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Master's Thesis of Arts

**A Study on the USAMGIK's Approach to
the Subjectivity of Civics and Farmer
after the Liberation:**

A Content Analysis of the *Farmer's Weekly*

해방 후 공민과 농민 주체에 관한 미군정의 접근

연구: 「농민주보」의 내용분석을 중심으로

August 2019

Global Education Cooperation Major

Graduate School

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ABSTRACT

A Study on the USAMGIK's Approach to the Subjectivity of Civics and Farmers after the Liberation: A Content Analysis of the *Farmer's Weekly*

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The purpose of this study is to explore how the intentions of the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK, 1945-1948) were represented in the *Farmer's Weekly*, published by the Department of Public Information, in terms of enlightening farmers as a new subject of newly-independent South Korea. This study conducts a qualitative content analysis of the *Farmer's Weekly* to illustrate the aspects of literacy that are found in it and the subjectivity the military government intended to produce through such literacy. The newspaper is viewed as a literacy education texts in that it contained contents on knowledge, attitudes, values, and practices to cultivate a certain literacy.

The contents of the *Farmer's Weekly* are categorized into three groups based on the types of literacy they foster: basic, political, and agricultural literacy. The basic literacy contents are subdivided into Korean literacy, the history of Korea, and health. The political literacy contents comprise the following: the USAMGIK's policies, activities, and political perspectives; criticisms against the communist Soviet Unions; and democracy and political participation. The agricultural literacy contents include food policies, crop cultivation techniques, animal husbandry, and farmers' virtues.

These contents are restructured as the literacy required for the *kongmin* (civics)—a political subject—and the farmer—an economic subject. The *kongmin* is the subject who realizes nation-building and democracy within the US-led liberal camp while conforming to the national authority. Literacy for the *kongmin* is composed of, first, basic literacy of Hangeul, Korean history, and health and, second, political literacy comprising appreciation of democracy, pro-US and anti-Soviet perspectives, and conformity to the national authority. This was a noticeable switch from colonial education for imperial subjects, characteristic of the approach of the military government (MG) to the political subject of a democratic state in the context of the Cold War. The conformity required of the *kongmin*, however, had the potential to override the value for democracy, amid highly nationalistic colonial legacies remaining in education, as it meant refraining from active political participation.

The farmer is a rational economic subject, who is required for scientific literacy for farming. The literate farmer also learns to become not only self-reliant to break the cycle of individual poverty but also devoted to supporting the national economy. This incorporates both the United States' introduction to a rational way

of thinking and practice in farming, as well as values that were conventionally required of farmers from the late colonial period with continuing rural poverty, limited governmental financial support, and procrastination of land reforms after the liberation. As such, the subjectivity the USAMGIK intended through the medium of the *Farmer's Weekly* had distinctive characteristics but was also based upon the educational contexts intertwined with political and economic contexts unfolding from the colonial period into liberated Korea.

This thesis provides a better understanding of literacy education for farmers. It discusses the features of literacy that the MG required farmers to learn, in terms of making them the new subjects of independent Korea. It also contributes to an understanding of the features of farmers' economic as well as political subjectivity, while previous research was more inclined to solely investigate political subjectivity focusing on *kongmin* in the political contexts of the Cold War.

Keywords: Farmer, Civics, *Kongmin*, Farmers' enlightenment, Literacy, *Farmer's Weekly*

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CFAO	Central Food Administration Office
EROA	Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Areas
GARIOA	Government Appropriations for Relief in Occupied Areas
HUSAFIK	History of the United States Armed Forces in Korea
KAA	Korean Agriculture Association
NKC	New Korean Company
MG	Military Government
US	United States
USAMGIK	United States Army Military Government in Korea
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

At the beginning of temporary military occupation (1945–1948), the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) announced the termination of the Japanese colonial regime and construction of an independent democratic nation. Its education policy also broadly aimed at establishing an appropriate education system for the new state. It intended to incorporate south Korea into the US-led liberal and capitalistic camp in the postwar world order (Lee, 2008, pp. 173–177). Korean committee members of the Academic Affairs Bureau, including Cheon-suk Oh, Eokgyeom Yu, and Sungsu Kim recognized the necessity of democracy education to build a democratic nation (Kim, 2015, p. 140–141).

In liberated Korea, several concepts of *kukmin*, *inmin*, and *simin* competed with each other around this question: Who should be the subject of the fore-coming democratic nation? *Inmin* was most commonly used among rightwing and leftwing political and intellectual groups. The term translates as people who were not only the ruled of a society and nation but also, more importantly, subjects who realized the value of democracy and the need to construct a democratic nation. Leftist intellectuals adopted the term *inmin* to mean the exploited social class including laborers, farmers, a part of the middle class, and subjects of the people-democracy revolution. On the other hand, rightist intellectuals used the term to refer to members of a Western liberal democratic nation, which was more or less closer to *kukmin* in meaning (Park, 2011, pp. 64–67).

Kukmin was a translation of nation-people, which was adopted by Korean

intellectuals from Japan in the 19th century. They appropriated the term as *Sinmin* or people who were subjects of the king during the era of the Korean Empire. In the Japanese colonial period, they were considered subjects of the Japanese empire, upon which the Korean empire stood. After the liberation, nationalist groups, or pan-rightist forces shed light on the concept of *kukmin* as political subjects of independent Korea. Then, the meaning of the subject of the Japanese Emperor was excluded. The rightists propounded the subject of liberal democracy in contrast to that of people's democracy and the concept of people itself in the middle of intensifying ideological conflicts. For example, the rightist Korean Democratic Party, formed in September 1945, represented *kukmins* by claiming to stand for improvements in *kukmins'* lives and refinement and liberal development of all *kukmins* (Park, 2009, pp. 82–105).

Simin translates as citizens who originated from Western countries; yet, it was not widely used right after liberation and generally not associated with positive connotations when used. The leftist intellectuals viewed *simin* as the exploitative, reactionary bourgeois, while rightists adopted the word to indicate ordinary people rather than a particular political group. In the whole period of the Occupation, the concept of *simin* was not discussed as a new subject of a democratic nation, contrary to the other two concepts (Park, 2011, p. 65; p.68).

The subject of the independent nation was also a critical matter in education circles. Educators had to tackle the question of which subjects should be the target of education and how they should be fostered. Koreans had to construct and develop a new nation that assumes in its base subjects who perceive themselves as people of the nation; that is, subjects who embrace their membership to the nation and voluntarily partake in state affairs. Education could be a powerful mechanism

that deconstructs individuals' family and regional identities and entitles them with an identity as a member or citizen of the nation. This process is realized by the reflections of societal needs in educational curricula and contents leading to the internalization of notions and values that correspond to the existing political systems among the educated (Fägerlind & Saha J., 1983, pp. 118–136; Oh, 2014; Hwang, 2015).

The US military government (MG) and collaborating Korean education staff set the official purpose of education policies as educating people to become citizens of a democratic nation. The National Committee on Educational Planning (1945.11–1946.3)¹ proposed a way forward for education by formally stating “the fundamental idea of Chosun (Korean) education is to cultivate the *kongmin* of a democratic country who have a well-rounded character and completely patriotic spirits based on the founding principles of *Hongik Ingan*²” at its fourth meeting (Oh, 2014a, p.15). The subsequent education policies explicitly began educating *kongmin* as their main purpose.

The noteworthy point is that the MG and the Department of Education did not include nation-people (國民, *kukmin*), people (人民, *inmin*), or citizens (市民, *simin*) as an official educational policy term. The educators of the MG suggested *kongmin* instead even though politicians and intellectual circles made use of the

¹ The National Committee on Educational Planning comprised 61 Korean and 11 American committees in 10 divisions in total. It played a key role in educational reforms such as compulsory primary education and the 6-3-3-4 academic system during the MG period. It was an advisory committee for the Bureau of Schools, but a quasi-administrative organization in actual terms due to its strong function in policy enforcement. Of all the Korean staff, the majority (42) were pro-MG while the rest (19) were critical of the MG including members of the Korean Educators Associations (Kim, 1995, p. 31).

² *Hongik Ingan* (弘益人間) can be translated as a human who is beneficial to humanity and devoted to human welfare.

term people and nation-people in their discussions about the construction of a nation. *Kongmin* was a translation of civics (civilian) or citizen who originated from Western Europe and the United States. It was usually concurrently used with the phrase of the democratic state in the education philosophy of the National Committee on Educational Planning or in social studies textbooks. It indicated that civics were subjects who realize democracy (Cha, 2018, pp. 234–236). Highlighted here is the rationale that Koreans have now overcome education that cultivates subjects who serve the Japanese Emperor and are advancing towards education that fosters citizens of the democratic state.

The Bureau of Education prioritized the reopening and organization of primary education to satisfy Koreans' demands for education and implement education for the *kongmin*. However, schooling alone was not sufficient to conduct democracy education for the entire population as the policy had intended. The enrolment rate was raised to a relatively decent 40 percent towards the early 1940s (Oh, 2000), but the illiteracy rate of the south³ Korean population was estimated to be extremely high: 80 percent of the entire population around the time of liberation (Kim & Yoo, 2001). It provides evidence that the illiteracy rate of the adequately educated was low, while that of unenrolled youths and un-schooled adults constituted the largest proportion. Thus, social education⁴ could be considered to play a significant role in realizing democracy and constructing a democratic state.

³ In this thesis, south Korea indicates the southern part of the Korean peninsula under the US military rule after the partition. It had no official country name since Korean government was yet to be established. It was just called *Nam Chosun*, or south Chosun. The articles of the *Farmer's Weekly*, the analysis text of this research, also used the term *Nam Chosun*.

⁴ The term "social education" indicated an extension of schooling for youths and adults who did not attend schools in the Japanese colonial period (Lee, 2010). The MG replaced the term "social education" with the term "adult education" in official education policies as the latter was a common term in US education programs.

The MG began to enforce adult education policies when the Adult Education Advisory Committee drew up the Program of Adult Education. It proclaimed that the purpose of the adult education policy was to be raising civics while simultaneously eliminating illiteracy. Its first chapter defined adult education as education “for uneducated, illiterate boys and girls above school age of 13.” The purpose was stated as follows: “to educate uneducated boys and girls above school age and re-educate adults to enhance spirits of *kongmin*” (USAMGIK, Program of Adult Education, in Jeong, 1992b, p. 891).

The crucial aim of adult education was to enlighten farmers. The rural population accounted for approximately 75 to 77 percent of the south Koreans. They could be considered to compose the majority of the illiterate, with a maximum of 80 percent of the population aged above 13 years being illiterate. They either had no opportunities for schooling or were restricted to elementary education.⁵ Thus, two educational tasks became the targets for the construction of an independent, democratic nation; one was obviously to lower the high illiteracy rate of the farmers and the other was to politically socialize farmers from being subjects of imperial Japan to *kongmin* of a democratic state (Lee, 1997, p. 298).

Political guidance and education for adults became considerably important in 1947 after general elections were held to determine the Constitution Assembly and establish a government of South Korea. The MG had to pay more attention to

⁵ Illiteracy rate after the liberation is generally considered to be 78 percent when in fact this estimate was originally the rate of the population who had not enrolled in a school in 1944. At the time of census investigation by age and school year, the rate of people aged above 30 who had not attended a school out of the entire population aged above 30 was recorded as 78 percent. This number was misrepresented as the illiteracy rate. Considering that the literacy rate was 22.1 percent (illiteracy rate 77.9 percent) according to an investigation by the Central Education Institute in 1961, the illiteracy rate right after the liberation is inferred to be higher than 78 percent owing to much poorer education conditions (Gi-seok Kim & Sung-sang Yoo, 2001).

farmers' enlightenment while simultaneously monitoring public opinion in rural areas as the votes of rural people would play a significant role in the general elections. The investigation deputy from the United States also recommended strengthening democracy education for adults after having observed farmers' keen interest in the composition of the new government (Lee, 2008, pp. 184–185).

The MG was well aware of the necessity to strengthen propaganda and enlightenment activities targeting farmers. It dispatched public survey teams seven times from July to December 1947 to farming villages in Chungcheong nam-do, Kangwon-do, Kyongsang- nam-do, Kyongsang buk-do, Jeolla nam-do, and Jeolla buk-do⁶. Later, in 1948, the Office of Intelligence Research under the US Department of States pointed out the urgency of a grassroot approach, which suggested the necessity of enlightenment activities for a large rural population (Kim, 2005, pp. 332–333).

The governmental agency of public information was specifically in charge of and closely related to the enlightenment of farmers as their publication of a newspaper called the *Farmer's Weekly* shows. It was a medium for policy promotion and enlightenment that selectively targeted the rural population. Therefore, the *Farmer's Weekly* gives clues to obtain an understanding of how the MG intended to enlighten farmers, specifically with regard to their intent approach to educating new subjects of independent Korea.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The term *kongmin* has gradually lost its significance, and the term itself has

⁶ The Korean term *-do* means province; *nam* means south, and *buk* north.

been disappearing after the establishment of South Korea. The first constitution (1948) defined *kukmin* as the highest political subjects stating “the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea shall reside in the people (*kukmin*), and all state authority shall emanate from the people (*kukmin*)...Nationality in the Republic of Korea shall be prescribed by the Act.”⁷

The government and national assembly then legislated the Education Act (December 1949, Act 86) and proposed the purpose of national education via the general provisions (Hwang, 2016).

Article 1. Education shall aim at enabling the people [*kukmin*] to contribute to the development of a democratic state and the realization of an ideal of human co-prosperity, by ensuring the cultivation of character, development of abilities for independent life, and necessary qualities as a democratic citizen [*kongmin*] under the humanitarian ideal⁸.

Article 1 of the general provisions of the Education Act indicated that *kukmin* were the subjects to be educated and that education should enable them to have qualities as *kongmin*. Although the article parallels *kongmin* with *kukmin*, this Education Act declares that national education serves *kukmin*.

However, the existence of *kongmin* left its legacy in some scenarios of schooling and lifelong education in Korea. First, it remained within the curricula of the social studies course; it was initially shown on the syllabus in the USAMGIK period and in social studies textbooks in the 1950s. Then, the term democratic citizen (*simin*) replaced it on statements of purpose and features of the

⁷ The Statutes of the Republic of Korea were referred to for the translation of the Constitution. (https://elaw.klri.re.kr/kor_service/lawView.do?lang=ENG&hseq=1)

⁸ The Statutes of the Republic of Korea was referred for the translation of the Education Act. The contemporary formal title is Framework Act on Education. (https://elaw.klri.re.kr/kor_service/lawView.do?hseq=42697&lang=ENG)

social studies course in the process of organizing the fifth national curriculum in 1987 (Cha, 2018, p. 222).

Kongmin stayed more distinctive in the form of folk school (a term adopted in the policies of the MG), or *kongmin* school if directly translated from Korean, in the history of social education. The schools were educational institutions for those above school age or having limited access to schooling. Their origin goes back to A Manual for Folk Schools (May 1946) in which the purpose of folk or *kongmin* schools was stated as follows: to “cultivate qualities of a civics [*kongmin*] of a democratic state by educating the un-schooled above school age.” (Park & Yoo, 2017, p.6) A great number of the schools had been abolished by the late 1990s, with only a few exceptions of one folk school (1985), and seven higher folk schools (1997) left. Nonetheless, they played a significant role in providing educational opportunities for working youths, women, children from low-income families, or those from remote rural areas from the liberation until the late 1960s when the disadvantaged had considerably limited access to schooling (Park & Yoo, 2017). As such, the education of South Korea began with the cultivation of subjects called *kongmin*, with the legacies of *kongmin* schools remaining relatively strong in the social education sector.

Against this background, it is noteworthy that previous research on adult education for *kongmin* during the US rule primarily focuses on adult literacy education. It reveals that literacy education was at the center of the government-led adult education program to meet the high demands for learning and literacy. More importantly, it underscores that literacy education went beyond mere learning of reading and writing and involved educating people to become democratic citizens (*kongmins*). Adult literacy education not only covered reading,

writing, and arithmetic (3Rs), but also was intended as a means to further basic knowledge, life skills, and the idea of democracy. The dissemination of knowledge on democracy, democratic values, and practices was most essential (Choi et al., 1992; Lee, 1992; Heo, 1994; Heo, 2004; Oh, 2010; Oh & Kim, 2010). Additionally, literacy education assumed the roles of deterring Soviet communism, promoting alternative ideology to that of leftist movements, and creating a capitalist labor force (Lee & Lee, 1994).

Research shows that the concept of literacy was not restricted to the 3Rs to overcome the state of illiteracy. Rather, it indicates the ability to function well in daily lives, with an understanding and adoption of knowledge, skills, and mentality that are necessary for political and economic domains, based on a certain level of literacy regarding the 3Rs (Choi & Baek, 1990). The MG set the purpose of such literacy as the construction of an anti-communist democratic state. In the same vein, Lee (1997; 1998) argues that farmer and laborer education during the US military rule should be viewed as political literacy education in a broad sense since they both sought to disseminate the concept of democracy and anti-communism.

However, previous research studies do not consider the complex meaning of *kongmin* for which such literacy aimed. Recent studies on civic education refute the claim that *kongmin* presented in civic courses during the USAMGIK period was not entirely democratic in its nature. Their analysis reveals the representations of the hierarchical relationship between a nation and an individual citizen. To be more specific, although there were few mentions on civil rights, there were detailed explanations on civil duties that serve the nation and society; conformity to societal disciplines; control over individual desires and prioritization of the common good; hard labor devoted to the nation; and other similar virtues (Kim,

2016; Kang, 2017). Moreover, these studies point out that the Korean syllabus comprised more contents that dealt with ethnic identity and national loyalty than did the concurrent Japanese civics education. The Japanese, under the US military rule, had to erase the totalitarian, militaristic, and nationalist features more thoroughly from their education (Lee, 2003). This makes it essential to include more in-depth discussions on the matter of features of *kongmin* that the MG intended to cultivate by imparting particular kinds of literacy.

This thesis will focus on farmers, an essential target of adult literacy education, as mentioned earlier. Until now, only a few studies cover the enlightenment or education imparted to farmers. Lee (1997) discussed farmer education, focusing on the policies of the Department of Public Information. He discloses MG's intentions to politico-socialize the farmers into certain subjects⁹; they were educated to be "literate" in that they were cultivated to have the ability to grasp the idea of not only democracy but also pro-America and anti-communist consciousness.

The abovementioned study lucidly reveals that farmer education, as with different kinds of education, was intended to serve the political purposes of the MG. However, it does not describe the distinctive characteristics of the farmers' enlightenment or education. It is somewhat biased only to consider political literacy in postwar political contexts, excluding the consideration of economic contexts that were essential to shaping both the living and educational conditions for farmers. Thus, more proper research regarding farmers' education is necessary provided that they were a crucial policy target at that time.

⁹ This subject could be called *kongmin* as the literacy being imparted was the same as that of *kongmin*, according to other literacy education studies.

In this vein, this research will explore aspects of literacy, in its broad meaning beyond the 3Rs, the US military government required of farmers, based on its intentions for the new subjects of newly independent Korea. The newspaper *Farmer's Weekly* will be analyzed to investigate this topic. The *Farmer's Weekly* was a four-page, tabloid-sized newspaper published in the Korean language. It was the only medium whose targeted readership was a farming population.

The Department of Public Information issued the newspaper from December 22, 1945, to the middle of 1948. It started with 800,000 copies, but later reduced to 600,000, 200,000–300,000, and even as low as 75,000 copies on average in 1948 due to the paper shortage. Although it was a weekly periodical, it was published once or twice a week in reality, depending on the paper provisions (Kim, 2005, pp. 328–331). It comprised news, major MG statements, government policies and activities, farming methods, Hanguel, Korean history, and home economics. By delivering these contents, it sought to propagate successful policies, collect public opinion, transform political consciousness, and impart basic education (Jeong, 2005).

Of all printed mediums that the MG distributed to regions outside the capital Seoul, the *Farmer's Weekly* was the largest in terms of the number of copies and the longest in terms of circulation period. In October 1946, the Department of Public information started to publish *Digest* that targeted urban dwellers. The first issue published 400,000 copies, but the publication ceased in March 1947, again because of the paper shortage. Moreover, the number of copies of the *Farmer's Weekly* overwhelmed those of other private weekly newspapers; in October 1946, private newspaper companies issued 79 kinds of publications totaling 500,000 copies, many of which were discontinued. Even so, the *Farmer's Weekly* alone

recorded the distribution of 200,000 to 600,000 copies and continued until 1948, although the number of copies reduced to less than 100,000 in the final year (Kim, 2005, pp. 328–332).

The Bureau of Adult Education, under the Department of Education, implemented literacy campaigns on a large scale as well; they introduced adult education policies such as the nation-wide opening of Korean literacy institutions and the publication of Hangeul textbooks, and they prompted the dispatch of adult educators. Nevertheless, education by media (e.g., radio and newspaper) was regarded as one part of democracy education for adults (USAMGIK, “Democracy Education” in Jeong, 1992b, p.38) in which the Department of Public Information played a major role.

In addition, this thesis views the *Farmer’s Weekly* as a literacy education text for farmers. The weekly newspaper contained contents for the cultivation of literacy beyond the 3R skills; it aimed to cultivate literacy that was deemed necessary for family life, economic activities, and democratic participation. A study on the *Farmer’s Weekly* thus has implications for a better understanding of the MG’s intentions to spread literacy in order to transform farmers into new subjects of independent Korea.

1.3 Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this study is to explore how the USAMGIK’s intentions were represented in the *Farmer’s Weekly* in terms of enlightening farmers as a new subject of newly-independent South Korea. The research questions are:

1. What aspects of literacy were found in the *Farmers' Weekly*?
2. What kinds of subjectivity did the USAMGIK intend to produce via the *Farmers' Weekly*?

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study will contribute to enlarging the literature on the enlightenment of farmer during the USAMGIK period. There is little research on this topic whereas a relatively rich literature has been accumulated on adult education or adult literacy education; only a few articles address on the MG's political socialization of farmers in specific.

