

Kwon, Hyun Seok (2014) Cultural globalization and the Korean promotion policy for music based on tradition : a study of the activation plan and its background. PhD Thesis. SOAS, University of London.

<http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/id/eprint/20296>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this PhD Thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This PhD Thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this PhD Thesis, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the PhD Thesis must be given e.g. AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full PhD Thesis title", name of the School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

**Cultural Globalization and the
Korean Promotion Policy for
Music Based on Tradition:
A Study of the Activation Plan
and Its Background**

Hyun Seok Kwon

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2014

Department of Music
SOAS, University of London

Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

I have read and understood regulation 17.9 of the Regulations for students of the SOAS, University of London concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

ABSTRACT

Policy designed to promote traditional arts has arguably been the primary recent activity within the Korean cultural field. The Activation Plan, aimed at traditional arts in the private field, is a notable programme that was conducted between 2006 and 2010. This thesis aims to illuminate why and how the Activation Plan was carried out, by exploring the background to the Activation Plan itself and by looking at case studies of two of its subsidiary projects, the 21st Century Korean Music Project, and the Traditional Arts Star Project. By limiting the consideration of the Activation Plan to its policy to promote ‘popular creative traditional music’, this study examines the historical conditions of popular hybrid music cultures for the Activation Plan and the perceptions of relevant policy makers, these being aspects that are not yet adequately discussed in existing studies about ‘world music’ in the global music industry and in studies about the contemporary Korean genre of *kugak fusion*. In consideration of cultural globalization, this thesis employs a cross-systematic approach that divides cultural practice into four levels of operation – individual, national, cross-national and global – and a cultural identity approach. Therefore, it identifies today’s new aim of cultural policy as the ‘cooperative conservation’ of traditional cultures. Covering the period from the early twentieth century to the present day, this thesis explores how popular music cultures on four levels have been driven by dominant cultural identities. It finds that the Activation Plan was conducted within the post people’s music culture, within a regional, Asian-centred phenomenon now known as the ‘Korean Wave’, and within the global world music culture. Ultimately, the Activation Plan was underpinned by a ‘permissive’ Korean identity which allowed for potential identities at

different levels within music production, and it operated as a policy for the cooperative conservation of traditional music.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I must express my gratitude to my thesis committee. My primary supervisor, Professor Keith Howard, has guided me in the most useful way to complete this thesis. For the last four years he has provided me with invaluable insight into Korean music in its socio-cultural context and with warm encouragement. His support is largely responsible for this work and I really want to thank him for this. My second supervisor, Dr. Nick Gray, has helped me to understand more completely various issues of composing based on traditional music. My third supervisor, Professor Richard Widdess, has always provided generous support as research tutor.

Appreciation is extended to the directors who are involved in the 21st Century Korean Music Project and the Traditional Arts Star Project. They have spared no effort to provide useful materials, and generously gave their time for interview. I acknowledge with deep gratitude GugakFM staff, Yi Yun'gyōng, the head of programme review, Chang Suhong, a producer, and Ch'oe Yui, a former deputy manager; Pak Sūngwōn, a former producer of Loen Entertainment and director of Traditional Arts Star Project; and Universal Music Korea. Thanks are due to many performers and composers. They have offered me scores and photographs (as credited in the thesis), and furthermore during the interviews provided precious academic inspiration to help develop my research. I would like to express many thanks to a great composer, Yang Bang Eon; the Academy of Korean Music, the Hanullim, Ch'ōngbae, The Kwangdae; ProjectGM/Siuroon, Pulsech'ul, Anaya, Easternox, T'ori'S, Pak Chongsōng, AUX, Asia Music Ensemble; MIJI; and Yi Chisu, music director of the Traditional Arts Star

Project. Particular thanks are due to two *changgo* teachers, Chang Chin'gyu, a member of Yongin Traditional Performing Arts Group, and Ch'oe Chŭnghyŏn, a founding member of the international Korean traditional percussion group Dulsori, who enriched my understanding of Korean rhythmic cycles. I would be greatly remiss not to mention Kim Youngdong, a pioneer of *kugak kayo*, and Ryu Hyŏngsŏn, a former music director of the 21C Korean Music Project, who contributed greatly to the development of the people's cultural movement in Korea. Their remarks were invaluable in helping me to understand an important facet of the history of Korean popular music culture.

Finally, I owe a large debt to my family. My two sisters and their families have always given me strength and determination. I really appreciate their constant support. Lastly, I cannot finish this acknowledgement without expressing my indebtedness to my mother. I cannot imagine how much self-sacrifice she has endured to support her son in carrying out this long-term research project. Without her support, this thesis was impossible from the beginning. I dedicate this work to her, with my deepest gratitude.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction	14
Aims and Purposes	15
Popular creative traditional music and the Activation Plan as a music policy	16
Approaches	25
Interview as the main empirical approach	34
Literature Review	36
Overviews	45
CHAPTER TWO: Cultural Globalization, Identity, and Policy	49
Cultural globalization: A theoretical perspective	49
A cross-systematic approach	54
A cultural identity approach	56
Cultural policy	63
Periodization	67
Conclusion	70
CHAPTER THREE: Patriotic Popular Music Culture and <i>Shin Minyo</i>	72
<i>Minyo</i>	
The introduction of Western music	72
1906-1945: Imperialistic music culture within the educational system	76
1920s-1945: Patriotic popular music culture outside the educational system	81
1950s: The formation of American-style popular music culture	90
1960s: The settlement of American-style popular music culture	93
1950s-1960s: The thread of life of <i>shin minyo</i>	95

Conclusion	96
CHAPTER FOUR: The People's Music Culture	99
Korean authoritarian regimes and two cultures amongst young people	99
1970s: The youth <i>t'ong kit'a</i> culture and the identity of youth	100
1970s-1980s: Culture of the people and the identity of the people	106
1970s-1980s: The <i>madang kŭk</i> movement	107
1980s: The <i>norae undong</i> (song movement)	110
1980s: The <i>p'ungmul</i> movement	115
The <i>Han'guk ūmak non</i> (discourse of Korean music)	120
1984: The ' <i>Ppongŭchak</i> ' debate	124
Conclusion	128
CHAPTER FIVE: The Post people's Music Culture	131
1987: The political turning point	132
1987-: The music culture of citizens	133
2002-: Kim Soochul and his 'Guitar <i>sanjo</i> '	140
1987-: <i>Samullori</i> groups of the second generation	147
1999-: Yang Bang Eon	167
1992-: The <i>shin sedae tamnon</i> (discourse of a new generation)	177
1998-: The cross-national Asian-centred culture of 'Korean Wave'	179
Global 'world music' culture, pop culture, parodies of 'Gangnam Style' and discourse of world music	184
Conclusion	206

CHAPTER SIX: The 21C Korean Music Project and the Traditional Arts Star Project	209
Vision 2010: The Activation plan for traditional arts	209
The national level: The Post people's culture	212
The regional: the Asian-centred 'Korean Wave'	220
The global: the global world music culture	226
21C Korean Music Project	227
Traditional Arts Star Project	252
Conclusion	268
CHAPTER SEVEN: The Cultural Identities of Young Musicians	271
ProjectGM/Siuroon (KMP 21, 2007)	271
Pulsech'ul (KMP 21, 2007)	277
Anaya (KMP 21, 2008)	281
Easternox (KMP 21, 2008)	286
Tori'S (KMP 21, 2009)	289
Pak Chongsöng (KMP 21, 2009)	296
AUX (KMP 21, 2010)	300
AME (KMP 21, 2010)	304
Yi Chisu (TASP, 2008-2010)	310
Conclusion	315
CHAPTER EIGHT: Conclusion	317
<i>References</i>	325
<i>Selected Discography</i>	361
<i>Glossary</i>	363

List of Tables

2.1 Periodization	70
5.1 ‘ <i>Uttari kut</i> ’ from ‘ <i>Kil kunak ch’il ch’ae</i> ’ to ‘ <i>Chajin karak</i> ’	160
5.2 Radio Programmes on World Music (1998-2003)	203
6.1 Specific undertakings by policy tasks:	211
Five policy tasks and twenty-seven specific undertakings	
6.2 Background information on finalists and pieces for the 2010 KMP 21	247
6.3 Prizes of KMP 21 (2007-2010)	252
6.4 Background information of pieces of music on the album, <i>The Challenge</i>	266

List of Figures

2.1	Conceptual diagram of the identity of post-1987 citizens	63
5.1	Front cover of Sagye's first album, <i>Sagye</i> (2001)	138
5.2	Front cover of <i>Guitar Sanjo</i> (2002)	146
5.3	The Academy's 30th Anniversary SamulNori Performance (2008), playing 'pinari'	157
5.4	The Hanullim's weekly regular concert 'P'an'	157
5.5	Ch'ongbae Yönhuidan performing 'One' (2010)	158
5.6	Plate spinning in The Kwangdae's musical (2010)	158
5.7	Yang Bang Eon	172
5.8	Yang Bang Eon performing a piano with an orchestra and a band	175
5.9	Scenes from 'Gangnam Style' Music Video	188
5.10	Scenes from 'London Style', a parody of 'Gangnam Style'	191
6.1	Announcement by former Minister Kim Myönggon of the Activation Plan	209
6.2	Public announcement for the 2010 KMP 21	228
6.3	A workshop for the finalists of the 2010 KMP 21	228
6.4	The main hall of the National Gugak Center on the day of the 2010 KMP 21	229
6.5	A signal locating in front of the GugakFM building in Seoul	230
6.6	Front covers of KMP 21 CDs (from left to right, 2007-2010)	245
6.7	The title and beginning of an article about MIJI in the <i>Joongang Daily</i> (2010)	264
7.1	ProjectGM/Siuroon (2007)	272
7.2	Pulsech'ul (2007)	278
7.3	Anaya (2008)	282
7.4	Easternox (2008)	286
7.5	Tori'S (2009)	290
7.6	Pak Chongsöng (left; 2009)	296
7.7	AUX (2010)	301
7.8	AME (2010)	305
7.9	Yi Chisu	311

List of Notations

7.1	Siuroon, ‘Living with the Wind’ (2007): <i>sogŭm</i> melody	276
7.2	Siuroon, ‘Living with the Wind’ (2007): the ‘ <i>Kyemyŏn karak todŭri</i> ’ melody	277
7.3	Pulsech’ul, ‘City of <i>P’ungnyu</i> ’ (2007): measures 65-68	281
7.4	Tori’S, ‘ <i>Abureisuna</i> ’ (2009): introduction	294
7.5	Tori’S, ‘ <i>Abureisuna</i> ’ (2009): the ‘ <i>tumso-</i> ’ arpeggios	295
7.6	AME, ‘Mirage of the Steppe’ (2010): the ‘ <i>Kyŏngbokkung t’aryŏng</i> ’ melody	308
7.7	Yi Chisu, ‘K·new’ (2008): introduction	313
7.8	Yi Chisu, ‘K·new’ (2008): measures 28-35	314

CD Contents

- 1 ProjectGM/Siuroon, 'Living with the Wind' (6'15'') (Universal DU7365).
© ProjectGM/Siuroon. Used with permission.
- 2 Pulsech'ul, 'City of *P'ungnyu*' (4'46'') (Universal DU7365).
© Pulsech'ul. Used with permission.
- 3 Anaya, '*Tabungne*/Little Poor Girl Story' (4'12'') (Universal DU7389).
© Anaya. Used with permission.
- 4 Easternox, '*Hanja Honja*' (4'48'') (Universal DU7389).
© Easternox. Used with permission.
- 5 Tori'S, '*Abureisuna*' (4'03'') (Universal DU8506).
© Tori'S. Used with permission.
- 6 Pak Chongsöng, '*Sanjo* for Harmonica – Open' (6'00'') (Universal DU8506).
© Pak Chongsöng. Used with permission.
- 7 AUX, 'P'umba' (4'24'') (Universal DU8574).
© AUX. Used with permission.
- 8 AME (Asian Music Ensemble), 'Mirage of the Steppe' (6'44'') (Universal 8574).
© AME. Used with permission.
- 9 Yi Chisu, 'K·new' (3'35'') (L-100003976).
© Yi Chisu. Used with permission.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

In today's musical scene, it is common to create music that contains elements from one's own tradition but that also incorporates music from another. Indeed, since 1987, when the term 'world music' was coined for the global music market (Sweeney 1991: ix), this phenomenon has been observed more and more in the field of popular music. From 1987 on, with media and sometimes the support of governments, various sub-genres of popular music that attempt to combine different elements have been produced and diffused through recording media and live performance, all under the category of 'world music'.

The music scene in South Korea (hereafter, Korea) is no exception, although it is in a sense a special case. First of all, if the category of world music is expanded to include all types of multi-rooted music created for public consumption, then it would include *kugak fusion* (*p'yujŏn*), a contemporary genre that includes re-arranged traditional and new originally created music, which is popular in Korea.¹ Furthermore, government institutions provide various forms of support to encourage the consumption of *kugak* (Korean traditional music) among the public. In most cases, this support has taken the form of sponsorship for concerts, contests and festivals on a local or national scale, or financial support for musicians to develop projects or make recordings. This support has created opportunities for the producers of popular forms of *ch'angjak kugak* (creative traditional music), new music based on the old designed for an elite audience, and this genre has received significantly more sponsorship in recent decades than it

¹ *Kugak* literally means 'national music', and is used to refer to Korean traditional music.

ever did previously. In recent years, opportunities have in particular been made available through a plan, the *Chǒnt'ong yesul hwalsǒnghwa pang'an – pijyǒn 2010* (Activation Plan for Traditional Arts – Vision 2010; hereafter, Activation Plan), a programme inaugurated in September 2006. This programme was administered by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (hereafter, the Ministry of Culture) until 2010.² The Activation Plan included projects to encourage the production of creative traditional music designed for public promotion. This thesis aims to illuminate why and how the Activation Plan was executed, based on case studies of two of its subsidiary projects: a contest and festival, the *21 segi han'guk ūmak p'ūrojekt'ū* (21st Century Korean Music Project; hereafter, KMP 21), and the *Chǒnt'ong yesul sūt'a p'ūrojekt'ū* (Traditional Arts Star Project; hereafter, TASP) which created a performance group employing traditional instruments.

Aims and purposes

This research aims to illuminate the historical context of Korean contemporary music's cultural background – which I will delineate as popular 'hybrid' music cultures on three levels – pertaining to the enforcement of the Activation Plan. I will examine the processes by which popular hybrid music cultures have emerged in pursuit of dominant cultural identities, particularly looking at the stage where these affected the Activation Plan. Through this, I attempt to provide a better understanding of the emergent background of Korea's cultural policy to promote traditional music to the public and

2 In 2008, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism became the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, assimilating parts of two additional organizations, the *Kukchǒng hongbo chǒ* (Government Information Agency) coming from the *Kongbo chǒ* (Public Information Agency) and the *Chǒngbo t'ongshin bu* (Ministry of Information and Communication) – other parts went in a different direction to become part of the *Chishik kyǒngje bu* (Ministry of the Knowledge Economy). Throughout the thesis, I tend to refer simply to 'Ministry of Culture'.

the contemporary history of Korea's popular cultures. Thus, I hope that this research will lay the foundations for a more elaborate version in the field of ethnomusicology, Korean studies, cultural policy and cultural studies.

Popular creative traditional music and the Activation Plan as a music policy

My research aim requires me to explore two areas. The first is the way the Activation Plan operates as a promotion policy for traditional arts and music. The promotion policy has arguably formed Korea's primary cultural policy for traditional arts and music in the second half of the twentieth century, coupled to policies directed at preserving the arts and music that have been inherited from earlier times. However, these policies cannot be discussed without mentioning the Ministry of Culture, which has carried out comprehensive administrative tasks to support culture and the arts, substantially through sub-national organizations. In respect to traditional arts and music, these tasks can be divided into preservation and promotion. Specifically, the *Munhwajae ch'ōng* (Cultural Heritage Administration), an organization established under a revision of the *Munhwajae pohobōp* (Cultural Properties Preservation Law, first promulgated in 1962), has been responsible for preservation. Formerly within the Ministry, it was moved to sit outside it in 1998. On the other hand, two sub-organizations and a specialist foundation have been in charge of promotion. The former are the Kungnip Kugakwōn (National Gugak Center) and the Kungnip Kūkchang (National Theatre of Korea), both located in Seoul, which have played a key role as the central performing arts institutions for Korea since the 1950s (though forerunners of the National Gugak Center date back to much earlier times). The

National Gugak Center has five satellite campuses designed to promote traditional arts and music, three in Namwŏn (North Chŏlla Province), Chindo (South Chŏlla Province), and Pusan city, being fully operational. At the same time, *kugak*-related orchestras or groups administered at the metropolitan, regional or county level have played a practical role in promoting *kugak*-related music in their relevant regions. Promotion activities have in recent years also been taken up by the Chŏnt'ong Yesul Chinhŭng Chaedan (Korean Traditional Performing Arts Foundation), which was established in 2006. This foundation was set up as part of the Activation Plan; it is important to note that it is a distinctly recent phenomenon.

Given this longstanding performance and promotion framework, it is useful to enquire about the background against which the Activation Plan emerged. The answer to this question, though, differs depending on whether political-economic or socio-cultural approaches are taken to understanding the plan. Under the first approach, the Activation Plan can be seen as a product of the domestic political sector, which goes some way towards revealing the relevance of the plan to the government. During the Roh Moo-Hyun government (2003–2008), a traditional arts promotion policy was intended to provide active support. The intention was practised through the *Chŏnt'ong yesul t'im* (Traditional Arts Team) in the Arts Bureau, which was established in September 2006, and through the Activation Plan. The plan itself was designed as part of an overarching and comprehensive cultural plan that focused on social welfare, the *Hamgge hanŭn hŭimang han'guk pijyŏn 2030* (Sharing Korea of Hope – Vision 2030), which was announced by the Ministry in August of the same year.

However, by taking an alternative approach, the Activation Plan can be understood beyond its implications within the domestic political scene, and taken as a cultural plan. In this way, it becomes possible to explore the cultural background to the plan and the identity of the relevant cultural producers, such as music directors, musicians, and those who drafted the plan. In this thesis, I approach the Activation Plan from a music policy perspective, because this helps to explore its background in respect to the creation and promotion of music, as will be demonstrated later. Further, it is important to understand popular Korean music cultures in the context of them being underpinned by ‘Korean’ identities. My analysis of the two case studies, KMP 21 and TASP, will be based on this understanding.

The second area that my research aim requires me to explore, because it received substantial support from both KMP 21 and TASP, is what I call ‘popular creative traditional music’. First, I should clarify what I mean by this gloss on a Korean term. In order to answer to this question, I first need to specify that popular creative traditional music is one type of the contemporary genre *kugak fusion*.³ *Kugak fusion* has in recent years often been a subject of interest to ethnomusicologists in the field of Korean music. Hilary Finchum-Sung refers to it as ‘fusion music’, which ‘combines *kugak* sounds with those of Western music’ (Finchum-Sung 2000: 81). She takes the combination of folk music with jazz as a representative example. Anderson Sutton characterizes it mainly from two aspects – the instruments used and the musical activity, in consideration of the mixed music shown after the song genre *kugak kayo* and the wide range of musical components (Sutton 2009: 28-29). Specifically, for most

3 It could be argued that creative music in *kugak fusion* ought to be titled popular creative traditional music, in that individual composers with an awareness of composition have now begun to form it.

kugak fusion, ‘standard instrumentation of either Western-derived international popular music or jazz’ is arranged (ibid.: 28). In terms of musical activity, musicians can be divided into three categories: those who ‘base their music making on hybrid mixes’ (ibid.); those who ‘create their mixes through collaboration’ (ibid.), such as the percussionist Kim Duk Soo and the Red Sun group combining jazz and Korean percussion; and those who ‘still simply arrange foreign music for Korean instruments’ (ibid.), as in *kayagum* ensembles, such as the *Sagye* quartet of zithers and the Sookmyung Gayagum Orchestra.

At the same time, in her discussion of all pieces that followed *kugak kayo*, Hee-Sun Kim illuminates the meaning of *kugak fusion* in contrast to what she calls, ‘popular *kugak*,’ such as *kugak kayo*; the two terms are used in her article for the purpose of her research (forthcoming). In terms of its musical elements, Kim claims that *kugak fusion* incorporates ‘traditional popular musical idioms and western art musical repertoire,’ while at the same time non-western foreign musical elements are drawn on. Moreover, she tells us that popular *kugak* ‘has adapted popular musical elements’ (ibid.), with the former aspect being more typical of younger generations of *kugak fusion* musicians.

On the other hand, Keith Howard takes a different view, and notes that *kugak fusion* is ‘music performed by a young generation,’ such as the Sookmyung Gayagum Orchestra, Lim, Musicore, Vinalog, IS (Infinity of Sound), and Sorea. He, therefore, maintains that it is a mix of ‘Korean and Korean’ and not of ‘Korean and foreign’ – different from the case of world music found in the music industry, although it was not his intention to give the genre such a title (Howard 2010: 195). Specifically, Howard

defines *kugak fusion* as a current genre of music, which ‘appropriates, for Korean musical consumption, elements of Western music styles present in Korea, be they jazz, classical, or pop, coupling these to elements of *kugak*’. This does not include Kim Yong Woo’s pieces, which he sees as updated Korean songs and possibly a good example for Korean vocalists (Howard 1999: 151), nor Kim Soochul’s works, such as his ‘Guitar *sanjo*’, which Howard classifies as creative traditional music.⁴

These definitions of *kugak fusion* have one significant similarity: they include both creative music and rearranged music within the category of *kugak fusion*, while displaying to some extent differences in the range of music and musical components included. Finchum-Sung focuses on the combination of folk music and jazz, whilst others include music produced after *kugak kayo*, though Howard presents a different rubric. In addition, regarding musical components, Finchum-sung and Howard’s research concentrates on ‘Western’ musical elements, whereas others also consider non-Korean elements.

I also share a view common to the existing studies: that the *kugak fusion* produced up to the present day can include creative music and rearranged music. However, further discussion about the intentions of composers working on popular creative traditional music is necessary. These can be further divided into four intentions relating to listeners, creation, instrumentation, and the potential piece of music as the outcome.

4 As shown below, creative traditional music refers to music usually enjoyed in academic circles. Yet in Howard’s research, Kim Soochul’s music falls into this category. It can be argued that although his music is rarely enjoyed in academic circles, the composer himself classifies it as such, in that his music has ‘creativity’. It has therefore been one of the significant subject matters for academic discussion (Howard 2002: 951-974; 2009: 45-71; Eun-Young Jung 2011).

The first three can be understood more clearly through comparison with *ch'angjak kugak* (creative traditional music), that is to say, music for the elite. The term creative traditional music came to be used instead of *shin kugak* (new traditional music) after the introduction of the *Han'guk ūmak ch'angjak palp'yohoe* (Korean Music Composition Competition) (Song Pangsong 2007: 723-724), which was held by the National Gugak Center from 1974 to 2003. The first difference is that popular creative traditional music is, ultimately, for the public, and thus differs from creative traditional music in terms of the listeners, or its intended audience (Sutton 2003: 231). This can be grasped effectively through interviews with the musicians and composers concerned. Similar to Western art music, creative traditional music, is usually composed in academic circles, and has been intended to be appreciated by the elite, rather than by the public in Korea (Lee, So-Young [Yi Soyŏng] 2003: 194; Gyewon Byeon 2007: 181). Yet, it is seen that composers of popular creative traditional music take popularity into account. For instance, KMP 21, through which annual four albums were released between 2007 and 2010, states that one of its main aims was 'to popularize traditional music'.⁵ Similarly, the target listener for the album produced under TASP, *The Challenge*, is stated to be teenagers.⁶

Second, *kugak fusion* can be further related to the composers' intention in terms of

5 GugakFM, 2009, January. *2009 kugak ch'angjagok kaebal kyehoek(an)* [2009 development plan for newly-composed Korean traditional music]. Unpublished internal document. Although this plan is for 2009, I use it as a main source to grasp the content of the projects carried out up to 2010, because the project itself showed no significant changes between 2007 and 2010. In addition, as discussed in chapter six, KMP 21 is based on a notion of the public who consists of individuals having various musical tastes, beyond those having preference for so-called easy listening music distributed through media.

6 Loen Entertainment, October 2007, *Chŏnt'ong yesul tijit'al k'ont'ench'ŭ chejak kwallyŏn – Chŏnt'ong yesul sŭt'a p'ŭrojekt'ŭ kyehoek* [Traditional Arts Digital Contents Production – Plan of Traditional Arts Star Project]. Unpublished internal document.

creation. Relevant composers have an intention to create, based on the concept of composition, as in creative traditional music for elites. This concept derived from Western music (Gyewon Byeon 2001; Killick 1990, 1991; Howard 2002, 2006b), and ultimately evidences how creative traditional and popular music have been influenced by Western music. Specifically, when dividing pre-1990's creative traditional music into three stages (Gyewon Byeon 2001, 2007; Howard 2002, 2006b), it is clear various western musical elements were introduced at these stages. For example, Western staff notation was used along with various musical signs (that is, tempo and time), functional chords, orchestration of traditional string instruments arranged in consideration of Western equivalents,⁷ and the format of three or four movements as a concerto for a solo instrument.

Regarding popular creative traditional music, staff notation and functional harmony have been used in a similar, but popular, way. During the initial stage in which the first genre, *kugak kayo*, emerged, staff notation and functional chords were not used extensively, either in the context of the genre or in its historical context. Yet in the case of several recent pieces associated with KMP 21 and TASP, a tendency has been for such elements to be actively adopted. As seen later, applicants are required to submit staff notation as well as a demo CD for the KMP 21 contest. In the case of the first album, *The Challenge*, by MIJI, of TASP for teenagers, one can find a Western music style, but systematic orchestration in the first piece, 'K·new', composed by Yi Chisu.

A more important influence of Western music, however, may lie in the emergence of

⁷ The bowed *ajaeng* zither has been placed in a role as bass, the six-stringed *kōmun'go* zither, as cello, *kayagŭm*, as viola (Howard 2002: 954).

individual composers or, to be more exact, their awareness of composition. Creative traditional music that is expected to be performed in a concert hall can be compared to Western art music in terms of ‘seriousness’ (Sutton 2003: 230). However, one may discover similar seriousness in recent creative pieces concerned with the two projects, although the music is still recognized as being for the public. For instance, young composers participate in KMP 21 with a clear awareness of composition, as it invites unpublished creative pieces. Regarding TASP, Yi Chisu has composed seven pieces for the first album, MIJI, while working as the music producer.

The third key criterion to differentiate *ch’angjak kugak* and popular *ch’angjak kugak* is the type of instruments used. While significant traditional musical elements – modes, harmony, rhythm, and ornaments – have been used extensively in creative traditional music for the elite, the repertory has put great emphasis on traditional ‘Korean instruments’ and voices, even though Western oriented-instruments and/or voices have sometimes been used (Gyewon Byeon 2007: 181). Gyewon Byeon considers creative traditional music to be ‘newly composed contemporary compositions for traditional ‘Korean instruments’ (2001: 2), and Hyun-Kyung Chae refers to creative traditional music as a genre of music which ‘has come to refer to composition for traditional instruments’ (1996: 46). Nevertheless, while popular creative traditional music employs primarily traditional musical elements, its repertory has not concentrated on traditional instruments, as will be discussed later. Rather, various instruments and/or vocal styles originating in other cultures of the world have also been regarded as important. Specifically, one can note that jazz instruments such as saxophone and bass guitar are given great weight as accompaniment instruments in many pieces produced

in Kim Duk Soo's collaboration with Red Sun, a German jazz group; keyboards and piano are used for accompaniment, particularly in Kim Yong Woo's '*Arirang yŏn'gok/Arirang Suite*'; Mongolian *morin huur* features in Yang Bangeon's 'Faraway Thought', while at the same time electric guitar is used as the main instrument in Kim Soochŏl's 'Guitar *sanjo*'.

Fourth, and interestingly, composers of popular creative traditional music do not necessarily intend to create 'fusion' as a type of music. Literally, it is naturally expected to be a third type of music in which Western and Korean traditional elements are combined in a new way. This is because of awareness of the successful case of 'fusion' as a sub-genre in jazz. Originally, this derived from the late 1960s 'jazz-rock,' in which jazz techniques and rock were combined in a popular way on electronic guitar and drums. It is generally claimed that it emerged for the first time in the albums of famous trumpeter Miles Davis (1926-1991), '*In a Silent Way*' and '*Bitches Brew*', both from 1969 (Coryell and Friedman 2000; 8; Gioia 1998: 306). Since the mid-1970s, jazz-rock has split into a number of smaller sub-genres such as jazz-soul, jazz-pop, and jazz-folk music, as jazz has been combined with other kinds of music. However, closer examination of the Korean case suggests that the 'fusion' in *kugak fusion* is not necessarily intended to be a 'fusion' as recognized by Western musicologists.⁸ 'Fusion' is a term in fashion. While the term 'fusion' has been adopted in a popular way in various cultural sectors, including fashion (for example, '*p'yujŏn hanbok*', updated Korean traditional clothes), cuisine, and music (that is, *kugak fusion*), it has not necessarily accompanied any intent to merge different soundworlds, and to generate an

⁸ In the sense of a mixture of 'Korean and Korean,' 'fusion' in *kugak fusion* is often written in italics (Howard 2010).

unprecedented type of music.

Bearing these four intentions in mind, and for a broader understanding of *kugak fusion* and popular creative traditional music, it may be necessary to include as many musical elements as possible as study-objects, encompassing all music emerging after *kugak kayo*. Hence, considering *kugak fusion* as a contemporary genre of music, including creative and re-arranged music, I refer to popular creative traditional music as one type of *kugak fusion*, which relevant composers have composed, using a combination of non-Korean and traditional Korean musical elements, not necessarily with any intention to make ‘fusion’ as a third music. Moreover, it is a genre aimed at the public rather than any elites. Putting all this together, I limit the scope of the Activation Plan to Korea’s music policy to promote popular creative traditional music.

Approaches

In order to illuminate the historical background of the enforcement of the Activation Plan, and that of its subsidiary plans KMP 21 and TASP, my research adopts two approaches. The first is theoretical. Specifically, my research looks at the phenomenon of globalization, and divides it into national, cross-national, and global levels.⁹ Globalization is an important keyword which provides an explanation of how today’s world operates. It tends to operate at the meta-level, and is often discussed from an interdisciplinary perspective. From a broad perspective, globalization implies the broadening of social networks as a historical process. Thus, Giddens defines globalization as ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant

⁹ ‘Cross-national’ refers to larger areas in the international context which include many different countries, for instance, Europe, Asia, and Americas.

localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens 1990: 64). While seeing it as a kind of a historical 'system' – the process occurring in what he calls the 'modern world-system', Immanuel Wallerstein explains globalization as 'a reconfiguration of the world-economy that has only recently come into existence, in which the pressures on all governments to open their frontiers to the free movement of goods and capital is unusually strong' (2006: 93). Appadurai (1990) discusses globalization within 'the global cultural economy' as a series of five '-scapes': 'ethnoscapes', 'mediascapes', 'technoscapes', 'finanscapes', and 'ideoscapes'.¹⁰ Bayliss, Smith and Owens, in *The Globalization of World Politics*, define globalization, particularly in respect to power, as 'a historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents' (2011: 565). On the other hand, globalization can be approached in different ways to these. As discussed later, by concentrating on the post-colonial cultural legacy, it is claimed that cultural globalization is often 'westernization', a recent historical process, through which Western imperialism in the late nineteenth century has ultimately operated as a dominant ideological principle. On the other hand, paying attention to the relevance of space, some studies view globalization as deterritorialization, after Appadurai's term (1990: 301). Deterritorialization refers to a process in which the territory – politically, the border – has lost its control over its components – individuals, groups or culture. As expected, this is facilitated by technological revolution.

¹⁰ With this, culture is intertwined with music, which, as Slobin argues, is 'created by ever-evolving technologies, transmitted by media, marketed through high and low finance, and expressive of private and public ideoscapes of autonomy and control for shifting populations' (1993: 16).

Globalization, then, has two contrasting faces. The first is integration into a single global society, usually seen in terms of economic integration. Oman defines globalization as ‘accelerated movement across national and regional barrier of economic “goods” i.e. people, products, capital, especially intangible forms of capital (technology, control of assets)’ (Oman 1994: 56). However, the second face contests this and can easily be observed in movements for the preservation of cultural properties through legislation, as in China (2011), Korea (1964), Japan (1950), Vietnam (2001), and so on. In these, globalization becomes ‘the reason for the revival of local cultural identities in different parts of the world’ (Giddens 2000: 31). In turning our attention to cultural globalization, as I will discuss in Chapter 2, we can also observe that the two faces appear as homogenization and heterogenization.

The two ultimately appear on several levels. Slobin assumes that music has what he calls visibility, ‘the quality of being known to an audience’, and identifies three levels; the ‘local’ (a particular small area, for instance, a town or valley), the ‘region’ (a larger area than local, which is somewhat flexible) and the ‘transregional’. A region can range from a region such as Scandinavia, an area which shares an interest in music rooted in, for instance, polska, to a region as large as Europe, which has the European Song Contest,¹¹ and to connections between a country and its diasporas. ‘Transregional’ goes beyond regions, and could substitute for the global, as in the case of European art music and opera or, as Slobin tells us, the Bulgarian State Radio Women’s Chorus (Slobin 1993: 17). As I will discuss in Chapter 2, the Activation Plan requires me to apply four levels of slightly different scope to their popular music-cultural conditions,

11 For celebrations and discussions of the song contest, see Raykoff and Tobin (2007), Fricker and Gluhovic (2013), Tragaki (2013), Bohlman (2012).

in order to understand the relations between the individual and the musical products of cultural producers (the plan's drafters, the project organizers, and musicians), between the national (Korean) cultures of popular creative traditional music, between the cross-national and the Asian-centred Korean Wave, and those between the global and the genre of 'world music'. That is, in my research, the national is an area larger than the local, and the cross-national is larger than individual nations.

Given this, how specifically can we view popular music cultures on four levels? First of all, culture could easily become a buzzword, due to its complexity; it has been all-encompassing since Tyler defined it as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capacities or habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tyler 1871: 1:1). A broader view, though, would define culture as a process and a product (Hebdige 1979: 5), that is, a thing that constructs and a thing that is given. In actuality, these two are not inseparable: a product stems from a process and vice versa. Yet, for my research, I will view culture as a process, a thing that constructs, in consideration of cultural globalization as a historical process, in a way in which the individual, national, cross-national, and global interact to emerge as a new hybrid popular music culture.

Also, culture is a kind of system, which operates through cultural identity – as discussed later, a sense of a cultural community – shared amongst cultural producers within it. Cultural producers here mean producers, for instance, marketers and musicians, who participate in making a certain cultural product. This cultural identity sometimes generates a certain perspective. And it ultimately forms the order,

hierarchical or equal, between producers within a culture. In short, culture is a procedural system in which a common cultural identity operates as a motive force. As shown later, in Korea, for instance, the 1970s *minjung munhwa* (culture of the people), can be said to have been driven by the identity of the oppressed shared amongst college students and intellectuals.

Music plays a pivotal role as a dynamic component of culture in its function of reproducing the cultural identity shared amongst cultural producers. In this sense, culture can be represented by music culture.¹² Music always has deep association with cultural identity in two regards. First, music reflects the identity of a musician (Rice 2007: 27; Stokes 1997: 24) or other relevant producers. In this sense, it can be said that cultural identity can operate, ultimately, as the factor determining individual musical works. In this way, individuals obviously contribute to cultural globalization, ultimately through forming cultures, while playing a role as human agents for cultural globalization (Hopper 2007: 185). Second, however, music can also affect identity, usually reproducing it. That is, a musician (also) needs music as a mechanism through which to maintain his or her cultural identity.

This perception has long been explored in ethnomusicology. Bruno Nettl gives three approaches (Nettl 2006: 217). The first is in its cultural context, which is adopted by musicology, the second ‘in culture’, an approach used in historical and ethnographical research, and the third ‘as culture’, coming from anthropology. The third was emphasized by Alan Merriam, who in 1960, defined ethnomusicology as ‘the study of

¹² Putting weight on this cultural function of music, I use this term in which relevant music and cultures are equalized.

music in culture' (Merriam 1960: 109), referring to it his approach as the 'anthropology of music' (Merriam 1964), and later as 'the study of music as culture' (Merriam 1977: 204). Based on his study of the Suya, Anthony Seeger particularly emphasizes the activity of music towards culture – the ability of music to direct culture – naming his approach 'musical anthropology' (Seeger 2004). He states that a musical anthropology is 'a study of society from the perspective of musical performance, rather than simply the application of anthropological methods and concerns to music' (ibid.: xiii). A musical anthropology first adopts a constructivist assumption, rather than an essentialist one, where the social/cultural conditions for music have already been given. From this position, musical anthropology aims to clarify 'aspects of social life as musical and as created and re-created through performance' (ibid.: xiv) and moves beyond the main point addressed through the passive position that music reflects part of society or culture. In summary, my discussion of popular hybrid cultures in the following chapters will be based on the assumption that music is a product of culture and at the same time a medium for maintaining culture within a society, in the case of the people's culture, through the recreation of a cultural identity shared by the people.

The people's music culture can be seen in the same way: as a historical process that takes place amongst the people or as a hybrid culture in which different cultures shared amongst the people on many levels interplay. It is a process that is motivated by the identity of the people, while at the same time being reproduced through popular music. It is, in effect, a sub-culture. This reinforces its procedural aspect, because a sub-culture usually emerges as a counter-culture against a political regime or as an alternative to a mainstream culture. In Korea, for instance, popular culture originated

from the cultural movement of the people, the *minjung munhwa undong* of the 1970s. I use the people's music within a frame of 'popular music' in a broad sense, to refer to music that differs from art music in terms of its relevance to the mass populace and to the mass media that diffuses and selects it (Manuel 1988: 2-3). However, the popular music I research does not necessarily involve the 'star system', which has in recent decades been influential in defining Korean popular taste, but it contributes to the formation of cultural identity shared by the people. So, as shown specifically in later chapters, the culture of popular creative traditional music refers to a historical process or a hybrid culture; a process operated by various types of Korean identity; and a sub-culture, which generates sub-genres of popular creative traditional music and which this music in turn maintains.

Here, the question naturally arises as to how we see music policy in respect to globalization. As mentioned above, when understanding music policy as a product of music cultures on four levels, it can be said that this is, in a broad sense, a product of the policy makers' perception of given cultural conditions. When considering that cultural identity is one of the important elements that frames this perception, it can be seen that cultural policy arises at the intersection between cultural identities shared by policy makers, and given cultural conditions. Policy makers here include policy drafters (governmental officers or administrators), artistic managers (subsidiary project directors) in the cultural industries, artists, musicians, and related cultural institutions (Pak Kwangmu 2010: 103-104). Policy makers are often divided in terms of their interests and motives into drafters and creators, yet to an extent they may share a certain view. For this research, paying attention to the latter, I intend to grasp the

cultural identities common to relevant policy makers – drafters, music directors for KMP 21 and TASP, and young musicians. Thus, I subdivide my central research question of why the Activation Plan was carried out into two sub-questions. Under what conditions of popular hybrid music cultures at the individual, national, cross-national, and global levels has it been carried out? And, what type of Korean identity has been shared by policy makers?

My second approach is empirical, following Nicholas Cook and Eric Clarke, who summarize their approach as ‘musicology that embodies a principled awareness of both the potential to engage with large bodies of relevant data, and the appropriate methods for achieving this’ (Cook and Clarke 2004: 4). This approach is of course the primary method of ethnomusicology, which typically involves participant observation within the ‘engage with large bodies’ element, whereas musicology typically does not. It could be said that this is an alternative to comparative approaches (Stock 2004: 16-19), and expects scholars to be fully aware of contexts. The result is that ethnomusicology tends to place more weight on the interpretation of insiders than outsiders, in a way that allows the differences between in/out to be ‘collapsed and sustained’ at the same time (ibid.: 18).

However, the interpretations of insiders should be given with critical awareness. If this is done, insiders are able to obtain new perspectives, which is my experience. I conducted nearly one year of fieldwork, divided into two periods. During the first six months, July to December 2010, I conducted fieldwork on *samullori* musicians of the second generation as a research assistant, since my fieldwork overlapped with a project

led by my supervisor Professor Keith Howard, part of an Australian Research Council Linkage funded project, ‘Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures’. The second six months, June to November 2011 was spent on an intensive study of how to play *changgo* (hourglass-shaped drum). This helped me to take part in the context where the music in question – music for KMP 21 – was performed, allowing me to acquire a greater understanding of actual practice. While doing fieldwork, I visited GugakFM, a radio station promoting *kugak* (traditional Korean music), and Loen Entertainment, a record company, which had been given responsibility for carrying out the two subsidiary plans, KMP 21 and TASP respectively. I gathered written documentation and audio/visual materials, and conducted formal interviews with directors, producers, and many musicians. I filmed primary performances. In 2011, I participated in the performance of ‘Harmonica *sanjo*’, a piece written for the 2009 KMP 21, at a concert of the composer and soloist Pak Chongsŏng. Looking back, globalization theory helped me as an insider to see things that were familiar in a new way. One example is two public slogans which show symbolically important aspects of today’s world: ‘The most Korean is the most global,’ which was popular a few years ago, and ‘Our thing is a previous thing,’ that Pak Tongjin (1917–2003), a former *p’ansori* master, voiced in a TV advert for a Korean medicine. These slogans began just as popular phrases but gradually obtained symbolic meanings, symbolizing how the local/regional embraces global integration and implicitly suggesting that a thing can obtain ‘an ontological value of existence’ (after Ki-Jung Kim 2002: 247). In this way, as a sonic echo, a new interpretation constructs me in a new way as an insider. I argue that, although empiricism reinforces theory, theory also has an echo effect on the perception of insiders.

Interview as the main empirical approach

For this research, in addition to observation and collection of materials, interviews were my main source of information, particularly for understanding the perceptions of those involved. Interviews allowed me to understand the main motives that have not been displayed in official documents or related literature, namely, those that are located ‘between the lines’. I adopted a qualitative approach using formal but semi structured questionnaires, and for two reasons. First, formality was required as part of getting the agreement of interviewees, and enhanced their willingness to answer questions, while ensuring efficiency in time and space. Second, formality at the first stage of interviews allowed me as researcher to reach a fuller understanding of the perceptions of interviewees prior to going into greater depth. Some interviewees were approached via email, out of necessity. I gave all interviewees the chance to participate in further email exchanges or interviews. I divided interviews into three parts: introduction/background, main issues, and open summaries; but I allowed the second part to move beyond the pre-determined structure.

I divided my interviewees into two groups. The first were prominent musicians who contributed to the maintenance of the people’s music culture or what I will in this dissertation call the post people’s music culture after 1987. I chose pioneers of specific genres, for instance, Kim Youngdong, the composer who created the initial *kugak kayo*, and musicians or ensembles who have developed sub-genres through widely-known pieces or in a variety of public performances, including Yang Bang Eon, a composer who uses an orchestral style, and second-generation *samullori* professional performers both at the National Gugak Centre and in private groups. The second group were, in a

broad sense, policy makers who contributed to the enforcement of the two subsidiary plans that this dissertation considers, KMP 21 and TASP. These ranged from organizers to young musicians. The former included, in the case of KMP 21, the first music director, the producer in charge of the contest and festival, and, to allow me to grasp the overall programming principle of GugakFM (the responsible organization for this event), a senior radio producer. In the case of TASP, the general director was interviewed. Within KMP 21, I selected eight teams who use different elements to look into different styles of music generated through KMP 21; for TASP, the music producer gave me this information on pieces and styles while, to understand the star system, I worked with a group who participated in the project, MIJI.

My questions explored the momentum by which prominent musicians came to work on sub-genres of popular creative traditional music, on policy maker initiatives, and on the musical direction taken in pieces composed or used in the two subsidiary projects. My questions drew answers as to the specific cultural conditions (both favourable and adverse), and distinguished the elements of tradition adopted. As discussed later, this was particularly the case in respect to Kim Youngdong.

My questions to policy makers focused on cultural identities, and how they understood these in respect to the projects. To understand motives, I used both indirect and direct approaches. I asked all interviewees a series of questions about the background, aware that these kinds of questions would provide an indication of their own identity within the projects. When I felt it necessary, I asked interviewees direct questions to observe changes in identities, allowing for free discussions about specific music and activities.

Literature review

Up to the present, there has been no published critical research on the Activation Plan. However, based on understanding the Activation Plan as a product of how policy makers view given cultural conditions, and limiting it to a policy designed to promote popular creative traditional music, existing studies on aspects of cultural globalization, an applicable conceptual framework, and popular hybrid music cultures are relevant.

First, in the literature, cultural globalization has three main facets: cultural homogenization, heterogenization, and hybridization. Cultural homogenization has usually been explored from a cultural imperialist approach in the field of cultural studies (Beltran 1978; Tomlinson 1991; Pieterse 2009). In respect to music, Anahid Kassabian underpins this aspect through her discussion of 'audio tourism' (2004). Cultural heterogenization, which is often referred to as cultural indigenization, has been seen in opposition to westernization (Appadurai 1990). Cultural hybridization, otherwise known as cultural diversification, has been understood as a process through which cultures are combined (Rowe and Schelling 1991). This has been examined in two different ways. The first is a cultural flow model that focuses on equal exchanges (e.g., Curran and Park 2000), while the second is the so-called hybridity approach that raises the issue of an implicit hierarchic order between the cultures (e.g., Bhabha 1989; in the sector of popular music, Hall 1991). Literature about cultural globalization has helped me to understand how the forces move in the actual field of culture. Therefore, I adopt existing discussions as the basis with which to analyse music's cultural background to the Activation Plan, formed in process of hybridization, that is, cultures of popular hybrid music that support the Plan. However, with regard to hybridization,

my thesis will take the neutral and constructivist position of the cultural flow model, one that sits contrary to cultural imperialist theory or hybridity approaches. Of course, the implicit political order has obviously operated, for instance, in the area of commercial 'world music'. Nevertheless, it is clear that autonomy is still given to cultural units. For instance, as shown later, three popular hybrid music cultures obviously helped policy makers to conduct the Activation Plan for music based on tradition. However, under these three conditions they chose not an exclusive but what I will term a 'permissive' Korean identity. This suggests that, even though conditions had an influence on seeking Korean identities, the two options of exclusive and open were both available.

Second, I use a conceptual framework applicable to analysing the background to the Activation Plan. This is a synthesis of two approaches. The first is a cross-systematic approach that helps me understand the cultural conditions for the Activation Plan. The cross-systematic approach divides cultural practice into four levels of operation – individual, national, cross-national and global, elaborating two levels of glocalization. In his criticism of a separate understanding of the global and the local, and effectively drawing on his study of Japanese television format business, Koich Iwabuchi illustrates westernization aspects of glocalization (2002; 2004). He understands glocalization as the mixing of global and local. However, he emphasizes that this involves processes through which 'Japanese odour' is excluded in Japanese (pervasive) cultural exports to Western and Asian markets, while cultural proximity facilitates imitation within Asian countries. Thus, he argues that the global Euro-American cultural power is decentralized to Asian countries as non-Western countries, but in a way of being

reinforced. On the contrary, taking further the discussion of mixing, but from a somewhat neutral position, Roland Robertson casts light upon the creative process of glocalization, through which, for instance, new local tradition is created (1995). In their research, both Iwabuchi (2002; 2004) and Robertson (1995) contribute to our systematic understanding of how cultural practice operates beyond levels. Accordingly, I accommodate these notions of two levels of glocalization. However, their common fundamental position leaves something to be hoped for to reflect the complexity of cultural practice and dynamics. Furthermore, their research pays limited attention to the perception of cultural producers. Iwabuchi puts more weight on the passivity of perceptions, but, however, actual (hybrid) cultural practice does not necessarily mean an unassertive production of cultural products. In some cases, those involved choose a certain component with their own cultural motivation, or, as seen in the case of *kugak kayo*, for nationalistic reasons. Considering this, I divide cultural practice into four levels, while at the same time applying a cultural identity approach to each.

The second approach I have found useful is an approach that considers the producers of culture, specifically, musicians and policy makers. Timothy Rice understands cultural identity as the sense of belonging to a community (2007). From a constructivist approach, Dirk Baecker stresses the social aspects of self-identity, arguing that identities are established in association with others (2002). Existing research on cultural identity helps us to understand how cultural identity exists in the area of perception and how it is constructed. Thus, I adopt such discussions as the basis of my cultural identity approach. However, I take the discussion further, relating to cultural globalization while at the same time employing a cross-systematic approach.

Third, popular hybrid music cultures are seen as cultures which generate hybridity that the music then maintains. Thus, I use existing studies on hybrid music and social movements or related discourses and debates that took place in specific periods. There are three types of studies to mention at this point that are pertinent to my research. The first are about Korean pop music. This includes studies on *madang kūk* (a theatrical genre), *norae* (songs), and urban forms of *p'ungmul* (traditional local percussion bands' music) which developed from 1970s to 1980s and established the *minjung munhwa* (people's culture); the *han'guk umak non* discourse of Korean music that appeared in print from the end of the 1970s through the 1980s; and the '*ppongtchak*' debate in 1984 about the origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs.

