

Special Feature

Refunctioning “Civilization” in Korean Associational Journals, 1906–1909: A Co-Occurrence Network Analysis

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Introduction

Research on early twentieth-century Korean discourse on *munmyeong* (civilization 文明) has focused primarily on the press, emphasizing its rhetorical and politicized uses. Yet periodicals published by voluntary learned societies offer an underexplored contrast. In these associational forums, *Munmyeong* moved beyond argumentation and served as a medium of programmatic action. Unlike newspapers, which addressed a broad public, associational journals targeted members and local leaders, embedding “civilization” in everyday organizational routines, such as bylaws, branch administration, and fundraising campaigns.

The crises that followed the 1905 Eulsa Protectorate Treaty made this shift more urgent. As Japanese imperial pressure intensified, Korean intellectuals were compelled to rethink the conditions for becoming a “civilized nation” (*munmyeongguk* 文明國), moving from abstract moral declarations toward concrete strategies for survival. This article examines that transition through two major associational journals: *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* 大韓自強會月報 (1906–1907) and *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* 畿湖興學會月報 (1908–1909).¹ Although both organizations pursued national reform, their sequential emergence reflects adaptation to increasingly stringent colonial constraints. After the 1907 Jeongmi 丁未 Treaty, the dissolution of the Korean military and the expansion of righteous-army warfare 義兵抗爭 made overtly state-centered reform increasingly perilous. By the time *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* began publication, discourse had shifted toward localized educational infrastructure and organizational expansion as the primary viable strategies of collective survival.

This study asks two questions. First, how did the discursive neighborhood of *munmyeong* shift between the two journals, as measured through lexical co-occurrence and brokerage positions? Second, how did this structural shift correspond to a reconfiguration of civilization—from a register of state capacity (legislation, institutional design, or local autonomy) to one of repeatable infrastructures of survival (schooling, branch organization, or reader formation)?

1 *Giho heunghakhoe* persisted in its operations until it was dismantled during the Japanese government’s dissolution of Korean social organizations following the 1910 annexation. Its official publication, *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, lasted only 12 issues (July 1909). The termination is attributed to multiple factors: ongoing financial difficulties stemming from unpaid subscription fees, and increased repression (Yi 1969, 326–28).

Methodologically, the article combines co-occurrence network analysis with genre-sensitive close reading. Traditional conceptual history often risks privileging passages that confirm prior assumptions while overlooking corpus-wide patterns. Co-occurrence analysis makes it possible to map the lexical infrastructure surrounding “munmyeong” and to test whether the term functioned as a hub, a broker, or a more limited relay across thematic domains. Because algorithmic co-occurrence captures structural proximity rather than contextual meaning itself, these computational results are used to guide close reading rather than replace it.

Conceptually, this article treats “munmyeong” not as a neutral imported term but as an operative idiom of self-positioning within the global “standard of civilization.” By tracing its changing lexical environments, the study shows how Korean reformers reworked civilization across different institutional registers—first as a state-centered evaluative grammar and then as an educational and associational routine—thereby transforming geopolitical crisis into a durable, print-mediated strategy of collective survival.

Literature Review and Methodology

Background: Civilization Discourse in Modern Korea

Scholarship on civilization in modern East Asia increasingly treats “civilization” not as a simple Western import but as a translated and strategically repurposed concept whose intelligibility was stabilized through specific media infrastructures and political conjunctures. In Japan, *bunmei* 文明 emerged as the dominant translation among competing terms and became the operative vocabulary of reform and governance rather than a narrowly philosophical concept. Scholarship in Korea likewise shows that *munmyeong*—already mediated through Japanese lexical choices—was resemanticized under Korean political pressures (Y. Park 2008, 40–41). Although the term remained legible within Confucian contexts, it acquired new semantic layers in newspapers and diplomatic discourse (Noh 2010a, 230–32; H. M. Kim 2013, 29). Korean intellectuals engaged “modern civilization” as a universal criterion entangled with racism and Social Darwinism, while also seeking resources to criticize racial hierarchy without abandoning the aspiration to civilization.

After 1905, the stakes of civilization discourse were reorganized. The Eulsa Protectorate Treaty and intensifying imperial pressure made *munmyeong* more urgent as a survival imperative even as it became less plausible as a promise of political restoration (Noh 2010b, 370–71). This tension was especially acute in the associational sphere of the *aeguk gyemong undong* (Patriotic Enlightenment Movement), where civilization was operationalized through translation practices, educational programs, and associational publishing (Jun 2013, 37; Im 2014, 295–96). Shifting the focus from newspapers to associational journals, therefore, helps recover the organizational dimension of civilization discourse that newspaper-centered approaches have largely overlooked.

In the newspapers of the Dae-Han Empire, “civilization” often functioned as a differentiating idiom optimized for stance-taking. Moving from the press field to the associational field, however, does not mark a change in topic so much as a change in what the concept was required to do. In association journals, *munmyeong* became embedded in programmatic coordination through bylaws, membership appeals, branch reports, and schooling campaigns (Yoo and An 2012, 15). The question, then, is not simply how *munmyeong* was understood but how it was institutionalized through collective projects and rendered actionable within the organizational routines of national survival. This is why the present study treats *munmyeong* as a relational object and tracks its shifting functions through co-occurrence network analysis.

Theoretical Framework: Field Theory and the Civilizing Process

This study draws on Pierre Bourdieu’s field theory and Norbert Elias’s processual account of civilization to explain how *munmyeong* acquired different functions across institutional print venues. For Bourdieu (1993, 72–77; 1996, 223–24), a field is a relatively autonomous social space structured by specific stakes, forms of capital, and its own *nomos*. Because concepts derive their efficacy less from intrinsic meaning than from field-specific demands, the same term may operate differently across fields (Bourdieu 1993, 37–40). This helps explain why *munmyeong* functioned differently in the press and associational fields. In the press, symbolic efficacy depended on rhetorical differentiation and polemical positioning (Bourdieu 1998, 70–72). In associational journals, by contrast, concepts had to authorize programs, attract members, and coordinate action across branches and localities. *Munmyeong*, therefore, derived its efficacy not

from argumentative novelty but from its capacity to legitimate organizational action within field-specific genres (Bourdieu 1989, 21–22).

Methodological clarification is necessary here. The co-occurrence network in this study does not map the associational field itself; it captures the lexical traces that field-specific constraints—genre conventions, censorship regimes, and organizational demands—left on published texts. This diagnostic strategy follows a cultural-sociological inference: relations within a cultural system become intelligible through their linkage to institutional demands (Mohr 1998, 353), and the positions that actors occupy in a field can be diagnosed through the structure of their textual productions (Bail 2012, 857). In the Korean case, this move is especially apt because enlightenment-period concepts were unevenly distributed across media and organizational settings and because the meaning of “civilization” becomes legible through changing discussion contexts rather than fixed lexical definition (Hur 2018, 264–66). Network centrality, therefore, serves here not as a substitute for interpretation but as a structural diagnostic that guides genre-sensitive close reading. Rather than tracing long-term semantic continuity across broad corpora, this article asks how the same signifier, *munmyeong*, acquired divergent organizational functions across two contemporaneous associational journals.

Bourdieu’s (1984, 125–28) concept of reconversion—the strategic conversion of one form of capital into another—offers a heuristic for framing the shift between the two journals without predetermining its outcome. If such a logic operated in the colonial associational field, one would expect *munmyeong* to move from state-capacity clusters in the *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* toward educational and moral-cultivational clusters in the *Giho heughakhoe wolbo*. This expectation is historically grounded in the institutional pressures of 1907: the dissolution of the Dae-Han jaganghoe under the Security Law and the reorganization of reformist intellectuals into educational associations under intensified censorship. The empirical sections below test whether this reorientation is visible in the network and confirmed by close reading.