The study is designed to crystallize more in detail the characteristics of farmer's enlightenment by focusing on the literacy required for the new subject of Korea that the MG highlighted on the *Farmer's Weekly*. As for the matter of subject, it takes into account the concept of *kongmin* that is directly combined with the realization of a democratic state in a political context. At the same time, it also considers other features of the subject having no clear connections with the concept of *kongmin*, but related to farmers working as an economic player.

Also, this study could contribute to an understanding of the historical course of Korean adult education in which the state has sought to produce farmers as "the public subject who can participate in realizing and enhancing national values and purpose" (Koh, 2006, pp. 184–185). The exploration of such educational features can be a connecting gear in understanding state perspectives and approaches to educating farmers between the colonial era and the early period of the Republic of Korea, which would have the distinct dysconnectivity and continuity.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This paper reviews previous research on the directions of social education and government-led farmer's enlightenment in the Japanese colonial period and the USAMGIK period. The directions here signify what kinds of subject the education aimed to produce, and what qualities were required accordingly of the people in general and farmers.

The review on the Japanese colonial period is necessary to have an understanding of the historical contexts that unfolded into the next era, in which lie the farmer's enlightenment under the USAMGIK and the text *Farmer's Weekly*. Studies on the USAMGIK period are also reviewed to investigate discussions on the features of farmer's enlightenment in that period, which directly forms the context of the *Farmer's Weekly*.

Lastly, the concepts of literacy are reviewed to define the meaning of literacy the *Farmer's Weekly* seeks to cultivate through its various contents.

2.1 Education in the Late Japanese Colonial Era

2.1.1 Nationalist Social Education

Lee (2010) shows that the purpose of social education in the Japanese colonial era was the creation of nation-people (國民, kukmin). The term was rendered equal to the imperial subject (臣民, sinmin) of the Japanese Emperor, and imperial Japan. This notion was originated from Meiji Japan (1868-1912) when political leaders and intellectuals conceived of making imperial subject to establish a modern state. It assumed that the people must become equal, homogeneous members of the state

while the past discretions by traditional class should be terminated. They also must be incorporated into one collective subject, with an individual dedicates themselves for the sake of the Emperor. This subject was called nation-people (Licicome, 1995, pp. 162–164; Lee, 2010, p.45).

The first Joseon Educational Ordinance (1911) clearly indicated the creation of nation-people in the article 2 stating that “the essential principle of education in Joseon shall be the making of loyal and good nation-people by giving instruction in accordance with the Imperial Rescript on education” (Yuh, 2010, p. 128). Problematic was the low enrolment rate of common schools due to the preference to *seo-dang*, a traditional education institution in the early colonial era; to illustrate, the rate of enrolled students out of the whole enrolled students in elementary institutions was 20.6 percent whereas that of *seo-dang*¹⁰ was estimated 70.5 percent although the figures were reverses in 1923 (Oh, 2000, pp.111-113).

Colonial officials then had to devise an education system that reached Koreans outside schooling to enable them to form an identity as a subject of Japan, especially through the nationalistic moral education and Japanese education. The Government-General to Korea implemented social education by mobilizing facilities and faculties of common public schools. Their teachers provided classes nearly the same with those of schools in training for private school and *seo-dang* teachers, and night classes for Japanese literacy. (Lee, 2010, pp.145-165).

The education policies in the 1930s more lucidly stated the purpose of making the subject to Imperial Japan. It enforced wartime systems into Joseon after the

¹⁰ *Seo-dang* is a traditional education institution at an elementary level located in villages. Children (mostly boys) were taught basic Chinese literacy and Confucian texts written for beginners.

Manchurian Incident of 1931, and strongly intensified them after the start of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The third Joseon Educational Ordinance (1938), strengthened the purpose of education as making of the imperial subject. It now highly focused on the mental and spiritual development that would enable people to willingly sacrifice their lives for the Emperor, going beyond simple conformity to the colonial rule (Miyata, 1997).

The social education went through the same trend from 1932. The importance of social education from the view of the colonial government had elevated since the Manchu Incident and the introduction of the wartime system. Intensive making of the imperial subject had to embrace youth and adults out of the school system. The social education as the extension of schooling was now changed into education for spiritual development as well. The new institution of the Office of Social Education in 1936 that was solely in charge of social education under the Bureau of School also signified the stronger importance of social education in this period (Lee, 2010, pp.181-189). This would have great influences on the nature and features of policies and activities of government-led farmer's enlightenment in the 1930s to 1940s.

2.1.2 Farmer's Enlightenment and the Rural Community Development

Previous scholarship on the Rural Community Development Campaign (rural campaign in brief) and farmers enlightenment commonly point out the colonial government-general aimed at making farmers into the imperial subject (Jee, 1984) (Jee, 1999). The rural campaign was propelled as a solution to a severe recession of rural economy and a growing number of tenant disputes after the

drastic fall in grain prices in the aftermath of the Great Depression in 1929. In March 1933, the government-general announced 'Proclamations on the Implementation of Development of Farming and Fishing Villages'. It was divided into 'The Directions on Planning for the Economic Rehabilitation of Farming Households' and 'The Directions on Planning for the Economic Rehabilitation of Farming Households'. The former indicated the principles of the rural campaign—targeting individual farming households, the entire use of labor force, and realization of self-sufficiency—and the purpose—sufficient food provisions for farmers, the balance of cash budget, and the eradication of debts. The latter, to serve these purposes, directed 1) the planning for setting leading villages up, 2) the selection of leading villages, 3) investigation on current situations, 4) the planning for economic rehabilitation of farming households, and 5) the implementation of economic rehabilitation plans (Kim, 2004, p. 89)

Kim (2002) investigates the various aspects of the activities of the Rural Community Development Committee, which colonial government organized to lead local rural campaigns at a village level. She traced their inclinations to make the subject of Imperial Japan towards the late 1930s. The committees strengthened farmers' loyal consciousness of the Japanese Emperor and the nation by reciting the 'Imperial Message on the Cultivation of Nation-People's Moral' or flag-raising ceremonies. They also coaxed farmers to increase labor hours, abandoning irrational traditional practices, and other routine rules to rehabilitate households and modernize the farming population.

In addition, the study points out that the rural campaign from 1937 to 1940 shifted the weight from the economic rehabilitation to the livelihood and service to the nation. The Movement for the Total Mobilization of Nation-People's Spirit

(1938) was introduced in which the colonial regime indoctrinate the ideology of Japanese chrysanthemum on a larger scale than the previous rural campaign. This change was propelled by the need to extract cooperation in supporting the wartime and g military supplies.

Lee (2007) investigates the governmental theory of rural campaign and the rural campaign under the general-government of Gazusike Ugaki (宇垣一成, 1931-1936). According to Ugaki's theory, he intended to establish a collective mobilization system through the rural campaign. He conceived that the entire people united in terms of their spirituality and material production serving the Emperor at its peak by the development of mind and cultivation of *kokutai*¹¹. In his conception, fundamental qualifications for the imperial subject was the faithfulness to the Emperor and the nation, and loyalty to moral duties. Governor-general Ugaki also sought to eradicate ideas and actions from Koreans that were incongruent with the imperial subject, such as unique ethnicity and class consciousness that could often evolve into the attempts to escape the Japanese rule.

Lee conducted a detailed analysis of what was required of farmers in terms of their economic activities. In 1932, the government-general was well-aware of the sharp fall in grain prices and the huge increase in the number of tenants that had caused the abject poverty in rural areas. Nonetheless, the rural campaign was designed following the diagnosis that attributed the poverty to farmers' ignorance and laziness. It was buttressed by the logic that both poverty and economic well-being depended on individual responsibilities. As a result, the government-general prioritized consciousness edifications by teaching hardworking and frugality as

¹¹ *Koku-tai* in Japanese language means national body, or government body in direct translation, It has indicates national identity or the essence in national character.

well as a sense of responsibility for their livelihoods.

Another study (Jeong, 2007) more specifically analyzed three enlightening guidelines included in the rural campaign; guidelines for daily-life improvements, self-reliant rehabilitation, and farming techniques. The study comprehensively reviewed the contents of those guidelines that are designed to have the farmers internalize extremely industrious attitudes towards their work and thrift habits.

First, self-sufficiency was at the center of the guideline for daily-life improvements, which was defined as saving production costs as much as possible by procuring the inputs necessary for farming from their own household assets. At the same time, the farmers should refrain from spending money for non-agriculture purposes to save living expenses. Also, it directed women to spend less time on housework and more on farming so that a household could put the family labor into farming to the maximum. All of these were another biased emphasis on the self-help amid the structural poverty as Lee (2007) points out. Second, the guideline for self-reliant rehabilitation included a sub-guide for the improvements in farming that proposed development of farmers' mentality. It ordered farmers to consistently work hard while not swayed by the fluctuations in market prices of grains or opportunities for profit-seeking. Third, the guideline for farming techniques particularly encouraged the production of attractive export goods selling at relatively high prices, such as cotton, wool, and wheat.

Lee (2010, pp.210–236) illustrates the attributes of colonial social education in rural areas focusing on the policies of alumni guidance and farmers training centers. The role of these policies was to educate middle-level leaders—those who mediate the colonial government and the people—to edify un-schooled villagers. The alumni guidance started in 1927 to instructed school teachers to visit the

alumni of public common schools to give further teachings on more profitable farming management and model attitudes of farmers. The boarding training centers were set up from 1934 when the number of target villages of the rural campaign was enlarged. The change needed an increase in village leaders for the edification of the whole villagers. Youth farmers aged in the 20s were taught agricultural knowledge, farming methods, and farmers morality in the centers.

The author points out that the purpose of these two was that the educated youth gain higher incomes and become exemplary farmers conforming to governor-government directions. This is similar to the points made by other previous studies reviewed above.

Another citable argument is that these policies were to implement social education that could preclude those youth farmers from escaping their farming villages on a large scale. The author mentions the great economic importance of farmers from the colonial regime's perspective as agriculture-based Joseon was a key colony in supplying Imperial Japan with food. In reality, the farmers had gradually made attempts to satisfy their educational demands and elevate their living standards by going to advanced-level schools and finding jobs in cities from the 1920s. The extremely depressing rural economy in the 1930s further stipulated it. The government-governor thus attempted to make the young farmers to economically succeed in agriculture so that they did not choose to leave the farming villages. He often blamed their escaping saying that "[they] neglect hard labor and only want to earn salaries" on the other hand.

Kim (2011) also asserts the making of Japanese nation-people by the rural campaign. She intensively analyzes the contents of the guideline for life

improvement¹² and categorizes them into four items: (1) Self-sufficiency (of farming materials) and thrifty consumptions, (2) Complete combustion of the labor, (3) Internalization of modern values, and (4) the promotion of national consciousness and fulfillment of nation-people's duties. Then, it is revealed that they all converged into one purpose of making farmers who serve his duties as the nation-people of Imperial Japan.

In detail, the fourth item emphasized national flag-raising in any village events, which was a device to integrate the farmers themselves with the national ceremony. Self-sufficiency, thrifty and extreme diligence were highlighted for the rehabilitation of each farming family, and later more strongly claimed to be a devotion to the national prosperity. Lastly, the internalization of modern values meant doing civilized practices such as time-saving and observance, personal hygiene (e.g., cleaning, managing wells, and daily washing), colored wear instead of traditional white wear, and early marriage control. This was also regarded as rational ways of living that would ultimately bring rural and further national development. The author maintains that the nature of the life improvement guideline was hypocritical in that it merely imposed duties on the farmers. She finally defines it as the instruction that sought to convert farmers' routine practices to the modern model and mobilize farmers as the nation-people to the enforcement of rural campaign as a whole.

Meanwhile, Kim (2017) explains that a “modern farmer” appeared in the farmer enlightenment activities by the colonial regime from the 1920s. The

¹² The guideline for the rural campaign was one of the three guidelines for the rural campaign. The other two were self-reliant rehabilitation and farming techniques. It was mentioned earlier in Jeong's study (2007).

modern farmer here means the entrepreneur farmers, who seek for excess profits beyond the mere subsistence, and risk making investments in seeds or agricultural facilities for the profits. In traditional rural society, the stability of agriculture was the most important value because the average agricultural production tiptoed around the subsistence line. On the other hand, modern agriculture was on the basis of maximization of production with the advent of technical improvement of breeding and chemical fertilizers. From the perspective of the colonial regime, this entrepreneur value could be a critical element to enhancing the agriculture productivity in colonial Joseon. They actually educated more lucrative farming techniques via various routes such as schools, media, and communities, and the farmers were required to adopt the underlying modern value as well.

To encapsulate the previous literature, the Japanese colonial regime in the 1930s to the 1940s sought to produce farmers as the Japanese nation-people, equal to the subject of Imperial Japan. The subject of Imperial Japan has four meanings: (1) First and foremost, the farmer who willingly serve and obey the nation, (2) the farmer who thoroughly practice hard labor and frugality (3) the farmer who internalize modern practices, and (4) the entrepreneur farmer.

First and foremost, the farmer was to define themselves as the subject of the Japanese Emperor and identify with the nation to complete the duties the nation assigns them. Collective solidarity and obedience to the nation became more accentuated in the late 1930s with the commencement of the wartime mobilization system. At the same time, the colonial regime excluded the enlightenment on the consciousness of the unique Korean ethnicity and class contradiction that questioned state dominance and control.

Second, the farmer who thoroughly practices hard labor and frugality is based

on the spirit of self-reliance that perceives his or her livelihoods solely dependent on individual responsibilities. As a result, the farmer saves time to prolong farming hours, saves living expenses, and provide themselves with production inputs to save agricultural costs. On top of that, the hardworking and thrifty should be consistently alive within the farmer while not interfered by fluctuating markets or profit-seeking opportunities.

Third, the farmer who internalizes modern practices means the “civilized” farmer by modern Western standards. It was demanded farmers to abide by time plans, keep personal and environmental hygiene, wear colored clothes, refrain from early marriages, and other practices corresponding to modern values.

Lastly, the entrepreneur farmer means those who make investments in seed breeding or agricultural facilities to gain high profits. The introduction of plant breeding technology and chemical fertilizers had the farmer change their perceptions on farming methods and accept the underlying profit-seeking value. This farmer should watch market trends instead of merely focusing on land cultivation. The rural campaign also promoted the production of raw cotton, wool, and wheat in high market demands, but the main point was to increase household incomes to meet the subsistence needs instead of making an excessive surplus.

2.2 Civics Education under the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK)

2.2.1 Democratic Nation-Building and Civics Education

The purpose of education policy as a whole, including that of social education (adult education in the contemporary term), was the creation of citizens, called

kongmin in Korean¹³. It was propelled by the shared perception that the Koreans should slough off the educational goal of making the imperial subject, and now educate the subject of a new democratic nation.

Before moving on to the literature review, the following should be underlined. In modern East Asian cultural sphere, including South and North Korea, China, and Japan, the term *kongmin* (公民), rather than *simin* (市民), was widely adopted to indicate a member of a state who had legal and political rights within its boundary. This is more or less the same with the concept of *simin* in present Korea, or citizen in English term today (Jeong, 2012, p.221; pp. 233–234). In the case of Korea, *kongmin* denoted those in Joseon who paid taxes and were qualified to have legal protections from the king. In the 1920s under the Japanese colonial regime, *kongmin* began to indicate a rich man among local dwellers, who were entitled a right to vote for local elections. It was applied to Joseon that the local residents having political suffrage had been called *kongmin* in Japan, at the time when the local autonomy system was introduced to Joseon. The term *kongmin* presented in the civic course became nearly the same as the subject of Imperial Japan who was highly loyal to the nation during the 1930s and the 1940s. The decisive medium was civics education in schools (Ahn, 2015; Lim, Kim, & Sigeyo, 2017).

As *kongmin* had long been related to political and legal rights and duties, *kongmin* could be harnessed after the liberation as the concept of a modern citizen; that is, the subject who has the qualifications and duties to voluntarily obey or

¹³ This paper used the Korean term *kongmin* instead of the English term ‘citizen’ to distinguish it from *simin*. It could be confusing to use the English term because both *kongmin* and *simin* could be translated into a citizen when indicating a subject although *kongmin* also has another meaning of civics in academic discipline. In present Korea, *simin* is generally used to indicate a democratic citizen.

challenge the state and laws (Park, 2009, pp. 109–202).

Lee (1996) argues that the MG's social education (adult education in the contemporary term) policies were devised to realize the political-socialization of the Koreans into the *kongmin* of a democratic state. The MG expected the socialization by which the people would concede to democracy and anti-communism. He examined policy documents mostly by the Department of Education and the Department of Public Information in a great volume and some selection of textbooks. The rich analysis embraced many detailed descriptions such as the contents of a folk school textbook, or teachings of American democracy via a political education reader published by the Department of the Public Information. He is inclined to the revelation that all the social education policies were drawn for the political socialization.

Studies on the civics course are more illustrative of what *kongmin* meant in education and what contents were harnessed to the making of *kongmin*. Several studies (Cha 2012b; 2013; Cha et al., 2012) show the meaning of citizen with the analysis of social studies syllabus and secondary civic textbooks. They contend that those contents had been given heavy influences from the concept of Community Civics that educationist Arthur W. Dunn had propounded in the early 20th-century United States.

At the center of American civic education in the 19th century lay teachings of knowledge of civil roles, such as the memorization of the Federal Constitution, the structure of government body, the voting process of revisions to laws, the process of ruler replacement, and 'great' American history of development. This was designed to solidify democracy and incorporate immigrants with diverse backgrounds into the American citizen (Heater, 2007, pp. 208–225).

In the early 20th century, American civic education underwent changes led by educationist John Dewey. In this renowned book *Democracy and Education* (1916), he positioned democracy as the way of living beyond a mere political system, starting from communications and mutual understandings between neighboring communities. Dunn followed the current by proposing the concept of Community Civics in which a citizen was defined as a member of various kinds of social groups. He criticized the perspective that restricted the roles of a citizen within the boundary of relationship with a state or a government with the focus on suffrage and civil legal duties. Instead, the social status and qualities of a member who belonged to a family, school, factory, and other social groups in daily life should be more highlighted in the civic education (Heater, 2007, pp.230–232).

Accordingly, Cha (2012) argues that the citizen was basically defined as the subject who had democratic civil rights and duties. The syllabus and textbooks stated that a citizen had “the right to claim certain interests that a society could entitle to each member,” and “the duty to maintain...and improve the society.” (Hyeong, 1952, p.12, cited from Cha, 2012, p.142) Moreover, the citizen was explained to be “a member of a society, a member of public groups,” (Choi, 1949, pp.8–9, cited from Cha, 2012, p.142) which reflected Dunn’s concept of citizen. The following contents of the textbooks cover not only state democratic systems and functions of government, but civil roles and code of behaviors in economic, and social life at a community level. The author points out its similarity to the civic education led by Dunn in the United States that highlighted understandings of community problems and civil roles in solving them (Cha, 2012, pp.38–42; p.143).

Other studies with a similar perspective (Cha & Kang, 2016; Cha, 2018) illustrate the differences between the meanings of civics in civic course textbooks

under the USAMGIK and the Japanese colonial regime. Civic textbooks in colonial Joseon in the 1930s explained the citizen as the person who has rights and duties of a member of the Japanese nation. They taught the knowledge of constitutional monarchy and process of political participation, whereas the Koreans' political rights were confined to the participation in the local government body. Also, the concept of the citizen was nearly replaced with the imperial subject who served the wartime mobilization system. In contrast, the civic course reformed under the MG educated knowledge and qualities of a democratic citizen to promote the construction of a democratic state.

However, several studies (Lee, 2003; Kim, 2016; Kang, 2017) notice the relatively strong inclinations of civics syllabus and textbooks to emphasize patriotism and collective national identity¹⁴. One of the studies that deserve highlight is Kim's (2016) examination on the Korean writing staff for the civic textbooks under the Department of Education. The MG intended to exclude a tinge of strong ethnic nationalism that was highly reminding of the previous totalitarian, ultranationalist education by the Japanese colonial government. Instead, the American generals in the Department of Education were willing to reform the civic education whose main pillars were democracy, capitalism, and anti-communism for the purpose of creating democratic citizens. However, a number of Korean educators who took part in writing new civics textbooks often prioritized ethnic nationalism and national prosperity over individual existence. The study also reveals that some of them had conflicts with the American officials because they

¹⁴ Cha (2012), if not her main point, also mentions that the civics textbooks had detailed depictions on duties such as conformity to social disciplines, prioritization of public goods, and inhibitions of individual desires whereas those on civil rights or rights to political participation lacked such clarification. She presumably attributes this to the absence of adequate understanding of the Western citizenship by the Korean authors of the textbooks.

were either opposed to the inclusion of progressive education by Dewey or a complete appreciation of capitalism into civic education.

Furthermore, Kim (2016) notices the relationship between a state and an individual citizen pictured in a hierarchical structure of the state, family, and individual from the top. He analyzes the contents concerning with the responsibilities and duties for the ethnic nation and state and patriotism. For instance, *Secondary Civics 2* contained the explanations on *Hwarang-do*¹⁵ as a root for the Korean national spirit. It was to deliver the lessons that the citizen should love their own ethnic nation and state, and make sacrifices for them based on the logic that no individual could thrive without national and state prosperity. As for economic life, the textbook stated that the citizen should buy local products by fellow Koreans, even if they could be more expensive than imported ones, to achieve a self-sufficient economy.