Korean pop music research that considers sub-genres from the early twentieth century to the 1970s is relevant here. Korean pop music from the 1920s to 1945, a year of liberation, is limited to *yuhaengga* and *shin minyo* (lit. new folksongs). This is because, as discussed in Chapter 3, these two were creative music publicized on recordings that played an obvious role in maintaining popular music culture. While providing a broad history of Korean music, Song Pangsong provides extensive discussions of the formation background of pre-liberation Korean popular (hybrid) music (2007), that is, how western music was introduced to Korea, how it was diffused inside and outside the educational sectors, how *tŭrot'ŭ*, the representative song genre, and *shin minyo* developed, and how these contributed to generating patriotic sentiment amongst the people through lyrics. In her research about the history of pop music, Yi Yŏngmi combines her analysis of lyrics and musical elements with discussions of the socio-cultural background. Concerning the period from the 1950s to the 1970s, she discusses

how American-style Korean pop music was conceived and formed from the 1950s to the 1960s, and how *p'okŭsong*, the main vocal genre sung with acoustic guitar, appeared as a main medium for young people in the 1970s (1997; 2006). Concerning pop music in the 1970s, Hwang Okon offers a picture of its overall soundscape, considering the cultural characteristics of young people and the overlapping scene of the American folk revival movement in the 1960s (2006). Of these, Song and Yi have been most useful, and, in order to discuss popular hybrid music cultures from the mid-Japanese occupation to the 1970s, which ultimately influenced the formation of the cultural condition for the Activation Plan, I use them as a primary resource. However, the existing studies are not sufficient to grasp the dynamics of Korean pop culture. They do not actively discuss how music and culture systematically interact. Accordingly, I explore popular hybrid music culture as a kind of procedural system motivated by a common identity and as one that hybridity sustains through the reproduction of that identity.

Amongst three social movements, a number of papers in English and Korean have dealt with the *madang kŭk* movement. However, those in English by Kwang-Ok Kim (1997) and in Korean by Yi Yŏngmi (2001) are particularly helpful in understanding the concept of *madang* and the development of the movement. Regarding the song movement, papers by Yi Kŏnyong (1990b), Kim Ch'angnam (1986b) and Yi Yŏngmi (1997) are useful to understand the development, the lyrics and musical limitations, as well as Kim Min'gi, a musician who played a decisive role in the movement. With regard to the urban *p'ungmul* movement, Song Pangsong (2007), Keith Howard (2006), and Hesselink (2012) provide valuable information on the professional camp, namely,

the percussion quartet SamulNori. Overall, the existing studies elucidate facets of *minjung munhwa*, but for my purposes they do not deal sufficiently with the perceptions of cultural producers, for instance, how specifically cultural identities changed as *madang kŭk* developed.

As for the discourse on Korean music, Song Pangsong (2007) and Yi Kangsuk *et al* (2001) provide the clearest outlines. Yi Kangsuk (in English, Lee 1977 and 1980; in Korean, Yi 1985, 1987, 1990) offers critical and alternative views on Korean music and functions as a pioneer of this discourse. Yi Kōnyong (Yi 1988; 1990a; 1990b; 1992) presents the *minjok ūmak non* (discourse of national music) that he himself developed. Concerning the ‘*ppongtchak*’ debate, in her paper, Gloria Lee Pak (2006) analytically clarifies its development. These publications are used as primary and secondary sources, but, again, I have found little that provides clear links with the people’s culture (which ultimately feed into the Activation Plan).

A further subject of analysis is *kugak fusion*, and the *shin sedae tamnon* (discourse of a new generation) that operated as dominant discussions about the subject of the fields of Korean pop music and *kugak fusion*, through the 1990s. Studies of *kugak fusion* have tended to focus on either its emergent background or its musical aspects. The context in which *kugak fusion* emerged has been discussed in association with Korea’s local music industry and the historical aspect of the genre. First, Keith Howard argues that *kugak fusion* is currently created under circumstances in which the Korean music industry is in crisis and consumers do not consume traditional *kugak* as music to be bought and paid for. Consequently, young players make easy listening ‘*kugak fusion*’

using technology to meet domestic demand (Howard 2010). Second, in another publication, Howard focuses on the motives behind creation, as part of the main historical aspect of *kugak fusion*. He suggests that the creation of *kugak fusion* has been a process of promoting Korean identity as a national brand to the world (2006). R. Anderson Sutton employs the concept of musical ‘genres’ to give a useful general explanation of these sub-genres, and he was the first to attempt a clear classification of *kugak fusion* into sub-genres relating to *kugak kayo*, to new age, jazz, rock, hip-hop/rap, percussion, world music, Korean traditional (folk song, shaman music), *sanjo* (scattered melodies), even *chǒngak* (traditional elite music) and Western classical music (Sutton 2003). Howard provides a more specific musical description for well-known sub-genres – *kugak kayo*, fusion of *samullori* (percussion musics), ‘Guitar *sanjo*’ by Kim Soochul, and so on. Hyŏn Kyŏngch’ae offers an overall description of musicians who emerged in the field of *kugak fusion* in the 1990s, shedding light on the relationships musicians and media (Hyŏn Kyŏngch’ae 2011). Yang Bang Eon, the composer who has worked on orchestral compositions, gives valuable source for understanding his musical life through his recent autobiography (Yang Bang Eon 2012). Other scholars have looked at specific elements of the genre: Eunyong Jung on ‘Guitar *sanjo*’ by Kim Soochul (2010), Nathan Hesselink on *samullori* fusion (2012), and on guitar *sanjo* versions by the guitarist Shin Junghyŏn and the bassist Kim Yŏngjin (2012). Existing studies of *kugak fusion* lay the foundations for my research on the people’s culture and the post people’s culture. While considering the local music industry as an important factor, I shall deal with the emergent background of popular creative traditional music. As for its sub-genres, I shall utilize partly existing categories and refer to discussions unfolding up to the present day. However, they pay

limited attention to the variety of motives observed in *kugak fusion*. Popular creative traditional music, which has often been criticized in terms of quality, obtains different meanings in different cultural contexts. This is reinforced by the case of *kugak kayo*. When *kugak kayo* were first composed, traditional music was not part of the daily life of the public and was excluded from their perception of the musical world, to the extent that the musicians brought *kugak kayo* to the public as easy listening. So, the emphasis was on the use of traditional musical elements rather than on artistic combination, and the music was a medium for developing Korean identity. The intention to create music for the public was key.

Relating to the discourse of a new generation, Ch'oe Chisŏn and Shin Hyŏnjun (2011) and Eun-Young Jung (2006) capture its characteristics in their works written in Korean and in English, respectively. However, they curiously do not consider young musicians who work on popular creative traditional music to be a new generation, whereas I conclude that I must do so, to link the discourse with the post people's culture that contributed to the enforcement of the Activation Plan.

The final subject of analysis is 'world music' in the global music industry. Since the term was coined in 1987, world music has actively been discussed in numerous articles and books in ethnomusicology and often in cultural studies. However, when considering the relevance of this to my research, I have selected and classified this literature into several categories, according to the main issue. It is about the so-called implicit politics of Others which is usually addressed as the most important: the implicit hierarchy between 'Us' (western marketers and musicians) and 'Others' (non-

Western musicians). Discussions are divided here, in a broad sense, into those looking at the Western camp, marketers and musicians, and those about the non-Western musicians. Work on the Western camp looks at perspectives and patterned behaviours. Regarding marketers, Simon Frith (2000) focuses on a kind of authenticity; the emphasis on the 'authenticity' of music from non-Western traditions. Keith Howard criticizes this idea of authenticity on account of how significantly the music differs from its actual fields, based on cases such as Uganda, Yothu Yindi, Australia's Aboriginal rock group, and Sevara Nazrkhan, the Uzbek singer (2009b). On the other hand, two behaviours are discussed as typical in these perspectives. The first is classification itself. A pioneering researcher in the field of world music studies, Timothy Taylor, criticizes this (1997). The second behavior is improper musical appropriation, which is deeply associated with the issue of copyright. Regarding this, Steven Feld takes as a representative example the case of Herbie Hancock (Feld 1996). Hugo Zemp takes the case of Deep Forest Affairs (Zemp 1996), Timothy Taylor, the case of the German band, Enigma (2001), and Louise Meintjes, the case of Paul Simon's Graceland (Taylor 1986). Regarding non-Western musicians, three types of behaviour are discussed. The first is negotiation, for which, for instance, Joan Gross's collaborative work discusses the hybrid identity of the second generation, through how *rai* is accommodated in the Franco-Maghrebi community (Gross 2002). The second type of behaviour discussed is participation in the implicit hierarchy of world music. In this, Shzr Ee Tan (2012) stresses this aspect through her discussion of how the life of a group of indigenous Taiwanese musicians changed, after they were involved in the case of the German band, Enigma. The third behavior discussed is entry into this order. Tony Mitchell (2004), for example, deals with self-orientalism through a case study on

the Singaporean singer, Dick Lee. Existing literature about world music helps us to understand how world music has been made within the global music industry, and furthermore, how world music culture has operated as part of a popular music culture on the global level. Thus, based on this, I shall discuss global ‘world music’ culture. Yet, existing research on world music dedicates barely a few pages to dealing with positive behaviours, such as the resistance of non-Western musicians, as well as to relevant cultural producers. This perspective could be said to have derived from the assumption that non-Western musicians are passive, as they are to a great extent restricted in their activities in the current music industry system. However, to an extent, it is natural to think that they operate against the implicit hierarchy. This is evidenced by the case of world music discourse in Korea, which my research will discuss as an aspect of popular Korean music culture on the global level.

In addition, to date, there has been no book-length research on popular creative traditional music based on long-term fieldwork. Needless to say, long-term empirical research is essential in the real context in which popular creative traditional music is created. I hope that my research will be able to contribute to the understanding of music’s cultural background to the Activation Plan, and ultimately, the conditions of its popular hybrid musical culture and the cultural identities of policy makers.

Overviews

Chapter 2 attempts to develop a conceptual framework for exploring the historical background of popular hybrid music cultures, as they are pertinent to the Activation Plan. Inspired by theories about cultural globalization, this chapter presents a

discussion of a cross-systematic approach and a cultural identity approach. And in consideration of the interconnecting process of cultural globalization, it conceptualizes the contemporary new aim of cultural policy as the ‘cooperative conservation’ of traditional cultures. Lastly, it details a periodization of popular hybrid music cultures relevant to the Activation Plan.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 examine the cultural conditions of popular creative traditional music relevant to the Activation Plan and its sub-genres, charting through the twentieth century to the present day. Chapter 3 deals with the period from the Japanese occupation to the 1960s. This primarily provides a discussion of how patriotic popular Korean music culture appeared, involving *shin minyo* (lit. new folksongs), how this was motivated by an identity of the oppressed, and how an American-style popular music culture in Korea was conceived and formed. Chapter 4 covers the period from the 1970s to the 1980s. It offers a discussion of how *minjung munhwa*, the culture of the people, emerged as a counter-culture against the authoritarian regime and as an alternative to the 1970s *ch’ōngnyōn munhwa* (lit. youth culture).¹³ It also discusses how this was driven by an identity of the oppressed, and how it generated the song genre and first sub-genre of popular creative traditional music, *kugak kayo*, as well as the academic discourse of ‘Korean music’ and the debate about the song genre *ppongtchak* (*t’ūrot’ū*).

13 Literally, *ch’ōngnyōn munhwa* means youth culture. But, within the field of Korean popular culture studies, it usually refers to the 1970s Western-style youth culture (for instance, Kim 2008: 141; Nam 1970) which often is symbolized as blues jeans, draft beer and hippie-like long hair (Okon Hwang 2006: 39), and *t’ong kit’ar* (acoustic guitar). In this thesis, I use the terms *ch’ōngnyōn munhwa*, youth *t’ong kit’ar* or youth culture for this culture.

Chapter 5 looks at the period from 1987 to the present, and explores popular music cultures on four levels, seeing these as the direct conditions in place to serve the Activation Plan: the post people's culture or the culture of citizens; Asian-centered 'Korean Wave'; and global world music. I provide a discussion of how these cultures emerged and were motivated by dominant cultural identities: namely, those of citizens, a potential Asian identity, and post-colonial identities. Furthermore, this chapter explores how the post people's culture produced sub-genres of popular creative traditional music, such as Kim Soochul's 'Guitar *sanjo*', the orchestrated style of the composer Yang Bang Eon, and second-generation *samullori* fusion. It also looks at the discourse of the so-called 'new generation'.

Chapters 6 and 7 explore the Activation Plan, focusing on how policy makers, drafters and project organizers perceived the post people's culture, Asian-centred 'Korean Wave', and global world music. These two chapters use case studies of the two subsidiary projects, KMP 21 and TASP, and employ ethnographic analysis of relevant documents and interviews. Chapter 6 examines how a 'permissive identity of the people', one that was open to different levels beyond the national, was taken up by the drafters and the project organizers, and has contributed to the enforcement of the Activation Plan. Chapter 7 looks at the Korean identities of young musicians, as individual or group identities, and examines through musical analysis how these have impacted musicians' pieces of music for the two projects. Putting everything together, I conclude that the Activation Plan has been conducted at the intersection of three popular music-cultural conditions – the post people's culture, Asian-centred Korean Wave, and the global world music – with a Korean identity shared amongst Korean

policy makers that is, in effect, a permissive identity of the people. Thus, I argue that the Activation Plan was a cultural policy for ‘cooperative conservation’ of non-governmental traditional music.

CHAPTER TWO: Cultural Globalization, Identity, and Policy

Cultural globalization: A theoretical perspective

As noted in the Introduction, globalization has been defined by many scholars in disciplines such as Sociology, Economics, International Relations, and Cultural Studies. All agree that, stated briefly, it is ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations’ (Giddens 1990: 64). Cultural globalization can, then, be understood as the process of increasing worldwide interconnectedness in the area of culture, which might be described as ‘the transmission or diffusion across national borders of various forms of media and the arts’ (Crane 2002: 1).

On closer examination, however, it becomes clear that cultural globalization has two reciprocal aspects. The first is cultural homogenization, which has usually been explained through a cultural imperialist theory situated in the field of cultural studies. Cultural imperialism is a set of ideas or policies that a powerful country or society extends as an influencing power over a weaker country, through, as Luis Beltran states, the transmission of ‘beliefs, values, knowledge, behavioral norms, and style of life’ (Beltran 1978: 184). John Tomlinson suggests that there are four ways to understand cultural imperialism: as ‘media imperialism’, as a discourse of nationality, as the critique of global capitalism, and as the critique of modernity (Tomlinson 1991: 19-28). Media imperialism, as Tomlinson tells us, refers to a political-economic cultural domination that is exercised through various forms of the mass media, and ultimately, in which the mass media plays a central role. This can be seen as the dominant influence of one culture over another. The discourse of nationality is usually seen in

relation to the intervention that a foreign culture makes over a native one. The critique of global capitalism arises from neo-Marxism, which understands the world as a capitalist system beyond the mere synthesis of nation-states. Such a system is held to operate through unequal exchange, and as a result the culture of capitalism exerts a global influence. That is, global capitalism homogenizes cultures – as is suggested by the fact that one can hear Western popular music anywhere – and commodifies all experience. Cultural imperialism in modernity means the global influence of a certain ‘modern’ (that is, Western) way of life. Specifically, this indicates the dominance of cultural narratives that operate in the modern way, narratives which originated in the West. So the mechanism of transmission is understood to be based on the system of global capitalism effected through global media. As a consequence, the homogenization of powerful cultures is produced on the global scale. Homogenization refers to westernization and particularly to ‘Americanization’ – both terms alluding to the capitalist centres of the United States and Western Europe. In this regard, cultural globalization can be said to be ‘global communications and worldwide cultural standardization, as in Coca-colonization and McDonaldization’ (Pieterse 2009: 66).

In the field of music, this aspect is reinforced by so-called ‘audio tourism’. Kassabian discusses audio tourism in relation to her study of Starbucks coffee shops and the Putumayo record label (Kassabian 2004). Both corporations have implemented marketing strategies which essentially aim to make ‘world music’ part of the landscape of the branches of Starbucks. The idea underpinning audio tourism is that consumers are listeners and so get a feel of another place through mixing a combination of food, place and music. This idea shows their tourism to be a postmodern ‘distributed

tourism' (ibid.: 218), which gives listeners an entanglement between here and there:

Distributed tourism, as a postmodern cultural activity, depends on maintaining the difference between 'here' and 'there' while making it possible to inhabit both spaces simultaneously. Musically, ... the musical structures are non-local, while a layer of pop/rock/electronica material is mixed in for comfort (ibid.: 219).

That is, audio tourism and, specifically, global world music for this postmodern sonic tourism, ultimately standardizes contemporary culture. However, Kassabian's argument excludes any consideration of the listeners' autonomy in the realm of judgment.

The second face of cultural globalization sits in opposition to the homogenization discussed above, and involves processes of heterogenization which are often described as indigenization. That is, where westernization has occurred, attempts to oppose it have arisen. As Arjun Appadurai argues, 'as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one or other way' (Appadurai 1990: 295). In the field of music, this phenomenon is observed easily from endeavours to preserve traditional music, particularly where this is done to achieve the primary aims of cultural preservation legislation.

Given this, what options are open to cultural units, including individuals, societies and countries? Under the influence of two contradictory movements, they are likely to

choose a combination of both cultures.¹ This tendency is seen in the phenomenon where multifarious aspects of cultures combine on a global scale. This, as so-called ‘hybridization’, can be defined, relating to cultural forms, as ‘the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices’ (Rowe and Schelling 1991: 231). It would seem that, in most cases, two models have been adopted to understand this phenomenon.

The first is the ‘cultural flow’ model, which pays attention to cultural exchanges amongst a variety of cultural units in a worldwide context. The exchanges lead to diversification in the desired realm where cultural units are able to participate on equal terms. However, the direction of cultural transmission and the role of the two main actors – originators and receivers – is not necessarily fixed. From this perspective, cultural globalization can be regarded as ‘a process that is increasing international dialogue, empowering minorities, and building progressive solidarity’ (Curran and Park 2000: 10).

The second model comes from so-called ‘hybridity’ approaches, which see hybridity as a quality derived from a combination of non-Western traditional and Western cultures. This approach focuses on the implicit political order or relationships between both camps. The approach is similar to the cultural flows model, in that both discuss diversifying aspects of cultural globalization. Yet the hybridity approaches differ significantly from the cultural flows model, in that the main argument from hybridity is about the politics of the Other. In the field of music, various types of music produced

¹ In this sense, hybridization can be said to be the third aspect of cultural globalization.

on today's global musical canvas evidence hybridity. In particular, hybridity has been actively sought in the arena of popular music. As a result, popular hybrid music cultures have been formed. Hence, it can be argued that hybrid music making has surfaced on today's ubiquitous global music scene, to the extent that, as Stuart Hall argues, 'the aesthetics of modern popular music is the aesthetics of the hybrid, the aesthetic of the crossover, the aesthetics of the diaspora, the aesthetics of creolization' (1991: 38-39).

In the field of world music within the global music industry, this second aspect helps us to understand an implicit hierarchic perspective operating in the global industry that differentiates 'Us' (that is, Western marketers and musicians) and 'others' (non-Western musicians). Relating to the implicit politics behind hybridity, Bhabha argues, as follows:

The only place in the world to speak from was at a point whereby contradiction, antagonism, the hybridities of cultural influence, the boundaries of nations, were not sublated into some utopian sense of liberation or return. The place to speak from was through those incommensurable contradictions within which people survive, are politically active, and change (Bhabha 1989: 67).²

In consideration of the main phenomena of cultural globalization, we can grasp that the issue is about what kind of relationships cultural units have, be they hierarchic or collaborative. Inspired by Anthony Giddens' definition of globalization, but, as shown

² I see popular creative traditional music as hybrid music, in an extended and neutral sense where more than two musical cultures and different traditions combine.

later, in consideration of an interaction between four levels, I refer to cultural globalization as a process through which, while homogenization and hybridization are formed according to given social relationships, hierarchic or collaborative interconnections amongst cultures or cultural units and interaction amongst four levels increase to a global scale.

A cross-systematic approach

The primary framework adopted in this thesis is to show how popular Korean (hybrid) music cultures operate at four levels: individual, national, cross-national, and global, and to explain the process of hybridization both in a neutral sense and systematically. I apply this framework to how these cultures operated when the Activation Plan was formed. My reason for using this as a primary approach lies in a consideration of the autonomy of cultural units given in cultural globalization – in the two contradictory processes of homogenization and heterogenization. That is, the question as to what relationships cultural units, whether individuals, states or cultural organizations, should have with others is left open to those working within the units to decide on. As a result, cultural units are required to make certain choices. From a comprehensive perspective, and especially in the case of the Asian-centred ‘Korean Wave’, we can divide these choices into individual, national, cross-national and global considerations, in which the first three have a common denominator. In short, the question given to cultural units is ultimately how to deal with global considerations, based on individual, national and cross-national aspects; in other words, the issue is one of glocalization.

In general, glocalization can be said to be the process of combining both the global and

the local simultaneously (Iwabuchi 2002; 2004), or the process ‘formed by telescoping global and local to make a blend’ (Tulloch comp. 1991: 134). This notion referred, originally, to a kind of business strategy for global localization that a company might adopt to adapt its existing products to the demands of a region into which it intended to make inroads. The idea for this strategy derived from the notion of Japanese *dochakuka* (global localization). This notion indicates a method of cultivation; a way of adapting one’s farming techniques to the conditions of other local areas. It was first employed by Japanese economists in the Harvard Business Review, although one of the most widely cited uses of the term for cultural production was in reference to media empires, first articulated in an article by Lisa Parks. The notion of glocalization now tends to be used as a general term which refers to outlooks or strategies shown in all realms and not just the business one, to combine global and local elements.³ In the cultural sector, this concept can be seen in a similar way; it indicates a cultural outlook in which cultural units, whether individuals or global cultural organizations, intend to consider their cultural position in a world context. It also may indicate a cultural policy based on such a perspective, from which the cultural unit intends to produce a new local culture or a strategic plan for culture – drafted in relation to a cultural policy strategy – that concentrates on ‘the strategies used by nations, global cities, and cultural organizations to cope with, counter, or promote cultural globalization’ (Crane 2002: 4).

Given this, how specifically can the global and the individual/national/cross-national be combined? On the surface level, we should not expect an answer, because the global

³ In a broad sense, we can also see glocalization as a kind of process. However, in this thesis I use it as an outlook or a strategy, to emphasize the intention.

and other levels are recognized as opposite in conception, and will often be substituted respectively for the universal and the particular. Furthermore, because, in this perception, the global is believed to be resisted at other levels, since the respective intentions behind both elements are conflicting, the answer is difficult to find. In this regard, Roland Robertson argues that ‘globalizing trends are regarded as in tension with local assertions of identity and culture’ (Robertson 1995: 33). On closer inspection, however, we can observe that the global and the individual/national/cross-national mutually construct each other, accompanying ‘the “invention” of locality’ (ibid.: 35).

A cultural identity approach

The second framework adopted in this thesis is the observation of how popular music cultures are made in respect to a cultural identity shared amongst people. Considering that prominent musicians or relevant cultural producers play a positive role in making culture, I employ a cultural identity approach to popular creative traditional musicians and policy suppliers – the drafters, the project directors and young musicians. In order to do so, I need to define, approach, and classify cultural identity, from the perspective of cultural globalization, in which the interconnections have increased in recent times.

First, as is widely accepted, I see identity as a set of characteristics that discriminate one person from another. Moreover, a more specific understanding can be attained by grasping the form of identity. Timothy Rice divides the form into two (Rice 2007: 21): the understanding of the self as it is, and the sense of belonging to a community. However, it can be seen that the former is, ultimately, a matter of belonging to a self as

a cultural producer and as an individual. Further, from the perspective of cultural globalization, it is hard to imagine how to understand the self as it is, excluding the community or the others. In this sense, Dirk Baecker claims culture as being 'other-identical' (Baecker 1997: 39-40).

Second, perspectives on how one should approach identity are divided, broadly, into two. Under an essentialist perspective, identity is believed to exist from the outset, so this perspective will often underpin the assignation of specific values to ethnicity. Conversely, a constructivist perspective argues that identity is constructed, beyond what existed at the outset, and that this makes it impossible to understand the self in the absence of an understanding of the other. That is, identity is perceived and constructed, in response to the other and, furthermore, in response to external conditions. We can observe this easily in the case of the *minjung munhwa* (South Korean people's culture). *Minjung munhwa* first emerged in opposition to the authoritarian regime as a counter-culture. However, before it could emerge in that way, a search for identity had to take place. People were at the time, in the 1960s, suppressed by the authoritarian regime, and under this political condition, they needed to awaken the identity of the oppressed. Hence, a sense of belonging to the oppressed intensified. To understand this, I employ a constructivist perspective, because it seems better suited to the condition of cultural globalization, in which a series of discerning cultural attributes have been constructed through interaction, as was the case in 1960s Korea.

Third, the cultural identity (or identities) of a cultural producer can be classified in two

ways, according to whether the attitudes of the producer towards other cultures are excluded or included. A self-centred identity does not willingly admit openness to others and will usually be founded on ethnocentrism. Conversely, an open identity permits a cultural producer to positively accept other cultures. We can find this second type of identity in musicians who actively utilize elements from other traditions in order to remake traditional pieces in a creative way or who have made music in long-term collaborations with musicians from other cultures. Moreover, when considering post-colonial relationships, cultural identity can be divided into that of the colonizer and that of the colonized. The former is the aggressive national identity of the colonizer, and, as mentioned above, this is evident in Saidian 'Orientalism' and in exoticism (or naturalism), as is seen in the global world music. On the other hand, the identities of the colonized display a wide spectrum of positions, ranging from those resistant to the old hierarchy to those that are susceptible to it. In the case of world music, these identities provide the basis for cultural pluralism, as a type of ideological struggle, allowing bargaining, joining, and jumping on the bandwagon of non-Western musicians or intellectuals.

Relating these insights to cultural globalization, we can classify the cultural identity (or identities) of cultural producers into two types, according to whether they distance or embrace the other levels beyond that which they adopt as their basic style. Identities here are either level-centric or open. The level-centred identity would, for example, be the strong individual or national identity pursued resolutely by, respectively, experimental or populist musicians. The second type of identity is that which is open to multiple levels. A good example, as shown later, would be the identity of the composer

and second-generation Korean Japanese musician, Yang Bang Eon, who displays individual, Asian and Korean identities. Indeed, a sense of belonging to the individual and of being an Asian – clearly based on a nostalgic sense of belonging – both operate in the creation of his orchestral works. Identities embracing multiple levels are usually arranged in two ways. First, one identity provides the basis for the other identities. As shown later, we can find this in many of the musicians working on popular creative traditional music, particularly those who encouraged what I will call the ‘post people’s culture’ from around 1987 onwards. Second, identities can be in conflict with each other within the perception of a cultural producer. This is demonstrated by the case of second-generation residents in Japan, some of whom feel a sense of belonging to both Korea and Japan, but who, nevertheless, sometimes doubt both these identities, and can feel estranged from both cultural communities.

Here, I call a cultural identity open to other levels a ‘permissive cultural identity’. A permissive identity of the Korean people or, in short, a permissive Korean identity, refers, in my account here, to an identity of the people which is open to the individual, the cross-national, and the global, but is based on nationalism. As discussed below, an identity of the people which permits the individual refers to the identity of post-1987 citizens. These, from 1987 onwards, found a new individuality through relaxed censorship, while taking over a basic sense of the populist from the previous period. As I will discuss in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, this type of Korean identity operates in the enforcement of the Activation Plan and two of its subsidiary projects, KMP 21 and TASP.

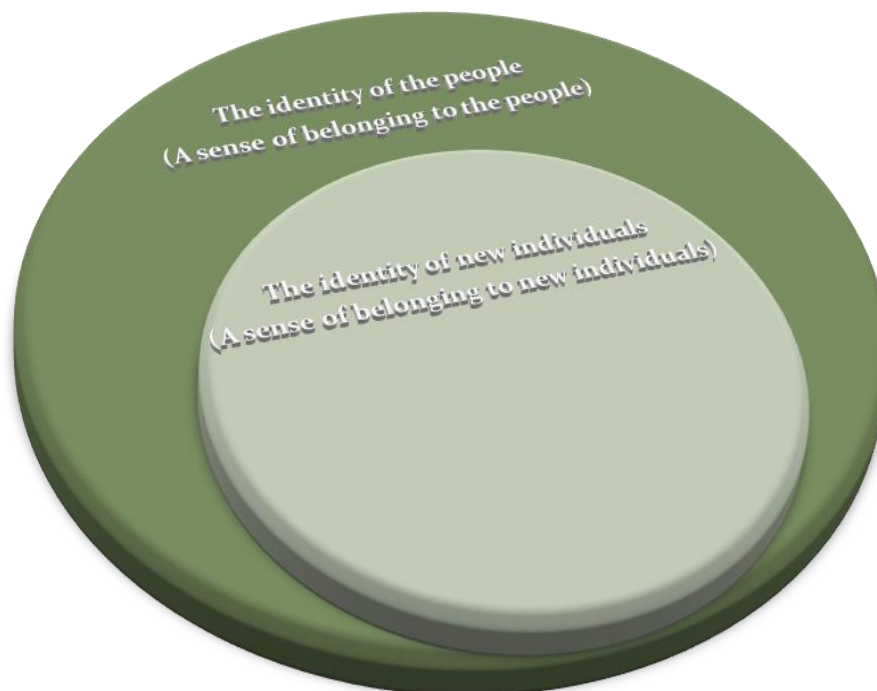
Drawing all the above together, we can observe that a variety of cultural identities, and various senses of cultural communities, have appeared and function as operating principles for popular Korean music cultures. Communities are understood differently according to the phases of history of the cultures in question. During the Japanese occupational period, the community was the oppressed. From the 1970s to the 1980s, when the culture of the people formed as the *minjung munhwa* movement, the community was the people. Here, I have used the term ‘of the people’ as a gloss for ‘*minjung*’ to reflect the usage in two academic fields in Korea. The first field is history, in which the origin of the concept of *minjung* is usually traced back to the Tonghak peasants’ uprising of 1894 (for instance, Namhee Lee 1991: 209-210), based on two basic ideas (first, *minjung* referring to ordinary men and women, the ruled class; second, a cultural movement that displays collectivity, systematically, and a certain direction; both these feed into a realization of *minjung* identity that is similar to that observed in the 1894 uprising). The second field is cultural studies. Although ‘the masses’ can replace *minjung*, within Korean cultural studies ‘the masses’ may refer to people involved in the mass media; that is, those who, unlike the people as the ruled class, do not have any critical awareness of society (for instance, Hesselink 2006: 227). Furthermore, this thesis pays attention to two simultaneous processes: the people’s cultural movement occurred as a counter-culture and developed as an alternative to the 1970s Western-style youth culture. It can be seen that the identity of the oppressed motivated these two cultures, but it showed different characteristics. To discriminate these, I call the identity underpinning a counter-culture the first type of the identity of the oppressed, referring in this to a group that has in common a consciousness of resistance. And I refer to the the identity of an alternative culture as the second type of

the identity of the oppressed. This group would include those who remained oppressed by the authoritarian regime, but who shared a nationalistic sense of being liberated through traditional elements such as the *madang kŭk* theatrical genre, songs, and the *p'ungmul* of traditional local percussion bands. It can be seen that the second type of the oppressed is a kind of latent identity among citizens, in that it characterizes a sense of freedom constructed through music based on tradition. I distinguish a phase of this identity that emerged from around 1987 as Korea began to democratize, calling this the 'post people's culture' to distinguish it from *minjung munhwa*. This is the culture of post-1987 citizens, one motivated by the identity of citizens in Korea. Given that citizens refer to those who have the legal right to get involved in politics and have obtained freedom of speech as well as freedom of artistic expression, citizenship in a real sense can only be secured in democratized countries. Accordingly, in the case of Korea, full citizenship was not granted until 1987, the year that witnessed the June 29th Proclamation. Post-1987 citizens had a newly-found individuality, but also continued to have populist sentiments. On the one hand, as discussed in Chapter 5, a new individualism started to be constructed with the relaxed censorship of governmental institutions. Following 1987, a collective pre-censorship scheme began to be relaxed, which was only finally abrogated with the petition of Chŏng T'aech'un, a singer-songwriter, in 1996 (see Mun Okpae 2011; see Hye-Kyung Lee 2013: 189). On the other hand, a basic populist sense is evidenced by the emergence of a number of civil organizations. Since 1987, these have been established as non-governmental or non-profit organizations, in order to actively reflect demand from a variety of citizens, namely, with a sense of solidarity. Approximately 3900 organizations existed by 1996 in various spheres such as politics, economics, environment, labour, gender equality,

religion, education, and culture, alongside 6100 branches (Han'guk Shimin Tanch'e Ch'onnam 1996).⁴ However, as explored in Chapter 5, popularist aspects of citizens are more effectively demonstrated by the case of *ch'otpul chiphoe* (lit. candlelight assemblies) or *ch'otpul munhwaje* (lit. candlelight cultural festivals) – usually translated as ‘candlelight vigils’. Since 2002, citizens have held vigils against government measures on a national level, and, later, within the frame of cultural festivals. For instance, tens of thousands of citizens of various ages, occupations, and social classes held a series of anti-US beef vigils in Seoul City Hall Plaza from May to July 2008, sometimes adopting musical styles from the people’s culture, for instance, the people’s songs. Vigils were gradually established as an expression of a non-violent protest culture. Candlelight vigils did not take place without a populist solidarity, one that was reproduced using the musical legacies of the previous period. Putting all of this together, the post people’s culture has been driven by the identity of citizens, that is, the identity of new individuals based on that of the people (Figure 2.1).

4 The representative examples include *kyōngje chōngūi shilch'ōn shimin yōnhap*, in short, *kyōngshillyōn* (Citizens’ Coalition for Economic Justice, established in 1989), *hwan'gyōng undong yōnhap* (Friends of the Earth Korea, 1993), *ch'amyō minjuūi sahoe wa in'gwōn ūl wihan shimin yōndae*, in short, *ch'amyō yōndae* (People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, 1994), and *munhwa kaehyōk ūl wihan shimin yōndae*, in short, *munhwa yōndae* (Cultural Action, 1999). These organizations have contributed obviously the democratic consolidation (Kim Yōngnae 2007: 3).

Figure 2.1 Conceptual diagram of the identity of post-1987 citizens



Cultural policy

Given the above, how can we understand cultural policy and its association with cultural globalization? Taking into account the generic aims of preserving and promoting one's own culture,⁵ Crane understands cultural policy as 'the stage where power struggles are waged on the national and international levels to set global policies and priorities for cultural globalization and to resist threats to the dissemination of national or regional media' (Crane 2002: 12). From this, but taking a defensive view of cultural globalization, she regards cultural policy as a political instrument used by countries in an attempt to control the types of channels and types of content that enter and leave their territory.

⁵ Crane specified these aims as for preservation, (1) protecting the country's culture from domination by the cultural achievements of other countries and from encroachments by the media industries of other countries; as for promotion, (2) creating and maintaining international images of the country or of a region or city within the country; and (3) developing and protecting international markets and venues for the country's international 'exports' (Crane 2002: 13).

However, to the extent that cultural policy is regarded as deriving from the defensive position of cultural globalization, we could think that policy starts from a positive position, set against a background in which cultural policy now needs a new aim, namely an aim to sustain or to conserve one's own culture.⁶ One reason for this comes from a change in perception of policy makers about the past. In some cases, the past is viewed as something different, as Lowenthal suggests, it is 'a foreign country' (Lowenthal 1985: 4). Alternatively, it can be seen as something authentic (within the East Asian/Korean context, Howard 2006c: 27-48) that underlies government interventions to preserve, and this sits behind a lot of museum collections and displays. Both can be broadly argued to have caused two side effects. The first is isolation from reality, in which, as Hesselink states, traditional cultures become 'frozen in time and space like a museum display' (Hesselink 2004: 407). The second is a dilemma about presentation, and about the relationship between staged presentations and the reality of what would have been the performance context in the past. Hence, there is a tense relationship between preservation and promotion efforts.

However, museums have in recent years begun to link the past to the present, introducing, for example, interactive displays. Additionally, considerations of the intangible heritage such as music have served to bolster reflection on the criticism of preservation efforts, and have helped to change the perception of the past into something more integrated in the present. Hence, preservation raises the question of 'maintaining the activities of performance and creation that define artistic practice' (Howard 2012: 5). The past now tends to be regarded as existing in a kind of

⁶ Howard argues a notion of conservation as being adopted 'to require a mix of preservation and presentation' (Howard 2012: 3).

continuum with the present, beyond being just an object of nostalgia that can be isolated and separated out as such. At the same time, cultural policy is shifting, gradually, from an aim ‘to preserve and to promote’ to one ‘to sustain’; specifically, to ‘revalorize ... through new dimensions’ (Jansen-Verbeke 2009: 57-58), and so efforts have begun to centre on the sustainability of traditional arts. In consideration of this shift, support for creation based on traditional arts can be seen as a primary way to realize the aim to sustain.⁷

We can reach a further understanding of sustainability by applying the notion of ‘cultural capital’ to traditional arts. David Throsby defines cultural capital as ‘an asset which embodies, stores or provides cultural value in addition to whatever economic value it may possess’ (Throsby 2001: 46). Just as natural capital raises the issue of a natural ecosystem, cultural capital raises that of sustainability in a cultural ecosystem. As is widely known, sustainability refers originally to the possibility of sustainable economic development in ecology, which, after the World Commission on Environment and Development, has been defined as ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 43). To put it simply, sustainability is the ability to harmonize environmental preservation and economic development. From this, the sustainability of cultural capital can be inferred as the ability to solve issues around the preservation of culture whilst simultaneously

⁷ Based on the cases of many groups for KMP 21, it is seen that a variety of traditional musical elements have inspired composers of the second generation to utilize it as a motif, and in this process, the life thread of these elements has been maintained, although the context has changed. In this light, it could be argued that ‘transcontextualisation’ plays a clear role in the preservation of traditions (Yamaguti 2008).

developing it. Throsby clarifies six principles on which policy should be based: Material and non-material wellbeing; intergenerational equity and dynamic efficiency; intragenerational equity; the maintenance of diversity; the precautionary principle; and the maintenance of cultural systems and recognition of interdependence (2001: 52-58).

However, these six principles concentrate on matters within one's own country or society, even if potentially they can operate at the cross-national level. So, if I regard globalization as the increase in the interconnection of cultural units, specifically, in consideration of interaction between various levels, I need to add a principle of 'cooperative conservation' to cultural capital. Cooperative conservation is, essentially, the principle that policy makers should sustain their own cultures on the national level, while considering other levels, both individual and global. That is, policy makers should develop traditional cultures, with a permissive national identity. There are two reasons to argue this. First, consideration of the individual level allows policy makers to establish cultural policy that faithfully reflects social demand. That is, it helps them overcome the issue of isolation from reality in cultural creation.⁸ Here, this issue comes from a perspective in which the individual sits below the nation, and so, under 'cooperative conservation', interconnections between individual cultural producers and the nation can be generated in a way to create equality. Second, when open to various cultures on the global level, policy makers are likely to create cultural policies which will promote an order of cultural co-existence. This happens when policies construct actual and envisioned lives, as is captured in Appadurai's use of the term global 'mediascape':

⁸ In this sense, it can be argued that consideration of the individual level closely has a thread of connection with the fourth principle, 'the maintenance of diversity', that Throsby has suggested.

‘Mediascape’, which ‘whether produced by private or state interests, tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places’ (Apparurai 1990: 299).

Putting all the above together, it can be argued that the sustainability of cultural capital today relies on the ability to reorganize internally the interconnections between individual cultural producers and the nation and to reorganize externally those between ‘us’ and ‘them’, the local and the other.

Periodization

Given this, what can be observed within these two frameworks? As mentioned previously, in this thesis I align myself with Tylor’s definition of culture as the ‘complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’. Also, though, I consider a culture to be a kind of system in which a cultural identity shared amongst cultural producers functions. From this position, I explore how the Activation Plan operated based on popular hybrid music cultures on the individual, national, cross-national, and global levels. The policy makers had to embrace various styles of Korean identities, the culture of popular creative traditional music, the Asian-centred ‘Korean Wave’, and the global world music. I will particularly look at the formation processes of national ‘Korean’ popular music cultures, and the emergence of sub-genres of popular creative traditional music.

At this point, the question arises as to how the history of popular music cultures at the national level can be divided into periods. Howard observes how identity has changed over time within Korea in relation to political regimes (Howard 2006b: 190-193). He argues that four stages can be observed, each with music embedded. In the first stage, in the 1920s, cultural nationalism generated Korean folklore, naturally bringing a doctrine of distinction (ibid.: 191). During Park Chung Hee's authoritarian regime, this doctrine led to the rapid development of traditional music studies, providing the motive for rapidly increasing numbers of compositions, in particular, works by composers abroad. The second stage, during the 1960s, is characterized by statist ideology, in line with how the Korean cultural preservation system was set up and operated, or by linking to tradition. The attitude to tradition remained in place as SamulNori emerged, and is relevant to other creative traditional music. In the third stage, from the 1970s to the early 1980s (yet with roots in the 1960s), *minjung numhwa* arose against the state, providing nostalgia as the dominant ideology, in a way that led, for instance, to the adaptation of folksongs into popular music genres. However, in the fourth stage, which began in or around 1987, a crucial year for the democratization process, the doctrine of distinction is no longer necessary. That is, members of the young generation, far from having endured the hardships of the past, seek individualism as opposed to the communal consciousness underpinning the previous periods. Accordingly the question of identity in music becomes 'a matter of the evaluation of self or single performance group' (ibid.: 193).⁹ I find this a reasonable periodization, because it shows the influential factors affecting the formation of identity, along with evolving identities. Thereby, it suggests an important association between political regimes and the

9 1987 is also the year when the South Korean government finally woke up to the implications of the Seoul Olympics.

identities of musicians. However, I need to distinguish an alternative way to envisage the fourth phase, from around 1987 onwards, in which the identity of citizens started to operate as the dominant one. As mentioned above, I call this the post people's culture. This phase has been maintained through a variety of sub-genres of popular creative traditional music. However, it must be noted that my periodization is given in consideration of several inevitable limits. First, the boundaries between the respective periods and the years are not definite. For instance, Table 2.1 indicates that *minjung munhwa* ranges from the 1970s to the 1980s. However, it means that this culture developed fully during this period; it implies that it was conceived and maintained in the periods before the 1970s and after the 1980s. On the other hand, according to Table 2.1, patriotic popular music culture and American-style popular music cultures were prosperous in certain specific periods, but their sustainability is found throughout the history of Korean pop music; this aspect is fully acknowledged. In consideration of these points, I have mainly adopted the years that witnessed significant social events, as in 1987, a political turning point, in an attempt to observe both the transition between the periods and the cultural development in a certain period. Also, I have used the terms 'patriotic popular music culture' and 'American-style popular music cultures' only for the periods from the 1920s to 1945 and those from the 1950s to the 1960s respectively. Second, a culture in a certain period forms only a part of the whole culture in the field of Korean pop music. It is naturally assumed that different cultures co-exist. For instance, during the Japanese occupation, some musicians developed a pro-Japanese movement (see Song Pangsong 2007: 683-692). Thus, in consideration of such a variety, I have emphasized one cultural aspect closely related to the Activation Plan, within the whole picture of Korean pop music. I therefore suggest the

periodization presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Periodization	
Period	Popular Hybrid Music Cultures and the Activation Plan
1920s – 1945	Patriotic popular music culture
1950s – 1960s	American-style popular music cultures
1970s – 1987	People’s music culture
1987 –	Post people’s music culture
2006 – 2010	Activation Plan (after the Asian-centered ‘Korean Wave’ in 1998, and the global ‘world music’ in 1987)

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to establish conceptual frameworks in order to illuminate the popular hybrid music cultures that generated the Activation Plan. As I have shown, as inspired by Anthony Giddens, cultural globalization is ‘a process through which, while homogenization and heterogenization are formed according to given social relationships, hierarchic or collaborative interconnections amongst cultures or cultural units increases to a global scale’. In musical globalization, we can observe this process in the sector of popular music, where homogenization is seen in the global diffusion of Western popular music, heterogenization in the many attempts to preserve traditional music, and hybridization in the global world music industry. In this chapter, I have synthesized two approaches to popular hybrid music cultures: the cross-systematic, and cultural identity. First, I have observed Korean cultures involving sub-genres of popular creative traditional music, the Asian-centred ‘Korean Wave’, and world music,

which operate on all levels. Second, since cultural identity is an operating principle for these, cultural globalization required my attention. This allowed me to discover a variety of cultural communities. Third, in cultural policy, I have observed the new requirements of cultural globalization that place responsibility on policy makers to find ways in which traditional arts and cultural capital can reach a position of sustainability. This allowed me to better explore the popular music cultures that allowed the Activation Plan to be conducted. In the next chapter I turn to the patriotic hybrid popular music culture that was constructed during the Japanese occupation period. This is because it formed the foundation of the conditions for the Activation Plan, with respect to musical components and a common identity. Having done this, I will explore the emergence of new folksongs and the cultural identities of musicians.

CHAPTER THREE: Patriotic Popular Music Culture and *Shin Minyo*

In order to understand the background to the formation of patriotic hybrid popular ‘Korean’ music culture and new folksongs, I first discuss the latter part of the 19th century, when Western music was for the first time introduced to Korea as a distinct style.

The introduction of Western music

The dominant perspective amongst Korean scholars is that the introduction of Western music to Korea can be found in the form of mission hymns used in the initial period during which Protestant missionaries were active (Choong-shik Ahn 2005: 5–18; Chang Sahun 1974: 171–182; Yi Sangman 1976: 339–352, 1995: 160–163; Yi Yusŏn 1985: 33–39). It is said that these mission hymns had a considerable influence on the formation of music based on Western styles and structures. Through mission hymns, Western-style music composers such as Kim Inshik as well as ordinary Korean Christians learned Western music (Song Pangsong 2007: 641). Broadly, the influence came in two sectors – the educational and the non-educational – and continued into the first supposedly ‘Korean’ popular music culture through to the latter part of the Japanese occupational period.

First of all, in the initial stage, mission hymns were taught as one of the subjects in schools established by foreign missionaries to spread Christianity and Western culture. For instance, for the Methodists, at Yŏnghwa Girls’ School in Inch’ŏn to the west of

Seoul, which Mrs Heber Jones established in 1890; at Paejae School (Yi Yusŏn 1985: 34), by Henry G. Appenzeller; at Ewha School – the predecessor of today’s Ewha Women’s University – from 1886 onwards, by Mrs. Mary Scranton; at the Presbyterian Kyŏngshin school – that of Yonsei University, established in the same year by Horace G. Underwood; and finally, at Chŏngsin School, that of Chŏngsin Girls’ School in Seoul in 1890, by Mrs. Annie J. Ellers. It is presumed that during this period the mission hymns were, in most cases, entitled ‘*ch’angga*’ (lit.: singing song) (Yi Pyŏnggi and Paek Chŏl 1957: 232–233),¹ as in the cases of those documented at the Yŏnghwa Girls’ School (Song Pangsong 2007: 641; Yŏnghwa Yŏjung 1963: 57) and Paejae School (Paejae Kodŭnghakkyo 1955: 60).

In the meantime, within the educational as well as non-educational sectors, mission hymns became the foundation of what most of the Korean public recognized as Western music (Yi Pyŏnggi and Paek Chŏl 1957: 232–233), or as the basis for today’s Western music in Korea (Song Pangsong 2007: 641), due to publication activities. After George H. Jones and Louise C. Rothweiler co-produced the first Korean hymnbook, *Ch’anmiga* (Songs of Praise) in 1892, with the lyrics translated for 27 hymns (this was copied, but not published as such), Horace G. Underwood compiled and published *Ch’anyangga* (Songs of Praise), with a four-part scoring in notation for 117 hymns. G. Lee and Mrs. M.H. Gifford then co-produced *Ch’ansŏngshi* (Poems of Praise) with 54 hymns. These volumes tended to be reissued with additional hymns – in the case of the third edition of *Ch’anmiga*, 149 hymns were added by 1899; *Ch’anyangga* added 65 hymns in 1900, and *Ch’ansŏngsi* added 33 hymns in the same

1 Here, I will use *ch’angga* only when indicating Korean *ch’angga* not the Japanese *shōka*.

year (Yi Yusŏn 1985: 37–38). The opening years of the 20th century saw ten separate volumes of hymns published (Yi Yusŏn and Yi Sangman 1984: 479–480; Yi Kŏnyong 1987: 147–85; Min Kyŏngbae 1997: 25–43). The fact that hymnbooks continued to be reissued through to the end of the 20th century indicates the growth of Christianity, suggesting that hymns were widely diffused amongst the public. The texts tended to change based on nationalism, and the feelings of the period were set to many hymn tunes.

Here, I need to examine the term *ch'angga* used in Korea. Although during the Japanese occupational period *ch'angga* was the common title of new pieces of vocal music written in Western style, later the type of music called *ch'angga* could be divided into several different forms. Between 1885 and 1906, one was, as mentioned above, mission hymns. But, from 1906 until 1945, the year of liberation from Japan, the type of music called *ch'angga* can be divided into four. The first was Japanese *shōka* – Japanese-style Western music for children sung within the educational system. As will be mentioned specifically later, the derivation of the term ‘*ch'angga*’ can be found in this term – *shōka* is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters for *ch'angga*, 唱歌, and is found in Japan earlier than in Korea (see Min Kyŏngch’an 2008: 9-10). Certainly, when the Korean Education Ordinance was applied by the Japanese Government-General of Chosŏn, Japanese *shōka* was taught under the name *ch'angga* (Song Pangsong 2007: 647; see Kim Sunjŏn and Chang Mikyŏng 2013: 197-200).

The other types of *ch'angga* emerged outside the educational system – particularly, in the patriotic popular music culture emerging in the 1920s. The second type of

ch'angga comprised pieces which were composed based on Western musical idioms and sung, as in the pieces composed by Kim Inshik (1885–1962) (see Gyewon Byeon 2001: 43-44) and Yi Sangjun (1884–1948) (see Pak Ŭn'gyōng 1999). The third type was a style of anthem sung by the people (see Min Kyōngch'an 2008: 18-26). These arose in opposition to the cultural policy of the Japanese Government-General. The fourth type, *yuhaeng ch'angga*, likewise was sung by the people and was the predecessor of *yuhaengga* (see Yi Sangman 1975b) which, from the 1920s onwards, developed into today's Korean pop music. On the whole, we can say that *ch'angga* in Korea were formed under the strong impact of two types of music – mission hymns and Japanese *shōka*.

