Recent Korean Minjung Movement as Urban Political Movement: Focusing on Subway Struggles in Rush Hour (2021~2023)

Yongtaek Jeong, Ph. D.*

Abstract

This study comprehensively examines the recent Korean minjung movement, focusing in particular on the subway struggles carried out by Solidarity Against Disability Discrimination (SADD) during rush hour from 2021 to 2023. The paper examines how this movement has re-defined urban political movements through a unique framework of 'evental temporality', especially in public spaces. Using the concept of 'event', this study addresses two primary questions: first, it evaluates the efficacy of urban political movement frameworks in analyzing Korean minjung movements; second, it explores the theoretical contributions that Korean minjung movements can make to the broader field of urban

https://doi.org/10.58302/madang.2024..42.67.

* Ph.D. Adjunct Professor, Hanshin University.

** This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea. (NRF-2024S1A5B5A16019824)

political movements.

To answer these questions, this study conducts an in-depth analysis of the disability liberation movement, currently one of the most assertive minjung movements in Korea. Particular attention is paid to the subway struggles in rush hour, which serve as a representative case study of recent Korean minjung and urban political movements. The paper highlights how these struggles challenge conventional socio-spatial orders by introducing egalitarian injunctions into everyday urban settings, such as rush hour subway commuting.

It also explores the temporal dimensions of minjung movements, highlighting how the subway struggles not only demand the recognition of legally declared rights but also strive for their practical verification and implementation. This analysis contributes to the understanding of urban political movements, the dynamics of social transformation, and the continuous evolution of the minjung concept in contemporary Korean society. By examining the intersection of disability rights activism, urban space contestation, and temporal politics, this study offers valuable insights into the complexities of minjung movements in contemporary urban contexts.

Keywords

Minjung Movement, Urban Political Movement, Subway Struggles, Event, Temporality, Subjectivation

I. Introduction: Minjung Movements as Objects of Minjung Studies

One of the intrinsic tasks of minjung studies within Korean studies is to analyze the development of minjung movements in contemporary Korea in order to capture the continuing relevance of the concept of the minjung in the face of changing circumstances. This is because, as best exemplified by the minjung theology, most minjung theorists have always perceived the minjung as an 'event' ('*Ereignis*' in German, '*événement*' in French) itself, that manifests internal ruptures of existing (political, economic, and social) structures of dominance (structures articulated in domination).

According to Byung-Mu Ahn, a first-generation minjung theologian, for minjung theorists, "the minjung appeared as an event. This means we encountered the minjung in the event."[1] Ahn made it clear to minjung theorists, including himself, that minjung always manifested as an event, implying that one can only encounter minjung in and through events. Therefore, the task of minjung studies today is not only to intellectually examine the minjung theories of the 1970s and 1980s but also to explore the potential occurrence of 'minjung events' in our time within the context of minjung movements.

If this is the case, then we need to conceptualize the minjung events in the context of the ongoing minjung movements within Korean capitalist society during the financialization era of the 2020s. Thus, if we say that the current task of minjung studies is to find meaning in the current min-

---

1 Byung-Mu Ahn, "The Global Horizons of the Korean Minjung," *Minjung Theology* 1 (1995), 40.

jung movements in Korean society, then the focus shifts to finding movements that are actually minjung movements, or more precisely, to looking at these movements through the lens of minjung movement theory. In this regard, the present study aims to analyze the Korean disability liberation movement in the 2020s from the perspective of minjung movement theory based on the reconceptualization of Minjung as an event. To this end, this paper investigates the current Korean minjung movement, focusing specifically on the Rush Hour Subway Struggles, which have emerged as a significant urban political movement.

In Korean studies, minjung studies can be divided into two overarching areas: the one dedicated to tracing the conceptual evolution of the concept of 'minjung', and the other devoted to a comprehensive study of minjung itself. This comprehensive perspective focuses on aspects such as its societal composition, historical roots, cultural expressions, collective consciousness, political awareness, and its role in driving social movements.[2] This paper falls under the latter category, as it focuses specifically on the minjung movements of the 2020s in Korea. As will be argued later in this paper, a research centered on minjung movements provides insights that are as significant as those obtained by research exploring the concept itself. This is because, as Korean studies researcher Namhee Lee argues, in contemporary Korean society, minjung not only functions as a concept but also as a 'movement' (minjung movement) and the 'minjung project'.[3]

---

2 In-Cheol Kang, *The Minjung, the Subject of Resistance* (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 2023), 469.

3 Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 1; Kang,

The minjung movement in Korea has undergone significant evolution in its conceptualization and historical assessment. Initially emerging in the 1970s and 1980s as a collective resistance against authoritarianism and for democratization, the minjung movement brought together diverse social classes, including laborers, farmers, and the working class, culminating in the June 1987 Democratic Struggle. This struggle marked a turning point that catalyzed the transition from minjung-oriented social movements to civic movements in the 1990s. Scholars such as Hee-yeon Cho and Hochul Sonn highlighted that the minjung movement was characterized by its radical, systemic transformative goals, often rooted in opposition to the capitalist mode of production. Defined by grassroots participation and semi-legal struggles, this movement focused on the liberation of the oppressed minjung and challenged economic and social hierarchies.[4]

After 1987, as Korea transitioned to procedural democracy, civic movements gained prominence, shifting the political agency from the 'minjung' to 'citizen'. This period witnessed the emergence of new power dynamics, as citizens embraced consumer capitalism, leading to both democratic growth and increased social exclusion for marginalized groups. In contemporary minjung theology, the term 'minjung' has been reinterpreted to refer to those excluded from the democratic and market-based framework, such as the disabled, whose struggles highlight

---

The Minjung, the Subject of Resistance, 16.

4 Hee-yeon Cho, "The Development of Democracy and Social Movements in South Korea," in *NGO Guide,* edited by Hee-yeon Cho (Seoul: Hankyoreh, 2001), 282-302; Hochul Sonn, "Anatomy of Civil Society," in *East Asian Studies,* Special Issue (2004), 12-40.

persistent social inequalities.[5] The ongoing focus on these movements reflects a broader effort to redefine minjung in the context of evolving democratic and civic discourses.

