

# The Formation and Differentiation of Modern Korean Music World\*

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*This study examines the formation and characteristics of modern music world in colonial Korea during the 1930s. Modern Korean music world inherited the legacy of traditional Korean music, but at the same time was heavily influenced by the newly introduced western music and Japanese popular music. In analyzing the formation of music world, we focus on the dynamics between different musical genres and also on the relationships between composers and singers. Social Network Analysis of two-mode data on genre-singer, genre-composer, and composer-singer networks reveals that boundaries between genres became more established over time and that the relationship between composers and singers show limited stability reflecting the high level of uncertainty in the market of popular music.*

*Keywords: Music World, Colonial Period, Genre, Role Structure, Social Network Analysis, Korea*

## I. INTRODUCTION

This article examines how modern music emerged during the 1930s in colonial Korea. As recent studies on colonial modernity and Asian popular culture during the colonial period show (Kim, J. 1999; You, S. 2009; Wufan

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2007), colonial Korea experienced an institutional-level construction of modern culture as well as a rapid modernization of everyday life, consciousness, and cultural consumption during the 1930s. The rise of new media such as films, records, and broadcasting and the subsequent expansion of cultural production and consumption testify to such changes. Although the concrete details and contents of cultural changes have been revealed by the historical studies on the rise of colonial modern culture, the institutional aspect of such change and especially the structural change of the art world is yet to be explored in depth.

New emphasis on the cultural taste and attempts at cultural distinction with the rise of modern culture around the 1930s could be a consequence of changes in aesthetic sense and taste; however, it is more profoundly an outcome of intense interaction and competition between foreign and traditional cultures, popular and high cultures. Musical taste and choice of a certain class of people or an organization reflect the conscious attempts at social distinction they made. Especially in colonial Korea, the foreign culture introduced by the colonial intellectuals, who were instrumental in the rise of colonial modern culture based on their cultural experience in Japan, provided cultural and social bases for modern culture and served as a new source of cultural capital. At the same time, however, traditional culture was far from stagnant, giving rise to hybrid culture as a consequence of its adaptation to new environment. This study examines the formation and differentiation of music in colonial Korea as a result of dynamics of intertwining and interacting musical streams.

We investigate structural aspects of music around the 1930s focusing on the genre differentiation and relations among musicians in music making. We draw on Becker's (1982) theory of the art world and DiMaggio's (1987) theory of classification in arts. We use data on the phonographic records produced during the colonial period. Records have been continuously produced since 1896 and played an important role in developing music in late Chosŏn and colonial Korea. Information on the title, genre, composer, lyricist, player, singer, and production company enables Social Network Analysis of relations among musicians in making music and also the network among genres mediated through these musician's participation.

## II. DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN KOREAN MUSIC

While it is generally accepted that the modern Korean musical world first emerged in the 1930s during the Japanese colonial period (Kwon, D. 2004a), traditional music had already started to change in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the Chosŏn dynasty, music has been played either as part of ceremonies for memorial services and court events or as entertainment for all ranks of people to enjoy. Although music was considered as a kind of liberal arts for *yangban*—as part of their elite status as scholar-officials, the social status of professional musician belonged to the lowest rank. As the traditional status system disintegrated at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, traditional musicians now freed from its constraints were able to perform in the newly established theaters such as Hyopryul-sa. *Kisaeng*, traditional female entertainers, and bar hostesses, also came to Seoul, then Kyeongseong, from all over the country and played their local music. Traditional Korean music like *sanjo* and *chànggŭk* were actively performed and enjoyed by the audience. Professional associations such as *Chosŏn Sŏngak Yŏn'nguhoe* were organized by traditional musicians during the 1930s and unions of *kisaeng* also existed to promote education and performance of traditional music (Kwon, D. 2004b).

Formation and development of modern music in colonial Korea was driven more by external forces like the introduction of Western music from Japan and Europe rather than by internal dynamics or a change in traditional music. Western music was first introduced by Western missionaries to teach and disseminate hymns, but its official adoption in Korea was by the newly organized royal military band at the end of the Chosŏn dynasty. First adopted as functional music, Western music was taught to students at modern schools by the early 20th century. Organizations performing Western music appeared and gave regular concerts, and new songs such as *chàngga* (Kwon, D. 2008), children's concerts, and new songs. Organizations performing Western music were first introduced by Western missionaries teaching it, but Korean musicians who were trained by them soon played a major role in proliferating modern music through teaching, composing, and performance.