It is important to mention the musical features of Japanese *shōka*, because Japan included a colloquial type of *shōka* in Korea's music education system in 1906, and because its musical content had a great effect on Korean music. From the time an educational system had been proclaimed in Japan in 1871 (in Meiji 5), the term *shōka* had been used in Japan with two meanings – songs sung with instruments with a view to cultivating moral character, and songs within the subject of music in elementary schools (Song Pangsong 2007: 643). *Shōka* developed from the *shōgaku shōkashō* (Collection of *Shōka* for Elementary Education). This 'Collection' contains translations of popular children's songs from foreign countries, for instance, *Chōchō* (No. 17), a translated song of 'Hänschen Klein' from Germany, ritual *shōka* such as 'Kimi kayo' (No. 23), the Japanese national anthem and based on nationalism for the Meiji government (1868–1912), and *shōka* written in a colloquial style (see Monbushō ongaku torishirabe kake [Research Department for Music of the Ministry of Education])

1881; see Pak Sŏnhŭi 2010b). *Shōka* written in the colloquial style used the *yonanuki* C-D-E-G-A pentatonic major scale, and were in 2/2 or 2/4 time, based on the ‘*pyonko*’ rhythm as if hopping (see Pak Sŏnhŭi 2010a). As shown later, these musical features contributed greatly to the formation of *t’ūrotŭ*, the representative type of *yuhaengga* which began to emerge in Korea in the 1920s.

1906-1945: Imperialistic music culture within the educational system

During this period, Japan’s imperialistic music culture developed within the educational system, based on its own nationalistic aims. This nationalism was effected through Japanese *shōka* as well as by employing mission hymns, and the imperialistic culture affected the perception of music by Korean students. The influence of both types of music was exercised through their inclusion in music textbooks within the frame of the music education policy of the Japanese authority. During the occupational period, music education was a product of colonial policy carried out by the Japanese Residency-General (1906–1910) and the Japanese Government-General of Chosŏn (1910–1945). *Shōka* written in a colloquial style were included formally in the curriculum in 1906, when the educational system began to be reorganized to conform with the Japanese one (see Kwŏn Hyegŭn, 2010). In short, music education began to be a subject under Japanese authority from 1906. In the meantime, though, it appears that the influence of mission hymns on students had increased, since these were included, together with *shōka* written in a colloquial style, in the *Pot’ong kyoyuk ch’anggajip* (Collection of *Ch’angga* for Elementary Education), a volume issued by the Korean Empire Ministry in 1910 (Song Pangsong 2007: 644; see Pak Ŭn’gyŏng 1999: 3-6). So, both *shōka* written in colloquial style and mission hymns had begun to

form students' perception of music by this time.

The 1910 Collection confirms the impact of Japanese *shōka* and mission hymns within the educational system. The contents include 27 pieces. Amongst these, 22 are Japanese *shōka* written in a colloquial style. Of these, six pieces are songs, for which songs of the Japanese Collection of *Shōka* for Elementary Education from 1879 were adapted, as in the first piece, 'Kirōgi/Wild Goose'. This illustrates that Korean students had begun to be subjected to a strong impact of Japanese-style Western music, experiencing it in music education through Japanese *shōka* (Song Pangsong 2007: 644). Three pieces in the 1910 Collection are in the style of mission hymns, with changed words set to existing hymn melodies. The remaining two pieces are songs with changed words but using existing melodies, 'Hänschen Klein' and 'Chollōpka/Graduation Song'. The text of 'Graduation Song' was set to the melody of 'Auld Lang Syne', the Scottish folksong. 'Auld Lang Syne' has a significant position in the history of *ch'angga* because its melody was used in 1896 for a song to celebrate the laying of the foundation stone for the Tongnimmun (Independence Gate) (Chang Sahun 1974: 55; Yi Yusōn 1985: 136), and for the formal national anthem under the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea established in exile in 1919.

In addition, from 1906 until liberation, four Korean education ordinances involving music education were in operation, covering the periods 1911–1922, 1922–1938, 1938–1941, and 1941–1945, under the aim of the so-called *Kōkoku sinminka* policy of transforming Koreans into imperial subjects. During the fourth period, instruction in Japanese *shōka* as well as instrumental tuition and education in listening skills was

made under the title of ‘*ŭmak*’ (music). At the same time, since anti-Japanese music and Korean-language music were not allowed in schools, traditional Korean music and pieces composed by Korean composers were pushed out (Song Pangsong 2007: 647). We cannot exclude the possibility that the music used during this period had a great effect on students’ perceptions of what music actually was. Indeed, it surely played a significant role in forming the current situation in Korea, in which traditional music does not fall into the category of ‘music’ *per se* but into the special category of ‘*kugak*’.

Here, I need to elaborate on the term ‘*kugak*’. Literally, *kugak* (國樂) refers to national music. So to speak, ‘*kuk*’ (國) means ‘national’, and ‘*ak*’ (樂) comes from the second syllable in ‘*ŭmak*’ (music, 音樂). This conforms to normal Korean linguistics where, when one word is added to 音樂, the element ‘音’ is omitted (although ‘*ak*’ is a concept which in classical Chinese history originally included music, dance and poetry). *Kugak*, then, is easily summarized as Korean traditional music, but it is ironic that it has been firmly named ‘national music’ rather than mere ‘music’ (*ŭmak*). In practice today, then, music in Korea tends to indicate Western-style music using heptatonic scales and functional harmony (Killick 2002: 803-804).

Unfortunately, the current situation is deeply related to the cultural policy on Korean traditional court music. This policy began to be enacted after the Residency-General of Japan (1906–1910) was established. The administration for court music was first damaged in terms of size, due to the cultural policy. To show this, I need to briefly mention Korean court music and the administrations responsible during the preceding Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910). The court music of Korea is normally divided into three:

aak, the Confucian ritual music of Chinese origin; *tangak*, ensemble music of Chinese origin; and *hyangak*, literally, native Korean music, a division which derived originally from the intention to discriminate the then indigenous music from Chinese imports. Simultaneously, from the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, five court music administrations – the *Chŏnaksŏ* (Office of Banquet Music), *Aaksŏ* (Ritual Music Office), *Akhak* (Music Study), *Kwansŭp togam* (Office of Customs), and *Pongsangshi* (Sacrifice Office) – had been responsible for the performance of court music and music-related administrative matters (Song Pangsong 2007: 205–206), although their functions and operations changed many times during the dynasty.² For example, in 1458, according to the second organization plan of King Sejo (1454–1468), the first two were integrated into the *Chang'aksŏ* (Music Management Office) for the performance of *aak*, *tangak*, and *hyangak*, and the next two came under the *Aak togam* (Office of Music Study), covering administrative matters of the musicians. This organization was designed to solve financial problems due to the increase in the number of court musicians. Furthermore, these two administrations were integrated into a single *Changaksŏ* (Music Management Office) in 1466 (ibid.: 199), later being renamed as the *Ch'angagwŏn* (Music Management Institute).

The system for court music and music-related administrative matters was placed in significant crisis in 1907; previous crises had occurred in the 1860s and early 1890s, but now matters became more critical. In 1900, three years after the *Taehan cheguk* (Korean Empire, 1897-1907) system had been declared in Korea under Emperor Kojong, the successor of the *Ch'angagwŏn*, the *Hyŏmnyulgwa* (Music Division) was

² The *Pongsangshi* was in charge of *akchang* and *ilmu* – the song and the dance for Chongmyo cheryeak (Sacrifice to Royal Ancestors), performed at the shrine, Chongmyo, in Seoul (ibid.: 199).

renamed the *Kyobangsa* (Music Teaching office). This division belonged to the *Kungnaebu* (Bureau of the Affairs of the Royal House) – one of the national government organizations. 1900 saw an increase in the number of staff musicians from 266 to 722. But, after seven years, the Residency-General of Japan renamed the *Kyobangsa* as the *Ch'angakkwa* (Music Management Division), reducing the number of staff – including the *kugak sajang*, the head of the department – to 305. After Korean sovereignty was ceded to Japan with the signing of the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty on 22 August 1910, the number was reduced further to 189 through dismissals (Song Pangsong 2007: 518–519), while the department was re-titled the *Aaktae* (The Court Music Department). As such, the administration of court music was forced towards a crossroads leading to either continuation or dissolution.

It is interesting that the term '*kugak*' is included in the above-mentioned *kugak sajang*. This is the first reference to the term (Sō Hanbōm 2009: 262). '*Kugak*', unfortunately though, derived from *kokugaku* (國樂) indicating 'Japanese traditional music' (No Tongŭn 1993; Song Pangsong 2007: 519). Specifically, Megata Tanetaroo (1853–1912) and Izawa Shuiji (1851–1917), after visiting the United States, suggested to the Japanese government that the Japanese should make up for the shortcomings of Japanese traditional music by introducing Western music theory. This provided the distinction with national music (Son T'aeryong 2008: 378). Megata Tanetaroo introduced the term to Korea after being dispatched to the Residency-General of Japan in Korea, so, in this context, 'national music' really meant Japanese-style Western music. Around 1907, Korean court music began to be eliminated from the category of 'music'. Against this background, the fourth Chosŏn education ordinance, placing the

Japanese *shōka* in the category ‘*ūmak*’ (music), played a pivotal role in removing Korean traditional music from the category of ‘music’, and letting it fall naturally into the special category of ‘*kugak*’.

1920s-1945: Patriotic popular music culture outside the educational system

Outside the educational system, Korea’s patriotic movements unfolded, particularly from the 1930s when Japanese political control became stricter. Patriotic popular music culture partly emerged as a counter-culture in the 1920s – mainly, in terms of ideology – in opposition to the Japanese Government-General. This culture was operated by the identity of the oppressed shared amongst the people – in other words, the people’s sense of belonging to the oppressed. This identity generated a resistant nationalism. It developed and was reproduced through two genres of popular music – the representative type of *yuhaengga*, *t’ūrot’ū* (lit. trot³) in the 1920s and new folksongs in the 1930s.

The patriotic popular music culture was conceived to realize the national identity of the oppressed through *ch’angga* in the style of anthems. Although the music was Korean in terms of ideology and Korean composers began to compose new *ch’angga* later, at the initial stage the melodies of Japanese *shōka* or mission hymns provided cornerstones for this type of *ch’angga* – as in the ‘*Aegukka* (Patriotic Song)’, which participants sang in worship to celebrate Kojong’s birthday at Saemunan Church in 1896, adding relevant local texts to the melody of the British national anthem. This

3 The term, *t’ūrot’ū*, will be also used as it is, in order to be distinguished from ‘trot’.

initial tendency is reflected well in the ‘Collection of Newest *Ch’angga*’ (1914), a book which compiles anthem-style *ch’angga* composed during the period of the Korean Empire. Specifically, it contains 152 *ch’angga*, two *kukka* (national anthems), and eight patriotic songs (Song Pangsong 2007: 648). Amongst the pieces, a popular national anthem with text by Yun Ch’iho (1865–1945) and set to the melody of the Scottish folksong ‘Auld Lang Syne’ became the formal anthem under the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. The anthem style of *ch’angga* began to change into more militaristic songs with the strengthening oppression by the Japanese in Korea.

In the 1920s, while popular music culture was taking shape under the influence of Japanese *shōka* and mission hymns, the third and fourth types of *chang’ga* gradually developed into music for the nation. They divide into two genres: *yesul kagok*, a form of lyric song based on diatonic harmony, from which the children’s songs *tongyo* emerged, and *yuhaengga* (and partly, new folksongs in the 1930s). Particularly, two musical elements of *shōka* written in the colloquial Japanese style – the *yonanuki* major scale and *pyonko* rhythm – had great influence, especially on the formation of *t’ūrot’ū*, the representative type of *yuhaengga*. Still, this *t’ūrot’ū* culture partly developed as a counter-culture in opposition to the Japanese authority, at least in terms of the ideology behind the lyrics. And the 1930s witnessed an alternative genre of music in terms of musical components, as new folksongs appeared as a part of this culture.⁴

Patriotic popular music culture was formed nationwide, particularly amongst leading

4 *Yuhaengga* and new folksongs are Korean popular music in an actual sense, since they belong to a category of popular music relating to Western instruments and emerging record companies.

intellectuals in literature and arts. Yi Yōngmi sees popular music as ‘the common people’s songs that have since the modern period acquired their own usual practice as pieces of works while being diffused through popular media’ (1997: 17). Accordingly, in her understanding, the category of Japanese-era popular music should include a variety of folk music as recorded on SP records which is usually classified by Korean musicologists as ‘traditional music’, for instance, *chapka* (lit. miscellaneous songs), *p’ansori* (epic storytelling through song) and *kayagŭm kayagum pyōngch’ang* (songs accompanied by the traditional *kayagŭm* zither), genres that take our understanding far beyond *yuhaengga*. However, Chang Yujōng takes a different position. Amongst the common people’s music recorded on SP, she includes music that was created for recordings as popular music, that is to say, ‘songs that lyricists and composers create in order to have them sung by singers’ (2006: 76). In this, lyrics reflect the age. In her division, *chapka* or *p’ansori* which was not created for records should not be considered popular music. My thesis blends these two views. I consider the several social functions of SP records. Like Yi and Chang, I put emphasis on its diffusing function of what we might consider the common people’s music, because the common people were able to share the music in an unprecedented way. However, aligning with Chang but taking her perspective further, I consider the function of newly constructed musical practices and music culture, beyond one reflecting musical resources, to be the essential element of Japanese-era popular music. In other words, SP records made it possible for creators to produce common people’s music, partly to maintain the identity of the oppressed through lyrics, as a way that discriminated the era from earlier times. Considering this, I concentrate on *yuhaengga* as creative music involving lyrics, in order to observe how it operates within its culture.

Yuhaengga literally means ‘songs in fashion’, and usually refers to popular music in the latter part of the Japanese occupational period after the 1920s. The term is taken from the Japanese *ryūkōkā*, one genre of Japanese popular music belonging to *enka* (Yano 2002: 28–44). Chang Yujōng divides *yuhaengga* in a broad sense into four types; *t’ūrot’ū*: *shin minyo* (new folksongs): *chaejūssong* (lit. jazz songs): and *manyo* (comic songs) (2011: 467-473). Amongst these, *t’ūrot’ū* is the representative type, and accordingly, it is also known as *yuhaengga*. However, I use *yuhaengga* as a term which means *t’ūrot’ū*, jazz songs, comic songs, but not new folksongs, to emphasize the difference in musical components, and in recognition that, by the 1930s, new folksongs had emerged as an alternative to the Western musical idioms of *yuhaengga*.

Here, it must be noted that patriotic popular music culture adopted Western musical idioms. Basically, Korean composers had usually been taught Western music by missionaries or through Western style military bands. The most representative piece, which is often considered to be the first Korean creative *ch’angga* (Song Pangsong 2007: 649–650; Yi Kangsuk *et al* 2001: 61) or the first creative Western-style music, is ‘*Haktoga/Student’s Song*’. Most Korean scholars state that this had words and music created by composer Kim Inshik (1885–1962). Yet, it actually copies the melody of the Japanese *shōka* ‘*Tetsudōshōka/The Railroad Song*’ (1900) (Gyewon Byeon 2001: 41-42). Kim received Western music lessons from two missionaries, a Mrs Hunt and a Mrs Snooks (in *Taehan min’guk yesulwŏn*, vol.II, 1988: 187–188) at Sungshil School in Pyōngyang, and he worked on this ‘Student’s Song’ in 1903 whilst still at school. According to the oldest musical score contained in the *Ch’oeshin ch’anggajip* (Collection of Newest *Ch’angga*), which was published in 1914, his rearranged version

of ‘Student’s Song’ is a piece in F major, which had a C-D-E-G-A pentatonic scale and an eight-measure 3/4 melody that uses functional harmony.

Given this, what specific differences are there between *t’ūrot’ū* and new folksongs? Basically, both *t’ūrot’ū* and new folksongs have something in common, in that the lyricists and composers are identified and the pieces of music were produced and released by record companies, such as Columbia, Victor, Polydor, and Okeh.⁵ At the same time, lyricists transcended genres; both genres were, in large part, written by the same lyricists. Regarding *t’ūrot’ū* as well as new folksongs, lyrics and music were composed by promising elites in the field of literature and art. Amongst the representative lyricists, we can list Kim Ŏk (1893–1948), a poet, who wrote lyrics of *t’ūrot’ū* for Columbia and Victor records under the pen name of Kim Ansŏ. He also taught Kim Sowŏl (1902–1934) in Osan school in Seoul. As is widely known, Kim Sowŏl is the author of the famous poem ‘*Chindallae kkot/Azeleas*’, which is a poem based on *han*, the aesthetic concept of ‘shared oppression, a grievance founded on invasion, war, and political control’ (Howard 2006b: 78–79). Yu Tosŏn (1904–1938), a juvenile novelist and journalist, wrote the lyrics of the famous ‘*Ch’ŏnyŏ ch’ongak/Unmarried Men and Women*’ (1934). Lastly, the text of ‘*Hwangsŏng yet’ŏ/Old Place of the Yellow Castle*’ (1932), one of the popular *yuhaegga*, was created by Wang Pyŏng (1901–1941), an actor and producer, who wrote many lyrics for Polydor Records under the name Pyŏn Wŏl. Amongst many composers, the following active composers were intellectuals exposed to the influence of Japanese music education (Song Pangsŏng 2007: 663–664): Kim Chunyŏng (1908–1961), a pianist

5 These four record companies released both *t’ūrot’ū* and new folksong (Song Pangsŏng 2007: 662).

who graduated from Musashino Academy of Music in Japan, composed Korea's representative popular song which continues to be sung up to the present, '*Hongdoya ujimara/Young Sister Hongdo, Don't Cry*' (1938). Son Mokkin, while in Nakano music school, composed the favourite song of many older Koreans, '*Mokp'o ūi nunmul/Tears of Mokp'o Port*' (1935), and five and four pieces respectively on Columbia and Okeh records, although as a composer he was attached to Columbia after returning from Japan. Yi Chaeho (1914–1960), who also graduated from Nakano music school, created the popular '*Nagŭne sŏrum/Sadness of a Wanderer*' (1939) for Columbia.

It is the identity of the oppressed that was reproduced through the lyrics – both genres contain lyrics based on the people's patriotism. New folksongs were based on *pat'ang chŏngshin* (people's fundamental spirit) (Kim Chip'yŏng 2000: 90) or people's emotions. We can find this in many of the lyrics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. These were written as attempts to find hope in the desperate situation which unfolded after the March First Movement of 1919. As is generally known, this movement is one of the earliest and most representative independence movements in Korea which followed the Japanese authority's cruel oppression.⁶ We can take as examples the so-called first *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, '*Hŭimangga/Song of Hope*' (1925)⁷; the representative singer, Yun Shimdŏk's '*Saŭi ch'anmi/Glorification of Death*' (1926), which was based on two themes of the Russian Ion Ivanovici (1845–1902)'s famous waltz '*Valurile Dunarii/The Waves of the*

6 Although the March First Movement did not bring about immediate independence, it is understood in Korea that, at the national level, it played a role as a basis for subsequent development of independence movements, and affecting the May Fourth Movement in China, and that of nonviolent resistance led by Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) at the international level (Han Yŏngu 2004: 530).

7 http://www.sparchive.co.kr/v2/sub/search/document.php?at_opt=&at=view&content=%ED%9D%AC%EB%A7%9D%EA%B0%80&id=1080 (accessed 11 May 2014).

Danube' (1880) (Chang Yujöng 2006: 94); and 'Hwangšöng yet'ö/Old Place of the Yellow Castle' (1928), singing of the sadness of farmers who were forced to migrate to regions beyond North Korea's present borders such as Manchuria, China, and Siberia (Chang Yujöng 2006: 126-128) by the Tenancy Arbitration Ordinance (1932) and Farmland Ordinance (1934) – legislation that had the nominal role of protecting tenants in Korea.

However, the major differences between *t'ütot'ü* and new folksongs lie in their musical components. *T'ürot'ü* is a term taken from '(fox)trot'. Its songs use 2/4 or 4/4 meters and the previously mentioned *pyonko* rhythm. Accordingly, the genre is also called *ppongtchak* – an informal onomatopoeic term which describes the downbeat as 'ppong' and the upbeat as 'tchak'. *T'ürot'ü* can be divided into two scale types – major and minor. When major, the pentatonic C-D-E-G-A is used (Young Mee Lee [Yi Yöngmi] 2006: 5); when minor, pentatonic A-C-D-E-G or A-B-C-E-F. The minor scales have a strong relationship with Japanese ones. The first refers to *menarijo* as used for Korean folk songs, such as 'Chöngsön arirang' in eastern Kangwön Province or 'Ongheya' in South Kyöngsang Province. *Menarijo* is roughly the same as the Japanese *yonanuki* minor scale (Howard 2004: 23). The second, the Japanese *miyakobushi* scale, is found in *enka*. Within the frame of the pentatonic scale which was extensively used in music of Korea's Chosön dynasty, it could be argued that the *menari* scale and *yonanuki* were formed through cultural exchange, but that the second minor mode, A-B-C-E-F, reflected the great impact of Japan.⁸

⁸ It can be seen that *enka* is the outcome produced while Western music was localized in Japan (Chang Yujöng 2011: 467).

Given this, what musical features do new folksongs show? Basically, since Polydor Records first used the term ‘*shin minyo*’ (Ch’oe Ch’angho 2000: 33), it has been used as a term indicating this type of music, which mixes Western instruments and traditional folksong elements. However, after the 1970s ‘*shin minyo*’ made room for a new term, used for the song genre *kugak kayo* (Yi Yŏngmi 1997: 78), which emerged full-scale in the mid-1980s. These new folksongs, though, differ from traditional *minyo* (folksongs). ‘*Minyo*’ refers to folk song transmitted before new folksongs appeared, whereas new folksongs had known lyricists and composers (Song Pangsong 2007: 596).

As in *yuhaengga*, the *shin minyo* lyricists were leading intellectuals who had a Japanese educational background (ibid.: 597). Except for the lyricists mentioned above, we can take as representative one of them, Yi Hayun (1906–1974), a poet, teacher, and journalist who graduated from Hosei University. After he became the chief of the department of literature and arts at Columbia Records in 1935, he wrote a number of lyrics for new folksongs and *t’ŭrot’ŭ*. Regarding composers, exposure to the influence of Japanese education or European classical music is marked in *shin minyo*. While Yi Myŏnsang graduated from Nakano music school, the composers Kim Haesong, Chŏn Surin, and Chŏng Sain were, respectively, a classical guitarist, violinist, and flautist. The themes of *shin minyo* lyrics can be, at their simplest, divided into the categories of sorrowful and romantic. However, as in *t’ŭrot’ŭ*, lyricists wrote in order for people to forget reality or to feel consolation. At the same time, as in ‘*Pommaji/Greeting Spring*’ (1934) as well as in many of the poems written in that period, the terms ‘winter’ and ‘spring’ were used very symbolically, so ‘winter’ indicates occupation while ‘spring’ means liberation (Kim Chip’yŏng 2000: 91). In terms of lyricism, new folksongs are

not dissimilar to *kyōnggi minyo*, folksongs from the central region in South Korea. The melodies of new folksongs, however, use pentatonic scales and often a compound rhythm such as 9/8 or 12/8 (Maliangkay 2002: 1478). In this sense, even if the term appears earlier in Japan, we can say new folksong is ‘the first native popular music’ of Korea (Finchum-sung 2006: 11).

Putting the above together, it is not too much to say that both *t’ūrot’ū* and *shin minyo* were bases for the formation of the current popular music in Korea, although the forms developed from them are not mainstream. Since liberation, *t’ūrot’ū* has continued to be developed up to the present, maintaining its existence in terms of lyrics and music. Beyond the formal stage, it is still sung by the public on highway buses or at students’ camping grounds, as a kind of catalyst to add excitement. New folksongs played a clear role as a medium through which the Korean spirit and cultural expression could be shared amongst the people. As shown later, this led to the new folksong style in 1970s youth culture, and to *kugak kayo*, the first genre of popular creative traditional music. However, it is to some extent paradoxical that *t’ūrot’ū*, which in large part contains Japanese musical elements, is currently sung by much of the public, whereas new folksongs, which are based on Korean folksong elements, are not sung frequently. It might be possible to find the reason in Japanese imperialistic culture as it operated in the educational system, which has had an extensive effect on students’ perspective on music to the present day. This is mainly because the education imposed by Japan did not include Korean traditional music, but instead focused on Japanese styles of Western music. Thus, new folksongs based on traditional music could not help but be estranged from students, and furthermore from Koreans in general, while *t’ūrot’ū* was

recognized as more familiar.

1950s: The formation of American-style popular music culture

The situation after liberation led to a partiality for American popular music culture as it was diffused on the global scale. It was part of the global music culture given to Korea. Against this background, an American-style popular music culture began to be formed in Korea. This was motivated by the identity shared by the people – what I will call the first type of transient Korean identity (to discriminate from the dominant cultural identity of the 1960s). That is, it was a kind of unstable identity within popular culture. It appeared in the 1950s and the 1960s, periods when, after liberation, Korea was in the course of reaching stabilization in politics, economics and culture. In the 1950s, transient Korean identity was expressed in two dreams. The first was for exoticism, which helped listeners forget the hardships of the past (Maliangkay 2006: 24), as found in titles or lyrics which employed foreign words. The second was for higher social status (Yi Yöngmi 1997: 133–138). Because Western pop music was introduced at the same time as American aid was provided, it began to be recognized as a medium through which dreams for a raised social status were able to be realized.

Specifically, on 6 September 1945, the time of liberation, two military governments, the United States and the Soviet Union, which had both played roles in defeating the Japanese who had occupied Korea, set the 38th parallel (Han Yöngu 2010: 179-180) as a line around which the United States aimed to create an American-style democratic state, while the Soviet Union aimed for a Soviet-style socialist state. As the aim of the United States was developed, Western popular music began to be diffused to South Korea. In

the 1950s there were three main channels through which this happened. The first was AFKN (American Forces Korea Network).⁹ On 4th October 1950, in the year that the Korean War (1950–1953) started, the studio-based Armed Forces Radio in Seoul (AFRS) put out the first AM radio broadcast on 560 Mhz. AFKN was intended to encourage American soldiers stationed in Korea through broadcasting news and pop music. However, after its start, it played an extensive role as a medium through which American and Western pop music was introduced into Korea, especially through the programme ‘East of Midnight’. The second channel was local theatres that screened American and European movies. These contributed more to the diffusion of Western dance rhythms. Towards the end of the 1950s, movies including ‘Mambo’, ‘Rock Around the Clock’ and ‘The Americano’ were screened in local cinemas (Yöhlhwadang Yöngsang Charyoshil 1998: 126, 143, 179; Maliangkay 2006: 23). In 1957, dance rhythms popularized by such films, such as mambo, bossa nova, and *chá chá chá*, created a boom, leading in the case of mambo to a fashion for mambo trousers. The third was the *Mip’algun sho* (American Eighth Army Shows), where local musicians were recruited to perform for the troops. As American-style popular culture began to influence Korea, its popular musical elements settled down in Korean popular music. The features of Korean popular music before and during the 1950s can be explained in respect to music and lyrics. First of all, the heptatonic scale, especially the major scale, and triadic chords began to be found (Yi Yöngmi 1997: 119). This is well reflected in ‘*Ch’öngshil hongshil/Blue Thread, Red Thread*’ (1956), with words by Cho Namsa, music by Son Söku and sung by Song Mindo, and in ‘*Sanjang üi yöin/Woman in a Mountain Retreat*’ (1957), with words by Ban Yawöl, music by Yi Chaeho and sung by

9 It is currently called AFN Korea, after the title changed on 2 Apr 2001.

Kwŏn Hyegyŏng. However, regarding the minor scale, it is rare to find all seven tones (ibid.: 122), as ‘*Kohyang ch’o*/Flower of Hometown’ (1947), with words by Kim Tain, music by Pak Shich’un, sung by Chang Sejŏng, demonstrates. This appears to reflect a remaining effect of the then popular minor *t’ŭrot’ŭ*. Taking a side view, we can observe obvious jazz elements such as the blues scale and swing rhythms (ibid: 131-133), as in ‘*Syushain poi*/Shoeshine Boy’ (1947), with words by Yi Sŏgu and music by Son Mogin and sung by Pak Tanma. In addition, many dance rhythms such as mambo, tango, and *chá chá chá* began to be used (see Chu Ch’angyun 2009), as in ‘*Mujŏng purŭsŭ*/Mujŏng Blues’ (1948), with words by Ho Tonga, music by Pak Shich’un and sung by Paek Sŏlhŭi; ‘*Nillirimambo/Nilliri mambo*’ (1952), with words by T’ak Soyŏn, music by Na Hwarang and sung by Kim Chŏnggae; ‘*Pi ŭi t’aenggo*/Tango of Rain’ (1956), with words by Yim Tongch’ŏng, music by Na Hwarang and sung by Tomi¹⁰; and ‘*Noraegarak ch’a ch’a ch’a*/Song Tune, *Chá Chá Chá*’ (1954), with words by Kim Yŏngil, music by Kim Sŏnggŭn and sung by Hwang Chŏngja. On the other hand, it is noticeable that foreign words can be found in the titles (Maliangkay 2006: 24) as well as lyrics of repertoires from that time, in which a Western element is deliberately shown (Yi Yŏngmi 1997: 125–126) as in ‘*Lŏkk’i sŏul*/Lucky Seoul’ (1948) with words by Yu Ho, music by Pak Shich’un and sung by Hyŏn In; ‘*Ch’ŏngch’un abek’ŭ*/Youth *Avec*’ (1956), with words by Yu Kwangju, music by Chŏn Osŭng and sung by Pak Chaeran; ‘*Arijona k’auboi*/Arizona Cowboy’ (1955) with words by Kim Puhae, music by Chŏn Osŭng and sung by Myŏng Kughwan; and ‘*Amerik’a ch’ainat’aun*/America’s Chinatown’ (1953) with words by Son Rowŏn, music by Pak Shich’un and sung by Paek Sŏlhŭi.

10 *Nilliri* refers to *nŭilliri* which mimics the sound of wind instrument such as *t’ungso* (bamboo flute), *p’iri* (oboe), *nabal* (trumpet).

1960s: The settlement of American-style popular music culture

The 1960s saw the settlement of American-style popular music culture which had emerged in the 1950s. However, I need to argue that this culture was motivated by a second type of transient Korean identity. This is because, unlike the 1950s, the identity generated a positive perspective on life beyond mere longing for America or a higher social class. The second type of transient Korean identity was maintained through American-style ‘easy listening’ popular music. This style is different from the 1950s, in terms of music and lyrics. Specifically, the 1960s and 1970s were decades which witnessed a sudden change in all sectors of Korean life, including politics, economy, society and culture (Ch’u Kwangyŏng 1997: 231–232). Politically, the regime of Yi Sŭngman collapsed after the April Revolution in 1960 – a nationwide popular uprising – and the Second Republic emerged based on a cabinet system. However, after a short transition to democracy, a group of military cadres led by Park Chung Hee (1917–1979) seized power in a military coup in May 1961, whereby the Park Chung Hee military regime (1963–1979) emerged. In the economic sector, through to the end of the the 1970s there were five-year export-led economic development plans in place, which the government drove forward strongly. While the per capita GNP of \$79 in 1960 increased to \$1,443 in 1978,¹¹ Koreans had to experience abrupt urbanization, with Korea being reborn from a traditional society into an industrial one.

In the 1960s, Western popular music was strengthened as a result of influence from the *Mip’algun sho*.¹² These live shows, arranged at army camps and clubs nationwide,

11 I used data provided by Economic Statistics System operated by the Bank of Korea. For more information, see <http://ecos.bok.or.kr/> (accessed 31 Oct 2013).

12 In summary, this period witnessed that 20th century Korea began to establish its fundamental systems in the sectors of politics, economy and popular culture.

became, along with the above-mentioned AFKN and local theatres, another important channel for Western pop culture. At the same time, new groups of musicians emerged from these live shows. After ‘*Noran shassŭ ūi sanai/The Man in the Yellow Shirt*’ (1961), with words and music by Son Sŏku and sung by Han Myŏngsuk, was released as the first representative song for the 1960s, singers Hyŏnmi, Ch’oe Hŭijun, Patty Kim, Yi Kŭmhŭi, and composers Yi Pongjo and Kim Inpae emerged from the American Eighth Army Shows (Yi Yŏngmi 1997: 142).¹³

The 1960s Western-style popular culture developed through music, including easy-listening pieces of music, which showed a change in two regards. The first was the increase in the use of minor scales (ibid.: 152-161). When dividing pieces into female and male singers, female songs tend to use the normative heptatonic minor scale, through which the melody progresses successively showing great movement between pitches, as in ‘*Ch’ou/First Rain*’ (1966), with words and music by Pak Ch’unsŏk and as sung by Patty Kim. Regarding male singers, both pentatonic and the heptatonic minor scale are found in their songs, as shown by ‘*Nanŭn Komida/I’m a Bear*’ (1965), with words by Ch’u Shik, music by Yi Pongjo and sung by Ch’oe Hŭijun. In addition, the repertoires of singers were taken mainly from American Eighth Army Shows and adapted songs such as ‘*Chinju chogaejabi/Pearly Shells*’ (1965) sung by Pak Chaeran, taken from the famous 1960’s American pop song ‘Pearly Shells’ which was based on the melody of the Hawai‘ian-language ‘Pupu A ‘O’ Ewa’.¹⁴ The second change was the

13 Here, it is interesting to note how intellectuals began to be noticed amongst the singers (ibid.: 143). Kim Sanghŭi graduated from the College of Law within Korea University, and Ch’oe Hŭijun, the College of Law within Seoul University, both of which were the most respected universities in South Korea. These singers were nicknamed *haksagasu*, ‘singers with a BA degree’ (Kim Ch’angnam 1995: 540).

14 <http://www.hawaiimusicmuseum.org/news/archive/2003/shells.html> (accessed 2 September 2013).

lyrics. The lyrics of most of the then popular songs reflect a positive perspective on people's life, which differs from the previous decade (ibid.: 161–163). Indeed, it is hard to find direct expressions of sadness such as were common in *t'ūrot'ū*. Such positive lyrics can be found in 'Sōul ūi agassi/Missy of Seoul' (1962), with words by Kim Namsōk, music by Pak Sōngil and as sung by the Lee Sisters; and 'Kkotchip agassi/Flower Shop Missy' (1968) with words by Chi Ung, music by Hong Hyōngōl and as sung by Pongbong sajungch'ang dan (Pongpong Vocal Quartet).

1950s-1960s: The thread of life of *shin minyo*

In a situation where American-style popular music was established in Korea over two decades, there was little space for the 1930s style of new folksongs to continue. It is hard to say that a popular music culture that sought to frame the identity of the people existed during these decades. The thread of life of new folksongs was barely maintained, despite the support of the media. We can take as an example the case of the private DBS (Donga Broadcasting Station). Along with the government-run KBS (Korean Broadcasting System), DBS played an active role in promoting music related to Korean tradition, through a campaign that it called 'Nūillili'. This campaign aimed to arrange existing folksongs in a new way and potentially could have provided the basis for the development of new folksongs. The campaign was run mainly through a radio programme, 'Nillido hūnggyōpke', for 18 months beginning in October 1965. The programme led to arrangements of approximately 1,000 songs, including the well-known song 'Kaptoriwa kapsuni/Kaptori and Kapsuni' (1968), which derived from 'Ondol yahwa/Stories on an Ondol Room' (1939)¹⁵, an earlier new folksong, and was

15 Tori and Suni is an old name which is spoken, respectively, as a common man and a common

in the 1960s sung by Kim Serena, a representative figure amongst new singers of the period.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined two phenomena in order to show how the condition of a popular hybrid music culture for the Activation Plan was conceived at the initial stage. The first is how, during the Japanese occupation of Korea, its imperialistic music culture produced a patriotic popular music culture, and furthermore, how new folksongs emerged from this. The second is how, for two decades after liberation, global American popular culture generated an American-style popular music culture in Korea, while leaving little room for a Korean music culture – that is, a culture sustained from the new folksongs of the 1930s.

Japan's imperialistic music culture was framed within the educational system. It was propagated specifically by including *shōka* written in colloquial style and mission hymns in the music textbook 'Collection of *Ch'angga* for Elementary Education'. This textbook was used from 1910 onwards, within the music education policy set by the Japanese. It contained these two types of music but excluded traditional Korean music. The two types of music had a large influence on the perception of music amongst students and, furthermore, among musicians and the public. The essential musical elements of *shōka* – 2/2 or 2/4 time, and the *pyonko* rhythm – contributed to the forming of *t'ŭrotŭ*, the representative type of *yuhaengga* in the 1920s. Outside the educational system, a patriotic popular hybrid music culture unfolded as a counter-

woman. *Ondol* refers to the Korean underfloor-heating system.

culture that resisted the Japanese occupation, operated by the identity of the people, and formed through *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1920s. However, since *t'ŭrot'ŭ* did not use traditional musical elements, an alternative genre of music – new folksongs – could not help but appear.

After liberation, global Western popular music culture was introduced initially through the AFKN and local theatres, in a way that had a great influence on existing popular music in Korea. Another hybrid music culture emerged in Korea – that is, American-style popular music culture. This emerged in the 1950s, and settled down in the 1960s. It was motivated by the first type of transient Korean identity, an identity expressed as a desire for exoticism and higher social class, and it used songs based on a heptatonic scale, especially the major, and triadic harmony. These songs included foreign words and used jazz elements and dance rhythms. In the 1960s, the fundamental social, economic and political systems of late 20th-century Korea began to be established. As popular music culture settled, global Western popular music culture was further strengthened through the influence of American Eighth Army Shows. A second type of transient Korean identity, which generated a positive perspective on life amongst the people, spurred the 1960s American-style popular music culture. This identity was maintained through songs such as '*Chinju chogaejabi*/Pearly Shells' (1965) adapted from American pop songs. In the next chapter, I turn to later periods, when *minjung ŭmak munhwa* (people's music culture) became consolidated and developed into the next foundational condition that allowed the Activation Plan to be put forward. In the 1970s, youth-oriented *t'ong kit'a* culture appeared as an alternative to the American style popular culture. And the *Minjung ŭmak munhwa* emerged in opposition to the

authoritarian political regime of the time which in terms of the style of expression, reflected on youth culture. This latter culture developed throughout the 1980s, and the 1970s and 1980s can therefore be seen to put in place the conditions necessary for the Activation Plan.

CHAPTER FOUR: The People's Music Culture

This chapter will look at the period in South Korea from the 1970s to the 1980s. During this period, the *minjung ūmak munhwa* (music culture of the people) emerged. It was operated by the identity of the oppressed, being partly maintained through the song genre and the first sub-genre of popular creative traditional music, *kugak kayo*. In this chapter, I shall examine the specifics, after briefly looking at the political context of the 1970s which influenced the two cultures amongst young people in South Korea.

Korean authoritarian regimes and two cultures amongst young people

Politically, the authoritarian Park Chung Hee regime (1961-1979) served as a stimulus to the formation of two music cultures. The first was a Western-style youth music culture, the *ch'ōngnyōn ūmak munhwa*; 'ch'ōngnyōn' here indicates unmarried adults. This appeared as an alternative culture, in terms of the musical medium used for expression, against the 1960s Western-style popular music culture. The authoritarian regime led young people to hold a sceptical view of the older generation, requiring them to produce a youth culture that would differentiate them from the older generation. The second was the *minjung munhwa*. Under the regime, this music culture emerged as a counter-culture amongst young people – albeit those in a different camp from the youth culture – and intellectuals. At the same time, it unfolded as an alternative to the Western-style youth culture, and sought a system based on Korean values. The culture of the people was formed in a coalition of three sub-cultural frames – the *madang kūk* (theatrical genre), *norae* (songs), and a

version of traditional *p'ungmul* local percussion bands. Park's regime was followed by that of Chun Doo Hwan (1980–1988), established in December 1979 by a military coup that he led. During the regime of Chun, the culture of the people was strengthened.

1970s: The youth *t'ong kit'a* culture and the identity of youth

Youth culture appeared as an alternative to 1960s American-style popular music culture. It was motivated by the identity of the youth – a sense of belonging to a community of youth – and was shared amongst the youth in a way that distinguished them from the older generation. This allowed them to generate a kind of young 'generationalism', and was reproduced mainly through a style of singing with acoustic guitar which was called *t'ong kit'a*. In this light, the *ch'ōngnyōn munhwa* can be said to be the youth's *t'ong kit'a* culture. Yi Yōngmi sees this culture as deriving from young people's longing for something American – the American folk music culture of the time in which Bob Dylan was emblematic and the American way of living – rather than involving a critical awareness of Korean society (1997: 190). However, although this helps us to understand youth culture, it is still clear that this music culture formed an alternative to the then mainstream American-style popular music culture, in that it was operated by the identity of youth intending to distinguish themselves from the older generation.

Youth culture refers to the culture of the young, whereby they typically discovered or strove to realize their identity through Western pop culture, for instance, wearing blues jeans, drinking draft beer and growing hippie-like long hair (Okon Hwang

2006: 39), and by playing acoustic guitar. Their identity was a sense of belonging to the youth, through which they sought to discriminate themselves from older generations. The young people of Korea in the 1970s belonged to the post-war generation. This was a generation born in the 1950s after the Korean War, and who grew up in the 1960s. It is seen that the then political environment, where struggles developed amongst students after the April Revolution, made them take a sceptical view of the values of the older generation, thereby seeking different values. That is, the identity led, naturally, to a kind of young generationalism. Musically, this was expressed through a new genre initially known as *p'ok'ŭsong* (lit. folksong) sung on acoustic guitar.¹ This genre was developed by groups consisting mainly of promising young college students. Here, I need to mention the significance of this youth culture in the history of Korean pop music, since it provided the momentum for musicians of the next generations to form their ideas. Specifically, it provided the opportunity for young musicians in subsequent decades to play an active role in the field of Korean pop, and furthermore for young people to form a young generation – the *ch'ŏngnyŏn* – as a group, as opposed to the older generation – *kisŏng sedae*. In other words, the case of the early 1970s is different from that of previous decades, in which young musicians, at least to some extent, played a passive role, not being recognized as a generation distinct from older people within Korean pop music. Again, youth culture contributed to the expansion of subsequent genres. *P'ok'ŭsong*, the genre which was led by the most popular singing duo T'ŭwin P'ollio (Twin Folio) from the end of the 1960s, cannot be found in music of the older generation in previous decades. This genre provided the basis for slow

¹ I will use the term *p'ok'ŭsong* as it is, to distinguish it from folksong in the more general sense.

popular songs, a genre which, alongside *t'ŭrotŭ*, dance, and rock, served as fundamental to 20th-century Korean pop music (Yi Yŏngmi 1997: 187).²

P'ok'ŭsong is a genre of song sung on acoustic guitar; it played an important role in developing youth culture. Given this, why was the genre adopted for the 1970s? It can be seen as amateurism on the behalf of leading musicians, away from the commercialism of professional singers who belonged to the older generations. Their amateurism can be explained from several social positions (ibid.: 189-195). One is social class. That they were college students or raw recruits means they were not yet required to struggle for jobs, and, as a result, they were able to produce creative songs which could not be found in previous decades, and furthermore to be able to produce their own youth culture. Region is also important: they were all urban youth who lived close to the effects of AFKN; needless to say, Western popular music was obviously familiar to them. Yet, they selected the style of *p'ok'ŭsong* found in the American folk revival movement, as they needed a genre of music through which they could distinguish themselves from the older generation. In the 1950s, the folk revival movement was begun in the United States by the Weavers, led by Pete Seeger. This gained more strength in the 1960s in conjunction with the struggles of a young post-war generation against the Vietnam War, led by musicians such as Josh White, Joan Baez and Bob Dylan. The musical style in this movement had a great influence on the development of genres including country, jazz and rock. The emergence of the young leading music groups can be seen in consideration of the effect of this 1960s American folk revival movement (Young Mee Lee [Yi Yŏngmi]

2 As shown later, rock became the main resource for guitar *sanjo*.

2006: 8; Hwang, Okon 2006: 37), in that they took their performing style from that found in it. Of course, their music did not derive from political awareness, unlike in America, yet their choice can be said to be positive, in consideration of the orientation of the identity of youth: they merely sought a different value that would be distinct from that of the older generation in the field of pop music. And, furthermore, as discussed later in this thesis, amongst them the musician Kim Min'gi would produce many socially aware *minjung kayo* (people's songs), thereby impacting on the formation of the *norae undong* (song movement), in which populist songs were sung in and around a university campus. Finally, we must consider their intellectual minds. As already indicated, when making their debut, the core groups who led the field of 1970s Korean pop music were students of leading universities or promising raw recruits in South Korea. These included Yun Hyŏngju, one of the two members of Twin Folio, who was a student at the medical college of Yonsei University; Yang Hŭiŭn, at Sogang University; and Kim Mingi and Cho Yŏngnam, at Seoul National University. On the other hand, Han Taesu, a graduate of New York's Institute of Photography, was a photo journalist at the newspaper *Korea Herald*. From the beginning, these musicians sang for a hobby at Chŏnggaeguri Hall (The Green Frog Hall) (Yang Hŭiŭn 1993: 25; Hwang, Okon 2006: 37) – then a popular cultural space in the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association) building in Myŏngdong, Seoul, which played a clear role as the place for gatherings, and as a channel for the mixing of Western popular and folksongs, for young people and music aficionados. Even when they gained exceptional popularity as singers, they were often still college students or very recent graduates. This might suggest that they were searching for another way of being able to realize

themselves – a way of singing with an acoustic guitar.

Given this, what specific songs were sung with the acoustic guitar? The initial repertoires, and the most popular ones, were adapted songs. For instance, Twin Folio's '*Tu kae ūi chagŭn pyŏl*/Two of Little Star' (Univeral DK0650, 2011) was an adapted version of '*Zwei Kleine Sterne*' sung by the Dutch singer Heintje Simons, written in German (Sony Music S30850C 2014). '*Hayan sonsugŏn*/White Handkerchief' (Univeral DK0650, 2011) was adapted from '*Me T'Aspro Mou Mantili*' by the Greek singer Nana Mouskouri (Philips 514 090-2, 1993). '*Weding k'eik*/The Wedding Cake' (Univeral DK0650, 2011) was taken from 'The Wedding Cake' sung by the American singer Connie Francis (Universal/Polydor B000402202, 2005). Yang Hŭiŭn's '*Arŭmdaun kŏttŭl*/Beautiful Things' (Yejeon Media YWRCD095, 2004) was adapted from 'Mary Hamilton' by the American singer Joan Baez (Pony Canyon PCSD00956, 2013). And Kim Sehwan's '*Mokchanggil ttara*/Along the Way to Stock Farm (Univeral DK0650, 2011)', came from the Czech '*Stodolė Pumpa*' as sung by the New York-based chorus Robert Shaw Chorale (RCA Victor Red Seal LM 2402, 1960).

In terms of music, several features are distinct from the music of previous decades. First of all, it is very interesting that poetic words that present transparent images are found relatively easily in the lyrics (Yi Yŏngmi 1997: 206–210), as in '*chagŭn isŭl*' (tiny dewdrop) in 'Beautiful Things' (1972) sung by Yang Hŭiŭn, and '*yuri kach'i algŭn achi'm*' (clear morning like glass) in '*Tangshin ūi modŭn kŏsŭl*/Everything of Yours' (1973) sung by Wŏn P'lŏs Wŏn (One Plus One). This fact suggests that

young people attached importance to such images; they might have considered the society older generations created to be murky and corrupted. Second is the instruments and their way of performing (ibid.: 197–198). Singers introduced a method of singing at the same time as playing an instrument – the acoustic guitar – and they tended to use only the guitar as an accompanying instrument, rarely along adding a few other instruments such as the flute for support. Also, the majority were singer-songwriters: this manner of being composer, singer, and accompanist derived from an intention to realize their identity more positively.

In addition, another type of repertoire appeared: new folksong-style pieces based on traditional melodies to which new texts were added. Examples include Yi Yōnshil's '*Kohyang kkum*/Dream of Hometown' (Oasis ORC-1123, 1992), which is said to derive from a song of the Independence Army, and Sō Yusōk's '*Chinju nanggun*' (Riverman Music RMCD005R 2004), a narrative folksong from Chinju city. These songs can be seen as a small tributary of youth culture. Yet, it can be argued that a true 'Korean' realization of the original reason behind the American folk revival was achieved (ibid.: 209), because these included traditional musical elements. And, furthermore, these folksong-style pieces contributed, at least partly, to the formation of *kugak kayo*, the first genre of popular creative traditional music. Carrying the history of new folksongs which emerged in the 1930s, this type of music helped *kugak kayo* appear, alongside with songs within the *madang kŭk* theatrical dramas created within the people's cultural movement. While youth *t'ong kit'a* culture developed based on Western popular culture, with the identity of youth, through the genre of *p'ok'ŭsong*, it provided musicians with the opportunity to re-consider the

sense of what a youth community in Korea should be. In this process, the identity of the people was strengthened, thereby requiring them to develop a mechanism to achieve such an identity; as a result, they came to create new folksong-style pieces sung to self-accompaniments on the acoustic guitar.

1970s-1980s: Culture of the people and the identity of the people

Another culture existed amongst young people in a different camp. This is the *minjung munhwa*, the culture of the people, which developed in opposition to Park Chung Hee's regime. This formed in the people's movement amongst college students and intellectuals. This operated by the identity of the people. The people showed two sides in the cultural movement, particularly in the representative sub-theatrical genre *madang kūk*. The first was the previously mentioned first identity of the oppressed, one of resistance, in which the *minjung munhwa* emerged as a counter-culture against Park. The second was as the second type of identity of the oppressed, those who shared a nationalistic feeling of being freed through newly revived traditional arts, namely, the latent identity of citizens. That is, the *minjung munhwa* developed an alternative culture to Western-style youth culture. The identity of the people within it was expressed as populism in an original sense – that is, as grassroots democracy – amongst the people, and maintained through traditional folk arts.