Norbert Elias provides a complementary theoretical anchor. For Elias (2000, 269–70; 365–79), “civilization” is not a static attribute but a long-term process involving shifts in conduct, affect, and institutional arrangements, including the internalization of external constraints and the elaboration of self-regulation through institutional consolidation. This study borrows from Elias in one limited respect only; it treats *munmyeong* not as a fixed achievement but

as a directional standard against which collective conduct was measured.² That orientation is visible in the rhetoric of *jinbo* 進歩 and *jinhwa* 進化, which cast civilization as a trajectory rather than a possession. As Park Jeong-sim (2008, 147–51) shows, Western civilization functioned in Korea as a Janus-faced other—both an object of aspiration and a vehicle of imperial domination. European theories are therefore relevant here not as neutral imports but as historically entangled analytic resources that must nonetheless be refracted through colonial asymmetry.

Three features of the Korean conjuncture clarify this refraction. First, the idiom of “civilized institutions” circulated in 1907 across the Residency-General,³ the Korean court,⁴ and the reformist press, so that *munmyeong* was already saturated with competing institutional claims. Second, the associational field was constituted by a hybrid coalition of Confucian literati, former officials, and local merchants, making reconversion a negotiated process rather than a uniformed one (Lee 2022, 178–180; H. M. Kim 2013, 15–20). Third, the persistence of moral vocabulary such as *gunja* 君子 and *baeyang* 培養 in the Heunghakhoe ego-network indicates that educational reform remained entangled with Confucian norms that were functionally indispensable for branch expansion and school founding (S. Kim 2015, 255–60).

When state-centered pathways to “civilization” were obstructed under colonial encroachment, the reformist impulse attached to *munmyeong* did not disappear but was redirected into disciplined non-state routines. The four-year span analyzed here is far too compressed to sustain Elias’s broader macro-historical claims. The Eliasian lens clarifies the concept’s directionality. In the associational print sphere, *munmyeong* recurrently functioned as a standard of advancement, but the evidence below shows that this standard was channeled in sharply different ways across the two journals (H. J. Kim 2015, 14–17; Hur 2018, 255–56). Taken together in this limited sense, Elias and Bourdieu

2 This article borrows from Elias only the restricted proposition that “civilization” may function as a directional criterion rather than a completed state. It does not adopt his full macro-historical model for explaining four years of Korean journal discourse.

3 *Tonggambu munseo* (*Documents of the Residency-General* 統監府文書), Vol. 3, Sec. 15, No. 18, May 30, 1907, “Hanguk sin naegak daesin e daehan Ito tonggam ui yeonseol naeyong sabon songbu geon” 韓國新內閣大臣에 대한 伊藤統監의 演說內容寫本送付件.

4 *Gojong sillok* (*Veritable Records of Gojong* 高宗實錄), Vol. 48, Gojong, Year 44, Month 6, Day 14, “Uijeongbu reul naegak euro gochil geot eul myeonghada” 의정부를 내각으로 고칠 것을 명하다.

frame *munmyeong* as a field-dependent symbolic resource whose orientation and efficacy were reworked through institutional survival routines. The analysis below asks how that reorientation became visible in the lexical environment of *munmyeong* under post-1905 constraints.

Two Associational Journals and the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement

Translation was a key mechanism in the Enlightenment-period associational print. It expanded the expressive range of vernacular writing and enabled the articulation of modern disciplinary knowledge in hybrid Sino-Korean styles (Moon 2010, 109; Im 2014, 287). Research on associational periodicals has also shown how dialogue narratives and participatory columns trained readers to internalize programmatic agendas (Jun 2018, 254–56).

Recent scholarship on Dae-Han jaganghoe (1906–1907) treats the organization as an experiment in translating self-strengthening 自強 into organizational practice under post-1905 constraints. Jaganghoe integrated education, industrial development, and political reform into actionable programs aimed at national survival. At the same time, regional studies also reveal the structural limits of this project, especially its constrained stance toward Japan (Choi 2017, 57–61). Research on Giho heunghakhoe, by contrast, emphasizes the institutionalization of enlightenment as *heunghak* 興學; education was treated as a practical route to national survival, and local chapters—often established by officials and merchants—broadened the social base of patriotic activism (Lee 2022, 178–80; Yi 1969). Together, these studies clarify how education functioned as a concrete vehicle for translating patriotic enlightenment into everyday organizational practice.

However, this scholarship often treats key terms such as “civilization,” “education,” and “nation” as self-evident rather than relationally constituted. It does not ask how their meanings shifted as patterns of co-occurrence changed across different vocabularies and genres. The present study addresses that gap by treating *munmyeong* as a relational object and tracing how its functions changed across associational journals through co-occurrence network analysis.

Network Analysis Methodology

A co-occurrence network approach is useful here because it captures the broader relational architecture among co-occurring terms rather than isolating a keyword through its nearest neighbors. It can therefore identify bridging nodes, recurrent associations, and robust discursive clusters, especially when thresholding and backbone-style filtering are used to suppress idiosyncratic ties (Hur 2016, 66–72; I. Kim 2017, 131–33).

Lexical co-occurrence networks were constructed for the two-journal corpora across the 1906–1909 study period.⁵ After morphological analysis with the Moko tokenizer,⁶ the corpus was restricted to nouns and Sino-Korean compounds. Each article served as the co-occurrence window, and edge weights were defined by the number of distinct articles in which a term pair co-occurred.

To ensure comparability across corpora, this study distinguishes three analytic layers. First, edge-defined full graphs (degree > 0) summarize overall

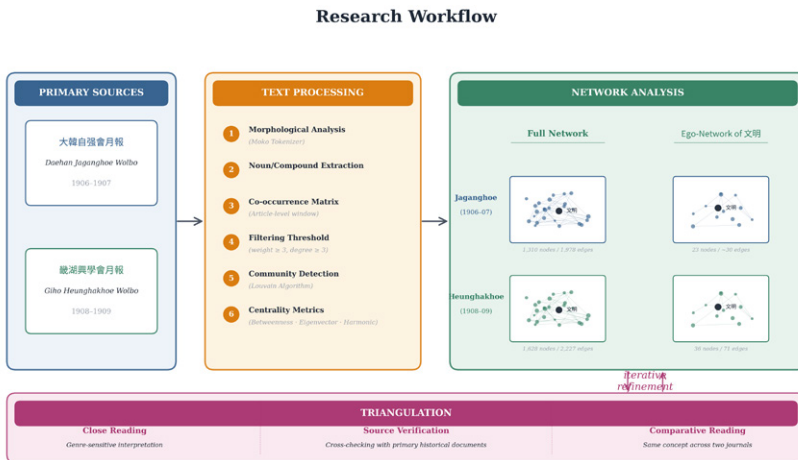


Figure 1. Workflow for Constructing Networks⁷

⁵ The corpora were retrieved from the National Institute of Korean History’s Modern Korean Periodicals Database (accessed February 20, 2026, available at <https://db.history.go.kr/id/ma>). The analysis covers the four-year publication window of the two journals under study (1906–1909).

⁶ Morphological analysis was conducted with the Moko tokenizer, developed by the Yonsei University HK Research Institute (accessed February 20, 2026, available at <https://pypi.org/project/moko/>), and stop-word filtering followed Moko’s default settings.

⁷ Data Availability Statement: The data and code used in this study will be made publicly available through the author’s GitHub repository (<https://github.com/chhyunch>).

topology. Second, the main analytic graphs apply a two-step robustness filter; edges are retained when a noun pair co-occurs in at least three distinct articles (weight ≥ 3), and nodes are retained when degree ≥ 3 . Third, *munmyeong*-focused subnetworks restrict the corpus to articles containing 文明 as a robustness check (Appendix C, Table C1). Because the two journals differ in average article length, each article served as the co-occurrence window, and ties were weighted by distinct-article co-occurrence rather than by raw token adjacency.

The two journals are broadly comparable in annual article count (Appendix A, Graph A1), though the Giho heunghakhoe articles are generally longer (Appendix A, Graph A2 and Table A1). Monthly variation in article length, including issue-to-issue fluctuations, is summarized in Graph A3. Applying the robustness filter reduces the full-token networks from 16,486 nodes/1,978 edges and 16,571 nodes/2,227 edges to core networks of 324 nodes/990 edges and 390 nodes/994 edges, respectively. Community structure was identified with the Louvain modularity algorithm (Blondel et al. 2008, 4–7), and visualizations were generated in Gephi using ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014, 2–3).