The emergence and rapid growth of popular music since the 1930s (Jang, Y. 2006) had a big impact on the formation of modern music by expanding

the boundary of music and providing its substance. Popular music during the colonial period included traditional *chapga*, *p'ansori*, *dan'ga*, *minyo* as well as “Jazz-songs” imported from the West. However the most representative was the newly written popular music such as *yuhaengga* and *sin minyo* that catered to the taste of a mass audience. While “Jazz songs” were a translation of Western popular songs and *yuhaengga* is a modification of Japanese popular music (Choi, E. 2007; Yamauchi 2000), *sin minyo* is a kind of indigenous popular song or colonial hybrid music composed with the formal elements borrowed from traditional *minyo* (Lee, S. 2007: 2009; You, S. 2002). New popular songs with diverse origins were systematically produced with a division of labor between composition and performance, swiftly distributed through the new media of phonograph disc, and enthusiastically accepted by the mass audience. Consequently popular music comprised the core of colonial modern culture along with motion picture, and became the major part of modern music (You, S. 2009).

Modern Korean music emerged and developed from streams of traditional Korean music, Western art music, and new popular music. Yet the formation of modern music in colonial Korea was far from autonomous; rather it was heavily influenced by the Japanese colonial authorities. The Japanese Government General of Korea made attempts to use music as an instrument for colonial control by disbanding the royal military band, prohibiting music lessons, and enforcing singing Japanese songs (*ch'angga*) at school. It also tried to make musicians collaborate with those colonialists in control using different incentives. Such efforts intensified with the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941. It organized the Chosŏn Ŭmak Hyŏphoe (Chosŏn Association of Musicians) to mobilize collaborating musicians, and made and widely distributed militaristic songs praising Japanese empire (Noh, D.1989).

We examined the social structure of production and distribution of modern music, as well as the interaction and mutual influences among various streams of music from the perspective of music formation. We start by reviewing the theoretical background for the concept of the art world.

### III. THE ART WORLD

The concept the “art world” was first used in aesthetics and later introduced to the sociology of art. When Danto (1964) coined the term, he tried to argue that the essence of art is defined by the art world, that is cultural context or “an atmosphere of art theory” contrasting the attempts to search for the essence of art from within art itself. His argument can be understood in the context of contemporary art where the strong challenge rises against the existing aesthetic theories and confusion that surround the definition of art. He asserted that diverse concepts of art arise from the conflicts among contrasting theoretical assumptions and horizons of interpretation.

Becker adopted the concept of the art world to provide institutional definition of art and applied it to the social context of art production (Becker 1974, 1982). It contained a more concrete meaning of people participating in the production of art, relationships among them, and conventions shared by them. The term of “world” comes from the institutionalist philosophy of art pioneered by Danto (1964) and Dickie (1969) but also has its origin in the concept of social world used by the symbolic interactionist sociologists (Strauss 1978, 1982, 1984; Gilmore 1990). Social world means “one world which means co-origin in the co-ownership among them and conventions shared by them” (Kling and Gerson 1978: 26). Symbolic interactionism emphasizes the cultural aspect of constructing and sharing meaning and the social aspect of coordinating collective action by the participants at the same time.

Becker used the concept of the art world to challenge the prevailing romantic myth about the art as a work of isolated genius artist and to expand recognition and attention to support personnel, mediators and consumers in addition to the artists. He also made it clear that the distinction between art and non-art as well as among different ranks of art resides in the convention shared by the participants in the production (Becker 1976). Such conventions are passed down as tradition and taken for granted by the participants in the production of certain genre of art to coordinate their collective activities. Conventions enable production of art by providing means of artistic creation and aesthetic grounds but at the same time constrain it by limiting the

alternatives of artistic choice available to artists.

The interactionist view of the art world is more pronounced when compared with the concept of field of cultural production proposed by Bourdieu (1992, 1993) in the tradition of structuralism. Both concepts are similar in that they resist internalist or essentialist tendencies in the study of art (Fuchs 2005). Bourdieu's field concept, however, focuses on the hierarchy in the arts and power conflicts revolving around it. While Bourdieu emphasizes macro social environment constraining the autonomy of field of cultural production, Becker puts emphasis on the micro or meso-level interaction and relationship among participants in cultural production. One can disagree on whether to take these differences as fundamental (Ferguson, 1995) or as a matter of degree (Baumann 2001). We propose that our interest in the formation of division of labor and emergence of genre distinction has more to do with the concept of the art world.

Numerous empirical studies on the art world have examined the formation of or changes in it, such as emergence of impressionism and dealer-critic system in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Paris (White and White 1965), the transformation of the avant-garde the art world in New York after the Second World War (Crane 1987), and the formation of the art world of country music (Peterson 1997), rock music (Ennis 1992) and Jazz (Lopes 2002) in the United States. These studies have focused on the issues of an emergence of collective identity amongst artists as well as its social recognition, the rise of broadcasting and phonographic media for distributing music, the division of roles between creating and playing music and the changing social relations around it, and social perceptions of various genres in the arts and their changes.

Here we examine the process of modern music formation including the transformation of traditional music, adoption and adaptation of Western art music, and the emergence of popular music. We focus on the changing relations among musicians with respect to division of role and also on the dynamics of genre boundaries.