Studies of minjung movements, which developed in a differentiated way after the emergence of civic movements after 1987, and studies that reframe minjung as non-citizens based on the social exclusion of civil society within the democratization regime, continue to inform minjung theory to this day. In particular, research related to minjung theory continues to be published in areas such as minjung theology and minjung history (people's history). Emerging studies aim to consolidate the fragmented studies of minjung theory, conducted across various academic disciplines, into a single, interdisciplinary, and multidisciplinary field, thereby establishing minjung studies as a distinct field within Korean studies.[6]

As an extension of these discussions which not only continue minjung theory but also establish minjung studies, the present study attempts to actualize the concept of minjung and the study of minjung movements in contemporary Korea. Specifically, it aims to analyze the theoretical and practical implications of the disability liberation movement as an urban political movement from the perspective of the political philosophy of Jacques Rancière, a French philosopher and an authority on democratic

---

5 Jin-Ho Kim, "Questioning the Ambiguities of the Democratization Movement After Democratization" (Paper presented at the Beyond the Cycle of Enthusiasm and Disillusionment: A Symposium on the Crisis of Democracy and the Search for a 'Second Democratization', Seoul, April 14, 2010); Yongyeon Hwang, "A Study on the Effect of the Term Minjung in Korean Minjung Theology," *Theological Thought* 190 (2020), 423-454.

6 In-Cheol Kang, "*Minjung,*" in *Academic Terms in Korean Studies* (Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies Press, 2020); In-Cheol Kang, *The Minjung, in the Era and History* (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 2023).

theory. The disability liberation movement in Korea today is the one that most persistently presents itself as a minjung movement.

In fact, among various social movements in Korea, the disability movement is currently one of the most actively self-proclaimed minjung movements. For instance, as reflected in the statement, "[A]ll this suffering is not the fault of the disabled but of society, because capitalism ostracizes the disabled from society",[7] disability activist Kyung-suk Park, who has led the subway struggles in rush hour, undeterred by 'disagreement' with other citizens while also critiquing the social exclusion of the disabled within civil society, unequivocally defines their movement as a minjung movement: "Despite all adversities, … I believe that the *Jeonjangyeon*[8] is the strongest minjung in this country."[9] These remarks not only provide a clear indication of the ways in which minjung movements operate in contemporary Korean society, but they also remind us of the importance of deepening research that examins the concept of minjung through such movements. In this context, the current paper will analyze the "Subway Struggles in Rush Hour" by the SADD, which began with the "Seoul Station Railway Occupation"[10] in February 2001 and has continued for the

---

7 Eun-jeon Hong and Park Kyung-suk, "The Birth of a Fighting Man," in *Song of the Warriors,* edited by Beminor (Seoul: Maybooks, 2023), 314.

8 In English, 'Solidarity Against Disability Discrimination'; hereafter SADD. SADD is a disability rights advocacy group in Korea. People commonly refer to it by its acronym, '*Jeonjangyeon*'. Since its formation in 2007, the organization has been conducting resistance activities aimed at resolving issues related to mobility rights for people with disabilities and securing budget support for deinstitutionalization.

9 Kyung-suk Park, "The Significance and Prospects of Subway Actions" (Paper presented at the Who Is the Sinner? One Year of the Disability Rights Budget Struggle: A Roundtable on Subway Actions and the Role of Citizens-Media, Seoul, April 14, 2023), 46.

10 The "Seoul Station railway occupation" refers to the event on February 6, 2001, when

past 20 years, and which has been particularly active from December 2021 to September 2023. This movement will be examined as a significant example of a minjung movement in contemporary Korea.[11]

II. From Urban Social Movements to Urban Political Movements

Over the past four years, numerous articles, commentaries, interviews, and research papers have analyzed and interpreted the political implications of the contemporary Korean disability movement while partially or fully focusing on the subway struggles in Rush Hour. Previous studies, for example, sought to elucidate "the novelty and political implications of the struggle in the history of the South Korean disability movement" and "reveal how social exclusion has intensified since

---

disabled individuals occupied the subway tracks at Seoul Station. Anger over an incident at Oido Station in Seoul on January 22, 2001, where a disabled elderly couple using a wheelchair lift died and the husband suffered severe injuries in an accident, sparked this action.

11 The question remains controversial whether the SADD's Subway Struggles in Rush Hour truly align with the ultimate goals of the disability liberation movement, namely the abolition of discrimination against disabled people and the guarantee of their right to mobility, and whether it may inadvertently complicate cooperation with non-disabled citizens (especially young people and workers who rely on public transportation during the commute) who could be allies to the disabled. Byeong-gwon Goh, "Making Communal Life beyond the Politics of Inclusion," *Economy and Society* 139 (2023), 101. Like previous studies, this paper focuses less on assessing the strategic appropriateness or normative legitimacy of the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour but rather aims to interpret its political philosophical significance as a recent example of the minjung movement, a subject of Korean minjung studies and further, as a form of urban political movement.

neoliberal globalization and explore the possibility of a politics that defends and expands human rights in the face of social exclusion centered on disability movements in South Korean society."[12] In addition to this struggle, they also delicately point out how "disabled people have emerged as the most intransigent combatants of the Korean minority movement" and operate as "a powerful mechanism for interrogating the normativity discipline in Korean society."[13]

Moreover, the contributors to the recent *Culture/Science* issue 115, "Disability and capability," called for a rethinking of disability itself as "the basis of commonification and the politics of care" or "an authentic political site for exposing the emergency of the oppressed."[14] According to recent studies,[15] we can analyze and interpret the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour from various perspectives such as "disability movement and disability politics," "politics of human rights," "minority politics," "politics of care," "politics of capability," and "politics of the true state of exception".[16] I completely agree with these interpretations and, while

12 Goh, "Making Communal Life beyond the Politics of Inclusion," 92; Jeonghoon Jeong, "Social Exclusion, Disability, and the Capability of Disability Politics," *Memory & Vision* 48 (2023), 12.

13 Hyejin Oh, "Civilization, Ability, and Pride," *New Radical Review* 2.3 (2022), 176.

14 Jeonghoon Jeong et al., "In Publishing Issue 115," *Culture/Science* 115 (2023), 7-8; Chang-jo Jung, "The Counterattack of the Non-Civilization," *Culture/Science* 115 (2023), 83.