Three centrality measures were used to characterize network structure: harmonic closeness (overall reachability), betweenness (bridging capacity), and eigenvector centrality (prestige through ties to central neighbors) (Kwahk 2017, 183–213). Scores were normalized to facilitate comparison across journals and time periods. Ego-network analysis centered on *munmyeong* was then used to evaluate its discursive neighborhood, tie strengths, and cross-community brokerage.

Configuration (1906–1907): Civilization as State Capacity and Ambivalence toward Japan

In the wake of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and the 1905 Eulsa Protectorate Treaty, “civilization” acquired an urgent practical function. It was invoked not only to classify Korea’s position in an international hierarchy but also to specify what kind of institutional work could plausibly count as national survival under constraint.

In this context, *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* depicts “civilization” initially as an externally enforced normative horizon. It encapsulates an international perspective that restricts unrestrained force. By implication, it delineates the

types of claims permissible in public discourse following 1905. Its programmatic language inquires, effectively, whether any state can still “arbitrarily invade another country” solely based on military might when the “civilized powers of the world” are observing. The journal’s 1906 editorial rhetorically questioned whether, “under the watchful gaze of the world’s civilized nations” 世界文明列國環視之下, any nation could invade another merely through military strength (*Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, July 31, 1906, p. 4).⁸ This rhetoric was politically consequential, not merely moral in tone. It constructs “civilization” as a benchmark against which interstate behavior is assessed. This framing establishes the argumentative ground on which subsequent editorials link legality, institutional capacity, and civilized status to national survival.

Beyond editorial rhetoric, the journal also deployed *munmyeong* in administrative genres; the associational field necessitated that concepts serve as organizational technologies. When formally addressed to county magistrates overseeing branches, the journal issued an official-style circular that frames educational expansion as a banner of “new civilization” (*Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, October 25, 1906, p. 21). This demonstrates how organizational governance was articulated through administrative print rather than editorial commentary.

The network structure makes this configuration visible (Appendix B, Figure B1). The dominant community occupies the dense core, while 文明 sits at its edge, bridging toward a smaller cluster of comparative vocabulary such as 世界, 歐洲, and 列國. *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* repeatedly treated “civilized nations” as the implicit community within which legal form was recognized, and its serialized discussion of international public law even asked whether the rules governing relations among “civilized nations” truly deserved the name of law (*Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, July 25, 1907, pp. 45–46). In this sense, civilization functioned as a threshold category that linked world-ranking discourse to the legal vocabulary of interstate order.

This positioning helps explain why 法律 and 國家 emerge as high-betweenness brokers. In the *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* network, *munmyeong* did not operate as a hub directly connecting disparate clusters; rather, it served as a relay between a comparative lexicon—世界, 歐美/歐洲, 列國, 比較, 野蠻—and

8 The original text is as follows: “今也世界文明列國環視之下誰能以兵強之故擅得侵略他國哉.”

a domestic register of national projects—國家, 獨立, 自由, 進步/進化, 開發. Its mid-range structural position is therefore analytically significant: civilization anchored sovereignty claims not as an everyday connector but as an evaluative idiom through which legality, institutional capacity, and national survival were made mutually intelligible.

In the *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* co-occurrence network,⁹ 1,310 nodes and 1,978 edges (Appendix A, Table A1) form a broadly traversable core, with the giant component containing 1,037 nodes (79.2%). Under robustness filtering (Appendix C, Figure C1; $w \geq 3$, $\text{degree} \geq 3$), this contracts to 324 nodes and 990 edges, indicating that the recurrent discursive order rested on a relatively narrow backbone oriented toward state capacity and institutional coordination.

Within the 1906–1907 corpus, the *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* network is centered on a register of national capacity. The most prominent nodes are not aesthetic or moral keywords but rather terms indicative of collective capacity, institutional coordination, and public initiatives. In the comprehensive co-occurrence network, the nodes exhibiting the highest betweenness centrality are state 國家, education 教育, people/citizenry 人民/國民, branches 支會, purpose 目的, Japan 日本, government 政府, and law 法律. This register of state capacity is further reinforced by economic moralization, which conceptualizes civilization as intrinsically linked to long-term projects aimed at enhancing wealth and strength, including production, industry, and collective discipline.

Education expansion is presented as the “well-tested method of civilized nations” and is specified in concrete terms as compulsory education (*Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, December 25, 1907, p. 55). This framing positions *munmyeong* squarely within a state-capacity register. This mediation layer is consistent with “civilization” as a process of routinization rather than an achieved label (Elias 2000, 268–70). The associational field’s demand for actionable coordination renders these brokers into organizational technologies that authorize investment and recruit members (Bourdieu 1989, 21–22).

文明 is not among the top broker nodes in the *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* network. Assigned to a small modularity class of 23 nodes (1.8%), it occupies a mid-range position: close enough to the core to retain prestige, yet structurally

9 This is the edge-defined full graph (the first analytic layer defined in Section 2.4); all 16,486 unique tokens were extracted, of which 1,310 participate in at least one co-occurrence tie ($\text{degree} > 0$). The main analytic graph (second layer: $\text{weight} \geq 3$ and $\text{degree} \geq 3$) further reduces this to 324 nodes.

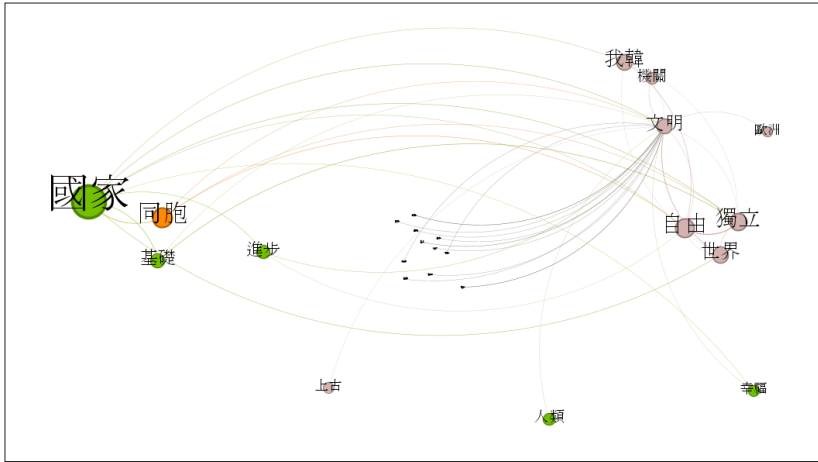


Figure 2. The *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* Ego-Network of 文明

Note: Ego-network of munmyeong extracted from the *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* full co-occurrence network. Node size represents weighted degree; edge thickness represents co-occurrence frequency. Modularity classes assigned by the Louvain algorithm (Blondel et al. 2008). Layout: ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014). Only alters retained after robustness filtering ($w \geq 3$, degree ≥ 3) are labeled.

better understood as a relay than as a hub. Its modest betweenness indicates that it does not directly connect otherwise disconnected clusters; rather, it links comparative vocabulary—世界, 歐美/歐洲, 列國, 野蠻—to a domestic register of national projects—國家, 獨立, 自由, 進步/進化, 開發. This bridging function is echoed in Kim Sang-beom’s explicit civilizational taxonomy: “The nations of the world are divided into three kinds—civilized, uncivilized, and barbarous” (*Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, November 25, 1906, p. 45).¹⁰

The strongest node is world 世界 (weight 7), followed by state 國家 (4), trajectory 軌道 (4), and modern era 近世 (4). A second level includes compatriot 同胞, progress 進步, institution 機關, freedom 自由, Europe 歐洲, and evolution 進化, each with weight 3. *Munmyeong* sits at the intersection of international vocabulary—世界, 歐洲—and process-oriented terms—軌道, 進步, 進化—linking concepts of state capacity—國家, 機關. The focus on trajectory words highlights a view of civilization as a directional process, aligning with Elias’s framework.

