwamun Plaza from the past to the present. This effect deserves attention because the two documentary films made the audience a community that actively sympathizes with the need to remember and to record the protests anew. This paper analyzes *Candle in the Wave* and *All-Day Candles*, two documentary films that captured the candlelight protests held every Saturday from autumn 2016 to spring 2017 across South Korea (hereafter, Korea). This paper investigates the specificity of film device that re-contextualizes the Plaza and identifies the subjects of the candlelight protests. It focuses on the analysis and interpretation of methods of production, distribution, screening, and the making and delivery of

1. Su-jeong Kim, "Gwangjang-eseo deun 23 beon-ui chotbul, uri modu-ga juingongieotda" (23 Candle Protests in the Plaza, We Were All Heroes), *No Cut News*, June 25, 2017, <http://www.nocutnews.co.kr/news/4804795>.

stories—rather than focusing on the formal analysis of the films. This paper explores the idea that documentaries on the candlelight protests were chosen to overcome the powerlessness of cinematic representation that followed the Sewol Ferry Disaster in 2014 (Badiou 2001, 84), and that these documentaries restore the realism of the 1980s and rewrite the unfinished state.



Figure 1. Posters of *Candle in the Wave* and *All-Day Candles*.

Source: Cinema DAL.

Realism here is not merely a content-based literature or art focused on social contradictions and absurdities. Rather, it is a literary phenomenon created by contradictions and absurdities that go beyond the scope of human reasoning, competing with the introspective skepticism about existing language and the ethical desire for a new system of representation. In this sense, the 1980s were the pinnacle of realism in literature and art in Korea. The realism of the 1980s, which began with the suppression of the May 18th Gwangju Democratic Uprising following the coup of the new military regime, broke the mainstream literary discourse by naming the language of Korean literature and art history. It is necessary to remember the era as a period in which the hierarchy between representation methods was fundamentally dismantled and restructured by questioning the limitations of elite-centered creation through collaborative creation. Three movements are evidence of this dismantling; the Literary Art Movement,

the Ideological Literary Movement which criticized the limitations of the petit bourgeois national literature of the 1970s, and the Mook Movement which fought against the suspension of publication—an institutionalized state violence that led to the Gwangju massacre in 1980.² Through the Mook Movement and the theory of people's national literature, realism in the 1980s put forth unnamed laborers and the people as the new authors and proposed collaborative creation as a way to narrow the distance between the public, making a qualitative transition (M. I. Kim 1987, 88; Lim, Chae, and Ryu 1987, 49).

The 1980s was also a time when independent films were created and languages that would create a new chapter in Korean cinema were in fiercely competing. Independent films began with amateurs using newly introduced 16mm video cameras to shoot realities that had not been reproduced in feature films and mainstream media or had been reproduced incorrectly. In this respect, the documentary films discussed in this paper are related to the literary phenomenon of realism in the 1980s. However, this paper focuses on the new strategy designed by the two documentary films for the realization of democracy in literature and art, rather than a repetition of realism that was already been rejected as mere aesthetic utility. Thus, this paper ultimately focuses on the ethical characteristics of reportage and amateurism, which were the languages chosen by the two documentaries in order to represent the discovery of the Other that exists beyond human reasoning. In addition, the analysis presented here reaffirms the aesthetic politics of Korean documentary film by identifying how such candlelight documentaries approach class, gender, and generational boundaries in conjunction with reportage and amateurism.

Since the Sewol Ferry Disaster, Korean literature and film have been highly regarded as research themes since they are located in the continuum of realism in the 1980s.³ Documentary films have lighted the candlelight

2. For discussions on this matter, refer to Mun-joo Kim (2014), Y. Kim (2014), Jang (2012), Cheon (2011), and D. Kim (2011).

3. Hyeong-jung Kim (2016) considers Korean literature after the Sewol Ferry Disaster as a continuation of a situation in which the incompetence of Korean literature was faced with the previous political events.

protests from the fall of 2016, when the government's absurdity dating back to 2014 was first fully revealed, to the impeachment in spring 2017. It was documentary films reflecting the ethical planning and the powerless system of representation, again resembling that of the 1980s. In fact, more attention should be paid to both *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles*, which faithfully record and describe the events of the candlelight protests, than *Daibing bel* (The Truth Shall Not Sink with Sewol, 2014), the most talked-about film since the Sewol Ferry Disaster. The reason is that the former has reached the most mature stage of language to represent a reality which cannot be fully represented. At this stage in the rich history of literature and art, this indicator of maturity can be found in the discovery of and solidarity with the Other. Documentary film has the most open attitude towards the Other out of all film genres, and when it abandons or at least minimizes its position as a re-enactor or agent, it can be the most mature ethic at this stage (Jimerson 2009, 35–42).⁴ Here, amateurism does not stop at the production of the film but engages in the language of the film which is distributed and screened.

This paper thoroughly examines the cultural politics of recording, remembering and the devices used to make the two films relevant. It will also look at how previous documentary films have both deconstructed the representation system and rebuilt it anew in order to clarify the aesthetic politics of Korean documentary films.

Amateurism in Reportage and Documentary Films

In order to clarify the context in which *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* were produced, it is necessary to examine Korea's recent literary and artistic social history. The growth of reportage in Korean literature

4. Documentation has served to pay attention to and resist distorted facts. Furthermore, it has played a role in triggering and responding to justice by reconstructing memory. The way in which documentary film records are not an unilateral gaze, but an ethical and political form of collecting and preserving voices of various social classes which protects the rights to record, to be remembered, and to know.

and film is a recent and remarkable change. In both of these art forms, the number of reportage works that both critics and the public responded to favorably has soared. Reportage means investigation and report and exists in all forms, including written or audiovisual content that faithfully records and describes social phenomena and events. The impact of reportage is growing not only in Korea but also throughout the world. The 2015 Nobel Prize for Literature was given to the Russian investigative journalist Svetlana Alexievich, and Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) were box-office hits for a sustained period.