2.2.2 Civics and Farmer's Enlightenment

There are only a few previous studies on farmer's enlightenment or farmer education. First, Lee (1997) applies his argument on the political-socialization function of adult education (Lee, 1996) to it; the MG aspired to realize the political socialization of farmers to transplant democracy, establish an anti-Soviet foothold, and institute a pro-America Korean government. The MG's education also needed to help rightist farmers' associations to win ideological hegemony against leftist

¹⁵ *Hwarang-do* means a sort of Code of Conduct based on Buddhism and Confucianism for noble youth groups called *Hwarang* in ancient Silla. One code regarded a loyal devotion to the king and the country Silla, which was re-created as a good traditional model in the modern citizen education in the USAMGIK period (Lee, 1995. Encyclopedia of Korean Culture. <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/>)

groups to procure a leading position in the future Korean government. The MG utilized media such as radios, newspaper, and democracy readers, one of which was the newspaper *Farmer's Weekly*, to effectively achieve the goals. This study shows that the education for farmers led by the MG also sought for the creation of citizens of a democratic state, together with the general civic education.

Jeong (2005) analyzes the *Farmer's Weekly* from a perspective of propaganda research; the study views the newspaper's role in political socialization as propaganda to make farmers pro-America. He only briefly mentions its educational role for the farmers. According to this study, the MG perceived farmers as the target who could be enlightened to become pliable cooperators rather than active political subjects. It is backed by the investigation that a greater number of articles idolize the MG instead of giving explanations on the democratic ideas or systems. In addition, they tend to appeal to popular emotions to draw cooperation to the MG's policies.

To summarize, two groups of previous studies broadly put forward different points regarding the concept and educated qualities of a citizen. The first meaning of the citizen is the subject who has the right to, and duty of political participation with the basis of the notion of citizen originated from the West, as well as the member of diverse communities. In other words, the citizen has not only the right to and duty of legislation, vote, and make challenges to the ruler that are recognized valid within the relationship with the state, but those entitled to a member of every-day communities. Likewise, the qualities of a citizen are a comprehensive understanding of the constitution and government body, and workings of politics as well as the capacity to tackle problems of economic and social life in communities.

The other one is the citizen meaning the subject who has loyalty to the ethnic nation and state, and duty to maintain social order. It can be said that the extent to which civil duty is required for citizenship gets more accentuated than that of the first concept of citizen. The citizen is now defined as the devoting subject to the nation and state with a strong sense of belonging to them. They are less active in claiming their rights or make challenging voices to the state. At the center of education lies the value of national incorporation and prosperity instead of the value of individual existence as a citizen. The opinions of Korean educators were reflected here that deemed crucial ethnic identity, patriotism, and internalization of social order in establishing independent Korea. In addition, the citizen was expected to accept attitudes of anti-communism.

In a nutshell, the previous scholarship mostly shed lights on the transformation from the imperial subject to the democratic citizen in terms of educational purposes and features. There was a shared agreement that the cultivation of citizen and citizenship is essential to establish a new democratic state after the liberation. Yet, both discreteness and continuity across the two periods need considering in the discussion on farmer's enlightenment in this period. It is worth considering that some studies highlighted that ethnic nationalist and national centralist nature of education was not noticeably changed. Their point is that only the educational contents being changed from loyalty serving Imperial Japan to the Korean nation.

In addition, it should be mentioned that research on the farmer's enlightenment led by the MG has not sufficiently accumulated yet, compared to a large body of literature on the farmer's enlightenment by the Japanese colonial government. Lee (1996; 1997) revealed that the purpose of farmer education fit the MG's intention to political socialization for pro-US, anti-communist, and democratic citizen, but

he did not investigate distinctive characteristics of farmer education. Thus, what the MG sought to enlighten farmers, apart from the political socialization, needs to be discussed.

2.3 Literacy

Theoretical approaches and concepts of literacy have developed and expanded in tandem with changing social demands as well as technological developments towards the 21st-century globalized societies. The concepts of literacy have been diversified and complicated with various approaches to literacy without one single consensus. It is thus necessary to review a wide variety of existing literacy concepts firstly, prior to defining the meaning of literacy that this thesis will adopt.

A great number of studies (Street, 1984, pp. 1–10; Bartlett, 2008, pp. 738–742; Yoon, 2009, pp. 6–10; Cho, 2012, pp. 6–35; Yoo, 2017, pp. 66–68)¹⁶ suggest that the concepts of literacy be grouped into functional and critical approaches to literacy; in the first approach, literacy is defined as abilities and skills enabling appropriate functioning in various situations; and in the second category, as socio-cultural practices or civic participation to be a catalyst for social transformations. The proponents of the functional concept perceive that literacy can be universally acquired, whereas those of the other concept focus on hegemonic culture and power that structure the features of literacy practices in specific contexts.

¹⁶ Street (1984) divided previous literacy studies into autonomous model and ideological model of literacy; Bartlett (2008) suggests autonomous model of literacy and ideological model of literacy, referring to Street (1984); Yoon (2009) distinguishes the cognitive concept of literacy and social and political action-oriented literacy; Cho (2012) categorizes traditional literacy and critical literacy; and Yoo (2017) adopts text-focused Laubach paradigm and practice-focused Freire paradigm.

2.3.1 Functional Approach

In the 1950s and 1960s, literacy originally meant basic abilities or skills of reading, and writing, and simple arithmetic (3R skills). A report by UNESCO (1952, p.3) stated that the literate are those “who can both read with understanding and write a short, simple statement on his everyday life.” Numeracy became a component of literacy later in the 1960s as well (UNESCO, 2006, p.149). This narrow concept of literacy was regarded as measurable without any considerations of contexts, and comparable to years of schooling (UNESCO, 2006, pp. 149–150)

The concepts of literacy, however, have been defined in a broader sense. The research on literacy discussed other skills beyond decoding alphabets as well as contexts in which literacy is exerted. Lytle & Wolf (1989) presents a well-integrated summary of multiple definitions of literacy, which includes literacy as skills and literacy as tasks.

First, literacy as skills is defined as reading and writing skills that are universally acquired, more or less equal to the 3Rs. People often learn literacy during school years and take examinations to test the level of literacy attainment at every grade. Second, literacy as tasks is in relation to functional literacy proposed in the 1950s and 1960s. In an international survey of reading and writing for UNESCO, Gray (1969, p. 24) defined that “a person is functionally literate when he acquired the knowledge and skills in reading and writing which enable one to engage in all those activities in which literacy is normally assumed in his culture or group.” His emphasis on functional performance in one’s group viewed literacy as abilities to carry out necessary tasks in daily situations and social life.

Studies and surveys of functional literacy in the 1970s and 1980s refined the

concept of literacy as tasks. In the National Assessment of Education Progress survey in the US, Kirsch & Jungeblut (1986, pp. 2–3) defined literacy as “using printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one’s goals, and to develop one’s knowledge and potential.” They then divided literacy into three areas of prose literacy, document literacy, and quantitative literacy, each being a representative category of tasks that a literate person should carry out at home, at school, and at work.

They particularly pointed out that “the knowledge and skills needed to understand and use information” contained in texts are essential aspects of literacy, and embraced them in their definitions of three categories of literacy¹⁷. The shift of focus from the existing functional literacy to the functional competency in the Adult Performance Level (APL) Project in 1975 had buttressed such conceptualization. APL researchers emphasized considerable background knowledge and skills in assessing the level of functional literacy (Lytle & Wolfe, 1989, p.13).

Functional literacy programs often combined economic activities or skills in learning reading and writing. The underlying assumption was that possessing literacy necessarily would lead to economic development. Higher literacy rate and acquirement of functional skills were expected to enhance economic livelihoods and bring about economic growth (Shiohata, 2009, p. 66). The purpose of literacy was soon further expanded to political, economic, and social development in the

¹⁷ Prose literacy is “the knowledge and skills needed to understand and use information” from narrative texts; document literacy is “the knowledge and skills required to locate and use information” contained in practical documents; and quantitative literacy is “the knowledge and skills needed to apply arithmetic operations” embedded in printed materials (Kirsch & Jungeblut, 1986, p. 4). Kirsch and Jungeblut’s definition of literacy and literacy measurement in three areas are still used today in OECD adult literacy surveys, with just a few adjustments to them (Bracey, 2014).

process of modernization, for the literate are regarded to have acquired cognitive, intellectual abilities and thus promoted to participate in diverse domains in society (Walter, 1999, pp. 36–38).

It is where political literacy, economic literacy, scientific literacy, and various kinds of literacy is included in the concept of literacy depending on the domain that calls for literacy (Choi & Baek, 1990, pp. 33–47). For example, economic literacy is defined as an acquisition of a body economic skills, an understanding of economic concepts, and ability to practice economic actions based on ability to read, write, and do simple math (Miller, 2016). Many content elements are taught together, including knowledge-transferring lessons and skill manuals.

Furthermore, it should be noted that becoming literate requires “a recasting of the modes of being and functioning,” which requires learners to equip with a new mentality to satisfy the particular purpose of literacy education. For example, to develop productive modern industry, functional literacy programs have to address industrial technology, skills, safety, and personal hygiene, as well as elements of economics and civics, which are unlearnable without a certain level of literacy (UNESCO, 1973, pp.10-11).

Both the two concepts—literacy as skills, and literacy as tasks—assume a functional approach to literacy in that it equates literacy with the acquisition of skills and emphasizes the functional roles of literacy in society. Researchers obviously view literacy as cognitive skills or abilities independent of particular contexts and conceptualized it to embrace skills, knowledge, and mentality. The concept of functional literacy assumes various life contexts, but it is deemed as a set of skills that individuals universally acquire, just as the 3Rs (Bartlett, 2008, p.738).

2.3.2 Critical Approach

Going back to Lytle & Wolf (1989)'s categorizations of literacy concepts, they also generate categories called literacy as practice, and literacy as critical reflection. Literacy as practice reflects literacy studies by ethnographic and anthropological researchers, which has been developed into a large body of research called the New Literacy Studies in the 1980s. They are also sorted out as holding a socio-cultural approach to literacy (Shiohata, 2009, p.66).

Their research generally defines literacy as social or local practices, with considerations of the "broader cultural conception of particular ways of thinking about and doing the reading and writing in cultural contexts" (Street, 2001, p. 11). A social practices view argues that literacy practices are susceptible to the social and cultural backgrounds of people engaged in literate activities and draws attention to the the different meanings of reading and writing that depends on who uses texts, in what context, for what ends (Barton, 2001, pp. 92–93; Papen, 2005, pp. 25–26). Although it is not always the case, this concept of literacy often urges to discover the ideological nature of literacy practices by revealing their contextual meanings, and their interactions with power structure at a higher level by revealing (Bartlett, 2008, p.738).

Lastly, literacy can be related to a critical reflection when it is defined as "reading words" and participation in discussions to "read the world." (Lytle & Wolfe, 1989, p. 11). This type of literacy is called critical literacy. Its historical roots are prominently associated with Paulo Freire, with his work from the 1940s and publications in the 1960s that focused on critical consciousness and critical pedagogy (Vasquez, 2017, p. 2). For Freire, literacy is a political phenomenon on

the grounds that the way to acquire and practice literacy is a matter of politics; literacy pedagogy can either domesticate learners to adapt to the oppressive social conditions or foster reading and writing that pursuit to resist and change these conditions (Freire, 2009, pp. 85–104).

With the emphasis on the political nature of literacy, literacy is defined as reading both the world and word, with reading the world always preceding reading the word. Decoding the word should flow from reading one's particular world; that is, reading "*the texts, the words, the letters*" that are "incarnated in a series of things, objects, and signs" in his or her own world (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 30). Reading the word is also further preceded by (re)-writing the world, or transforming it by means of conscious actions. For this reason, the words in literacy programs must be generated from people's word universe, born with their world, so that they are laden with the people's life experience, and teacher's experience not being superimposed on them (Freire & Macedo, 1987, pp. 30–35). Generative words turn to an object of purposeful discussions of social reality people live in, with their experiences, and the means through which they are modified in a lettered way. In this sense, Freire suggested different types of words, letters, or texts to be read and written that indicate either written materials or one's social reality itself (Roberts, 1998, pp. 109–110).

Critical literacy aims for illiterate people's conscientization and transformation of the world; it means moving from a mystical consciousness accepting unjust social relations toward a critical consciousness of oppressive conditions of their life. In Freire's talks, praxis, a reflection, and action upon the world in order to transform it, intervene the process of conscientization as it synthesizes theory (reflection) and practice (action) upon the world. (Roberts, 1998, pp. 111–113).

Here, literacy means critical reflections and actions on one's living in the world, that is, "a consciousness of oppression and the collective will to overcome it, and awareness of the world" (Walter, 1999, pp. 43–44).

The differences in expected consequences distinguish the two concepts. The concept of literacy as practice emphasizes to reveal the different meanings of literacy in particular social and cultural communities, whereas the critical literacy sought for political consciousness and action for social change. However, the former also discovers the ideological nature of literacy practices and their interactions with power structure at a higher level (Bartlett, 2008, p.738). In this sense, they can be categorized as a critical approach.

2.3.3 Expanding the Concept of Literacy

This thesis comprehensively takes the functional approach and critical approach towards the concepts of literacy. It adopts the concept of literacy defined as a set of cognitive abilities, skills, knowledge, as well as the mentality that are required in daily life, politics, economics, and society based on basic ability to read, write, and do the math. Some of the literacy research with the functional approach defined literacy as skills and knowledge necessary to understand and make use of information, and others as equipped with a particular mode of mentality. The concept of literacy also includes a social practice embedded in surrounding contexts and critical reflections and consciousness of the world as emphasized within the critical approach.

Hanemann (2015) provides an integrated summary of them by putting forward a broad concept of literacy as the following:

In short, literacy refers to the ability of putting knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values effectively into action when dealing with (handwritten, printed or digital) text in the context of ever-changing demands to make a difference to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events (Hanemann, 2015, p. 299).

He points out that becoming literate is engaged not only with learning knowledge, and skills, but mentality comprising of attitudes, dispositions, and values to critically practice literate activities.

There is one point to be added with the reference to the review on critical literacy. The text to be read and written often denotes reading materials, whether they are in handwritten, printed or digital forms as the excerpt above shows. It, however, can also mean particular surrounding contexts or the world of literate people read, participate, and even transform.

To encapsulate, the concept of literacy can be expanded as reading and participating in the world and the necessary capacities—knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and critical reflections—for it. With this concept, this thesis will examine the question of what literacy the USAMGIK intended for farmers to learn, through what contents, and what subject of a newly-independent state such as literacy pursuit.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

This thesis adopted a qualitative content analysis. The content analysis is a research methodology by which a researcher induces reliable and valid inferences in relations to the contexts surrounding the research data (Krippendorff, 2010). Data is a medium between the creator and receiver, which connotes the creator's intentions and message. The content analysis seeks to disclose their meanings within particular contexts, discourses, or purposes of the data. In other words, the purpose of the content analysis is "to reveal the meanings and influences of the data with the means of the categorization, listing, and appreciation of main symbols and themes." (Webster, 1961, cited from Krippendorff, 2010, p.17)

Qualitative content analysis is a methodology that investigates how the events and characters' behaviors are positioned within the surrounding contexts and explore what themes, frames, or discourses are presented in the contents of the data (Altheide, Coyle, DeVriese, & Schneider, 2008). This requires a composition of the contexts of data reading with the basis of previous literature to enable a researcher to reconstruct the meanings of the data in relevant contexts. Altheide et al (2008) argue that such methodology has a tinge of ethnographic features on the grounds that it entails immersion into the data, examination, trace for certain themes, changes in emphasis, new or unexpected codes. It is also accompanied by interpretations of them in relation to concerning social meanings, relationships, and activities, along with an understanding of the context. In sum, a researcher reads and makes reflections on the contents, confirms important terms, images, themes, and frames positioning them in the contexts of the data, and finally

illustratively write up the findings and interpretations.

Qualitative content analysis can two kinds of approach; deductive analysis and inductive analysis. The deductive analysis is conducted when researchers want to retest existing theoretical concepts, models or hypotheses. It involves the development of categorization matrix extracted or revised based on the previous theories, models, and mind maps. Researchers then code their data in accordance with the matrix. On the other hand, inductive analysis is when previous work is insufficient or existing knowledge has not been theoretically organized. The categories are derived from the data in inductive content analysis and then structured in meaningful ways that answer the research questions (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 109; p.111).

This thesis adopted inductive analysis to investigate the literacy the MG required of farmers to produce their subjectivity. It is due to the scarcity of the previous research on the enlightenment of farmers during the USAMGIK period and the absence of conceptual organization on the subjectivity of farmers.

3.2 Overview of the *Farmer's Weekly*

3.2.1 The Publisher and Publishing Purpose

The *Farmer's Weekly* was a four-page, double-spaced, tabloid-sized newspaper, published in Korean alphabets and distributed to farming villages on a nation-wide scale for free. It conveyed diverse kinds of articles including world news, government news, statements, columns, agricultural information, Korean, history, home economics, and many others. The publishing period began on 22 December 1945 and ended in the year of 1948, before the establishment of the government

of South Korea. Approximately 800,000 copies were printed for the first few weeks, but it reduced to 75,000 copies on average around February 1948, published once a week or two depending on circumstances.

The *Farmer's Weekly* was published by the Department of Public Information that was in charge of delivering the MG's statements, policy promotion, and adult political education. The public information agency began as the Office of Information organized in November 1945. It was then transformed into the Bureau of Public Information of the Government of Korea in February 1946 along with the reorganization of the administrative body and the enforcement of Koreanization policies. It was soon upgraded to the Department of Public Information in March and the number of affiliated bureaus was expanded from two to five in October. At last, the Office of Civil Information was instituted as the special office directly under the commander-in-chief of the US forces in Korea. Most of the work of the Department of Public Information was transmitted to it in June 1947 (Jang, 2001, p. 129; p.147–149).

The Department of Public Information largely assumed the charges of 1) the promotion the purposes of the US, its policies for Korea, its history, institutions, and culture 2) the enlightening activities for liberal democracy, 3) the promotion of MG's plans, activities, and accomplishments, 4) the collection of public opinions, and 5) the registration and inspection of the periodicals.

The Department of Public Information initially started to publish the *Farmer's Weekly* to solve “a constant deterrent” to the MG; that is, the difficulty of communicating with farmers living scattered in remote areas, who could hardly approach radios or mail systems. In this vein, it was devised as a vital means of “making farmers known to important announcements, ordinances, and regulations,

and useful farming methods, etc.”¹⁸ (Extension: 1. Farmer’s Weekly, HUSAFIK, IV), headed by army captain Augustus J. Theodore.

This statement implicitly hints the purpose of political education, seeing the roles of the Department of Public Information in it. They began to be strengthened as the US intentions to firmly entrench democratic political systems and re-affirm the democracy education to bar the penetration of communism in the escalation mood of the Cold War. It was after five bureaus of public information, publications, public opinion, public contacts, and radio had been organized in March 1946. The sub-divisions whose main jobs are democracy education, political education, and enlightening campaigns for elections were concurrently organized such as the office of political education (the Bureau of Publications), mass education, and moving education (the Bureau of Public Contacts). The whole department mobilized public mediums such as radios, education materials, and newspapers to implement political democracy education. The Office of Civil Information later continued it (Lee, 1996, pp. 213–218).

Also, the *Farmer’s Weekly* was organized as one part of the broader activities of agricultural extension, according to the *History of United States Armed Forces* (HUSAFIK). The agricultural extension “may be defined for our [MG’s] purpose as the dissemination of useful information to farmers which will enable them to increase their agricultural yields.” The *Farmer’s Weekly* was pointed out as one of the principal extension agencies, along with the Korean Agricultural Association, and the New Korea Company (Extension 1: Farmer’s Weekly, HUSAFIK, IV).

¹⁸ The editorial titled “First Greetings” on the first issue also states that its purposes are bringing information to the farmers of Korea and listening to their hopes and expectations (22/Dec/1945, cited from Lee, 1996, p.229).

In this background contexts, the purpose of the *Farmer's Weekly* can be re-confirmed as the following: To enlighten farmers by the delivery of policies, activities, and views of the MG to transform farmers' political consciousness as well as educate agricultural techniques.

3.2.2 The *Farmer's Weekly* as a Literacy Education Text

The *Farmer's Weekly* can be viewed as an educational text for farmers in three aspects in terms of its content composition though it also partly had the character of promoting and propagating the US military rule over south Korea.

First, it had the character of an educational textbook for basic literacy, the essential literacy ability in daily lives in Korea. The *Farmer's Weekly* taught the subjects of Korean literacy, Korean history, and health practices for basic literacy

as the [Figure 1] shows. These were arranged on page four, called the family page as the Korean literacy series was categorized into children's section, and health education into women's one.

The MG seems originally conceive to make each Hangeul articles to be combined into one textbook, as the records in HUSAFIK states the following.



[Figure 1] Page 4 of the *Farmer's Weekly* (Hangeul Lecture, "Pay Attention to nutrients", and History (clockwise from the top))

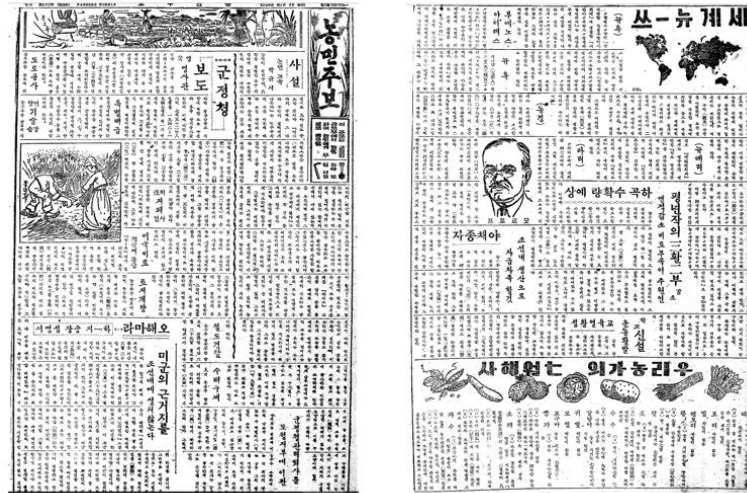
The Weekly aided Military Government...by encouraging the study of Korean by publishing each edition excerpts from scarce language textbooks which, when saved and combined, formed a complete Korean grammar.