The *minjung munhwa* arose primarily amongst college students and clubs and associations in the 1970s. It spread all over the country in three sub-cultural movements based on the university campus, but also developed amongst

intellectuals. Scholars working on traditional music and Western musicology, particularly as composers, developed the discussion of what Korean music should be (the so-called *Han'guk ūmak non*), while in 1984, scholars working within traditional music and music critics embarked on a debate about the Korean and Japanese overtones of *t'ūrotū* (the so-called *Ppongchak nonjaeng*).

1970s-1980s: The *madang kūk* movement

The people's cultural movement can be observed easily in the *madang kūk* movement as the representative example. The term '*madang*' contains various meanings such as an open yard, an occasion, and a place. It here indicates a meeting place in the traditional sense – a place in a village where ordinary people once shared their lives through recreation in a supposedly communal consciousness. The place, then, did not have a specific boundary separating performers and audience. In this sense, it can be seen as the equivalent of what Victor Turner calls 'communitas' (1969: 131). From this, *madang kūk* can be summarized as a genre of outdoor dramas developing in a new way but based on traditional folk arts such as *t'al ch'um* (masked dances), *p'unngmul* (music of traditional local percussion bands), *minyo* (folksongs), and *p'ansori* (epic storytelling through song). Actors and audiences were not divided (Kwang-Ok Kim 1997: 9), and a call and response was expected. Kwang-Ok Kim tells us that the form derived from a folk drama study club that emerged in Seoul National University in 1965, and influenced how *madang kūk* was performed by other college clubs all over the country.

The *madang kūk* movement can be seen to have grown outside and within an

institutional sector that centred on the Minye Theatre (Yi Yǒngmi 2001: 52-53). Outside this – that is, around a university campus – the movement first took its place as a counter-culture against the authoritarian regime. In this, dramas expressed criticism of society and took on issues about the nation, the countryside, current affairs or history. Inside institutions, however, young artists who were college students made a new type of drama in an attempt to combine elements of existing forms with traditional folk arts, and situated these beyond the theme of social criticism but for the stage, as an alternative to the products of *ch'ǒngnyǒn munhwa* Western-style youth culture. This became a way to popularize traditional arts amongst the people that sat as an alternative to the more formal attempts of government bodies and agencies.

It must be emphasized that this counter-culture grew into an alternative to the *ch'ǒngnyǒn munhwa*. This is because, through simultaneous processes, the appearance of the identity of the people changed from the first identity of the oppressed to the second type. As discussed above, in the 1970s there co-existed two cultures amongst the youth. Young artists in the *minjung munhwa* camp developed the democratization movement, with the first type – the identity of those who resisted. However, they appear to have been inspired by two things. The first was Westernized youth culture. While observing Western-style youth culture, it became evident to them that a Korean culture was necessary for young people, and furthermore, for the people. The second was the *madang kŭk* theatrical genre itself. Those involved criticized the political regime through *madang kŭk*, which was based on a communal consciousness of the ordinary people. As a result, *madang kŭk* gave

an opportunity to think again about the sense of Korean community. Under the impact of these two elements, young artists ultimately needed to awaken the second type of identity of the oppressed – the identity of those who share a Korean sense of being released through new traditional arts or the potential identity of citizens, and to create mechanisms to realize this identity. As a result, they developed their artistic expressions in an attempt to make forms which could be enjoyed by the people.

The result is clear in the music accompanying the drama ‘*Hanne ũi sŭngch’ŏn*’ (The Life of Hanne; 1976), including ‘*Sarangga/Love Song*’ (12/8), composed by Kim Young Dong. This song’s style grew into the form of *kugak kayo* in the 1980s. The drama deals with the tragic life of a woman named Hanne, utilizing elements of traditional folk arts such as traditional story-telling, percussion band music, masked drama, and village rituals.

Kim Young Dong (b. 1951) is a *taegŭm* flute performer; he studied *taegŭm* at Seoul National University and graduated in 1975. While he was at college, Kim played an active role as a member of the association, Handure. This was an organization which grew from a masked dance club at Seoul National University to lead the *madang kŭk* movement. Also, he began to compose. In 1976, he became associated fully with popular culture, when he received an award for his music at the Korean Drama and Movie Awards for the theatrical ‘*Hanne ũi sŭngch’ŏn*’ (The Life of Hanne). Kim made great efforts to compose easy listening popular songs, using Korean instruments in order to popularize traditional music, *kugak*. The theatrical drama contains an initial form of *kugak kayo*, as the genre became known as it emerged

through his subsequent compositions (and notably with his exchanges with the ensemble *Seulgidung*, a group which was established in 1985). As suggested in Chapter 3, this form can be seen as taking over musical components and populist sentiments of *shin minyo* that appeared in the 1930s. Kim explained to me the background to the initial form of *kugak kayo* as follows:

In the 1970s, there was no remaining power for popularization of *kugak*. Actually, I thought that popular art was very significant. I thought it would be appropriate for Western instruments to take charge of the accompaniment, and for Korean traditional instruments to be in charge of melodies, and through this it would be great if many people could be given opportunities to listen to the peculiar timbres of traditional instruments. With this in mind, I worked on *kugak kayo*. At the initial stage, I first used compound rhythmic cycles such as *chungmori*, thinking these would be important, and my initial pieces are based, mostly, on such cycles (Kim Young Dong, interview, December, 2011).

1980s: The *norae undong* (song movement)

In addition to the *madang kŭk* movement, I need to mention the song movement based around campuses. This is because the culture of the people was formed in this movement, and because both the first type of the identity of the oppressed and the second type were maintained through populist songs. It can be said that in this movement, the main medium of performing – the style of singing with acoustic guitar – was provided by 1970s' Western-style youth culture and the two ideas of the oppressed by the people's cultural movement. In a similar way to the *madang*

kūk movement, *minjung* culture in the song movement served both as a counter-culture against the political regimes and as an alternative culture to 1970s' youth culture.³ Specifically, it emerged in the latter part of 1970s, and expanded through the mid-1980s (Yi Kōnyong 1990b: 104). In this movement, *minjung kayo* (people's songs) were sung in university clubs at the national level, led by the Meari (Echo) club at Seoul National University.

Kim Min'gi contributed, substantially, to the formation of the genre of people's songs. As generally known, his songs do not deal with love between young couples as do other *p'ok'ūsong* of the time, despite the fact that he started his music career with a background in Western-style youth culture. Instead, his songs derived from a critical awareness of Korean society. These include 'Honhyōra/Half-Blood' (1971),⁴ which describes children of mixed parentage around military camp towns, and 'Sōullo kanūn kil/Road to Seoul' (1972) which deals with rural exodus. Musically, his pieces do not have the strong air of folksongs from the American folk revival movement (Yi Yōngmi 1997: 222). Rather, Kim uses various musical idioms, including blues in 'Kijich'on/Military Camp Town' (1973) and traditional folksong in 'Kohyang kanūn kil/Road to Hometown' (1973) based on a pentatonic scale. It is not difficult to imagine why the then military government imposed strict censorship on his pieces. If the composer was Kim Min'gi, even songs which did not contain obvious political messages were prohibited, as in the famous 'Ach'im isŭl/Morning

3 Yi Kōnyong divided the song movement into a movement for songs and a democratization movement unfolding through songs (1990b: 106). The former involved criticism of popular music in the mid-1980s which can truly be described as Kim Ch'angnam's has it: 'it is already common-sense that when discussing the Korean popular music of today, we cannot exclude words such as low quality, unknown nationality, and comprador' (1986b: 13).

4 The original title is 'Half-Blood', but because of censorship it was titled 'Chongiyōn/Paper Kite' for the album *Kim Min'gi ilchip* (The First Album of Kim Min'gi).

Dew' (1970) and '*Sangnoksu/Evergreen*' (1977). Nevertheless, his pieces kept being sung and passed on by many students around campus. In this oral tradition, the genre of people's songs, which was not subject to the commercial distribution of pop music (ibid.: 247) but was based on a critical awareness of society, gradually began to form.

Broadly, while the culture of the people developed in the song movement, as a counter-culture and alternative culture to Western-style youth culture, the genre split into two. The first type was songs which contained political messages for struggle. These played a clear role as protest songs, especially against the regime of Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan, a representative example being '*Imül wihan haengjin'gok/March for the Beloved*' (1981) The second type of song was not for struggle but conveyed messages to inspire awareness among the people, as in the famous '*Kwangyaesö/In the Wild Plain*' (1984) composed by Mun Taehyön, a member of the people's song ensemble, Noraerül Ch'annün Saramdül (People Searching for Song), and in the popular '*Hamkke kaja, uri igirül/Let Us All Go on This Together*' (1988) composed by Byeon Gyewon, who was a member of Meari in Seoul National University and who now works as an ethnomusicologist and a composer for creative traditional music.

However, to me the interest lies in the musical limitations of the song movement. The main criticism came in regard to the music itself. For lyrics, attempts were made to include political messages through various metaphors. However, it is difficult to find distinct attempts to make an alternative type of song: young people basically

adopted the existing way of singing but used an acoustic guitar, taking songs that were Western in orientation. Kim Ch'angnam mentions the danger of this situation:

The current protest songs deny current dominant social system from the aspects of lyrics, yet the music is inside the social system (inside the field of popular music), and the more song is sung, the more the dominant system given from the mode is intensified... (Kim Ch'angnam 1986a: 12-13).

The absence of new attempts in terms of music may have derived from the long influence of Western music on perceptions of music (Yi Kōnyong 1990b: 34). As people reflected on this situation they attempted to make new songs based on traditional Korean elements. As a result, the culture of the people developed as an alternative to Western-style popular music culture. In this, we can observe that the second type of identity of the oppressed motivated it, and that the genre of *kugak kayo* began to emerge, mainly to be popularized through the performances and recordings of the ensemble *Seulgidung*.

The ensemble *Seulgidung* was established in 1985 by Kang Hojung (b. 1960). The name of the group derived from an onomatopoeic oral sound produced on the *kōmun'go* six-stringed zither. The original group of six members has now grown into seventeen members, in a fourth generation line-up. The members include four performers on traditional wind instruments – Yi Chunho, Han Ch'ungūn (*sogūm* small transverse flute, *taegūm* large transverse flute); Kim Kyōnga, Yun Hyōnguk (*p'iri* double-reed bamboo oboe and *t'aepyōngso* double-reed conical shawm); six

on traditional string instruments – Chŏng Kilsŏn and Kim Ŭn'gyŏng (*kayagŭm* and *yanggŭm* twelve-stringed zither and dulcimer); Kim Chihŭi and Yu Ŭnjŏng (*haegŭm* two-stringed bowed fiddle); O Kyŏnghŭi and Kim Sŏra (*ajaeng* eight-stringed bowed zither); three on percussive instruments, Kwŏn Sŏngt'aek (*modŭm puk* barrel drums), Sŏ Subok (percussion), Cho Sangjun (*changgo* double-headed hourglass-shaped drum); Kye Sŏngwŏng on acoustic guitar; Hong Tonggi and Yi Sujŏng on synthesizer; O Haeyŏn, vocal.⁵ From an interview with the founder, Kang Hojung, we find that *kugak kayo* emerged as an alternative people's culture that was intended to popularize traditional music. This originated from, in terms of musical components, the *madang kŭk* movement in its orientation toward folk genres, taking the song movement toward folksong.

Most Koreans didn't know how to appreciate our traditional music...but since it is in my background, I decided I wanted to make a new music out of it. When I was in my second year of university, I took a simple pentatonic folksong from North Chŏlla Province and sang it for the University Song Festival (*Taehak kayoje*) on MBC TV. I accompanied myself on guitar and added a *tanso* flute much as folk singers in the central provinces would do.... This was how I created my first 'hit', how I started to adapt Korean music to popular song styles. I established Seulgidung with some alumni friends and colleagues. We felt that we could not make successful careers if we just kept faithfully to the tradition. We wanted to make music that would be easier to listen to and decided the way forward was to generate a style of songs based on traditional melodies. We

5 Yi Chunho and Hong Tonggi were in charge of composition, and Yun Hyŏng'uk, *taep'iri* (large *p'iri*), as well.

called this style '*kugak kayo*'. We added guitars and synthesizers to Korean instruments. By using traditional songs but developing new arrangements we allowed people to understand Korean music and began to accumulate lots of fans (cited in Howard 2006b: 185-186).

Kang Hojung's idea underpinned subsequent musical works. Although the ensemble have now included instrumental music in their repertory, it is still clear that they show consideration to folk elements and 'the contemporary *minjung* populist culture ethic' (Howard 2006b: 186), that is, a nationalistic consideration for the people. Since their first album was released in 1986, they have produced seven recordings. *Kugak kayo* is included on their initial albums. Their second album, from 1988, *Kim Young Dong · Seulgidung Noraejip* (Kim Young Dong · Seulgidung Song Collection), is a tribute to Kim Young Dong, helping him develop his career after he returned to Korea from travel and study abroad, and can be said to document representative *kugak kayo*. It includes three songs by Kim and others by Seulgidung, along with an instrumental version of a song by Kim and two re-arranged folksongs. In addition, two songs for children, '*San tokkaebi*/Mountain Goblin' from the third album (1990) and '*Sogŭm changsu*/Salt Peddler' from the fourth (1991) are today included in the authorized primary and middle school music textbook in South Korea (Kwak Yumin 2008: 22).

1980s: The *p'ungmul* movement

The culture of the people in the *p'ungmul* movement needs to be mentioned, for two reasons. First, the *p'ungmul* movement was the most distinct of the sub-movements

emerging from the amateur and professional camp. Second, it created an important opportunity to popularize what became the contemporary genre of performance by a percussion quartet on stage, based on newly re-organized *p'ungmul* rhythms – *samullori*. In 1987, both camps met.

Like the song movement, the *minjung munhwa* emerged both as a counter-culture and an alternative culture in the *p'ungmul* movement. This occurred through *p'ungmul p'ae* (university clubs). First of all, the four core instruments for *p'ungmul* – two gongs, the small *kkwaenggwari* and the large *ching*, and two drums, the hourglass-shaped *changgo* and the barrel-shaped *puk* – were used in 1980s' student rallies. However, to the extent that the instruments could be effective in rallies in terms of their sonic functions, they were also meaningful socially, in that they could reproduce the second type of the identity of the oppressed. During vacations, young students from university *p'ungmul* clubs visited rural areas to learn *p'ungmul*. Im Subin (b. 1970), who is currently a performer at the Academy of Korean Music founded by Yi Kwangsu, a founder member of the quartet SamulNori, recalls the days, as follows.

While at college, I was active in a *p'ungmul* club, 'Yöllimtö/Open place'.

Although it was interesting to perform *p'ungmul* music, I thought that the most invaluable thing was to contribute to reforming the then Korean society.

So, until joining the army to do military service, I devoted myself to participating in movement for demonstration through the activity of that *p'ungmul* club...My first learning was done when I went to learn *chwado*

p'ilbong kut (local percussion band music from P'ilbong village in South Chōlla Province), the mainstream of the then college culture. My teacher was the late Yang Sunyong [1941-1995]. At that time, he was a Holder in the Korean cultural preservation system... I, together with other club members, went to the transmission centre he was managing in Namwōn. Staying at the centre, we learned. This is my first memory (Yim Subin, interview, December, 2010).

On the other hand, from the late 1970s onwards, professional musicians were engaged in a search for traditional folk genres, under the effects of the people's cultural movement. The search was partly carried out through the Minsokakhoe Shinawi (Folk Music Association Shinawi), a group which performed at the Konggan Sarang (Space Theatre). This group was a significant private folk music group established after liberation to encourage performances of folk music. Actually, it was formed in 1969 by graduates of the Kugak Yesul Hakkyo (National School of Traditional Arts),⁶ with the aim of discovering and creating folk music which was at a crisis point and under threat of being lost (Song Pangsong 2007: 716-718). Since its first performance at the theatre in 1969, the group had revived various genres of folk music on the stage, as well as performing creative traditional music such as Chi Yōnghŭi's '*Manch'unkok*/Late Spring Song'. In 1978, it was from this group that SamulNori emerged. *Samullori*, the genre of contemporary Korean percussion music performed, developed from the *p'ungmul* of traditional local percussion bands and

6 This school was opened in 1960, and it was renamed in 2008 as the Kungnip Chōnt'ong Yesul Hakkyo (National Middle and High School of Traditional Arts). See http://www.kugak-am.hs.kr/high/01_02.php (accessed 2 August 2013).

now forms a significant part of the soundscape of today's Korea.⁷ As is widely known, the word '*samullori*' refers to 'four things play', hence delineating a type of performance by a percussion quartet on stage. For this genre of music, performers use the four core percussion instruments of traditional local percussion bands. Traditional bands would divide into amateurs and professionals, and professionals would further divide into certain region-specific groups and the *namsadang* (itinerant performance troupe style) which performed *p'ungmul* as one of their six acts.

The main SamulNori/*samullori* repertoire consists of newly re-organized *p'ungmul* rhythms from specific regions. In addition, the role of the instruments follows that of traditional local bands, along with performance techniques, so the small gong provides models of rhythm while the large gong underpins it, the hourglass drum follows the patterns of the small gong with a thin stick, filling in the underpinnings of the large gong with a mallet beater, and the barrel drum enlarges the pattern of the large gong (Howard 2006b: 5). Yet the performance context may remind one of that of itinerant troupes since *samullori* is performed seated on stage, whereas the *p'ungmul* of amateurs and region-specific professionals is performed standing and dancing in the context of ritual, communal work or recreation.⁸ With this in mind, *samullori* can be summarized as a genre of music which upholds the tradition of the itinerant troupes, in terms of presentational style, but develops the *p'ungmul*

7 The style of music which was shown by the group SamulNori in 1978 has developed into a genre of music '*samullori*', named after the group. Here, SamulNori is used for the name of the group, while *samullori* is adopted for the genre (following Howard 2002: 964; 2006b: 59).

8 The form of seated performance is being adopted by professional percussion musicians such as the *namsadang* and musicians working with shaman music.

rhythms of Korea's regions.

In February 1978, the group SamulNori performed for the first time at the Space Theatre in Seoul. By April 1979, the regular line-up for the group was established. It included Kim Yongbae, Kim Duk Soo, Yi Kwangsu and Ch'oe Chongshil of the Folk Music Society. These four members reorganized rhythms from specific regions in a new way, and established a form of musically-attractive seated performance. They selected the lineup of instruments used for *p'ungmul*, modifying an event that might last several hours to a shortened piece suitable to stage for a modern audience (Hesselink 2007: 100-101). The first piece, '*Yŏngnam nongak*/Southeastern style percussion band music', was approximately ten minutes long, and could be said to represent an inherited version of the musical presentation of traditional professional troupes. Since SamulNori achieved great success in the first concert, their music became popular, so that it was performed through various media, distributed on CD and DVD, and taught in educational institutes at various levels as well as at music camps, featuring in national and international tours.

Over thirty years, the core repertory for the genre of *samullori* has been established. The rhythms for this repertory are based mostly on *p'ungmul* rhythms rooted in three regions – Kyŏnggi and Ch'ungchŏng-do as central regions, Kyŏngsang-do, the *yŏngnam* region in the southeast, and the southwestern *honam* region (primarily one of the two types from the southwest, the 'right style' *udo*, the region to the right when looking south from Seoul). This core repertory can still be subdivided into three different categories, according to whether the orientation is for ritual,

performance, or entertainment. The first category includes one representative piece, ‘*Pinari*’ (first performed in 1980). This piece originated in the central region. In this piece, a blessing is chanted to percussion accompaniment, usually at the opening of a concert. Under the second category, there are two well-known pieces: ‘*Samdo nongak karak*’ (first performed in 1979), a piece which uses rhythms assembled and mixed from the three regions, and ‘*Samdo sŏl changgo*’ (first performed in 1982), a piece for four hourglass-shaped drums combining the rhythms associated with them in the regions, which was developed from those performed by masters in the three regions. The third category consists of one piece, ‘*P’an kut*’ (first performed in 1980). In this, performers perform their own solos, crossing on stage and dancing one by one, effectively continuing the tradition of *p’ungmul* but presenting it in a context for entertainment.

The *Han’guk ūmak non* (discourse of Korean music)

The culture of the people was also established through a nationalistic movement amongst intellectuals. In this, the case of music is not exceptional. Korean scholars in traditional music and Western musicology (particularly composers) actively developed a discourse of Korean music known as the *Han’guk ūmak non*. This discourse considered what constitutes Korean music, and through this contributed to the development of the *minjung munhwa* as an alternative culture to the then dominant music cultures in Korea. First, it started with a critical nationalistic awareness of the music cultures existing in Korea at the time, which were found to be inclined towards Western music and did not operate in a critical way. Second, the

discourse unfolded over a long time, throughout the 1980s, indicating that those involved seriously contemplated what an alternative music culture might be.

This discourse began in the late 1970s, during a period when the majority of composers were inclined to Western idioms. That is, the discussion started with the purpose of ultimately discovering a Korean idiom. It was led by the music educator Lee Kang-Sook [Yi Kangsuk] (b. 1936). Lee broke into a full-scale discussion of what Korean music was and should be in several articles (in English, Lee 1977 and 1980; in Korean, Yi 1985, 1987, 1990). He offered a critical reflection of the world of Korean music as he experienced it in the 1970s. In the initial stages of his argument, he pointed to the uncritical attempt by Korean composers to adopt Western idioms, and saw in this one of the main issues facing Korean music study. In his 1977 article, he divided music in Korea into three categories: traditional Korean music; music originating in Western culture; and experimental music, which was composed based on the first two (Lee 1977: 71). At the same time, regarding music originating in Western culture, he noted three sub-categories: music in which Korean lyrics were set to Western style melodies, such as the early 20th-century *yesul kagok* (discussed in Chapter 3) and Korean pop songs which had developed in myriad forms from the 1920s onwards; Western music performed by Koreans; and music composed by Koreans but based strictly on Western idioms. Lee then named the first of these sub-categories as being in a 'quasi-Korean form'. That is to say, the form was not Korean in terms of the music.

Since then, various arguments amongst traditional Korean musicologists and Western musicologists have been raised, as well as amongst those in the relatively small field of ethnomusicology.⁹ The arguments about what is regarded as Korean music broadly fall into three views: a conservative position found in the world of traditional music; a position underpinning discussions about music within a broader concept; and a position that considers the music across a united Korean peninsula (Yi Kangsuk *et al* 2001: 325-337; Song Pangsong 2007; 839-844). The third of these developed into what became known as the *minjok ūmak non*, the discourse of national music, partly through collating conservative and broader perspectives and linking them to the musical criticism of the song movement (Yi Soyŏng 2005: 225-229). Conservatives argued that ‘Korean music’ should be limited to traditional Korean music. Within the second position, though, ‘Korean music’ should include all music which constitutes part of what allows Koreans to realize a better life as well as music as in the whole context of life. The discussion has continued to be led by Lee Kang-Sook. After initiating discussion on the discourse of Korean music, he extended his argument to emphasize the creation of Korean musical idioms which could play a role as a sort of mother tongue equivalent to the Korean language (Yi 1985), stressing the need for enlightened or open minds towards music conceived within a broader concept (Yi 1987). Since then, his argument has developed by

9 Studies on traditional music can be divided into two, *Han'guk ūmak sahak* (Korean historic-musicology) and *Han'guk minjok ūmakhak* (Korean ethnomusicology), studies that respectively grasp the history of traditional music and its characteristics according to whether a diachronic or synchronic approach had been used (Kwŏn Osŏng 1986: 41; Song Pangsong 1980: 163-164, 1984: 11-14; Yi Hyegu 1986: 1). Here, it should be noted that Korean ethnomusicology and ethnomusicology originating in the West can be distinguished because they do not share theories, though they have something significant in common, in terms of the methodology (that is, fieldwork) (Kwŏn Osŏng 1986: 41) and one aspect of the subject matter (that is, folk music) (Yi Yongshik 2002: 189).

emphasizing the importance of understanding music as ‘the whole’, in which he considers music in the context of life (Yi 1990):

The whole mentioned here presumes that ‘music cosmos’ is its object....The whole always exists as the concept ‘the one.’...For this reason, in order for musicology to be established rightly, we need a ‘perspective’, from which we can view music as the whole. The reason for saying that the study of music from such a ‘developed perspective’ is musicology [in a real sense] lies in here (Yi 1990: 38-39).

In the third view, Korean music includes music from both North Korea and South Korea. This position is rooted in a recognition of the divided peninsula based on the historical context. It developed into the discourse of national music under the composer and critic Lee Geonyong [Yi Kōnyong] (b. 1947) (Yi 1988; 1990a; 1990b; 1992). Lee Geonyong argues the need to form what he calls a ‘logic of integration’ for a future in which Korea will be united; that is, a music world beyond the restraints of perception and environment caused by the current division.

The division of North and South was the outcome of such a divided and separate logic, but it also became the root in which environment of dissolution and separation was formed in our life. In this sense, movement for unification in a broad sense also includes overcoming this dissolution and separation, and recovering logic of integration (Yi 1990a: 10).

The three arguments of scholars that I have outlined here can be seen as each having advantages. The first, which argues for ‘Korean music’ in a narrow, traditional sense, has persuasive power, in that ‘Korean music’ is sufficiently distinct from music that originated in other cultures of the world, not least in terms of musical elements – modes, rhythm (more specifically the use of *changdan* rhythmic cycles), the use of pre-tones and post-tone ornaments within the concentration on individual tones, the lack of harmony. The second argument offers the advantage that ‘Korean music’ in a broader sense can be perceived of in the context of life, in terms of both a part and the whole. The third, which emphasizes the totality of the Korean peninsula, appears to be particularly helpful, in that the idea underlying the logic of integration could function as the conceptual foundation for a national cultural community when the two Koreas are united. In considering those various advantages, one may include post-1990s Korean pop within the phenomenon of the Korean Wave – always paying attention to pop’s social role, the social function it has amongst its many fans in East and Southeast Asia in forming an Asian identity, because the function of music has identity as its main component, as Nettl suggests (2006: 255).¹⁰

1984: The ‘Ppongchak’ debate

Another important debate occurred amongst intellectuals in 1984. This is the so-called ‘Ppongchak debate’ (Gloria Lee Pak 2006). It was about origin, and which

10 In consideration of Korean music in a wide range, discussed in the discourse of Korean music, the genre of *kugak fusion* can be located within Korean music as follows: as contemporary Korean music for the people, which contains traditional musical elements; as music which has taken a role in the life of Korea, particularly in terms of reproduction of the identity of the people, or, regarding several young groups who use instruments or musical idioms from other Asian countries, in terms of formation of Asian identity, as seen in the KMP 21 group, Asia Music Ensemble (AME); and as music which, since it emerged formally as the song genre *kugak kayo* through Kim Young Dong and Seulgidung, has continued to be produced.

country's *t'ūrot'ū* came first, Korea or Japan. It can be seen that this debate developed as part of the cultural movement of the people, in that through it the participants sought to answer the question of what Korean popular music was, through its identity with the people. The *Ppongchak* debate unfolded between 6 November and 27 December in 1984, in a series of fiery exchanges largely amongst academics, journalists and readers of the *Han'guk ilbo* (*Korean Daily News*). This was triggered by an article by a famous *kayagŭm* performer, composer, and scholar, Hwang Byungki, titled: 'How dare you stubbornly insist that *ppongchak* is ours?' This was published in a now-defunct music magazine, *Ŭmak tonga*, and was then re-published in the *Han'guk ilbo*.¹¹ The positions taken by those involved can be divided into four.

The first group emphasized *t'ūrot'ū*'s relevance to Japanese culture. For instance, Hwang maintained that *t'ūrot'ū* derived from Japanese *enka* originating in Koga Masao's song 'Is Wine made of Tears or Sighs?', and the *yonanuki* scale this adopted was the Japanese pentatonic minor scale.¹² The composer and musicologist Lee Geonyong stressed the necessity of Korea having its own musical language, rather than Western musical forms such as hymns and pop.¹³ Recognizing that *t'ūrot'ū* potentially derived from something Japanese, journalist and academic Kim Haksu presented three solutions to overcome the impact of imperialism: seeking originality in the process of creation, promoting social experimentation, and

11 On 6 November, 1984.

12 Koga Masao (1904–1978), who composed nine pieces on Columbia records and arranged three pieces (Song Pangsong 2007: 664), is discussed as a figure who has had a significant effect on forming *t'ūrot'ū*.

13 On 13 December, 1984.

stressing creativity.¹⁴ The second group paid attention to associations with Korean culture. Against Hwang's argument, and probably from a constructivist perspective (or at least, avoiding discussions of the musical origin), the musicologist Sō Usōk implied, using the metaphor of virginity, that even if *t'ūrot'ū* was not a virgin, *t'ūrot'ū* could still have value as Korean culture.¹⁵ Aligning with Sō, the musicologist Kim Chip'yōng argued that rhythms used in *t'ūrot'ū* could be rooted in those for traditional local percussion bands. Kim mentioned that while Koga Masao was growing up in the port city of Incheon in the 1920s, he was affected by *p'ungmul*, adding that even Masao agreed that *enka* derived from Korea.¹⁶

The third group found relevance to Korea from the social function of *t'ūrot'ū*, albeit being sceptical of the origin. The journalist Pak Ch'unsōk stated that the use of 4/4 and 2/4 metres in *t'ūrot'ū* was unrelated to the colonial condition, adding that the popularization of popular music depended on its audience, not on hegemony.¹⁷ Taking as an example 'Nunmul chōjūn tuman kang/Tuman River Wet with Tears' (1936), a song that invoked nostalgia in Koreans abroad, he claimed that *t'ūrot'ū* contained Korean spirit. Fourth, some stressed the influence of the age, rather than the identity with either Japan or Korea. While saying 't'ūrot'ū' is the remains of the age', the music journalist Pak Yongu held that *t'ūrot'ū* was not a cultural product from people's lives but a by-product of capitalism, which had exerted a bad influence on Asian countries.¹⁸ Probably from a similar perspective to Pak Yongu,

14 On 27 December, 1984.

15 On 22 November, 1984.

16 On 22 November, 1984.

17 On 6 December, 1984.

18 On 29 November, 1984.

the sociologist Pak Yongshin maintained that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was part of a standardized pop culture, a matter which might have been of interest to those controlling cultural formation. Pak pointed out that pop culture started from imitation.¹⁹

Gloria Lee Pak argues out that the *Ppongchak* debate was based on unhappiness about mimesis – Aristotle's concept of imitation. Yet, from Sō's constructivist perspective, she does not take a position of selecting one position, and, furthermore, given that *t'urot'ŭ* came from Japan, she emphasizes that while empowering it, a mimetic product is able to affect the original, as happened in Korea in the cases of the male singer Cho Yongp'il and the female Kim Yŏnja. When adopting a constructivist position, the important question becomes 'how did *t'urot'ŭ* become a Korean musical form?' So, the 1984 debate was, ultimately, a matter of how the identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* should be understood. Inspired by Sō and Lee Pak, I find a constructivist position useful to understand this issue in the historical context of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. In other words, when taking an essentialist perspective that stresses the musical origin, we are likely to lose the social identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* formed in its historical context, although we can easily grasp its musical identity. That is, while the influence of Japan can be grasped from its musical aspect, this does not reveal why *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was used as a medium through which the identity of the oppressed was reproduced, from the 1920s onwards. Rather, we need to consider the identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* through its social role, particularly as revealed by lyrics which evoke nationalism.

19 On 27 December, 1984.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the 1970s and 1980s, in order to explore how *minjung munhwa* established a national popular hybrid music culture that set the scene for the Activation Plan. In my exploration, I looked at how *minjung munhwa* operated according to the two identities of the oppressed, and at how the song genre *kugak kayo* was created as the first sub-genre of popular creative traditional music as well as a kind of successor to *shin minyo* in earlier times.

The development of these cultures was congruent with the political authoritarian regimes of Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan. Park's regime provided a stimulus for the formation of Western-style youth culture and the culture of the people in the 1970s. Youth culture was motivated by the youth seeking identity, and was maintained through *p'ok'ŭsong*, a genre sung with acoustic guitar accompaniment. Although young people adopted a Western genre as their style of expression, we can detect in this attempts to realize a Korean identity. This is reinforced by supposedly 'Korean' *p'ok'ŭsong*, an initial form of the song genre *kugak kayo*. On the other hand, the culture of the people appeared as a counter-culture to Park's regime and developed as an alternative to Western-style youth culture. It can be divided into three sub-movements, those led by college students, and those by intellectuals arguing the discourse of Korean music and the ways to understand *t'ŭrot'ŭ* argued within the *Ppongchak* debate. During Park's successor, Chun's regime, the culture of the people unfolded more strongly. Within the culture of the people, the first sub-cultural movement used outdoor drama adapting various folk genres, *madang kŭk*. This developed in university clubs and in institutions led

by the Minye Theatre, and from it, an initial form of *kugak kayo* composed by Kim Young Dong emerged. The second sub-culture was the song movement, which unfolded through university song clubs on a nationwide scale, mainly in the 1980s, and this contributed to the adaptation of vocal music as a style of expression for *kugak kayo*. The third was the *p'ungmul* movement in both amateur (university clubs) and professional (Folk Music Society; SamulNori) camps, from the mid-1970s through the 1980s.

I also explored how the discourse of Korean music developed amongst scholars in both traditional music and Western musicology camps, the latter primarily amongst composers. This sought to answer what Korean music was. Through the *Ppongchak* debate, scholars and journalists representing traditional music, Western musicology, and popular music studies took this discussion forward by exploring what the Korean popular music genre, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, was.

In the next chapter, I move forward chronologically, to the period beginning in 1987, that lasted through to the early 21st century. In this period, the post people's culture emerged that formed the final foundation at national-level for the Activation Plan. Starting in 1987, and after Roh Tae Woo took to the television screens to announce a shift from authoritarianism to democracy, *minjung munhwa* began to be gradually replaced by the post people's culture. Partly under the influence of the Korean diaspora in Japan, this would take over the musical legacies of *minjung munhwa*, but in a way that clearly differentiated a common cultural identity from previous periods. This, in turn, formed a foundation with which policy makers could establish the

Activation Plan, which would address the identity of citizens. On the cross-national level, at the end of the 1990s, the Korean Wave, supported by K-pop, began to be created, thereby leaving policy makers room to contemplate new forms of cultural production. Before then, after 1987, world music culture began to be consolidated, and, as a result, cultural pluralism came to be considered amongst intellectuals, in a way that was destined to be echoed by the drafters of the Activation Plan.

CHAPTER FIVE: The Post People's Music Culture

This chapter will look at the period from the late 1980s to the present day. This period witnessed how popular music cultures emerged on national, cross-national and global levels while being motivated by dominant cultural identities. These cultures were the post people's music culture, an Asian-centred 'Korean Wave', and commodified world music respectively.¹ The cultural identities were the identity of a Korean citizen, of a Korean-based Asian citizen, and the post-colonial identity of relevant Western market leaders, musicians and non-Western musicians. As mentioned earlier, I call the first two a permissive identity of the people, in that they are open to the individual, and to people at the cross-national and global levels. The identity of Korean citizens² has been reproduced in some cases through a number of sub-genres of popular creative traditional music, including in the prominent folk-based genre for electric guitar, *kit'a sanjo* (Guitar *sanjo*), in the genre that fuses percussion musics, *samullori*, and in orchestral compositions. Those came from the the people's culture or in cross-cultural flows. Also, it has been maintained through discourses that have been followed by intellectuals about the *shin saedae* (new generation). In this chapter, I shall examine what has happened, after briefly looking at the political turning point of June 1987, a turning point that had a great influence on the emergence of the post people's music culture.

1 The meaning of the post people's culture would be the same as that of the post people's music culture. I use the latter to emphasize the social role of music within the former.

2 In this thesis 'citizens' refers to Korean citizens.

1987: The political turning point

The final period of the regime of Chun Doo Hwan began with the June 29th Proclamation in 1987, marking a turning point for Korean people. This was because, following the proclamation, the 1980s culture of the people gradually began to be replaced by a culture of citizens. Democracy, as it came to be gradually established, did not require the people to be aware of the oppressed, nor to search for an identity of the oppressed. Further, democracy granted the people citizenship in a real sense, for instance, through freedom of speech, which sometimes had been prohibited through precensorship in previous decades. The democratization movement had developed and spread nationwide beyond campuses in the years leading up to 1987.³ It reached its zenith in 1987, when two university students, Pak Chongch'öl and Yi Hanyöl, were killed by police in January and June respectively. In April, Chun had made an announcement refusing a change in the constitution as had been requested by the democratization movement. Massive anti-government demonstrations on a nationwide scale took place, leading finally, in June, to the June 29th Proclamation, which announced direct presidential elections, thereby changing the constitution.

Needless to say, this proclamation did not immediately lead to democratization. This was mainly because the opposition split into two, allowing Chun's choice of successor, a former general of the New Military Group of the 1980 coup that brought Chun to power and a former president of the ruling party under Chun's regime, Roh Tae Woo, to become president. So, in actuality, democratization can be

³ In May 1984, the council for the *Minjuhwa ch'ujin wiwönhoe* (Promotion of Democracy) was established by politicians and figures out of office, followed, in April 1985, by the establishment of the *Chön'guk taehaksaeng hyöbüihoe* (university student national students union) (Han Yöngu 2004: 608). Violent protests gradually grew amongst university students.

said to have been achieved when Kim Young Sam's government (1993-1998) took over from Roh. It was as the Roh regime ended, particularly through the so-called 'syndrome' of the emergence of Seo Taeji and Boys in March 1992, that individuals – particularly young people – started to be discussed in literature as significant subjects within popular music and as citizens. So, it can be argued that the post people's culture was consolidated after Kim Young Sam's government took office, and that the post people's culture came to be dominant within popular culture.

1987-: The music culture of citizens

The post people's music culture refers to the music culture of citizens, operated by the identity of citizens. As discussed in Chapter 2, post-1987 citizens had a newly-gained sense of individualism coupled to a basic sense of belonging to the people. Accordingly, the identity of citizens can be seen as a new individualism based on a populist sense, namely, one in which the provisional identity of citizens has been realized. The identity was recreated mainly through pop songs that emerged as commercial entities, and in some cases – because less popular – was also reflected in sub-genres of popular creative traditional music, sub-genres that were created according to the populist ethos or in cross-cultural flows.

The post people's culture can be seen as one developed in a new way from the people's culture in the previous period. We can find both continuity and change. First, the post-1987 culture can be discriminated from the previous one because it includes new individuality as a feature. This was made possible through the changed political environment, which allowed people to perceive themselves in a real sense

as individual citizens. In the field of popular music, such a perception was gained through relaxed censorship. Promotion activities were sometimes undertaken by government institutions that did not actively consider the variety of individuals, through censorship. We can find this from the early 1960s to 1987. Censorship was led by two institutions in broadcasting and public performance. The first was Han'guk Pangsong Yulli Wiwŏnhoe (The Korean Broadcasting Ethics Committee). This was established in 1962 in order to examine the suitability of items for public broadcast. Three years later, the Kayo Chamun Wiwŏnhoe (Popular Music Advisory Committee) was set up within this to take charge of music.⁴ After Emergency Measure No. 9 was taken in 1975 to impose further restrictions, the Ethics Committee applied pre-censorship to broadcasts. In 1980, the first year when Chun Doo Hwan succeeded Park Chung Hee, the *Ŏllon kibon pŏp* (Basic Press Act) was passed to further control the media (see Chŏng Chinsŏk 2001: 47-48), and accordingly the committee was renamed the Han'guk Pangsong Shimŭi Wiwŏnhoe (The Korean Broadcasting Screening Committee). However, censorship began to be relaxed in 1987. In September, a ban on broadcasting approximately 500 songs was lifted.⁵ Two months later, the committee was reorganized into the Han'guk Pangsong Wiwŏnhoe (Korean Broadcasting Committee). Since the mid-1990s, the committee has not implemented any overarching censorship, leaving the matter to the discretion of individual broadcasting stations (Mun Okpae 2011). The second institution, which exercised extensive control over music, was the Han'guk Yesul Munhwa Yulli Wiwŏnhoe (The Korean Arts and Culture Ethics Committee). This was set up to examine all public performances in 1966. Ten years later, this was

4 <http://theme.archives.go.kr/next/tabooAutonomy/kindOfTaboo04.do> (accessed 7 May 2014)

5 <http://theme.archives.go.kr/next/tabooAutonomy/kindOfTaboo04.do> (accessed 7 May 2014)

replaced by the Han'guk Kongyŏn Yulli Wiwŏnhoe (Korean Public Performance Ethics Committee). An affiliated committee, the Kayo Ŭmban Chŏnmun Shimŭi Wiwŏnhoe (Popular Music and Records Screening Committee) imposed pre-censorship on music. Under the umbrella of Emergency Measure No. 9, censorship became stricter (see Ch'oe Chisŏn and Shin Hyŏnjun 2011: 868-869), but it began to be loosened after 1987. In June 1996, it was finally abolished, mainly due to a movement unfolded by Chŏng T'aech'un (b. 1954), one of the big names of the people's music, and partly due to the protest of fans of Seo Taeji and Boys against measures to amend the lyrics of the song '*Shidae yugam*/Shame of the Era' on the band's fourth album (1995) (see Mun Okpae 2011; Hye-Kyung Lee 2013: 189). Chŏng had made his debut in 1978. After 1987, he was totally engaged in a social movement, attending protest rallies as both a singer and activist. In 1990, even though his lyrics were required to be amended by the Korean Public Performance Ethics Committee, he produced his album, *Ah, Taehan Min'guk* (*Ah, Republic of Korea*), thereby raising the issue of pre-censorship in musical productions. In 1992, Chŏng deliberately produced his album, *92-nyŏn Changma, Chongno-esŏ* (In Chongno, the Rainy Season), without the committee's permission. In the following year, he was charged by the Ministry of Culture, but in reaction, he filed a complaint with the Constitutional Court about pre-censorship of music. Three years later, the court announced that pre-censorship ran counter to the constitution. In 1999, the committee was reorganized as the Yŏngsangmul Tŭnggŭp Wiwŏnhoe (Korea Media Rating Board), and this has to date been responsible for age ratings in film, video, public performance and advertisements.⁶ In sum, the now-default pre-censorship

⁶ For more information about the Korea Media Rating Board, see the website

was a product of the authoritarian regime; individual citizens therefore did not become the subject of popular culture until democracy began to be realized in 1987.

Second, though, the post people's culture maintains a continuity of the people's culture, because it is based on a sense of belonging to a common citizenship. This originated in the populist sentiment of the ante-1987 culture, and has sometimes been reproduced through the legacy of the previous culture, namely, primary styles of musical expression: the theatrical *madang kūk*, people's songs, and urban *p'ungmul* of local band and *samullori* pieces developed from them. This has been evidenced in a new type of protest rallies called 'candlelight vigils' which have taken root amongst citizens. We can find the origin in a vigil held in Seoul City Hall Plaza in November 2002 to commemorate two girls struck and killed by an armoured vehicle of the U.S. Army stationed in Yangju city, Kyōnggi Province. At the same time, it protested against the U.S. Court not guilty verdict on the two soldiers involved. Following this, candlelight vigils have been held in opposition to government measures or policies up to the present day. For instance, they took place against the impeachment of former president Roh Moo Hyun in 2004, the *Kukka poanbōp* (National Security Law) in 2004, and U.S. beef imports in 2008. In doing so, vigils have gradually been established as peaceful protest rallies in the form of cultural festivals. Candlelight vigils differ from rallies in previous periods, for instance, as instruments for participation, in protest methods, and in terms of social class, age, or the occupation of participants. However, a populist sentiment amongst participants is generally common to candlelight vigils as it was to rallies in the

period before 1987. For rallies, citizens adopted the music of the period – mainly, people’s songs but partly theatrical *madang kūk* and *p’ungmul*, in order to share sentiments. As for people’s songs, we can take the famous singer, An Ch’ihwan (b. 1965), as an example. He started his career as a member of the people’s song university association, *Saebyōk* (Dawn) and in a populist song ensemble discussed in Chapter 4, the Noraerül Ch’annün Saramdül (People Searching for Song).⁷ An has released ten albums under his name (1993, 1994, 1994, 1995, 1998, 1999, 1999, 2004, 2007, 2010), and has sung well-known populist songs and new songs in candlelight vigils as well as in concert halls and broadcasts.⁸

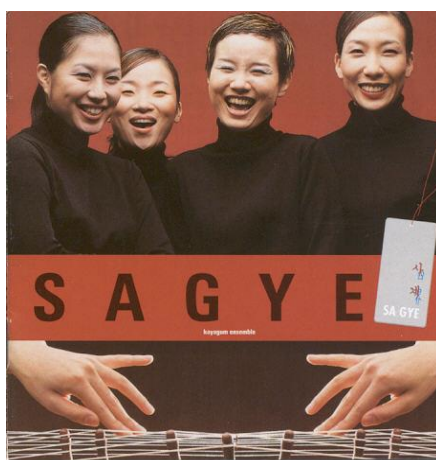
Various musical attempts have been made in an environment in which, while populist feeling was recreated, freedom of expression is extended, sometimes in a cross-cultural exchange. We can find this clearly in works of popular creative traditional music. To be more specific, the period from the 1990s to the early years of the new century witnessed two changes. First, the motive for work ranges between new individuality and the people’s identity. Second, experienced musicians and rising young *kugak* musicians attempted to fuse traditional and non-traditional elements. Third, following from this, sub-genres of popular creative traditional music were formed, in which rising young *kugak* musicians were supported by the media (Hyōn Kyōngch’ae 2011: 1073-1075). We cannot exclude the activities of two ensembles, Sagye and Gongmyong, and the activities of Won Il, a composer and

⁷ *Saebyōk* originated in university societies, including Seoul National University *Meari* (Echo) and Ehwa Women Univeristy *Hansori* (One Sound), both of which played a leading role in song movement (see Kang Hōn 1993: 265; see Howard 2002: 970). Later, it provided the basis for Noraerül Ch’annün Saramdül.

⁸ For more information about his album, see the website <http://www.anchihwan.com/> (accessed 16 May 2014).

performer on the double-reed wind instrument *p'iri* and traditional percussion. They not only attempted to create new styles, but they also did much to arouse people's interest in *kugak*. The *kayagŭm* ensemble Sagye (Four Seasons) consisted of graduates of Seoul National University. They played new versions of the traditional *kayagŭm* zither, with expanded numbers of strings such as 17, 21, 22 and 25, or adding lower tones to a 22-stringed version, along with the traditional 12-stringed instrument. Their work focuses heavily on new individuality, in that those were supposedly unprecedented. Their repertory was mainly re-arrangements of well-known European classic or Western popular music – for instance, Vivaldi's Four Seasons or Astor Piazzolla's 'Oblivion'. They performed their repertory wearing stylish and fashionable dress rather than traditional Korean costumes, and were promoted as popular stars by the polymedia agency (Howard 2002: 972). They gained much popularity, and their repertory came to form an axis for *kugak fusion*, along with popular creative traditional music. Their first album is illustrated in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Front cover of Sagye's first album, *Sagye* (2001)



The percussion group Gongmyong (Echo) are composed of four graduates from Chugye University for the Arts. While using a battery of percussion instruments rather than just the four percussion instruments familiar to local bands of old, they produced new pieces in collaboration with Indie bands and at the same time expanded their stage act to incorporate dance, music and drama. This group contributed to the formation of fusion batteries of percussion, along with the first contemporary percussion quartet, SamulNori, and many *samullori* groups of a second generation.

Won Il (b. 1967) is currently professor of composition at the Korean National University of Arts (K-Arts) and from 2012 has been director of the National Orchestra of Korea, an orchestra that was established in 1995, resident in the National Theatre. He has composed many pieces which utilize a variety of traditional rhythms, often in orchestral arrangements, for his groups – the now-disbanded P’uri and his main ensemble Baramgot – and for films – ‘*Kkonnip*’ (A Petal; 1996), ‘*Asura*’ (1997), ‘*Arūmdaun shijöl*’ (Spring in My Hometown; 1998) and ‘*Yi Chaesu ūi nan*’ (Les Insurges; 1999). His most representative piece is ‘*Shin Paennorae*/New Fishing Songs’ (1996), an orchestral piece that was composed based on a fishing song from Kyōnggi Province. This piece has been well received, not only because it adopted a melody familiar to citizens, but because it used percussion in impressive ways (Howard 2006b: 187). On the whole, set within the rhythmic cycle *kutkōri* (12/8), the piece evolves a cadenza based on the *samullori* piece ‘*Samdo sōl changgo*’, originally for four *changgo* hourglass-shaped drums, before the last refrain is played. Through the piece, he contributed to the subsequent

establishment of orchestral repertoires as a sub-genre of popular creative traditional music. The sub-genre has since been used by Yang Bang Eon and Yi Chisu, the latter a music producer for the Ministry of Culture's project TASP.

During the period of the music culture of citizens, the media provided young musicians with opportunities to create new music, by hosting contests and creating new broadcast formats. For instance, the state broadcaster KBS held the KBS University *kugak* contest for young people from 1996 onwards, which was similar to the current the Ministry of Culture and Sport's KMP 21 project in terms of format. A year earlier, its terrestrial rival, MBC, had already set up a new programme for popular creative traditional music, '*Saemi kip'ŭn mul*' (Deep Spring Water, 1995).

Amongst the many groups and musicians whose works became popular from the 1990s onward, I will next look in detail at three cases that have contributed to the recreation of the post people's culture. The first two are Kim Soochul and a second generation of *samullori* musicians, both of whose music displays the continuity of the people's cultural movement; their works developed in the people's cultural movement. Another case is that of Yang Bang Eon, whose works provide cross-cultural exchanges. This is evidenced by the fact that these were formed within the Korean diasporic cultures in Japan, and encouraged the recreation of the post-1987 music culture.