15 Goh, "Making Communal Life beyond the Politics of Inclusion"; Jeong, "Social Exclusion, Disability, and the Capability of Disability Politics"; Oh, "Civilization, Ability, and Pride"; Beomchul Kwon, "How Disability Becomes a Capability for Commonification?," *Culture/Science* 115 (2023), 17-39; Tae-Won Jin, "Disability as a Capability: Care as a Relationship," *Culture/Science* 115 (2023), 40-60; Jung, "The Counterattack of the Non-Civilization".

16 Jung, "The Counterattack of the Non-Civilization," 85-90.

referring to them comprehensively, I also want to explore the possibility of analyzing/interpreting the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour from the perspective of 'urban political movements' that are actively developing in recent Western urban studies and urban geography, or in the broader fields of spatial theory and geography. This approach is an attempt to understand the disability movement in the context of urban spaces and its political significance, which can expand the scope of existing research and offer new insights.

Despite the presence of well-developed concepts and theoretical frameworks in existing studies, such as disability movements/disability politics, human rights movements/politics of human rights, minority movements/minority politics, politics of care, politics of capability, etc., the introduction of urban political movements is motivated by the fact that both minjung studies, particularly the theory of minjung events in minjung theology, and the theory of urban political movements in contemporary urban studies approach 'politics' or 'the political' through the concept of 'events' occurring in 'urban space'.[17] Therefore, it can be

17 For example, minjung theology began by experiencing the 'Jeon Tae-il Event' of 1970 and the 'Gwangju Grand Housing Complex Event' in 1971 as minjung events where the minjung emerged. Thus, minjung theology has considered the urban industrial mission and urban poor mission, which were actively carried out in the late 1960s to early 1970s in the aftermath of such urban minjung events, as its direct prehistory. The 'Jeon Tae-il Event' and the 'Gwangju Grand Housing Complex Event', which emerged against the backdrop of urban problems in urban spaces during the rapid industrialization and urbanization process under the developmental dictatorship regime of the 1960s and 1970s, and the urban poor mission and industrial mission that accelerated the transition from social mission to minjung movement due to such urban minjung events, gave birth to minjung theology as a 'project of theologizing urban minjung events' (i.e., a theological minjung project).

seen that the urban-minjung-event-politics has functioned as a hermeneutic grid through which Korean minjung studies read the world from its very origins. Based on this fact, although coming from entirely different academic traditions, we can discover theoretical affinity between urban political movement research, which has similarly explored the connection between urban-event-politics in contemporary capitalist society, and Korean minjung studies.

Urban Political Movements have emerged in recent years as part of a theoretical trend across the social sciences. This development aims to introduce into Urban Studies the problematic phenomena of contemporary politics, which have previously been termed as 'post-politics,' 'post-democracy,' and 'the post-political' by influential theorists like Alain Badiou, Jacques Rancière, Étienne Balibar, Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, and Slavoj Žižek. These phenomena are synthesized as the 'depoliticization' of urban space.[18] According to urban geographer Swyngedouw, the depoliticization process in cities refers to "a situation in which the political—understood as a space of contestation and agonistic engagement—is increasingly colonized by politics—understood as technocratic mechanisms and consensual procedures that operate within an unquestioned framework of representative democracy, free

18 Erik Swyngedouw, "Where is the Political? Insurgent Mobilisations and the Incipient 'Return of the Political'," *Space and Polity* 18.2 (2014), 122-136; Mustafa Dikeç and Erik Swyngedouw, "Theorizing the Politicizing City," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 41.1 (2017), 2-18; Kate Driscoll Derickson, "Taking Account of the 'Part of Those That Have No Part'," *Urban Studies* 54.1 (2017), 44-48; Lazaros Karaliotas and Erik Swyngedouw, "Exploring Insurgent Urban Mobilizations," in *Handbook of Urban Geography,* edited by Tim Schwanen and Ronald van Kempen (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019), 369-382.

market economics, and cosmopolitan liberalism."[19] This definition is based on the distinction between 'the political' and 'politics' in the style of Claude Lefort, wherein the colonization of the political by politics is referred to as the process of depoliticization.

However, if—like Rancière—we define the political as "the field of encounter—and 'confusion'—between the process of politics and the process of police",[20] then depoliticization can be seen as referring to the 'idyllic state' of the political, which is called consensus democracy today.[21] In essence, it could be considered as "the very elimination of politics" based on "the quelling of the conflict, dissensus, and rupture that are central to Rancière's understanding of democratic politics."[22] In Rancière's own words, this situation is where "the disenchanted opinion spreads" that "there isn't much to deliberate and that decisions make themselves, the work proper to politics simply involving an opportune adaptability in terms of the demands of the world marketplace and the equitable distribution of the profits and costs of this adaptability."[23]

Through this depoliticization process, political contradictions are downsized to policy issues that experts should manage, and they are legitimized through participatory procedures where the scope of possible

---

19 Japhy Wilson and Erik Swyngedouw, "Seeds of Dystopia," in *The Post-Political and Its Discontents,* edited by Japhy Wilson and Erik Swyngedouw (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 6.

20 Jacques Rancière, "The Thinking of Dissensus," in *Reading Rancière,* edited by Paul Bowman and Richard Stamp (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 5.

21 Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 95.

22 Samuel Chambers, *The Lessons of Rancière* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 33.

23 Rancière, *Disagreement,* viii.

outcomes is pre-defined and narrowed. Consequently, 'the people,' as potentially disruptive political subjects, are replaced with a 'population,' representing the collective objects of opinion polls, monitoring, and bio-political optimization efforts, while citizens become consumers. Eventually, elections become nothing more than another 'choice' arena wherein individuals privately select their preferred administrators based on economic necessity.[24] A crucial aspect of this depoliticization process occurs in urban contexts where the space for opposing state-led politicization logic is closed off. This phenomenon limits the potential for politicization of urban space and issues, meaning the possibilities for difference and antagonism are systematically removed from the urban planning stage onwards.[25]