In the motion-picture world, many documentary films have been released.⁵ Their performance at the box office was rarely inferior to commercial filmmaking, which received favorable reviews from critics as well as the public. The latest documentary films listed above can be regarded as aesthetic experiments that make the fundamental attributes of reportage (i.e. that it must be recorded) that face the reality of Korean society.

The history of literary reportage and documentary films as a record of social phenomena and events in Korea is relatively long, but the recent reappearances of Korean literature and film have a special meaning. Korean literary reportage and documentary films were produced intermittently, with only a limited number of readers and small audiences. Compared to its long history, reportage has been silent for a long time. What triggered the release of reportage from the creator and consumer? This phenomenon was caused by the deep sorrow and subsequent silence of Korean society after the Sewol Ferry Disaster of April 16, 2014. Both literature and film were in aphasia, and reportage was the language born during the struggle to escape from this abyss. In this process, *Eomma naya* (Mom, It's Me), *Geumyoil-en dolaoryeom* (Come Back on Friday), and *Sewolho-reul girokhada* (Documenting Sewol Ferry) overturned the hierarchy of genres

5. They are *Geomi-ui ttang* (Tour of Duty, 2012), *Daibing bel* (The Truth Shall Not Sink with Sewol, 2014), *Wiro gongdan* (Factory Complex, 2014), *Grimjadeul-ui seom* (Island of Shadow, 2014), *Jabaek* (Spy Nation, 2016), and *Gongbeomjadeul* (Criminal Conspiracy, 2017), as well as *Gongdong jeongbeom* (The Remnants, 2016), *Seosan gaecheokdan* (Land of Sorrow, 2018), and *Soseongri* (Soseongri, 2017).

outside the narrowly defined literature by keeping the authors anonymous, and it is necessary to pay attention to this fact (Cheon 2015).

Amateurism is the concept that refers to being a subject of creation outside the customary field of literature and art. Therefore, it is a literary phenomenon which not only involves the emergence of unknown artists, but also encompasses new forms and new modes of communication. There are two basic forms of amateurs: the collage technique that freely uses stock footage of mainstream media and the use of intertextures where text continues to connect to other text. Amateurism creates meaning by continuously reconstructing text, from creation to communication, rather than complete text. It is the characteristic of amateurism that simultaneously criticizes and reflects existing literature or art. In the methodological process of recreating what cannot be represented, reportage restored and rewrote the old realism by clearly revealing the political and ethical orientation, thereby breaking the silence that might have been imposed by the hierarchy established by literature and film itself.

Why, then, do we desperate need for a new method to overthrow the hierarchy of representation? What is the reality it tried to represent in such a method? The reason why the method of representation was shaken by the Sewol Ferry Disaster was the fear of the incident and the ethics of representation. Additionally, every Korean had to face the terrible reality that they were all the Other, subalterns, and abjects (Kristeva 2001).⁶ The disaster was not part of reality, but it became reality itself. This strongly reminded artists that the representation system that had reflected some portion of reality had expired and that the position of the re-enactor, distanced from reality, was lost. The Sewol Ferry Disaster angered Korean society primarily because of the unbelievable number of casualties. However, it is hard to ignore the role of the message broadcast to those aboard the ferry at the time of the incident which can be summarized as "stay still." The Park Geun-hye government was busy controlling news of

6. An "abject" is a body standing at the boundary between human beings and non-human beings. It is "something unknown," something real that is excluded for a human to become a subject or to imagine itself as a subject. In this respect "abject" evokes Giorgio Agamben's homo sacer, "an banned, deported, tabooed, dangerous person" (Agamben 2008).

the Sewol disaster in order to hide its irresponsibility and incompetence. In doing so, it overlooked an important part of information—the announcement “stay still,” which ignored the most basic of safety rules, was repeatedly reported in all media outlets. This language exposed the boundaries that we believed existed among ordinary Koreans, the Other, the subaltern, and the object as falsehoods.

This on-board broadcast mentally transported every Korean as if they were onboard the Sewol Ferry. Since that day, a lot of civic movements were initiated, such as Stay Still—planned by the university student Yong Hye-in. Writers and filmmakers began to build exits from the abyss of sadness and silence. The reason we stayed still was not just because the state told us to, but because it was our decision. Reflections began to surface on not recording, not remembering or misrecording, and misremembering life. While breaking away from the silent coercion of “stay still,” we embraced the reportage. The new reportage should be different from past cases in which we were forced to be silent and chose to be quiet. Documentary films clarified the politics and ethical orientation of realism by dissolving the monopoly of power within filming and editing while democratizing distribution and screening.

The amateurism of a documentary film is the product of the process of demolishing the monopoly power of representation. Amateurism was realized in that the subject of production exceeded the recognition scope in the existing film, the audience was given the subject of distribution, and the format and space of screening were freed. Amateurism is ambivalent as it dismantles monopolizing power. In regard to amateurism in the directing, the ten short films can be interpreted as an aesthetic strategy because they make *Candle in the Wave* appear non-homogeneous. In its distribution and screening, amateurism is an essential attribute of this documentary film. It was more radical than previous outdoor and community screenings of old, because instead of passively participating in distribution and screening programs, such as art houses or small theaters, it found distribution and screening routes outside the system. This amateurism of documentary films is also related to that of the 1980s as it is the origin of Korean independent films. For example, *Paeop jeonya* (The Night Before Strike, 1990) and

Nodongja neuseu (Labor News, 1989) were actually screened at the site of a picket, and they were distributed through individual and community subscriptions and VHS (Chon 2017).

Documentary films have continued to reflect on how they can stay within a space that maintains a sense of real reality separate from *manipulated* reality (Ward 2011). That is why documentary is the closest to reality of all film genres. However, at the same time, reality imposes the most restrictions on its language. Because the nature of a documentary film requires cameras to be placed in front of the Other—who usually cannot speak and are not ready to speak or has given up speaking—the constraints imposed on producers are greater than in other forms. For this reason, documentary films aimed at showing the reality of the Other are limited to the director’s or producer’s view and often have a sense of self-pity or ventriloquism. Approaching a life that has already been misrepresented by someone is the biggest obstacle to prevent documentary films from becoming the true language of the Other. This is how amateurism came about as a way to make documentary films that could be a separate independent language for the Other after a long search.