The history series also formed one textbook, however brief the contents were, seeing that it began with ancient Joseon and ends with the very recent history of Japanese colonial era. Health series was composed of many mini-series, each addressing different topics such as maternity health, nutritious diets, and personal hygiene. In fact, Korean literacy and history were particularly appreciated as the main basic subjects in social education policies due to the previous dominance of Japanese literacy and history over the school curriculums.

The character of the newspaper as an educational text is revealed by the fact that page 4 adopted a horizontal writing system, as [Figure 1] confirms it. It followed compilation rules of the new school textbooks after the liberation (Oh, 2014, p. 376).

Mr. Choi and other eminent Korean scholars obtained by Military Government to assist in the preparation of textbooks...believed the language should be presented horizontally, reading from left to right, since such writing was already universal in music, arithmetic, and science formulas...a decision was finally reached whereby the 2,000 Chinese ideographs were done away with, the pure Korean alphabet established, and horizontal writing instituted.

This excerpt shows that Korean staff reached a compromise to publish textbooks in pure Korean and horizontal writing, and it buttresses the educational features of the *Farmer's Weekly*.



[Figure 2] Page 1 (Left) and Page 2 of the *Farmer's Weekly*
 - Page 1: The MG News, Column, and Statement by General Hodge
 - Page 2: The World News, Agriculture news, and “Farming Events in April”

Second, the newspaper had the character as a political literacy education text. Page one and two were dedicated to the cultivation of political literacy. They contained articles regarding important policies and issues that the MG wanted to bring the farmer’s attention to (HUSAFIK) and convey MG’s perspectives on them. World news which pertained to Korea and national news were partly published as well. Also, some articles explained the basic notions of democracy, features of new democratic institutions, and right attitudes towards democracy as [Figure 2] shows. A record also states page two has “many feature articles illustrating the workings of democracy” (HUSAFIK, Part IV) though they assumed a lot smaller space compared to those on policies, activities, and stances



[Figure 3] Page 3 of the *Farmer's Weekly*.

- Korean Agriculture Association by Advisory Li-am Woo, Hog Raising Method, The Grandfather Kim (from the top)

of the MG.

Third, page three of the *Farmer's Weekly*, as an agricultural literacy text, taught farming techniques and mentality farmers should learn. One of the publishing purposes was to teach useful information to increase agricultural yields. Page three, in particular, was called occupational page because it consisted of articles such as “when to plant and harvest potatoes, how to make good hay and fertilizer, and why a goat instead of a cow is more practical for small farms” (HUSAFIK, Part IV).

Most of the articles on this page were probably provided by the Korean Agriculture Association (KAA), a re-organized agency from the colonial government-managed cooperatives whose membership had included nearly all farmers since then. It was placed under the Department of Agriculture though it was not strictly a government body. It extends the planned policies and services for improving farming conditions and increasing agricultural production through its nation-wide, village-level offices. Three departments composed the KAA; the Agriculture and Enterprise Department, the Education and Training Department, and the General Affairs Department (Extension: 2. KAA, HUSAFIK, Part IV).

Noticeable here of all its activities¹⁹ is to extend educational services to farmers

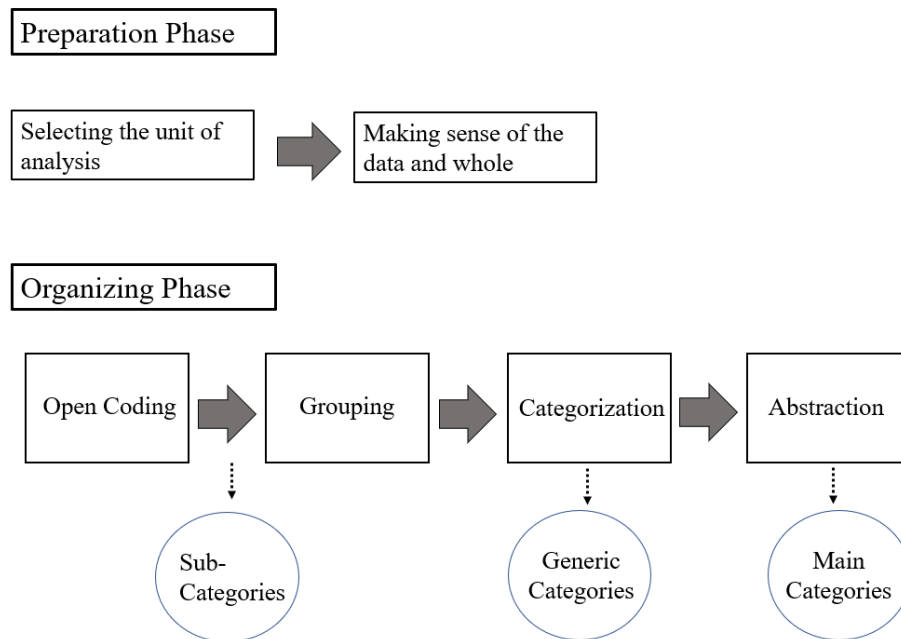
¹⁹ The activities of the KAA also included aiding farmers in securing livestock, farm machinery, and necessary farm tools at a minimum of cost; processing and distributing fertilizers obtained locally or from foreign countries, and agriculture-related work to increase food production (Extension: 2. KAA, HUSAFIK, Part IV)

by the Educational and Training Department. It performed agricultural extension services by providing educational meetings, lectures, demonstrations, and moving pictures to farm communities, in which provisions of the articles on livestock and crop information each week to the *Farmer's Weekly* was one of the jobs (Extension: 2. KAA, HUSAFIK, Part IV). A series called Korean Agriculture Association Li-am Woo notably appeared on every issue from 1945 to 1947, which provided combinable serial articles in a question and answer style on poultry, swine, cows, and other stocks respectively.

Therefore, it can be argued that the *Farmer's Weekly* certainly had attributes of a literacy education text when taking into account the composition of its contents on each page. The last page adopted the same writing system with the Korean literacy texts and school textbooks. Their excerpts were adopted to teach Korean literacy and history while providing health knowledge and practices as well. The first two pages covered significant policies, issues, and workings of democracy for political literacy, and page three was devoted to agricultural contents for the agricultural literacy.

3.3 Analysis Process

Qualitative content analysis generally follows the process as the following: 1) The formation of research problems and questions, 2) sampling, 3) coding and 4) analysis and interpretation (White & Marsh, 2006). To be more specific, inductive analysis is conducted along with the phases below after the research questions, and the scope of research materials are determined.



[Figure 4] Analysis process in inductive content analysis. Re-created by the author referring to (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, pp. 110–111)

Of all coding methods, open coding allows data-driven inductive coding rather than deductive, which entails taking footnotes, and making titles or headings on all noticeable aspects of the data. Then, a researcher freely makes categorizations with proper code segments at the grouping stage. In the middle of these processes, a researcher ceaselessly compares and contrasts the codes and categorizations to produce sub-categories in clear structure. They are groups of codes at the lowest level. At the categorization stage, sub-categories are surveyed and grouped under higher-order headings to produce generic categories. A researcher collapses similar sub-categories into a broader category (Burnard, 1991, p. 462). The abstraction process continues as far as is needed until the most generalized categories (main categories) are produced that can answer the research questions (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, pp. 111).

Finally, the analysis and interpretation are conducted by making illustrations on research topics based on the categorization in the previous step. Reports should suggest meanings of the research data with the integration of examples, contexts, and theoretical backgrounds (White & Marsh, 2006, p. 39).

This thesis analyzes the Farmer's Weekly following the phases described above. First of all, it includes all the issues of the *Farmer's Weekly* remaining preserved at present. They were presented over two years from 29 December 1945 to 22 December 1947 although the whole publishing period was from 22 December 1945 to the middle of 1948. The table below clarifies the range of research data.

Year	Month	The Issue Number (Issue Date)				
1945	December	No.1 (22nd)	No.2 (29th)			
1946	January	No.3 (5th)	No.4 (12th)	No.5 (19th)	No.6 (26th)	
	February	No.7 (2nd)	No.8 (9th)	No.9 (16th)	No.10 (23rd)	
	March	No.11 (2nd)	No.12 (9th)	No.13 (16th)	No.14 (23rd)	No.15 (30th)
	April	No. 16 (6th)	No.17 (13th)	No.18 (20th)	No.19 (27th)	
	May	No.20 (4th)	No.21 (11th)	No.22 (18th)	No.23 (25th)	
	June	No.24 (1st)	No.25 (15th)	No.26 (18th)	No.27 (22nd)	No.28 (29th)
	July	No.29 (6th)	No.30 (13th)		No.31 (27th)	
	August	No.32 (3rd)	No.33 (10th)	No.34 (17th)		No.35 (31st)
	September	No.36 (7th)	No.37 (14th)	No.38 (21st)	No.39 (28th)	
	October	No.40 (unidentified)		No.41 (19th)	No.42 (26th)	

	November	No.43 (2nd)	No.44 (9th)	No.45 (16th)	No.46 (23rd)	No.47 (30th)
	December	No.48 (7th)	No.49 (14th)	No.50 (21st)	No.51 (28th)	
1947	January	No.52 (4th)	No.53 (11th)	No.54 (18th)	No.55 (25th)	
	February	No.56 (1st)	No.57 (8th)	No.58 (15th)	No.59 (22nd)	
	March	No.60 (1st)	No.61 (8th)	No.62 (15th)	No.63 (22nd)	No.64 (29th)
	April	No.65 (5th)	No.66 (12th)	No.67 (19th)	No.68 (26th)	
	May	No.69 (3rd)		No.70 (17th)	No.71 (24th)	No.72 (31st)
	June	No.73 (7th)	No.74 (14th)	No.75 (21st)	No.76 (28th)	
	July	No.77 (5th)	No.78 (12th)	No.79 (19th)		
	August		No.80 (unidentified)	No.81 (16th)		No.82 (30th)
	September	No publications				
	October			No.83 (18th)		
	November	No.84 (1st)		No.85 (15th)		No.86 (29th)
	December		No.87 (13th)			
1948	Missing					

[Table 1] The issue number and date of the *Farmer's Weekly*.

- The grey color marks the missing issues.

- Source: Made by the author, referring to the National Central Library (<http://www.nl.go.kr/nl/>).

The unit of analysis is an article in series or groups. [Table 2] shows an overview of the unit of analysis.

Name of Series/Group	Number of articles	Name of Series/Group	Number of articles
Military Government's Statement	60	Crop Cultivation	91
General's Speech	13	Korean Agriculture Association, Li-am Woo	65
General's Command	12	Animal Husbandry	33
Special announcement from the Department of Public Information	9	Sarang-bang Story ²⁰	1
Q&A with Journalists	12	Hangeul Lecture	60
Column	31	History of Korea	25
The Grandfather Kim	74	Madam and Home	39
		Total	525

[Table 2] Unit of Analysis

First, some series consistently cover the contents intended for farmer's enlightenment, published under separate serial titles. They include Column, The Grandfather Kim (The Grandfather Park until the third issue), and Korean Agriculture Association, Li-am Woo. The Li-am Woo series have specialization in animal husbandry techniques. Also. The sections for Hangeul Lecture, Korean History, and Madam and Home on page four were published in series as well. In this case, the unit of analysis is determined as each series of articles, distinguishing

²⁰ Story of *Sarang-bang* is shown as having one article because this series started on 29 November 1947 ("it started to let you know the circumstances in this new era"), but not available afterwards since the Farmer's Weekly published in 1948 is missing today. The last available issue was published on 13 December 1947, but it did not include the *Sarang-bang* series.

them from other individual ones.

Second, there are several kinds of articles which are not published under serial sections but can be grouped as a series frequently featured on the *Farmer's Weekly*. The first type includes articles marked explicitly as the US military government's statements, special announcements by the Department of Public Information, the US military government's speeches, and commands. These are included in the analysis as it displays the official views of the military government on political issues. The second type is the articles that can be grouped as crop cultivation techniques and animal husbandry techniques. Individual articles on each topic are scattered mostly on page three. Although not covered under a particular series, they were included in the analysis because they are directly related to the farmer's lives and their enlightenment. Individual articles belonging to the two types are the unit of analysis since the articles.

Third, some of the serials and other articles are to be excluded. As children's songs, novels, and the comic strip called Naughty Twins are series, but they were written to trigger interest rather than proposing enlightening contents. Additionally, articles that are mainly intended to notify news—both international and domestic news—, or promote a variety of governmental departments' policies and activities were not included. The former is more tended to let farmers know the external events and circumstances than specifically enlighten them. The latter, either published under a section called the Military Government Office News or as individual articles, includes some contents that call for farmers' cooperation with the MG. However, they mostly present fragmentary information and promotional aspects of their policies and activities.

The main categories at the highest level are basic literacy, political literacy, and

economic literacy as the *Farmer's Weekly* can be viewed as an educational text for such literacies. Based on the thematic Unit of coding is determined by the types of a content segment; knowledge, MG's perspectives, and mentality. Knowledge includes Hangeul spelling and grammar, explanations on political ideas, technique manuals, and the like. Its perspectives usually regard significant political issues and their activities for Korea. Mentality indicates desirable attitudes, values, or spirits that farmers should internalize. In format, the unit of analysis usually appears as an article, several paragraphs, or sentences.

In the process of coding, each unit of coding having similarity in contents is freely grouped to sub-categories at the open coding and grouping phase. Sub-categories are incorporated into generic categories by the common topic at the categorization phase and then grouped as generic categories by the common topics. In the end, all of the generic categories are grouped as main categories by the literacy they are associated with, at the last abstraction phase.

The software program MAXQDA was used to manage the data files of the *Farmer's Weekly*, and conduct the analysis by coding, comparing and structuring codes, and generating categories.

The coding and categorization took considerations of the previous literature on social education and farmer's enlightenment; themes such as democracy, anticommunism, patriotism, self-help, thrifty, and entrepreneurship were considered. In addition, unexpected categories emerging from the analysis were included.

CHAPTER IV. FINDINGS

In this chapter, the contents of the *Farmer's Weekly* are analyzed to investigate what knowledge, skill manuals, virtues, and practice guidelines are delivered and taught to educate certain kinds of literacy. The analysis is divided into three parts by the types of literacy they foster; basic literacy, political literacy, and agricultural literacy. The contents for each literacy were sorted out by their topics.

4.1 Basic Literacy

4.1.1 Hangeul and Korean History

Hangeul and history of Korea were the symbols of education reform in liberated Korea. They had nearly been excluded from education curriculums during the Japanese rule. Instead, Japanese language, history, morality courses were exclusively highlighted. It was when education was thoroughly mobilized to create the subject of the Japanese chrysanthemum. Several articles on the *Farmer's Weekly* emphasize the importance of learning Korean literacy and history on the grounds that only educated individuals form the aggregate basis for the construction and development of an independent, democratic nation. Hangeul and history of Korea are the rudimentary subjects for such individual capacities ("Farmer Education," Column, 6/July/1946; The Grandfather Kim, 2/Feb/1946; "Closing Remark to Readers," Korean History, 14/Sept/1946)²¹.

²¹ One column titled "Let us learn Hangeul" says "Dear farmers, we must establish our nation with our own power. To do that, we must learn our written alphabets that express our verbal words as soon as possible." (2/Feb/1946).

In this vein, the Hangeul Lecture was provided by the Bureau of Textbook (the Department of Education) on every issue from 29 December 1945 to 17 May 1947. As already noted earlier, this lecture was excerpted from the elementary literacy textbook. The first half until the issue published on 18 June 1946 teaches how to write Hangeul correctly, and the other half-word and sentence grammar. The latter especially promote the compliance with grammar as “scientific” and “civilized” way to express oneself to other audience (Hangeul Lecture, 23/June, 29 June in 1946), which again implies that only educated individuals could develop a nation that would be approved as civilized from other countries.

The newspaper also serially publishes “Korean History” on the same page, from 9 March 1946 to 14 September 1946. It briefly covers the history in sequence from ancient Joseon through the very recent colonial period. The lecture highlights events that show the excellence of Korean ethnicity such as conquest, cultural achievements (e.g., academic progress in Confucian studies, great inventions, etc.), prominent figures (e.g., King Sejong) as well as the sacrifices that independence activists made during the colonial period. It generally promotes confidence in the history of Korea and possibly helps farmers be proud of Korean national identity.

4.1.2 Health and Hygiene

The *Farmer's Weekly* has a section called “Madam and Home”, a serial on health and hygiene education, which often deals with knowledge of home economics on health and food. It is arranged together with Hangeul Lecture, and Korean History on page 4. A number of article contents are categorized into three groups by topics; disease prevention and home remedies; maternal and child health;

and dietary life.

“Madam and Home” section devotes a large space to disease-related topics as the lack of sanitation often led to an outbreak of contagious and bug-transmitted diseases. Articles enlighten farmers the causes and symptoms of the diseases. The preventive hygiene rules are notably reiterated such as cleaning up, and catching flies and mice (“Madam and Home”, 18/May, 1/June, 15/June, 18/June, 23/June, 29/June, 27/July, 10/Aug in 1946; “Korean Agriculture Association”, 22/Feb/1947), as well as home remedies for common diseases seeing that farmers have limited access to hospitals (“Madam and Home”, 31/May, 7/June, 14/June, 21/June, 12/July, 19/July in 1947). Accordingly, articles point out farmers’ lacking sense of hygiene, criticize the superstitious remedies like Shamanist gut and recommend scientific practices (The Grandfather Kim, 10/Aug/1946, 1/March/1947). The improvement in disease preventions is justified, though only once, in that people should become healthy first to construct a robust nation (The Grandfather Kim, 21/June/1947).

The second-largest category is maternity and child health whose contents consist of the knowledge of precautions during pregnancy, childbirth, and the postpartum period (26/Jan, 9/Feb, 7/Sept, 19/Oct, 16/Nov, in 1946; 24/May, 30/Aug, 18/Oct) as well as child-raising skills such as feeding weaning food and child diseases (27/April, 4/May, 17/Aug). At one hand, the articles contain folk measures farming women could practice at home; on the other hand, they highly recommend modern scientific practices such as doctoral diagnosis and the selection of a midwife who has science-based knowledge instead of an old, experience-based midwife.

Lastly, a group of articles of Madam and Home on dietary life similarly teaches

and recommended a nutritious diet based on scientific knowledge. The example below is a good summary of this focus.

What is said here is that the secrets to improving the people's diet and health conditions are the development of nutrition science regarding food and its practical applications... Since we [farmers] are lacking scientific knowledge of nutrients or refusing to act along even if we have it, we are intentionally losing such good nutrients... The first step is to put efforts into giving up old habits like coarse recipes and the bias for white rice (Madam and Home, 2/Nov/1946).

Other articles teach vitamins and matching foods (6/July, 13/July in 1946), or higher nutritious values of brown grains and flours than white rice has (23/Nov/1946). The article demanded change farmers' preference for rice although it might have been irrelevant to problematize it. Farmers were generally suffering from food shortages, rice particularly being collected and controlled, and flour had not been the well-known ingredients for them. Also, nutritious recipes are taught with expectations to improve "primitive" dietary life which is falling behind that of the Westerners while considering common economic difficulties farmers have in obtaining better ingredients (14/Sept, 21/Sept in 1946; 1/Nov, 29/Nov, 13/Dec in 1947).

Overall, the health and hygiene education through the *Farmer's Weekly* pursues to convey modern scientific knowledge on health and daily diet, and enlighten farmers out of old customs which are presumably or explicitly deemed outdated.

4.2 Political Literacy

4.2.1. The USAMGIK's Policies, Activities, and Political Perspectives

Political literacy education through the *Farmer's Weekly* begins with making farmers known to essential ordinances, policies, and activities. It is not only to give information but enlighten that the USAMGIK enforces them sincerely for the construction and development of Korea²². This is well presented in the articles that address US economic aid and its political support for the establishment of an independent Korean government. Also, the MG's official views on significant political issues are repeated to have farmers understand and accept them. In the end, the farmers' political literacy would enhance by learning the favorable intention of the MG behind their activities and their viewpoints on political matters.

4.2.1.1 The US roles in the liberation from the Japanese colonial rule

The *Farmer's Weekly* has articles that highlight the US military army's roles in liberating Korea and US' freedom-loving nature. On the second issue of the *Farmer's Weekly* is a column titled "A Monkey Speaks" by Korean author In-Geun Bang (29/Dec/1946). It tells a story of a monkey family, likened to Koreans, that gets accidentally invited to the MG office while they are wandering around the city of Seoul. The US generals say farewells to the monkey family afterward saying "Now that you are well-fed go to your home. We are liberating you and giving you freedoms", appeasing their fear of yet another imprisonment and giving hopes to have free and independent lives.

Moreover, the MG often justifies its policies and laws such as tree planting, labor reform, and rice collection, emphasizing that Koreans would surely benefit from them. It is in contrast with evil colonial policies whose sole purpose was to

²² The articles that belongs to the MG News generally show positive aspects of or success in the policy implementations and the government's activities, but this group of articles were excluded in this paper as explained in the methodology.

exploit Korean people to feed the Japanese. (The Grandfather Kim, 10/Aug, 6/July in 1946; 1/March/1947; “Emancipation of Labor,” Column, 19/Oct/1946). Another example of a column appreciates the new labor law saying “the purposes

As such, the MG, with the intentions to gain supports to stabilize its rule, propagated its roles in liberating Korea from the oppressive Japanese legacies and its good intentions for the interim rule.

4.2.1.2 The US economic aid for south Korea

A group of articles on US economic aid not only gives information on aids but conveys the US and US military government’s goodwill to give provisions so that the Koreans could maintain their subsistence and reach self-sufficiency. A command by General Helmick states as follows.