In the process of further refining his argument, Swyngedouw closely examines some of the urban uprisings that swept the globe in the 2010s, such as the Tunisian Revolution that began in December 2010 and the subsequent 'Arab Spring', which reached its peak in 2011 and spread to Algeria, Libya, Jordan, Sudan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Morocco, and others. He also reviews the 'Occupy Wall Street' protests that started in New York in September of the same year along with the 2014 Hong Kong democracy movement (commonly known as the 'Umbrella Revolution'), which moved through Southern European cities like Madrid, Barcelona, and Athens. He then says that these movements have made people rethink urban spaces as places where politics meet,

---

24 Wilson and Swyngedouw, "Seeds of Dystopia," 6.

25 Mohamed Saleh and Ward Rauws, "The Urban Political Never Sleeps," *EPC: Politics and Space* 40.6 (2022), 1274.

where police order is broken, where political subjects emerge, and as places where a new kind of democratization can happen that promotes radical ideas of what equal urban communities could be. According to Karaliotas and Swyngedouw, we can conceptualize these urban rebellions as 'urban political movements,' advocating for the return of 'the urban political' to the forefront of urban studies.[26]

Urban political movements, which have emerged through the 'recentering of the urban political,' are thus conceptually distinct from urban social movements, which are often centered around one or more contentious issues, which can be effective in influencing urban policy processes and goals and sometimes even policy actions, in that they aim for broader, more universal changes in the institutional order and practices of everyday life.[27] Urban social movements and urban political movements exhibit essential differences in the way they understand the emergence and significance of revolutionary politics and the relationship between the built environment and collective action. For example, urban social movements are primarily focused on considering—from a sociological perspective—how hierarchies of class, race, and gender operate through the urban environment and how counter-hegemonic movements organize around particular identities and goals under these conditions.

By contrast, urban political movements tend to focus on the abstract logic of events as revealed through momentary ruptures in the status quo, centered on "the question of how something 'new' might enter the

---

26 Karaliotas and Swyngedouw, "Exploring Insurgent Urban Mobilizations," 371-374.

27 Dikeç and Swyngedouw, "Theorizing the Politicizing City," 3-4.

world" from a political philosophical perspective,[28] that is, "the emergence of the unexpected, the unforeseeable or the uncategorizable might challenge and transform an existing situation."[29] In the tradition of critical urban studies, while the former is considerably influenced by the Marxist economic geography of David Harvey and (early) Manuel Castells, the latter relies heavily on the concepts and categories detailed by radical philosophers such as Alain Badiou, Jacques Rancière, and Slavoj Žižek. In other words, whereas existing social scientific studies of urban social movements aimed to trace the processes of planning and subject formation in specific cities, recent political philosophical studies of urban political movements have instead aimed to identify universal structures of antagonism, subjectivity, equality, and freedom.[30]

III. Implications of the Korean Disability Movement as an Urban Political Movement: Three Temporalities of the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour

So, how can the problematics of urban political movements be used to study Korean minjung movements? Conversely, what new theoretical implications can Korean minjung movements provide for studying urban political movements? The current paper seeks to answer both ques-

28 Keith Bassett, "Event, Politics, and Space," *Space and Polity* 20.3 (2016), 281

29 Ian James, *The New French Philosophy* (London: Polity, 2012), 2.

30 Theresa Enright, "The Political Topology of Urban Uprisings," *Urban Geography* 38.4 (2017), 559-560.

tions by focusing on the concept of the event. In terms of how the mechanisms of depoliticization are challenged, the studies of urban political movements pay substantial attention to 'events'—moments when the existing dominant social orders and hierarchical social structures are thoroughly challenged, and the emergence of specific political subjects questions their legitimacy, and hence when the "state of situation" or "police order" is ruptured.[31] These occurrences often manifest as "urban revolts" in which marginalized social groups occupy important public spaces in the city to express their alternative political ideology and significantly upset the prevailing urban hierarchy, as exemplified by the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour. This interest in the emergence of revolutionary events is the rationale for using Badiou and Rancière, often referred to as "theorists of the event," as a primary theoretical resource for critical urban studies.[32]

Rancière is highly influential in the field of urban political movements due to his clear differentiation between police and politics, his stated understanding of police order as a socio-spatial order that can be studied geographically, and his unique explanation of how politics is enacted and how political subjects emerge through events. This thinking has led to him being extensively referenced in studies on urban political movements.[33] By referring to Rancière, the implications of the

---

31 Alain Badiou, *Being and Event* (London: Continuum, 2005), 115; Rancière, *Disagreement,* 30.

32 Mark Davidson and Kurt Iveson, "Occupations, Mediations, Subjectifications," *Space and Polity* 18.2 (2014), 138; Saleh and Rauws, "The Urban Political Never Sleeps," 1274.

33 Keith Bassett, "Rancière, Politics, and the Occupy Movement," *EPD: Society and Space* 32.5 (2014), 886-901; Mustafa Dikeç, *Badlands of the Republic* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2011); Mustafa Dikeç, *Space, Politics and Aesthetics* (Edinburgh,

Subway Struggles in Rush Hour—a form of minjung movement developing in contemporary Korean society—for urban political movements can be summarized in terms of the following three dimensions of eventtal temporality.

1. Introducing Political Temporality into Public Space

First, the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour demonstrated that the staging of egalitarian injunctions, or "democratic stagings of injustice assimilated to the reign of injustice," can be found in all sorts of places and contexts, in "almost any time and anywhere," and not only in the specific places in cities that are conventionally defined as "public space".[34] As was previously noted by Byeong-gwon Goh, a survey conducted on the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour revealed that "a majority of respondents agreed that the level of discrimination against people with disabilities in Korean society is 'serious' (57%), and an overwhelming majority (80%) agreed that people with disabilities face significant barriers to using public transportation." However, how the protests were organized—that is, "interrupting citizens' commutes"—was the primary deciding factor for the overwhelming number of respondents who stated that "the

---

UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); Julie-Anne Boudreau, *Global Urban Politics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2016); Erik Swyngedouw, *Promises of the Political: Insurgent Cities in a Post-political Environment* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2018); Mark Davidson and Kurt Iveson, "Spacing Rancière's Politics," in *[Un] Grounding,* edited by Friederike Landau et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021), 133-150.