10 The original text is as follows: “As the nations of the world are commonly divided into three kinds—civilized, uncivilized, and barbarous...it follows that any country that is not a civilized nation is, in general terms, considered an uncivilized one...” 夫世界の 邦國を 文明國未開國野蠻國の三種に 區別... 文明國이 아니면 未開國이라...

Table 1. The *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* Alter Node

Node	Weight	Degree	Modularity	Eigenvector	Harmonic closeness	Betweenness
世界	7	5	3	0.308004	0.393815	0.008212
國家	4	9	2	1	0.517647	0.17111
軌道	4	1	0	0.016175	0	0
近世	4	1	0	0.066176	0	0
同胞	3	4	8	0.414373	0.424561	0.033231
進步	3	3	2	0.264366	0.379574	0.000835
機關	3	1	3	0.062757	0.327996	0.003178
自由	3	7	3	0.448833	0.424724	0.017174
歐洲	3	1	3	0.017965	0.263187	0
進化	3	1	0	0.016175	0	0

Note: Centrality scores available only for nodes retained in the filtered network ($w \geq 3$, degree ≥ 3).

The community assignments are scattered, with alters forming four classes: Class 3—世界, 機關, 自由, 歐洲—includes international and process vocabulary; Class 2—國家, 進步—centers on state capacity; Class 8—同胞—reflects collective mobilization; and Class 0—軌道, 近世, 進化—involves weakly connected trajectory terms. *Munmyeong* acts as a relay linking themes, rather than as part of a single discourse. Japan 日本 is not a direct alter but is connected through intermediaries like 國家, indicating a role as a proximate predecessor rather than a core semantic node.

Ogaki Dakeo 大垣丈夫, a Japanese contributor to the journal, made this logic explicit; while European examples could be cited, Japan’s shared script and similar customs rendered it “more convenient for understanding” as a reference for local administrative design (*Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, October 25, 1906, p. 21). In this way, civilization was recast from a distant aspiration into a procedurally imitable model. Nevertheless, this instrumental borrowing also generated an evaluative framework that could be turned back against Japan itself. *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*’s discussions of international public law questioned whether the rules governing relations among “civilized nations” truly deserved the name of law (*Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, July 25, 1907, p. 46). By 1907 the journal openly warned that Japan’s professed “protection” concealed a rapacious intent (*Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, May 25, 1907, p. 83). The ego-network encodes this dual function; Japan was not a direct alter of *munmyeong* but entered through institutional intermediaries such as 人民, 法律, and 自治,

indicating that it functioned simultaneously as a proximate benchmark and as an object of scrutiny. *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* thus turned civilization into an evaluative grammar through which Korea’s subordination could also serve as the basis for contesting Japan’s claims to protectorate.

Reconfiguration (1908–1909): Civilization as an Associational Project

To situate the network findings within the broader corpus, this study manually coded all articles explicitly invoking *munmyeong* by primary topical focus: 79 from *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* and 70 from *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* (Figure 3). The contrast is sharp. In *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, politics dominates (57.0%, $n=45$), followed by social, cultural, and economic topics, while in *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* the emphasis shifts decisively toward social (58.6%, $n=41$) and cultural (24.3%, $n=17$) concerns, with politics falling to 8.6% ($n=6$). The 48.4 percentage-point drop in political focus marks a functional shift; civilization moved from a state-centered political idiom to a resource embedded in social and cultural routines under colonial constraint.

This divergence also appears in the *munmyeong*-only subnetworks (Appendix C, Table C1). *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* contracts to a 104-node/269-edge backbone, whereas *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* contracts to a smaller 36-node/71-edge backbone. The latter’s compactness suggests a more

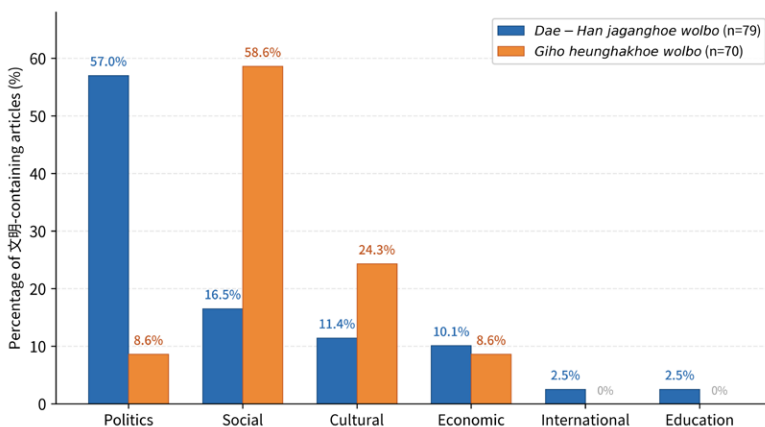


Figure 3. Topic Composition of Articles Containing 文明

tightly coupled semantic field, consistent with the journal's concentration on educational and organizational tasks rather than the broader institutional and comparative vocabulary required for state-capacity argumentation.

If the post-1905 international crisis shaped *munmyeong* in *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, the *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* corpus reflects a domestic environment fractured by the 1907 Jeongmi Treaty and the dissolution of the Korean military. In this setting, civilization was no longer a language of imminent state repair but an institutionalized strategy of survival through reader formation and pedagogical expansion. Shin Chae-ho 申采浩 expressed this shift in compressed form by recasting civilization as an object of learning—something to be acquired alongside fortitude, reform, and independence (*Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, August 25, 1908, pp. 14–15).¹¹ Yi Gi 李沂 then clarified the practical problem that followed; unless the journal could mediate between “opened” and “unopened” readers, the civilizational project would fail. His reflections on associational publishing thus identify a concern with stratified readership that has no equivalent in *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*'s state-capacity register (*Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, August 25, 1908, p. 7).¹²

In the edge-defined *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* network (Appendix B, Figure B2), 1,628 nodes and 2,227 edges form¹³ a more elongated structure than in the *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, with a smaller giant component (72.7%) and longer path length and diameter. This wider dispersion is consistent with the journal's broader spread across social, cultural, and educational domains. Under robustness filtering ($w \geq 3$, degree ≥ 3), however, the graph contracts to

11 The original text is as follows: “...with a single stroke of the axe, breaking through the darkness accumulated over centuries, and learning civilization, learning fortitude, learning reform, and learning independence...” ...一斧에 數百年 暗黒方面을 打破하고 文明을 學하며 强毅를 學하며 維新을 學하며 獨立을 學하야...

12 The original text is as follows: “Among newspapers and magazines, associational journals are even harder to write, precisely because readers’ levels differ. Those who move in and out of associations have ‘glimpsed civilization,’ while others remain ‘unopened.’ If one writes for the advanced, beginners abandon the text; if one writes for beginners, advanced readers lose interest...” 同故也 新聞雜誌惟各學會報爲尤難以其人民程度不同故也各學會報惟識湖學報爲尤難之最難以其人士之已開未開不同故也出入社團略窺文明其已開者耶高臥鄉廬膠守頑固其未開者耶爲其已開而用高學階級則未開者必廢讀矣爲其未開而用初學階級則已開者必厭觀...

13 This is the edge-defined full graph (the first analytic layer defined in Section 2.4); all 16,571 unique tokens were extracted, of which 1,628 participate in at least one co-occurrence tie (degree>0). The main analytic graph (second layer: weight ≥ 3 and degree ≥ 3) further reduces this to 390 nodes.