In the 2000s, Korean documentary film continued to think of ways to represent aesthetically each aspect of everyday life (Maeng 2014). In a recent paper analyzing Korean documentary films, it was called “a state where space loses its place and permeates its subjects” (Park and Chae 2015, 52). The Sewol Ferry Disaster was an event that made such spaces no longer discernible as sanctuaries for documentary films, and strongly urged the production of documentary films “in almost every place” (Negri and Hardt 2001, 52–53). In this regard, the amateurism that re-appeared in documentary films is closely related to digital civilization, which allows us to observe and record in almost every place. And with the popularization of digital platforms, which makes it very easy to share the records of millions of people, we can picture amateurism not only as a new subject of creation, but as a new way of distribution and screening (Qian 2012, 119–120).

The orders of domination were more democratic and intrinsic to society, and thus, the national realization that they were widespread in our brains and bodies (Negri and Hardt 2001) was a decisive moment

that enabled documentary films to encounter amateurism. Figuratively speaking, due to internalized behaviors of social integration and exclusion, the message “stay still,” which transported the whole nation to the deck of the Sewol Ferry, dismantled the imaginary boundary that defined the Other as being outside of oneself. Furthermore, it made us fully aware that we, ourselves, are each the Other. Documentary amateurism was a political aesthetic strategy that defined the language ownership of the Other, and when the issue of the 2016 South Korean political scandal—which made every Korean citizen experience their Otherness—arose, amateurism faced a more serious state. It was expressed as amateurs and community screenings in the form of omnibus at the request of the public.

Cultural Politics of Recording, Memorizing, and Protests as Contact Zones

Although the principal agent that planned the candlelight protests was the national action for the resignation of the Park Geun-hye Regime, and even though the citizens who participated in the protests sought to impeach the president and change the regime, there existed a voice inside and outside the candlelight protests that could not be alleviated. The focus of many discussions on the candlelight protests, which lasted from 2016 to 2017, was who or what the subject of protest was. Son Ho-cheol (2017) suggests that the candlelight protests were a combination of layered criticisms about the remnants of the Park Chung-hee regime, the institutional limitations of the 1987 government, and the socioeconomic contradictions of the 1997 government. He criticizes the remnants of Park Chung-hee’s Yusin Constitution brought in by the Park Geun-hye administration, and questions the gap between the presidential system, which has existed for 30 years since democratization, and the people’s political consciousness. Son concludes that complaints about competition and polarization due to the global expansion of neoliberalism filled Gwanghwamun Plaza. Considering the widespread criticism of the privatization of power, business-government collusion, blacklisting, state-published textbooks, the demand

for Constitutional reform, and complaints about the hereditary so-called “spoon class”⁷ hierarchy in “Hell Joseon,” his analysis seems reasonable.

However, even if this was the main cause of the 2016–2017 candlelight protests, it cannot be overlooked that there were many voices that could not be fully explained by the democratization of political forces and rationalization of the economic structure. The candlelight protests revealed not only the boundary between the nation and the people, but also the various boundaries that exist within civil society. The protests of about 16 million people were an experimental space where there was a possibility that this boundary could be used as a Contact Zone (Pratt 2015)⁸ that might reach beyond the conflict. *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* are reports on this experiment. Through an amateurism that overthrows the hierarchy of representation, they criticize the imperialistic presidential system and Korea’s representative democracy, and they represent an ethical imagination that dismantles the boundaries within civil society through their omnibus format. Here, amateurism becomes connected with the activism of documentary films that archive the emergence of the digital age, where observations and recordings are possible almost everywhere (Qian 2012, 119–120), and fundamentally it is meaningful as a practical strategy for representing democracy.

Through its ten short films, *Candle in the Wave* captured the boundaries of everything the protests encompassed—including issues such

-
7. The spoon class theory refers to the idea that individuals in a country can be classified into different socioeconomic classes based on the assets and income level of their parents, and as a consequence, one’s success in life depends entirely on being born into a wealthy family. The term appeared in 2015 and was first widely used among online communities in South Korea. “Spoon class theory,” Wikipedia, accessed November 22, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spoon_class_theory.
 8. Mary Louise Pratt defines the “contact zone” as a space in which people who have been separated geographically and historically gather and create relationships. Here, this ongoing relationship varies from conflict to reconciliation and coexistence. Pratt uses the term in contexts of traversing and intersecting empire and colonial cultures. In this paper, the term “contact zone” does not refer to the outer boundaries that divide regions, nations, peoples, or races. It holds meaning as a place of encounters and solidarity in which various identities such as ideology, class, and gender come together within the boundaries and are reconstructed in a bottom-up form.

as labor, women, youth, the environment, animals, and even history and the Cold War. *Gwangjang-e seoda* (Stand in the AGORA), directed by Kim Cheol-min, looks back at the five-month protest through the numerous remarks made during the protests, and *Cheongso* (Cleaning), directed by Kim Jeong-geun, discusses labor and change in the world through a cleaning lady in Busan subway station. *Gwangjang-ui dak* (Chicken in the Plaza), directed by Hwang Yun, questions the abhorrent violence used against those in the plaza that raised their voices for democracy—who were treated like animals.

Paran nabi (Blue Butterfly Effect), directed by Emmanuel Moonchil Park, dealt with the story of a resident of Seongju County who became aware of society through the struggle against THAAD and joined the protest. *Hamseongdeul* (The Outcry of the People), directed by Lee Chang-min, talked about a historical issue of our time and *Nu-ga chongchun-eul areumdapda haetneunga* (Who Said That Youth Is Beautiful?), directed by Kim Su-min, recreated a discussion among provincial college students about blind praise and criticism toward young people. *Chungae-ui baram-i doeeo* (A Thousand Winds), directed by Kim Sang-pai, told a story about democratization, connecting the uprising in June 1987 with the present. These shorts were followed by *Siguk pemi* (Feminists of the Candle Wave Protests, directed by Kangyu Garam), a story of feminists who had to fight against the President's corruption and misogyny, *Pureungorae nalda* (The Blue Whale Flies, directed by Hong Hyung-sook), which examined children's participation in the protest, and *Jogeum deo gakkai* (A Little Closer), which listens to the motives and hopes of the people who participated in the candlelight protests.