34 Rancière, *Disagreement,* 81; Davidson and Iveson, "Spacing Rancière's Politics," 143.

protests have changed their perception of people with disabilities 'negatively' (40%)."[35]

If the protest had taken place in the same location during a less crowded time, it probably wouldn't have had such a significant impact. However, the protest faced widespread societal backlash because it occurred during the rush hour subway commute, a time typically marked by "physical crowding and speed, not to mention the pouring in of people's gazes." It was criticized as "an absurdity that takes millions of Seoul citizens' mornings hostage"—to use the words of Junseok Lee, former leader of the People Power Party, who sparked a national conversation about the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour—and indeed faced a truly national-scale reaction.[36]

Consider that "the police order is thus a social structure with a geographical form in which people and practices are 'put in their place'."[37] Against such a police order that allows political activity to occur only in certain places, politics in the Rancièrean sense emphasizes that no specific places are generally considered appropriate for political activities. If this holds true for both place and space, we must also acknowledge that specific situations and contexts that merge time and space cannot inherently contain the political element. This argument holds even for times and spaces like the morning subway commute in a major city like Seoul, where there is a strong expression of attitudes and sentiments that "acknowledge the rights of people with disabilities but do not wish

35 Goh, "Making Communal Life beyond the Politics of Inclusion," 94.

36 Oh, "Civilization, Ability, and Pride," 177.

37 Davidson and Iveson, "Spacing Rancière's Politics," 138.

to mingle with them."[38]

In reality, confining the subjects of political action "to a putatively proper sphere",[39] and assigning politics to specific places or denying the possibility of politics taking place anywhere, is precisely part of the very police order that political activity aims to transform. In Rancière's view, the police order is an order of bodies that establishes the distribution of ways of doing, being, and saying, and those bodies are observed as being named and assigned to a specific location and purpose. It establishes a hierarchy between the visible and the observable, characterizing certain actions as observable and others as not, and distinguishing between discourse and noise.

This explanation of the police order demonstrates that the "morning subway commute," which implicitly designates rightful occupants of that time and space, constitutes a "partition of the sensible" *(partage du sensible*) that considers the distinction between disabled and non-disabled people based on the norm of the able body. For each respective body, it is "a rule governing their appearance, a configuration of occupations and the properties of the spaces where these occupations are distributed."[40] In essence, the belief that the morning subway commute should serve as a public space for citizens, devoid of any political action, is a fetishization of an anti-political notion or a depoliticized pure public space. This belief actually reveals the "configuration of the sensible," which dictates how people exist and should exist. This is, in essence,

---

38 Goh, "Making Communal Life beyond the Politics of Inclusion," 99.

39 Chambers, *The Lessons of Rancière,* 5.

40 Rancière, *Disagreement,* 29.

the nature of the police order operating in Korea's urban spaces today.[41]

Therefore, 'staging' politics in urban spaces is not merely about occupying specific places that have already been recognized as sites for political claims, such as legally permitted squares, for a designated time and then returning them to a non-political state. This is because the 'stage' of politics, where the logic of equality and the logic of policing collide, is not something that pre-exists politics but is produced when those who have no share claim their share right now against policing.[42] When viewed in this context, the logic of the state and the majority of citizens, which permits political activity spaces for disabled people "only as long

---

41 In Korean society, the police order enables certain groups or individuals to monopolize spaces, such as in the case of the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour, where non-disabled citizens exclude disabled citizens from the subway space during the commute. In other words, the distribution of the police excludes any void or supplement represented by non-counted existences like people with disabilities, accounting for everyone. The police are fundamentally a partition of the sensible, marked by "the absence of a void or a supplement": society is made up of groups committed to particular vocations, in locations where these vocations are practiced, and in ways of existing that are consistent with these vocations and locations. A void has no place in this fittingness of locations, functions, and ways of being. Thus, the police principle at the core of statist practices is the exclusion of what 'there is not,' such as people with disabilities who are reliant on non-disabled people and are seen to be incapable of being independent. "The essence of politics, then, is to disturb this arrangement by supplementing it with a part of the no-part identified with the community. Political litigiousness/struggle brings politics into being by separating it from the police." Jacques Rancière, "Ten Theses on Politics," *Theory & Event 5.3* (2001), par. 21.

42 According to Rancière, disagreement, conflict staging, and the declaration of a wrong are the only ways that a political dispute arises. The main sources of conflict in politics are the presence of a shared stage and the status and existence of individuals who are present on it. An interlocutor, unable to see or view the stage for legitimate reasons, must first demonstrate its existence. "The conflict they name and count them as parties does not exist prior to the parties." Rancière, *Disagreement,* 26–27. Only the conflict itself can determine the parties to a political dispute, implying that there were no parties prior to the conflict. Chambers, *The Lessons of Rancière,* 163.

as it does not disrupt the daily lives of non-disabled people," stands in stark contrast to the SADD's assertion that public transport during rush hour should transform into "a space freely accessible for disabled people to move, get educated, work, and ultimately share everyday life with non-disabled people in the community".[43] This situation exemplifies the moment when the morning subway commute, once considered a pure 'public space' for citizens, becomes a stage for politics, disrupting the police order through conflict, dissonance, and collision between the logic of policing and the logic of equality.

As such, the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour are an important reminder illustrating that, in addition to the spatiality that has to this point been the focus of studies of urban political movements considering the staging of politics, we also need to take into account the temporal dimension that results in the differentiation of the same place.

2. The Temporality of Politics: Verification of What Has Already Been Declared, Not a Demand for What Has Not Yet Been Realized

Second, with reference to Rancière's philosophy, which presents "politics as untimely" and understands politics as "a moment of interruption, as a possible event with repercussions that can never be anticipated",[44] the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour reveal the fundamental im-

43 Goh, "Making Communal Life beyond the Politics of Inclusion," 99.

44 Chambers, The Lessons of Rancière, 8.

plications of the "temporality of politics" in studies of urban political movements. To explain this, we must revisit the background behind their decision to proceed with the form of protest involving collectively boarding the subway during rush hour, despite anticipating the backlash it would provoke.[45]

As one disability activist explained, the "Mobility Disadvantaged Persons Act" was enacted in January 2005 as a result of the struggle for the right to mobility that began in earnest after the Oido Station disaster in 2001 and the Balsan Station crash in 2002.[46] Disability studies researchers particularly emphasize that Article 3 of the Act defines the right to mobility as "the right to use safely, conveniently, and without discrimination, all means of transportation, passenger facilities, and roads used by persons, other than the mobility disadvantaged persons" to assure that everyone has the freedom to seek pleasure, worth, and dignity as a human being.[47]