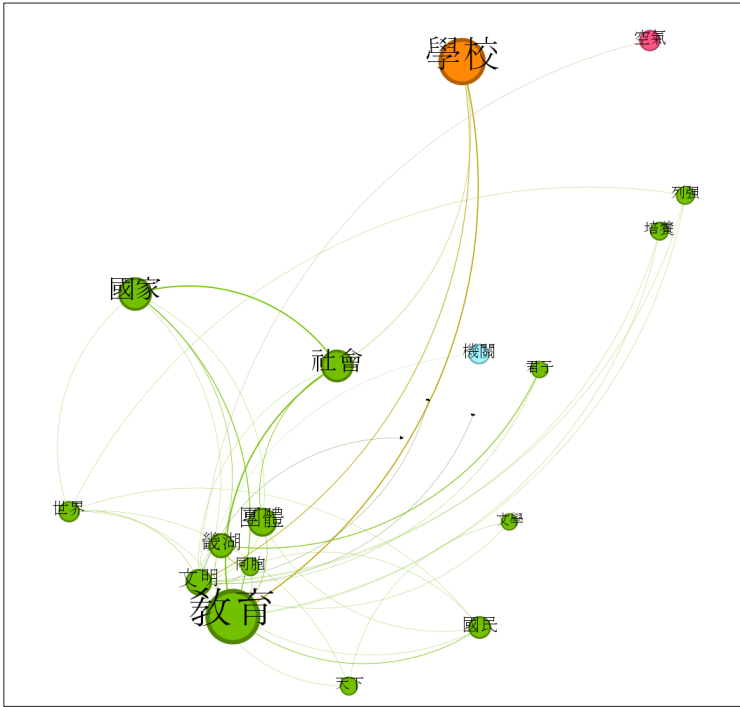


Figure 4. The *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* Ego Network of 文明

Note: Ego-network of munmyeong extracted from the *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* full co-occurrence network. Visualization conventions identical to Figure 2.

a compact backbone of 390 nodes and 994 edges, indicating that this broader thematic range was nonetheless organized through recurrent structural ties. At the level of the full network, *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*’s discursive core is organized around an educational-organizational register rather than a Japan-centered legal-political one; in betweenness centrality, 教育 (0.24), 學校 (0.16), and 設立 (0.11) rank highest, while in eigenvector centrality 教育 (1.000), 學校 (0.71), 社會 (0.48), and 文明 (0.36) form the structurally prominent core. *Munmyeong* thus occupied the upper tier of the network’s hierarchy as a broker in a field where education and association had become the principal relays of action.

This broader prestige structure becomes more concrete when the analysis is narrowed to the ego-neighborhood of *munmyeong* (Figure 4). The strongest alter is school 學校 (weight 6), followed by world 世界 (3) and compatriot 同胞 (3), while 作為, 列強, 君子, 國家, 國民, 團體, and 培養 each register weight 2. Just as important is what disappears; 日本, 法律, and 自治—terms that linked *Dae-Han*

Table 2. The *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* Alter Nodes

Node	Weight	Degree	Modularity	Eigenvector	Harmonic closeness	Betweenness
學校	6	3	10	0.714604	0.463006	0.167566
世界	3	6	8	0.198957	0.336271	0.0064
同胞	3	4	8	0.166119	0.330616	0.000137
作爲	2	1	0	0	0.23428	0
列強	2	3	8	0.124959	0.325346	0.001429
君子	2	2	8	0.051681	0.285072	0
國家	2	6	8	0.519918	0.398225	0.030017
國民	2	5	8	0.253624	0.35508	0.004443
團體	2	5	8	0.416716	0.390384	0.038677
培養	2	2	8	0.156084	0.345012	0.003089

Note: Centrality scores available only for nodes retained in the filtered network ($w \geq 3$, degree ≥ 3).

jaganghoe wolbo’s state-capacity register—are absent from the *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* ego-network. The contrast is telling. In *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, 世界 was the dominant alter, with 國家 and trajectory-related terms such as 軌道 and 近世 close behind. In *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, by contrast, 學校 becomes dominant, 國家 declines from weight 4 to 2, and terms of collective mobilization such as 同胞, 國民, 團體, and 培養 move into the immediate neighborhood of *munmyeong*. The ego-network, therefore, reorients civilization away from a state-centered evaluative register and toward an educational and associational one.

Table 2 clarifies the structure of this shift. The alter composition falls into three broad clusters: a comparative horizon—世界, 列強—a collective address—同胞, 國民, 國家—and an organizational pathway—學校, 團體, 培養. The presence of 君子 indicates that Confucian moral vocabulary remained active within this educational register, a point taken up in greater detail in Section 5. Education’s centrality is unmistakable; 學校 dominates the ego-network in both weight (6) and betweenness (0.168), while in the full network 教育 ranks first in betweenness (0.242) and eigenvector centrality (1.000). This emphasis is made explicit in Yi Jun-yong 李垿鎔’s programmatic essay on normal education. Yi argues that simply “establishing schools everywhere” is nominal unless qualified teachers can integrate new and traditional learning; without such teachers, rural schooling degenerates into rote instruction, and “real advancement” becomes impossible. Teacher training 師範教育, he concludes, is therefore the urgent first task of educational revival (*Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, September 25, 1908,

p. 1).¹⁴ In this sense, civilization in *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* no longer served primarily as a standard for judging state conduct, but as a practical model for building educational infrastructure, maintaining collective identity, and sustaining organizational strength under tightened constraints.

The divergence extends beyond a mere topical preference for “education” over “politics.” Dae-Han jaganghoe, active during 1906–1907 prior to the dissolution of the military, was still capable of framing *munmyeong* as a normative standard for evaluating state conduct and Japan’s protectorate arrangements. However, from 1907 onward, the Jeongmi Treaty further restricted Korean sovereignty; the military had been dissolved, and the legal infrastructure for the control of publications had tightened in stages.¹⁵ These constraints were not merely formal. Internal Residency-General reports show that, in the eleven months prior to December 1908, the Police Affairs Bureau confiscated sixty-five issues from six newspapers on charges ranging from “incitement to violence” to “disturbance of diplomatic relations.”¹⁶ By the time *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* began publication in 1908, intensified surveillance and confiscation had already become defining conditions of associational print. Even this educational register, however, was not indefinitely secure. By late 1909, Residency-General confiscation reports had begun to classify the claim that national recovery required the civilizational enlightenment of the people through the propagation of new education as suspect.¹⁷

14 The original text is as follows: “If one does not encounter capable hands able to train and refine properly, this is the very reason why teacher education begins. Though one may say that civilization and wealth and strength lie in schools, and though schools may be established everywhere across the country and in every village, if there are no persons fit to serve as teachers who can integrate both the new and the old learning...” 特不遇其鍊琢良手니 此師範教育之所由起也라 以爲文明富强이 在於學校라 豈야 全國之內에 雖面面設學고 村村建校라도 若無新舊參互可師之人이오...

15 The Newspaper Law 新聞紙法, promulgated on July 24, 1907, required prior authorization from the Minister of the Interior, a deposit of 300 *hwan*, and the submission of two copies before publication, thereby institutionalizing pre-publication control. The April 1908 amendment extended enforcement to foreign-published and foreign-owned newspapers, authorizing seizure and distribution bans under Article 34. The Publication Law 出版法 of February 23, 1909, broadened regulation from newspapers to printed matter more generally and imposed authorization and deposit requirements that effectively combined pre- and post-publication censorship. Its broader scope encompassed associational journals such as the *Wolbo* publications examined here (Chae 2010, 617; 621–23).

16 *Tonggambu munseo*, Vol. 4, Sec. 9, No. 103, “Apsu gak sinmun gisa tongbo geon” 押收各新聞記事通報件.

17 *Tonggambu munseo*, Vol. 10, Sec. 21, No. 4, “Apsu sinmun gisa jeogyo” 押收新聞記事摘要.

Under these conditions, Giho heunghakhoe re-functionalized *munmyeong* as an educational and organizational routine, rather than as an overtly political claim. This shift is visible in the ego-network's movement from 世界/國家/軌道 in *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* to 學校/世界/同胞 in *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*. 世界 remains in both networks, but its surrounding terms shift from state-centered and institutional vocabulary to educational and associational ones. At the same time, centrality rankings confirm that 教育 and 學校 now form the structurally prominent core. The disappearance of 日本, 法律, and 自治 from the *munmyeong* ego-neighborhood suggests that civilizational discourse was being redirected into an educational framework through which reformist goals could be pursued without directly provoking censorship.