#### IV. DYNAMICS OF GENRE BOUNDARIES

In his definition of the art world, Becker asserts that the art world is

organized around the “production of specific kind of art” (Becker 1982: x). It implies that each genre of arts has its own art world and also that the boundary of that art world is defined by the works produced. Therefore the demarcation of symbolic boundaries among different genres of art is directly related to the demarcation of social boundaries among those art worlds (Lamont and Molnar 2002). The kind of works produced is an important factor in claiming identity by the participants in that world, which sends clear signal in socializing and building ties among them. While people in the same or similar genres of art may work together without great difficulty, those in unrelated or remote genres will experience difficulty bridging the boundary.

What are the determinants in classifying the arts? DiMaggio (1987) makes it clear that the characteristics of the classification system depends on social structure because it is that which socializes and builds ties among them. While people in the same or similar genres of art may work together boundaries of production and distribution of art works. In other words, the classification system is characterized by a degree of differentiation, heterogeneity and inequality. Characteristics of the classification system include 1) the extent to which art is differentiated into institutionally bounded genres, 2) the extent to which genres are ranked hierarchically by prestige, 3) the extent to which classifications are universal or differ among subgroups of members, and 4) the extent to which boundaries among genres are ritualized.

We think that the dynamics of genre classification depends on external factors such as colonization and an inflow of foreign culture as much as on internal social structure. Western music was imported through diverse channels and was beginning to influence people at a time when traditional Korean music began its transformation with the commercialization of arts, the rise and expansion of artistic patronage, changes in the social status of artists and their recognition of their self-identity as artists. As a consequence, music in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Korea was in a position to experience genre formation under the influence of external pressure as well as internal structural changes.

It is generally accepted that music in colonial Korea can be largely classified into three genres: traditional Korean music, classical Western music, and popular music. These three respectively represent an internal musical heritage, external influence from the West, and cultural innovation from the

combination of the two. However, if we look more closely into the dynamics among the musical genres in colonial Korea, we can find more detailed and complicated genres emerging and transforming within the tripartite frame and also these musical genres interacting and interlacing with each other in a complicated way.

In Western classical music, although works of famous foreign composers were mostly played in instrumental music, many songs especially children's songs imbued with nationalist sentiment were composed by Koreans. In this newly emerged popular music, there were diverse strands such as jazz songs which was a direct adoption of western music, *yuhaengga* which selectively adopted traditional elements of composition and playing under the dominant influence of Japan (Yamauchi 2000; Jang, Y. 2006) and *sin minyo* which is a hybrid of traditional songs and Western influence (Lee, S. 2007, 2009; You, S. 2002).

How can we examine the formation and differentiation of modern music in colonial Korea from the perspective of changes in genre classification? The previous discussion suggests that genre distinctions of music underwent a transition from unclear and ambiguous to clear and distinct around the 1930s in colonial Korea. While the boundary between genres were previously fluid and flexible, we expect changes toward a more fixed and rigid boundary occurred around the 1930s. Therefore Korean music during the 1930s should have experienced interaction and communication among diverse streams and genres, and such interaction and communication should have focused on the trading zone between diverse musical streams, the newly emerged popular music such as *yuhaengga* or *sin minyo*.

## V. DIVISION OF LABOR AND ROLE STRUCTURE

According to Becker, art works should be seen as an outcome of collective creation based on communication and division of labor among many people, rather than a product of an isolated and lonely artist. While artistic conventions such as aesthetics and principles of musical composition and playing are the subject for a musicological study, the division of labor among the participants in music making and the formation of ties among them



based on roles are the subject for sociological study (Faulkner and Anderson, 1987).

The art world varies in how the division of role and labor is arranged among the participants. Some are characterized by complex and detailed divisions such as motion pictures with writers, directors, actors, sound and light engineers, casting directors, and others while some are very simple such as poetry with only the poet. A division of labor in music making also varies among genres. While folk music is relatively simple in that musicians collectively play music traditionally handed down, Western classical music is more complicated with a clear division between composer, arranger, conductor, player, and singer. Sometimes roles appear similar but differ in content among musical genres. In Western classical music, composers are superior to players in status and generally the work of a composer is played repeatedly by many different characters. On the contrary, in popular music, players or singers are highlighted in comparison to composers and it is not common for such songs to be played or sung by different players or singers. These phenomena testify to the fact that division of labor within the art world derives from convention.

How was the division of labor arranged and ties formed in the music industry of colonial Korea around the 1930s? We surmise that traditional music was relatively simple from the fact that despite some division of role among instruments, most of pieces were traditionally handed down. We also expect that Western classical music had a limited division of labor in which a limited number of players played a primarily Western repertoire. On the other hand, many composers, writers, singers, and players of popular music actively worked with division of labor. Although singer-songwriter was not uncommon, a divide between singer and composer was more common. We therefore examine the division of labor and role as an important aspect of formation and development of modern music in colonial Korea.