[US economic aid] is to rehabilitate the Korean economy as soon as possible and establish independent nation...The US wishes nothing but provides cordial assistance (Command by General Helmick, 19/July/1947)

Other articles also emphasize the consistency in the US’ willingness to aid Korea and provide statistics of the grant-supported imports from the US. In particular, the articles explicitly relate the economic rehabilitation aided by the US free grants with national independence from 1947 (13/Dec/1947), when the establishment of the sole government of south Korea was determined. It drove the US to put more attention to the defense of south Korea against the USSR.

The fundamental purpose of American foreign policies in the postwar period is summarized into the New World Order. In the making of the Order, the key was the reconstruction and prosperity of the US-centered camps to deter the rapid

expansion of the Soviet Unions' communist camps. The US thus commenced military, defense, and economic aids for its alliances—European countries, defeated Axis Powers, and some of their former colonies—to strengthen their power and stability against the counterpart (Hong, 1962, pp. 16–17).

As one part of such plans, the inflow of aid-financed imports started soon after the US occupation over south Korea. The Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA, 1945-1949) was a relief program that aids daily necessities such as food, agricultural supplies, clothes, and medical supplies to former colonies of the Axis Powers, including Korea. The Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Areas (EROA)²³ was embraced within the GARIOA account, but this program provisioned raw materials such as oils, iron ores, and raw cotton (Hong, 1962, pp. 19–20).

The GARIOA-EROA program for south Korea centered on the prevention of massive starvation and diseases by providing foods and essential consumer goods and the stimulation of productive capacity. The economy had been suffering from absolute material shortages, and stark inflation (Krueger, 1982, p.9). The majority of Japanese entrepreneurs had fled the country, and in-flow of products and fuels from the manufacturing centers in the north were stopped due to the partition (Jeong & Kim, 1995, pp. 228–230).

It, therefore, was critical to mitigate the pressing economic needs to stabilize south Korea to be a foothold against the USSR's scope of influence following the US foreign policies (Krueger, 1982, pp. 11–14). The assistance from 1945 to 1948 amounted to about \$ 409.3 million, foodstuffs taking up the most substantial 41.6

²³The EROA program was conducted in not only former colonies, but Axis Powers such as Western Germany and Japan that the United States occupied after the Second World War.

percent. It was followed by 18.8 percent of agricultural supplies, which contributed to domestic grain supplies and agricultural outputs (Lee, 2002, p.59).

Provided this background, providing articles on aid arrivals was deemed important. They not only included information in farmers' interest but revealed the United States and MG's practical supports and enlightened farmers to appreciate US efforts for Korea's stabilization.

4.2.1.3 The US political perspectives and supports

One of the most continually covered issues on the *Farmer's Weekly* was the processes of the establishment of the unified, independent, and democratic Korean government. It was the very cause of the US military rule and the top priority for Koreans themselves. In other words, the large portion of the newspaper was accounted for the Moscow accords (December 1945), US-Soviet Joint Commission (JC, March 1946; May 1947), and the general elections in south Korea under the UN watch²⁴ (10 May 1948).

The MG sought to not only give information on this processes by disclosing the JC statements (27/April/1946; 22/Feb, 1/March, 15/March, 7/June, 14/June, 21/June, 16/Aug in 1947) but enlighten or infuse their perspectives into farmers, emphasizing the United States and MG's goodwill and support for Korea.

A high number of statements appearing on the *Farmer's Weekly* proclaim that the purpose of the MG is to aid in building up the provisional government as

²⁴ The Moscow accords determined the institution of Korean provisional government under the trusteeship by a four-power (the US, the USSR, China, and Britain). The US-Soviet Joint Commission had responsibilities for actual organization of the Korean provisional government and the trusteeship over Korea. Last, the general elections in south Korea was determined after the JC had failed to make agreements on the organization of the provisional government (Kim, 1999).

agreed upon in the Moscow accords and ultimately realizing the complete independence of Korea (2/Jan, 23/March, 18/May, 14/Sep, 21 in 1946; 18/Jan, 15/Jan, 19/April in 1947). This argument is persistent throughout the whole period from the first JC (March 1946) towards the determination on the general elections in the year of 1948.

Articles of the Grandfather Kim correspondingly propagate the MG's efforts, such as its sincere will to resuming the JC to solve the independence problem as the following example (19/April/1947).

...How Lieutenant General Hodge...showed sympathy for Joseon [Korea], promoted its problems and pleaded help for it while he visited America...His intentions to make Joseon into an independent nation and put efforts for the Joseon people's happiness makes him more like a Korean.

Furthermore, the statements on the newspaper repeatedly explain the meaning of trusteeship to distinguish it from the external rule and suppress oppositions against the trusteeship. For instance, trusteeship is different from a colonial protectorate, or foreign rule. The articles also mention that the US is not doing anything either to politically or economically rule Korea (Statement by General Hodge, 6/July/1946).

Above all, the *Farmer's Weekly* attempts to have farmers well-informed of the MG's perspective on the trusteeship; the Koreans must observe the Moscow agreements validated by the international rules. An article of the Grandfather Kim Kim reminds "We were liberated not by our ability but the aid of Alliance Powers. So, we cannot but complete our independence with their help." (22/March/1947) to emphasize the observance of the Moscow agreements.

The MG's stance could be encapsulated into, again, the making of the New World Order. In this conception, not only the Axis Powers but their former colonies were supposed to be detached from them and incorporated into the sphere of the US-centered liberal camps. As for East Asia, the US had to gain control over postwar settlements for Korea to guarantee the US' political and military security in Asia-Pacific region against the power of USSR and Communist Party of China (Jeong, 2003, pp.114-115). Thus, the US sought to establish the provisional government under the USAMGIK's firm supervision, and then maintain US power over Korea and East Asia in the form of trusteeship.

In other words, the MG assumed no mercy on Koreans' explosive demands for immediate independence. Since the JC was based on the determination of trusteeship by the Moscow accords, such turbulence made the US position disadvantageous during the JC negotiation with the USSR. More importantly, the US predicted that immediate independence would highly likely allow the USSR to expand its influence to south Korea with its established military power in the north. The USSR could possibly organize well-organized popular leftist groups in the south (Yoo, 1998; Kim, 1998, Kim, 1999, pp. 84-99; Jeong, 2003, pp. 228-230). This made the US more intransigent on the decision of trusteeship so that it could seek the ways to keep control over Korea in the name of an international agreement.

Meanwhile, leftist groups approved the trusteeship some days after the news arrival on Moscow accord, losing a large portion of strong popular support. Then, rightists changed this issue into an anti-Soviet and anti-communism agenda and continued the anti-trusteeship movements. They aimed to enlarge their power in the current politics and the establishment of the provisional government (Jeong,

2003, p.157; pp.193–194).

To summarize, the MG needed to suppress the anti-trusteeship among the Koreans to firmly uphold its influences over the establishing processes of the provisional government. It had to accompany encouraging Koreans to cooperate with the MG's decisions. Hence, the MG attempted to indoctrinate farmers its political perspective on Korean independence, justifications of the trusteeeship, and willingness to supporting the ultimate independence of Korea, whose process includes trusteeeship.

4.2.2. Criticisms against the communist Soviet Unions

It was pointed out in the previous literature that adult education or farmer education aimed at socialization of the educated to accept anti-communism (Lee, 1996; 1997). Also, it was one of the principles of civic education in social studies subject during the USAMGIK period as the Cold War was made visible (Lee, 2003; Kang, 2017)

Underlying is the historical context in which the US rivaled with the USSR after the Second World War. Nevertheless, the *Farmer's Weekly* contains only a few articles whose topic is anti-communism or anti-leftist. Introduction to the contents of communism or leftist ideas is barely shown in the newspaper. In some cases of covering the USSR, the contents of articles are confined to attributing the failure of the JC to it²⁵, blaming that they are intransigent in the negotiation or

²⁵ In fact, the United States made internal decisions to first rupture the negotiation with the USSR when they had not succeeded in making the pro-US rightist the majority group within the Korean political parties and social organizations that would be permitted to participate in the discussions on the provisional government. The USSR had cause to stubbornly deny them because they had led fierce anti-trusteeship movements, an opposing stance against the JC, but

hardly serious about the independence of Korea (General's Command, 16/March/1946; Statement by General Hodge, 18/May/1946).

Explicit blames on the USSR permeated into articles when the JC had begun to go towards yet another breakdown around July 1947. In fact, the US had internally determined the establishment of the South Korean government. It was also after the Truman Doctrine (12 March 1947) declaring the US opposing position against the USSR-led communist camp (Lee, 1998, p. 63). Several articles then criticize the Soviet's interferences with international diplomacy indicating its "wicked plan" to absorb weak countries into its sphere (Statement by the US representative of Joint Commission, Brown, 30/Aug/1947; The Grandfather Kim, 18/Oct/1947). But articles whose topic is criticism on the communist ideology itself still did not appear.

4.2.3. Democracy and Political Participation

4.2.3.1 An Understanding of Democracy

Democracy education was of the utmost importance in the whole education curriculums and contents during the Occupation. The MG pursuit democratization of education, ultimately leading to the construction of a democratic state. This included replacing totalitarian loyalty to the nation with an introduction of democratic freedom and practices into education contents, under the monitor by the American officers (Kim, 2015, pp. 122–136; Oh, 2014, pp. 361–364).

The *Farmer's Weekly* also contains "articles illustrating the workings of

the United States could not concede it either because they would be the support base for the US power over the provisional government later (Jeong, 2003, pp.211-212).

democracy” either those enlightening readers features of democracy or explaining the newly-introduced democratic institutions. As of the former, some articles present what is the freedom that democracy guarantees as an example article of the series called Story of *Sarang-bang*²⁶ below (29/Nov/1947).

Of all the words being told now, isn't democracy the most confusing word? Let's talk about the term democracy tonight. We are often wrong thinking that democracy means doing anything with one's freedom and as one pleases...[But] true freedom is likened to a train going on a railroad but deviating from the railroad and going anywhere in a haphazard manner.

This article tells readers the meaning of freedom within a democracy, distinguishing it from license to deviate from basic rules. Individual freedom is regarded as a central notion to be made understood to farmers via the *Farmer's Weekly*. It was what made the democracy distinguished from the autocratic, totalitarian political system and lifestyles under the former colonial rule. Japan was, in particular, was infamous for the solid building of militaristic totalitarianism.

A column published earlier than this statement also shed lights on individual freedom in contrast to autocracy and teaches the appreciation of democracy.

...Democracy is a fundamentally opposing political idea to the autocracy that forcefully makes the whole nation-people fit the one same model...Democracy utterly opened the door for individual talents and abilities. So, all individuals can now fully display their gifted talents... (“Freedom and Autocracy,” Column, 15/June/1946).

Such explanations on freedom emphasize its universal guarantee on blooming individuality that paves ways for everyone, including a poor ordinary farmer, to make great accomplishment only if they are educated, in arms of democracy

²⁶ *Sarang-bang* means a room for male guests in a traditional Korean house.

(3/May/1947).

Another characteristic of democracy being taught is freedom of speech, publication, and thought. A column explains that only people of a democratic state can have such freedom when those of autocratic do not (25/May/1946). Besides, its people have free and fair discussions to reach the truth based on that freedom, which the Koreans should learn to form a public opinion to construct their own democratic country²⁷ (4/May/1946). The *Farmer's Weekly* also delivered other topics such as principles of democratic constitution (1/June/1946).

Some articles illustrate democratic systems that would be enforced soon to educate their underlying democratic principles or characters. Two systems were paid attention to on the *Farmer's Weekly*; the South Korean Interim Legislative Assembly and the election systems.

Before looking into the contents on democracy, it should be noted that the MG had certain intentions in instituting the South Korea Interim Legislative. The MG proposed its institution after the recess of the first JC. It expected the assembly to legitimately represent the Koreans' opinions to the next JC, which would be made to support trusteeship. Anti-trusteeship movement during the JC by MG-allied rightist groups had embarrassingly swayed the US bargaining position as it was a stakeholder to realize the trusteeship.²⁸ The MG particularly sought to charge a vital role in operating the assembly based on the left-right coalition to broaden its

²⁷ In real terms, it was the time when the Koreans' desire for the freedom of expression proliferated press publications with the end of Japanese extreme press control. The MG backed it up to some extent introducing the publication registration regulation on 30 October 1945 (Kim, 2009).

²⁸ It should be noted that the South Korea Interim Legislative Assembly was not a decision-making body, but more inclined to be a sort of advisory to the MG. The MG had the final right to pass a bill (Jeong, 2003, p.241).

political base rather than solely rely on the rightists (Jeong, 2003, pp.235-249)²⁹

Within this background, articles expisit the representative nature of the Interim Legislative Assembly, opening on 20 December 1946. An article titled “What is a democracy?” by General Lerch is a good example.

[Democracy defines that] 1) It belongs to individual rights that one expresses his or her own opinions concerning how his or her own country should be run, 2) The constitute of national law on democracy follows the views of the majority...[Thus,] you keep in mind to vote for a great person in the elections for the National Assembly³⁰...and tell them your expectations about the way the government is operated.

The main lesson is that the assembly is representative of the Korean people on the grounds that its members are elected congressmen and women who would conform to public opinions regarding domestic issues (Commands by General Lerch, 29/Oct/1946; Statement, 16/Nov/1946).

The other group of articles addresses the meaning of elections. Articles considering the local autonomy elections—which were once promoted but dismissed at all in early 1947—underscores a democratic principle of the freedom to express individual opinions about his or her representatives (The Grandfather Kim, 15/Feb/1947). Likewise, an MG statement encourages readers to learn the universal suffrage (legislated in January 1947, and revised in March) to elect the right representative in the general elections of the Constitutional Assembly of South Korea (13/Dec/1947).

As such, the *Farmer's Weekly* delivers farmers the contents on democracy

²⁹ Thus, seven articles that praise left-right coalition accompany those on the assembly.

³⁰ It must be noted that half the seats of the South Korea Interim Legislative Assembly were elected by the indirect elections, not direct elections by the all Koreans. Members for the rest half were selected by MG (Kim, 1998, p.91).

covering the meaning of individual freedom, the freedom of speech, publication, and thought, and the values of the representative democratic political system, and encourages the appreciation of democracy.

4.2.3.2 Refrain from Political Participation

The *Farmer's Weekly* covered the matter of political participation. The newspaper made a variety of attempts to infuse the right attitudes towards it. The country was undergoing political turbulence such as anti-trusteeship movements, the nation-wide uprisings of October in 1946, arrests or even assassinations of prominent political figures, and other whips amid the escalating left-right conflicts.

First of all, patriotic solidarity are encouraged for nation-building; farmers should resolve conflicting interests to be united and devote their solidified strength to the construction of an independent nation (The Grandfather Kim, 26/Jan, 9/Feb in 1946; "Destiny of One Body," Column, 23/March/1946). This could sometimes be a prioritization of national integration over maximum respect for individuality.

If individuals adhere to his or her own opinions, individual rights cannot be guaranteed...as the country would fall into disorder...[You] should develop one best opinion among various individual opinions and support it...Therefore, the opinions of all people must be unified to keep a nation in peace. And this unification of opinions essentially needs people's cooperation and harmony ("Peace and War," Column, 29/June/1946)

The patriotism could be sometimes developed into the cause of dissuading farmers from partaking in political discussions or movements. Some of the articles somewhat discourage farmers from being riveted on controversial political issues as an article of the Grandfather Kim shows below (15/March/1947).

The societal status of liberated Korea is...like “I am the loyal one, and you are a traitor. My ideology is right, and yours is wrong...What riots, what crashes, and what criminals.” These are such pathetic events. Dear good farmer fellows! Let us be a great stepstone for the nation construction...[I] sincerely expect you to firmly maintain rural traditions and keep your nose to the grind to be a loyalist who acts but saves words.

The article persuades farmers to solely concentrate on their jobs rather than pay attention to or express their opinions about the wasteful political disputes—be “a loyalist who acts but saves words.” This is suggested as a way to contribute to the construction of the new nation. Other articles of the Grandfather Kim also stress farmers’ duties, farming work and cooperation with MG’s activities while saying that they refrain from actively speaking about specific issues as if they were “storytellers or lawyers” (23/March/1946), or listening to complicated news on political events (30/Aug, 1947).

A couple of viral issues were particularly pointed out frequently, for they involved massive political actions. The first one is anti-trusteeship movements which, as mentioned earlier, somewhat pushed the MG, as a major stakeholder of trusteehip, to a disadvantageous position in the JC. Many statements by the MG emphasize the phrase ‘the trusteehip is not the same as external occupation’, along with criticisms on such movements for causing disorders, hindering the JC as well as final independence of Korea (General Hodge’s Speech, 12/Jan/1946; Statement by Hodge on 12/Jan, 9/Feb, 18/May in 1946; 25/Jan, 22/Feb in 1947; Statement by the US representative to the JC, 22/Feb, 15/March, 1947).

For instance, General Lerch indirectly urges the Koreans to get back to their jobs, saying not sure if the protesting Koreans are serious about independence. He saw in anxiety “healthy men and women swing flags on streets” when “to work and work again” is the utmost importance for economic rehabilitation (General Lerch’s Speech, 26/Jan/1946).

The other issue is the October uprisings.³¹ The *Farmer's Weekly* delivered MG statements right after the uprisings had been suppressed. They fundamentally framed the event as propagandists' or anarchists' riot to destroy the MG and overrun the country. Moreover, they appealed to farmers that they stop the violent protests while "they endure their daily hardship" (Joint statement by representatives of the US-Korea Joint Meeting, 9/Nov/1946) and unite to exert full strength to construct new Korea (Statement by Hodge, 2/Nov/1946). All of the articles enlighten farmers to return to normal lives and devote themselves to the good cause of national construction.

In parallel, the *Farmer's Weekly* included a number of articles cautioning the remarks against MG's activities. The articles illustrate that unfounded rumors against the MG are from evil, false, criminal propagandists who plot to overrun the country. But they do not specify contents of such remarks and the issues in question (Statement by General Hodge, 23/June, 7/Sep in 1946, 17/May, 1947; Statement by General Lerch, 31/Aug, 1946; Q&A with journalists 15/Feb, 1947; The Grandfather Kim, 30/Nov in 1946, 22/March, 24/May in 1947). The MG only began to list the arguments of the opposing propaganda when they had to elucidate the rumors to appease frustrated mobs in October uprising.

What the MG took consideration was leftists' activities at a grassroots level when they blamed the propaganda. The MG had seriously concerned their domination of local opinions, particularly after they had found out that isolation of each farming village worsens this tendency in 1947. Moreover, the MG was

³¹ The autumn harvest uprising starting on 1 October 1946 was originated from the general strike of railway unions in the late September of 1946, and developed into the uprisings led by local leftist organizations and propelled mostly by the rural population against the MG's mismanagement of economic difficulties, particularly oppressive, forceful rice and grain collections by the police under the MG. It will be explained more in detail later in this paper.

aware of the possible inflammability of the coercive food control systems. The MG thus concentrated on the prevention of eruptions of latent discontents in forms of political actions by attributing the political disorders and economic hardships to the leftist propaganda (Cho, 2018, pp. 295–297; pp.306-307). However, the articles in the *Farmer's Weekly* do not mention the word leftist or seriously introduce leftist perspectives so that they are deemed just as propaganda rather than political opinions.

In short, the *Farmer's Weekly* enlightens farmers to solely focus on their farming jobs, a cooperation with the mission of nation construction in itself while not engaged with political issues, especially “propagandist” political views opposed to those of the MG.

4.3 Agricultural Literacy

4.3.1 Food Control Policies

An understanding of food policies is presented essential for agricultural literacy. The MG sought to explain the rationales for rice collection and food rationing policies to farmers and strongly called for their conformity to the policies. The large portion of articles on the *Farmer's Weekly* is evidence on MG's eagerness to convince farmers of the policies. The articles below are an example.

I said to people that Koreans must eat to survive, and they are sure to eat [food]...The authority thinks that it is necessary to procure rice to feed the nation-people, and therefore, we will continue to collect rice until its quantity becomes enough to feed the nation-people...The authority has made a decision to give Korean people opportunities to buy rice by inhibiting rice savers and profiteers from getting benefits with their selfishness (Statement by General Lerch, 2/Feb/1946).

Meanwhile, labors and salarymen, taking up most of our fellow countrymen who cannot pay for such high price of rice, cannot help but get embarrassed near the starvation line...[Farmers] have to consider that factory laborer and shop owners fret over buying rice. We have some time left to share things already disappearing from the market with our fellow countrymen at a reasonable price. (Column, 2/March/1946)

The rationales for the introduction of rice collection policy in the statement are to procure food to feed people. The MG also would discourage profit-seeking activities of those who corner rice and grains in the market. These two imply the food shortages and the prevalence of unfair advantages of selling rice. The column conveys another rationale that farmers also have to provide the non-farming urban population who is suffering from high food prices by cooperating with the rice collection policy.

The MG provided more detailed explanations on the backgrounds for the rice collection policy after the October uprisings in 1946. In the articles, they somewhat frankly recognized the reasons for food shortages including policy mistakes; a population increase, no grain imports from north Korea, a lack of fertilizers, floods, overconsumption in 1945, the late start of collection in 1946, and hoarding and smuggling to Japan (Statement by General Lerch, 2/Nov/1946).

Solving widespread food shortages and controlling food distribution was of utmost importance to the MG. In October 1945, the MG abolished a colonial system of rice confiscation that had fed Japan-led wars and lifted a bar to a free rice market by General Notice No.1. A free commodity market was also established shortly after this notice. The Americans were inclined to introduce the power of the Western free-market system in opposition to a forceful colonial system (Cumings, 2002, pp. 202–203).

Moreover, the MG had to weaken the influence of leaders of the People's

Republic and People Committee, grassroots leftist organizations that had been managing the food system after Japanese fled the country. The MG recognized authority over food as the very base for their ruling power, so they denied the legitimacy of leftist groups' food management and declared the free rice market (Jeong, 1998, p. 137).

However, the result of the free rice market policy literally brought about the “evaporation” of rice in the market and extreme inflation of rice, grains, and daily necessities. The index of open market wholesale rice price increased up to 500 by February 1946 when the price index in August 1945 was set to 100 (Cumings, 2002, p. 376).