This refashioning also rescaled the operative unit of civilization downward. As Min Jong-muk put it, “the revitalization of civilization as a whole lies in local learning” (*Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, September 25, 1908, p. 5). Civilization was thus relocated from a juridical-political standard for judging external power to an implementable register of schooling, instruction, and local pedagogical routine.

A translated text reinforces this programmatic orientation by stating that “it is only proper to establish schools to cultivate human talent and to enlighten civilization” (*Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, October 25, 1908, p. 51).¹⁸ Programmatic essays then translated this principle into concrete organizational tasks—founding branch schools, training teachers through normal education, designing curricula, and mobilizing local capital (*Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, August 25, 1908, pp. 48–49). *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* thus converted civilization from a benchmark for judging interstate legitimacy into an organizational technology that could be replicated across localities.

18 The original text is as follows: “It would thus be fitting to establish schools, cultivate capable persons, and enlighten civilization, thereby providing a standard to follow. If even the unlearned in the villages come to know what they should admire and emulate, and if they compete with one another in rising to action so that the sound of reading and recitation spreads throughout the land, twice the achievement could be secured with half the labor...” 理宜設立學校하여 培養人材하고 啓導文明하여 爲之標準하여 使村里質味로 皆能知所慕效하고 爭相興起하여 絃誦之聲이 達于四境하면 可以事半而功倍矣어늘...

Table 3. Comparative Ego-Network Profiles of 文明

Alter Node	<i>Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo</i> 1906–1907		<i>Giho heunghakhoe wolbo</i> 1908–1909		Shift
	Weight	Eigenvector	Weight	Eigenvector	
學校 School	—	—	6	0.715	New entry, dominant
World 世界	7	0.308	3	0.199	Weight ↓ (7→3)
State 國家	4	1.000	2	0.520	Weight ↓, prestige ↓
Trajectory 軌道	4	0.016	—	—	Disappeared
Modern era 近世	4	0.066	—	—	Disappeared
Compatriot 同胞	3	0.414	3	0.166	Weight stable, prestige ↓
Progress 進步	3	0.264	—	—	Disappeared
Freedom 自由	3	0.449	—	—	Disappeared
Institution 機關	3	0.063	—	—	Disappeared
Europe 歐洲	3	0.018	—	—	Disappeared
Evolution 進化	3	0.016	—	—	Disappeared
Association 團體	—	—	2	0.417	New entry
Cultivation 培養	—	—	2	0.156	New entry
Citizenry 國民	—	—	2	0.254	New entry
Powers 列強	—	—	2	0.125	New entry
Gentleman 君子	—	—	2	0.052	New entry
Action 作為	—	—	2	0.000	New entry

Note: “—” = absent from ego-network. Eigenvector from filtered networks ($w \geq 3$, degree ≥ 3). Bold = highest value in column.

Ambivalence as Layered Structure

One persistent assumption in existing conceptual histories of Korean civilization discourse, especially studies centered on newspaper editorials (Jung 2024; Noh 2010a, 2010b), is that *munmyeong* can be adequately reconstructed through its polemical uses. However, in the associational field, its function was not exhausted by polemic. Meaning emerged through recurrent ties to institutional vocabularies—law and state in *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, education and school in *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*. Network centrality does not prove meaning itself, but it identifies the actionable relays through which concepts organize collective practice. A second assumption is that “civilization” operated as a stable, translatable unit across texts. In fact, the same lexical item performed structurally different roles across editorials, bylaws, branch reports, and fundraising appeals,

making genre not merely a container of meaning but one of its constitutive conditions.

This comparative summary makes clear that the shift was not a matter of isolated lexical substitution but of broader turnover in the alter structure surrounding *munmyeong*, most clearly illustrated by the changing position of Japan.

Japan did not disappear from the intellectual horizon of the enlightenment movement; rather, it was repositioned within its structural framework. Within *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*'s full network, Japan connected to *munmyeong* through institutional mediators—most directly through 國家, which serves as the highest-eigenvector node in the ego-neighborhood—functioning as a proximate benchmark against which civilizational standards could be assessed. Conversely, in *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*'s network, Japan was completely absent from the *munmyeong* ego-network—not because reformers ceased to consider imperial pressure but because the field's operational logic no longer required Japan as a discursive conduit for legitimizing collective action. This transformation is important given the continuity of personnel between the two organizations: Yi Gi, who identified the editorial challenge of mediating between “opened” and “unopened” readers, was active in both contexts. The involvement of overlapping actors in producing structurally distinct conceptual frameworks suggests that the rebuilding was predominantly influenced by field constraints—such as censorship regimes, available genres, and organizational demands—rather than individual ideological conversions. The more precisely *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* articulated procedural benchmarks of “civilized law,” the more directly these benchmarks applied to Japan's own conduct as a protectorate—and consequently, the greater the risk of censorship. *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* addressed this paradox not by abandoning the standard but by redirecting its application inward: civilization thereby became a measure of collective self-cultivation rather than a tribunal for judging an external power.

The transition from *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* to *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* entailed a recalibration of the concept of “civilization.” During 1906–1907, the state served as the primary referent of *munmyeong*, with legislation, administration, and sovereignty serving as frameworks for conceptualizing civilizational efforts. By 1908–1909, attention shifted to the individual reader, local branches, and village schools. Min Jong-muk's assertion that “the revitalization of civilization lies in local learning” exemplifies this scalar

transition. Furthermore, Yi Jun-yong advanced this logic by asserting that teacher training—rather than the number of schools—was the critical factor hindering civilizational progress, thereby illustrating that Giho heunghakhoe viewed civilization primarily as the development of competent agents rather than the reform of state institutions. This prioritization of pedagogical quality over institutional expansion drew upon Liang Qichao’s educational reform theories, which Giho heunghakhoe strategically adapted to persuade traditional scholars of the necessity for modern pedagogical approaches (Shin 2021, 350–55). The strategic vision extended beyond print itself; in *Chungbuk* 忠北, Giho heunghakhoe branches collaborated with officials and local merchants to pool resources to establish schools, thereby creating coalitions that transcended previous ideological divisions (Lee 2022, 178–80; H. M. Kim 2013, 15–20).

Nevertheless, the institutionalization of *munmyeong* within the educational infrastructure did not eradicate conceptual tension; instead, it reconfigured it. Giho heunghakhoe reformers temporalized civilization as a competitive endeavor—a sequence of learnable capacities, as explicitly articulated by Shin Chae-ho—while continuing to ground its legitimacy in classical moral vocabularies. Yi Gi viewed “new learning” not as a rejection of tradition but as its reinterpretation, anchoring modern pedagogical reform in the language of moral cultivation. An Jong-hwa’s 安鍾和 self-critique—“words always praise Western civilization, but hearts cannot escape Eastern old customs”—reflected this internal tension (*Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, September 25, 1908, p. 7).¹⁹ This tension was not merely ideological; it was organizationally productive. The enduring use of Confucian ethical language was not residual but functional. In the Giho region, where conservative Confucian epistemologies remained deeply rooted, reformers who framed modern education solely in Western terms risked alienating the local elites whose capital and cooperation were vital for establishing branches and securing funding for schools (S. Kim 2015, 255–60). The ambivalence, therefore, was not a failure of conceptual clarity but a pragmatic condition necessary for organizational viability.

Taken together, these findings show that co-occurrence network analysis,

19 The original text is as follows: “...Their words always praise Western civilization, yet their hearts cannot escape Eastern old customs; their actions continually run counter to what they profess to have learned, even as ‘freedom’ and ‘free speech’ are ever on their lips...” 言必稱泰西文明而心不免東洋舊習其言行輒蹈學乎反乎而口輒掛自由言論이로다.

when calibrated with genre-sensitive close reading, can recover structural shifts in conceptual function that conventional interpretation alone would register only as thematic change. The contrast between *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*'s relay structure and *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*'s hub structure is therefore not merely quantitative; it marks two distinct modes of conceptual operability—evaluative grammar and replicable template—shaped by different political constraints and organizational strategies. More broadly, the analysis suggests that conceptual history must attend not only to what a term meant, but also to the genre infrastructure through which it was made actionable.