However, both researchers referenced in the prior sentence cite the "2021 Survey on the Convenience of Transportation for Mobility Disadvantaged Persons" (commonly known as the "Survey on the Convenience of Transportation"), which reveals that, "as of 2021, the population of mobility disadvantaged persons in the nation amounts to 15,509 thousand people (approximately 30.0% of the total pop-

---

45 Goh, "Making Communal Life beyond the Politics of Inclusion," 99.

46 Jin Woo Yu, "We Ride the Subway Because We Can No Longer Afford to Die," *New Radical Review* 2.3 (2022), 209-210.

47 Han-Jin Jo, "The Reality of Mobility Rights for People with Disabilities and Proposals for Ensuring Mobility Rights," *Welfare Now* 293 (2023), 34; Kim, "22 Years of Struggle for the Right to Mobility," 23.

ulation)," yet, "as of 2021, the nationwide adoption rate of low-floor buses is only 30.6% (10,828 buses)." As pointed out by Han-Jin Jo, "this means that if a disabled person is waiting at a bus stop, they cannot board three out of every four buses that pass by, and can only board every fourth bus."[48]

Therefore, having painfully experienced the consequences of not having a mandatory budget for the introduction of low-floor buses, the SADD has been demanding a funding ratio of 70:30 between national and local budgets (50:50 for Seoul), but this demand still faces obstacles due to opposition from the Ministry of Economy and Finance, which has thus far prevented the bill from passing through the National Assembly. This situation led them to finally take action in the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour, summarizing their cause as the "Disability Rights Budget" with the focus on enabling disabled people to "move, get educated, work, and live in the community."[49] Here, it is crucial to recognize that the subjects of the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour are already enacting/performing the right to mobility they are fighting to acquire, based on Article 3 of the "Mobility Disadvantaged Persons Act". By attempting to freely and equally board the subway during rush hour, they are presupposing the equal political community without discrimination against the disabled that they demand.

There is a complicated aspect of time involved in imagining equality

48 His following question is even more incisive: "If non-disabled people had to let three buses pass by like this, would they tolerate it? If not, then why should disabled people have to?" Jo, "The Reality of Mobility Rights for People with Disabilities," 35-36.

49 Kim, "22 Years of Struggle for the Right to Mobility," 23.

before the actual acts of protest and declaration, which goes against the usual linear chronology that first finds an event and then records it. Egalitarian struggles encompass foreseeing the future within the past while asserting one's entitlement to participate in society even before its formal acknowledgment.[50] Consequently, events are primarily perceived as inscriptions that reflect not the outright genesis of equality but rather its acknowledgment as a fundamental assumption embedded within the practices that implement it.[51]

Rancière's famous "Syllogism of Emancipation" explained in *On the Shores of Politics* (1995) while using the example of the 1833 Paris tailors' strike could be applied to interpret the logic of action by the SADD.[52] The actions of SADD related to the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour appear to treat the right to mobility—which, as noted previously, has already been articulated in the "Mobility Disadvantaged Persons Act"—as a lifeline that enables a person to live as a social being, as "the basic premise of all rights," that is, the grand premise of equality.[53] Therefore, the refusal of the Ministry of Economy and Finance to increase the budget, contradicting this grand premise, can be interpreted as a minor factor leading to the conclusion of the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour.

---

50 Kevin Inston, "Inscribing the Egalitarian Event," *Constellations* 24.1 (2017), 18.

51 Rancière, *Disagreement,* 33.

52 Jacques Rancière, *On the Shores of Politics* (London and New York: Verso, 1995), 45-51.

53 Hong and Park, "The Birth of a Fighting Man," 285; Bora Lee-Kil, "The Struggle for a Disability Rights Budget, Deaf Individuals and CODAs, and Through the Medium of Art" (Paper presented at the Who Is the Sinner? One Year of the Disability Rights Budget Struggle: A Roundtable on Subway Actions and the Role of Citizens-Media, Seoul, April 14, 2023), 62.

In essence, it is argued that the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour were chosen as a practice to institutionalize the legally articulated right to mobility through budget allocations while repeating the egalitarian words of the law to recognize a right that, though yet to be acknowledged by the Korean government and civil society, has already been established. According to SADD, people have already "spoken of and written about" the right to free and equal mobility for all. "It must therefore be verifiable", and the way to confirm this right is for individuals with disabilities to actually board the subway. [54] Naturally, if the subway refuses to board them, it is necessary to stop them from doing so, as this is a violation of the law.

According to this discussion, the task of verifying equality in the exercise of the right to mobility specified in the "Mobility Disadvantaged Persons Act" necessarily involves a process of constantly reinventing the community by "those who have no rights in the matter, but who nevertheless assert such rights in the junction between the violence of a new beginning and the invocation of something already said, something already inscribed."[55] Therefore, the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour are a political event "to create a space where equality can state its own claim" regarding the exercise of the right to mobility.[56]

As long as it is the enactment/performance of politics and the occurrence of an event, the SADD is not 'requesting' an unknown equality to be granted someday by Korean society. Legal declarations assert that ev-

---

54 Rancière, *On the Shores of Politics,* 47.

55 Ibid., 91.

56 Ibid., 47.

eryone, including disabled individuals, should already have equal rights to mobility, thereby establishing equality in this regard. Hence, the current reality of inequality experienced by some due to the significantly insufficient national budget allocated to this issue, thus leading to the exclusion of certain individuals from the specific time and space of the city's morning subway commute, contradicts the grand premise of equality. The Subway Struggles in Rush Hour are 'demonstrating' this contradiction, and by doing so, they are declaring the 'wrong' of the Korean government and civil society.