Though the format of the two documentaries differs, the makeup of the two is very similar. The omnibus form, which can be seen in *Candle in the Wave*, can also be found in the full-length documentary film consisting of three episodes in *All Day Candles*. If the amateurism, which began with the participation of the general public rather than the professional documentary filmmaker, was a political practice that responded to the situation in which the entire Republic of Korea had taken the position of the Other, the omnibus and episodic composition found in these two films

is an ethical form for exploring a way to coexist with the Other by exposing and dismantling the boundaries that exist in between. The reason why we have been able to imagine the state or the people is because we were tame to the mechanisms of integration and exclusion that established them. While the language of domination has been internalized, there may be boundaries within the unconscious. The slogan "You call this a country?" from the Sewol Ferry Disaster and the political scandal of Korea in 2016 begged the question—are there boundaries within us? The boundaries between the short films and the episodes of *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* are a symbol of the unconscious boundaries formed by the mechanism of integration and exclusion. It creates a united story that deviates the unconscious beyond the boundaries and clearly suggests an orientation towards solidarity and the value of human life.

All Day Candles begins with a cross-cutting of various images related to the 2016 South Korean political scandal that include manipulation of government affairs, back-scratching alliances between government and business, the Sewol Ferry Disaster, labor repression, and disability discrimination, all with the consistent sounds of the rally in Gwanghwamun in the background. The first episode, *Gwangjang@saramdeul* (People@ Plaza), clearly points out how the candlelight protests are different from the previous plaza and makes the intro meaningful. The editing of this intro is a cinematic design that visualizes the plaza as a bottom-up meeting place where numerous unknown strangers gather to express a consistent voice for change. This documentary film portrays a great number of people from different positions who all participate in the protest with the same goal of forcing the resignation of Park Geun-hye. The film exposes and resolves the boundaries between individuals, and focuses on the solidarity that is finally possible. The film shows how right wing conservatives at the Taegyeukgi Rally lacked individual voices and only displayed hostility and revulsion in order to protect the Park Geun-hye government. By showing this contrast, it makes the viewers aware of where the possibility of solidarity for a sustainable life lies.

What requires attention in *All Day Candles* is the first scene of *Gwangjang-eseo* (In the Plaza), the episode which follows *People@Plaza*,

which recorded the victory of the candlelight protests. The scene shows the banners and posters of presidential candidates and immediately recalls the voices of the various boundaries that existed in the candlelight protests, combining the past and the present from the point of view of the protests. With this form of revealing and erasing boundaries, the two films go beyond merely overthrowing and rebuilding the government to creating a sense of solidarity between us and the Other. It is no coincidence that these two films produced by the same production team, Documentary Project Production Team for the Resignation of the Park Geun-hye Regime, were screened after the new government took power. Both films were created at the resignation of the government but aimed at a larger site where ordinary Koreans and the Other could come together. Of course, this visible change in direction is due in part to the internal struggles of the documentary films. However, it is more closely related to the mature, voluntary culture of communication following the change in Korean society and the candlelight protests in 2016–2017 after the Sewol Ferry Disaster. That is to say that the Republic of Korea transformed into one vast Contact Zone.

Since the sinking of the Sewol Ferry in 2014, Korean society has been suffering repeatedly from disasters caused by the violence of the state and capital. In 2015, the consolidation of state and capital drove the entire nation into the deadly Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) crisis. The *gapjil*⁹ of the state and capital greatly damaged the universal value for life, as shown by women sacrificed at the hands of men who historically claim to be agents of the state or capital. In May of 2016, not long after the brutal Gangnam murder case, a young worker who was repairing a safety screen alone at the Guui subway station lost his life. Of course, these kinds of disasters happened before 2014. The Yongsan disaster¹⁰ that occurred during the process of demolition for redevelopment in 2009 is a recent

9. *Gapjil* refers to the arrogant and authoritarian attitude or actions of people in South Korea who have positions of power over others. “Gapjil,” Wikipedia, accessed Nov. 22, 2018, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Gapjil&action=history>.

10. On January 20, 2009, police commandos raided a building occupied by displaced tenants who were opposed to Seoul’s Yongsan redevelopment compensation plan, resulting in a blaze that killed 6 people and injured 24.

example. However, there is a clear difference between the previous disaster sites and the Sewol Ferry Disaster site—the latter site of mourning and memorial was filled with people as well as countless diaries and letters. In this regard, the candlelight documentaries surpass 1980s realism. In comparison, amateurism and collective creation, led by people of the 1980s, only existed as the critical discourses of intellectuals, while the candlelight documentaries gained real meaning as a movement by aestheticizing cultural resistance through the practice of civil society’s bottom-up writing and reading.

At their peak, the candlelight protests in 2016 and 2017 were not only a physical resistance to the 2016 South Korean political scandal, but also a kind of festival where the cultural politics of the suppressed history and memories of incidents including the Sewol Ferry, Gangnam Station Exit 10, and Guui Station exploded. *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* were ways to express these confessions and rewrite the records that filled Paengmok-hang port (the memorial site of the Sewol Ferry Disaster), Ansan, Gwanghwamun, Gangnam Station Exit 10, and Guui Station. There are scenes that repeatedly appear in *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles*. Words and phrases written in various forms, well-organized paragraphs, and images of more and more hands that are writing or making something are constantly repeated. Hong Hyung-sook’s *The Blue Whale Flies* provides a clue to understanding these repeated images. By linking the children’s participation in the protest with a work of writing and creation, the film asks what the true meaning of the candlelight protests was. The red pen, which rewrites all the press releases of *All Day Candles* and *People@ Plaza*, reaffirms the meaning of the candlelight protests. The candlelight protests were a collection of agents who remembered and recorded history in order to break the cycle of disasters. Here again, the combination of short films and episodes is a representation that mimics the actions of the protesters who are rewriting what has already been written. Each short film and episode in *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* is edited to spark conversation. For example, ten short films and three episodes are made up of a series of stories about the meaning of the candlelight protests, and the narratives of the movie do not speak out aloud, but various people speak

within the film itself.