Several reasons can be suggested. On the one hand, the food production of south Korea stagnated around 12 to 13 million *sŏk*³², below 16 million *sŏk* in the 1940s. Meanwhile, the population exploded because of the returnees from China and Japan, and immigrants from the north. On the other hand, landlords, wealthy individuals, and public officials began hoarding, speculation, transactions with the black market and smuggling to Japan rather than investments in agriculture for more market profits. Also, farmers responded to the abolishment of rice collection by consuming more rice. (Cha, 1997, pp. 95–99).

These drove the MG to desperately solve the food crisis by reviving the colonial rice collection policy. It officially pronounced the rice collection policy on 1 February in 1946 and ordered to collect 42.9 percent of the whole production of 1945. To do so, they would ration 2.5 *hop*³³ per person of a non-farming

³² *Sŏk* is one of the units used in Korean traditional system of weights and measures. 1 *sŏk* equals to 180.391 liters in volume.

³³ *Hop* is one of the units used in Korean traditional system of weights and measures. 1 *hop* equals to 180.391 milliliters in volume.

population (Cha, 1997, p. 133). The MG also revived colonial governmental agencies into Korea Commodity Corporation (KCC) and New Korea Company (NKC) and imposed them the charges of buying up and distributing annual rice harvest at fixed prices (Cumings, 2002, p. 205).

The MG proclaimed the Central Food Ordinance No.1 to collect summer harvest in May, and No.2 to collect autumn harvest in August. Newly instituted Central Food Administration Office (CFAO) now assumed the responsibility of the KCC, and the NKC conducted management and implementation. The rice collection and rationing were continued in the form of “Koreanization” of the policy from April 1947. (Cha, 1997, pp. 145–150).

Nevertheless, the return to the food control system worsened inflation by more stimulating the black markets. It reached a peak in February 1947; The rice price per *sŏk* had increased from 1,348 won in February 1946 to staggering 10,146 in February 1947. The rise was exceedingly sharp from October to December 1946, which was the leading cause³⁴ for the nation-wide strikes and farmers’ October uprisings (Cumings, 2002, pp. 377–379).

The MG had no options but maintain the food control system even after the massive autumn uprisings in 1946. The re-introduction of free rice market system would only stimulate the inflation rate. They also fundamentally recognized that the food management was at the core of sidelining domestic groups from the food control and securing power base for the MG. “The fate of the US military policy depends on the food problem” as they put it themselves (G-2 Summary, 29/Sept/1946, cited from Cha, 199, p.140). The food problem was especially so

³⁴ Intensively violent rice collection practices by the police was also one of the main causes for the uprising. The fact that they had served Japan inflamed people’s anger all the more.

serious in cities with a non-farming population that the MG watched any signs of public unrest and riots in urban areas (Jeong, 1998, p. 139).

Therefore, the *Farmer's Weekly* delivers a great number of articles, as the [Figure 5] and [Figure 6] show³⁵, which ask of or demand farmers to surrender to the government at official prices, detouring hoarders and speculators. The MG also intended to make farmers rationales for the food policies to promote their cooperation.



[Figure 5] Promotion for cooperation with the rice collection policy (2/Nov/1946)



[Figure 6] Farmers competing for surrendering summer harvest first (31/May/19)

In the end, the MG emphasized the role of farmers as food producers within the whole economic system.

If every farmer surrenders all of the remaining rice after excluding the right amount for their families, there will be no rice shortages, famine, and starvation in Korea...[I] beg of farmers' patriotism that they sincerely cooperate with the rice collection policy...("Why Do We Collect Rice?", Statement by General Lerch, 19/Oct/1946)

The article is justifying farmers' rice and grain selling to the government as

³⁵ The title of the [Figure 5] is "Cooperate with Rice Collection." The lines in the [Figure 6] is "You, shall I lose to you in surrendering?" (left) and "No, will I lose to you. It is non-sense to lose to you!" (right)

proof of their patriotism as it would solve the starvation of other fellowmen. (Column, 26/Jan/1946; The Grandfather Kim, 9/March, 19/Oct in 1946).

Meanwhile, the MG succeeded in nearly reached or over-reached allocation targets in all provinces in 1947 mainly with the help of the physical force of the police, together with appeasement policies, such as the promise to grant lands to peasants who belonged to the NKC.

4.3.2 Crop Cultivation Techniques

Articles on crop cultivation methods and techniques are included in every issue of *Farmers' Weekly*. Teaching farmers cultivation techniques might be one of the essential issues within the newspaper as there were widespread and long-standing food shortages, as noted above.

The presentation from the Department of Agriculture gives a compressed picture of the enlightening contents for farmers (15/Nov/1947).

It is required that [we] have to adopt even newer approaches to supplying the ever-increasing non-farming population with the harvest from the lands of the limited size. In other words, [we] have to not only adopt new methods of increasing fertilizers and its effective and appropriate manuals and those of cultivation but mobilize hard work and efforts of human resources to exert full strengths to increase agricultural yields.

The text above comprehensively mentions the necessity of learning new farming methods and hardworking attitudes to supply food to the country out of the limited production capacities

The MG delivered many articles enlighten farmers to realize the urgent need to increase food production and devote themselves to it. For instance, an MG statement asks farmers to work hard to find ways out of the food crisis, making

use of every patch of fields they can find to produce more. Also, an article of the Grandfather Kim, at the end of the year 1947, tells farmers that they should reflect on their farming performance, and then they make a new farming plan for the next year (“Tighten Up Your Belt and Let us Overcome this Food Crisis”, Statement by General Lerch, 13/December/1947).

Accordingly, the MG teaches farmers through the *Farmers' Weekly* how to cultivate crops and make good-quality fertilizers to increase the harvest. Farmers not only have to sustain their own livelihood, overcome the nation-wide lack of food, and finally achieve food self-sufficiency.

4.3.2.1. Farming techniques for substitute foods and staple grains

First, articles mostly frequently address farming substitute foods, such as potatoes and sweet potatoes. The articles on potatoes and sweet potatoes are focused in March when farmers must start cultivating them, which inform farmers of suitable sowing weed removal, and harvest period, a selection of seeds, the depth of planting and distance between seed-planting (01/March, 12/July, 1947).

Farming the substitute crops were conceived of useful to farmers because they complement food shortages. Farming households could consume them instead of grains since they were not collected by the MG. The emphasis is on sowing early and harvesting late to “Overcome Food Shortage and Increase the Production of Substitute Foods” as a title of an article indicates (03/March/1946; 01/March, 08/March, 15/March in 1947). The article says that farmers need to sow a sizable quantity of potatoes in early spring because they effectively complement food shortages; they have higher nutrition compared to other crops of the same quantity, and high rate of returns compared to fertilizer input, and the possibility of double-

crop.

Farmers were discouraged to harvest them too early because “sweet potatoes cannot be mature enough to be fully-blown in taste so that the harvest reduces and its tastes become bad.” Further, “there is a great loss in harvest quantity if [potatoes] are harvested when their stems are still green.” (01/March, 1947).

The selling of potatoes and sweet potatoes is sometimes criticized as it certainly decreases the total quantity of harvest.

By the way, potatoes not in accordance with its harvest season are frequently seen in markets..., which is a matter of regret in terms of an increased potatoes yields... Most of the people might want to sell them at high prices when they are rare and valuable in the markets. This fact...is a loss for an individual [because of less harvest], but a great loss to the nation....We ask you to wait for the season when the cold frost comes down and harvest fully mature potatoes (14/September, 1946)

The article above clearly shows that the cultivation of potatoes and sweet potatoes was emphasized to compensate for food shortages rather than improving household incomes from commercial selling.

The *Famer's Weekly* also gave attention to farmers' acquiring superior seeds as they more or less determine the final yields of the year. It particularly promotes farmers to use quality American seeds as a title goes “Be Sure to Sow American Potatoes” (18/May, 1946), after the MG imported 480 tons of them from the United States in April 1946 (4/May in 1946).

Articles on farming methods of rice and other grains were also frequently written as they were a staple for Koreans. The articles introduce the techniques of sowing and transplanting rice seedlings useful in increasing rice harvest (2/March, 27/April, 18/May, 15/June, 31/Aug in 1946; 19/April in 1947) as well as storage methods of grains in winter (18/Jan, 1/March in 1947).

The causes, symptoms, preventions, and remedies for crop diseases were dealt with to avoid a possible loss in production (18/June, 31/August, 1946; 19/April, 14/June, 1947). This group of articles includes a series of the use of agricultural pesticides offered by Joseon Agricultural Chemicals Laboratory Corporation from June to October in 1947. A few articles covered the management of land for the coming spring season (12/Jan, 29/Oct, 1946; 29/Nov, 1947).

In addition, the farming methods of fruits and vegetables, are provided with examples of a peach tree, an eggplant, and a napa cabbage, together with methods of drying edible plants and storing seeds during winter (17/Aug, 1946; 16/Nov, 1947; 14/Sept, 21/Sept, 29/Sept, 1946, 18/Jan, 1947).

4.3.1.2 Techniques of Using Fertilizers

The substances, making, and use of fertilizers was one of the most emphasized elements out of the contents of crop cultivation techniques. The reason for the emphasis was clearly to produce more farming product. It was an urgent issue as an absolute lack of chemical fertilizers had hardly been eased off. The fertilizers are categorized into two types; chemical fertilizers provided from domestic factories and the US aids and manure produced in farm households.

First, the *Famers' Weekly* in 1946 presented articles on substances, effects, and directions of superphosphate of lime fertilizer. They mention that this fertilizer has perphosphoric acid that promotes growth and maturity. Rice and barley absorb a large amount of the perphosphoric acid, so it must be provided to these fields to increase production (07/Sept, 1946).

From the winter of 1946, the focus is changed to ammonium nitrate fertilizer,

which was imported in a vast quantity from the US. The articles repeated many times that its high proportion of nitrogen, using directions for paddies, storage methods, and its governmental distribution price (30/Nov, 14/Dec, 21/Dec, 1946; 1/Feb, 1/March, 29/March, 17/May, 1947).

Yet, limited manufacturing, distribution, and use of chemical fertilizers were chronic in south Korea. Most of the chemical fertilizer factories were built in the northern part of Korea during the Japanese colonial period. The MG was unable to import or bargain fertilizers with Soviet-ruled north Korea after the partition (Cha, 1999, p.95). It seemed that superphosphate of lime fertilizer was one of the few chemical fertilizers factories in Incheon in south Korea could supply³⁶. The MG then succeeded in importing ammonium nitrate from the United States after south Korea had suffered from chemical fertilizer shortages. It was why the MG repeatedly informed its effects and distribution instructions in early 1947.

For these reasons, the *Farmers' Weekly* delivers a number of articles on making fertilizers by farmers themselves. In other words, most of the knowledge of fertilizers is about know-how about producing, storing, and making use of manure and compost. Such articles give detailed information on fertilizer ingredients and small steps to making manure and compost (25/May, 18/June, 1946).

Farmers had to be self-sufficient in production inputs within their own households.

This self-supplied manure is considerably important in terms of not only the current fertilizer costs but land and soil fertility, considering increased farm products, not to mention the frustrating artificial fertilizers situations like today. In this vein, our farming families cannot help but do

³⁶ The MG encouraged farmers to make self-supplied fertilizers because “companies that manufactures fertilizers are all located in the norther part of the latitude 38 degrees and it would be difficult to buy in fertilizers needed for the next spring from other countries.” (29/Dec/1945)

everything in their power and focus themselves on increasing agricultural production.

The article writes that farmers must be conscious of the “artificial fertilizers situations” in which the chemical fertilizers lack in the whole south Korea. It encourages farmers to exert full strengths to produce more home-made fertilizers to supplement the shortages (25/May,1946).

Moreover, the farmers are exhorted to the extent to which they scrape every little thing and save whatever ingredient can use to make self-supplied fertilizers (04/May/1946).

[The author] thinks that there are many cases where this significant value of fertilizers is ignored in both farm villages and cities. For example...[I] saw twenty-five lumps of cow and horse manure within five minutes I walked down the back street. Why can't we use these in the present when a bad harvest is being expected due to the fertilizer shortage? If you collect fertilizer ingredient like this around your areas, they will play a big role in [unrecognized afterward].

The last characteristics of enlightenment contents on fertilizer are the emphasis on planning by calculating types and amount of nutrients of necessary fertilizers for crops. It is closely related to the scientific knowledge of nutrients in fertilizers. The purpose is to have farmers plan the quantity of inputs to gain desired outputs, based on the scientific chemical knowledge.

An example below enlightens farmers to plan their fertilizer inputs.

[Farmers] seem not to have plans on how much fertilizers they have to prepare to gain harvest targets they set. But they would be able to make various plans on fertilizers with the help of fertilizers contents table above and the following the quantity of fertilizer nutrients necessary for exemplary crops (“Crop Harvest and Plan the Quantity of Fertilizers”, 4/May/1946).

It then shows two tables ([Figure 9]) “resulted from chemical science” as a reference to planning, provided by institutes of agricultural experimentation in

4.3.3. Animal Husbandry Techniques

On the *Farmer's Weekly*, the knowledge of stock-raising techniques is deemed a significant element for cultivating agricultural literacy. Articles on stock raising appear in every issue as that of crop cultivation techniques. They can be grouped into two kinds; one that is published in a series called “Korean Agriculture Association, Li-am Woo” and the other consisting of articles that do not belong to a series.

The MG promoted farmers to raise and increase stocks in number and delivered necessary knowledge through the *Farmers' Weekly* to aid improving household livelihood. The announcement on agriculture target of 1947 from the Department of Agriculture is a well-summarized article (22/Feb/1947).

The livestock industry is even more important to boost the labor force for cultivation, transport capacity, and food consumption, so [we] have plans to increase the number of horses from 34,142 to 38,107 and cows from 661,181 to 724,013...and encourage livestock industry of pigs, rabbits, and domestic fowls (e.g. chickens) as well.

It explicitly states that labor force, transport capacity, and food consumption were the main points in raising stocks. It also hints the types of livestock that the MG had promoted; the *Farmers' Weekly* actually entails articles on the chicken, pig, goat, cow, horse, rabbit, and duck.

Overall, farmers needed to raise livestock in good health not only to increase the number of quality livestock but harness them to increase agricultural production. They also could improve household incomes from obtaining by-products of livestock such as meat, eggs, and milk, either by consuming them at home or sell to markets. Thus, the articles focus on the reproduction of livestock

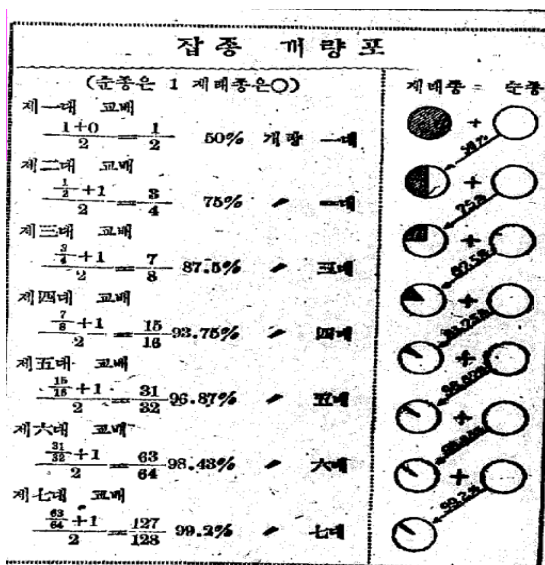
and methods of raising livestock.

4.3.3.1 Techniques of livestock breeding

Articles that deliver knowledge regarding livestock breeding and reproduction was written for each type of livestock. It needs to be noted here that species improvement by cross-breeding is frequently addressed in the articles to increase livestock and obtain their by-products, both in good quality.

The articles teach the knowledge concerned with the livestock reproduction by each type of the animals and practical raising methods in breeding seasons. For example, articles about hog farming deal with female's age of the pregnancy, the pregnancy period, and even the reasons for which mother pigs sometimes eat their young. Furthermore, they recommend how to feed pregnant pigs and new-born pigs, make weaning food, and other matters to be attended to during pregnancy.

The noteworthy is the tips to enable the hogs to reproduce themselves with the assumption that readers might have an interest in such information. For the same example of hog farming, the articles say that "since an excellent productive hog can reproduce until the age of 6, 7 and 8, they can reproduce to seventy to eighty pigs over ten to twelve time in the best scenario" (18/May, 1946) and give farming tips to procuring new pigs twice in one year (1/June, 1946). The topics of the knowledge on reproduction are similar across different types of livestock like the chicken, cow, rabbit, and goat (13/April, 25/May, 6/July, 28/Sep, 21/Dec, 1946; 1/Feb, 1947).



[Figure 8] A Table on the improvement of hybrid species

- On the left column, the calculation of the rate of pure blood goes along down with generations until the seventh, with pure-blood, equals 1, and hybrid 0 at the beginning.
- On the right column, the calculation is presented as pictures, with pureblood equals the white color, and hybrid the black color.

The point within the knowledge of reproduction is the emphasis on the selection of breeding livestock and species enhancement. Underlying is the assumption that it heightens the likelihood of breeding superior-quality descendant, which improves stock-raising outcomes (11/May/1946, 2/March, 27/April, 18/June, 14/Dec in 1946; 4/Jan/1947). The noticeable is the rational and scientific ways that the articles explain about the animal species and reproduction across the generations.

For instance, [Figure 8] presents the calculated rate of pure blood in a hybrid cow along with the descending generations, whose parents are pure-blooded and native species. It proves that a farmer can get nearly pure-blooded at the seventh generation (4/Jan/1947). In sum, a group of articles on animal husbandry highlights the knowledge of livestock reproduction and species improvements.

4.3.3.2 Techniques for acquiring livestock products

Articles on livestock raising techniques shed lights on improving farming households' livelihood by extra resources apart from crop harvest. It indicates that farmers either gain supplementary foods and harness cows and horses' labor, or some profits from animal products sales. Furthermore, by-products of livestock were not subject to the collection, whereas rice and grains had to surrender and their commercial sale was legally banned.

The *Farmer's Weekly* embraces a set of articles introducing animal husbandry techniques for livestock that had not been commonly raised in south Korea³⁸, such as milk cows, goats, ducks, and rabbits. They are designed to support farm families' livelihood. An article about dairy farming is of representative (29/June/1946).

...Thus, if [we] run dairy farming in balance with [crop] agriculture, the agricultural production we expect will surely increase, and thus the economy of farming family will be stabilized.

The promoting article above specifies the purpose of dairy farming is the stabilization of farming families' incomes. It should be noted that the industrialization or commercialization of dairy farming was not the point in the mid-1940s. Another article cautions farmers to not to be blindly seduced to the temporary profits in cash and limit the number of milk cows to one or two because "the cultivation, the original aim of each farming household would be neglected

³⁸ When we look into the milk-cow husbandry during the Japanese colonial rule, not only our fellowmen living in urban areas but those in rural areas could not taste milk at...There had been only around three thousand milk-cows in Korea. And the farmers living in rural villages had not raised them with their own hands since their raising had been monopolized by professional dairy men ("Promote the Dairy Farming Business 1", 23/June/1946).

as dairy farming would end up the professional dairy industry.” (23/June/1946).

One of the eight articles in series on raising a goat also enlightens farmers that “goat milk is useful as it is more nutritious and cheaper than cow milk (Joseon people need to drink milk due to their lack of bodily nutrients)” while admitting goats are not wide-spread in south Korea as domestic animals. It implies the production of milk was recommend for self-consumption within households. Then, this series teaches management of goats’ shelter, feed, health, and milk.

Meanwhile, some of the contents in articles provide farmers with specific methods of livestock raising that are proper and advantageous for markets. They usually appear in the articles on the chicken and hog farming that farmers had long been familiar with. A couple of articles contain enlightening contents about egg management.

Question: What are the reasons to select fresh eggs and store them in proper manners in case of ones for sale?

Answer: Fresh eggs are sold at high prices and related to credits from other people...

...Question: What are the reasons for the management of eggs categorized into groups [by quality grades]?

Answer: (1) It is to take into account consumer demands, (2) It is proper for business, (3) It gives the motivation to raise superior species [of chickens] (4) It increases profits for producers...

This article on poultry farming makes attempts to enlighten farmers’ ways of thinking and code of behaviors suited to markets, such as the categorization of eggs by quality, with a direct mention of market economy terms “consumers” and “producers.” It actually provides examination standards of eggs for the classification. Another article explains the storage of methods that keep eggs fresh for commercial sale (17/Aug/1947). In addition, farmers are taught to cross-breed

pigs to sell good ones to markets and advised to enhance business know-how to become great pig breeders (14/Dec/1946).

Lastly, the *Farmers' Weekly* delivers contents on planning animal husbandry, that is, making feeding plans based on scientific knowledge of nutrition. The contents that farmers are encouraged to learn in specific include as follows; the knowledge of nutrients contained in forage and feeds, the real digestive rates of nutrients in animal bodily systems, and the required amount of feed that corresponds to livestock's growing phases and raising purposes. They all converge into the calculation of standard daily quantities of feed that match the livestock's serving purposes, and recipes of making the feeds (5/April/1947).

A set of articles titled "Livestock Raising Techniques" authored by Li-am Woo, serially shows such contents. An article published on 12 April 1947 begins with the lines that farmers need to (a) know substances of feeds and their digested rated, and (b) necessary amount of each substance for livestock. Then it explains to readers a list of the significant nutrients contained in the feed.

Question: What are the nutrients contained in feeds?

Answer: (a) Protein, carbohydrate, fat (oil), and so on. (b) Carbohydrate is a substance consisting of nitrogen-free extravasates and utilized in making nutrients such as sugar, starch, and cellulose.