As a result, the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour collapse the chronology of time, which presupposes action or practice first and then assumes its legal articulation or institutional inscription. Instead, by continuously repeating the proclamation of declarations that have already been inscribed in the law, it exemplifies the 'non-linear' temporality of the event.[57]

3. Reversed Temporality of Event and Subject

Finally, the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour offer an opportunity to rethink the temporality of political subjectivation in studies of urban political movements. As we have seen, if the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour are considered to be an instance of political staging and an event in the Rancièrian sense, then the untimeliness of democratic politics, which is a crucial aspect of Rancière's political theory, must also apply equally to this event. In Rancière's works, the concept of the event is a heuristic con-

57 Inston, "Inscribing the Egalitarian Event," 16.

ception, which is requested ex post facto in the context of distinguishing between 'police,' who operate entirely within reality (in contrast to their placement in Badiou's ontological framework), and 'politics.' The "natural order of domination" is interrupted when "a part of those who have no part" is established in the existing place distribution.[58]

Thus, in this sense, politics is more than just the clash of interests and opinions among already accounted-for groups within the police order; instead, it is a more profound collision between the logics of equality and policing, a division of the perceptible itself, and by its very nature, "it happens very little or rarely."[59] As paradoxically stated by Chambers, a political moment, being such a rare event, can only arise as "a never predictable, and always insurrectionary, moment," that is, as "moment when a given order of domination and a given regime of hierarchy are radically called into question by the emergence of a political subject, a *demos*."[60] Of course, the people, or 'minjung', who are referred to by Rancière as the *dēmos,* are not a specific collective or an identity called a "race or population," but rather the name of "the anyone and everyone;" in other words, "subjects inscribed as a supplement to the count of the parts of society, a specific figure of 'the part of those who have no-part'."[61]

A critical point not to be overlooked in the emergence of a political subject through an event is the fact that "the *dēmos* that undoes a given order does not and cannot exist prior to its surprising and unpredictable

58 Rancière, *Disagreement,* 11.

59 Rancière, *Disagreement,* 17; Bassett, "Event, Politics, and Space," 281.

60 Chambers, *The Lessons of Rancière,* 8-9.

61 Rancière, "Ten Theses on Politics," par. 19.

appearance on the stage of politics."[62] Therefore, the emergence of a political subject is always non-linear and untimely in that it naturally reverses the relationship between subject and event. Nearly all minjung theories of the 1970s and 80s in Korea, in addition to many current political subjectivation discourses, still assume that some political subject, whatever its name, pre-exists as a powerful, transformative protagonist of historical development that precedes the related event. Under specific political circumstances, this assumption is that the political subject instigates an event through resistance to power, which occurs due to this pre-existing subject's resistance. However, Rancière argues that the appearance of a political subject can only be understood after the occurrence of an event. Therefore, the formulation "politics makes possible the subject of politics" in political subjectivation can be rearticulated as "the minjung-event makes possible the minjung" in the context of the minjung movement.[63]

As previously stated, from Rancière's point of view, political subjects are not pre-existing social groupings only waiting to be politicized.[64] Instead, as commented by Davidson and Iveson, Rancière's approach rejects the notion that any particular claim or subject is inherently destined to become a political actor.[65] Expanding upon this discussion, if we interpret the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour as a political event that

---

62 Chambers, *The Lessons of Rancière,* 8-9.

63 *Ibid.*, 9.

64 Çiğdem Çidam, *In the Street. Democratic Action, Theatricality, and Political Friendship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 137.

65 Davidson and Iveson, "Spacing Rancière's Politics," 141.

emerged as a form of urban political movement rather than an urban social movement in contemporary Korean society, then the subject produced by this event should no longer be called by the specific identity of "disabled people" or "people with disabilities," but more appropriately by the name of a political subject such as *dēmos* or people, and more precisely as minjung. In this way, the unprecedented urban uprising caused by SADD reverses the relationship between event and subject, eliminating any possibility of reifying identity politics into a social movement.

IV. Conclusion

The present study used the concept of 'event' to investigate two primary questions: first, it examines the efficacy of urban political movement frameworks in assessing Korean minjung movements. Second, this study explored the theoretical perspectives that Korean minjung movements might offer to the broader field of urban political movements. In order to address these two research questions, the present study thoroughly analyzed the disability liberation movement, which has emerged as a prominent minjung movement in Korea. SADD's Subway Struggles in Rush Hour, a case study that illustrates both a recent Korean minjung movement and an urban political movement, has received particular attention.

The detailed examination in this paper has shown how these struggles introduce a distinctive and unique evental temporality into public spaces, challenging conventional socio-spatial orders and prompting

critical interrogations of established social hierarchies. Furthermore, it has shown that the politics of time in these movements goes beyond the legalization of rights; it also involves the declaration of rights and enactment of rights in ways that are not obvious from a chronological point of view. Finally, this paper highlighted the reversed temporality of event and subject in this movement, emphasizing the dynamic nature of political subjectivation, where events themselves act as catalysts for the formation of political subjects. In sum, the conceptualization of politics as an event implies that an event retrospectively creates a political subject that seemingly precedes it.

As demonstrated by the SADD transforming the Subway Struggles in Rush Hour into an unprecedented site of a political event, the subject of democratic politics in contemporary Korean society, namely the minjung, does not merely appear in a pre-existing space of politics but reinvents that stage through their emergence. This analysis provides important insights into the dynamics of urban political movements and their role in driving social transformation. It also reveals the transformative potential of political engagement in unconventional urban settings.

Therefore, we should understand minjung as not existing prior to minjung movements, but rather emerging as a result of these movements. More specifically, in the Korean context, minjung historically emerged as a concept in the creation of a contested common ground to assert human, civic, and labor rights against the structural contradictions of the military or developmental dictatorship regimes of the 1970s and 1980s. This is, of course, still true today. Once again, to borrow from Rancière's insights, minjung has no existence as a real part of society before the 'wrong'—that

is, the minjung movement—that its name exposes.[66]

This paper takes a clear stance on the untimeliness of political subjectivation and attempts a political-philosophical reinterpretation of the concept of minjung. It specifically focuses on the disability liberation movement, a form of minjung movement that has recently gained prominence in Korean society. In conclusion, as long as the minjung movement continues alongside political events, minjung must continue to emerge as an event. This is why minjung studies can and will continue in Korea.

Received 2024. 12. 9. Revised 2024. 12. 17. Accepted 2024. 12. 23.

66 Rancière, *Disagreement,* 39.

Bibliography

Ahn, Byung-Mu. "The Global Horizons of the Korean Minjung." *Minjung Theology* 1 (1995): 39–56.

Badiou, Alain. *Being and Event*. Translated by Oliver Feltham. London: Continuum, 2005.

