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Toward a theorization of political maternity in the post-Gwangju Uprising Movement: Between reproduction and transformation of Confucian gender norms. Focusing on the bereaved mothers of the Gwangju May Uprising, the fiercest contributors to the post-Uprising movement that ushered in a series of transformative socio-political movements since 1980, this project examines a dialectic nature of mothers' political agency in the most Confucian country. With a critical, alternative examination on the roles of the patriarchal norms and expectations, it examines how the bereaved mothers have negotiated and utilized Confucian gender norms for the transformative movement. As a counter argument to the hegemonic knowledge that women fulfill reproductive duties, it reveals an open-ended, transformative potential of their subjectivities, which is contingent on various cultural, economic, social, and political conditions. It investigates how the mothers became the fiercest protesters for the truth and justice for the victims of the Uprising, by conforming to and defying traditional patriarchal canons of domesticity. As a theoretical update to Ruddick's (1995; 2002) notion of Maternal Thinking, Honig's (2009) notion of Emergency Politics, this project further reconsiders the transformative, constitutive power of women's plural and contingent political agency in a crisis situation. With this theoretical elaboration and an alternative historiography on women's political agency, this project further examines a variety of social factors that simultaneously motivated/ facilitated and hindered/ stopped the mothers' activism. By doing so, this project contributes to the critical understanding of women's political agency under conservative social milieus, and the dialectics between transformative human agency and any given socio-cultural tradition's continuing influence on people's life and everyday behaviors in South Korea.

Gooyong Kim (Ph.D. in Cultural/ Media Studies, UCLA) is an Associate Professor of Communication Arts at Cheyney University of Pennsylvania. His research includes Critical Studies, Cultural/ Media Studies, Media Aesthetics/ Criticism, Media Literacy, Political Economy of the Media, Cultural Politics of Neoliberalism, and Social Movements. His recent publication, *From Factory Girls to K-Pop Idol Girls: Cultural Politics of Developmentalism, Patriarchy, and Neoliberalism in South Korean Popular Music Industry* with Lexington Books critically analyzes broader cultural, economic, political, and social implications of K-pop female idols' successes. At the moment, he is working on a book, *Political Maternity, Human Rights, and the Gwangju May Uprising: Untold Stories of the Bereaved Mothers' Fight for Truth and Justice in South Korea* to be published by Palgrave Macmillan, which re-evaluates women's contribution to South Korea's democratization in terms of an open-ended, transformative potential of their subjectivities.