Then, the article offers two tables on the average nutrient rate of feed and digestive rate of nutrients with examples of the barley, corn, and soybean, "discovered and determined by scientific analysis and experiments" in the US and other countries. Finally, "digestive nutrients can be known if a nutrient rate in certain feed is multiplied by the matching digest rate" sorted out by existing chemical analysis.

Articles on feeding chickens also inform the quantities of each type of feeds (e.g., corn powder, fish, salt, etc.) that are necessary to raise chickens laying a good number of eggs or to gain the certain number of eggs(13/July/1946). In case of chickens, one article presents “Standard Growth Table of the Young Chicken” induced from scientific experiments that show the average weight of little chicken by week and the necessary amount of feeds in weight (23/June/1946).

4.3.4 Farmer’s Virtues

Attitudes with which farmers were expected to live daily lives is one element to cultivate agricultural literacy. They are composed of two simple virtues; frugality and diligence. The diligence is often related to the mentality of self-reliance. These two were emphasized to have farmers endure economic difficulties, and increase agricultural yields to revitalize the economy.

4.3.4.1 Frugality

First of all, articles on frugality often attribute the present bad economic situations to farmers’ overspending in celebration of liberation. The following column, titled “Build Up the Strength of the Economy” (31/Aug/1946) is an example.

After the liberation, [we] have met the first-experienced economy ever as money became common and prices of agricultural products high...[We] spent our days saying “eat, buy, and we have enough money” in this wave of laughter, and then the wave of recession have come to rural area...It is as if a deprived person does not care for his health after he gets injected several times, and hard times soon come.

Farmers are described as being in moral hazard of over-consumption and overspending. Another column urges the young in farm villages to look into how farmers consume their harvest, kill their livestock, and even recklessly cut trees the last winter, and “reflect on the over-consumption in the farm villages during the last winter.” (“Young People are Flowers of Nation, Column, 18/May/1946).

Saving rice consumption is highlighted across articles as the food shortages and rice collection policies were at the core of the economic problems. Articles of the Grandfather Kim series emphasize rice savings.

...In some households, the whole family is so stupid that they just consume [rice], a husband exclaiming “make alcohols”, a wife “make rice cakes”, and a son “make sticky rice sticks” and they do not save at all when some *sōks* of rice are accumulated in their storage...Everyone! The happiness of life lies in thrifty and saving!

Enlightening articles that seek to mend farmers’ inclination to consume rice re-appear under the Grandfather Kim. Some of them directly mention food crisis or starvation and enlightens farmers to refrain from making rice-based dishes and alcohols not to starve fellow countrymen (13/April, 23/Nov, 1946). In the case of alcohol, it was once inhibited from brewing because of the rice shortages although it lasted for a short period of time (Cha, 1999, p.101). General Lerch says that “the fact that there are few grains Joseon people can eat is the direct reason that MG criminalized brewing once and for all” and to the press (23/Nov/1946).

Some articles deliver enlightening lessons on saving and the virtue of frugality as the following (31/Aug/1946).

Our farming households can see the way forward in the future if they prepare pockets or pouches without holes through which money flows out...I sincerely hope that you lock the money up in your pockets.

The frugality is persuaded as the virtue that enables farmers to have better future. For example, they will be able to educate their children, set up various utilities in their village, and finally live better lives after the liberation.

4.3.4.2 Diligence

Articles on *Famers' Weekly* repeatedly urge diligence and hardworking for farmers to procure harvest they desire. One column, titled "Agriculture and Morality" enlists diligence as farmers' moral virtue (27/April/1946)

...Agriculture is a sacred vocation which is impossible to conduct if one's conscience is rotten and morality neglected. Satisfying harvest of any crops can be gained when one does not miss the timing to sow, remove weeds, and reap, gives proper fertilizers, and investigates the real [farming] status with the honest heart and diligence...The largeness and smallness of agricultural yields are up to the farmers' efforts...so, farmers should industriously farm their crops or livestock in proper manners with a clean conscience and reverent attitude...

The column cited long enlightens farmers to show sincere diligence in farming to increase yields. It also emphasizes that they should be diligent as farming is itself is an effort-demanding and effort-returning job. At this point, diligence is associated with moral conscience and honesty.

Furthermore, the diligence is presented as a solution to alleviate poverty that individual farmers and their households had undergone in the 1940s as efforts will be rewarded with food and improved living standards in the harvest season. An article directly mentions, "If [you] work hard, you can drive out poverty" (The Grandfather Kim, 16/March/1946). Another one points out the rewards that efforts made at present would return as "the future happiness would implicitly be promised in the poor lives" if all the family members are hard-working

(16/Aug/1947).

One of the practical directions is not to miss the seasonal periods for each farming step such as sowing, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, and storage so that the crop yields are increased at the end of the year.

...Isn't it helpful to do shoveling once more and to hoe once more rather than to complain labor shortage and cow shortage? There should be no one in rest in our village...Let us not miss the season and lay a thorough base for agriculture this year. Let us get down to work." (12/April/1947).

The article above promotes farmers to start farming as soon as possible at the beginning of spring. The practical guides also include making a habit of early sleep and early wake-up (23/June/1946). Some of the articles blame laziness and warn of failures in the harvest and "cold air flowing into mouths" instead of glossy rice (29/June, 28/Sep, 1946).

The diligence is often related to the spirit of self-reliance, which is related to the construction and development of farm villages. The column quoted earlier, calling the diligence as a farmer's moral virtue, argues that "individual farmers put efforts, based on their moral sense, to construct happy farm villages" rather than rely on the government (27/April/1946).

An article commands, "Let me do my jobs on my own, and you do your jobs on your own. We will taste a worse pooh than that of flies" if farmers stay reliant on others' work and strength (1/June/1946) and urge them to fully exert the strength within individual farmers to construct new farm villages (The Grandfather Kim, 29/March/1947).

The good practice of hard-working is ultimately justified as the devotion to constructing the newly independent nation of Korea. A column relates the hard-

working with the national development (“Welfare Business and Farming Villages,” column, 18/Oct/1947).

Fellow countrymen in farm villages! [I] hope that...you should cooperate with returnees [from other countries] and give all your strengths in increasing yields. This is how you help that country and what becomes a welfare business for the whole fellow countrymen live happy lives altogether.

In this column, farmers’ strength or their hard labor is encouraged and demanded to increase yields and thus expand the “welfare” of the whole country. This is backed up by the line “farming families must not forget that farming is the calling from the entire nation.” (02/Nov/1946).

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION

The previous chapter analyzed what literacy contents the *Farmer's Weekly* conveyed to enlighten farmers in the USAMGIK period. The contents on knowledge, skill manuals, values, and attitudes could be classified under the categories of literacy; basic literacy, political literacy, and agricultural literacy. In this chapter, discussed will be the literacy that the MG required of farmers to learn and accept, with their intentions for the new subject of independent Korea. The subject will be analyzed in line with two kinds; the *kongmin* and the farmer, each being a political subject and an economic subject who are required different literacies by the MG. The political, economic, and educational contexts unfolding from the late colonial period into the USAMGIK period will be considered in the discussion.

5.1 Literacy for the *Kongmin*

The *kongmin* that the US military government intended to produce was a member of the democratic state, into whom farmers would be transformed from the imperial subject of Japan; it was the subject who constructs the independent democratic state and realize the value of democracy. The *kongmin*, however, as the MG presented in the *Farmer's Weekly*, should be highly conforming to the national authority as well. Also, in the context of the Cold War, pro-democracy was often related to a pro-America and anti-Soviet Unions perspective, as the MG promoted democracy and cautioned the Soviet Unions. For such *kongmin*, the MG conceived of basic literacy and political literacy.

5.1.1 The Basic Literacy

First of all, farmers, as *kongmin*, were expected to have basic literacy whose base consists of knowing Korean literacy, the history of Korea, health, and hygiene. The MG and Korean educators shared the perception that individuals were, first and foremost, required to have basic abilities to read and write their language, as well as understandings of indigenous history (Yoon, 2001). They would cultivate basic literacy that is necessary to function well in daily lives as well as a prerequisite to the participation in the national construction and development.

From 1945, the programs of adult literacy campaign and a system of folk schools (*kongmin* schools) were organized to primarily eradicate illiteracy and conduct elementary education. History of Korea was secondarily taught as well, (History of Adult Education under the United States Army Military Government in Korea. August 1948. In Jeong, 1992, p.1099). Articles on the *Farmer's Weekly* also taught the urgent necessity of learning Korean literacy and history to establish a civilized, democratic nation. ("Farmer Education", Column, 2/Feb, 6/July in 1946; The Grandfather Kim, 2/Feb/1946; "Closing Remark to Readers", Korean History, 14/Sept/1946).

Furthermore, having basic modern knowledge of health and practicing personal hygiene was deemed important for farmers to stay healthy to work for national construction (The Grandfather Kim, 21/June/1947). In the adult education scenes during the MG rule, its importance was less noticeable than that of Hangeul and history education. However, it was settled as a regular course in Hangeul classes and *kongmin* schools for un-schooled youths and adults at least from

August 1947³⁹.

In fact, the Japanese colonial government also implemented or forced health and hygiene education in rural areas to civilize the people. It meant the transformation traditional, outdated routine practices into modern ones (Kim, 2011). However, knowledge and practices were not successfully entrenched in farmers' lives and habits. They had been incompatible with the fundamental lack of governmental investments in sanitation facilities such as hospitals and doctors (Lee, 2014), which made it necessary when educating *kongmin* under the MG.

5.1.2 The Political Literacy Required

5.1.2.1 The pro-US democratic *kongmin*

The political literacy that the MG required of farmers was an understanding of and appreciation for ideas and values of democracy. The *Farmer's Weekly* taught individual freedom; individual diversities in talents; freedom of speech, publication, and thought; and the right to political participation such as universal suffrage. These were imparted to farmers to encourage them to harness the opportunities to make their own accomplishments. It was a release from the forceful commands of the authority that require a collective, conformist style of thinking and behavior. Moreover, farmers were spurred to not only learn how to speak in discussions where public opinions were formed but also pay interest to

³⁹ A record by the MG reads the following: Since 31 August 1947, the folk school and short-term Hangeul classes have continued to train adults in the use of their language and in some phases of civics, Korean history, [and] sanitation (History of Adult Education under United States Army Military Government in Korea. August 1948. (USAMGIK, 1948, History of Adult Education under United State Army Military Government in Korea, in Jeong, 1992, p. 1103)

elections to vote for appropriate representatives who would listen to farmers' needs.

This literacy on the democracy the United States had ushered in was in accordance with the trends of civic education in particular, whose purpose was proclaimed to be the making of *kongmin*. *Kongmin* were considered to be subjects who had the right to and duty of political participation as well as roles as community members. The educational contents were centered on the qualities of democratic *kongmin* and the knowledge of political communities and code of conducts in economic and social communities (Cha, 2012a; Cha, 2013; Cha & Kang, 2016).

The *Farmer's Weekly* sought to equip farmers with political literacy on democracy to have them become political subjects who exerted civil rights and participated in politics. That is, the goal was to enable farmers to become literate about the idea of democracy, democratic political systems, and their rights to political participation, which mostly meant their right to vote.

This was a notable change in farmers' enlightenment compared to the nationalistic policies under the Japanese colonial regime in the 1930s. Previous studies have pointed out that the colonial government intended to produce farmers as imperial subjects, who were unified under the authority of the Emperor. It meant that the imperial subjects collectively developed a mentality leading to compliance with national commands and individual sacrifices for national interests (Lee, 2007; Lee, 2010). In this type of farmers' enlightenment, individual freedom and diversity were allowed little space.

As for political participation, such as the right to vote, such matters were not imparted to farmers in the colonial period. Political participation in civil matters was not considered for farmers' who were imperial subjects. In reality as well,

most of the ordinary, tenant farmers were not legal right holders to political participation even though local autonomy had been enforced since the 1920s; the right to vote was allowed only for men aged above 25 who paid a tax of five won, which only men of wealth could afford at that time (Jeong, 2016, pp. 198–200).

Moreover, farmers were required to be literate about the pro-US and anti-Soviet Union worldview to become *kongmin*. They were also required to be literate about political issues, events, and the affairs of the external world that fell under the umbrella of such perspectives. It was enlightening for them to be members of a newly independent nation that belonged to the US-led liberal camp amid the escalating postwar ideological conflicts.

Numerous article contents addressed, often in a propagandistic manner, the United States' political support for the liberation and independence of Korea and its economic aid. The articles emphasized that the United States not only brought freedom to Koreans from Japanese rule but expended efforts in reforming exploitative policies to terminate remaining colonial legacies. More importantly, the MG extended the goodwill of the United States to aid Koreans in establishing their government and completing independence. The article contents regarding US economic aid for south Korea often highlighted how appreciative Koreans were of the United States' willingness to aid them while they were in need and help them attain the self-sufficiency necessary to build a stable nation.

As for anti-Soviet perspectives, the contents of articles mainly induced antipathy to the USSR by criticizing them for stubbornly clinging to their favors while not being serious about the independence of Korea. Thus, the failure to reach a consensus in the Joint Commission and facilitate Korean independence was attributable to them.

Previous studies have confirmed that pro-US and anti-communist or anti-Soviet Union political dispositions were imparted to Koreans in general, including farmers in this period (Lee & Lee, 1994; Lee, 1996; Lee, 1997; Lee, 2007). Lee and Lee (1994) argued that the most powerful political motivation of MG's adult literacy campaign was to make Korea a democratic state whose people are citizens (*kongmin*) who are favorable towards America and antagonized against communism. The MG plotted to block off any influences from the Soviet Union by leading literacy education during the general elections of 1948. Other studies also maintain that the United States intended to politically socialize Koreans into pro-US and anti-communist *kongmin*.

Overall, it was in the context of the postwar Cold War mood and the United States' conception of the New World Order, in which the Axis Powers and their former colonies were reorganized into US-led liberal camps. Against this background, the US provided south Korea with the economy-rehabilitating GARIOA-EROA aids (Hong, 1962; Krueger 1982) and endeavored to prevent over-influences of the USSR on the Korean peninsula by firmly maintaining decisions on trusteeship until the general elections for the Constitution Assembly in 1948 (Jeong, 2003).

5.1.1.2 Conformity to National Authority

Apart from literacy on democracy and a pro-US view, political literacy indicated valuing patriotism and unifying to take actions for the sake of the nation and state. With the learning from the *Farmer's Weekly*, farmers needed to be conscious of the limits to individual freedom and also occasionally needed to

refrain from acting on individual desires and take solitary steps for national prosperity.

Furthermore, the farmers, as political subjects, were required to be literate about the conformity to the nation and state by reading the *Farmer's Weekly*. *Kongmin* should indeed be subjects who realize democracy, but there were some restrictions in certain aspects. This was first indicated in the articles that infused perspectives of the United States and the MG on critical political issues regarding the independence of Korea. The MG placed emphasis on the inevitability of trusteeship as ratified by the Moscow Accord. They also repeated the justification of trusteeship as a temporary aid, but also as another foreign rule, for Korean independence. The United States recognized that the multilateral trusteeship with robust pro-US political groups in south Korea, along with its alliance with Japan, would play a pivotal role to secure their postwar leadership in East Asia (Yoo, 1998; Kim, 1998). On this geopolitical consideration, the MG made farmers aware of the meaning of trusteeship and its irreversibility.

Besides, farmers were required to acquire and practice conformity, refrain from partaking in political actions such as protests against the MG and raising their voices regarding political issues. Instead, they were to learn to focus on their daily farming jobs that genuinely contributed to the nation's construction. For example, the articles of the Grandfather Kim discouraged farmers from exceedingly paying attention to political news or speaking about political issues (18/Jan, 15/March, 23/March in 1947). This is contradictory to the political literacy the farmers were required to possess regarding liberal democracy, whose elements were the freedom of publication and thought as well as the capacity to make arguments in discussions.

As for political actions such as popular demonstrations, anti-trusteeship protests at the beginning of 1946⁴⁰, and the October uprisings by farmers in the same year, farmers were persuaded by the MG to return to their daily jobs through the articles. This was based on the same logic that they serve the task of national economic rehabilitation by working hard on farming jobs rather than contributing to social disorder by engaging in such political actions.

The emphasis on nationalistic patriotism was commonly shared among education policymakers at that time, especially Korean educators cooperating with the MG's education reforms. In 1945, the Educational Purposes and Objective subcommittee, under the National Committee on Educational Planning, suggested that the pillars of Korean education be not only liberal democracy but also nationalism. They surely incorporated democracy into education for modernization and nation-building under the US military rule. Simultaneously, they had been in nationalist groups in the colonial period. They had pursued, through education, to lay the foundations for the independence of Korea. This entailed building up the unique group identity to which the independent nation could resort (Kim & Jung, 2019, pp. 4–5).

As some previous studies point out, this kind of education whose purpose was to raise *kongmin* tended to elaborate more on civic duties than on civil rights that could be challenging to the national authority. Civics textbooks often educated people to prioritize national prosperity over individual freedom and happiness. This could occasionally become a conflict with the American officers' concern

⁴⁰ Despite the fact that the anti-trusteeship movement was switched to the anti-leftist and anti-Soviet movements by the rightist group in mid-1946, it initially mobilized the general public, as they wanted the immediate independence of Korea from the state of military occupation.

about the over-emphasis on nationalism that the militaristic colonial education had encouraged (Kim, 2016), though they ended up implicitly approving it with the connivance (Oh, 2014, p.9).

In short, the strong emphasis on patriotism could be attributed to the historical need to emphasize national identity and solidarity. It had been perceived by educators to overcome the colonial interference with modern nation-building and form a base upon which a new nation would be built by the hands of Koreans (Kim & Jung, 2019, p.4; pp.8–9).

However, it had the potential to foster a highly nationalistic tone in education, which would possibly overrun the widely agreed upon, the official purpose of educating democratic *kongmin*. On top of that, colonial legacies remaining in education scenarios made it more demanding. In liberated Korea, people had to tackle the suppressive nationalistic educational thoughts and practices that had noticeably intensified in the late colonial period, which had similarly required the people to internalize the collective conformity to the nation, enforcing the paternalistic and hierarchical view on the relationships between individuals and the nation (Jeong, 2012, pp.7–14). Unfortunately, cleansing such legacies were quite challenging, for the perspectives that had viewed education as centralized and paternalistic institutions were maintained (Oh, 2014, p.8) along with the emphasis on Korean nationalism for nation-building⁴¹. In this context, the MG's

⁴¹ A record on education by the USAMGIK is worth a notice regarding this possible continuity in liberated Korea

Forty years of Japanese rule and educational direction made that system the most familiar to the Koreans. Consequently, they think of education in terms of centralization and paternalism. Other than replacing [the] Japanese language, nationalism and teachers with [the] Korean [substitues], no radical changes have been made (USAMGIK, June 1946, Summation No. 9, Education, in Jeong, 1992a, p.55).

inhibitions on popular political actions in the *Farmer's Weekly's* literacy education had the potential to overwhelm the value of democracy and corresponding literacy.

To sum up, in the *Farmer's Weekly*, the MG made many attempts to infuse the readers with their political perspective on Korean domestic issues. Moreover, they restricted the allowable scope of political participation that would potentially conflict with the values and practices of liberal democracy. The farmers were educated to engage in political participation only in the case of voting for elections while they were blamed or inhibited from taking political actions going beyond institutional participation. Hence, the *kongmin* should be subjects who realize democracy within the restrictions on democratic political participation in liberated south Korea.

5.1.2 The Political Literacy Excluded

It should be pointed out that criticisms on communism were not noticeable in the *Farmer's Weekly*. It seems that the farmers were implicitly required to be illiterate about communist ideas, not even in the form of criticisms, by the *Farmer's Weekly's* not covering it. The MG seems to have prioritized vigilance against the USSR rather than conveying and educating criticisms on communist ideology itself to the farmers in general.

The newspaper surely contained articles that criticized the USSR as mentioned above, but there was no coverage of communism itself, even in the form of criticisms, or the idea of communist reform. It is in contrast to the frequent convey of MG's activities and efforts for south Korea, as well as explanations on US-introduced democracy. Teachings on the idea of democracy and democratic

practices were dealt with in columns, and a separate section called the Story of *Sarang-bang* was spared for it.

In particular, the articles that discouraged farmers from inflammatory remarks against the MG were inclined to hide the existence of leftists and their ideas. Although the MG was mostly concerned over the propaganda that was disseminated by local grassroots leftists (Cho, 2018, pp.259–297), the articles used the words “evil propagandists,” “propaganda,” and “deception” instead of explicit use of the word leftists, communists, and leftist propaganda in the articles. The contents of such propaganda did not appear except in a few statements regarding the October uprising. Thus, the leftists appeared in the newspaper to be aimless propagandists bringing turmoils to the country rather than a political group who had specific “leftist” political arguments. The term leftist only began to be used from August 1947 (Statement by Major-General Brown, 30/Aug/1947), when the second US-Soviet Joint Commission failed to make a consensus in effect, and the Cold War had intensified.

Overall, it is challenging to recognize diverse political ideas and perspectives conflicting around critical political matters. Not to mention those of leftists, but even rightist groups led by prominent figures such as Seungman Lee and Ku Kim were no exceptions as their stances could be different from those of MG.

5.2 Literacy for the Farmer

The farmer, as an economic subject, should be the duty bearer of food production for the state and be rational and self-reliant in nature. The literacy required of them comprised scientific literacy for farming and particular values

regarding their economic roles.

5.2.1 The Scientific Literacy for Farming

The literacy that was required of farmers, as economic subjects, was scientific literacy for farming. It meant the acquisition and utilization of scientific knowledge and the Western rational way of thinking and working in relation to their farming jobs. In the *Farmer's Weekly*, rationality was presented to lie in the optimization of the cost and harvest of agricultural production. Farmers were thus required to acquire scientific knowledge of fertilizers and animal feed to calculate ideal inputs for target production. The majority of such knowledge comprised the names, functions, and portions of nutrient substances in particular kinds of fertilizers and animal feed ingredients.