In that sense, *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* constitute a new origin of the protests. The people who gathered in Gwanghwamun Plaza were there to resist during the 2016 South Korean political scandal. However, both films inspire the desire of the subjects for restoring, rewriting the power of recording, and memorizing keeping, which is needed to prevent the disasters we have experienced. If there is a positive effect of such disasters, it can be found in the spread of awareness that these issues are relevant to everyone. As the intensity of disasters has increased, more people once believed that they were excluded from their influence have joined in solidarity. Apart from expanding the scope of victims, the participation of those who were still outside the victims' area has increased. Many people who worried about Kim Jin-suk, who climbed a shipyard crane to protest for the re-instatement of workers dismissed from Hanjin Heavy Industries & Construction Group in 2012, joined in protest by organizing the Hope Bus. Protests to sponsor the dismissed workers from Ssangyong Motors and their families were also organized on social media. Numerous people built human barricades and used social media to prevent plans going ahead for the construction of a naval base in Gangjeong-ri village on Jeju Island, a high-voltage transmission tower in Miryang, and the THAAD placement in Soseong-ri, Seongju.¹¹

The protests were not merely an accumulation of resisting bodies but rather a gathering of people who make culture through recording and remembering history. Documentary filmmakers gathered in almost all of the sites listed above, and what they witnessed was the dismantling of the language barrier that were once seen as absolute, between *me* and *you* and them. It was a moment when the boundaries originating from the unconscious of those who internalize the dominant language of integration and exclusion were disappearing. This was the case where the boundary of conflict caused a qualitative change in the boundaries of co-existence, and

11. These are ongoing movements against unjust government and avaricious capital in South Korean society over the past decade. These movements use social media as their medium of struggle. Independent filmmakers and local residents voluntarily participated in documentary film projects and produced works from these movements.

documentary film was reborn as a new origin of the protests and as a form that conforms to the cultural politics of recording and memorizing.

The Expansion and Emergence of the Candlelight Plaza

The irregularity of *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles*, which newly constitute the origin of the protests as the cultural politics of recording and memorizing, appears in the new illumination of the Plaza's candlelight protests and the documentary film scene. A common feature of both works is that the space of representation is close to the protest site, and at the same time the films attempt to expand and move beyond the venue. While existing documentary films focus on a specific time, space, and people, these two films attempt to simultaneously bring together heterogeneous time, spaces, and people. They show different times within the same space, different spaces within the same era, and different people of that time and space to the same screen. *A Thousand Winds*, directed by Kim Sang-pai, compares the June Democracy Movement in Seoul in 1987 and Seoul's present. Kim Jung-geun's *Cleaning* captures Seoul and Busan concurrently as their respective candlelight protests proceeded. The camera relentlessly follows people gathered for candlelight protests. Then, at times, it shoots what lies outside the protests. *Stand in the AGORA* contains the voices of people who stood on the podium to speak at the protests. Those voices continue on in *Cleaning*, a film about the life of a cleaning lady at a Busan subway station, and to *Who Said That Youth is Beautiful?*, a film that listens to the voices of youth who wander through the candlelight protests in Gangneung.

Documentary films expanded the space of Gwanghwamun Plaza and embraced the diversity of the candlelight protesters. This directing is closely related to the demolition of the imaginary boundaries between human beings, who internalize the dominant language of integration and exclusion as mentioned earlier, and it is a way for the documentary film to express the newly changed meaning of the protests as the cultural politics of recording and memorizing. However, this is not the first attempt of this kind. Im

Heung-soon's documentary film *Binyeom* (Jeju Prayer, 2012) went back and forth between the Jeju Uprising of 1948–1949 and the contemporary Jeju Naval Base Controversy. Likewise, *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* can be understood as corresponding to documentary film scenes that deeply penetrate our daily lives. However, in the two films, time, space, human movement, and expansion become more radical. In other words, it is more contingent and fragmentary, thus amplifying the inherent impact of the film as a form of perception and reason for the age of barbarism (Benjamin 2005).

In the short film *Cleaning*, the camera moves from the candlelight protests to a subway station in Busan. Then, the loud noises of the candlelight protests are cut off and the background noise of daily life is heard. In addition to sound, images quickly change from static to animated. The camera in the midst of the plaza is synchronized to the speed and the rhythm of the rapidly moving crowds in the protest. In the subway stations it is almost nonexistent, much like the cleaners and their extremely difficult daily lives. What is noteworthy is that this process is tied to *cinéma vérité*, which reveals people in everyday situations with authentic dialogue and naturalness of action, and to direct cinema, which silently tracks a daily life. There is an aesthetic difference in the attitude of the director observing people's participation in the candlelight protests, versus observing the life of a cleaning worker.

In fact, *cinéma vérité* and direct cinema do not tend to be contradictory in documentary films. They form part of a cinematic movement with a common aim of renewing the concept and purpose of the documentary genre and listening to the voice of the subject, instead of expressing it in the editorial voice of an authoritative writer. While direct cinema is faithful to recording reality as it is, *cinéma vérité* does not stop capturing reality and recording events. A director of *cinéma vérité* intervenes in the case and transcends the methodological rigidity of direct cinema by triggering action from the subject being filmed (Saunders 2010). The transition from *cinéma vérité* to direct cinema, then, is related to the effect of reinforcing the role of the documentary as a faithful record of the voice heard from the scene, rather than to reveal any differences. Just as it is important to

stand in Gwanghwamun Plaza to demand that the government step down, to follow the daily life of people gathered at Gwanghwamun Plaza is an important way to give meaning to the time, space, and humanity that do not have meaning.