Another reason for us to focus on division of labor and role in the art world is that formal organizations in the commercial sector such as recording companies were actively involved in arranging the division of labor. DiMaggio emphasized that the investment of money and effort involved in developing a support system for the art world is beyond the capability of a single individual or a group of artists (DiMaggio 1987: 445). Therefore the task of mobilizing

diverse people for creating the necessary support system for certain the art world is entrusted to institutionalized and organized actors covering production and distribution of art such as art dealers in the rise of French impressionism (White and White 1965), British publishers and middle-class women in the creation of novel (Watts 1957), recording companies, radio stations, and organized enthusiasts in the rise of popular music in Jazz (Lopes 2002), country (Peterson 1997), and rock music (Ennis 1992).

As we observed above, the interrelationship and interaction among diverse musical genres in colonial Korea are reflected in the various roles of participants in music-making. For example, numerous composers of popular music took education and training in Western classical music, and some of them Ahn Ki Young or Hong Nan Pa using the acronym of Na So-woon (Kim, C. 2005), wrote popular songs while acting as a renowned composer of classical songs or children's songs. Some singers like Chae Kyu-young received formal education in classical music, but many more singers, especially female singers, came from *kisaeng* (Han, Y. 2007; Kim, J. 2010) with acting or traditional music backgrounds.

The commercial interest of recording companies that organized these musicians with diverse background is assumed to have influenced the stability of working relationships between composers and singers. Shin, E. and Oh, J.'s (2002) study of ties among composers and singers who produced hit songs between 1927 and 1997 showed that most of the composer-singer pairs produced only one hit song. According to them, severe competition, high demand for innovation, and a high level of uncertainty constrained the possibility of sustainable relationships.

What was the relationship among composers and singers around the 1930s? We already know that composers and singers enjoying great popularity were present during the period (Jang, Y. 2004). Popularity of singers and composers, however, is ever-changing, and as a consequence singer-composer ties disconnect and reconnect over time. Ties between singers and composers might remain stable for a certain period, but then shift during the next period. Such vicissitudes in relationship in pursuit of success and popularity are characteristic of the music industry, then as well as now. The emergence of typical patterns of singer-composer ties, at the same time, could be seen as evidence of a stabilizing role structure based on the division of labor in the

world of popular music.

## VI. DATA FROM COLONIAL PERIOD RECORDS

We gathered data for the analysis of dynamics of genres and structure of singer-composer ties using information on phonographic records produced during the colonial period. Records that appeared around 1930s, when modern music expanded and took its shape, played a major role in establishing music. While the role of radio stations was limited due to the strict regulation by the Government General, records functioned as the most effective medium in the distribution of music and recording companies took the role of recruiting new talents, commissioning composers with new songs, planning concerts, and financing such activities. Most data for the previous studies on music in colonial Korea came from records (Chung, Y. 2001; Jang, Y. 2006, 2007), radio programs (Park, Y. 2010), and news articles on concerts. Of these sources, one that contains the most detailed information on the music itself and the people who created and played it are records. Therefore, they have been most frequently used by researchers in literature, history, and musicology.

Phonographs and records are thought to have reached Chosŏn in 1880s and since then researchers roughly divide the history of records into four periods. During the first period from the 1880s to 1910, the year of colonization, phonograph was first introduced and American phonograph companies came to Chosŏn for recording Traditional Korean music. The first voice recording of Korean is known to be in 1896, which was part of an anthropological study of Korean immigrant labor song. The traditional Korean song, *Ch'unhyangga* is said to have been recorded in 1899, but the record is missing. The earliest available recording of Korean music dates back to 1907 from Columbia, and Victor followed in 1908. The second period is from 1910 and 1925, when Japanese records were imported and distributed in large amount and replaced the American. Japanese Phonograph Company (日蓄) enjoyed the privilege of monopoly and started recording Korean music from 1911, publishing more than 500 titles until 1925. Most of the records were traditional music and also included Christian hymn and *chàngga*. Japanese popular songs were

introduced during this period and had huge impact on the newly emerging Korean popular music.

The third period from 1925 to late 1930s was the glory days of the phonograph. Korean labels from Japanese companies such as Il-chuk Chosŏn soriban (日蓄) and *Chaebi pyŏ*-Chosŏn Records were competitively produced. Japanese Victor Records (1929) and Japanese Columbia Records (1928) followed, as well as the first Korean company, albeit a Japanese branch, *OK-chukeum ki sanghoe* (1933), Nippon Polydor *chugŭm ki sanghoe* (1932), Sieron-record and other smaller companies also joined the market. More than 5,000 titles, mostly traditional music and popular music, were produced during this period. During the last period from late 1930s to 1945, music was distributed more on the air through radio broadcast than through records. Although radio broadcasting started in 1927, it was not until the late 1930s that it was widely used and its programs included popular songs as well as traditional and Western classical music.