2002-: Kim Soochul and his 'Guitar *sanjo*'

Kim Soochul's popular creative traditional music, and amongst it the representative

‘Guitar *sanjo*’, centres on the media and aims to reactivate the identity of citizens, thereby maintaining the post people’s culture. To discuss his work, I first need to briefly consider the traditional genre on which it is based, *sanjo*. *Sanjo* refers, literally, to ‘scattered melodies’ (also known as *höt’ün karak*), and is a prominent folk-art genre for solo melodic instruments that include the *kayagŭm*, *kŏmun’go* and *ajaeng* zithers, the *taegŭm* flute, *haegŭm* fiddle and (albeit not often performed) *p’iri* oboe. Each solo melodic instrument is accompanied by the *changgo* hourglass drum. From a general perspective, *sanjo* has an architecture based on constantly developing movement. In the initial section, *tasŭrŭm*, melodies used originally to regulate tuning are performed in free rhythm without the accompaniment of the *changgo*. Then, in subsequent movements, each section is set to a rhythmic cycle in a way that accelerates gradually from slow to fast – specifically, from the slowest *chinyangjo* (18/8), through the medium-paced *chungmori* (12/4), moderate-paced *chungjungmori* (12/8) to the fast *chajinmori* (12/8). For the *kayagŭm*, the *chajinmori* section often leads to even faster *hwimori* (12/8 or 4/4), *tanmori* (4/4) or *sesanjosi* (4/4) sections, in which the overarching triple-subdivided meters typically change to duple-subdivided meters.

‘Guitar *sanjo*’ is a version of *sanjo* for an electric guitar – a new instrument to be used within the context of this traditional genre. *Sanjo* pieces for such new instruments emerged from the 1980s onwards, re-organized or re-composed in new ways. Creative pieces include those for European classic instruments – for cello by Yi Kŏnyong (1981), piano by Yu Pyŏngŭn (1988, 1994), and cello and piano by Yu Pyŏngŭn (1993). There is a *sanjo* collection for piano, cello, and violin by Kim

Kukchin (2000), and for rock guitar by Shin Joonghyun (1994), Kim Soochul (2002), Kim Togyun (2002) and Kim Yŏngjin (2004).⁹ There is even a *changgo sanjo*. Amongst these, we can find a difference between ‘Guitar *sanjo*’ and those pieces for other new instruments in terms of continuity; whereas *sanjo* for other Western instruments or *changgo* were attempted by one or two musicians, ‘Guitar *sanjo*’ embraced four different rock guitarists, although no school.¹⁰

‘Guitar *sanjo*’ was pioneered by Kim Soochul (b. 1957), an electric guitarist and rock musician who was popular for two decades from the beginning of the 1980s. At the same time as composing music based on traditional music for international sports events such as the 1986 Asian Games in Seoul and the 1988 Seoul Olympics, Kim was one of the important contemporary Korean composers for popular creative traditional music.¹¹ As is widely celebrated in Korea, inspired by Jimi Hendrix, as a child he began to play electric guitar as well as composing. His music career started in 1978 while he was at Kwangun University in Seoul. That year his rock group Little Big Man won the first prize at the National University Song Contest, with ‘*Ilgop saekkal mujigae/Rainbow of Seven Colours*’, a song that then gained much popularity. After his band released two albums he built a dual music career as a singer-songwriter (between 1983 and 1998 he released eight solo albums) and as a

9 Howard divides his consideration for *sanjo* evolution into two: adaptations for additional instruments, as shown in the cases of Kim Duk Soo and Kim Soochul, and compositions for Western instruments (Howard 2009a: 63-64).

10 Hesselink’s article (2011) is the first contribution to discuss the attempts of Shin Joonghyun. This thesis, in contrast, concentrates on Kim Soochul.

11 Howard’s writings provide a summary of Kim’s biography and his *kugak*-related works (2002: 959-960; 2006b: 177-179), while Eun-Young Jung provides a detailed musical description of four versions of Kim’s ‘Guitar *sanjo*’ (2010: 98-101). Chang Yujŏng (2010) presents an account of Kim’s new attempts to use traditional musical elements under four headings – the song genre *kugak kayo*, film music, creative music and events music, and guitar *sanjo*, thereby making an early contribution to the field of popular music studies in Korea.

composer of popular creative traditional music. The latter can be traced back to 1980, when he made the music for a 16mm film while at college, attempting to use *sanjo*. His awareness of being a ‘Korean’ musician – specifically, the identity of the people – arose during this process.

It was in August, 1980 – the period of Little Big Man that I started to study *kugak*. Around that time, I was involved in a film club with the name ‘New Bird’. At our own expense, we had made 16mm films, and amongst these, a film titled *T'al* (Mask) was chosen in the final selection made by a film festival in France. Since the film was a piece of work depicting dreams and conflicts of Korean youth, I came to attempt to make ‘Guitar *sanjo*’, with the intention to give life to Korean native tradition. It was the question, ‘Why should Koreans [in the field of popular music] only play foreign music?’ that endlessly disturbed my mind, before I had this opportunity. It was a shame. However, at that time, my curiosity arose beyond this shame; out of this, I started off using *kugak* (Cited in Im Chinmo 2002).¹²

The year 1980, when Kim began to take an interest in *kugak*, reminds us that the people’s culture developed during those days. His idea coincides with the populist values underpinning the culture; namely, it was reinforced within the culture. Accordingly, it can be seen that guitar *sanjo* is the outcome of the culture, because, as shown later, its initial form appeared in 1986. From a broad point of view, his

12 A well-known popular music critic. Im’s webzine, *Neo Music Community*, can be found at <http://www.izm.co.kr/contentRead.asp?idx=59&bigcateidx=11&subcateidx=13> (accessed 27 September 2013).

subsequent *kugak*-related works, which were actively produced from the 1980s to the early 21st century, can be understood as the legacies of the people.

Although he initiated new music based on traditional musical elements with the identity of a ‘Korean’ musician, Kim also had an identity as a rock musician. He intensified his individual identity, as individuals emerged as the dominant subjects in the field of popular culture. This knowledge provides me with three interpretations to explain his cultural identity. First, the co-existing identities of a Korean popular musician and a rock musician. Second, though, the former underpins the latter, since he basically adopts traditional resources as the basis for his music. Third, the former is open to the latter within his personal perception so that, although he wanted to be a ‘Korean’ musician, he did not feel pressured to be one. This shows a different perception to many musicians involved in popular creative traditional music or hybrid musics, who tend to negotiate their positions as they compromise between the past (tradition) and the present (their individual styles).

Kim’s popular creative traditional works can be divided into vocal and instrumental. The vocal include slow popular *kugak kayo* and rock-style *kugak kayo*. For the former, we can take as an example his song, ‘*Pyölli/Parting*’ (1983). It uses the *kyemyöŋjo* mode common to southern folk music, E-A-B-C-D,¹³ and characteristic lyrics sourced from the south. Yet, it also uses Western instruments adopted from popular music, thereby discriminating it from pieces by other composers and groups

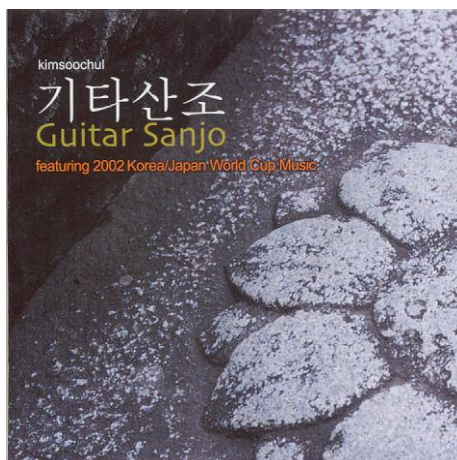
13 Kim Pyöngo, 2007. ‘Mashinnün chönt’ong ūmak, Kim Soochul ūi son mat’, *Kijön munhwa yesul* 49, at <http://old1.ggcf.or.kr/books/webzineview.asp?ino=2083&searchkey=&searchword=&webzinenumber=61&ipage=&btype=list&mode=webzine&orderby=> (accessed 29 October 2013).

such as Kim Young Dong and Seulgidung. The rock style is seen in ‘*Toriwa suni*/Tori and Suni’ on his third album (1984), in which the sound of electric guitar and a backbeat is emphasized. This song develops a motif using lyrics from an old song, ‘*Ondol yahwa*/Stories on an *Ondol* Room’ (1939) – a song mentioned in Chapter 3 – while using a *samullori* small gong in its introduction.

His instrumental music has usually been written for films, for instance, ‘*Söp’yŏnje*’ (1993), ‘*T’aebaek sanmaek* (Taebaek Range of Mountains; 1994) and ‘*Ch’ukche* (Festival; 1995), for various international events, and for his *kugak*-related albums, for instance, *Kim Soochul* (1987), *Hwangchŏn kil* (The Road to Hwangchon, 1989), *Pullim sori* (Song for Invocation, 1992), *Pullim sori II* (1997), *P’alman taejanggyŏng* (Eighty-Thousand Pages of *Sūtras*, 1998) and *Guitar Sanjo* (2002) which can be seen as the most significant output of his musical career. The initial form of ‘Guitar *sanjo*’ was part of the music for the festival to celebrate the opening of the 1986 Asian Games in Seoul (Chang Yujŏng 2010; Howard 2006b: 178).¹⁴ It then evolved from a live performance piece into four pieces for the album. The cover is shown in Figure 5.2.

¹⁴ This music was part of the album *Hwangchŏn Kil* (1989), along with other of his pieces using traditional musical elements.

Figure 5.2 Front cover of *Guitar Sanjo* (2002)



What are the specific contents of his ‘Guitar *sanjo*’? Kim does not faithfully follow the musical idioms of traditional *sanjo*, and there are three different aspects. The first is structure. Kim’s ‘Guitar *sanjo*’ does not follow the sequence of the four or five accelerating movements of traditional *sanjo*. And, as shown later, he sometimes develops a motif that gets ‘stuck’ in one rhythmic cycle. The second lies in the role of instruments: whereas melodic instruments in *sanjo* are accompanied by *changgo*, Kim’s pieces are not, and while often he plays solo (for example, on the fourth piece) or part will have an instrumental accompaniment (for example, on the second piece for *taegŭm* and guitar), his guitar is essentially equal, playing in duet, with the *changgo*, *taegŭm*, and *kayagŭm* as second instruments.¹⁵ The third is the length of pieces: Kim deliberately shortened *sanjo* from pieces of between ten minutes to an hour in length into pieces for the public lasting from two to four minutes. In addition, I note the posture adopted for actual performance: unlike conventional *sanjo*, where the performers perform seated, he plays while standing.

¹⁵ On the album, the *changgo* was performed by Kim Duk Soo, a co-founder of SamulNori/*samullori*.

Nevertheless, we may still find elements of *sanjo* as well as rock moments in his ‘Guitar *sanjo*’. This is mostly because melody develops gradually to a climax, following a rhythmic cycle akin to that of conventional *sanjo*, while at the climax it is played in the manner of rock, with fast strumming techniques for the electric guitar. For instance, in the first piece, the electric guitar and *changgo* play a duet. The *changgo* plays the *sesanjoshi* (fast 4/4) rhythmic cycle, which would usually be adopted for the final movement of a *kayagŭm sanjo*, but here it is not used in the way of accompanying a traditional *sanjo*. For the drum accompaniment in a traditional *sanjo*, the left drumhead is struck by the left bare palm and the outer stretched part of the right drumhead is tapped gently by a stick held in the right hand. But, in this piece, the player shifts hands, then the right hand strikes the right drumhead with a mallet-shaped stick, and the left drumhead is slapped by the stick. This is reminiscent of performing *samullori* pieces. In this cycle, the electric guitar plays variations on a motif that build and finally add to the excitement when switching to fast strumming. Although following only one rhythmic cycle, the variation building to a height of dramatic expression allows listeners to feel a new concept of *sanjo*, one based on the identity of citizens – or, in Kim’s case, the identity of a rock musician based on that of a Korean popular musician.

1987-: *Samullori* groups of the second generation

Second-generation *samullori* groups have also played an important role in reproducing the post people’s culture, one that contains a newly-discovered individuality alongside the populist ethos. The populist aspect of the post people’s culture has been reproduced mainly through a musical legacy of the previous period,

i.e. existing *samullori* repertoires. New individuality of the culture has been reinforced though sometimes by introducing new repertoires, including the percussion fusion of drums known as *modūmbuk*. The formation of the second generation can be traced back to 1987 when the original quartet, SamulNori, spurred a boom amongst university students. Since then professionals, amateurs, university *p'ungmul* clubs, teachers and school children have learnt to perform the repertory, leading to the gradual formation of the second generation.¹⁶

Although the new music of SamulNori still attracts many, in the initial period of its development it was criticized not only by professional *p'ungmul* musicians (Hesselink 2012: 6) but by young students. This was mainly directed at its professional commercialism, which was felt to be far from the amateurism underlying *p'ungmul* played in daily life. Hence, SamulNori was considered to corrupt traditional *p'ungmul* (see, for example, Hesselink 1998: 315; Hesselink 2012: 6-7). Students doubted the relevance of SamulNori music to tradition, and university clubs preferred *p'ungmul* that was 'simple and repetitive' (Howard 2006b: 19). One criticism addressed the spirit of *p'ungmul*, namely, as a communal consciousness, disliking the speed and virtuosity of SamulNori. However, a major turning point came in 1987 (Howard 2006b: 19), when the first generation group began to turn their attention to the *p'ungmul* movement around campuses. That is, they started to establish an identity of the oppressed, in response to antidemocratic political condition. Through the concert '*Param maji*' (Greeting the Wind; 1987) the group expressed their awareness for the first time. *Param maji* was a shamanistic ritual for

¹⁶ This section aims to take further the discussions by Hesselink (2012) and Howard (2006b: 1-69), which mainly focus on the first generation.

the people, rendered by the dancer Yi Aeju (b. 1947)¹⁷ to console the victims of the democratization movement, which originated in a ritual that was part of a funeral ceremony for the previously mentioned victim of police abuse, Pak Chongch'öl, held at Seoul National University in May 1987 (Kwang-Ok Kim 1994: 211-213). In this, Yi described Pak's miserable death and resurrection, with fierce bodily movements, for about one and a half hours, arousing much sympathy amongst college students. The ritual allowed the students to regard the death and resurrection of an individual as part of themselves as members of a community, so, by the end of this ritual, they had created the second identity of the oppressed – a sense of belonging to those liberated through art. The ritual took the name of 'Greeting the Wind' when staged at the small theatre Yönu Sogükch'ang in June, 1987. At that point, the members of SamulNori gave a drum accompaniment for her dance. The concert was popular among college students and was repeated at the Minjung Munhwa Hoegwan (Centre for the Culture of the People) in Yonsei University to celebrate the foundation of this building (Kim Ch'aewön 2011: 1007-1008). Kim Duk Soo, a co-founder of SamulNori has looked back on the situation at that time, as follows:

Since 1987, I have grown a moustache. As you know well, at that time our society was in the worst situation where college students such as Pak Chongch'öl and Yi Hanyöl were killed by torture and tear bombs. Around that time, I was on international tour as a PR ambassador for the Seoul Olympics.

17 Yi was a professor of Seoul National University in physical education, who recently resigned (in 2013). While at the university, and during the latter part of 1980s, she contributed greatly to the development of the cultural movement of the people as a dancer. She performed a shamanistic dance in many college festivals and funerals for the victims of the democratization movement, including the aforementioned student Yi Hanyöl.

However I questioned whether my country could be a country which was really able to carry out the Olympics. I thought what I could do, in the situation where intellectuals made a declaration of conscience. I performed for the concert ‘Greeting the Wind’ alongside Professor Yi Aeju. Since that time, I have grown a moustache as an indication to symbolize a kind of protest and freedom. It could be said to symbolise ‘letting the moustache be as it is’ (cited in Pak Chuyŏn, 2008).¹⁸

From that year onward, the *p’ungmul* movement from both camps began to popularize *samullori*. Young students began to perceive the music of SamulNori from a different viewpoint, and their new perception became the conceptual cornerstone for an alternative culture. Yi Muiyang, a performer at the Academy of Korean Music, told me how his perception of the music of SamulNori was changed:

I participated in the people’s cultural movement in the 1980s. While doing that, I also studied social science hard. At that time, performance of the *p’ungmul* of traditional local bands was done for the cultural movement, but there was, to some extent, a negative perspective on *samullori*. This was because *p’ungmul* or the shaman *kut* culture is rooted in communal consciousness but *samullori* is a form of performance focusing on aspects of technique which a few individuals show splendidly on stage. From a perspective of solidarity given in the context of the cultural movement, the focus seemed to be on the propensity for an

¹⁸ Park Chuyŏn, interview with Kim Duk-Soo, in *Chugan Kyŏngnyang* (a weekly news magazine) on 18 March, 2008, at <http://www.wkh.kr/khnm.html?mode=view&artid=17116&code=116> (accessed 27 September 2013).

individual or a technique, not on the significant meaning of *p'ungmul*. While performing *samullori* as a performer, though, I came to think differently about the accumulated skills of *samullori* teachers such as Yi Kwangsu, their artistic minds, and the attitudes of performers on stage. I came to learn and be enlightened. Now, such a perspective does not seem to be totally right, although it is a perspective given in the context of the time. While I performed *samullori*, being learned, what I felt new was that I did not know *samullori* well. I had understood *samullori* only conceptually, without any experience of real *samullori*. Considering myself a *samullori* insider, the artistic and historical value of traditional Korean music, particularly traditional Korean percussion music as its origin, was too great to be judged easily just from the perspective of a cultural movement... Yi Kwangsu says that *samullori* is one hundred years' worth of music, collecting 50 years of his music and 50 years of his late father's music. Additionally, I think that while he did musical activity, being named a *samullori* master, what his many teachers taught him was expressed, as it was, through his music. Its history is alive... And in this light, in consideration of that, it was not proper to judge *samullori*, at a glance of a single performance or the form... I am in the course of continuing to learn and perform (Yi Muiyang, interview, November 2010).

The formation of second-generation professional performers took place in two sectors. The first involved specialists. As I will show later, after the year 1978, various *samullori* groups emerged from traditional percussion-related courses at secondary and collegiate levels. This occurred throughout the 1980s and 1990s. One

significant collegiate course on *samullori* has been provided by the Department of Traditional Performing Arts at the Korean National University of Arts (KNUA), where Kim Duk Soo has worked as a professor since 1998, the year the Department was established.

The second was non-specialist. This can in turn be divided into two, according to where musicians were based. The first was the campus of universities, where, during's regime of the 1980s, the people's cultural movement developed. Under the influence of this movement, from the 1990s some former members of university *p'ungmul* clubs have worked as professional performers in private *samullori* groups, including members of the Academy of Korean Music, a corporation set up by Yi Kwangsu – one of the early members of the founding SamulNori quartet – in 1993. The second base was local, in which the great success of SamulNori influenced the establishment of clubs at primary and secondary levels. Amongst these, the most active learning was in clubs of *nongŏp kodŭng hakkyo* (agricultural high schools). These schools were established to cultivate agriculturists in local areas, and we can observe that some high school graduates in Kyŏnggi and Ch'ungch'ŏng provinces became members of *samullori* groups such as P'ungmul Nori Madang, founded in 1986.

The musicians in these two different sectors performed *samullori*, developing the existing repertory, usually as members of ensembles. The ensembles, again, can be divided into two types, according to whether they belonged to government institutions or not. In the first are the ensembles which belong to the National Gugak

Center. The first of these was first established by Kim Yongbae, a co-founder of the first SamulNori quartet, at the Center in Seoul in 1984. The original members were Kim Yongbae (on small gong), Pak Ŭnha (large gong), Chŏn Sudŏk (hourglass drum), and Pang Sŭnghwan (barrel drum). When Chŏn Sudŏk left in 1986 to form a further ensemble, ‘Madang P’ae Ttŭnsoe’, Nam Kimun replaced him (Howard 2006b: 57-58; Kim Hŏnsŏn 1995: 160-162). Then, as satellites of the Centre were established in Namwŏn (1991), Chindo (2004) and Pusan (2008), further *samullori* groups came to be organized one by one. An ensemble consists of four or five performers, who are usually selected through public audition. Each ensemble will usually perform the core repertory of *samullori* at regular concerts, teaching *samullori* to residents or foreigners on courses. The second was private ensembles. As mentioned above, since the advent of the first SamulNori, various ensembles have formed. Two representative examples are the Minjok Ŭmagwŏn (Academy of Korean Music) (Figure 5.3) and the Hanullim Yesuldan (Hanullim Performing Arts Troupe) (Figure 5.4). Both of these stem from the first SamulNori quartet. The first was set up by Yi Kwangsu in 1993 after he left the first quartet, while the second belongs to a corporation, Hanullim, set up by Kim Duk Soo in 1993 and essentially continues what the first quartet started. Since 1993, both have held regular concerts, tours, workshops and music camps, researching and expanding the existing repertory. Specifically, for three years after 2007, a percussion music group set up as a project within the Academy, *Yesanjok*, attempted to fuse *samullori* with jazz. The Academy also set up a research group, Namsadang Pinari Yŏn’gudan, bringing in a professor at Chungang University, No Tongŭn, as senior researcher. This group completed a report on ‘*Pinari*’, a *samullori* piece and one of the core pieces of *namsadang*

professional itinerant troupes in the past. This was sponsored as part of the 2009 *Chōnt'ong yesul pogwōn mit chaehyōn saōp* (2009 Undertaking for Restoration and Revival of Traditional Arts) by the Ministry of Culture – it was one of the five specific activities in the Activating Plan.

The Hanullim Yesuldan, meanwhile, has become well-known internationally as the most representative *samullori* group, and has for some time held weekly regular performances under the title ‘*P'an*’ at Kwanghwamun Arts Hall in Seoul. Their performances combine singing, dancing and performing with the percussion instruments. Also, they have held a *samullori* contest or festival. This actually started in 1989 under the title of the *Samullori kyōrugi hanmadang*, and in its first incarnation was for domestic performers only. This contest grew to be international when it invited applicants from abroad (Keith Howard was invited to take student musicians from Durham University in 1990 and from SOAS in 1995, 1997, 2001 and more recently). In 2008, the title changed to the World Samullori Festival, with the intention to provide foreign performers opportunities to network. Chu Chaeyōn, the president of Hanullim, and who is a second-generation manager, told me the background:

First of all, the purpose changed. In the beginning, the event was held mainly for domestic *samullori* performers but we opened the door to foreigners and Koreans abroad. But it actually costs a great deal for them to participate. We renamed it ‘World Samullori Festival’ in 2008, because we would like foreign people not only to come and leave; we hoped that they would come to Korea

one or two weeks beforehand. We wanted to have a look at what they had learned in order to check the basics and correct them – although I don't mean we are right and they are wrong – and furthermore to help them to establish connections between themselves... And to raise to the level of educating students through their connections (Chu Chaeyŏn, interview, January, 2011).

Today, there are many groups specializing in *samullori*. Some emerged relatively early – in the mid-1980s – such as Ture P'ae (founded in 1985), Madang P'ae Ttünsoe (1986), and P'ungmul Nori Madang (1986). They typically developed the existing repertory while using rhythms or entertainment elements lifted out of *p'ungmul* in a new way. One group, Dulsori (Wild Beat), has since its debut in 1984 gradually gained international fame, through its large sound and large scale. More recently, two young groups, Ch'ŏngbae Yŏnhŭidan (founded in 2001) and The Kwangdae (founded in 2004), both of which consist mostly of graduates of the Korean National University of Arts, have made their own repertory, combining traditional genres such as shaman music, masked dances, and *p'ungmul*. The first of these has given new combinations of musical performance such as 'One' (Figure 5.5) mixing the well-known masked dance drama from the *Tonghaean pyŏlshin kut* (East Coast ritual and festival for bountiful fishing) with percussion, while the second has produced a musical that they call 'Yŏnhŭik'ŏl', including one of the six repertories of itinerant troupes, *pŏna nori* (plate spinning) (Figure 5.6).

It can be seen that the second generation of performers has developed its music, based on the identity of citizens. We can observe this easily through how they have

understood the issue of sustainability in *samullori* and how they have used the existing *samullori* repertoire as the basis for new creativity. Such issues are important to today's professional performers because, while they perform, they cannot help but consider the sustainability of *samullori* and face the issue of extending its existing repertory.

What is interesting is the permissive identity of such groups. As expected, this identity has two characteristics. First of all, the identity of new individual is based on that of the people. This is evidenced by perspectives about two things: the people as listeners, in which the issue of sustainability has arisen against a background where the people have not had a continuous opportunity to experience *samullori*, and second, in respect to the existing repertoire. In the first, the idea underpinning the claim, listeners, are the people who have an important role in maintaining tradition. A critical public can contribute greatly to increasing sustainability, as John

Figure 5.3 The Academy’s 30th Anniversary SamulNori Performance (2008), playing ‘pinari’
(Photo courtesy by the Academy of Korean Music)



Figure 5.4 The Hanullim’s weekly regular concert ‘P’an’
(Photo courtesy by the Hanullim)



Figure 5.5 Ch'öngbae Yönhüidan performing '*One*' (2010)
(Photo courtesy by Chöngbae Yönhüidan)



Figure 5.6 Plate spinning in The Kwangdae's musical (2010)
(Photo courtesy by The Kwangdae)



Blacking argues albeit in a different context: ‘The continuity of music depends as much on the demands of critical listeners as a supply of performers’ (Blacking 1973: 11). Pak Ch’angbae, the small drum player and president of Yongin Yŏnhŭiwŏn, an arts group to the south of Seoul in Yongin, told me about the adverse conditions for sustaining *samullori* and highlighted the necessity for professional performers to promote the genre more actively:

There is a plaza in front of Sangbong station. At first, we performed to promote Korean traditional percussion music. One day, one relevant person saw us on the way, and recommended us to perform for Rail Art performed at the large transfer place at Ŭlchiro Station. The response of the audience on the spot allowed us to feel we are not doing our own work to promote Korean traditional music! People engaged in our performance, and they could not transfer; they saw Korean traditional percussion performance for the first time. Korean traditional music can persist and progress only after professional performers allow citizens to see it frequently, in this way. From my perspective, only *samullori* performers talk about the end of *samullori*, but actually it has not started yet (Pak Ch’angbae, interview, November, 2010).

The existing repertoire is seen by second-generation professional performers from the perspective that new pieces should reflect key elements in the existing repertoire. There are three key elements. First is the overall rhythmic structures. These are one characteristic of traditional music, and are inherent in the core repertory (Kim Hŏnsŏn 1995: 133-140). To explain the rhythmic structure of *samullori*, I need to

explain the conceptual frame of ‘*wŏn, pang, kak*’, as used by the *samullori* commentator Dong-Won Kim (1999: 13-15). Each of these terms refers to one unit – the rhythmic cycle, each sub-divided unit, and each beat. For instance, the rhythmic cycle ‘*Kil kunak ch’il ch’ae*’, shown in Table 5.1, consists of five sub-divided units. These units feature mixed, compound, and duple metres and tend to accelerate gradually as an episode based on them progresses. ‘*Uttari kut*’, the *samullori* piece based on the central *p’ungmul* style, develops from this mixed metre based on sets of twos and threes, to a compound metre of triplet repeating beats, and back to a simple metre of two, each pattern accelerating from slow to fast.

Table 5.1 ‘ <i>Uttari kut</i> ’ from ‘ <i>Kil kunak ch’il ch’ae</i> ’ to ‘ <i>Chajin karak</i> ’		
<i>Kil kunak ch’il ch’ae</i>	♩ = 128-132	3+2 3+2 3+3+3+2 3+2 2+3+3+2
<i>Yuk ch’ae</i>	♩ = 118-124	2+3+3+2
<i>Madang sam ch’ae</i>	♩ = 108-112	3+3+3+3
<i>Chajin karak</i>	♩ = 96-100	3+3+3+3
(<i>Tchaksoe norŭm</i>)		2+2+2+2

Source: Encounters with Korean Traditional Music 1; Incorporated Association of the International Country Culture Exchanges by Youth (2009: 66-98).

In respect to this overall architecture as applied to new pieces, Yi Chunu, a small gong player in the *samullori* ensemble of the Namdo Gugak Centre in Chindo and a former student of Kim Duk Soo, mentioned its appeal in interview:

Looking, generally, at the progression in traditional music, performers usually start slowly, control their instruments, drive gradually, reach the fastest and the

most technical rhythms, and resolve the rhythms usually....I think that this is the progression within which listeners are able to be most engaged in performance...it is the best expressing way amongst performing ways (Yi Chunu, interview, October 2010).

The second element is the four instruments of *samullori*. Usually, second-generation performers believe that these instruments still have potential to be developed, although, needless to say, they also adopt other instruments for new pieces. A graduate of the Korean National University of Arts and a small gong player in the group Chŏngbae Yŏnhŭidan, Chu Yŏngho, has explored the sound quality of his instrument, adopting his understanding of the sound of the past as his standard, and thereby maintaining continuity. He told me in interview:

We usually say that we mastered the *samullori* piece ‘*Samdo nongak karak*’ but if I ask myself ‘Am I really at the stage of producing nicely the sound of the small gong?’ I would receive a negative answer. Although our team does work in our own way, making creative pieces of music, I actually would like to produce a more beautiful sound – specifically, inquire more into the sound of ‘*kaeng*’ or ‘*chigaeng*’ etc. What I would like to tell other members or *samullori* performers is, seek the depth more to find out the sound which is closer to the past’s sound or taste (Chu Yŏngho, interview, November 2010).

A member of the Academy of Korean Music, the hourglass drum player Yu Insang, has produced new pieces through generating new sounds from existing instruments.

He told me how:

I do a lot of musical work with four *samullori* instruments. For example, I'm in the course of exploring the vibration of the small gong *kkwaenggwari*. I think I can make new pieces of creative music, using the vibration, as many as I want, and I'm trying to do so. And I made a new piece titled 'P'unggyōng/Scene', based on the large gong *ching* and oral sound, inspired by minimalist music. In addition, the barrel drum *buk* part for the *samullori* piece *pinari* (a chanted blessing) allows me just to 'hit' freely – specifically, to touch or rub it or to scratch the brim; I make a free-style piece, using various colours of sound (Yu Insang, interview, November 2010).

The third element is musical skill. Chu Chaeyōn emphasizes this as a determining factor for maintaining the identity of *samullori*. This is evidenced by his opinion about *modūmbuk*. Literally, 'modūmbuk' refers to a performance on various kinds of drums, and hence the use of non-Korean large mounted barrel-shaped drums and often a larger gong, rather than just the four instruments of *p'ungmul* or the first SamulNori. *Modūmbuk* has been based on the visual and sonic appeal of the *taiko* (Japanese drum ensemble) since the ensemble Durae P'ae showed it for the first time in 1985.¹⁹ The larger mounted drums have visual effect and increase the volume of sound, and have become very popular amongst the people because of this. Yet, regarding this type of instrument, the question of identity in *samullori* often arises. That is, although it is seen as being inspired by *samullori*, it may not be easy to

19 However, Durae P'ae claims that its drums originated in Korean tradition (Howard 2006b: 59).

grasp the identity of *samullori* within it. So, although nearly all musicians of the second generation recognize it as a new attempt, some worry that the focus will be on visual effect rather than on traditional musical elements. Nevertheless, according to Chu Chaeyŏn, even though musicians may perform a type of *modŭmbuk*, if they possess skills necessary for *samullori*, the identity of *samullori* will be maintained.

You can understand things simply as follows. When asking young performers who perform rhythms on *modŭmbuk* to perform *samullori* rhythms on *changgo* (the hourglass drum), if they can perform, I can say that the identity of *samullori* is being maintained. In other words, this issue is not about the matter of whether *modŭmbuk* is, as itself, good or not, but about whether the performers know *samullori* or not (Chu Chaeyŏn, interview, January, 2011).

Amongst the skills Chu refers to, professional performers tend to regard the breathing technique, *hohŭp*, as most essential. This is applied in an attempt to complete most naturally all rhythmic cycles – in other words, applying the technique to breathing is not done consciously. The technique stems from something that was once widely found in performance of traditional dance (Howard 2006b: 27-28). *Samullori* performers adopted this technique conceptually and physically in order to produce each sub-divided unit in an appropriate way. Specifically, they perceive one sub-divided unit as a single entity. And while performing these, they perceive each as occupying ‘a circular winding motion’ (Dong-Won Kim 1999: 6). Kim explains that ‘circular’ and ‘winding’ are different: ‘circular’ is harmonious, but ‘winding’ is powerful. In summary, Kim perceives the motion as a circular vertical movement

beyond something that is merely repetitive. At the same time, performers express this concept through subtly moving the upper parts of their bodies down and up. *Samullori* teachers teach students this movement, using *ipchangdan* (oral onomatopoeia). This allows them to count sub-divided units as *hana* (one), *tul* (two), *set* (three), and *net* (four). For instance, when using the rhythmic cycle *tōngdōkkungi* (12/8): *ha-na-a*, *tu-u-ul*, *se-e-et*, and *ne-e-et* respectively. Before performing the first beat of each unit, they naturally move up their torsos and heads while inhaling. Then, while moving down with breath exhalation, they perform the very first beat (*ha-*). Continuing to move up with breath inhalation, they perform the second beat (*-na-*), and then the third beat (*-a*). A graduate of the Korean National University of Arts and an hourglass drum player in the group Chōngbae Yōnhūidan, Kim Kich'ang, told me how this breathing technique was the 'right' way to go, forming a foundation for new *samullori* pieces:

When you develop *samullori*, you should perform using a right way of performing, in order to say that the music is a development of 'samullori'. *Samullori* was created, based on the breathing technique *hohūp* which ancestor performers used to perform with small gong, hourglass drum, and barrel drum; the founders did not perform *samullori*, in their own way. With this background, I believe that if we give our music audience, in consideration of the audience, using shaman music etc. without regard to the borders of genres, based on this breathing technique, the pieces of music would be a type of music which develops best from *samullori* (Kim Kich'ang, interview, November 2010).

Given all of this, can we define another characteristic of the permissive identity of the people in *samullori*? The identity of the people is certainly open to other levels, the first of which is the individual level. That is, the identity of the people co-exists with that of the individual. We can find this feature in opinions about using *p'ungmul* rhythms from other regions for a new piece related to *samullori*. When incorporated into new pieces, performers consider differences of local area-based individual groups beyond the integrated 'uri' (us). In so doing, they regard the proper adaptation of tradition as important. This is demonstrated by perspectives about copyright. In the field of folk music in Korea, limited attention has been paid to copyright. Yet, Han Chaesök, a member of the *samullori* ensemble of the Namdo Gugak Center and also a former student of Kim Duk Soo, told me that he was concerned about the danger of 'wrongly' adapting other regions' *p'ungmul* rhythms, paying regard to individual groups using the rhythms:

Although it is necessary to extend the existing repertoire, if we take the so-called traditional rhythms wrongly, they can be transformed through the process of polishing and complementing... You should polish and complement the existing repertoire, but if you wrongly take, transform, and stage the existing rhythms, it would make me feel that, commonly speaking, you encroach on another's rights (Han Chaesök, interview, October 2010).

A second level sits beyond the national level. In this, second-generation performers show positive attitudes towards using non-Korean elements in new pieces, and this suggests a permissivity of the identity of the people co-existing with potential cross-

national or global identities. For the last 30 years, many *samullori* performers have developed the core repertoire, collaborating in performance and mixing the genre with music from other cultures. In the case of the first generation SamulNori quartet, particularly well-known are the pioneering collaborations of Red Sun, a jazz group led by the Austrian saxophonist Wolfgang Puschnig, which resulted in four albums published in 1989, 1994, 1995 and 1997, and with Lim Dong Chang, a Korean composer and pianist, resulting in a 1993 album. As for the second generation, the representative example of non-Korean incorporations is *modŭmbuk*. Yi Yŏnggwang, a conductor of the Academy of Korean Music, pointed out to me that traditional rhythms are not used in *modŭmbuk*:

If your understanding of Korean traditional music is sufficient, you can create something, but otherwise, you cannot. One of the types of music which is performed actively is *modŭmbuk*. This does not have Korean traditional rhythms. In this light, I don't think this type of music is relevant. I wish performers could have created one based on Korean traditional rhythms (Yi Yŏnggwang, interview, November, 2010).

Nevertheless, notice part of his comment: 'if your understanding of Korean traditional music is sufficient, you can create something but otherwise you cannot'. Musicians are seen as putting more weight on the 'if...' than on the 'otherwise', making new music in an attempt to use non-Korean musical elements in a way that is based on the identity of the people open to cross-national or global levels. Putting all of this together, it can be argued that, with their 'permissive' identity of the

people, second-generation performers respect music of a region-based individual group, while positively accepting musical elements from other traditions, including Japanese music.

1999-: Yang Bang Eon

The composer Yang Bang Eon's popular creative traditional music, created using an orchestral style, has contributed to maintaining the post people's culture through reproducing the identity of citizens. He generates his music for solo piano and orchestra. In 1999, he published his first orchestrated piece, 'Prince of Cheju', which was well received by both established Korean musicians and young musicians. Its success was such that it was arranged by four composers working in the field of traditional music into a version for a traditional orchestra only. These four were a co-founder of the ensemble *Seulgidung* (which had generated the song genre *kugak kayo*) in an exchange with Kim Young Dong, Yi Chunho and Won Il. In its traditional orchestra version it was performed by more than ten orchestras affiliated with the central government, cities, or provinces (Yŏ Songi 2009: 2). Thereby, together with Won Il, Yang contributed to the formation of an orchestral style as a sub-genre of popular creative traditional music. Interestingly, it can be seen that this style was motivated by a triple identity as a diasporic Korean – as a second-generation Korean in Japan, as an Asian, and as an individual. As I will show later, the first provides the basis for the others.

Korean diasporic cultures in Japan have formed since the early period of the Japanese occupation, as Japan exploited Korea, in particular its agriculture and

labour, forcing many Koreans to emigrate from the peninsula to seek jobs in Japan. During the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), and more specifically during the Pacific War, 634,093 Korean men were mobilized into work such as mining, construction and manufacturing to deal with a labour shortage (Kim Yōngdal 1991: 35). They were discriminated against in terms of payment and the amount of work they were required to do (Ryang 2000: 3). This unfortunate history continued for those in the first generation of migrants (see Changsoo Lee 1981), even after the end of the war, as was seen in the policy of the Japanese government to not allow them to use their Korean names. In this situation, they could not help but conceal their Korean identity. The period after the Korean War, however, saw the gradual emergence of a movement striving to realize their Korean identity – a nostalgic sense of belonging to the people. In music, we can take as a representative example of this the activities of *Kūmgangsan kagūktan* (Kūmgangsan Opera Troupe). This group appeared as the *Chaeil chosōn chungang yesultan* (North Korean Central Art Troupe in Japan) in 1955, as an affiliated group of the *Chae ilbon chosōnin ch'ong yōnhaphoe* (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, established in 1955), and was reborn in 1974 under its current name.²⁰ After the repatriation to North Korea commenced in 1959, the troupe was able to learn and perform North Korean music (more) actively, and with the 1964 Tokyo Olympics as a momentum, they could replace existing instruments with North Korean ones (Yu, Youngmin 2007: 186-187); the motive behind such movement was a diasporic (North) Korean identity. The 1965 Republic of Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty provided second-generation Korean residents with the momentum to visit South Korea, and even to

20 For more information about the troupe's history, see http://www.kot-jp.com/history_1.htm (accessed 26 May 2013).

return with the musical knowledge they had gained. In the 1980s, as the Japanese diaspora looked to a future reunification of Korea and sought their own identity against the Japanese government, the *p'ungmul* of traditional local percussion bands and traditional masked dance was employed, much as it was in Korea in the people's cultural movement of the same period. In one example, from 1983 to 2002, the Korean residents in their representative region, Ikuno Province of Osaka City, held an annual festival of Korean culture, including the *madang kūk* theatrical genre and the *p'ungmul* of traditional local percussion bands, mainly with self-support (Chŏng Pyŏngho 2002: 292-293), inviting performers from South Korea to participate. The concept for this affected other residents in Japan (Kim Hyŏnsŏn 2011: 13). At the same time, Korean residents performed shaman music in a Korean temple on Mount Ikoma near Osaka (Tetuo 2002: 797).

Of course, the movement toward such a nostalgic sense of belonging has not marked all of the Korean diasporic culture in Japan. A move away from nostalgia is likely to characterise later generations of resident Koreans. By the 1980s, Korean residents who were born in Japan outnumbered those who were born in Korea (Ryang 2000: 6), so the impact from Japan rather than Korea cannot but be great in terms of education, culture and language. Ryang argues 'in this milieu, the homeland-oriented politics of the first generation no longer dominated'. Koichi Iwabuchi's case study of the comedy '*Tsuki wa dotchini deteiru*' (All under the Moon; 1993) implies that there is a distinct division in cultural identity between the first generation and later generations. So, whereas for the former 'a dream of homecoming' was kept alive by the colonial experience, for the latter such a dream

is not inevitable (Iwabuchi 2000: 60-65). Norma Field suggests that, since the early 1980s, a third in-between identity has dominated, ‘looking neither to naturalization, which would require them to abandon their ethnicity, nor to returning to a divided or even a unified homeland’ (Field 1993: 646). Based on the personal narratives of three Korean Japanese novelists, Hwang Min’gi, Kyō Nobuko, and Yu Miri, John Lie suggests that ethnicity is just one element of the Korean Japanese population, and argues that homogeneity in their cultural identities should not be assumed (Lie 2000: 201). So, although Hwang grew up in Osaka, he perceives his Korean identity to vary and reflect a ‘peripheral’ status (ibid.: 202). Kyō was raised in Yokohama, almost without contact to Korean culture, so her ethnic identity has been formed by the Korean Japanese surrounding her. While she feels sadness about estrangement from Japanese people, Lie tells us that she feels distanced from those who are proud of their Korean descent. In the case of Yu, her identity is also distant, mainly due to her experience of discrimination in her early days, but she has tried to recover her identity through writing novels.

The nostalgic sense of belonging still needs to be considered as an important factor in the diasporic culture, for two reasons. The first is because of the adverse political and cultural conditions Koreans have faced. As seen in other countries in East Asia, a diasporic culture is formed from a minority position in which members continue to define or find the self. In respect to the Chinese diaspora, Ien Ang argues that ‘the adversity of “where you are at” produces the cultivation of a lost “where you’re from”’ (Ang 1994: 10). The second reason is because of family background, particularly where the first and the second generations live together. This tends to

reproduce a diasporic identity through dialogue. The first generation talks about the colonial experience or nostalgia for their hometown, creating a sense of belonging, while the second generation constructs its sense of identity through hearing – by indirect experience. We can observe this aspect in the case of Yang Bang Eon.

As his recent autobiography (2010) tells us, Yang Bang Eon – or, to give him his Japanese name, Ryu Kunihiko – was born in Tokyo, Japan, in 1960, as a Korean resident of the second generation. His father came from Cheju island, south of the Korean peninsula, and his mother from Shinūju city, on the northern border of today's North Korea. Yang went to Korean primary and middle schools run by The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan – sponsored by North Korea. Although he was naturally encouraged to become a medical doctor, as his father was and as his four siblings did (becoming doctors or pharmacists), he had a special interest in music. Yang started to receive piano lessons as a child. It was after entering Nippon Medical School that he developed his musical career as a semi-professional keyboardist, participating in music tours and recording. Around the point when he worked as an anaesthetist for a year, he decided to make his living as a professional musician. Yang quit his job and started his professional career, initiating a music tour with Hamada Shōgo (b. 1952), a famous Japanese rock musician. Then, he developed his existing interest in fusion music, which was at the time typically done by the Japanese group T-Square, into more commercial music, producing a variety of works. These included, as a composer, eight recordings produced from his first album *The Gate of Light* (1996) onward, which featured a new style of writing for solo piano and orchestra. As a producer, he worked on an

album by a well-known Hong Kong rock band, Beyond (1995). As a music director, he worked on eighteen films, providing music for the original soundtrack to the Jackie Chan's film, 'Thunderbolt' (1995), for the famed Korean director Im Kwōnt'aek's film, '*Chōnnyōnhak*' (Beyond the Years; 2006) – with a subject matter based on the epic storytelling through song genre of *p'ansori* – for animations broadcast by NHK and CBC, in Japan and China, for documentary films by the Korean broadcaster KBS, and also produced music for commercials. As an art director, he has in 2012 an 2013 worked on the annual Yōurak festival for popular creative traditional music held by the National Theatre of Korea.²¹

Figure 5.7 Yang Bang Eon
(photo courtesy of Yang Bang Eon)



Here, I need to mention his popular creative traditional music works, as these are deeply associated with his identity. Sitting behind his works is his diasporic Korean

²¹ The film '*Chōnnyōnhak*' won the first prize of the Korean Association of Film Critics (2007), and a documentary film for KBS, '*Ch'amagodo*' (Ancient Tea Route; 2007), won the first prize in the 2008 Korean Music Awards.

identity – a nostalgic sense of belonging. This, his autobiography tells us, came from the reminiscences of his father – specifically, his nostalgia for Cheju island. While continuing to remember his father’s memories, he came to ‘think Korean’ and to construct a nostalgic sense of belonging:

Father told me that regarding his hometown Cheju island, beautiful sea and the seashore was outstretched before his eyes. He repeated several times how beautiful the sea of Hyöpchaeh town, Cheju island, which was shown as being transparent as the air and the water was clear, and how much delicious fresh seafood caught there was. Although I came to memorize his story completely and I could expect the following story fully, whenever hearing, I calmed and listened as if I heard for the first time. He longed for hometown indeed. The life that father had lived in a foreign country of Japan was severe. Cheju Island, my father’s hometown where he could not go again, must be a precious memory to him. The fact that I could not have tried to travel to Cheju Island together with my father now weighs heavy on my mind (cited in Yang Bang Eon 2010: 261).

At the same time, Yang’s fusion works are produced because of his musical background, a background formed while he worked on various genres of music across East Asia. In this, his sense of community was constructed in a new way – towards an Asian cultural community. And, needless to say, the identity of the individual also motivates all of his music. This is reinforced by the fact that these feature him as solo pianist, accompanied by an orchestra: Figure 5.8 shows him performing with an orchestra that include multiple strings, a solo cello, drum kit,

didjeridu and more. However, an email interview, cited below, suggests that the Korean Japanese culture still affects his perception of community, that is, the fundamental motive behind his orchestral popular creative traditional music. In summary, a nostalgic sense of belonging co-exists with a sense of belonging to an Asian cultural community and to his own identity as a cultural producer, the former providing the basis for the latter. In this sense, then, the primary identity shown in his orchestral music can be said to be a permissive identity of a diasporic Korean.

I think it is natural to express, as an Asian, musical colours of Asia. I am a Korean but I was born in Japan. My cultural identity has been formed against this background. So, as a conclusion to my identity, I used to think that I was an Asian. I have done active activities in China...Most basically, I am a Korean. This fact is unchanged. And music is another appearance where I am reflected. Thus, Yang Bangeon(s) of the moments is being reflected in my music. Accordingly, I do not have a strong idea that I should do a certain type of music surely. I think that musical colour or form from myself will be naturally reflected in the future, as well (email interview, November 2011).

Figure 5.8 Yang Bang Eon performing on a piano with an orchestra and a band
(photograph courtesy by Yang Bang Eon)



The first piece by Yang I will explore was inspired by his first family trip to Cheju Island in 1998. While strolling near the beach, he was inspired by a scene coming to his mind. This provided him with a motif for the piece, ‘Prince of Cheju’, which features on the album, *Only Heavens Know* (2010[1999]).

The place was ancient Cheju island, the palace of T’amna Kingdom.²² A number of people, including nobles, subjects and common people, were looking forward to the appearance of a prince of T’amna, in the garden of the place which has a view of sea, surely in Chungmun area. After the sound of the trumpet *nap’al* announcing his appearance and resounding powerfully the prince appeared. A clamorous sound and loud hurrah rose high amongst a crowd of

²² T’amna Kingdom existed in Cheju island, 57 B.C.-1402.

people (cited in Yang Bang Eon 2010: 262).

‘Prince of Cheju’, scored in G major, adopts a pentatonic scale for its main theme, and uses instruments which come from a variety of places. The instruments reflect the variety of his musical background and his triple identity. First of all, his diasporic identity and Asian identity come in instruments from East Asia, which allow listeners to feel tradition, as in the percussive *changgo*, the wind instrument *t’aep’yǒngso* and the Mongolian traditional fiddle *morin huur*. At the same time, we can grasp the identity of the individual from his preferred style of expression (that is, the orchestration) where he orchestrates instruments from East Asia with Western instruments mixing those from popular music such as the drum, bass, acoustic guitar, keyboards and accordion, and those from classical music, including an acoustic piano and a full orchestra – in this recording, the London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Robin Smith. Yang performs as pianist, and the *t’aep’yǒngso* and *changgo* are played by composer Won Il.

‘Prince of Cheju’ divides into four parts, I-I-II-I. In the first, introductory part, the preliminary theme, derived from the sound in his imagination, is played on the shawm *t’aepyǒngso* in the rhythmic cycle *semach’i* set to a metrical frame of 3/4, developed on the *changgo*. This is heard before the main theme is played on all instruments. Then, based on the first theme, a flute develops the second and third themes, supported by acoustic guitar playing unusual ornaments. A fourth theme unfolds on an accordion in a somewhat different way, while chord progressions (G-A/G-C-G) mark out the orchestral accompaniment. Then, a development of the

initial part of the introduction and the main theme occurs, while the second part begins to be prepared for. The main theme is played on acoustic piano.

After the release of his album *Only Heaven Knows*, Yang Bang Eon began to produce original popular creative traditional music featuring solo piano and orchestra. Amongst many pieces, ‘Frontier’, featuring on *Pan-O-Rama* is best-known, having being adopted as the official theme tune for the 2002 Pusan Asian Games. Similar to ‘Prince of Cheju’, this piece takes a pentatonic Korean scale for its main theme, coupled to functional harmony, and uses traditional Korean percussion instruments, plus the melodic *kayagŭm* and *t’aep’yŏngso*, along with the Western instruments of the London Philharmonic Orchestra. His pieces include several with Asian music fusion such as ‘Far Away Thought’ on the album *Only Heaven Knows*, a creative piece featuring keyboards as well as the Mongolian fiddle *morin huur* performed by the Mongolian Chi Bulico (b. 1944).