Conclusion

This study traced the reconversion of *munmyeong* across two Korean associational journals published between 1906 and 1909. Co-occurrence network analysis, calibrated through close reading, shows that the concept shifted from an evaluative grammar that anchored sovereignty claims in *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* to an educational-organizational routine that sustained school-centered infrastructure in *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* under tightened surveillance. This transition did not mark an ideological retreat. Rather, it reflected the reassignment of symbolic efficacy within a field whose political horizon had sharply narrowed after 1907. More broadly, the analysis demonstrates that conceptual history must attend not only to what a term meant, but also to the genre and organizational infrastructures through which it became actionable.

Several limitations remain. The corpus is limited to two associational journals, so the broader applicability of the shift from state-centered to local educational registers cannot yet be assumed across other enlightenment-period print venues. The thematic classification of *munmyeong*-containing articles relied on manual coding, which introduces interpretive subjectivity. More fundamentally, co-occurrence networks capture structural proximity but not semantic directionality; the recurrent pairing of 文明 and 教育, for instance, cannot by itself specify causal or temporal order. Finally, because the analysis operates at the corpus level, it cannot determine whether individual contributors adjusted their rhetorical strategies in tandem with the broader structural divergence identified here.

These limitations point to three promising directions for future research.

First, expanding the corpus to additional associational journals, newspapers, and textbooks would clarify whether the patterns identified here were field-specific or more widely characteristic of enlightenment discourse. Second, author-level analysis of shared contributors would help determine whether the corpus-level divergence was replicated, negotiated, or resisted in individual practice. Third, the temporal dimension of *munmyeong* deserves fuller treatment. The movement from *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*’s longer-horizon civilizational discourse to *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*’s compressed sequence of learnable capacities suggests that the imagined tempo of civilizational attainment itself contracted under colonial pressure. Tracking shifts in verb-concept collocations such as 習, 學, and 進 may help clarify that temporal reorientation.

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Abstract

This article explores how the concept of “civilization” (*munmyeong* 文明) was refunctioned in two Korean associational journals published following the 1905 protectorate: *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* (1906–1907) and *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* (1908–1909). Using co-occurrence network analysis combined with genre-sensitive close reading, it demonstrates that *munmyeong* served different organizational functions depending on field-specific contexts. In *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo*, the concept was linked with legality, local autonomy, and institutional standards, functioning as a language of state capacity that both justified reform and expressed ambivalence toward Japan. Conversely, in *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo*, *munmyeong* was integrated into educational and associative frameworks, including teacher training, school establishment, branch expansion, and civic self-cultivation. This shift moved the focus of civilizational efforts from external sovereignty claims to practical, collective survival practices under increased surveillance after 1907. Drawing on Bourdieu’s field theory and Elias’s view of civilization as a process, the article suggests that the concept’s role was influenced not only by its lexical meaning but also by genre, organizational routines, and political constraints. Overall, it illustrates how Korean reformers transformed “civilization” from a state-centered evaluative framework into an educational and organizational routine within associational print media.

Keywords: civilization, co-occurrence network analysis, conceptual history, associational journals, Patriotic Enlightenment Movement

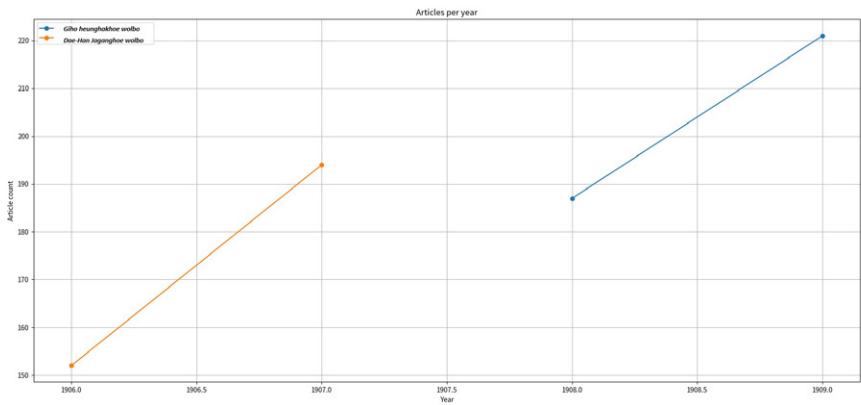
Appendix A: Corpus Statistics

This appendix provides detailed corpus and network statistics referenced in Section 2.

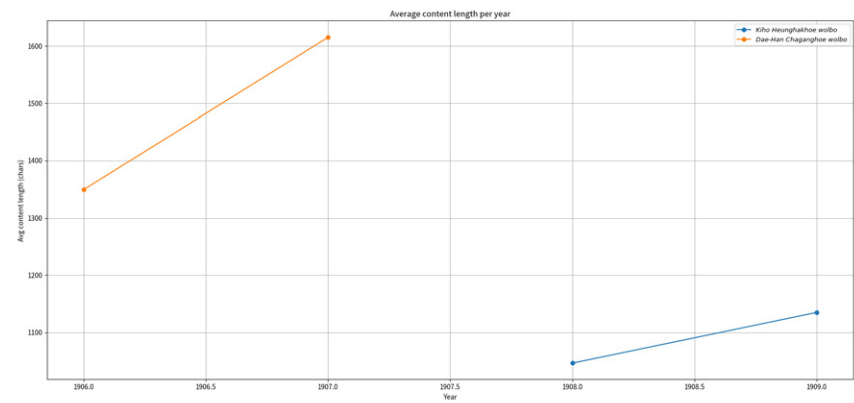
Table A1. Network Sizes by Filtering Stage

Corpus	Total tokens nodes ※1	Edge-defined nodes ※2	Edge-defined edges ※2	GCC nodes ※3	Robustness nodes ※4	Robustness edges ※4
<i>Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo</i> 1906–1907	16,486	1,310	1,978	1,037	324	990
<i>Gibo heunghakhoe wolbo</i> 1908–1909	16,571	1,628	2,227	1,184	390	994

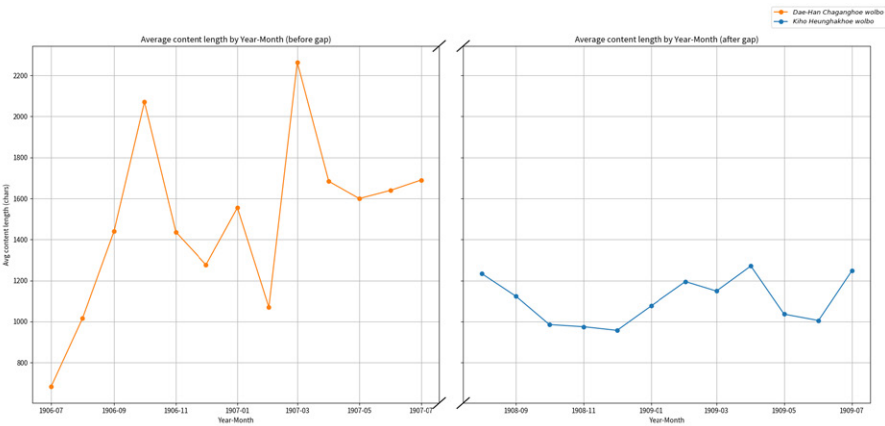
- ※1 Including isolates (degree = 0).
※2 Nodes and edges with degree > 0; isolates excluded.
※3 Giant Connected Component within the edge-defined network.
※4 Robustness filter applied: co-occurrence weight ≥ 3 and node degree ≥ 3.



Graph A1. Articles per Year in Each Journal



Graph A2. Average Content Length per Year



Graph A3. Average Article Length by Year-Month

Appendix B: Full Network Visualizations

This appendix contains complete network visualizations for both journals.