We collected information on the recorded music during the colonial period from the two sourcebooks on phonograph records, *Han'guk yusŏng ki ũmban chŏngmongok* (Minsokwon 1998) and *Younseongki ũmban chŏngnam charyojip* (Shinnara Records 2000). The unit of observation for this study is the song or music piece recorded. For each song or piece of music, we coded the title, singer, composer, lyricist, accompanist, record company, the year of production, and genre. The final data included 938 singers and 345 composers. Genre classification in the sourcebooks are not consistent and sometimes too detailed, and therefore we reclassified genres following the classification scheme suggested by a previous study (Jang, Y. 2007). Table 1 show the distribution of genres in our final data.

Figure 1 shows a graph of the annual number of record titles by genre. From the first year of 1907 to 1930, most of the record titles are concentrated in traditional music. However, popular songs started to increase rapidly after 1930, exceeding traditional music in 1934, and dominating the market in both production and sales until 1945. Western classical music lagged far behind traditional and popular music in terms of record sales.

Table 1. Distribution of Records in Colonial Korea Music Genres

Genre (large)	Genre (detailed)	Number of titles	Genre (large)	Genre (detailed)	# titles
traditional	<i>jeongga</i>	144	popular	military songs	25
	<i>minsokak</i>	3,576		<i>yuhaengga</i>	3,009
	<i>moosokak</i>	54		<i>sin minyo</i>	662
	Buddhist	36		<i>manyo</i>	139
	traditional instr.	448		jazz-song	153
western classical	songs	315		easy-listening	52
	instrumental	83		soundtrack	65
	<i>ch'angga</i>	39		compilation	20
	children	322		drama	1,273
	hymn	53		others	53
	total	10,525			

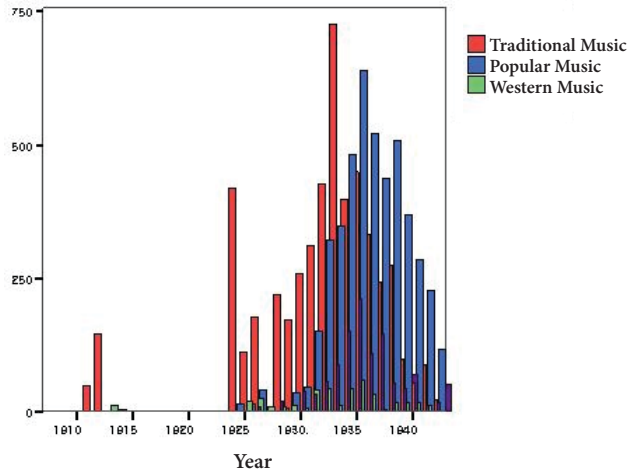


Figure 1. Annual Number of Record Titles by Genre

## VII. RESEARCH METHODS

We conducted Social Network Analysis on the affiliation network data among genres as well as direct ties between composer and singers collected from the sourcebooks on records. Social Network Analysis takes individual persons, organization, or other objects as nodes, and either examines the pattern of relations among them or describes its structural feature with a summary index (Wasserman and Faust, 1995; Kim, Y. 2007). Social Network Analysis is widely used to investigate structural characteristics from empirical data, and its application has been extended to the sociology of arts recently (Nooy, 2003).

Network data can be divided into one-mode and two-mode depending on whether the nodes connected by ties come from the same group or different groups. One-mode network is made of actors or objects belonging to the same group, while two-mode network connects those that are members of different groups. Network among genres and singer-composer network analyzed in this study are both two-mode networks. Although both are similar in the nature of data, we adopt a different approach in analyzing them.

In analyzing a network among genres, we first transform two-mode network of singer (or composer)-genre ties into affiliation networks of genres and then analyzed them. Given that we have  $n$  number of singers or  $k$  number of composers working in  $m$  number of genres, we can represent their relationship as an  $m$  or more rectangular matrices. Each cell in these matrices are given values based on the following rules. If a singer (or composer) participated in recording certain genre of music, the cell at the crossing between the singer (or composer) column and the genre row is given the frequency of the recording made by the singer (or composer) in the genre.

Table 2 is an example of such genre-composer matrix. Hong Nan Pa, a famous composer of classical songs 4), children's songs of classical composed *yuhaengga* (18), and *sin minyo* (3) using the allonym of Na So Woon between 1935 and 1937 under the contract with the Victor record company. Another composer of classical music, Ahn Ki Young, also composed *yuhaengga* (1) and *sin minyo* 1). In contrast, popular music composer, Park Shi Choon, records is concentrated in popular music such as *yuhaengga* and *sin minyo*.