1992-: The *shin sedae tamnon* (discourse of a new generation)

The post people’s music culture developed, partly through the *shinsedae tamnon* (discourse of a new generation) which took place amongst popular culture critics and cultural studies scholars. The discourse began in 1992, when the band Seo Taeji and Boys appeared in March. The new generation discussed in this discourse would be well described by the catch phrases, ‘Rule your own world’ (Ch’oe Chisŏn and Shin Hyŏnjun 2011: 1096-1097), and ‘I am what I am’ which were popular during that time. The former expression was adopted for the title of a cultural studies-related book published in 1993, and later for a 2002 Korean soap opera. In terms of

ideology, young people of the new generation are usually described as being oriented towards consumption, free-spirited, indifferent to politics, and to position themselves against the older generation. They seek individualism in a sense that is the opposite to old Confucianism (Eun-Young Jung 2006: 111) as well as to the communal consciousness of the culture of the people. Along with the politics of the time, these characteristics can be explained from economic positions. The primary discourse thus looks at the so-called 'affluent' generation, born in the early and mid-1970s, who, unlike the older generations, were not exposed to political or economic hardships while growing up. A second explanation comes from a consideration of social class. In this, the new generation were born into primarily middle class nuclear families. A third concerns regional background, noting that the new generation grew up in urban regions, mainly in the affluent Kangnam area south of the Han River in Seoul, absorbing American popular culture such as TV series, music, food, and fashion.

Given this, how specifically did the culture of the new generation affect music production? Regarding young listeners, Jung maintains that consumerism driven by affluence enabled them to purchase popular music, whether domestic or American, and to be targeted by industries as consumers of music and other related items (ibid.). Although the economic motive served as an important part of their culture, it is not sufficient to explain the orientation towards specific music without an individual cultural motive. We can observe this in the phenomenon of fandom, as was clear from the emergence of Seo Taeji and Boys in March 1992 onward, and in the phenomenon where musicians or groups have since then continued to produce their

own genres of music, pioneering new sub-genres.

The discourse of a new generation reinforced the newly-gained individuality of the culture of citizens, particularly in the 1990s. This does not fully cover populist aspects in the early 21st century, demonstrated by teenagers who have participated in the candlelight vigils (see Chul-Kyoo Kim 2010).

1998-: The cross-national Asian-centred culture of ‘Korean Wave’

I discuss the Asian-centred ‘Korean Wave’ culture and its music for two reasons. First, Korean popular music, which played a role as a medium for maintaining the music culture of citizens, also became a medium for facilitating the Asian-centred ‘Korean Wave’ culture. Second, as I will show in later chapters, the Activating Plan is partly designed to promote traditional arts as a new Korean Wave. At the initial stage, the Korean Wave culture proved to be a cultural boom in East Asian and South East countries. Yet, within this, the people, as receivers, shared a common cultural ground. Based on this, they shared a sense of belonging to an Asian community on a cross-national level – that is the identity of being Asian. Now, this identity has in turn been recreated through recent Korean popular music, and this has become an ideological principle for operating Korean Wave culture.

Korean Wave refers to the phenomenon by which Korea’s popular cultural products – particularly popular music, soap operas, and movies – have since the late 1990s gained popularity in East Asian and South East Asian countries. This has led to a visible outcome in terms of cultural industry exchanges, sometimes spreading to

North America and Europe, and, after Psy's Gangnam Style took the world by storm in 2012, to the global level. Korean Wave first received public recognition in 1998 when the term was coined by a journalist of the *Beijing qingnian bao* (*Beijing Youth Daily*) to refer to the remarkable increase in the popularity of Korean pop music amongst teenagers in Beijing. At the time, this included the music of male groups such as H.O.T. (Highfive Of Teenagers), one of the most representative, who sold 15,000 copies of their album in China within a month in 1998, and 10 million albums in total over their seven years as a group. Other groups involved included CLON, NRG, the female group S.E.S, the male singer Steve Seungjun Yoo, and actor Ahn Jae Wook.

Greater momentum in the public recognition of Korean Wave came from Japan in April 2004 with the success of the Korean drama series, the love story, '*Kyōul yōn'ga*' (Winter Sonata), directed by Yun Sōkho (b. 1957). This drama, the second of the 'Director's Season' series to be broadcast, had achieved great domestic popularity in Korea when broadcast on KBS (Korean Broadcasting Station) in March 2002.²³ It was aired on Japan's NHK in April 2004 under the Japanese title, '*Fuyuno sonata*', under broadcasting contract rights, leading to a so-called 'Winter Sonata Syndrome'. The drama achieved average viewer ratings of 20% in Japan, forming an extensive fan base amongst middle aged-women and leading to considerable added value. Hence, in October 2004, a translated version of the novel *Winter Sonata* sold 1,220,000 copies; a tourist guidebook to 'Winter Sonata' sold 430,000 copies; DVD/VHS sales reached 350,000 copies, and the OST album sold

²³ The final episode was broadcast on 19 March 2002 and recorded ratings of 24.5%. Data was provided by Nielson Korea.

200,000 copies (Daichi Life Research Institute Inc. 2004: 88). The album contained ‘When the Love Falls’ played by one of Korea’s most active New Age pianists, Yi Ruma. A further ripple came from tourism, and led to the creation of a tour of Nami Island in Korea’s Ch’unchŏn city, which had been the main film location. From April to the end of October 2004, a total of 187,192 tourists came to Korea from Japan, their expenditure amounting to JPY 29,950,000,000 (approximately UK £228,800,000) (ibid.: 88).

The Korean Wave continued as other dramas, films, and pop songs were actively imported by Japan and China (including Taiwan and Hong Kong), spreading to Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand in Southeast Asia, and Iran and Egypt in the Middle East. Amongst the many cultural products enjoyed, the Korean historical fictional soap opera, ‘*Taejanggŭm*’ (Jewel in the Palace), directed by Yi Pyŏnghun and set against the background of the second King Chŏngjong in the Chosŏn dynasty, was a particularly big hit. ‘*Taejanggŭm*’ was aired on Korea’s MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Centre) from September 2003 to March 2004.²⁴ It subsequently gained extensive popularity, particularly in Hong Kong, as ‘*Dà chángjīn*’, when broadcast on TVB in September 2005, winning the 2005 TVB Anniversary Awards, and in Iran when broadcast on Channel 2 from October 2006 to November 2007. In the case of this drama, its popularity was distinctively demonstrated by the fact that the creative traditional music for the child-like theme song ‘*Onara*’, sung by Yi An and a children’s chorus, was localized, specifically by

²⁴ The final episode was broadcasted on 23 March 2004 and recorded ratings of 57.8% in Korea. Data was provided by Nielson Korea.

the well-known Taiwanese and Hong Kong pop singers Kelly Chen and Angela Chang.

After the initial booms, whilst Korean Wave in terms of music died down, we may still observe its continuation as well as a new extension. The recent popularity of Korean pop music in Japan shows this. In 2010, following boy groups such as Tongbangsingi and Big Bang, girl groups achieved considerable success, including Kara and Girls' Generation. These last two groups can be said to have been the most popular girl groups, the former generating sales worth JPY1,300,000,000 (approximately GBP £9,931,000), and the latter JPY880,000,000 (approximately GBP £ 6,728,000) during the year.²⁵

Meanwhile, Korean pop music and TV dramas were introduced to North America, leading to a new possibility for Korean Wave. In 2008, the female singer BoA and the girl group Wonder Girls made their American debuts, while the singer and actor Rain, known throughout East and Southeast Asia, broke into the Hollywood market, taking a small role in 'Speed Racer'. A number of TV dramas have been introduced through Hulu.com, the largest and most popular site providing a TV streaming service in America, a service established jointly by NBC Universal, Fox Entertainment, and ABC. Most significantly, of course, after it was uploaded on YouTube in July 2012, one example of K-pop, namely the music video of Psy's

25 These sales are gross sales of singles, albums, DVDs, and Bluray Discs, totalled from 28 December 2009 to 20 December 2010. Oricon Style, 'Shinjin sērusu ichi, ni i ha KARA & Shoujo jidai K-POP ze i ga sekken [K-Pop Groups Sweeping the Top of Oricon Chart: The First and Second Ranks Are KARA and Girls' Generation in the 'Rookie Sales' field]', *Oricon Style*, 20 December 2010, at <http://www.oricon.co.jp/news/rankmusic/83093/full/> (accessed 14 October 2013).

‘Gangnam Style’, was diffused on the global level. This music video generated a sub-culture emulating the original, driven by a sense of belonging to the community making each particular parody. So, the spread of ‘Gangnam Style’ can be said to constitute a temporal extension of Korean Wave.

The Asian-centred Korean Wave has been motivated by the prospective identity of being Asian. This identity is shared amongst people in East and South East Asian countries who enjoy K-pop, soap operas or films as receivers and fans, and furthermore, who communicate with each other through these products. That is, cultural products of the Korean Wave have contributed to the formation of Asian identity while leading to cultural exchanges amongst countries across East and South East Asia. Korean Wave has given momentum to active communication amongst receivers in Asian countries, in a manner that might not have happened in the sector of politics or economics. Needless to say, so soon after it emerged, it is not easy to judge whether the Korean Wave can draw greater cooperation among people in the various countries of East and South East Asia. Yet, it is clear that new contact zones (using the term after Pratt 1992) have been constructed amongst countries because of the Korean Wave phenomenon. In this light, Korean Wave can be seen as being significant, since it provides an opportunity to think deeply about the identity of being Asian amongst people who have been classified as ‘Other’ in recent history (Hae-Joang Cho 2005: 179). And, furthermore, Korean Wave potentially allows Asians to have a sense of solidarity. From a long-term perspective, as Kim Ki-jung argues (2005: 169), it has the possibility of playing a role as a conceptual cornerstone for a Northeast Asian community, ultimately contributing to the

formation of an Asian identity.

Global ‘world music’ culture, pop culture, parodies of ‘Gangnam Style’, and discourse of world music

Global ‘world music’ culture can be considered important for two reasons. First, as mentioned above, this culture became a condition under which the discourse of world music in Korea occurred. Second, like the Asian-centred Korean Wave, it affected the enforcement of the Activating Plan. From the late 1980s, a world music culture formed within the global music industry. This was mainly driven by post-colonial identities that were, not explicitly but implicitly, shared by Western marketers and musicians as well as by non-Western musicians. The former group of musicians sought so-called Orientalism in a somewhat aggressive way, while from a passive position, the latter group of musicians accepted this. Through this process, the implicit hierarchic order between ‘Us’ and ‘Others’ was reinforced. Interestingly, this aspect calls for discussion of another hybrid popular culture on the global level, namely, the recent parody sub-culture of Psy’s ‘Gangnam Style’. My reasons for doing so are, first, because we can grasp the hierarchical characteristic of world music culture relevant to the Activation Plan more effectively by comparison with the sub-culture. Within each culture that encountered it, a kind of system operated that was similar but which generated different patterns of relationships amongst cultural producers. In the parodies of ‘Gangnam Style’, relationships amongst groups making parodies were symmetrical (that is, equal). But, in the case of world music within the global industry, the relationships between marketers and musicians from the Western camp and non-Western musicians are asymmetrical (that is,

unequal). Second, given that the global boom is an extension of the Korean Wave, the specific case helps us to understand how the influential Korean Wave played a role as a stimulus for the idea of the Activation Plan drafters, who aimed to adopt traditional music as the main resource of a new Korean Wave. My argument is illustrated by two parodies of ‘Gangnam Style’, ‘London Style’ (2012) and ‘Piano Style’ (2012). In a similar way to a number of other parodies, ‘London Style’ utilizes specific local landmarks or attractions as its main source. However, in a way that distinguishes it from other cases, ‘London Style’ was followed by a sequel, ‘Piano Style’. The maker of the former, Cho Hanbit, produced another work, in which he played the piano, sometimes in support of different instruments with an air of tradition or from tradition. This illustrates that Korean Wave is a hybrid music culture, to which Cho belongs, but one that can potentially use traditional instruments. If he does not adopt traditional elements, he would have to reconsider what K-pop music is. As discussed in Chapter 6, his reflection matches what was undertaken by the drafters of the Activation Plan, who were skeptical about K-pop’s musical identity. Putting all of this together, examination of the parody sub-culture of Psy’s ‘Gangnam Style’, in relation to the Korean Wave, provides insights into the mechanism of the global world music culture and the motives of those who drafted the Activation Plan.

Psy’s ‘Gangnam Style’ is significant in two regards. First, it reflected an Appadurai-esque ‘deterritorialization’, as an aspect of cultural globalization. The global boom it created turned our attention to Korea’s technological environment. Korea is often said to be the most broadband savvy place on earth, a result of hi-tech companies

such as Samsung, government investment in broadband, and the high density of urban life allowing cheap networking installation. Korea, thus, is an excellent example of how the technological revolution of the last two decades has led to dramatic changes. Unprecedented new modes of communications between people have been facilitated by the Internet, weakening the geographical conditions of distance and location, and influencing the perceptions of people who communicate across the ether. It has, then, increased deterritorialization. In the process, the national boundaries of music-making have become less obvious. Hence, deterritorialization has led to glocalisation – which, simply put, means that much Korean pop music sounds little different to many people than Western pop. However, deterritorialization does not necessarily mean that borders have completely lost their importance. In people's perceptions, a new cultural identity can be constructed, or a sense of community can be newly created. Second, Psy's 'Gangnam Style' generated a sub-culture that emulated it in countless parodies. A variety of cultural producers or groups emulated the song and uploaded their versions on YouTube, but many parodies went beyond mere mimicry. Further, although this activity was a passing vogue, as a sub-culture it was populated by a sense of belonging to a parody-making community.

'Gangnam Style' is the catchy popular song that gained international popularity through its music video on YouTube. In the initial stage, its popularity was compared to Los del Río's 'Macarena' (1994), dance music from Spain which proved internationally popular in the mid-1990s, or to LMFAO 'Sexy and I know it' from 2011. Yet, in today's technologically transformed environment, 'Gangnam

Style' proved unprecedented, creating a new Korean Wave. For instance, as of December 2012, more than one billion views had been recorded, creating a new YouTube record. And the rapid online diffusion led to the production of a multitude of parodies, some of which were also viewed countless times.

We can trace two intertwined reasons for music's success within the technological revolution. The first is through the drastically changed media for popular music. This involves so-called user-generated media, specifically through YouTube, which allows popular music to be enjoyed and rapidly diffused, although copyright issues always arise regarding commercial parodies. The second reason is the content of the music video – humorous and interesting scenes which are effectively supported by music taking Koreans back to the 1990s. 'Gangnam Style' is about the affluent Apjukong district in Kangnam, a centre of fashion and culture south of the Han River in Seoul, where rich boys sought a leisurely and snobbish life style from the mid-1990s onwards. In the music video, Psy satirizes this with his trademark horse-riding dance, setting characteristic scenes in a deliberately humorous and ridiculous way. However, this would not have been possible without the music; the musical components are tactfully arranged to echo club music that would have been widely found in the Kangnam area in the 1990s, bringing the lifestyle of excess to mind, particularly in the first part of the song.

To many Koreans, the main reason for the song's success lies in two intertwined humorous contrasts. The first is between the main actor, Psy, and the image of a refined Kangnam man. In the music video, Psy pretends to be a man of Kangnam-

style living a high-class life, but he fails miserably. He appears to lounge at the beach, a place for leisure, but he is actually filmed in a children's playground. He seems to be dressed resplendently, but becomes encumbered by trash. This evokes the image of a tough, rustic guy from the countryside. The second contrast is between the actual scenes and the Kangnam area. Most scenes were filmed in Incheon, the second largest port city of Korea, not Kangnam itself. These include daily scenes far from the posh and splendid images of Kangnam, for instance, as illustrated in Figure 5.9, on a tour bus, on a boat on the Han River, on a subway train, and in a park where two women are jogging. In other words, these scenes not only create a strong sense of Korean locality, but also evoke a powerful comicality.

Figure 5.9 Scenes from 'Gangnam Style' Music Video



While research about the global phenomenon of 'Gangnam Style' is in its infancy,

we can find related discourses regarding audience responses in journalism that explores the Korean Wave (much of which was published before ‘Gangnam Style’ appeared, such as Cho, Hae-Joang 2005, and Chua and Iwabuchi 2008). From a concept of centre-periphery, Hee-Sun Kim (2012) argues that the passionate response of Korean audiences has been motivated by cultural nationalism, that is, the desire to overcome the collective memory of Korea’s modern historical troubles.²⁶ Arwa Mahdawi (2012) finds the reason for the global boom of ‘Gangnam Style’ in Orientalist expectations amongst Western audiences.²⁷ These discourses provide insight into Psy’s ‘Gangnam Style’, in that they help us to understand the extant hierarchic duality motivating the global pop soundscape. However, an analysis of the interaction between ‘Gangnam Style’ and parody, that is, how ‘Gangnam Style’ influences netizens and how they react to it culturally, may need another framework. This is because the interaction is ongoing and does not always emanate from the centre or the West. Thus, I will explore how deterritorialization has been enhanced by technological revolution, in a way that implicitly contains the perspective of a cultural flow model in which the direction of cultural transmission is bilateral.

Since the ‘Gangnam Style’ music video was uploaded on 15 July 2012, individuals and groups acting as cultural producers have produced many parodies. These show much effort to generate quality, through utilizing the music of ‘Gangnam Style’ as

26 Kim, Hee-Sun, 2012. ‘Psy, “Gangnam Style,” and the Soundscape of Korea’, *Kookmin Review*, 26 November.

27 Mahdawi, Arwa, ‘What’s so funny about Gangnam Style?’ *Guardian*, 24 September 2012, at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/sep/24/gangnam-style-south-korean-pop> (accessed 4 October 2013).

the basis for new scenes. As a result, they have formed a sub-culture of parodies formed by a sense of belonging. In the case of some, the sense extended beyond single ethnicities and established symmetrical relationships. This is evidenced by the case of the parody 'London Style'. This was produced by a London-based community of young South Korean, Japanese, and British students, co-directed by Kim Mose and Cho Hanbit; Cho is an improvising pianist. 'London Style' was published on 16 September 2012, and more than 500,000 views were recorded within just two weeks. This music video started from the individual cultural fancies about Psy's 'Gangnam Style' of its producers, and these were broadened towards portraying daily life in London as well as producing a tribute to Psy, which in terms of the main character, was portrayed through wearing classy dress and dancing in a cheesy manner. As in Figure 5.10, in this parody, Cho lip-syncs, changing Kangnam into London and – of course – dancing the horse-riding dance, all set against local tourist attractions such as Big Ben, the London Eye, and platform 9¾ at Kings Cross Station from the Harry Potter films, plus daily scenes which include a cafe, a black taxi and an underground train.

Figure 5.10 Scenes from ‘London Style’, a parody of ‘Gangnam Style’



The individual cultural fancies of the producers soon formed a collective cultural fancy – a cultural common ground beyond single ethnicities – and this helped them to communicate actively about Psy’s Gangnam Style and K-pop. Cho told me:

Although our nationalities were different, we found a cultural common ground as we all liked Psy’s ‘Gangnam Style’. Because we worked on the music video under such a premise, we were able to communicate with one another easily and passionately. While filming our music video all day long on weekends, we came to talk a lot about Korean culture. I came to know how foreign young people encountered K-pop and how much they enjoyed it. Of course through this opportunity, our ties were strengthened and cemented (Cho Hanbit, interview, March, 2013).

Considering that an individual interest in K-pop usually follows an imitation such as singing along to a song, this common cultural ground has contributed to generating something more than an imitation, while becoming the conceptual basis for the identity of a region-based community. Of course, this phenomenon may be temporal. For instance, one of the performers told me, ‘the music video making experience was very friendly but quite professional, as in, we were all friends of someone, but not necessarily friends with each other’. Nevertheless, the cooperation of the performers generated ‘London Style’ to a good quality standard, far more than mere lip-syncing. Thus, behind their effort, I argue that there existed a sense of belonging to a community based on a common cultural ground beyond single ethnicities. Caroline Stacey, who has run K-pop dance workshops in Britain for 18 months, played a backing dancer in ‘London Style’. She told me:

I think it’s great for people to come together to have fun with this music video, and that’s what it was all about in the first place. It’s really not about what you look like – London Style is all about the city after all - but more about taking YouTube’s most viewed video and putting your own spin on it for entertainment. Everyone at our workshops all have different nationalities and come from all corners of the planet, so I think it’s great that something like K-Pop can bring everyone together (Stacey, interview, March, 2013).

Kim Mose and Cho Hanbit produced a second parody titled ‘Piano Style’, uploaded on YouTube on 5 December 2012. This parody offers a piano version of ‘Gangnam Style’, re-arranged and played by Cho, within a simple-but-interesting narrative

frame. The storyline crosses reality and imaginative spaces. Cho plays the intro and the coda of his version on a public piano at St. Pancras International railway station in London as his everyday space. He performs the middle section in front of a serious-but-comic audience in a recital hall within a dream world, in characteristic evening dress. In the video, Cho delivers a superb performance, one that calls for complex technical skills. Further, he appropriates a 25-stringed *kayagŭm*, two *changgo* hourglass drums and the large *ching* gong. In the hall, he sometimes plays in concert with these other instruments, although the *ching* does not appear on stage. The motive behind ‘Piano Style’ is to find a new approach to ‘Gangnam Style’ that would reflect Korean elements. Cho told me:

After making ‘London Style’, we wanted to apply a new approach to the same song.

While watching many piano versions of ‘Gangnam Style’ uploaded already, it occurred to me that fusing a piano cover with a parody would be a great idea (Cho Hanbit, interview, March, 2013).

From a broad point of view, the question as to relationships amongst the Korean Wave condition, his desire for a new approach, and the partial use of three Korean instruments arises. The Korean Wave is an influential hybrid culture over a sub-culture, namely, a cultural condition. From this, or in reflection of it, Cho came to generate ‘Piano Style’. He may well have perceived that K-pop lacks original elements (in terms of musical components), thereby becoming interested in incorporating traditional elements. His remarks, and the parody itself, are suggestive of the ideas of the Activation Plan drafters, in that they aimed to create a new

Korean Wave through new compositions with an obvious Korean flavour. In conclusion, it may be seen that reflective perception of the musical identity of K-pop is common to Cho and the drafters, and furthermore, that both are constructive responses to the forces of westernization.

Unlike parodies of Psy's 'Gangnam Style', within the global world music culture there exists an implicit hierarchical order between the Western and the non-Western. This comes from Orientalism, shared amongst the cultural producers, which creates a politics of the 'Other' behind hybridity. The term 'world music' was coined in 1987 following the need for a label for a new type of popular music that emerged in the late 1980s. It was coined at a meeting at the Empress of Russia pub in London's Islington attended by people actively engaged in the popular music businesses. Within three years 'world music' became a tag for the core music industry in the UK, the United States and northern parts of Europe (Sweeney 1991: ix).

Many scholars have discussed the implicit politics of the 'Other'. Although 'world music' was born through marketing needs, it is clear that in many cases, implicit Orientalism amongst producers and musicians functioned as an operating principle. As Edward Said (1970) argued, Orientalism refers to a perspective of Western imperialists which underlay imperialism in the 19th century. They had images of the Orient as the exact opposite – that is, images of the Orient as the Other. In these, the West was civilized whereas the Orient was savage. In the case of world music, the Other is shown as exoticism; hence, the world in 'world music' indicates the world as a place of Others that the global industry packages for Western consumers. This

leads to an issue of classification, in which world music is not based on music but on ethnic aspects of difference, so that, even if music is recognized as popular music, if the musicians come from outside North America or England, they create world music (Taylor 1997: xix). But, exoticism also involves improper musical appropriation, which often takes place behind the so-called authenticity promoted by world music producers. In this, emphasis is put on the authenticity, as pure and uncorrupted, of non-Western sounds. This is stressed in descriptions of non-Western local sounds, while the commodification undertaken by labels is left unexplained. Frith (2000: 309) identifies two issues here, the first being contract-related and the second being the role of the record producer. Put simply, the liner notes to world music albums tend not to tell readers how non-Western sounds have been adapted for Western listeners, and yet they focus on the authenticity of the local sounds contained. To Frith, the concept of authenticity is thereby compromised by 'music constrained by reactionary political and cultural forces' (ibid.: 312).

This notion of authenticity emphasizes the difference of non-Western music, even if this does not reflect the actual music of localities supposedly incorporated. This fact is demonstrated by three cases that Howard (2009b: 19-20) sets out. The first is Uganda, where a combination of raga/reggae originating in the Caribbean, with mixed drums and keyboards, accounts for the majority of music broadcast or distributed within the actual region, whereas a hybrid tribal music is expected to speak for Uganda in the global world music market. The second is Yothu Yindi, the Aboriginal rock group. Country music is favoured within the Aboriginal communities of Australia's Northern Territories, but Yothu Yindi sells as Aboriginal

rock in Australia and beyond. The third is Sevara Nazrkkhan, the Uzbek singer. She is not active as a solo singer in Uzbekistan, although she is praised for two albums issued on the world music centred Real World label, and won BBC Radio 3's World Music Awards as a singer who supposedly brings to listeners the music of Uzbekistan.

Improper musical appropriation by Western musicians raises issues of copyright. Steven Feld discusses this, citing the case of Herbie Hancock (1996). One sample from the opening of 'Watermelon Man' on Herbie Hancock's *Headhunters* (1973) was used in the introduction to 'Sanctuary' on Madonna's album (1994; a new album at the time Feld was writing). Madonna credits Hancock, but nobody credits the original musicians, Pygmys from the Congo. But, the sample derived, clearly, from the opening track of Simha Arom and Genevieve Taurelle's *The Music of the Ba-Benzele Pygmies* (1966); the sound on this recording was imitated by changing the original instrument, a papaya whistle, into a beer bottle. Although this raised the question of copyright, Hancock hid himself behind the concept of brotherhood, but might equally have resorted to the international legislation on copyright, in which traditional music is not covered. Hence, 'tradition', as habitually applied by the global music industry when performers adapt musical resources of the Other, has no copyright.

Musical appropriations are also discussed by Hugo Zemp (1996: 43-49) The story he tells began with the sampling used in 'Sweet Lullaby', a song on the album *Deep Forest* (1994). Young Belgian musicians sampled the album *Solomon Islands*·:

Fataleka and Baegu Music of Malaita (1990 [1973]) that Hugo Zemp had made, but did so without signing any agreement with UNESCO (as the record publisher) or with the ethnomusicologist who had been in charge of the recordings in the first place. In spite of this, *Deep Forest* was a commercial album that proved to be an outstanding success, spending 25 weeks at the top of the hit recording chart on Billboard and selling more than two million copies by May 1995. The song involving the sample was also used in advertisements for several large corporations including Coca-Cola and Sony. Yet, Steven Feld could find no trace that any portion of the massive royalties accrued from this had been given to the real owners of the song, although the album itself states that a portion of profits would be given to 'The Pygmy Fund' (2000: 272).

The issue of copyright and improper musical appropriation is most famously reported in respect of the German band, Enigma (Taylor 2001: 120-125). On their second album, *The Cross of Changes* (1993), Michael Cretu, as the group leader, used a sample of 'Jubilant Drinking Song' performed by musicians of Taiwanese ethnic groups for their famous song 'Return to Innocence'. This was taken from a recording issued by Radio France under the French Ministry of Culture, *Polyphonies vocals des aborigenes de Taiwan* (1989), but without obtaining the permission of the Taiwanese musicians recorded. In fact, the original album was recorded at a concert as part of the indigenous groups' performance tour in Europe, but also used music taped previously by the ethnomusicologist. The CD publication was not known to its singers: Enigma's album was a massive commercial success. It sold five million copies, and furthermore, 'Return to Innocence' was adopted as one of the official

songs of the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. In that same year, the situation led to lawsuits by Magic Stone Music, a party of Taiwanese musicians, against EMI – the parent company of Virgin, and the record company who issued the Enigma album – for copyright infringement. After three years, the parties arrived at an out-of-court settlement, including a guarantee of giving the indigenous groups credit in any subsequently-released albums (Taylor 2001: 124). However, no royalties had initially been given to the original singers.

The issue of musical appropriation is also found where world music involves collaboration. Paul Simon's *Graceland* (1986) is an example that involves two components – copyright, and the process of music-making. To give some specific songs, 'Homeless' is a song that Simon (from North America) created in collaboration with Ladysmith Black Mambazo (from South Africa). Ladysmith and the other musicians were given payment for accompaniment rather than co-composition, even though they obviously participated in the process of creating the melody. Also, although credits on songs were given to all participants, the copyright on the recording belongs solely to Simon. Additionally, as the music was made, control in the studio was exercised by Simon as producer, as the main lyricist and as the main vocalist; he led the South Africans, who acted as backing musicians. Hence the division between Simon and Ladysmith exposes a hierarchic order for 'the maintenance of apartheid' (Meintjes 1990: 47).

A further dimension is hybridity. Musicians of the non-Western world have partly or positively accommodated elements of exoticism as expected by the global industry.

Three types of responses to this expectation have been characteristic. The first is negotiation, as seen in Joan Gross's collaborative work which accommodates *rai*, paying attention to the role of *rai* in the Franco-Maghrebi community but concentrating on the negotiation behind the hybrid identity of the second generation of migrants (see Gross, McMurray, and Swedenburg 2002). Feeling France to be an alien land and wishing to return to their sweet homeland, a number of migrants in the first generation expressed their isolationism in response to French exclusivism. However, this was not the case with the second generation who, born in France, do not have such a dream for their parents' home country, nor a desire for a special zone for the Maghrebi in France. Rather, based on the compromise between integrating and being different, they live as quasi-assimilationists.

The second response concerns participation in the global order, as seen in the indigenous group sampled by Enigma. The unpaid-for sampling influenced the musical production of indigenous communities in Taiwan, while changing the dynamics of economics and culture in a way that pressed indigenous groups to undergo 'the commercial revaluation and objectification of intangible culture', while metaphorically making song a commodity (Tan 2012: 4-5). First, supported by knowledge that his voice was being used at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, Difang, one of the two indigenous singers sampled, signed a contract with the record company Magic Stone for two albums. These albums showed musical and stylistic similarities to Enigma's mix. Furthermore, Difang, in terms of his status as a singer in and outside his community, and his subsequent reputation, made alterations to his private and social life, entering 'larger intra-village dynamics' in a way that protected

copyright not just for his own music but for aboriginal rights. In this sense, the case of Enigma affected both a style of singing and the recognition of copyright, in what Tan terms an 'ecosystem'.

The third response involves entry to the global order. This is usually named occidentalism or self-orientalism, and involves musicians of the non-Western world accepting the undesirable order, based on the belief that they are capable of promoting themselves more effectively when adapting to the taste of the global market (Chen 1992; Mitchell 2004). To demonstrate this, Mitchell takes as an example the case of Dick Lee, a Singaporean pop singer who was popular in the mid-1990s in Southeast Asia and in part of East Asia – Japan. The Singapore recording market is not big, to the extent that 5,000 sales would be regarded as being good. Nevertheless, Dick Lee's music is believed to be a combination of multi-ethnic, or the pan-Asian, appropriating Asian folk melodies, multicultural or Singaporean lyrics, and Western elements that together show 'a cosmopolitan pan-Asian musical diversity and syncretism that also resonates within a national context' (2004: 101). Mitchell notes how 'self-orientalism' underlies Lee's album *The Mad Chinaman* (1989), with a symbolic image given on the cover photo, and with a final track that expresses 'the schizoid dilemma' of the mad Chinaman's reliance 'on the East and West sides of his life' (ibid.: 106).

These cases suggest that the global world music culture operates at the intersection of producers and musicians from the Western camp on the one side and non-Western musicians on the other side, that is, between exoticism on one side and

attitudes toward bargaining, joining, and jumping onto the bandwagon on the other. And these perspectives were generated by post-colonial identities shared amongst those in both camps, generating a global world music culture in which an asymmetrical hierarchy between 'Us' and 'Others' is maintained. These remain a dominant element.

Given this, how has the sphere of Korean music taken its position in the world music scene? Music based on tradition is so far in its infancy of entering the global industry. Some popular creative traditional music, such as the percussion-based *Dulsori* or *samullori*, are treated as musical products of the global music industry. At the present time, several popular creative traditional music groups such as Anaya, AUX and Easternox have begun to promote their music to the global market, thereby considering themselves world music groups. However, if the field of Korean music is extended to include discourse of world music, we can obtain three findings. First, a cultural pluralistic position is against westernization; it is based on an opinion that refuses the integration of Korean music culture into the implicit hierarchy. Second, such a position has a potential significance in being able to change the implicit hierarchic perspective. Third, it corresponds to the ethos of the Activation Plan; as shown later, the Activation Plan is based on cultural pluralism, which opposes the force of westernization.

From 1998, discussion began amongst intellectuals – Korean musicologists, music critics and broadcasting producers. A cultural pluralistic position has developed within this discourse, with a permissive Korean identity, for two reasons. First, as I

will show later, this position has occurred as response to an implicit hierarchic order between ‘Us’ (Western marketers and musicians) and ‘Others’ (non-Western musicians). Second, it ultimately explores directions to be taken for a Korean-style of world music which reflects various musical tastes.

The formation of world music discourse in Korea can be traced back to the turn of the 21st century, when world music was introduced full-scale to Korea. Since the term ‘world music’ emerged as a category in 1987 in the global music industry, and became particularly important when Buena Vista Social Club (1999) gained international popularity, world music was actively introduced into Korea through albums and radio programmes on CBS FM (for example, beginning in 1998, 2003), EBS FM (2002), KBS 1FM (2002) and MBC FM (2001), as illustrated in Table 5.2. World music guide books have been written by well-known music journalists such as Sŏ Namjun (2003) and Shin Hyŏnjun (2003) and by radio producers such as Shim Yŏngbo at CBS FM (2005) and by a group of six KBS FM producers (2005). It could be said that these laid the foundations for so-called world music discourse in Korea. What I find interesting is that the meaning of world music has been interpreted within a Korean perspective. Hee-Sun Kim points out that this discourse has five positions (forthcoming). The first is nationalistic. The second considers world music as ‘the future of *kugak*’. Third, related groups see world music-ization as a marketing strategy and aim to secure an audience through doing it, wishing that their music could be consumed beyond the national, as in groups with English names such as Orientalica, Vinalog, and the Well-Being Band Crayon. The fourth pays attention to world music as a ‘neo-liberalistic global commodity’. The fifth is a

position of defensive cultural nationalism which is concerned about subordination under cultural globalization. Although the details are distinct, these five positions can be summarized into two, one nationalistic and one commercial. Also, the ‘world’ in this discourse is interpreted as a place for reflecting on one’s own position.

Table 5.2 Radio Programmes on World Music (1998-2003)

Year	Broadcast Co.	Radio Programmes	
1998	CBS FM	Sŏ Namjun ũi wŏldŭmjujuk	[World Music of Sŏ Namjun]
2001	MBC FM	Song Kichŏl ũi wŏldŭmjujuk	[World Music of Song Kichŏl]
2002	KBS 1FM	Sesang ũi modŭn ũmak	[Every Music in the World]
2002	EBS FM	Segye ũmak kihaeng	[Travel into World Music]
2003	CBS FM	Hwang Uch’ang ũi wŏldŭmjujuk	[World Music of Hwang Uch’ang]

In addition, I need to add to the cultural pluralistic position. When considering the force of Westernization, it can be seen that cultural pluralism has derived from a refusal to be integrated into the implicit hierarchy of world music culture. In the refusal, musicians recognize other cultures and cultural differences, and this recognition naturally led to cultural pluralism. Further, we can reach a fuller understanding by comparing similar perspectives within two other academic fields. Anthropologists claim that cultural difference should be considered as of equal value and secured through legislative processes on the national and the global level, particularly because the cultures of indigenous peoples are in danger of being lost (Vincent 1998: 641). In ethnomusicology, cultural pluralism underlies the field, leading to suspicions about world music. So, whereas global world music is music composed of ‘the commercial, a mix of commodified forms that are often hybrid

collaborations’, world music, from a cultural pluralistic perspective, should mean ‘unprofitable ethnographically rooted musics, often archive or field recordings of authentic traditions’ (Howard 2009: 5). Putting all of this together, the meaning of the ‘world’ in a cultural pluralistic position does not correspond to that of the world as the place of Others, based on an implicit hierarchy.

In Korea, most of the world music guide books mention the origin of the genre in the global industry (Chang Oknim 2004: 265; Shim Yŏngbo 2005: 6; Shin Hyŏnjun 2003: 8; Sŏ Namjun 2003: 5), thereby suggesting that the subject matter of these same books label the same world music as the global industry. This is explicitly stated by Shim Yŏngbo, a CBS producer. Nevertheless, beyond this, most authors attempt to introduce the cultural background of world music, mentioning the traditional elements of the non-Western world in question, thereby adding a perspective of cultural pluralism. This can be grasped easily in the introduction to Shim’s book:

All the states, the nations, and the human races of the global village should recognize ‘Others’ to co-exist beyond the boundaries of the states and the nations, as a member of the global village. And even if the social, political, historical and cultural backgrounds are different from each other, recognition of others as equal fellows would start from true understanding of others... The value of world music lies in the fact that it is an interesting and joyful voyage helping this understanding (Shim Yŏngbo 2005: 4).

The KBS producers' book consists of the following chapters: Latin, South African, North African, Greece, North European, Turkish, Iberian, and the Midem music market.²⁸ Based on a few weeks' exposure during fieldtrips, the producers introduce cultural and musical backgrounds, in consideration of general readers. For instance, Min Nohyöng interprets the music of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, a South African group who came to fame after participating in Paul Simon's *Graceland*, providing background information about the 'Zulu a cappella' style – which is said to play a cornerstone for the music of the group.²⁹

The music of Mambazo derived from a male chorus, *Isicathamiya* (Zulu language which means walking on tiptoe). Before and after 1900, black people of South Africa came together to the city or mines to look for jobs, leaving their hometowns. People in the migrant group consisting of only men drowned their nostalgia for the hometowns through singing in a call-and-response way. A good example is '*Shosholoz*', a song sung while working in mines. *Isicathamiya* is a kind of Zulu a cappella... (Min Nohyöng 2005: 75-77).

But, even if Korea's world music books introduce various cultural and musical backgrounds, they do not include any critique of producers and content, except for the book of Shin Hyöngjun, which includes criticism of Paul Simon (2003: 195–196). As with Min Nohyöng, though, although Shin deals with Ladysmith Black

28 Midem, *Marché Internationale de Disc et Editione Musicale* (World Market for Records and Music Publishing) was launched in 1967 under the leadership of Bernard Chevry (Justin Malbon and Albert Moran 2006: 76), and has been held annually in Cannes, France, as one of the leading international music trade fairs.

29 The particular chapter was written based on two-week field trip, and the section about Zulu a cappella is based, partly, on the author's interview with Joseph Shabalala, the leader of Ladysmith Black Mambazo.

Mambazo's involvement in Graceland, he does not include the critical issues in the same section, partly because such criticism has not yet been openly encountered amongst academics in Korea.

Nevertheless, a cultural pluralistic position is substantial, in the sense that it could influence the implicit hierarchic order. Given that the global world music culture is driven by a perspective common to Western and non-Western camps, the perspective is the implicit hierarchic dualism. It suggests that, if this viewpoint is replaced by another, the order may be changed. Cultural pluralism is consistent with a universal norm; from a long-term perspective, it could exercise a (positive) influence over Western and non-Western camps in the global industry, thereby serving as an alternative to the existing dualism. A cultural pluralistic viewpoint in the discourse of world music ultimately starts with an opposition to the subordination of Korean music culture; as discussed in Chapter 6, such a foundational idea overlaps with the ethos underpinning the Activation Plan.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the period from the late 1980s to the early 21st century, in order to examine how the conditions of popular hybrid music cultures were consolidated as the final stage before the Activation Plan. To this end, I looked at how these cultures developed on three levels – the post people's music culture, Asian-centred Korean Wave, and global world music culture. I examined how these were motivated by dominant cultural identities, namely, by the identity of citizens, the identity of being Asian, and post-colonialist.

Concerning the post people's music culture, I observed how sub-genres of popular creative traditional music and their relevant discourse were formed. The post people's music culture refers to a citizens' music culture, which displays continuity as well as change. This was conceived in 1987, at the time of the historic turning point of the June 29th Proclamation for democratization given by Roh Tae Woo. Then, as Seo Taiji and Boys in 1992 changed the field of popular music, this culture emerged more widely and openly. Following 1987, censorship began to be relaxed. Then, people created the identity of citizens in a true sense. It is newly-gained individuality, based on continuing populist sentiments, that is, a permissive Korean identity. This identity was encouraged through two sub-genres of popular creative traditional music, those originated from the ante-1987 culture, one sub-genre appearing in cross-cultural flows, and other pioneering works. The first was the appropriation of a folk music genre for electric guitar, Kim Soochul's 'Guitar *sanjo*'. Kim created this mainly with the identity of a rock musician based on that of the people. The second was the music of second-generation professional *samullori* musicians. They attempted to develop new pieces such as *modŭmbuk*, based on a permissive Korean identity. The cross-cultural outcome was orchestral music by the composer and second-generation Korean resident of Japan, Yang Bang Eon. This was a product of his triple cultural identities. His nostalgic – diasporic – sense of belonging provided the basis for two senses of belonging to himself and to being Asian. Also, one discourse among intellectuals played a role in reproducing new-found sense of individualism. It was about the new generation, born in the 1970s. This formed after the boom of pop music begun by Seo Taeji and Boys, which confirmed a new individuality as the dominant principle for a music culture of

citizens. After the new millennium dawned, things changed again, particularly in the populist aspect demonstrated by teenagers who participated in ‘candlelight vigils’.

On the cross-national level, after Korean pop music achieved popularity in China around 1998, an Asian-centred Korean Wave began to be formed. This emerged into the limelight in 2004 with the soap opera ‘Winter Sonata’, and then, various Korean cultural products gained popularity amongst people in East and South East Asian countries. Korean Wave is now motivated by the potential identity of being an Asian. On the global level, after 1987, world music began to be established. Unlike the parody sub-culture of Psy’s ‘Gangnam Style’, this maintained the implicit hierarchical order between ‘Us’ and ‘Others’ generated by Orientalism and post-colonial identity. This hierarchical order affected the formation of discourse of world music in Korea but, from a constructivist approach, I find a possibility that a cultural pluralistic position, as has recently been adopted by Korean groups seeking to work in the global world music market, may be able to change the implicit order.

I next turn to the Activation Plan itself, and to its two subsidiary projects, KMP 21 and TASP. In Chapter 6 I look at how the three popular music cultures have contributed to the enforcement of the Plan, exploring how policy makers – the drafters and project organizers – perceive these cultures, and with what type of Korean identity.

CHAPTER SIX: The 21st Century Korean Music and the Traditional Arts Star Projects

This chapter will examine how the Activation Plan emerged out of the three popular hybrid music cultures on national, cross-national and global levels, and how it was intended to activate these three. Also, I will consider the main ideas of those who drafted and organized the project through a case study of the two subsidiary plans, the 21st Century Korean Music Project (KMP 21) and the Traditional Arts Star Project (TASP).

Vision 2010: The Activation Plan for traditional arts

Figure 6.1 Announcement by former Minister Kim Myönggon of the Activation Plan



Source: ‘Chönt’ong yesul ūi him uri mirae rül pakkunda [The Power of Traditional Arts, Changing Our Future]’, *Kugak nuri* 80 [The Monthly *Kugak* World]; Kim Chin’gon (2006: 14). The photograph is by Kim Ki.

The photo in Figure 6.1 captures the important moment when the Activation Plan was announced to the public by the then Minister of Culture Kim Myōnggon on the stage of the outdoor theatre Pyōlmajitō at the National Gugak Centre on 27 September 2006. What are the aims of the Activation Plan? In respect to domestic politics, it can be said that the plan operated according to fundamental ideas underpinning the cultural policy of the earlier government of Roh Moo Hyun (2003–2008). As mentioned in the Introduction, Roh's government – and specifically, the Ministry of Culture within it – had a firm intention to support traditional arts, going further than his predecessor Kim Dae-Jung's government (1998–2003). This was practised through the newly-established Chōnt'ong Yesul T'im (Traditional Arts Team) within the Arts Bureau. This team grew from a task force. It made a new start in June, 2006, with the head of the team being Kim Chin'gon and with eight committees, a professor in traditional music composition at Chungang university, Ch'oe Sanghwa, as the chairperson. After three rounds of workshops, this group set out the Activation Plan, and was officially reorganized as the Traditional Arts Team in September 2006. However, when turning our attention to the music-cultural aspect, it is evident that the Activation Plan was formed within three existing popular Korean music cultures, and was carried out to further enhance them. These three were the post people's music culture – the music culture of citizens, the Asian-centred Korean Wave, and global world music. Further, the Activation Plan was conducted by a permissive Korean identity shared by both those who drafted and organized the project.

Five specific tasks were agreed, as given in Table 6.1: to restore traditional arts and to support creative activities; to popularize and to industrialize traditional arts; to

cultivate talent in the field of traditional arts and to promote academic research; to globalize traditional arts and to spread the Korean Wave; to develop an institution and establish an infrastructure. As shown in Table 6.1, it was to accomplish the latter part of the first task that two projects – KMP 21 and TASP – were drawn up (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2006: 20).¹

Table 6.1 Specific undertakings by policy tasks: Five policy tasks and twenty-seven specific undertakings
<p>1. To restore traditional arts and to support creative activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) To explore and restore original forms of traditional arts b) To hold a nationwide traditional performing arts festival c) To designate performance centres specializing in traditional performing arts and support performance activities d) To support the creative activities of young traditional musicians e) To support management of affiliated traditional arts groups of the city and the province. f) To establish the Korean Traditional Arts Awards <p>2. To popularize and to industrialize traditional arts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) To operate a general information centre (an archive) for traditional arts b) To support programmes involving interactive experience of traditional arts c) To designate reputable traditional arts families and celebrated places d) To augment the development and diffusion of <i>saenghwal ūmak</i> (music in real life) e) To develop cultural products using traditional arts as material f) To scientificy and develop traditional instruments

¹ Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2006. *Chōnt'ong yesul hwalsōnghwa pang'an – pijyōn 2010* [Activation Plan for Traditional Arts – Vision 2010]. Seoul: Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

3. To cultivate talent in the field of traditional arts and to promote academic research

- a) To augment education in traditional culture in school
- b) To promote education in traditional music in traditional arts secondary schools
- c) To encourage education in traditional music in collegiate schools and manage E-*kugak* Academy
- d) To execute an intern system for graduates specializing in traditional arts
- e) To support excellent papers and publications in the field of traditional arts

4. To globalize traditional arts and to spread Korean Wave

- a) To develop national brand performance and support music groups making inroads into foreign markets
- b) To support the development of programmes specialized by regions and receivers
- c) To support the translation of traditional arts-related texts
- d) To improve the *Han 'guk munhwa k'ŭn madang chanch'i* (Korean Culture Big Meeting Place Festival) inviting foreigners resident in Korea

5. To develop an institution and establish an infrastructure

- a) To establish Traditional Arts Promotion Law and the Traditional Arts Council
- b) To make the most of characteristics of local National Gugak Centres and improve their operation
- c) To open the Namwŏn Kugak Ŭi Sŏngji (Namwŏn Birthplace of Korean Traditional Music)
- d) To improve the environment of GugakFM and substantialize the operation
- e) To increase fairness in traditional arts-related competitions
- f) To augment traditional music-related programmes of broadcasting stations

The national level: the post people's music culture

It can be seen that, within the music culture of citizens, those who drafted the

Activation Plan intended to accentuate a second phase of development through assigning specific tasks. The music culture of citizens has two sides. The first is as a nationalistic culture, and those who drafted the plan intended to activate this especially through the fifth task – to develop an institution and establish an infrastructure. The Activation Plan states clearly, as one of its specific items, that the Chōnt’ong Yesul Chinhŭngwŏn (Traditional Arts Council) should be established anew. This appears innovative, because the Council will take full responsibility for supporting traditional arts, implicitly as equal to the Han’guk Munhwa Yesul Wiwŏnhoe (Arts Council Korea). The Arts Council Korea is an affiliated organization of the Ministry of Culture in charge of supporting artists and organizations in all artistic fields – literature, arts, music, dance, drama, movies, entertainments, traditional music, photography, architecture, and publication (according to Article 1 of the *Munhwa yesul chinhŭngbŏp* (Culture and Art Promotion Act)). The Arts Council Korea, then, is not just for traditional arts and music.