Bassett, Keith. "Rancière, Politics, and the Occupy Movement." *EPD: Society and Space* 32.5 (2014): 886-901.

_____. "Event, Politics, and Space: Rancière or Badiou?." *Space and Polity* 20.3 (2016): 280-293.

Boudreau, Julie-Anne. *Global Urban Politics*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2016.

Chambers, Samuel. *The Lessons of Rancière*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Cho, Hee-yeon. "The Development of Democracy and Social Movements in South Korea." in *NGO Guide,* edited by Hee-yeon Cho, 282-302. Seoul: Hankyoreh, 2001.

Çidam, Çiğdem. *In the Street. Democratic Action, Theatricality, and Political Friendship*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Davidson, Mark, and Kurt Iveson. "Occupations, Mediations, Subjectifications." *Space and Polity* 18.2 (2014): 137-152.

_____. "Spacing Rancière's Politics." in *[Un] Grounding,* edited by Friederike Landau et al., 133-150. New York: Columbia University Press, 2021.

Derickson, Kate Driscoll. "Taking Account of the 'Part of Those That Have No Part'." *Urban Studies* 54.1 (2017): 44-48.

Dikeç, Mustafa. *Badlands of the Republic*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2011.

_____. *Space, Politics and Aesthetics*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.

Dikeç, Mustafa, and Erik Swyngedouw. "Theorizing the Politicizing City." *International*

Journal of Urban and Regional Research 41.1 (2017): 2-18.

Enright, Theresa. "The Political Topology of Urban Uprisings." *Urban Geography* 38.4 (2017): 557-577.

Goh, Byeong-gwon. "Making Communal Life beyond the Politics of Inclusion." *Economy and Society* 139 (2023.): 92-117.

Hong, Eun-jeon, and Park Kyung-suk, "The Birth of a Fighting Man." in *Song of the Warriors,* edited by Beminor, 245-314. Seoul: Maybooks, 2023.

Hwang, Yongyeon. "A Study on the Effect of the Term Minjung in Korean Minjung Theology." *Theological Thought* 190 (2020): 423-454.

Inston, Kevin. "Inscribing the Egalitarian Event." *Constellations* 24.1 (2017): 15-26.

James, Ian. *The New French Philosophy.* London: Polity, 2012.

Jeong, Jeonghoon. "Social Exclusion, Disability, and the Capability of Disability Politics." *Memory & Vision* 48 (2023): 12-46.

Jeong, Jeonghoon et al. "In Publishing Issue 115." *Culture/Science* 115 (2023): 5-14.

Jin, Tae-Won. "Disability as a Capability: Care as a Relationship." *Culture/Science* 115 (2023): 40-60.

Jo, Han-Jin. "The Reality of Mobility Rights for People with Disabilities and Proposals for Ensuring Mobility Rights." *Welfare Now* 293 (2023): 34-37.

Jung, Chang-jo. "The Counterattack of the Non-Civilization." *Culture/Science* 115 (2023): 61-83.

Kang, In-Cheol. "Minjung." in *Academic Terms in Korean Studies,* edited by The Academy of Korean Studies, 217-251. Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies Press, 2020.

_____. *The Minjung, the Subject of Resistance.* Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 2023.

_____. *The Minjung, in the Era and History.* Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 2023.

Karaliotas, Lazaros, and Erik Swyngedouw. "Exploring Insurgent Urban Mobilizations." in *Handbook of Urban Geography,* edited by Tim Schwanen and Ronald van

Kempen, 369-382. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019.

Kim, Dohyun. "22 Years of Struggle for the Right to Mobility, It's Time for the State to Answer." *Christian Thought* 772 (2023): 15-25.

Kim, Jin-Ho. "Questioning the Ambiguities of the Democratization Movement After Democratization." Paper presented at the Beyond the Cycle of Enthusiasm and Disillusionment: A Symposium on the Crisis of Democracy and the Search for a 'Second Democratization', Seoul, April 14, 2010.

Kwon, Beomchul. "How Disability Becomes a Capability for Commonification?." *Culture/Science* 115 (2023): 17-39.

Lee, Namhee. *The Making of Minjung*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Lee-Kil, Bora. "The Struggle for a Disability Rights Budget, Deaf Individuals and CODAs, and Through the Medium of Art." Paper presented at the Who Is the Sinner? One Year of the Disability Rights Budget Struggle: A Roundtable on Subway Actions and the Role of Citizens-Media, Seoul, April 14, 2023, 61-65.

Oh, Hyejin. "Civilization, Ability, and Pride." *New Radical Review* 2.3 (2022): 175-193.

Park, Kyung-suk. "The Significance and Prospects of Subway Actions." Paper presented at the Who Is the Sinner? One Year of the Disability Rights Budget Struggle: A Roundtable on Subway Actions and the Role of Citizens-Media, Seoul, April 14, 2023, 31-48.

Rancière, Jacques. *On the Shores of Politics*. Translated by Liz Heron. London and New York: Verso, 1995.

_____. *Disagreement*. Translated by Julie Rose. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

_____. "Ten Theses on Politics." Translated by Rachel Bowlby and Davide Panagia. *Theory & Event* 5.3 (2001): n.p.

_____. "The Thinking of Dissensus." in *Reading Rancière,* edited by Paul Bowman and Richard Stamp, 1-17. London and New York: Continuum, 2011.

Saleh, Mohamed, and Ward Rauws. "The Urban Political Never Sleeps." *EPC: Politics and Space* 40.6 (2022): 1272-1289.

Sonn, Hochul. “Anatomy of Civil Society.” *East Asian Studies*. Special Issue (2004): 12-40.

Swyngedouw, Erik. “Where is the Political? Insurgent Mobilisations and the Incipient ‘Return of the Political’.” *Space and Polity* 18.2 (2014): 122-136.

_____. *Promises of the Political*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2018.

Wilson, Japhy and Erik Swyngedouw. “Seeds of Dystopia.” In *The Post-Political and Its Discontents,* edited by Japhy Wilson and Erik Swyngedouw, 1-22. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2014.

Yu, Jin Woo. “We Ride the Subway Because We Can No Longer Afford to Die.” *New Radical Review* 2.3 (2022): 207-220.