Table 2. An Example of Composer-genre Two-Mode Data\*

	Hong Nan Pa	Ahn Ki Young	Park Shi Choon
classical song	4	9	0
children's song	25	1	0
<i>yuhaengga</i>	18	1	228
<i>sin minyo</i>	3	1	15

\* Numerical values in each cell are from real data.

Let  $X$  represent a rectangular matrix of genre-singer (or composer). If we transpose matrix  $X$  into  $X^t$  and multiply  $X$  and  $X^t$ , we get  $m \times m$  matrix. It is a square matrix composed of only genres for both column and row, and each cell is given the frequency of musician overlap, that is the number of musicians (singer or composer) that recorded both the column and row genre. If two genres A and B are clearly separate and those who play in one genre avoid the other, the cell at the junction of the two genres would be empty. On the contrary, the cell would have large value if the boundary between the two genres are unclear and musicians easily interact and cooperate across the border. In other words, the cell value of genres that are close and share many musicians would be high, while cell value of genres that are distinct and separate would be low. Such reasoning follows from the Lamont and Molnar (2002) that are distinct and separate would be low. Such reasoning follows from the Lamont and Molnar (2002) idea that symbolic classification corresponds to social classification of the art genres. Methodologically, this reasoning is based on the Breiger (1974), which is based on an affiliation network.

Two-mode networks among singers and composers are analyzed as follows. When we have  $n$  number of singers and  $k$  number of composers, we can represent their work relationship as an  $n \times k$  rectangular matrix according to the following rule. If singer A record songs exclusively with composer B and vice versa, then the cell at the junction of singer A and composer B would have the number of music recorded together and the rest of the cells for singer A and composer B would be empty. On the other hand, if singer C recorded songs from several composers, the cells representing C's ties to these composers would be filled with the number of songs C recorded with them. We analyze such direct network between singers and composers

based on their recording co-work experiences without transforming into affiliation network. If a rule of exclusivity operates, we would find singers and composers paired but no connections between the pairs. If not, we would have more complicated and tangled relations.

We drew a sociogram using the affiliation network among genres and two-mode network among singers and composers. A sociogram is a graph representing individual persons or objects as dot and relations among them as line. Researchers use sociograms to find the pattern of relations from the network data.

### VIII. RESULTS

Figure 2 shows results from the analysis of affiliation network among genres based on the participation of singers. In this graph, the connection among genres shows that more than five musicians participated in the recording of both genres. We divided the period before and after 1930, when modern music had taken shape around popular music. In the left-hand side graph depicting before-1930s period, Western classical music such as classical and children's song are connected to popular music and traditional *minsokak* is connected to several popular music genres. It shows that many early popular singers are recruited from Western classical music or traditional *minsokak*. For example, Chae Kyu Oh, one of the most popular male singers in early

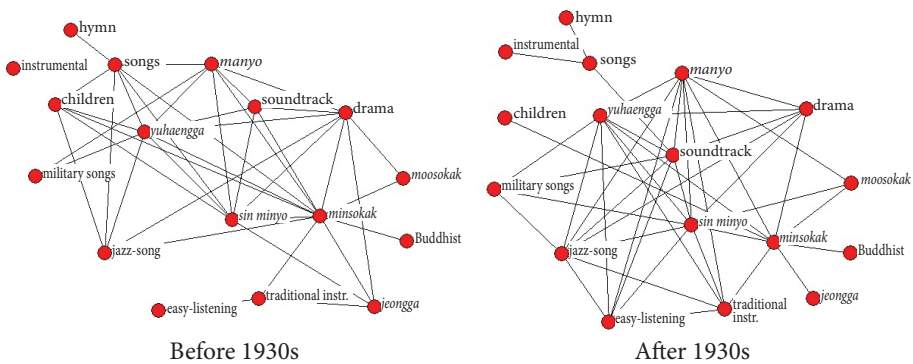


Figure 2. Network Among Genres Based on Singers Affiliation



period, was trained in classical music and once was a music teacher. Early female singers such as Sunwoo Il Sun, Wang Soo Bok, Lee Eun Pa, Lee Wha Ja, Kim Ok Hee were singing *minsokak*.

The right-hand side graph is characterized by a weakening of ties between Western classical music and other musical genres and also between *minsokak* and popular music genres. On the other hand, the connection among sub-genres in popular music became more tight and intricate. This implies the formation and strengthening of boundary among genres in that inter-genre interaction among musicians weakened while intra-genre interaction intensified. We also find that the popular music, the last to appear, established a kind of trading zone between musical genres by building connections with both Western classical and traditional music.