The second side is a sub-culture formed in the private camp, not by the government. Interestingly, Kim Myŏnggon’s career, built within both the people’s culture and the post people’s culture, and developed from the 1980s to the 1990s, may seem to suggest that the Activation Plan aimed to reinvigorate private sponsorship. This is because for two decades the then Minister of Culture, Kim Myŏnggon (b. 1952), contributed to the development of cultural production, as a theatre director, writer and stage and film actor. As his recent autobiography (2011) tells us, while studying at Seoul National University he became a member of the college drama society, and in his third year he started to learn *p’ansori* (epic storytelling through song) tradition from Pak Ch’owŏl

(1917-1983), a holder of the repertory ‘*Sugungga*/Song of the Underwater Palace’. After graduation his career as an artist engaged in the cultural movement grew. He made a distinctive contribution in the field of drama, establishing the theatrical company Kŭktan Arirang together with his colleagues from the college club, and serving as its president from 1986 to 1999. In so doing, he directed, wrote or acted for nationalistic dramas including the historical drama ‘*Kabose kabose*’ about the 19th-century Tonghak peasant uprising (1988), the drama ‘*Kŭm sugungga*’ (1988) for which he sang new lyrics to the *p’ansori* ‘Song of the Underwater Palace’, and the drama ‘*Pulgamjŭng*’ about inter-Korean issues (1988). Then from 1998 to 1999, Kim served as president of the Han’guk Minjokkŭk Undong Hyŏbŭihoe (Korean National Drama Movement Association) and from 2000 to 2006, as the principal of the Kungnip Kŭkch’ang (National Theatre of Korea). From 2006 to 2007, he was Minister of Culture, and since then he has returned, as an artist, to the stage. Kim’s career was reinforced by the great success of the 1993 film, ‘*Sŏp’yŏnje*’, directed by Im Kwŏnt’aek. For this, Kim wrote the scenario and took the role as the father, Yubong. The film is named after the so-called ‘Western school’ (which is what the title translates as) of *p’ansori*. The film originated in a novel published in 1976 by Yi Ch’ŏngjun. The plot describes the sorrows and joys of a family of *p’ansori* singers, father, brother and sister, who in the 1960s lived in absolute poverty. It expresses and sublimates the aesthetic of *han* as the emotion of suffering. *Han* is well captured in two scenes. In the first, the father and *p’ansori* singer Yubong (Kim Myŏnggon) blinded his daughter Songhwa (O Chŏnghae) as he feared that she might leave home like his son, and such was his dedication to *p’ansori*. In the second – almost the last scene – brother and sister perform *p’ansori* together after their reunion. The music to the film

was directed by the aforementioned composer and pioneer of ‘Guitar *sanjo*’ Kim Soochul.² *Sŏp’yŏn je* won awards at many film festivals in Seoul, gaining the first prize at the oldest and most representative Korean film festival, the Taejong Film Festival. It stimulated nationalist sentiment, thereby facilitating the nationalistic aspect of the post people’s culture. Kim won best actor awards in two festivals and, through this, it can be seen that his role in the film strengthened his image as a nationalistic artist.

However, beyond this symbolic nexus, one can find in its specific contents the relevance of the Activation Plan to support traditional folk arts and education. First of all, it emphasizes support for *chŏnt’ong yŏnhŭi* (traditional performing arts) in the private sector. Its primary task is said to be ‘to support the first National Traditional Performing Arts Festival’. This shows that those drafting it paid special attention to what was considered an adverse situation, where traditional performing arts were isolated in society and policy.³ In the plan, ‘traditional performing arts’ means a composite art synthesizing three primary elements – song, dance, and music. These in a narrow sense refer to *kamyŏn’gŭk* or *t’alch’um* (masked dance dramas), performance arts of *namsadang* (traditional itinerant performance troupes), and *kut* (shaman rituals).⁴ However, this set can be extended, in a broad sense, to the *p’ungmul* of local

2 The music has importance in two regards. The first was the sales of the original soundtrack: the album sold more than a million, setting a new record as a *kugak*-related album. So, it is often said that this contributed to the popularization of *kugak*. The second was the career of the composer, Kim Soochul, himself. After the early 1980s, Kim started to build a career as a musician of popular creative traditional music, but his albums did not gain commercial success until this soundtrack was released.

3 The very fact that the Activation plan states traditional performing arts have been isolated implies that this plan talks about folk arts, not the court arts actively supported by the government through the National Gugak Center.

4 *Namsadang* featured six performance arts in their shows: *p’ungmul* (percussion music and dance), *pŏna* (bowl spinning), *salp’an* (acrobatics), *ŏrŭm* (tightrope walking), *tŏppoegi* (masked dance) and *tŏlmi* (puppetry). For details of the six repertoires, see Hesselink (2012: 17-37) and Kim Hŏnsŏn (1995: 41-69).

percussion bands, *p'ansori*, and even *ch'anggŭk* (Korean opera) adopted from *p'ansori*. There have been many attempts by the government to sustain these arts. One visible attempt has been the preservation system. Since 1964, Korea has preserved arts and crafts through the Cultural Properties Preservation Law as Important Intangible Cultural Properties (hereafter, IICP) on the national level, and, since 1971, as Intangible Cultural Properties (hereafter, ICP) at city and provincial levels. As of 2012, 44 performing arts have been designated as IICPs, and 111 as ICPs.⁵ However, government support is not sufficient to meet all expenses for groups and individuals. For instance, in 2007, IICP holders were typically given a monthly stipend of 1,000,000 wŏn (approximately UK £532), and preservation groups, 1,200,000 wŏn (approximately UK £638). South Kyŏngsang Province ICP holders received 500,000 wŏn (approximately UK £265), and preservation groups 300,000 wŏn (approximately UK £159).⁶ Although such stipends are valuable for the respective groups, it is clear that groups need to finance most of their performances themselves, let alone other private groups who do not belong to IICPs and ICPs.⁷

According to the Activation Plan, the *Taehan min'guk chŏnt'ong yŏnhŭi ch'ukche* (National Traditional Performing Arts Festival) – the traditional performing arts festival at the national level – should be held. It took place first in 2007, 2008, 2009 and then in 2012. The festival committee, which included SamulNori's head and co-

5 The CPPL categorizes IICPs and ICPs under seven headings: music, dance, theatre, plays and rituals, crafts, food and martial arts.

6 The amount given as a monthly stipend is fixed within the range of the annual budget. That is, these amounts are just a standard for calculation (Hyun Seok Kwon 2008: 23).

7 In 2009, the Han'guk Chŏnt'ong Yŏnhŭi Tanch'e Ch'ong Yŏnhaphoe (Korean Federation of Traditional Performing Arts Groups), with a head, Kim Duk Soo, a co-founder of SamulNori/*samullori*, was established with a view to activating traditional performing arts as an affiliated entity of the Ministry of Culture.

founder Kim Duk Soo, took responsibility for the festival, but the Ministry of Culture provided financial support. The festival has been held on consecutive holidays of *ch'usŏk* (harvest moon festival). In 2007 and 2008, it was held at the Seoul World Cup Stadium, and in 2009, at the National Museum of Korea. In 2012, it moved to the central Kwanghwamun, a major crossroads near the former royal palace which had been a landmark of Seoul as the capital for six hundred years during the Chosŏn dynasty. In 2007, the programme consisted of 34 traditional folk performing arts. These included the master Kwŏn Wŏnt'ae's walking on three tightropes, and performances of all parts of a traditional *namsadang* performance. Approximately 1,000 professional performers participated. Amongst the arts offered, it could be argued that Kwŏn's was particularly important to the people. This is because it had earlier contributed to the introduction of *namsadang* to the people through the 2005 film, '*Wang ũi namja*' (The King and the Clown). Kwŏn was a member of the Ansŏng Shirip Namsadang Paudŏgi P'unngmuldan (Ansŏng City's Namsadang Paudŏgi Percussion Group), Kyŏnggi Province IICP No. 21, designated in 1997. While there had been six active *namsadang* troupes from the central region at the end of the 1930s (Shim Usŏng 1994 [1974]), this group grew from one of them, the Kaetari Troupe. Kwŏn substituted for the main actor, Changsaeng (Kam Usŏng), in the film. The film presented a fictional story about *namsadang*, and was greatly popular, thus reintroducing the arts of *namsadang* to the people (Chin Nara 2006; Hesselink 2012: 35).⁸

8 The recent musical exchange between the group SamulNori and *namsadang* is interesting. Based on his fieldwork, Hesselink states that SamulNori presented the central-style piece *uttari p'unngmul* deriving from the primary repertory of *namsadang* as their first piece at their 1978 premiere, and notes that teachers at Ansŏng Namsadang institute soon started to adopt the very same SamulNori version as a piece to teach (Hesselink 2012: 36-37).

The Activation Plan also clearly indicates support for the Kugak Yesul Kodŭng hakkyo (former private Traditional Arts High School).⁹ This is seen in the third task, ‘to cultivate talent in the field of traditional arts and to promote academic research’, and its second specific point, ‘to expand infrastructure of traditional music education in secondary schools in the field of traditional art and to encourage learning’. This clearly included support for the Traditional Arts High School, and to nationalize it. This seems very significant in respect of the history of private and national traditional music educational institutions, because the Traditional Arts High School was the cradle for professional folk musicians emerging from the private camp, but also because it had needed to establish itself, unlike the Kugak Kodŭng Hakkyo (Gugak National High School).¹⁰ The Gugak National High School and the Traditional Arts High School are representative secondary arts schools in Korea. Formed after liberation, their historical roots are very different (Song Pangsong 2007: 704-710).¹¹ The Gugak National High School originated in the government-funded training centre for traditional musicians, the Kugaksa Yangsŏngso, which belonged to the predecessor of today’s National Gugak Center.¹² This was opened in 1955, and 1958 saw its extension into a high school. In 1972, it became an independent high school, and in 1991, its middle school reopened. Most graduates progress to departments of *kugak* in universities, including Seoul National University, and then to traditional music institutions or orchestras. Graduates of the Gugak National High School and Seoul National University play leading roles in national educational institutions, and this nexus is thought of as an axis

9 Based on the Activation plan, this school was nationalized in March 2008, and renamed the Kungnip Chŏnt’ong Yesul Kodŭng hakkyo (National High School of Traditional Arts).

10 The official English title is the Gugak National High School.

11 For more information about how, since 1908, training of Korean music has been done on the governmental and private sides, see the article by Howard (2002: 987–992).

12 For more information about the school’s history, see <http://www.gukak.hs.kr/eng/History.htm> (accessed 14 August 2013).

for traditional music. However, in 1960, the Traditional Arts High School was founded under the name Kugak Yesul Hakkyo by prominent figures from a second camp, with a view to education in folk music traditions. In 1971 the school was reorganized into a three-year high school named the Han'guk Kugak Yesul Kodŭng Hakkyo (Korean Traditional Arts High School). In 1984, it was renamed the Seoul Kugak Yesul Kodŭng Hakkyo (Seoul Traditional Arts High School) and in 2001, its middle school reopened. As already mentioned, in 2008, it was nationalized. Graduates of the high school formed important groups in the private field. For instance, the Minsokakhoe Shinawi (Folk Music Society) contributed to the transmission of folk music, as seen in SamulNori and, in 1987, a professor at Chungang University from its former graduates, Pak Pŏmhun, founded the first private traditional orchestra in Korea, the *Chungang kwanhyŏn aktan* (Chungang Traditional Orchestra). Through this, he attempted to diffuse *kugak* to the public. Many graduates of the high school and Chungang University such as Pak have played distinct roles, creating a second axis around which traditional music is focussed. Hence, in nationalizing the Traditional Arts High School those who drafted the plan recognized the importance of folk arts, and intended to foster them through support for this institution. In doing so, they aimed to activate the music culture of citizens.¹³

However, this does not mean that individual music making was not considered important. Rather, the Activation Plan was based on integrating resources. So, music

13 A 2006 column in the Korean newspaper *Han'gyŏre shinmun* about the announcement by Kim Myŏnggon of the Activation Plan predicted that the balance of power between the two high schools would be controlled by the Traditional Arts Council. Kim Ki, 'Kugak hyŏngmyŏng hyŏnjang, kijanŭn ŏpsŏ', *Han'gyŏre*, 28 September 2006, at http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/160905.html (accessed 4 October 2013).

on the individual level was to be actively permitted, as the Activation Plan aimed to strike a balance between court and private camps and to encourage the production of popular creative traditional music. In this sense, the perspective was to promote an identity of the people open to the individual level. As I will discuss later, this is indicated by the concept of ‘future traditionalism’, an idea that underpins the subsidiary project KMP 21.

The regional: the Asian-centred Korean Wave

The Activation Plan was established within the Asian-centred ‘Korean Wave’ culture, in a way partly intended to make traditional arts into a new Korean Wave. Those who drafted the plan perceived this culture as having a dual identity – the identity of being Asian based on the identity of being Korean. Those behind the plan felt a sense of belonging not only to the Korean people but also, at least potentially, to Asian people. One co-existed with the other in their perception, but the basis was the identity of the Korean people because the drafters concentrated, ultimately, on promoting traditional Korean arts to Asia rather than constructing an Asian cultural community.

We can find the identity of the Korean people in their consideration of traditional arts as the source of a new Korean Wave as being a national product. It does not mean that the drafters make little of the efforts which singers and producers devoted to producing a pop song. However, as Lee Kang Sook [Yi Kangsuk] argued in his articles, it might better be considered to fall into the category of ‘quasi-Korean’. Against this background, the specific task to make traditional arts form a new Korean Wave were

discussed in terms of creating an alternative to the existing Korean Wave.¹⁴ A further consideration was Korea's cultural position, mainly in respect to Asia. In consideration of this, the Korean Wave phenomenon has been dealt with as a cultural policy. After 'Winter Sonata' led to the full-scale emergence of the Korean Wave, national government actively put in place a large-scale policy to support it, in the expectation of creating and maintaining regional (including international) images of Korea. Going further than the government of Kim Dae-Jung (1993–2003), Roh Moo-Hyun's government (2003–2008) saw in the Korean Wave a new drive for growth – something beyond what had so far been experienced by the popular culture industry (U 2008: 140). For instance, in July 2005, during Roh Moo-Hyun's government, the Ministry of Culture designated a plan, the *Hallyu Segyehwa rül t'onghan kukka pūraendŭ p'awŏ kanghwa* (Strengthening of the state's brand power through globalization of the Korean Wave), as one of four core tasks for the promotion of the culture industry. This was part of the state's middle and long term vision and strategy, the *Munhwa kangguk* (Great power in Culture, or C-Korea 2010). Furthermore, on 22 January 2009, Lee Myung-Bak's government (2008-2013) set up the *Kukka pūraendŭ wiwŏnhoe* (Presidential Council on National Branding), with a comprehensive view of presenting Korea's image to the world. This, for our purposes here extended beyond promoting the Korean Wave. It followed an official announcement in Lee's address to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Korea. The Council consisted of 47 members, amongst whom 34 were appointed members and 13 *ex officio*. In its initial stage, a budget of 8,000,000,000 wŏn (approximately

14 Kim Chin'gon, the head of the Traditional Arts Team, has written about this aspect (2006: 15).

£4,575,000) was allocated to the Council.¹⁵ The Council outlined its overarching vision as ‘A Reliable and Dignified Korea’, and presented four comprehensive strategies, namely, to expand contributions to international society, disseminate the value of traditional Korean culture, to strengthen global communication, and to pursue nationwide integration.

These tasks partly overlap with the Activation Plan, in respect to globalizing Korea and enforcement. As mentioned above, the Activation Plan seeks, ultimately, to make a new Korean Wave through utilizing new pieces of music with an obvious Korean air, or using traditional elements. These are generated through KMP 21 and TASP. From 2009 to 2010, such a vision common to the Activation Plan and various tasks of the Council to establish a national brand were reinforced. We can observe this aspect easily in the 2010 Arirang Festival, which was titled ‘*Ogam ŭro mannanŭn kŭllobŏl ŭmak ch’ukche* (Global Music Festival Felt in Five Senses)’. This had the theme ‘The Soul of Arirang in Music’. With the support of the Ministry of Culture, the event was organized by the Korean Traditional Performing Arts Foundation, which had been established within the Activation Plan. Since 2009, the foundation has carried out an undertaking to globalize *Arirang* through ‘creative transmission’, and the 2010 festival was part of this.¹⁶ On the occasion of the 2010 G20 Seoul Summit, the festival took place on a specially prepared stage at Seoul City Hall plaza. It can be seen as an attempt to create *Arirang* as a global cultural brand.¹⁷ Such an attempt was made

15 Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism, 2010. *2010 nyŏndo yesan · kigŭm unyong wiwŏnhoe kyehoek kaeyo*. Seoul: Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism.

16 For more information about the foundation’s undertakings, see <http://www.kotpa.org/> (accessed 25 April 2014).

17 Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism, 2010. *Ogam ŭro mannanŭn kŭllobŏl ŭmak ch’ukche ‘Arirang p’est’ibŏl 2010’* (Global Music Festival Felt in Five Senses, 2010 Arirang Festival), press

through collaborations between musicians with a variety of cultural backgrounds, including the music director and the group of TASP – Yi Chisu and MIJI – Japan’s New Age pianist Yuhki Kuramoto, jazz guitarist Lee Ritenour, jazz vocalist Inger Marie. Others included traditional musicians Han Ch’ungŭn (*taegŭm*), Shin Hyŏnshik (*ajaeng*), Yi Sŏnghŭi (*haegŭm*); and a musician and a group in the field of Korean popular music, Horan and SG Wannabe. In summary, the idea of establishing *Arirang* as an attractive national brand, which corresponded to the ethos of the Council, was practised through the 2010 Arirang Festival but appeared within a system built by the Activation Plan.

Related institutions have attempted to achieve an overarching result through supporting cultural products or creating cultural brands in the hope that ‘soft power’ can be produced. In *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1991), Joseph Nye evolved the notion of soft power. He defined soft power as ‘the ability to get what you want through attraction, rather than coercion or payments’ (2004: x) in the sphere of international relations. Put simply, it is the counterpart of hard power: whereas hard power commands others, soft power co-opts them. A country’s culture is an important resource of soft power, together with political values and foreign policies (2004: 11-14). However, when the cultural ideas that a country promotes can gain the sympathy of others, without involving provincial, arrogant or repulsive attitudes, those come to generate soft power. Simon Anholt, U.K. Foreign Office Public Diplomacy Board, also highlights this aspect. He argues that the nation brand must be differentiated from one in the business sphere (Anholt 2013: 1-4). This refers to a reputation that cannot be

realized through mere logos or designs; it can be acquired through improving every sphere of the nation. The important process is ‘symbolic actions’ (ibid.: 2). These must be based on sincerity, not the emptiness underpinning much propaganda. The outcome is able to be obtained when they have relevance to foreign people (as receivers). The fact that Korea announced an increase in official development assistance (OED) in 2009 suggests a strong symbolic move. The importance of sincerity is reinforced by today’s demand for the authenticity of products. Chairman and Co-Founder of Saffron Brand Consultants, Wally Olins, emphasizes that products with authenticity can now gain success, and that nation branding needs to reflect this change (2012).¹⁸ Relevant cultural products such as Korean pop could, though, become estranged from the public as consumption grew, and as government intervention to achieve political or economic aims became more extensive. An argument about the need for self-reflection arose in the export of Korean Wave products, asking whether what Korea was engaged with constituted ‘cultural sub-imperialism’ (Wŏn Yongjin 2005).¹⁹ However, it was natural for the government to have an interest in cultural policy when this addressed consumption in Korea’s neighbouring regions, particularly in East and South East Asia, in a way that stood in opposition to westernization.

Here, an Asian identity can be reinforced by anti-Korean Wave movements, such as has recently occurred amongst some young people in Japan. An indication of this was provided by the comic book, *Ken-kanryū* (Hate Korean Wave), published in July 2005.

18 IE University, 2012. *Branding, Globalization and Nations (Wally Olins at IE)*. at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?nr=1&v=XAXmooYLUrU&feature=endscreen> (accessed 18 May 2014).

19 Wŏn, Yongjin, ‘Hallyu twijibŏ pogi’, *Han’gyŏre*, 26 September 2001, at <http://legacy.www.hani.co.kr/section-001055000/2001/09/001055000200109262346001.html> (accessed 4 October 2013).

This told about a college discussion society which explored diplomatic questions concerning Japan and Korea, for instance, the 1910 Annexation Treaty. Yet the author, from an extreme-rightist view, blamed Korea and justified Japan's annexation. Within two years, this book sold nearly 800,000 copies, and became a hot issue in Japan. More recently, on 7 August 2011, almost 600 right-wing Japanese held their first official protest rally in front of the headquarters of Fuji TV in Tokyo. Fuji TV is a private broadcasting station that actively broadcast Korean soap operas Korean Wave boomed. According to the Asahi Shimbun newspaper, during July 2011 this station devoted the greatest amount of time in Japan to Korean dramas – 38 hours (Takaku 2011).²⁰ In the rally, participants blamed Fuji TV for actively promoting Korean dramas, requesting the withdrawal of its broadcast licence.

The drafters aimed to make traditional arts new Korean wave, partly in consideration of anti-Korean Wave movements - that is, from Japan.²¹ Korean Wave, which stimulated such consideration, presents to them specific tasks, for instance, support for musicians or groups, including those who emerge through KMP 21, to allow them to enter the global market or perform at a cultural festival for foreigners in Korea or abroad, and to develop hands-on programmes allowing experiences of traditional arts for young Koreans resident in Central Asia, South America and Europe – that is, beyond the Asian countries where Korean Wave was popular. Those who drafted the Activation Plan intended, ultimately, to use traditional arts as a resource to develop the

20 Takaku June, 'Korean Dramas Bite Deep into Japanese TV Market', *The Asahi Shimbun*, 30 September 2011, at http://ajw.asahi.com/article/asia/korean_peninsula/AJ2011092011291 (accessed 4 October 2013).

21 In his column, Kim Chin'gon, the head of the Traditional Arts Team, did not specify places of anti-Korean wave sentiment, but it can be interpreted that he was considering Japan (2006: 15).

Korean Wave.

The global: the global world music culture

The Activation Plan was established within the global world music culture, one that has been formed through a cultural pluralistic position in world music discourse in Korea. This is because it searches for Korean values, against Westernization but based on cultural pluralism. This is evidenced by its prescription about today's changed environment as Korea enters the global era. In this, it considers cultural variety to occur that stand in contrast to the process of cultural homogenization. Cultural pluralism refutes 'Orientalism' (as discussed in Chapter 5) and its implicit hierarchic order between the West and non-West. This order is easy to find in the current world music culture, and is an order that exists around the globe. So, cultural pluralism is based, ultimately, on a Korean (or other country people) identity which embraces other cultures. There are no specific tasks identified to embrace global world music culture; rather, from the cultural pluralism prescription, those who drafted the plan intended to carry out tasks, in a broad sense, towards this.

So, while the Activation Plan reflected three music cultures, it aimed to activate these cultures in a new way. The specifics of this came in two subsidiary plans, KMP 21 and TASP. These included specific undertakings 'to support creative activities of young traditional musicians', the fourth point under the first task of the plan. The two subsidiary plans basically sustain the post people's culture by producing popular creative traditional music. However, the project organizers have done this on the basis

of a permissive Korean identity, which is demonstrated by their consideration of individual preferences of the people and their positive attitude to accepting non-Korean elements. Hence, KMP 21 and TASP help us to view the Activation Plan as a cultural policy for what I earlier termed ‘cooperative conservation’.

21C Korean Music Project

In 2007, KMP 21 was introduced for the first time as ‘2007 *Kugak ch’angjakkok kaebal 21C han’guk ūmak p’ŭrojekt’ŭ*,’ or, to use the official English title, ‘2007 Promotion of Newly-Composed Korean Music – 21st Korean Music Project’.²² The responsibility was given to GugakFM, the financial supporter was the Ministry of Culture, and the supporting organizations were the National Gugak Center, KBS (Korean Broadcasting System), and Universal Music Korea. The most significant feature of this project was the festival and contest for young musicians, that, in terms of the production, encouraged popular creative traditional music. Each festival and contest has been held after two preliminary contests and a special workshop for finalists that has lasted two days and three nights. The festival and contest is held on the stage of the Yeaktang, the main hall of the National Gugak Center, lasting two-and-a-half hours, from 7:30 pm to 10:00 pm, on the designated day. In 2010, it was held on 13 August (Figures 6.2, 6.3, 6.4).

²² The liner notes of CDs and DVDs and other information on the formal website, www.kmp21.kr, are provided in English as well as Korean.

Figure 6.2 Public announcement for the 2010 KMP 21²³



Figure 6.3 A workshop for the finalists of the 2010 KMP 21



23 Photographs in Figure 6.2 and 6.3 were provided by GugakFM; the photograph in Figure 6.3 is by No Chaehyöng.

Figure 6.4 The main hall of the National Gugak Center on the day of the 2010 KMP 21



The abbreviated title ‘KMP 21,’ has more significant meaning when understood, as in the official English title, as a project to promote new music based on traditional elements. First, this is because KMP 21 considers traditional elements to be the foundation of new music and offers the potential for new music to become a tradition over time. Second, though, KMP 21 intends to activate the post people’s culture, through diffusing such music to the public. One can first grasp the rough project outline by understanding the background and purpose of GugakFM’s involvement. GugakFM is a radio station for the public which specializes in music related to tradition, so, with this in mind, I introduce GugakFM below.

GugakFM has been given responsibility by the government to promote all *kugak-*

related music to the public. This includes traditional and contemporary Korean music (that is, both creative traditional music for the elite and popular creative traditional music for the public), but not pop music. The logo and associated slogans indicate this. The logo combines the characteristic shape of the big drum *taego* with the initial ‘G’ of *Gugak* (in McCune-Reischauer romanisation, *kugak*) (Yoonhee Chang 2004: 23). Slogans have included ‘*Uri munhwa, uri sori*’ (Our culture, our sound) in the station’s opening year, 2001, and ‘*Munhwaro arūmdaun nara*’ (Beautiful country through culture; commonly rendered in translation as ‘Korean culture, Korean music’) since 2010. Taken together, these reflect the aim to promote traditional and contemporary Korean music, as well as recognising their significance within Korean culture.

Figure 6.5 A signal locating in front of the GugakFM building in Seoul



The specific background behind the establishment of the radio station in 2001 included the motive to use culture to attempt to realize more positively the identity of the nation in the age of globalization, in other words, and according to Song Chiwŏn’s interview with the Han Myŏnghŭi, the former president of the National Gugak Center (National

Gugak Center 2012: 172), the importance of broadcast media for the spread of Korean traditional music was appreciated. Against this, discussion prior to its establishment was initiated to reflection on the fact that *kugak* was not popular at the time. The National Gugak Centre and the GugakFM foundation had outlined three reasons (Yoonhee Chang 2004: 24-25). The first was education: since liberation in 1945, education about traditional music had been inadequate, since it was not a major subject in music textbooks. Second, traditional music was significant only to national and provincial governments, in that it was supported with the Korean cultural preservation system, rather than being promoted to the public. Third, traditional music was firmly pushed into a minority role on radio by Western music or Western-style Korean pop. The last point is illustrated by the ratio of *kugak*-related programmes to Western classical music on KBS FM radio. KBS FM is divided into 1FM and 2FM, for classical and popular music respectively, for 21 hours daily. Traditional music was broadcast on 1FM (93.1 MHz), for just three hours, so the majority of programmes were for Western classical music. This imbalance became one of the main reasons for establishing GugakFM.²⁴ In actuality, during the 1990s, a number of discussions took place, and there were complaints from musicians and scholars regarding KBS's lack of interest in *kugak* and the lack of audiences for KBS's *kugak* programmes, caused particularly because of the inconvenient times when the programmes were broadcast (Howard 2011: 197).

24 Yoonhee Chang mentions the absence in broadcasting stations of staff who specialized in traditional music as one reason for preventing cooperation (2004: 26). This included an absence of suitable administrative staff. Examining *kugak*-related programmes on KBS 1 FM, a number of Korean musicologists and composers, such as Lee Hye-ku, Han Manyŏng, Kwon Osŏng, and Ch'ae Ch'isŏng were involved.

So, *kugak* circles made great efforts to establish GugakFM. This included figures in the National Gugak Center: Han Myŏnghŭi (the Director General), Pak Ilhun (Director of Music Research), and Song Hyejin (senior researcher) (the National Gugak Center 2012: 170-174). The establishment of GugakFM was selected as part of the *Kungmin ũi chŏngbu sae munhwa chŏngch'aek saŏp* (New Cultural Policy Undertaking of the Nation's Government) on 17 April 1998, during Kim Dae-Jung's presidency (1998–2003) (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1998: 21),²⁵ with all responsibility assumed by the National Gugak Center and the GugakFM Foundation. Three years later, after the Ministry of Culture granted permission for its inauguration, the radio station went on air. It was initially housed within the National Gugak Center, broadcasting from within its museum. Test broadcasts for two months preceded its first public broadcast on 2 March 2001. In 2007 it moved to a new building in the Digital Media City near the World Cup Stadium in western Seoul as it prepared to extend its coverage to nationwide.²⁶

GugakFM programmes are currently available on the Internet as well as via broadcast stations which were established nationwide for this purpose. The stations are in Seoul – where there are one control room and five studios for editing, and the number of staff in 2010 was 40 – and the three satellite campuses of the National Gugak Center in Namwŏn (North Chŏlla Province), Chindo (South Chŏlla Province), and Pusan city. There are also some smaller regional stations. Regarding the Seoul station, the first formal broadcast was on 99.1 MHz in March 2001, in Namwŏn, on 95.9 MHz in June

25 Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1998. *Kungmin ũi chŏngbu sae munhwa chŏngch'aek saŏp* [New Cultural Policy Undertaking of the Nation's Government], p 26.

26 For more information about the GugakFM's history, see <http://www.gugakfm.co.kr/gugak/history.asp> (accessed 27 May 2014).

2001, in Chindo, on 94.7 MHz in July 2006, and in Pusan, in October 2011. Recently, studios were set up at the Arts Centre in Kyōngju and at the Hanok Maül (traditional houses village) in Chōnju, to cover South Kyōngsang and North Chōlla respectively. From these, the first formal broadcasts were in April 2010 on 107.9 MHz, and October 2011 on 95.3MHz respectively. In Seoul, the station runs twenty-four hours daily, but two hours of rebroadcasting, with its first broadcast at 5:00 am (a time slot taken over from KBS 1 FM).

The main task of GugakFM is to produce programmes; the central facility in Seoul also takes overall responsibility for the cultural project, KMP 21. We can understand easily how its aim is to arouse interest in traditional music and encourage the creation of new traditional music. The focus of the programmes, though, has ultimately rested on sustaining tradition. Hence, the producer Ch'oe Yui, a former deputy manager in the department of programming and producing, in interview in February 2010, answered my question about the implicit internal rule for traditional music in this way:

There is no special rule governing GugakFM. Internal rules differ according to programme. In the case of '*Chaek ingnŭn ach'im*' (Morning for Books), the ratio of *kugak fusion* to traditional music is 1:4, but in the case of '*Uri maŭm uri ŭmak*' (Our Mind, Our Music), there is no set ratio [the latter was broadcast 18:00–19:30, Monday to Saturday, from 12 November 2009 to 18 April 2010]. Offering only traditional music through 'Our Mind, Our Music', broadcast in the prime time, is something only GugakFM can do, and this is our own strategy. If there is any internal rule, it is to broadcast more traditional music (Ch'oe Yui, interview,

February 2010).

Since 2007, the central facility has also actively undertaken to encourage the production of newly-composed Korean traditional music, that is, new pieces based on traditional music, to match the KMP 21 project. It is to KMP 21 that I now turn.

KMP 21 has the appearance of a plan for what might be called ‘cooperative conservation’. The aims of KMP 21 were twofold.²⁷ The first was to present a new vision of Korean music for the new century based on traditional elements. This would conserve traditional elements while creating a tradition of the future, both through generating appropriate music. One could basically interpret this as a struggle against the force of westernization, which is suggested by the very fact of being based on traditional elements. In his liner notes of the 2009 KMP 21 album, Won Il, the music director and composer who was in charge of the project from 2009 to 2010, thus emphasized that new pieces for KMP should contain the characteristics of traditional music:

The anxiety of ‘globalism’ looms on the horizon, within new multi-national and multi-cultural thinking. Spoken language, and English in particular, has become the most pervasive international language for communication. It may be unavoidable and inevitable that such a standardization or globalization, in language and the worldwide economy, destroys the cultural diversity that reflects the distinctiveness of each culture. We cannot escape from the danger of losing our characteristic and

²⁷ GugakFM, 2009, January. *2009 kugak ch'angjakgok kaebal kyehoek(an)* [2009 development plan for newly-composed Korean traditional music]. Unpublished internal document.

distinctive Korean musical voice in the sounds of the modern world. We have a unique sense and expression in the sounds of our own music, though, and we must not allow that to dissolve and be lost among other music traditions. I know that all music – even our own – will undergo change, and I am not arguing that music should not change. However, we must preserve the creative roots and foundations that make Korean music distinctive from other musics in the globalized world. If we lose the roots of our music, its popularization will not be meaningful, and our existence will be an illusion. The spirit of Korean traditional music remains the most important element to communicate in the cultural universe.²⁸

Ryu Hyōngsōn (b. 1965), the music director and song composer who was in charge of the project from 2007 to 2008, similarly understood KMP 21 as having derived from an effort to sustain traditional music:

Although I do not always hold other countries responsible for all our problems, we should still note that in order for a country to dominate another country, the former must eliminate traditional values which the latter possesses. The Japanese occupational period could not help being a critical moment for all things including traditional music, because all the cultural traces through which Koreans were able to hold their own identity were to be removed. Our situation had to be recovered after liberation. Domestic politics should have given direction for the recovery, and yet, Korean history after liberation unfolded in an unfortunate way. A pro-

28 Won Il, 2009. 'Important Information on Korean Traditional Music and the Spirit of Our Music', Liner notes, *21C Korean Music Project: 2009 Promotion of Newly-Composed Korean Traditional Music*. DU8506, compact disc. Seoul: Universal Music Korea.

American rightist government emerged and domestic politics took a role in opening Korea to popular music in which American culture dominated; the American Eighth Army Shows created a culture that became the root of today's Korean popular music culture. Traditional musicians were forced to live in the background. They could not help but concentrate on exploring the nature of traditional music, but this was a lonely course after liberation. The very fact that traditional music is alive at the moment moves me to tears. We can though observe that since the mid-1980s, the public's perception about tradition changed. Before then, traditional musicians were perceived as a group making music which really was old-fashioned.

From my perspective, it was in the 1990s that signs of the effort to popularize traditional music amongst the public began to appear. It has been just twenty years since then. Musicians such as the ensemble Seulgidung who worked on *kugak kayo* gained results from their efforts in the 1990s. It was not until the end of the century century that so-called fusion occurred, and KMP 21 reflects this historical context. So it can be said that working on popular creative traditional music is now accelerating. Taking a broad view, and when considering such a huge process through which music history forms at a national level, the history of popular creative traditional music is fairly short. Accordingly, it is natural that there continue to be many experiments, errors, and much confusion (Ryu Hyōngsōn, interview, December 2010).

Ryu emphasized that KMP 21 should adopt traditional music as its departure point:

My hope, as music director, was that all musicians in every genre and field should adopt traditional music as a stepping stone for their music, and that for this, teams who participated in the project should widen their musical ranges. For instance, if jazz artists make new music in combination with traditional elements, it should be Korean jazz, in the case of art music, Korean art music, and Korean rock, Korean hip-hop, and so on. In this way, if outcomes keep being accumulated, a new paradigm will be formed. This was the hope from which our musical direction started (Ryu Hyöngsön, interview, December 2010).

Ryu, however, saw this aim ultimately as a kind of struggle that was not exclusive to any one group. Rather, the organizers carried out KMP 21 with a cooperative attitude, that is, with an identity of the people that was open to other levels beyond the national. Ryu interpreted this position in terms of an openness to promising traditions for the future:

What is the tradition of the future? We cannot know at this moment, as it is in the future. It will be the existing tradition plus something, but what is the question. Because of this, we do not call the music within this project traditional music but Korean music. So the project is not the 21C *Traditional* Music Project but the 21C *Korean* Music Project. So, in keeping with the idea of the tradition of the future, the concept of Korean music is used (Ryu Hyöngsön, interview, December 2010).

We can interpret his notion of tradition as a new approach since, when understanding it as seeking a future beyond the past and present while actively encouraging the creation

of *kugak*, it has a subtle difference in conception from the view of scholars. The scholarly concept sees tradition as something originating in the past, and being passed down to the present, but in a way that is deeply related to the present to the extent that traditionalizing can be seen as part of reconstructing (to use a concept from elsewhere, Handler and Linnekin 1984: 279). The relevance of Ryu's notion to the future is clear, yet may derive from a more active position than that of merely 'a commitment to the continuation of both the activity and relationship into the future' (citing, but from a different context, McDonald 1996: 119) or of 'a commitment to its continuation and with efforts to protect it from change' (as Killick writes in reference to Korean staged opera; 2010). Indeed, Ryu's notion implicitly suggests the possibility that creation done in the present can become a tradition in the future. Is this an 'invention of tradition'? (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). I do not see it as such, because a concept of openness underpins his concept of tradition. To Ryu, then, tradition is a practice made with a commitment to continuation, which allows for the possibility of a new tradition emerging.²⁹ We could call this 'future traditionalism.' Put in a different way, KMP 21 is a plan for glocalization, which, as Roland Robertson argues, involves 'the "invention" of locality' (1995: 35).

Ryu's future traditionalism partly comes from an identity as one of the people and one of new individual musicians within the culture of citizens, one that shows continuity and change. This is evidenced by his career as a composer. His career grew from his interest in the people's song '*Kongjang ūi pulbit/The Factory Light*' (1979) by Kim Min'gi. This song was used in a drama of the same title by the association Handure

29 This equally applies in the second subsidiary plan – TASP.

which originated in a masked dance club at Seoul National University. Yi Yǒngmi argues that the drama reflected a turning point in Kim Min'gi's attitude, and a recognition of the potential of cassette tapes to diffuse songs to the public (1986). The plot of the drama reflected labour union democratization amongst female workers of the Dongil Textile factory in Inch'ŏn to the west of Seoul in 1978 and 1979. Female workers, who formed nearly 80 per cent of the total 1,300 workers, struggled against unfair union elections, but were violently suppressed by male workers, the men being backed by the company and the police authority. This raised issues of labour exploitation as well as gender discrimination within workplaces. Making a drama based on this event involved big risk, as it took place under the authoritarian regime. So, in 1979, the songs for it were secretly recorded in a private studio, copied onto 200 cassette tapes, and distributed in a college town (Ra Chegi 2004).³⁰ Two members of Handure participated: the composer Kim Young Dong and a former professor of Pusan University, Ch'ae Hŭiwan (who contributed greatly to the development of nationalistic drama); Kim played the traditional flute (*taegŭm*) while Ch'ae was in charge of dance. In his lyrics, from the position of a narrator, Kim Min'gi symbolically represented the grim situation and helpless conditions of the female workers: 'How brilliantly the lights shimmer from a distance / The lights shining from afar / Suddenly disappears / And only dim factory lamps remain, as I approach'. He starkly contrasts the expected (sophisticated city lights) and the reality (dim lights of a factory). When Ryu first listened to this song, he was struck by it:

30 Ra Chegi, 'Tashi purŭnŭn Kim Min'gi [To Sing Kim Min'gi's Songs]', *Han'guk ilbo*, 13 October 2004, at <http://news.hankooki.com/ArticleView/ArticleView.php?url=life/200410/h2004101318035123280.htm&ver=v002> (accessed 4 October 2013).

In my first year of high school, my friend lent me a tape and the score. The lyrics were a shock. This was the way songs should be. At that time, songs were nothing but light commercial music. But Kim Min'gi's song ate into my heart. Later, senior colleagues in my church explained the events of the Dongil Textile factory to me. In addition, I came to know that lyrics could have a philosophical implication. I never thought I would become a musician, but that experience allowed me to think that, if this type of music was a song, songs were a field which I could take to in my ambition. *'The Factory Light'* became a motive for me in choosing the path of a musician (Ryu Hyōngsōn, interview, December, 2010).

In 1983, Ryu began to study composition at Hanyang University in Seoul. At college, he played a leading role in the democratization movement as the president of the College of Music (Ŭmaktae). As he participated he based his identity in two categories. The first was the 'masses' as found in liberation theology or the *minjung shinhak* – theology for the people. This, in the 1970s, developed amongst Korean Christians. Ryu's church was Presbyterian, part of the *Han'guk kidokkyo changnohoe*, which led the democratization movement for farmers and labourers throughout the period, one of the leading figures in it being the late minister Mun Ikhwan (1918-1994), who was dedicated to Korean reunification.³¹ The second category was, as mentioned previously and like most students of the time, the oppressed, originating in the Tonghak peasant uprising of 1864. Against this background, after 1987, a political turning point, he came to develop his identity into a sense of belonging to two contrasting groups, in a similar-but-different way. The first is the people in terms of theology. For instance,

31 For more details about the origin of the notion of the 'masses' within theology, see Yongbock Kim *et al* (1984).

after graduation, and throughout the 1990s, Ryu created people's Christian songs. He also participated in the Minjok Ŭmak Yŏn'guhoe (Research Group for Korean National Music) established by progressive musicians and scholars in 1989. The second is a newly-found individual as a composer. In the early twenty-first century, he decided to dedicate himself to working as a composer, and this led him to question his musical identity. This is interesting, in that he did not discover newly himself as a composer until the point of time; from a broad point of view, his awareness may be able to be obtained in environments in which freedom of expression has since 1987 been increased. With such sense of belonging, Ryu finally decided to adopt traditional music as a starting point of his creation:

The question was 'what was my musical identity distinct from other composers?'

On second thoughts, it seemed that it was appropriate to adopt traditional music as my starting point, as I had been interested in it since my college days. Musicians are certain to have music which they adopt as their own foundation. Once you have decided to live as a composer, you had better adopt as your foundation music which has vitality going back hundreds of years. Traditional music was an inevitable choice for me. So, when I was 35, I became a postgraduate student in composition at the Korean National University of Arts (Ryu Hyŏngsŏn, interview, December 2010).

After graduating from the University of Arts, and up to the present, Ryu wrote many people's songs and popular creative traditional music pieces. These include the theme song '*Kŭdae orŭnŭn ŏndŏk*/The Hill that He Climbs' featured on the first album

published by the Research Group for Korean National Music (1994), and a book with an album of fourteen traditional lullabies for children, *Chöllae chajangga chami chami* (2004), which explores musical features, transcriptions and arrangements performed on *taegŭm* flute, *p'iri* oboe, piano, and guitar. His first album, *Yösöt chul ũi chinggŏm tari* (Stepping Stones of Six Strings; 2008), features pieces using traditional and Western elements including 'Nunsaram/Snowman' for *haegŭm* and guitar. As a producer and composer, his works include a tribute to the late Mun Ikhwan, 'Ttŭgŏun Mamŭm' (Most Sincere Respect), two albums for the well-known *haegŭm* fiddle player Kang Ũnil, *Oraedoen mirae* (Old Future, 2003) and *Mirae ũi kiŏk* (Remembering Future, 2007), and an album for the singer Chŏn Kyŏngok, *Sarang ari* (2004). He has been music director and organizer of the seasonal concerts *Choyul* (Tuning), where hymns are performed on traditional instruments, and is president and manager of his own label, *Choyul*. He won the first prize for composition at the 2008 KBS Traditional Music Competition and lectures at the Korean National University of Arts.

A further aim of KMP21 was to modernize and popularize *kugak*. Although this was presented as a kind of direction, to modernize here meant to synchronize, that is, to reflect the trend or requirement of the age. So, when making new music based on traditional elements at the present time, composers should reflect this. But, popularizing was seen as deriving from the realization of the former in the public's eye, so as to make a recreated tradition that would be enjoyed by the public of Korea. In this, the organizers of KMP21 had a cooperative perspective, an open concept of the public: the identity of citizens. Their concept of the public was not limited to an audience which preferred light commercial music diffused through the media, but

basically respected various individuals and their various musical preferences. This is reflected in a variety of the prizes. GugakFM producer Chang Suhong, who worked as producer of the contest from 2007 to 2010, considered that the number of excellent pieces created would ultimately contribute to popularization:

I think that the concept of popularization has many aspects. Musicians exist who want to communicate with the public by light music, or who want to achieve popularization through very profound art music. In consideration of this, we planned to organize an event which could accommodate both. So, we specified the prizes as the 21C Korean Music prize (the grand prize), 21C *arirang* prize, the World Music prize and the Experimental Spirit prize. When awarding the World Music prize, we hoped that young musicians would participate after studying the music of well-known musicians of popular ‘world music’, in order to communicate with a global audience, and that such musicians could be generated through our contest. The Experimental Spirit prize was as its title suggested: a prize to reflect that we welcomed any attempts, as long as pieces were based on creativity. The 21C *Arirang* prize was for teams that transmitted and developed traditional music properly (Chang Suhong, interview, November 2010).

Ryu hoped that KMP 21’s music would contain the ‘musical self’:

Communication amongst the public would be subject to commercial systems. That is, musicians go walking within those systems. The commercial system is also led by the commercial cultural industry, and thus the music cannot but reflect what is

requested by the cultural industry – musical language, musical sense and musical substance. Meeting habitual practice, put simply, allows music to sell well. If we don't respect such a practice, there will not be popular communication. But a commercial system does not secure a musician's musical self. That is, I hoped that KMP 21's music would be able to accommodate the tense relationship between commercialism and self identity. Although popular communication is achieved when music is desirable, it would be great if musical earnestness, sincerity, and the musical self was also present in the pieces, forming a tense relationship (Ryu Hyōngsōn, interview, December 2010).

Two practices were adopted in KMP 21. The first was the cultivation of excellent young composers. Since this project held a contest for young musicians, consideration of them was one of GugakFM's motives behind the plan's inception. In part, this reflected the limited job market in South Korea, as became apparent in the following comments from Chang Suhong:

In 2006, KMP 21 started from the idea that it would be great if we could establish a contest for a new Korean music, 21st-century Korean music, for young musicians – that is, for young musicians who were majoring in traditional Korean music or young people who had created something that was Korean. Until then, I son't think that there were many ensembles. I thought it would be great if something could be done to help the young musicians who had graduated from college to find their own way (Chang Suhong, interview, December 2010).

In actual fact, the difficult circumstances for graduates to find employment after they have majored in traditional music is a notable *kugak* issue. At present (2013), 22 universities and two colleges have Departments of Traditional Music (*Kugakkwa*), and each year more than 900 graduates compete in a limited job market;³² only a handful will be successful in obtaining jobs in orchestras or professional ensembles. Against this background, holding a contest provided a new opportunity for them.

The second practice adopted in KMP 21 was to develop newly-composed-Korean music; of course, this was not separated from the first practice. So, GugakFM further divided its responsibilities into two: to invite public contributions of new pieces based on traditional musical elements, and to offer comprehensive support. Specifically, GugakFM invited nine or ten pieces of music, including vocal and instrumental, for each final round of a contest. They provided support by opening the final contest to qualifiers, by producing recordings (CD and DVD; Figure 6.6), and by sponsoring overseas performances for the grand prize winner. Each contest was given a budget of around 250,000,000 wŏn (approximately £140,000).

Figure 6.6 Front covers of KMP 21 CDs (from left to right, 2007-2010)



32 In 2006, the total number of graduates was 932.

The final contest divided into two parts. The first was, as might be expected, the performances of finalists given in a designated order. In the case of the 2010 KMP 21, background information about the performances, including the titles of pieces, the instruments, prizes awarded and the main traditional elements used, can be summarized, as in Table 6.2.³³

33 I shall discuss how main traditional elements are used specifically in the relevant pieces of music through selected cases in the next chapter. For the instruments, the order is voice, winds, strings, percussion, keyboards; between traditional and non-Korean instruments, the order is traditional the non-Korean. This is generally as given in the notes accompanying the CD.

Table 6.2 Background information on finalists and pieces for the 2010 KMP 21

1. Kayasül (Gayaseul)

1) *Paramün*/The Wind is...

Composition: Kyöngdae Pae. Lyric: unknown (*kagok*)

2) *Kayagŭm* (25-strings) and voice: Aeri Kim, Suhyön Pak, Hyojin Pak,
Sŭli Yi, Songi Han

Percussion: Cheho Yön

Piano: Sunjong Cho

3) World Music prize

4) The literati lyric song genre *kagok* – *urak* for female voice

2. Ashia Myujik Angsangbül (Asia Music Ensemble (AME))

1) *Ch'owön ũi shin'giru*/Mirage of Steppe

Composer: Hangyu Pak

2) *Taegŭm*: Chiyun Song

Guzheng: Liying Peng

Dan bau: Le Hoai Phuong

Yoochin: Barkhuu Khasbat

Morin huur: Battulga Enkhmend

Changgo: Minyöng U

3) Prize of Encouragement

4) The folk song '*Kyöngbokkung t'aryöng*', based on the rhythmic cycle
önmori

3. Kong 共·工·公 (Gong)

1) <*Kilgunak*> - *Shiryönül norae hada/Gilgunak* – Song of Lost Love

Composition and lyric: Miae Song

2) Voice: Sŭlgi Ch'oe

Clarinet: Chinsu Kim

Kayagŭm (18 strings): Sünghŭi Paek

Kayagŭm (25 strings): Sora Pak

Changgo, bell, bongo: Unjöng Shim

3) Experimental Sprit prize

4) The folk music genre *p'ansori* – *aniri* (narration and dialogue),
the literati song genre *kasa*, the rhythmic cycle *kil kunak*

4. Korae:ya! (Korae:ya!)

- 1) *Tondollariyo/Dondollariyo*

Composition: Korae:ya, Yönlmok. Lyric: Unknown (folk song)

- 2) Voice: Ashin Kwön

T'ungso: Tonggun Kim

Haegŭm: Mihyöng Kwön

Kömun'go: Kihwa Chöng

Electric guitar: Ohmbre

Changgo: Ch'orong Kim

Percussion: Kyungi

Piano: Yönlmok

- 3) Prize of Encouragement

- 4) The folk song from the Pukchöng region in Hamkyöng Province in North Korea, the notched flute, *t'ungso* melody used for the *pukchöng saja nori* (masked drama of Pukchöng)

5. Lilla (Lila)

- 1) *Munöjin sawöl/Collapsed in April*

Composition: MiMi

- 2) *Kayagŭm*: Sölhyun Pak

Accordion: MiMi

- 3) Prize of Encouragement

- 4) The rhythmic cycles, *chajinmori* and *hwimori*, as the basis

6. Shilkürodü (Silkroad)

- 1) *Hürünün kügösün/Flowing One*

Composition: Sanguk Kim. Lyric: Pora Kim

- 2) Voice: Pora Kim

Ajaeng: Hyelim Ch'oe

Kayagŭm: Chiyön Chöng

Haegŭm: Myöngjin Sö

Yanggŭm: Hwisön Ch'oe

Changgo: Yöngjin Kim

- 3) 21C *arirang* prize

- 4) The rhythmic cycles *Kyönggi todang kut* – Kyönggi Province shaman ritual rhythm) as the basis

7. P'rojectū su (Project Sue)

- 1) *Talbitkkot*/Moonlight Flower
Composition and lyric: Myōngsu Chōng
- 2) Voice: Sōnmi Kim
Kayagūm (25 strings): Wōnho No
Haegūm: Yōngmin Sō
Contrabass: Kyōngyun Pak
Changgo, soribuk: Chinyong Yi
Piano: Myōngsu Chōng
- 3) Prize of Encouragement
- 4) The folk music genre *p'ansori* – *aniri*

8. Mogabi

- 1) *Chult'agi*/Jultagi
Composition: Kiyun Paek
- 2) *Kayagūm* (25 strings): Yunmi Kim, Minjōng
Bass guitar: Kyōngho Pak
Changgo: Chōngmin Kang
Percussion: Songi Han
- 3) Prize of Encouragement
- 4) The representative instrumental repertoire of literati music *Yōngsan hoesang* – 'Wind' *yōngsan hoesang*, based on *ōnmori*

9. Aux

- 1) *P'umba*/Pumba
Composition: Chōngūi Hong. Lyric: Unknown (folk song)
- 2) Voice: Kwangbok Yi
T'aep'yōngso: Sera Pak
Bass guitar: Tusu Han
Kkwaenggwari, para: Hwanbitnuri Pak
Ching: Chōngūi Hong
Changgo: Sunho Ch'oe
Piano: Chiwōn Kim
- 3) 21C Korean Music prize (Grand Prize)
- 4) The folk song *Chang t'aryōng* (from North Kyōngsang Province)

This table indicates that various types of popular creative traditional music, particularly in terms of instruments, rhythms, genres and musical components, were invited. The types ranged from the ‘*Pumba*’ of the Grand Prize, which was based on a well-known comic folk song, ‘*Chang t’aryŏng*’, that would have been familiar to the public, to ‘*Gilgunak* – Song of Lost Love’, which won the Experimental Spirit prize and consisted of narrative and dialogue taken from the traditional *p’ansori* genre but utilized in a new way. The instruments divide into traditional and non-Korean. In comparison to the instruments used by first generation composers of creative traditional music, while they have many similarities they also show distinct differences. The groups share many traditional instruments such as stringed instruments – *ajaeng* bowed zither, 18- or 21-stringed *kayagŭm* plucked zither, *kŏmun’go* plucked zither, *haegŭm* fiddle and *yanggŭm* dulcimer – wind instruments – *taegŭm* flute, *t’aep’yŏngso* shawm, *t’ungso* vertical flute – and percussion – *ch’anggo* drum, *ching* gong, *kkwaenggwari* gong, *para* cymbals and *soribuk* barrel drum. However, non-Korean instruments vary, with young groups using contrabass, bass guitar, drum kits and piano, but with different instrumentations. For instance, AME incorporated the *guzheng* Chinese zither, the *dan bau* Vietnamese monochord, the *yoochin* Mongolian hammered dulcimer and the *morin huur* Mongolian horse-head fiddle, but Gong used clarinet, Western bell, and Cuban bongo, and Lila included the European accordion.