In the case of fertilizers, an article (4/May/1946) imparted knowledge about the portion of nutritious substances such as nitrogen in fertilizers—both in manure and chemical fertilizers—and the necessary quantity of the substances for one unit of different kinds of crops. By calculating the quantity, the farmers could “rationally” (27/April/1946; 27/April/1947) plan appropriate inputs for their target harvest. Similarly, articles on planning animal husbandry conveyed the knowledge of nutrients contained in various ingredients for feed-making, real digestive rates of nutrients in animal bodies, and the necessary quantities of ingredients to make proper feeds that served different rearing purposes with consideration of disposable nutrients.

The farmers were also required to acquire scientific knowledge of livestock breeding and reproduction. The purpose was to increase the number of livestock

superior in biological characteristics and obtain quality working animals or by-products so as to enhance the livelihoods of households.

Yet, rationality did not further relate to the capitalistic entrepreneurship. Based on a previous study by Kim (2017, pp.50–73), the entrepreneurship, introduced to Korea by the Japanese colonial government is defined as the acceptance of the modern farming principle that commands procurement and enlargement of surplus profits by enhancing productivity. The new principle necessitated monetary investments in modern agricultural methods, the use of improved seeds fit for multi-fertilizer cultivation, buying chemical fertilizers, enhancing agricultural facilities, and the pursuit of returns from market selling. All of them were devised to maximize agricultural production. It was in stark contrast to the traditional way of agriculture with the underlying value of stability and conservatism rather than growth. The reason was that the production had long been low, and it fluctuated year by year being highly subject to the weather.

However, the primary purposes of crop cultivation proved to be a solution to widespread food shortages and the success of rice collection systems under the MG. The primary purpose of animal husbandry was the securement of “labor force for farming, transport power, and food consumption” (22/Feb/1947). Not mentioned was the promotion of investments to improve productivity or commercial sales to make household agricultural businesses more lucrative. Some of the articles on animal husbandry partly addressed the management of livestock for market sales (e.g., management of eggs, cross-bred pigs for sale, etc.), but none proposed such entrepreneurship as their main topics.

More fundamentally, Cumings (2002, p. 203) points out that the majority of farmers were continuing subsistence cultivation and accustomed to paying

surpluses to landlords in liberated Korea. In other words, “they were not entrepreneurs who would benefit from price rises by putting the proceeds into investments, but typical subsistence peasants.”

Cumings hints at the socioeconomic land structure conditioning farmers’ living, which had been formed in the colonial period. Commercialization of agriculture was developing as the colonial government had legalized contractual bases for land and introduced fixed prices of products in the world market in the 1920s. In addition, the rice production increase plan accelerated increased yields of rice as well as exports (Lee, 2015, pp. 307–314). However, the highly polarized land structure, which created a large group of poor tenants accounting for 80 percent of the farming population in 1930, caused them to remain as subsistence farmers (Lee, 2004).⁴² They were more inclined to work to meet their subsistence needs and land rents instead of producing crops for market profits. The extraction of agricultural surplus and marketing lay in the hands of the colonial government and landlords (Cumings, 2002, pp. 49–52).

The colonial land structure once played a role in determining the direction of the farmers’ enlightenment from the early 1930s to the 1940s, during which period the colonial government promoted self-sufficiency. The purpose of the enlightenment was to save farming villages from abject poverty in the aftermath of the Great Depression (1929) and the deflation in grain prices in the world market. Yet, the government budget could not cover all target households, while the polarized land structure worsened the prospect for overcoming poverty. It led the colonial authority to guide the farming households to improve their production

⁴² The number was calculated by combining tenants and part-owners/part-tenants.

with extremely limited resources in hand (Jeong, 2007, pp. 16–18). In this vein, they taught farmers how to save agricultural costs by preparing seeds and fertilizers in individual households instead of buying them from markets.

In liberated Korea, the MG enforced land policies that would rehabilitate the extremely poor living conditions of most farmers. In October 1945, it enforced the land rent ceiling system that limited it up to 30 percent of the harvest. Yet, the fundamental land reforms were only partially conducted as late as March 1948 to attract pro-US and pro-rightist popular support for the general elections. Over the US occupation period, the public was opposed to the land distribution by the MG instead of the independent Korean government, and the right- and left-wing politicians had conflicting ideas on land reforms. Additionally, the MG was deliberate about maintaining control over land reform issues so as to not allow the over-expansion of either political group against it (Jeong, 1999, 129–135).

On top of that, there were historical limitations of the USAMGIK period that might have made farmer education on capitalistic matters irrelevant: the instability of capitalist economic systems and the chaotic economic situation. First, rice and other grains were legally banned from the market exchange since the MG had returned to the food control system from the free food market system in 1945. It was an unavoidable choice for the MG because the free market system earlier had resulted in disastrous inflation and had worsened poverty. The free market policy had only resulted in lifting the ban on landowners' hoarding, speculation, and smuggling of grains while crop production had been lower than the level of the early 1940s (Cha, 1997 pp.92–103; Cumings, 2002, pp. 201–209). There only seemed to be a few opportunities allowed to earn money from selling by-products of livestock or livestock itself.

Shortages of quality seeds and chemical fertilizers were also prevalent right after the liberation—the same problem experienced during the colonial period. This made the requirements of modern entrepreneurship all the more inappropriate. The *Farmer's Weekly* admitted an absolute lack of chemical fertilizers, for the major supply from the factory zones in the north was disrupted, and aid-granted imports from the United States were limited (29/Dec/1945). Therefore, the newspaper could not help but promote the self-provision of fertilizers, that is, making manure and compost in individual households (4/May, 25/May, 18/June in 1946).

Therefore, the MG did not require the farmers to learn capitalist entrepreneurship via the *Farmer's Weekly* in those economic contexts. Instead, farmers were urged to learn the economic way of thinking that led to the maximization of profits and to acquire scientific knowledge.

5.2.2 The Values Required

Another type of literacy the MG required farmers to possess as economic subjects was values regarding their livelihoods. They were required to be literate about, first, the voluntary devotion to the formation of the national economic base and, second, the lesson that an individual was responsible for his or her poverty.

First, the appreciation of the value of voluntary devotion to the national economy was one of the most highlighted literacies in the *Farmer's Weekly*. Voluntary devotion meant a focus on increasing the yield of staple grains and sincere cooperation with the rice collection policy. In this way, individual livelihoods were sustained and nation-wide food distribution to urban areas

stabilized under the leadership of the MG. Since Korea had had an agriculture-based economy, farmers' work to upend the national economy was crucial for national construction. The MG was well aware that the increase in food production and balanced distribution among urban and rural areas would play a key role in stabilizing its rule (Jeong, 1998).

The MG's intention to have farmers accept the role of food producers was explicit in articles that appreciated farming and cautioned against the eagerness for urban life. An article mentioned that because farming villages had traditionally been the foundation of the superior nature of the Korean nation, the farmers were obligated to sustain them instead of yearning for cities and mimicking urban dwellers ("Exert Superior Ethnicity," Column, 18/June/1946). Another article promoted "a burning yearning for the countryside," which deserved the title "sole production field" of Korea ("Going to the countryside and again to the countryside," Column, 15/March/1947). Above all, the farmers had to consciously recognize that they were the "roots" that provided subsistence to the people and nation ("Farmers form the Foundation of the Nation," Column, 13/April/1946).

Furthermore, farmers were expected to become literate about the close relationship between poverty and individual responsibilities, which was revealed in the teachings of frugality and diligence. They were a sort of attitude or disposition that the farmers had to learn by reading the *Farmer's Weekly*. Overconsumption in celebration of the liberation was blamed for "the wave of recession" that hit rural areas ("Build Up the Strength of the Economy", Column, 31/Aug/1946). Careless consumption of rice was strongly blamed, as food shortages were the most acute economic problems. On the other hand, the message of frugality was imparted to enable people to have better lives in the future.

Diligence was another virtue that the farmers had to learn on the grounds that it would pave the way to relieve their poverty. The farmers could lead a better life as a reward for their sufferings from hard labor. The attitude of hard work was often related to self-reliance, based on which the farmers could live independent lives to feed themselves and develop viable farming villages. In opposition, it was taught that laziness would only bring poverty.

The influencing contextual background was that rural poverty continued to exist from the late colonial period. As noted earlier, the fundamental reforms over highly polarized land distribution accompanying rural poverty were only conducted in a limited scope in 1948. In this situation, the lack of food supply in both urban and rural areas continued, and the high inflation rate became a chronic problem (Yoo, 1999, pp. 270–273, pp. 283–286).

The rural economy was somewhat restored from the recession in the 1930s with the help of the rural development campaign and farmers' enlightenment activities. Wartime mobilization in the 1940s, however, eventually resulted in the lack of labor force and poor supply of agricultural facilities, which diminished agricultural productivity⁴³. Moreover, legal collection prices of the harvest were lower than those of consumer goods and production costs due to the wartime inflation. The poor farmers were now burdened with the difficulties of affording production as well as subsisting on the food produced. All these resulted in the worsening of the rural household economy at the end of the colonial rule, even though the farmers toiled to pay for collection allocations and land rents, as well

⁴³ The food production between 1941 and 1945 dropped to 80 percent of the production between 1937 and 1940 (Chosun Bank, 1948, "Annual Report on Chosun Economy", re-cited from Lee, 2002, p. 114).

as make their ends meet (Lee, 2002, pp. 110–121).

However, food production during the US military rule was no better than that of the late colonial period. The total yield in south Korea stagnated at around 12 to 13 million *sŏk*, which was lower than the average production of 16 million *sŏk* in the colonial period. A halt to supplies of chemical fertilizers from the north was a serious hindrance to production. Moreover, the influx of returnees from China and Japan and the proliferation of the population⁴⁴ worsened food consumption and unemployment (Jeong & Kim, 1995, p.234; p.264; Cha, 1999, pp.95–99). In addition, contagious diseases like cholera as well as floods and landslides in summer often reduced the size of crop fields and the quantity of the summer and autumn harvests.

The MG's food policy failure made matters worse. A return to the food control system after the free market system discouraged farmers from working hard. Moreover, the fact that the summer harvest, which was excluded from customs confiscation even in the colonial period, was now collected dampened farmers' motivation to sell rice to the MG. The low buying price also promoted the already established black market and enhanced speculation on rice (Cha, 1997, pp. 155–157).

Amid the chaotic economic circumstances and limitations to the MG's support for rural living conditions, farmers were required to be literate about the fact that poverty is subject to individual responsibilities. It is worth recalling that the MG was not particularly distinctive in regard to the direction of farmers' enlightenment.

⁴⁴ The number shows the substantial increase in population during the early years of the US military rule. The population of south Korea increased from 16,574,868 in 1944 to 19,369,270 in August 1946 (Cha, 1999, p.99).

The colonial government guided the farmers to be literate about the virtue of frugality and diligence and self-reliant in overcoming poverty (Kim, 2011, pp.40–49). It was when rural villages were facing abject poverty with little systematic governmental support that farmers were officially taught that their poverty was attributed to them⁴⁵ (Jeong, 2007, pp.7–9).

The literacy the MG conceived for the farmer subjects was restrained to individual frugality and hard work to overcome their poverty. Literacy as a critical reflection on unfair socioeconomic structures and conditions was not included in the MG's intentions for such subjects. Ultimately the self-reliant farmers were to become economic subjects who were responsible for the national food supply.

⁴⁵ The perception of the colonial government was that the peasants were settling for indolence in despair, leaving considerable surplus labor that must be exhausted (Office of Rural Community Development of the Governor-Government in Korea, 1939, recited from Jeong, 2007, p.18).

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

In liberated Korea under the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), the question “Who should be the subjects of an independent democratic nation?” initiated a competition among the concepts of *kukmin* (國民, nation-people), *inmin* (人民, people), and *simin* (市民, citizen), all of which were Western-originated, translated indications of subjects. *Inmin* was the most dominant across the different ideological spectrums, meaning a subject who realizes democracy and contributes to the development of a democratic nation. *Kukmin* was the rightist term meaning the subject of liberal democracy in opposition to the people’s (*Inmin*’s) democracy, which was conceived by the communist leftists. *Simin* was not a popular concept at that time since it implied either a negative connotation of exploitative /or indicated ordinary people.

Education reformers under the MG assumed responsibilities for terminating education that cultivate colonial imperial subjects and introducing education for new subjects in order to boost nation-building. The subjects were those who grasped their national membership, understood their civil rights and duties and participated in state activities. What was distinctive about education reform was that it officially aimed to cultivate the qualities of new subjects for nation-building.

The education of *kongmin* was significant in terms of farmers’ enlightenment as they accounted for a little less than four-fifth of the south Korean population. Adult literacy education spearheaded the attempt to reach them, since it was widely implemented in an urgent manner to educate farmers, most of whom comprised un-schooled and illiterate youths and adults. Along with the ability to read, write, and do the math, farmers were required to be literate in a far broader

sense so that they could read and participate in their world and also in political, economic, and social spheres. The ultimate purpose was the contribution to the national construction and the development of independent Korea. As such, the MG's intention to foster the new subjectivity was intertwined with spreading literacy among farmers. Yet, there was a lack of previous research on farmers' enlightenment in this period.

This thesis thus explores the MG's intentions regarding the enlightenment of farmers into a new subject of independent South Korea by analyzing aspects of literacy that are found in the *Farmer's Weekly*, published by the Department of Public Information, and the subjectivity the MG intended to produce through the literacy. This newspaper is viewed as a literacy education texts because it contained not only functional knowledge, but also contents on attitudes, practices, and values to cultivate certain types of literacy.

The study reveals that the literacy contents of *Farmer's Weekly* can be categorized into three groups based on the types of literacy they foster: basic literacy, political literacy, and agricultural literacy. The contents for basic literacy are subdivided into Korean literacy, the history of Korea, and health. Political literacy includes the following contents: the USAMGIK's policies, activities, and political perspectives; criticisms against the communist Soviet Union; and democracy and political participation. The contents for agricultural literacy were food policies, crop cultivation techniques, animal husbandry, and farmers' virtues.

These contents are restructured as literacy required of political subjects, the *kongmin*, and literacy required of economic subjects, the farmers. The *kongmin* denotes the subject who realizes nation construction and democracy but highly conforms to the nation and state. The literacy for the *kongmin* constitutes basic

literacy and political literacy, which comprises the knowledge, values, and attitudes towards political practices.

The ability to read and write Hangeul and the knowledge of history, health, and hygiene were required as basic literacy, which was deemed a prerequisite for civic participation. Farmers should learn the idea and appreciate the liberal democracy introduced by the United States. It was often related to pro-US and anti-Soviet perspectives in the context of the Cold War, for the United States was often positioned as a transmitter of democracy.

Such literacy for the democratic *kongmin* was the most notable characteristic of the MG's approach to the new political subjects of Korea; it was an obvious attempt to not only overcome totalitarian colonial education that was intended to produce imperial subjects but also have them sympathize with the US-led liberal camp. Noted additionally was that certain elements of political literacy were excluded from farmers' learning. They did not have access to leftist ideas, not even in the form of criticisms by reading the *Farmer's Weekly*.

On the other hand, the *kongmin* was required to develop strong patriotism and sole devotion to the nation. Further, learning conformity was expected of the farmers by infusing them with the MG's political perspectives and suppressing the political actions going beyond voting and over-attention to political issues. Instead, the farmers were encouraged to focus on their daily farming jobs to rehabilitate the national economy. This kind of patriotism was commonly shared among Korean educators under the MG who deemed it as constituting the foundation for nation-building. However, the inhibitions on political actions beyond voting and the emphasis on conformity to the national authority, amid the remaining colonial legacies from highly nationalistic education, had the potential to overrun the

purpose of educating democratic *kongmin*.

This thesis also illustrates that there was literacy that was intended to be imparted to farmers as economic subjects. It included scientific literacy for farming consisting of knowledge of farming techniques, rationality, as well as other values. Rationality meant compliance with the working principles to optimize the cost and harvest of agricultural production. Scientific knowledge of crop fertilizers and foodstuff was thus required to be learned so that farmers could plan their farming. Yet, it is no further related to capitalistic entrepreneurship that seeks procurement surplus profits by investments in agricultural inputs and market selling. It was irrelevant in reality from the late 1930s since the farmers had limited resources to afford investments and limited access to marketing their harvest. Additionally, the MG banned the free rice and grain market and controlled food distribution to stabilize chronic food shortages and the accompanying inflation.

Finally, the literate farmers had to internalize two values. One was the appreciation for voluntary devotion to the national economy. The other was the perception that individuals were responsible for poverty. The virtues of frugality and diligence were required to be self-reliant despite their economic hardships. Amid the continuing rural poverty from the late colonial period, delay of land reforms, and limited capacity to tackle chaotic economic situations right after the liberation, the MG merely enlightened the farmers about the importance of individual efforts, as did the colonial government.

In short, the MG sought to educate farmers to become the *kongmin* who realize democracy and nation-building while conforming to the nation and state. It signals the attempt for the fundamental shift from the colonial imperial subject, but the conformity to the nation and state was a continuously underlying factor. Also, the

farmers were intended to become rational economic subjects while being self-reliant in overcoming individual poverty and devoted to supporting national economic needs. This feature of economic subjects also incorporates US-introduced rationality as well as continuity in values required of farmers from the former period. In this historical context, the *Farmer's Weekly* functioned as a literacy education text that imparted suitable political and scientific literacy to farmers.

This thesis contributes to the very limited literature on farmers' enlightenment led by the USAMGIK, specifically providing a better understanding of literacy education for farmers. It discusses the features of literacy in terms of its broad definition, the content that the MG required farmers to learn, with their intentions for the subjectivity of political subjects (*kongmin*) and economic subjects (farmers) of independent Korea. It also bridges the research gap by discussing features of farmers' economic subjectivity produced within the economic contexts while previous research was more inclined to investigate political subjectivity focusing on *kongmin* in the political contexts of the Cold War.

Yet, the limitations of this study leave the need for further research. This study does not cover interactions between the MG and the people involved in literacy education. The *Farmer's Weekly* rarely provided hints regarding readers' responses and opinions. Additionally, this study does not consider other types of literacy education texts published by leftist non-governmental organizations who actively imparted literacy education based on their own view of the new nation and the subjects. Thus, this study is limited in providing a comprehensive picture of literacy education in association with the creation of new subjects, unfolding in various directions in liberated Korea, which needs further research.

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국문초록

해방 후 공민과 농민 주체에 관한 미군정의 접근 연구: 「농민주보」의 내용분석을 중심으로

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이 연구의 목적은 미군정 (1945년-1948년)이 농민들에게 의도했던 새로운 국가의 주체의 모습이 공보부가 발간한 신문 「농민주보」에 어떻게 나타나 있는지 탐구하는 것이다. 「농민주보」에 나타나는 문해의 여러 측면들을 분석하고, 이를 통해 미군정이 어떤 종류의 주체성을 생산하고자 했는지 드러내고자 하였다. 본 연구는 「농민주보」를 문해를 위한 특정한 지식, 태도, 가치관, 실천 내용을 담고 있는 문해교육 교재로 보고, 질적 내용분석을 통해 이와 같은 문제를 탐구하였다.

「농민주보」의 내용은 육하는 문해의 종류에 따라 세 그룹으로 나뉜다. 첫째, 기초 문해를 위한 내용은 한글 문해, 한국사, 보건 및 위생 교육으로 이루어져 있다. 둘째, 정치 문해를 위한 내용은 미군정의 정책, 활동, 정치적 관점, 소련에 대한 경계와 비판, 민주주의 및 정치 참여로 구성된다. 셋째, 농업 문해를 위한 내용은 미군정의 식량 정책, 작물 재배법, 축산법, 농민으로서 갖춰야 할 미덕을 포괄한다.

이 내용들은 미군정이 정치적 주체인 공민에게 요구한 문해와 경제

적 주체인 농민에게 요구한 문해로 재조직될 수 있다. 미군정은 농민들을 미국의 자유진영 안에서 민주주의와 국가건설을 실현하는 공민으로 교육하고자 했다. 또한, 공민은 국가의 필요에 철저하게 순응적인 주체여야 했다. 「농민주보」는 공민을 위해 한글, 국사, 보건 지식 및 실천으로 구성된 기초 문해와 민주주의 및 친미-반소의 관점, 국가 권위 대한 이해와 수용으로 구성된 정치 문해를 가르쳤다. 이는 일제강점기 황국신민에서 진일보한 것으로, 냉전 하에서 민주 국가의 정치적 주체 교육에 대한 미군정의 독특한 접근을 보여준다. 그러나 국가 권위에 대한 순응을 강조한 것은 극도로 국가주의적인 식민지기 교육의 잔재가 남아 있는 상황에서 공민으로 하여금 국가의 권위에 대한 순응을 민주적인 가치와 실천보다 우선시 하게 할 수도 있었다.

또한, 미군정은 농민을 합리적 경제 주체로 계몽하고자 했으며, 이를 위해서 농민들은 농사일에 적합한 과학 문해와 농사에 대한 합리적인 사고방식과 실천을 배워야만 했다. 또한, 미군정이 농민에게 요구한 문해는 빈곤에 대한 개인적 책임의식과 국가 경제에 대한 헌신과 같은 가치관도 포함하였다. 이는 미군정이 경제적 주체로서의 농민이 새롭게 소개된 합리성을 습득하면서도, 가치관 측면에서는 지속되는 농촌 빈곤, 국가 지원의 제한, 농지 개혁의 지체 속에서 일제강점기 후반 이후 줄곧 농민에게 기대되었던 바를 유지하기를 의도했음을 보여준다. 이처럼 미군정이 의도한 농민의 주체성은 그 시기의 독특한 특징을 띄고 있지만, 동시에 일제강점기 후반부터 해방 이후까지 지속되어 오던 역사적 맥락을 기반으로 하고 있기도 했다.

주제어: 농민, 공민, 농민계몽, 문해, 농민주보

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