Figure 3 shows results from the analysis of affiliation network among genres based on co-participation of composers. Compared to the previous graph from affiliation network based on singers, the degree of connectivity is low. This is caused by the fact that there are many music genres in which the role of composer is constrained such as traditional instrumental, *chungga*, Buddhist and *musok* that are handed down and also hymn that is translated from the originals. While figure 3 is similar to figure 2 in that popular music occupies the position of a trading zone connecting many other genres, they differ in that ties to popular music are more dense in Western classical music than in traditional music in Figure 3. Several popular music composers were

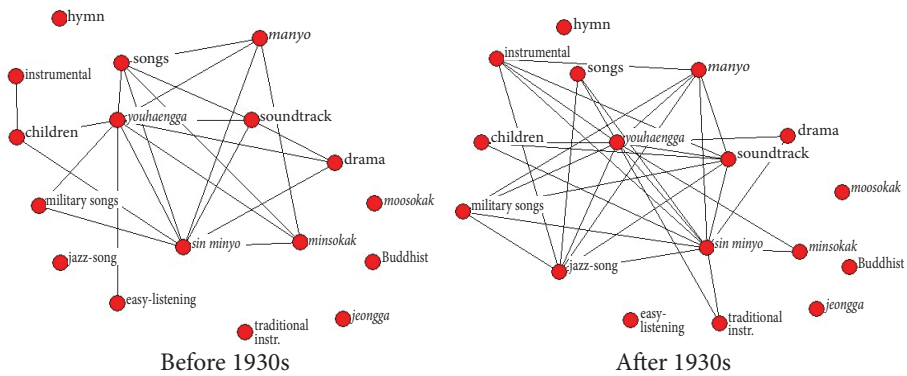
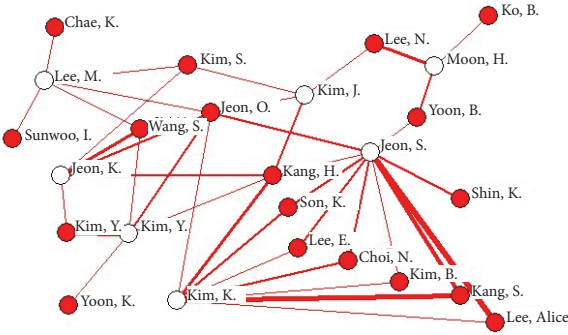
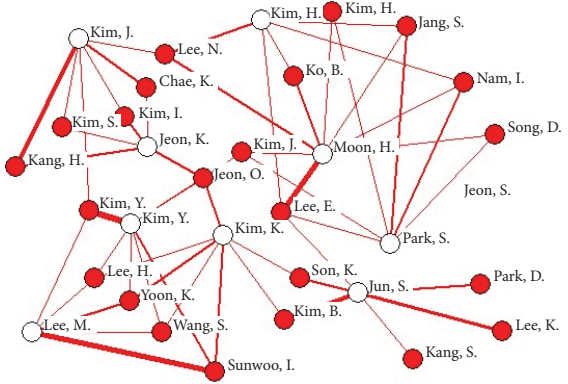


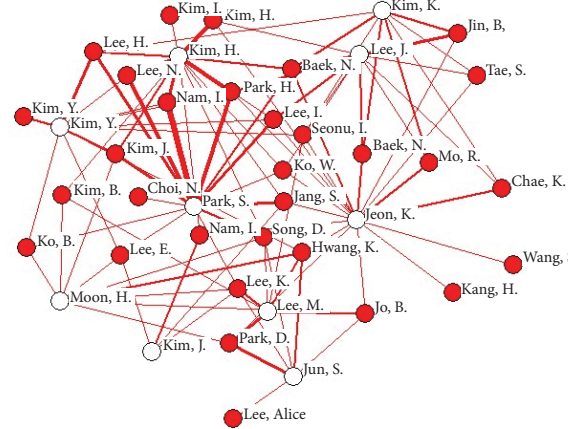
Figure 3. Network among Genres based on Composer's Affiliation



Early 1930s (1930~33)



Mid-1930s (1934~37)



Late 1930s (1938~45)

Figure 4. Changes in Singer-Composer Ties, 1930-1945

trained in Western classical music and furthermore composers such as Hong Nan Pa, and Ahn Ki Young were active in both fields. And yet, the role of composer is relatively limited in traditional music as most musical pieces are inherited rather than created, which explains the low level connections to other genres.

If we compare the two graphs in Figure 3, the most noticeable difference is the increasing density and intricacy of ties among sub-genres of popular music after the 1930s. Central to this cluster of popular music are *yuhaengga* and *sin minyo*, around which jazz song, easy listening, manyo, and military songs shared the identity of popular music and marked the boundary with other genres. Also noticeable is the increasing ties between popular music and Western classical music, which is mainly due to the fact that it was after the heyday of popular music in the mid-1930s that Hong Nan Pa, and Ahn Ki Young actively worked in both genres.

Figure 4 shows the results from the analysis of two-mode network between singers and composers dividing the period between 1930 and 1945 into three sub-periods.