Time, space, and humanity that have failed to acquire meaning lie beneath the surface of reality and it is documentary films that seek to unearth those hidden truths. One of the many reasons why they may not have acquired meaning is that they were located at a boundary between different times, spaces, and people. These are generally contradictory beings that do not fit neatly into either side of the boundary. In *Cleaning*, a temporary female cleaner was located on the boundary between laborers and non-laborers; in *A Thousand Winds*, Seoul was found on the boundary between democratization and non-democratization; in the *Blue Butterfly Effect*, residents of Seongju County were detected on the boundary between conservative and progressive ideologies; and in *Who Said That Youth Is Beautiful?*, a provincial college student was shown on the boundary between youth and non-youth. With sharp satire and criticism, *Chicken in the Square* and *Feminists of the Candle Wave Protests* also portrayed the existence of Park Geun-hye straddling the boundaries between her role as president, female, and chicken.

The ten short films that compose *Candle in the Wave* are particularly relevant to these portrayals because they are faithful to the language of the Other. Also, the film is related to the awakening of those who have internalized the commands of domination. However, just as important as lifting the imaginary boundaries created by the unconscious is the resurrection of the beings placed at the edges of real boundaries. This source of absurdity, which has become prominent in Korean society since the Sewol Ferry Disaster, can be found in the beings that beyond boundaries and end up not belonging anywhere. The 2016 South Korean political scandal, which deprived the Korean people of their sovereign power, is the pinnacle of this absurdity, demonstrating how people could not be protected by the state, the families of the Sewol Ferry Disaster victims who could not be consoled, and the lives of unrespected laborers and women. The movement and expansion of the protest site in the two

films are ways of to approach the indivisible beings that stand on these boundaries as well as to make their invisibility visible in order to relieve the absurdities of Korean society.

This movement and expansion continue in *All Day Candles* and even work beyond the scope of the screen. This continuity allows the candlelight protests to penetrate into our daily lives after the events, not just as a single event. *All Day Candles*, including *People@Plaza*, *In the Plaza* and *Ilseong-ui chotbul* (Everyday Candle), moves the camera deep into everyday life. *People@Plaza*, directed by Kim Hwan-tae, records six-months of people who won historical victories in candlelight protests. *In the Plaza*, directed by Choi Jong-ho, shares reflections on what the protest is to us now and what it should be. *Everyday Candle*, directed by Kim Su-mok, makes the audience think about how to illuminate the candles that were burned during the protests in their everyday lives. Movement and expansion in all three of these films goes beyond space into time, by focusing on changing the temporality of the candles from the past and present to the future.

The movement and expansion of time attempted by *All Day Candles* needs to be viewed together with the distribution method of the movie. Cinema DAL was responsible for the movie's distribution, and it was shown as a community screening. Community screenings are a way to distribute movies at the audience's request without providing a separate space for screening. In the early 1980s, Korean independent films established contact points with audiences through film festivals. By the late 1980s, independent films penetrated directly to the audience through community screenings. Films like *The Night before the Strike* (1990), screened at the strikes sites after the Great Workers' Struggle in 1987, is a good example. Cinema DAL, which had a hard time due to blacklisting, took up the old community screening method and penetrated deep into daily life without limiting the screening space to a specific location. This community screening, which is also a resistance movement against blacklisting, experiments with aesthetic politics by deviating from the silence of a movie theater and uses daily life itself as a space of aesthetic experience and political expression.

Cinema DAL still distributes *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* in a community screening format. Community screening as a method

of distribution has expanded beyond the genre of documentary film to feature films, and from the domestic scene to overseas.¹² Most recently-produced independent documentary films, especially those produced via solidarity project methods (Lee 2018), are being screened in theaters as well as through community screenings. Cinema DAL, the largest independent film distributor, distributes all works via community screening. Community screening is mostly promoted through movie posters, but the publicity effect is recreated through screening news and movie reviews on social media. Once a community screening request is submitted via the homepage or email specified in the movie poster, the distributor will provide DVD, HDV, HDCAM, MOV, DCP or other formats, in accordance with the requirements of the place of the screening. The cost is usually 5,000 won per person (2,500 won for students). If the number of audience is less than 30, the fee is set at 150,000 won. Film festivals, media centers for local residents, schools, labor unions, strike sites, and the various associations that participated in the candlelight protests have all been actively conducting community screenings.¹³ Community screening is very meaningful as a device to complete the documentary films' spirit of the age, urging us to record and remember in almost every place.

It is not necessary to disparage community screening as an alternative to cater the harsh reality of Korean documentary films, where distributors often have difficulty finding theaters to screen. Community screenings of *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* are closely related to the ongoing discovery of the space that lost its place and bringing the protests into the forefront. The proliferation of community screenings needs to be viewed

12. *Gwihyang* (Spirits' Homecoming, 2017), directed by Jung-rae Cho, is a film based on the true story of the victims of forced sex slavery by the Imperial Japanese Army. In February of 2016, the film was screened by a community in Changwon Lotte Cinema hosted by the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions of Gyeongnam Headquarters and the Metal Workers Union of Gyeongnam branch. *Nappeun nara* (Cruel State, 2015), directed by Jinyeol Kim, focuses on the Sewol Ferry Disaster. It was screened in Tokyo on the second anniversary of the Sewol Ferry Disaster and hosted by an internet community called the Japanese Moms Who Want To Be Good Moms.

13. Refer to Cinema DAL's website (<http://cinemadal.tistory.com>) for community screening regulations, community screening lists, and reviews.

in contrast to the fact that the memories of the democratic movement in June 1987 quickly disappeared from everyday life. Current community screenings declare that history will not be repeated as the memories of the struggle is being silenced by mainstream media. It also displays the determination to actively use digital platforms, unlike when people had no choice but to rely on films and projectors. Moreover, community screenings became the last part in the process of democratization of representation that was pursued by reportage and amateurism by transferring the rights of distribution and screening to the audience. Indeed, both films defined the plaza as a cultural and political site to record and memorize, and they dismantled the boundaries that made us think we were unrelated. By doing so, the two films signified that the plaza was a space of solidarity. Considering this, community screening is the final instance that completes the emergence of recording, memorizing, and solidarity.