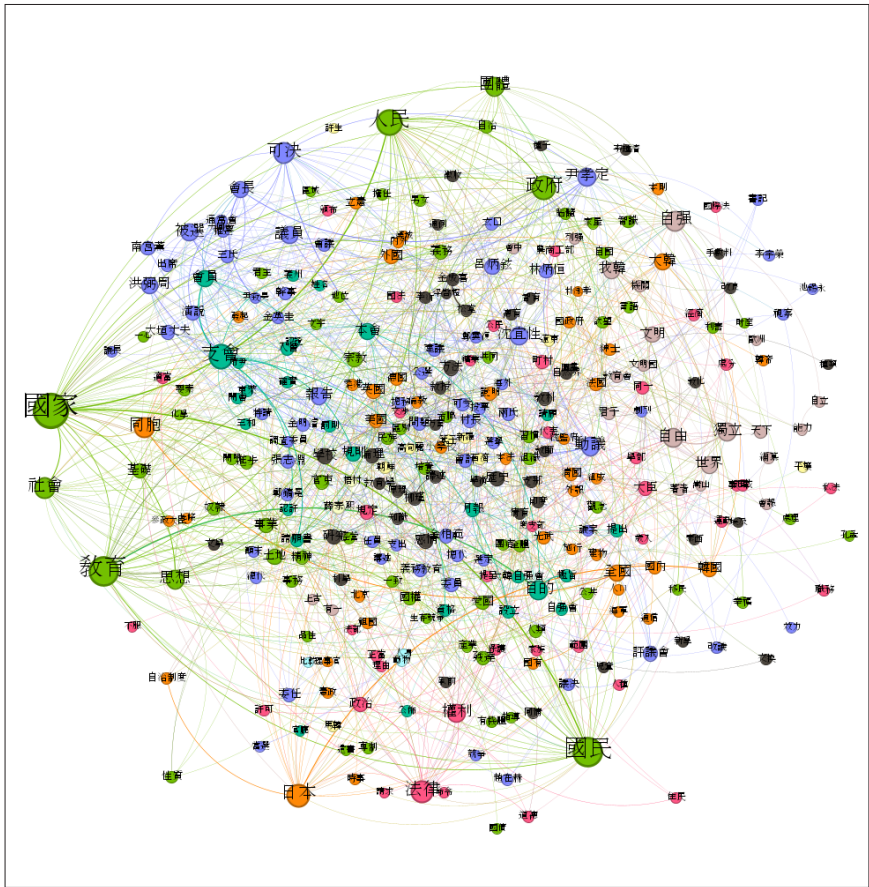


Figure B1. The *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* Complete Co-occurrence Network

Note: Complete edge-defined co-occurrence network of the *Dae-Han jaganghoe wolbo* corpus (1,310 nodes, 1,978 edges). Visualization conventions identical to Figure 2. Modularity classes color-coded; only the five largest classes are colored, with the class containing 文明 highlighted in an accent color.

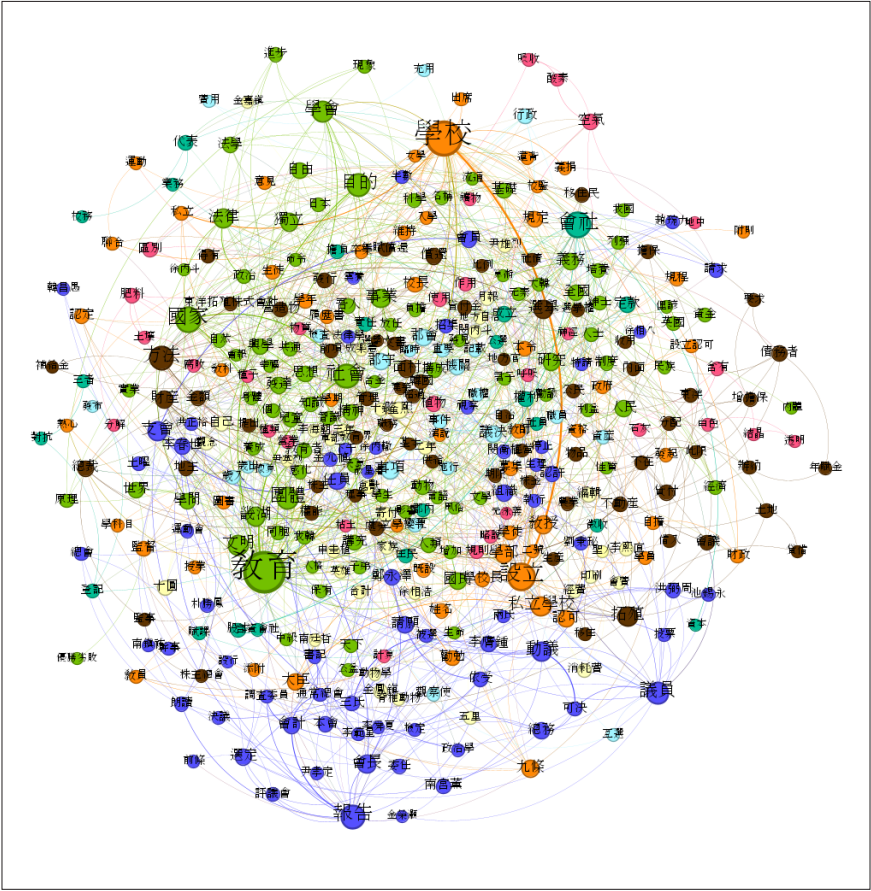


Figure B2. The *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* Complete Co-occurrence Network

Note: Complete edge-defined co-occurrence network of the *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* corpus (1,628 nodes, 2,227 edges). Visualization conventions identical to Figure B1.

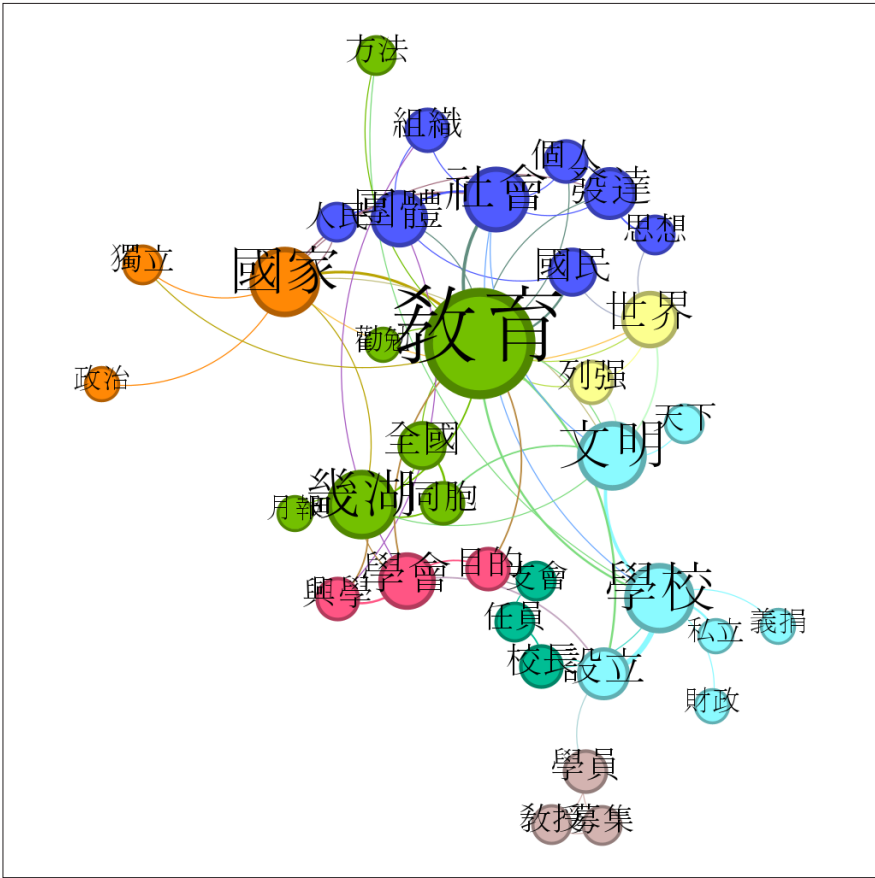


Figure C2. The *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* Network After Robustness Filtering

Note: *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* backbone network after robustness filtering ($w \geq 3$, degree ≥ 3): 390 nodes, 994 edges. Visualization conventions identical to Figure C1.