Since singers and composers play different roles and belong to different groups, we distinguish these two groups on the graph by representing singers as red dots and composers as white dots. For graphical presentation, we limit the number of singers to top 50 and composers to top 20. This means that the graph we see is biased toward more stable relations. As our focus is on the stability of ties, we differentiate ties by the frequency of work between singer and composer. The thinnest line represents frequency lower than or equal to 5, the thickest line is higher than 10, and the intermediate line is between 5 and 10.

In the early 1930s, the pairs of Lee Alice (S)-Jun Soo Rin (C), Kang Seok Youn (S)-Kim Kyo Seong (C), Kang Seok Youn (S)-Jun Soo Rin (C) stood out. Alice Lee sang the hit song, “Whang-seoung yet-tuh” by Jun Soo Rin, Kang Seok Youn sang “Namdae-mun t’aryöng” by Jun Soo Rin, and “Nunmul kwa köjit” by Kim Kyo Seong. In the mid-1930s, the pair of Sunwoo Il Sun, the most popular female singers of the time and composer Lee Myoun Sang were equally noteworthy. He wrote their hit song “Kot ül chapko.” Also noteworthy is the pair of famous *sin minyo* composers Moon Ho-weol and Lee Eun Pa who wrote “Kwan seo chulee”, “Ap kang mool hülö hülö”, “Mool lae bang

ah". Among male singers, Kang Hong Shik recorded hit number "Chönyö ch'onggak" written by Kim Joon Young. Ties in the late 1930s center around the composer, Park Shi Choon who wrote "Ae sü üi soyakok"(originally "Noon mool üi haehup"), "Mool bang ah sarang", "Moo jöng chöli" for male singer Nam In Soo and "Bom nal ün kanda" for female singer Lee Nan Young. During the same period, singer Park Hyang Rim and composer Kim Hae Song recoded the hit song, "Oppa nün poonggak-jaengi ya" and singer Jun Soo Rin made "Yöl ilgop sal I yeyo."

Although many popular music hit songs resulted from the close cooperation between singers and composers, it is not easy to find a steady and durable tie that lasted the entire period. On the singer's side, it was difficult to continue career in popular music industry and enjoy lasting popularity. Another noticeable fact is that singer-composer ties become tangled and complicated over time. The sheer density of ties increased significantly through the 1930s and singers and composers alike tended to diversify partners. This increasing instability, diversification, and complexity of ties may reflect the innate uncertainty of the popular music industry (Hirsch 1972; Shin, E. and Oh, J. 2002) but at the same time characterizes the early stage of modern music.

## IX. CONCLUSION

This study examined the formation of modern music in colonial Korea around the 1930s. Music is a concept embracing participants, convention, and related institutions in its production, distribution, and consumption. Conventions of modern music in Korea were basically embedded in elements of traditional music but dominant influences came from the Western classical and Japanese popular music. In terms of musicians, traditional musicians such as *kisaeng* freed from the old legacy actively participated in the modern music along with Western trained composers and singers suggesting interaction between internal tradition and external influence.

In studying the characteristics of modern music in colonial Korea, we focused on the dynamics of genre differentiation. Genre concerns not only the symbolic boundary based on formal elements of style, but also the social

boundary around the range of a musician's musical activity and interaction with fellow musicians. Under the low level of development and differentiation of music, musicians usually expand their range of genres and their boundaries tend to be less clear and rigid. The emergence of clear boundaries among genres implies that musicians have a relatively defined range of activity and pattern of ties connecting genres and musicians. Comparing periods before and after 1930s reveals that the formation of music was full-fledged during the 1930s with a clear definition of genres and concentration of musical interactions within each genre. We can summarize this as the emergence of symbolic and social boundaries among genres during the 1930s.

What implication does the emergence of clear genre boundaries have on the cultural hierarchy among genres? Bourdieu (1992) observed that, in modern society, cultural production is divided into regions of higher and lower prestige and reward. Artists in the dominant region enjoy the control of cultural capital, defining and claiming which art has higher aesthetic value and is worthy of esteem. Did cultural hierarchy among musical genres arise with the differentiation of genres in colonial Korea? Answering this question calls for further study on aesthetic evaluation. Most of studies on popular music in colonial Korea have debated the issue of colonial, modern, and the hybrid nature of popular music. What we need are more studies on the cultural hierarchy of musical genres and cultural and institutional logic behind the hierarchy.

The stability and continuity of ties between composers and singers was another topic investigated here. The principle of dividing and combining roles differs across art worlds. Stability and durability of the ties among role occupants is an important issue concerning the structural characteristics of interaction in the art world. Analyzing the frequency of repeated ties between singer and composer in recording demonstrates that the stability of singer-composer tie was relatively weak in colonial Korean despite some exceptions. The uncertainty involved in making successive hit songs in the rapidly expanding music market during 1930s seems to have hindered the formation of stable and durable ties between composers and singers. What was then the combinatorial logic or principle behind the reshuffling of ties between singers and composers? This question calls for further study on the network dynamics among singers and composers with more background information

on them.

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