Conclusion

Candle in the Wave consists of ten short films in an omnibus format, and *All Day Candles* is a full-length documentary film composed of three episodes. It is an important feature of these documentary films that the director is not one person but a group of people, ranging from professionals to amateurs. The emergence of such collective and anonymous directing mediates the voluntary participation of citizens in recording and remembering events that have occurred in Korean society since the Sewol Ferry Disaster and the 2016 South Korean political scandal. The emergence of such an amateur directors group dismantles the monopoly of power that dominated the documentary film industry in the past and connects the two spaces of representation dealing with the candlelight protests directly to the scene. Therefore, group directing and amateurism can be seen as reflecting the powerlessness of representation that the existing field of films encountered after the Sewol Ferry Disaster. Now, the two documentaries are part of the Candlelight Protest Festival, and at the same time their cinematic formats is consistent with the festival style of candlelight protests, that is, by taking on

modes of emergence beyond representation.

Eventually, after the Sewol Ferry Disaster, the will of literature and the art scene to represent the impossibility of representation led to the rediscovery of reportage, and film took part in a documentary style. At this time, the amateurism of documentary films began to strengthen gradually, and this was the result of the process of agreeing with a reality where we all became the Other. In other words, it is the result of dismantling the authority of representation. In *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles*, amateurism encounters an omnibus format and an episodic format. They go beyond pointing out the fact that we are all the Other, and serve as a political aesthetic for raising solidarity by revealing and listening to the boundaries of imagination created by our inner unconsciousness, where the dominant language of integration and exclusion has been internalized. In fact, the destruction and rebuilding of boundaries corresponds to the changed scenery in Korea since the Sewol Ferry Disaster, and it was a reflection of a reality where the words and the writings of people in different positions were already at borders with each other. The two documentary films rewrite the origins of the protests as the cultural politics of recording and memorizing. The movement and expansion of the protest site in the two films are ways of both approaching the indivisible beings that stand on these boundaries and making their invisibility visible in order to relieve the absurdities of Korean society. This change and expansion can be seen to be related to a social change that space loses its place as a sanctuary of documentary film and seeps deeply into our daily lives. The community screenings of *Candle in the Wave* and *All Day Candles* at Gwanghwamun Plaza have both made the protests more current and succeeded in making us the agents of cultural politics whose duty it is to remember and record—anywhere and anytime.

REFERENCES

- Agamben, Giorgio. 2008. *Homo Sacer*. Translated by Jin-u Bak. Seoul: Saemulgyeol.
- Badiou, Alain. 2001. *Yullihak* (Ethics). Translated by Jong-yeong Yi. Seoul: Dongmunseon. Originally published as *Léthique* (Paris: Hatier, 1993).
- Benjamin, Walter. 2005. *Akeideu peurojekteu* (Arcade Project). Translated by Hyeong-jun Cho. Seoul: Saemulgyeol. Originally published as *Passagen-Werk* (Frankfurt am Main: SuhrkampVerlag, 1982).
- Cheon, Jeong-hwan. 2011. "Seobaltheon-un sseulsu inneunga—1970–1980 nyeondae minjung-ui jagi jaehyeon-gwa 'minjung munhak'-ui jaepyeongga-reul wihan ilgo" (Paper: Can the Subaltern Write?). *Minjung munhaksa yeongu* (Ethnology History Research) 47.
- _____. 2015. "Sewol,' nodong,' oneul-ui 'sasil'-gwa jeongdong-eul darul ttae—nonpiksyon-gwa reupo-ui buheung-e buchyeo" (When We Deal with "Time, Labor, and Fact" of Today—With the Revival of Non-Fiction and Reportage). *Segye-ui munhak* (World Literature) 155.
- Chon, Woohyung. 2017. "Hanguk nodong dakyumenteoru yeonghwa-ui yeoksajek giwon yeongu" (A Study on Historical Identity of Korean Labor Documentary Film). *Minjung munhaksa yeongu* (Ethnology History Research) 64.
- Deleuze, Gilles. 2014. *Bimuljil nodong-gwa dajung* (Immaterial Labor and Multitude). Translated by Chang-hyeon Seo. Seoul: Galmuri.
- Jang, Seong-gyu. 2012. "1980 nyeondae nodongja munjip-gwa seobaltheon-ui jagi jaehyeon jeollyak" (Self-Representation Strategies of Subaltern in Collections of Literary Works of Laborer). *Minjung munhaksa yeongu* (Ethnology History Research) 50.
- Jimerson, Randall C. 2009. *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability, and Social Justice*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists.
- Kim, Dae-sung. 2011. "Jedo hogeun jeongsanghwa-wa jiyeok munhak-ui yeokak: 'pinanmundan'-gwa 'mukeuji sidae'-ui sanggwanseong-eul jungsim-euro" (Mechanics between the Institution or "the Normalization" and the Local Literature). *Journal of Korean Modern Literature* 43.
- Kim, Hyeong-jung. 2016. "Munhak-gwa jeungeon: sewolho ihu-ui hanguk munhak" (Testimony and Literature: Korean Literature after Sinking of Sewol Ferry). *Gamseong yeongu* (Sensibility Research) 12.
- Kim, Mun-joo. 2014. "Mukeyu chulhyeon-ui baegyeong-gwa maengnak" (A Study on the Background and Context of the Emergence of Mook—Focusing on the "Masan Culture"). *Hanguk geundae munhak yeongu* (Modern Korean Literature Research) 30.
- Kim, Myeong-in. 1987. "Jisigin munhak-ui wigi-wa saeroun minjok munhak-ui gusang" (Crisis of Intellectual Literature and Conception of New National Literature). *Munhak yesul undong* (Literature Art Movement) 1.
- Kim, Myeong-jun. 2002. "1980 nyeondae ihu jinbojeok yeonghwa undong-ui jeongae gwajeong" (Evolution of the Progressive Film Movement Since the 1980s). In *Yeonghwa undong-ui yeoksa* (History of Film Movement). Seoul: Seoul Publication Media.
- Kim, Su-jeong. 2017. "Gwangjang-eseo deun 23 beon-ui chotbul, uri modu-ga juingongieotda" (23 Candle Protests in the Plaza, We Were All Heroes). *No Cut News*. June 25, 2017. <http://www.nocutnews.co.kr/news/4804795>.
- Kim, Ye-rhee. 2014. "80 nyeondae mukeyu munhak-ui eoneo punggyeong-gwa munhak-ui yulli—siwa gyeongje-wa siundong-eul jungsim-euro" (The Linguistic Landscape of the 1980s Mook Literature—Focus on the Literary Coterie "Si Undong" and "Siwa-Kyoungje"). *Gugeo gungmunhak* (Korean Language of Literature) 169.
- Kristeva, Julia. 2001. *Gongpo-ui gwollyeok* (The Powers of Horror). Translated by Min-won Seo. Seoul: Dongmunseon. Originally published as *Pouvoirs-de l'horreur* (Paris: Seuil, 1980).
- Lee, Seung-min. 2018. "Dongsidae aektibijeum dakyumenteoru yeonghwa" (Contemporary Activism Documentary Film). *Dongnip yeonghwa* (Independent Film) 47.
- Lim, Heon-yeong, Gwang-seok Chae, and Hae-jeong Ryu. 1987. "Jwadam: munhak-gwa yesul-ui daejunghwa-reul wihayeo" (Conversation: For the Popularization of Literature and Art). *Munhak yesul undong* (Literature Art Movement) 1.
- Maeng, Su-jin. 2014. "Hanguk dongnip dakyumenteoru-ui juje mit yangsikjeok dayanghwa-e daehan gochal" (Study on the Thematic and Aesthetic Diversification of Korean Independent Documentaries). *Cine Forum* 18.
- Negri, Antonio, and Michael Hardt. 2001. *Jeguk* (Empire). Translated by Su-jong Yun. Seoul: Ihaksa. Originally published as *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).
- Park, Gi-wung, and Hui-suk Chae. 2015. "Sajeogin geot-gwa gongjeogin geot-ui sikbyeol bulganeunghan jidae-reul tamsaekaneun dakyumenteoru hyeonjang" (Documentaries Exploring, Spot after Spot, the Indistinguishable Zone between the Public and the Private). *Yeonghwa yeongu* (Film Research) 65.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 2015. *Jeguk-ui siseon* (Imperial Eyes). Translated by Nam-hyeok Kim. Seoul: Hyeonsil Munhwa. Originally published as *Imperial Eyes* (London: Routledge, 1992).

- Qian, Ying. 2012. "Power in the Frame: China's Independent Documentary Movement." *New Left Review* 74 March/April.
- Saunders, Dave. 2010. *Dairekteu sinema: gwanchaljeok dakyumenteor-i-wa 1960 nyeonda-e-ue jeongchi* (Direct Cinema: Observational Documentary and the Politics of the Sixties). Translated by Sang-gyun Kim. Seoul: Communication Books. Originally published as *Direct Cinema: Observational Documentary and the Politics of the Sixties* (New York: Wallflower Press, 2007).
- Son, Ho-cheol. 2017. *Chotbul hyeongmyeong-gwa 2017 nyeon cheje: Bak Jeong-hui, 87nyeon, 97nyeon cheje-reul neomeoseo* (Candlelight Revolution and the System in 2017: Park Chung Hee, Beyond the Years 87 and 97). Seoul: Sogang University Press.
- Ward, Paul. 2011. *Dakyumenteor-i rieolliti-ue gajangjari* (Documentary: The Margins of Reality). Translated by Hye-yeong Cho. Seoul: Communication Books. Originally published as *Documentary: The Margins of Reality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

Film Works

- Daibing bel* (The Truth Shall Not Sink with Sewol). 2014. Directed by Lee Sang-ho and Ahn Hae-ryong. Seoul: Asia Press, Cine Port.
- Geomi-ue ttang* (Tour of Duty). 2012. Directed by Kim Dong-ryeong and Park Kyeong-tae. Seoul: Cinema DAL.
- Gongbeomjadeul* (Criminal Conspiracy). 2017. Directed by Choi Seung-ho. Seoul: Newstapa.
- Gongdong jeongbeom* (The Remnants). 2016. Directed by Kim Il-ran and Lee Hyeok-sang. Seoul:Yeonbunhong chima.
- Grimjadeul-ue seom* (Island of Shadow). 2014. Directed by Kim Jeong-keun. Seoul: Cinema DAL.
- Gwangjang* (Candle in the Wave). 2017. Directed by Media Team of National Action for the Resignation of the Park Geun-hye Regime. Seoul: Cinema DAL.
- Jabaeck* (Spy Nation). 2016. Directed by Choi Seung-ho. Seoul: Newstapa.
- Modeunnal-ue chotbul* (All Day Candles). 2017. Directed by Kim Hwan-tae, Choi Jong-ho, Kim Su-mok. Seoul: Commemorative Committee of the National Action for the Resignation of the Park Geun-hye Regime.
- Paeopjeonya* (The Night before Strike). 1990. Directed by Jang Yun-hyeon, Jang Dong-hong, and Lee Eun. Seoul: Jangsangotmae.
- Seosan gaecheokdan* (Land of Sorrow). 2018. Directed by Lee Jo-hun. Seoul: Hun Pro.

- Soseongri*. 2018. Directed by Park Bae-il. Seoul: Oji Film.
- Wiro gongdan* (Factory Complex). 2014. Directed by Im Heung-sun. Seoul: Bandal Doc.