Among traditional elements, the genres referred to were varied, although rhythmic cycles were used in a similar way. Groups adopted the same rhythmic cycles widely found in first generation compositions such as fast *chajinmori* (18/8) and *hwimori* (4/4) (which form the basis for ‘Collapsed in April’), *ŏnmori* (10/8) in ‘Mirage of Steppe’

and ‘*Jultagi*’, and Kyōnggi Province shaman rhythms in ‘Flowing One’. The genres, however, are more varied, including both literati and folk traditions, broadly dividing into using the tradition to create main themes, such as *urak* for ‘The Wind is...’ and the folksong ‘*Kyōngbokkung t’aryōng*’ for ‘Mirage of Steppe’, or dipping into a number of different genres. For instance, Korae:ya! used both folksong from the Pukch’ōng region of Hamgyōng Province in today’s North Korea and the *t’ungso* flute melody of the masked drama of that region in their piece, ‘*Dondollarriyo*’.

The final contest included a ceremony to award prizes (prizes are outlined in Table 6.3). Each prize includes medals and money, and each is granted to just one musician or group (in the case of the Very Best Star prize, one musician), except for the Prize of Encouragement. Table 6.3 illustrates that the titles of prizes differs from those of any other *kugak*-related contest in South Korea. This is seen particularly in the World Music Prize. The reason for this is GugakFM’s effort to provide opportunities for groups.

Table 6.3 Prizes of KMP 21 (2007-2010)

1. 21C *han'guk ūmak sang* (21C Korean Music prize (Grand prize))
10,500,000 wŏn, approximately UK £6,150
2. 21C *arirang sang* (21C Arirang prize)
7,000,000 wŏn, approximately UK £4,100, for the piece of music reflecting traditional musical idioms most appropriately
3. *Wŏldŭ mjujik sang* (World Music prize)
7,000,000 wŏn for the piece of music which contains the trend of world music in the music industry, based on Korean musical features
4. *Shilhŏm chŏngshin sang* (Experimental Spirit prize)
7,000,000 wŏn
5. *Changnyŏ sang* (Prize of Encouragement)
4,000,000 wŏn, approximately UK £2,340, given to the other five or six teams
6. *Ch'oego sŭt'a sang* (The Very Best Star prize)
3,000,000 wŏn, approximately UK £1,762, for one vocalist or instrumentalist of star quality

Traditional Arts Star Project

Along with KMP 21, the Traditional Arts Star Project (TASP) can be said to be a cultural project to create new music based on traditional elements. This project emerged in 2008 within the *Chŏnt'ong yesul tijit'al k'ont'ench'ŭ chejak kwallyŏn – Chŏnt'ong yesul sŭt'a p'ŭrojekt'ŭ kyehoek* (Traditional Arts Digital Contents Production – Plan of Traditional Arts Star Project), according to the publicity from Loen Entertainment. As mentioned in the Introduction, Loen Entertainment is one of Korea's largest record companies. Active in the production of a variety of media and

music genres as well as in the management of popular artists, Loen was responsible for TASP, with financial support from the Ministry of Culture, from 2008 to 2010. As can be inferred from the title, the most salient characteristic of TASP was making digital resources for traditional arts (that is, music) familiar to Korea's public, particularly teenagers. It hoped to establish popular stars. Somewhat different to KMP 21, TASP actively promoted the popularization of *kugak* by adopting the so-called 'star system' that is ubiquitous in Korea's pop music field. Needless to say, the way it operated had associations with the history of the record company responsible, Loen Entertainment.

In order to explain Loen Entertainment and understand the background to the formation of strategy in TASP, I first need briefly to discuss Korea's recording industry. Although the *p'ansori* repertory '*Chōkpōkka*/Song of the Red Cliff' has often been known as the first extant recording, made in 1908 (Yi Sangman 1975), and local record companies such as Okeh appeared in the 1930s, the Korean music industry really started to take shape only after liberation. 1956 saw a 10-inch mono LP released and recordings then began to shift from SP to LP. Record companies including Kingstar, Shinsegi, Oasis, Universal, Taedo and Asia played significant roles in the market, producing domestic pop and traditional music recordings (Kim Hyujong 1997: 12-3). They operated against a background in which American films were actively imported. Between the 1960s and the mid-1980s, small and medium-sized record companies took a considerable market share, operating exclusive agreements with domestic musicians and licensing agreements with foreign musicians and record companies (Shin Hyōnjun 2002: 182). Under the exclusive agreements, domestic musicians were not allowed to record their music for other record companies.

Licensing agreements allowed domestic companies exclusive distribution of given albums within the country, on the basis of royalties (ibid.: 149). For instance, Sŏngŭm made licensing contracts with Decca (1969), Deutsche Grammophon (1973) and Phillips (1973), Jigu with RCA (1972) and CBS (1974), and Oasis with WEA (1973) and Ponycanyon (1974) (Korea Video and Record Association 1995: 30). The system of licensing agreements was maintained for two decades because these prevented foreign companies marketing themselves within the country. The reasons for this restriction included insufficient demand for original albums, the low cost of locally producing licensed albums, and the relatively higher potential for sales produced by local companies. As a result, domestic popular music came to compete with foreign imports (which were often classical). Korea's record market entered a new phase in the later 1980s when the widely-used medium began to shift from LP to CD, and from 1986 new production units emerged (cassettes, though, remained popular). Amongst the new production units were conglomerates, large groups consisting of affiliates managed by families that had grown since the 1960s with support based on Park Chung Hee's economic plans and came to exert market dominance in various fields of industry. After SKC – one affiliate of SK – joined the record market in 1987, leading affiliates of other conglomerates such as Samsung Music and LG Media followed. A second type of new production unit was multinational record companies. Subsidiaries of Warner Brothers (set up in 1988), EMI (1988), Sony (1989), Polygram (1990), BMG (1991) and Universal (1995) began to enter Korea's domestic market. Korea had signed up to international copyright conventions in 1985, and this created a foreign investment climate (ibid.: 151); all of this came partly because of pressure from the United States. A third type of new production unit was the *taehyŏng kihoeksa*, a term

used in Korea's music business which began to appear full-scale in the early 1990s. This denoted companies that mainly carried out artist management as well as record production. *Taehyŏng kihoeksa* refers, literally, to large-sized arts management companies, and yet this upscaling does not necessarily mean that the company is large in terms of its external size; it can, rather, imply large sales (ibid.: 225-226) or large influence in domestic pop. The arts management companies, particularly SM Entertainment and DSP Media (formerly Daesung Kihoeok) played significant roles in establishing a 'star system' in domestic pop. Existing record companies and arts management companies began to extend their range of business to compete, the former including artist management and the latter record production.

A structure consisting of these three agents – conglomerates, multinational record companies, and arts management companies – was formulated (Kim Hyujong 1997: 19). However, this structure began to collapse in the latter 1990s as, because of the 1997 financial crisis, conglomerates abandoned the business and multinational companies failed to make progress in the domestic market. This came to public attention when Synnara, a distributor and record company, cut distribution costs, leading to complaints from other companies. The total record industry decreased in terms of size, but not in a way that disadvantaged local distributors. From 2000, the online music market began to form, though at the time its sales accounted for just 10% of the domestic market. Starting from 2004, the online music market outpaced the physical music market in terms of sales, and the recording industry transformed into what might be called simply a music industry. Whereas the sales of online music grew from 45,000,000,000 wŏn (approximately £26,480,000) in 2000 to 201,400,000,000

wŏn (approximately £118,510,000) in 2004, those of the physical record music market shrank from 410,400,000,000 wŏn (approximately, £241,500,000) to 138,800,000,000 wŏn (approximately, £82,670,000) (Yi Ŭnmin 2005).

Riding the Korean Wave from 1997, many companies concentrated their efforts on the management and promotion of artists, along with the production of CD and digital formats. Loen Entertainment's predecessor, Seoul Records, had emerged as one of several record companies in 1974, primarily deriving its profits from licensing agreements with foreign companies. It was renamed YBM Seoul Records in 2000,³⁴ Seoul Records in 2005, and took its present name, Loen Entertainment, in 2008. Loen Entertainment (or Seoul Records) has concentrated mainly on the production of physical records until it became a subsidiary of SK Telecom, a leading conglomerate, in 2005, but it in turn took over the online music business of SK Telecom in 2008.

Loen Entertainment at present has three primary strands to its business: providing digital music files; producing records, including *kugak*-related music; managing pop artists. The first is provided through Melon, one of Korea's largest music portal sites providing a streaming and downloading service.³⁵ In January 2012, Melon's sales accounted for 46% of the domestic online music market. The second is the record production and distribution business which formed the basis of Loen Entertainment. Since it was established, Loen Entertainment (or Seoul Records) has produced various types of audio and/or audio/visual media, including LP, CD, DVD and cassettes, and

³⁴ YBM are the initials of the president of the overall company, YBM Sisa, Min Yŏngbin (b. 1931). YBM Sisa is one of the largest companies in South Korea for English education related work, with language institutions and publication arms.

³⁵ For more information, see www.melon.com (accessed 1 September 2013).

the digital files for Melon, covering a number of genres including domestic and foreign pop, traditional Korean and European classical, and contemporary religious music.

One distinct genre of music actively produced by Loen or Seoul is *kugak* related, produced by a small department within the company between 1994 and 2012 led by producer and project director of TASP, Pak Sŭngwŏn. Using 1994, announced by the Ministry of Culture as ‘the year of *kugak*’, as an opportunity, they actively began to produce *kugak*-related CDs and DVDs. In 1998, it sold just over 100,000 copies of its total traditional music catalogue, divided between more than 100 titles (Howard 1999: 4). Its recent successes include Sookmyung Gayagum Ensemble’s *For You* (2006), Kang Eunil’s *Remembering the Future* for *haegŭm* fiddle (2007), and Kim Kyong A’s *Piri* for the double-reed oboe (2007). In 2009, Loen Entertainment released 26 albums, which accounted for 15.3% of the 170 total albums of *kugak* and *kugak* related output produced by 67 companies including Synnara (12.4%) and Aktang iban (4.7%) (National Gugak Center 2010: 337-338). Loen’s third business strand is the management of pop artists; at present, three pop musicians, three pop groups and three actors belong to Loen Entertainment.³⁶

To summarize, it can be said that since Loen Entertainment emerged as Seoul Records, alongside several small and medium-sized record companies in the mid-1970s, it has played an active role in developing three primary businesses: the provision of digital music content, the production of physical recording including *kugak* related music, and the management of pop artists. Experiences from these businesses, which are mainly

³⁶ For more information, see http://www.iloen.com/eng/biz_story/artist.jsp?styleView=block (accessed 30 September 2013).

associated with the public, provide the basis for TASP.

Similar to KMP 21, TASP can be seen as a project for cooperative conservation. This is clear from the director's opinion about the project's specific aims. These aims can be summarized as two, and they are promoted through forming a group of traditional instrumentalists and by developing digital music content based on traditional music.³⁷ The first aim is the most important: to popularize *kugak* amongst the public. On the whole, as with KMP 21, this is basically situated in opposition to westernization, considering tradition as being the future and therefore seeking creativity. This reflects the identity of the project director – that is, the identity of the people open to individuals. This is because it is about the sustainability of traditional musical elements promoted to teenagers – a group forming a crucial part of the public. As director, Pak Sŭngwŏn set his goal as being to popularize *kugak*, particularly amongst teenagers, based on today's environment. To him, *kugak* needed to be updated in a way that would sound familiar to teenagers. The new pieces for TASP had to be promoted through digital media such as portable iPods, and in terms of music, the content had to mix traditional melodies and Western functional harmony. Pak placed great emphasis on popularization, but in terms of the sustainability of traditional elements:

Something indigenous may be great, but if the public looks away from it it can be said to have no vitality. The basis for discussions amongst people in the Ministry of Culture and me has been that, although the domestic music market is resolutely pop

³⁷ Loen Entertainment, October 2007, *Chŏnt'ong yesul tijit'al k'ont'ench'ŭ chejak kwallyŏn – Chŏnt'ong yesul sŭt'a p'ŭrojekt'ŭ kyehoek* [Traditional Arts Digital Contents Production – Plan of Traditional Arts Star Project]. Unpublished internal document.

focussed and this may be an undeniable trend, it is necessary to try to make a success of one project team, making it really popular, making it breath (*hohŭp handa*) with the public. Furthermore, this can promote *kugak* to the public, so TASP actually started against the pop requirement of the age (Pak Sŭngwŏn, interview, January 2011).

The second aim is associated with actively pushing the music to the international market. Interestingly, this was based on Pak's perspective of a 'sugar-coated pill', in that he intended to utilize non-Korean (Western) idioms positively, with an identity of the people open to other levels beyond the national:

Although it is known that Korea's indigenous *toenjang* [bean paste soup] or *chŏnggukchang* [fermented soybean paste soup] is good for health and is excellent, if it is placed before foreign people in a *ttukpaegi* [traditional earthen bowl] it is likely that they will not be willing to accept it, however much they may be aware that it is good. You could powder and put fermented soybeans in capsules for them to take, and then they might say, 'Taking it this way does us good, what is its raw material? The actual thing that has been traditionally transmitted is what was in the *ttukpaegi*, so they will try to taste it (Pak Sŭngwŏn, interview, January 2011).

The perspective of the sugar-coated pill also underpins GugakFM's attempts to transmit traditional music to young people, as was commented on by Yi Yunkyŏng, the head of programme review at GugakFM.:

Do you know sugar coated pills? People cover bitter medicines with sugar and color in order to swallow them. To approach the young generation and to open their minds to *kugak*, we [GugakFM] cannot help but broadcast the new generation's music, so they can accept traditional music (cited in Yoonhee Chang 2004: 47)

Pak's remarks can be interpreted as follows: it may be difficult for a foreign audience to understand traditional musical elements, and so an appropriate strategy is to produce music in which composers mix traditional elements (in powdered form) to Western idioms they are more familiar with (as sugar). If Western musical idioms are interpreted as those used commonly in the global pop market, TASP is in its essence another project of glocalization, based on an open notion of tradition.

Loen Entertainment can be said to fulfil these aims in two ways. The first is the adoption of a star system. Manuel refers to such a system as follows:

Popular music in capitalist societies usually involves a 'star system,' wherein the media promote personality cults around the musician's life-style, fashions, or private life; ultimately, this promotion aims to distance the musician from the public in order to weave an aura of fantasy and glamor about him (Manuel 1988: 2).

The star system in TASP is, in a broad sense, that adopted in Korean pop music in the 1980s. Yet in the case of the group concerned, MIJI, it is closer to the public than before, since, through it, Loen Entertainment intended to transmit popular creative

traditional music to teenagers. The star system was formed firstly by fandom. This can be traced back to the 1970s, a time that witnessed the formation of a fan club for the male Cho Yongp'il (Ch'oe Chisŏn and Shin Hyŏnjun 2011: 975) through the *P'il kihoek* (P'il Arts Management Company) (Kim T'aehun 2007: 25-26; Kim Yŏnju 2009: 71-72). The star system began to be conceived from here. Then came media and technology, which came in the 1980s as music was visualized for television and digitized in recording studios and TV, a development spearheaded outside Korea by MTV, which had emerged in 1981. In Korea, the development was catalysed through KBS and MBC, the two primary broadcasting companies.³⁸ After 1988, when the domestic market began to open, visualized and digitized music began to appear full-scale, changing how local popular music was produced and promoted, and how young receivers' preferences were catered to. This led to a boom in dance music, which, in 1992, was fuelled by the emergence of Seo Taiji and Boys, who created dance music with rap, heavy metal and techno elements. From here, the star system managed young popular musicians systematically for visual and digital production.³⁹ A second aspect in the star system was more nationalistic. We may take as a case Lee Soo Man [Yi Suman] (b. 1952), president of SM Entertainment. In his young days, Cliff Richard (b. 1940), a British pop singer modelled on Elvis Presley, visited Korea for a concert in 1969. A number of Korea's female fans showed enthusiastic responses beyond his understanding, and from that experience he developed a will for Korea's progression

38 After Chun Doo Hwan took the seize of political power through coup in 1979, he concentrated on controlling the media and, through the merger and abolition, two broadcasting companies were state funded, KBS and MBC. Theses had influence in the field of popular culture that is, directing the options of the record producers (Howard 2006a: 83).

39 This does not mean that there did not exist any kind of training for making a star, but that in comparison to the previous period, it was more systematic (Shin Hyŏnjun 2002: 226).

into the world.⁴⁰

The star-making system has been adopted to make the TASP project group MIJI. The processes involved can be divided into four stages: auditioning, training, debuting in the domestic market, and progressing to the global market. MIJI is not exceptional. The three years from 2008 to 2010 were divided evenly into these stages. From September 2008 to December 2009, the first two processes were undertaken, then their formal debut came in January 2010, with various broadcasting activities, their first concert in Seoul, and performance abroad in Shanghai and Moscow also being given in 2010. The first three stages – auditioning, training and debuting – are rarely found in other *kugak*-related groups. Auditioning, restricted to young women performing on traditional melodic instruments, began to take place after a public announcement in August 2008. The instruments were chosen in consideration of their ability to work with functional harmony – following standard popular music – the *haegŭm* fiddle, *kayagŭm* zither, *taegŭm* and *sogŭm* flutes, *p'iri* oboe and *saenghwang* mouth organ.⁴¹ Full-scale auditioning took place for almost a month through three selection processes: examination of documents that gave personal histories, a practical test, and a camp. The second and third were part of making a popular group. Practical tests involved performance of a representative solo instrumental genre – *sanjo*'s latter movements after *chungjungmori* – and the performance of Korean and Western popular songs, or singing any popular song.

40 An Hyeri, Chŏng Hyŏnmok, Chŏng Kanghyŏn, No Chaehyŏn, and Yi Sejŏng, '5. Poa k'iun Yi Suman ssi', *Joongang Ilbo*, 7 Jan 2005, at http://article.joins.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=434054 (accessed 29 October 2013).

41 <http://www.gugak.go.kr/site/gugak/menu/1497.do?configNo=162&cmd=read&contentNo=55351> (accessed, 30 September 2013).

The camp took place for two days and three nights. It was a competitive group activity organized according to instrument working on a short musical. During it, the levels of completion and the use of harmony were considered. Cameramen followed the participants, filming short interviews. The final members were decided in October 2008: Nam Chiin (*taegŭm*), Shin Chayong (*taegŭm* and *sogŭm*), Shin Hŭisŏn (*p'iri*, *saenghwang*, *t'aep'yŏngso*), Yi Yŏnghyŏn (*kayagŭm*), Chin Poram (*kayagŭm*), Yi Kyŏnghyŏn (*haegŭm*), Pak Chihye (*haegŭm*), and Kim Posŏng (vocal). These members underwent one year and two months' training. During this, they concentrated on ensemble practice, regularly receiving lessons in Japanese (in consideration of later promotion), acting, movements for delicate expression and physical fitness, as would happen with other pop musicians. This was followed by the group's formal debut. They released their first album, *The Challenge*, in January 2010.

For six months they appeared frequently across a variety of media. In the case of TV, they appeared on well-known music, entertainment or infotainment programmes produced by KBS, MBC, SBS, and OBS, and on radio, on GugakFM, KBS 1FM, and MBC FM. Daily print and online newspapers carried 102 interviews and concert-related news in the six months following their debut on 25 September 2009; they were first introduced by the *Joongang Daily* (Figure 6.7). In most press reports, they were described as an unprecedented group which was exceptional in the *kugak*-related field, often being introduced, in reference to the pop group, as the 'Girls' Generation of *kugak*'.

Figure 6.7 The title and beginning of an article about MIJI in the *Joongang Daily* (2010)

Striking out into the 'unknown'

Miji brews up a mix of traditional Korean instrumentation and modern pop backed by a Western classical orchestra

Jan 20, 2010



Miji blends traditional Korean music with mainstream pop. From left, Shin Ja-yong (sogeum, daegeum), Jin Bo-ram (gayageum), Nam Ji-in (daegeum), Park Ji-hye (haegeum), Shin Hee-sun (flute), Kim Bo-seong (vocals), Lee Kyeong-hyeon (haegeum) and Lee Young-hyeon (gayageum). By Shin Dong-yeun

The emergence of an outwardly captivating female group formed through a star training system created a number of controversial issues. One of these was closely associated with commercialism, sitting at one end of the whole of popular music: although artist management has become normal, their debut could have become a one-time event. There was, though, a social meaning in MIJI's formation, providing a thread of social connectivity that might allow the teenage public to feel a sense of solidarity while relating to popular music; this might be socially meaningful when MIJI's music is enjoyed and shared amongst the Korean public including teenagers. Two members of MIJI, Shin Hŭisŏn and Nam Chiin, told me about the responses of people:

(Shin Hūisōn) To all appearances, if I say that there were no objections to my activities as a member of MIJI, it would be a lie. There were clearly people who opposed and who said that such a kind of thing does not have a long vitality. But, colleagues of my generation cheer us greatly. They would like MIJI to appear more on broadcast programmes, and they express strongly a sense of us all living together... Now, because older *kugak* teachers watched what we did, they began to encourage us to keep trying.

(Nam Chiin) Teachers who, when I started, expressed concern changed. They now encourage me more. I think that we produced an outcome to some degree, and it seems to me that the field of *kugak* is improving, since we have encouraging responses from the public (interviews, December, 2011).

The second of TASP's aims was to produce popular music content based on traditional music. This content was, firstly, associated with music idioms, in that new music was expected to be based on reinterpretations of traditional idioms which could be enjoyed by the public. Secondly, content was to be new – that is, creative. Instrumental music was to be produced as 'a new trend' with new combinations. *The Challenge*, released on 14 January 2010, illustrates (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Background information of pieces of music on the album, *The Challenge***1. K·new**

Composition and orchestration: Yi Chisu.

2. The Chaser

Composition and orchestration: Yi Chisu.

3. *Hŭnoni/Longing for Someone*

Composition: Cho Yŏngsu. Lyric: Kang Ŭn'gyŏng, Yi Sŭngmin.

4. *Kŭriumi kip'ŏsŏ/Deep Nostalgia*

Composition and orchestration: Yi Chisu.

5. Love Letter

Composition and orchestration: Yi Chisu.

6. *Ibyŏrae/My Farewell Comfort*

Composition: Yiyagi. Lyric: Yi Sŭngmin.

7. *Ch'owŏn ũi param/Breeze in the Field*

Composition and orchestration: Mun Chŏngin.

8. Vivid Rainbow

Composition and orchestration: Yi Chisu.

9. Romantic Tango

Composition: Ch'oe Yumi.

10. Valediction

Composition: Ch'oe Yumi

11. Silver Sky

Composition: Han Kwangsu. Orchestration: Yi Chisu.

12. *Gunbam Taryeong/Kunbam t'aryŏng*

Composition and orchestration: Yi Chisu.

The move to popularity and creativity can be found by first dividing the album's pieces into vocal and instrumental. The vocal, '*Hŭnoni*/Longing for Someone' and '*Ibyŏrae*/My Farewell Comfort', belong to the genre *kugak kayo*. These feature popular idioms, but ones with subtle creativity. In the case of '*Hŭnoni*' composed by popular music composer Cho Yŏngsu (b. 1976), the music follows a familiar but somewhat different verse-refrain form, in which one verse consists of A-A'-B, each section being four measures long. The meter is 4/4. The chord progression is mainly a widely-adopted one. Two measures of the introduction use a chord progression in the style of Pachelbel's 'Canon', but a different chord comes at the end, hinting at a modulation: E^b-B^b-C-G(Aug). The instrumental pieces provide the musical emphasis of TASP. The majority of the album – ten pieces – is for instruments. Amongst these, eight are for the full ensemble, and while designing TASP, this was a decisive factor for Pak as project director.

Pak's motive came from the experience of being thrilled by '*Arirang Rhapsody*', a piece composed by Yi Chisu, who became music producer of *The Challenge*. Yi had majored in composition at Seoul National University and is today one of the young composers who attract most attention in Korean pop. '*Arirang Rhapsody*' is an orchestral piece based on '*Miryang arirang*', a well-known eastern folksong, in the recording of which Yi plays piano with the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. Pak's approach came from his appointment as music producer of TASP, not in consideration of traditional music composers:

One of the advantages MIJI have is that they can provide popular contents which

broadcasters want. If I had asked traditional music composers to take part, MIJI would not have had the outcome we wanted. MIJI was asked to create the soundtrack for a prime-time Korean soap opera, and so I on purpose appointed as music producer Yi Chisu, who had majored in Western composition, suggesting to him that he make music in which our traditional instruments can be enlivened through the Western orchestral elements. (Pak Sŭngwŏn, interview, January 2011).

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at how the policy makers of the Activation Plan – those who drafted and organized it – perceived music cultures on the three levels – the post people’s music culture (music culture of citizens), the Asian-centred Korean Wave and global ‘world music’. It also explored how the plan was carried out through case studies of its two subsidiary plans – KMP 21 and TASP.

Those who drafted the plan intended to activate traditional arts in the private sector, within the culture of citizens. This is made clear by the specific plans to establish the Traditional Arts Council, to hold the first National Traditional Performing Arts Festival and to nationalize the formerly private Traditional Arts High School. However, the central intention was, ultimately, for a cooperative conservation, mainly because the policy makers shared a permissive Korean identity. As for the culture of citizens, the project organizers – especially of KMP 21 – sought a future traditionalism generated by a Korean identity which was basically open to levels beyond the national. Concerning the Asian-centred Korean Wave, those who drafted the plan embraced a potential Asian identity based on a Korean identity. When it comes to global world

music, they showed a Korean identity that was not intended to be westernized, and furthermore, an identity which could potentially co-exist with other cultures.

As with KMP 21, the formation of GugakFM and its assumption of responsibility, helps us understand the basis of the project, which was to use traditional music but adapt it as a departure point. GugakFM was established in order to promote traditional Korean music, basically in opposition to the movement to westernize. Since it was founded in 2001, GugakFM has produced a variety of *kugak*-related programmes, and since 2007 has been responsible for KMP 21, encouraging the creation of *kugak* in consideration of the public. However, future traditionalism underpins KMP 21. This comes from the identity of the project organizers – an identity of the people which was open to other levels beyond the national. This chapter found this through exploring two aspects of future traditionalism: a new vision of what 21st century Korean music might be, taking tradition as a stepping stone, expecting a promising new tradition and with an open attitude towards the incorporation of non-Korean elements – but in a way in which the concept of openness differentiates this from generating an invented tradition; an attempt to modernize and popularize, which traditionalizes in the current sense while satisfying individual musical preferences. In a broad sense, this last is included in the first aim, approached through two inseparable practices – the cultivation of young composers to create newly-composed Korean music based on traditional idioms.

The aim of TASP is intertwined with the history of Loen Entertainment. Since Loen Entertainment emerged as a small record company, Seoul Records, in 1974, it has played a leading role in Korea's recording industry. The extended range of businesses

now divides into the production of digital music files and physical recording, including a large percentage of Korea's total *kugak*-related recordings, and the management of pop artists. The experiences from these businesses laid the foundations for TASP. In a similar way to KMP 21, an analysis of documents and interviews reveals the specific aims of TASP, and the notion of a future tradition. The specific aims reflect a permissive Korean identity. The first aim is the popularization of *kugak*, particularly amongst teenagers, and its continuation through this popularization. The second is a progression to the global market, which requires the positive acceptance of non-Korean elements. To achieve these two aims, TASP first adopted a star-making system taken from the field of pop music, through which MIJI, the female group playing traditional instruments, was created in 2008. Although this raised contested issues such as commercialism, it also brought discussions of social connectivity, which is a feature of pop music culture. Secondly, TASP produced music contents based on traditional music but used a pop music idiom in a creative orchestrated style. In sum, both KMP 21 and TASP reinforced cooperative conservation aspects of the Activation Plan.

What Korean identity did individual musicians use in their new music, and what specifically did they produce? This is what I turn to in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: The Cultural Identities of Young Musicians

This chapter will examine how traditional musical elements have been adopted by young musicians, paying attention to cultural identities, based on my interviews and considerations of specific pieces of music. In all, 30 teams qualified for the final rounds of the KMP 21 festival and contest between 2007 and 2010. In the case of TASP, from 2008 to 2010 a variety of composers and arrangers were involved in creating the first album, *The Challenge*, with the project group MIJI. Regarding KMP 21, I will look at eight musicians or groups that illustrate how traditional musical elements were employed, and, regarding TASP, at Yi Chisu, the producer and composer. I will also take the opportunity to compare KMP 21 musicians with professional *samullori* musicians, noting that the identity of post-1987 individual (or group) based on the identity of the people – that is, a permissive Korean identity – has served as an operating principle for both projects. As Gauntlett remarks, ‘individuality and the unique properties of identity are often seen to reach their zenith in human creativity’ (2007: 18). There are subtle differences amongst the groups. With respect to AUX, for example, the identity of new individual was relatively stronger than with other groups, while for the Asia Music Ensemble the identity of an Asian based on that of a Korean was central. So I will explore how young musicians utilize traditional musical elements in order to demonstrate their newly-found individual cultural identities.

ProjectGM/Siuroon (KMP 21, 2007)

This group received the 21C World Music Prize in the 2007 final, with the piece

‘*Param kwa hamkke sarajida/Living with the wind*’.¹ The team consists of nine members. These include two performers on traditional wind instruments – Yi Sŭngch’ŏl (*sogŭm* small transverse flute) and Pak Chinhyŏng (*p’iri* double-reed oboe and *t’aepyŏngso* double-reed conical wooden shawm) – four on string instruments – Sŏ Chiŭn (*haegŭm* two-stringed bowed fiddle), Kim Ch’amdaun (*ajaeng* eight-stringed bowed zither), Kim Chugyŏng (25-stringed developed *kayagŭm*) and Yi Sŏnhwa (*kŏmun’go* six-stringed zither) – Kim Hyŏngyu on classical guitar, Shin Tongŭn and Yi Usŏng on traditional percussion, and No Kwanu, the composer, on synthesizer. No studied Korean music composition at Seoul National University.

Figure 7.1 ProjectGM/Siuroon (2007)



The group began as a study group formed in 2005 when studying traditional music at

¹ The background information is based on an interview in November 2010 with Kim Chugyŏng, the performer of the 25-stringed *kayagŭm*, Kim Insu (a former percussion member), and No Kwanu (composer and synthesizer performer).

college, in order to explore various theories such as acoustics, harmonics and traditional rhythms as a precursor to making their own music. While maintaining this study group, the members heard news of the first KMP 21, which motivated them to enter the contest, playing what they had worked out by then. The group re-gathered as a new team named Project GM ('Genuine Music') and received the World Music Prize, which was in effect the second prize overall.

Their piece for the 2007 KMP 21 featured the well-known melody of '*Kyemyŏn karak todŭri*', the first movement of the suite '*Ch'ŏnnyŏn manse/Long Life for a Thousand Years*'. This is part of the representative repertoire of *chŏngak* (literati music), relating to the chamber suite *Yŏngsan hoesang*. *Yŏngsan hoesang* was usually performed as banquet music during the latter half of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). So, the melody they chose, along with the instrument ensemble, is a distinctive traditional element. Before examination, I need briefly to mention *Ch'ŏnnyŏn manse*. This short suite consists of three movements, '*Kyemyŏn karak todŭri*', '*Yangch'ŏng todŭri*' and '*Ujo karak todŭri*'. '*Kyemyŏnjo karak todŭri*', the movement under consideration here, refers to a form based on a minor mode, *kyemyŏnjo* (D-F-G-Bb-C), which along with a second mode, *p'yŏngjo* (D-E-G-A-C), has been used frequently in traditional music, although different versions of *kyemyŏnjo* are used for aristocratic and folk music.² '*Todŭri*' means repetition, hence the title can mean a repeated form in which the melody is in *kyemyŏnjo*. For this movement, four triplet subdivided beats provide one rhythmic cycle (that is, 3+3+3+3). The melody between the 7th and 28th measure

2 Both modes are based on anhemitonic pentatonic. Although similar to Chinese *chidiao* and *yudiao*, they differ in the position of the central tone *kung*: in the case of the Korean modes, it is at the centre of the pitch arrangement, whereas in the Chinese ones it is the lowest tone (Junyon Hwang 2002: 847).

reoccurs between the 63rd and 84th measure, broadly, in a repeated form. *Ch'ōnnyōn manse* was performed by a string and wind ensemble, on four string instruments (*kayagŭm*, *kōmun'go*, *yanggŭm*, *haegŭm*), three wind instruments (*taegŭm*, *tanso*, *p'iri*), and one *changgo* drum.

'*Param kwa hamkke sarajida*' uses the primary pattern or motif across one rhythmic cycle. It may be more correct to say that the pattern is being utilized rather than developing it as a basis for the melody. This is the idea of the composer; on closer examination, the new piece is not a derivative of the old, or a simplistically negotiation between past and present (as would often be discussed by ethnomusicologists), but an original combination done in a distinct way. No Kwanu, the composer, told me the background to writing the piece:

This piece is not a piece in which the motif is developed. There were musical resources of the motif, and at the same time, musical styles that we sought, but the important problem was how to match these things. Eventually we found an equilibrium, and so it would be appropriate to say that the piece was completed in a way where these complemented each other (No Kwanu, interview, November 2010).

After the introduction of the pattern or motif sung as *kuŭm* (literally, 'mouth sounds') an octave passage derived from it on the 25-stringed *kayagŭm* is given, then a new melody appears on the *sogŭm* that contains pre-tone and post-tone ornaments. There is a difference between the score and what is actually played as ornaments on the

recording, in keeping with what Charles Keil (1987) refers to as ‘participatory discrepancies’. This new melody develops to the accompaniment of other instruments in 12/8 time, but in a westernized idiom. Four treatments of elements of the motif can be discerned (Notation 7.1). In the first, the third Eb-C (marked ‘a’ in Notation 7.1) over an Ab major chord, appears before the full melody of *Kyemyōn karak todūri* emerges, and is then varied, based on the base pitch of the chords to Eb (b) over an Eb major chord, C-Ab (c) over F minor, and Eb-Eb (d) on Eb major, each lasting four measures. The melody appears again in the fourth part in measure 88, but in a changed format. In the meantime, the harmonic progression is seemingly natural but is actually far from normal, going through F minor–Bb/F–Db/F–Ab/C between the 19th and 22nd measures. The melody of *Kyemyōn karak todūri* (A) emerges in measure 43. As mentioned, the mode consisted, originally, of an anhemitonic scale. However, for this piece, the original melody, pitched around Ab, is performed on the 25-stringed developed *kayagŭm* as if in Ab major. Subsequently, a further octave passage on the same instrument echoes a melody on the synthesizer, consisting of triplets, triplets allowing listeners to feel the characteristic triplet subdivision of Korean music – a characteristic distinct from the music of neighbouring East Asian countries. Reminding listeners of the repeated form, which is the meaning of ‘*todūri*’, the *Kyemyōn karak todūri* melody (B) is repeated by all instruments in virtual unison (Notation 7.2).

Notation 7.1 Siuroon, 'Living with the Wind' (2007): *sogŭm* melody

11 (a) *Sogŭm* *mp*

Piano & Guitar

11 A^b D^b E^b A^b

15 (b) *Sogŭm*

Piano & Guitar

15 G^b G^b D^b E^b A^b

19 (c) *Sogŭm* *mf*

Piano & Guitar

19 F^m B^b/F D^b/F A^b/C

23 (d) *Sogŭm* *mp*

Piano & Guitar

23 B^bm A^b D^b E^b_{sus4} E^b7

Notation 7.2 Siuroon, 'Living with the Wind' (2007): the 'Kyemyön karak todüri' melody

The musical score is arranged in seven systems. The first system includes Sogüm (melody) and P'iri (string accompaniment). The second system includes Haegüm (string accompaniment) and Ajaeng (bass line). The third system includes Kayagüm (string accompaniment). The fourth system includes Kömun'go (bass line). The fifth system includes Piano & Guitar (chords). The score is in G minor (three flats) and 4/4 time. The melody for Sogüm starts at measure 59. Dynamics include *mf*, *f*, and *(B)*. The Piano & Guitar part shows chords D^b, E^b/D^b, and A^b/C.

© Siuroon. Used with permission.

Pulsech'ul (KMP 21, 2007)

This team received the 21C Arirang Prize in 2007 with the piece 'P'ungnyu tosi/City of P'ungnyu'. *P'ungnyu*, literally 'wind' plus 'flow', is an aesthetic concept that in this instance refers to literati chamber music. There are nine group members. Two perform on traditional wind instruments – Kim Chinuk (*taegüm*), Pak Kyejön (*p'iri*) – four, on string instruments – Kim Yongha (*haegüm*), Yi Chön (*kayagüm*), Chön Usök (*kömun'go*), Pak Chehön (*ajaeng*). They are joined by Ch'oe Tökryöl (acoustic guitar)

and Kim Yōngjin (percussion).³ As did many groups participating in KMP 21, this group grew out of a study group. It consisted of nine male students at the School of Korean Traditional Arts at the Korea National University of Arts who gathered for a recital at their school. They attracted much attention, partly because they were male and there were few male instrumental groups in the field of *kugak*. Fortunately, around that time, they heard news of the first KMP 21. After changing two members, they were reborn as a group.

Figure 7.2 Pulsech'ul (2007)



The scarcity of men in Korean traditional music is notable. Many genres were solely for men in the past, with the exception of the lyric song genre *kagok* (Hae-Kyung Um 2001: 919-920). In *kagok*, the repertoire differs according to gender, and this principle is now maintained as a performance custom. Today, though, female students

³ The background information is based on an interview in December 2010 with Kim Chinuk, Kim Yongha and Pak Kyejōn.

predominate amongst instrumentalists except for percussionists, particularly playing *kayagŭm* and *haegŭm*, part because of social expectations about work and gender. Around the world, and in Europe in the last century, sounds and roles differed according to gender (Nettl 2006: 407), but we cannot find distinct musical differences based on gender in the male Pulsech'ul. Given that more solidarity has been formed amongst the group, we might argue that differences in perception still occur.

In the 2007 KMP 21, for the piece 'City of P'ungnyu' the group considered *shinawi*, originally instrumental music for shaman rituals that from the mid-20th century had become a form of staged performance associated most closely with that of the Kyŏnggi Provincial area. *Shinawi* utilized two modes: *menarijo* (the eastern folk music style, a minor A-C-D-E-G) and *namdo kyemyŏnjo* (the southern folk music style, E-A-B-C-D). The first of these was not previously used in *shinawi*, while the second was part of the earlier genre but lost its centrality in the staged version. *Shinawi* has characteristics such as polyphony between vocalist and instrumentalists or between instruments. In addition, it used a mode common with folk songs in the southwestern region, a 12/8 rhythm, and featured improvisation (Bohyung Lee [Yi Bohyŏng] 2002: 889-891). Why did Pulsech'ul adopt *shinawi* as the main traditional element? Kim Yongha, the leader of this group told me about the background:

We cannot but be worried over our piece of music, as we are students studying traditional music. The composition was not easy, because we had to think how we could utilize traditional idioms and at the same time make our piece distinctive. At a point when half the composition was done, we chose *shinawi* as our source, which was

a performance style we were able to do well. By adopting *menari* and the *kyemyŏn* mode, we aimed to enjoy performing the piece, while keeping two modes that have a subtle difference. Although, for how we adopted the traditional elements, we had many discussions and arguments, even up to the day prior to recording. Using *shinawi* suited the colour of our team, along with signalling our traditionality (Kim Yongha, interview, December, 2010).

Although ‘City of *P’ungnyu*’ takes the overall features of *shinawi*, it is different to *shinawi* in terms of mode, and in this we can discern originality and the position given by their newly-found individual identity based on that of the people. The composition can be divided into three parts. In the first, the acoustic guitar plays functional chords (Cm-Dm/C-Cm7-Dm/C), which lay the foundation and forms an introduction. Then, respective melodic instruments, *kayagŭm*, *p’iri*, *taegŭm*, *haegŭm*, *ajaeng* emerge in order playing in a minor *menarijo* mode (C-Eb-F-G-Bb). In measure 18, the guitar starts a second part, with somewhat different chords (C9-Csus4-C11-C), notifying us of a melody which will emerge in a *namdo kyemyŏnjo* (C-D-Eb-F-G) from measure 65. First, though, in measure 47, a third part starts with different guitar chords, and the melodic instruments enter in order, later forming a grand polyphonic texture that forms the climax. From measure 65, instruments show their own melodies, sitting somewhere between the two modes, until the coda is reached (Notation 7.3).

Notation 7.3 Pulsech'ul, 'City of P'ungnyu' (2007): measures 65-68

The musical score consists of seven staves. The top staff is for *Taegŭm* (melody), the second for *P'iri* (rest), the third for *Haegŭm* (melody), the fourth for *Ajaeng* (rhythmic accompaniment), the fifth for *Kayagŭm* (harmony), the sixth for *Ac.Gtr.* (rhythmic accompaniment), and the seventh for *Kŏmun'go* (bass line). The *Kayagŭm* staff includes chord symbols: Am, Am9, Gsus4, G, Am, Am9, Gsus4, G. The *Kŏmun'go* staff has a '大' (Da) marking above the second measure.

© Pulsech'ul. Used with permission.

Anaya (KMP 21, 2008)

Anaya participated in KMP both in 2007 and 2008; there was no bar on entering the contest more than once. At the first attempt, they received a prize of encouragement for their piece 'Kiwŏn/Prayer', and at their second attempt they won the 21C Arirang Prize, awarded to the team who had developed traditional musical idioms in the most creative way, for the piece 'Ttabungne/Poor Little Girl Story'. Anaya is a vocal group composed of five core members: two vocalists, Kang Tayŏn (pop-style vocals) and Kim Ch'aemun (folksong-style vocals), Min Soyun (music director and *taegŭm*), Kim Yongwŏn (Western bass guitar), Kwŏn Chunt'aek (Western acoustic guitar) and Chang Sŏkwŏn (Western percussion). Min graduated from the Gugak National High School

and Seoul National University.

Figure 7.3 Anaya (2008)



This group can be seen as deriving from a project group organized in 2006 by the Minyo Yŏn'guhoe (Research Group for Folksong). The Minyo Yŏn'guhoe had started in 1986 to diffuse and create new folksongs as part of the aforementioned song movement. Kim Sŏkch'ŏn (real name, Kim Sangch'ŏl), one of its founders, had graduated from Seoul National University and currently works as a traditional percussionist at the KBS Traditional Music Orchestra. He played a leading role in the development of *kugak kayo* through composing *kugak tongyo* (children's songs; Song 2007: 784). Over the years, the Minyo Yŏn'guhoe sponsored several music groups, including Anaya, which was formed for their 20th anniversary concert. Anaya sang 'Shin sarangga/New Love Song', a pop-style version of a song in 'Ch'unhyangga/Song of 'Spring Fragrance', one of the five surviving *p'ansori*

repertoires. The new version, introduced by a distorting electronic guitar producing a metal feel, consists of two vocal parts. First, ‘*Sarangga*’ is sung in a traditional folk style, then a chorus as a response is sung in a vocal style from pop music. Paying attention to the great amount of potential behind this piece, the president of the Minyo Yŏn’guhoe suggested that the group perform new pieces based on widely distributed *t’ongsok minyo* (folksongs originally associated with professional singers). This led to a concert that celebrated Anaya’s formation, ‘Folk Song is Rap, 2006’. However, the Minyo Yŏn’guhoe idea could be said to reflect the situation at that point, where old folksongs were dying, and new music based on folksong was required to sustain vitality.

After two years, Anaya released their first album, *Songin* (Farewell My Love, 2008), which includes the song ‘Prayer’ as well as ‘*Shin sarangga*’. First impressions of the album cover and title track (‘Prayer’) led listeners to the conclusion that Anaya sought commercial music, because all seemed to match any other pop albums. However, on closer examination, we can find a great effort to reflect traditional musical elements, such as the sacrificial blessing given by itinerant bands from the Ŭmsŏng region of the central North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province in ‘Prayer’, and an arrangement of ‘*Sŏuje sori*’ from Cheju island – originally part of village rituals for woman divers. In addition, we can observe easily that they adopt the very notion of ‘song’: Min, the music director of Anaya, stressed to me the potentiality ‘song’ had to diffuse *kugak* to the people:

I think that art music and popular music are absolutely different in terms of aims, audiences and markets. We do not seek art. Although our team may appear

mysterious on the stage, we approach the public as if we were talking about your story to you. This is possible because we adopt ‘song’ as our main expressive style. I do not know how easily we can talk to audience through song. But, I think that there exists a potential market to which you can progress (Min Soyun, interview, November, 2010).

The style they adopt is to utilize folksong in a popular way, and this has become the foundation of their performances. The main difference between Kim Yong Woo (b. 1969), a well-known singer of updated folksongs who since his first album, *Chigesori* (1996), has contributed greatly to the diffusion of folksong to the public and Anaya is that whereas Kim rearranges folk music and sings in a folksong style, Anaya creates new music based on folksong, but divides its singing style between traditional and pop.⁴ In addition to their 2008 prize at the KMP 21 in 2008, Anaya featured in ‘KOREA 21: MUSIC Here & Now’, an event for winners of KMP that in 2009 was held in New York, and at the 2010 *Chŏnju Segye Sori Ch’ukche* (Chŏnju International Sori Festival). At Chŏnju they were awarded the top prize at the first ‘Sori Frontier’ contest. They have also been invited to the International Folksong and Music Festival in Taiwan and the Ulsan World Music Festival.

‘*Tabungne*’, which they performed at the 2008 KMP, is based on a folksong of the same title from the eastern Kangwŏn Province. Literally, the title refers to a blessed woman, but it was used paradoxically to mean a little girl who had lost her mother. A similar type of folksong, in terms of lyrics, can be found in other regions such as South

4 For more information about Kim Yong Woo, see Keith Howard’s book (2006b: 71-79).

Chölla to the southwest or to the west of North Kyöngsang province. But, the titles in different regions indicate difference – *ttabangne* in South Chölla or *ttabongne* in North Kyöngsang (Ch’oe Sangil 2002: 286–288).⁵ Anaya’s version is based on the introduction to the Kangwŏn song as recorded from an old woman, Pak Kamu. She was recorded and included in the book, *Uri ũi sori rŭl ch’ajasŏ* (In Search of Korean Folksong; 2002), which had two accompanying CDs. This book was a compilation for educational use based on the much larger 103 CD collection, *Han’guk minyo taejŏn* (Great Collection of Korean Folk Songs) published by MBC between 1989 and 1995. The undertaking for this collection was carried out through fieldwork led by Ch’oe Sangil (b. 1957), a producer at the broadcasting station.

Anaya’s new piece is in 4/4, whereas the local song was in 6/4; this difference can be seen as deriving from the composer’s intention to use a metre common in almost all pop music, so as to appeal to the general public. After the introduction on the *taegŭm*, first folksong-style vocal part emerges, singing the main melody, ‘*ttabuk ttabuk ttabungneya*’ in a dramatic way, beginning on a D an octave and a note above middle C. After an interlude, the second pop-style vocal part takes over, as a kind of response to the first vocalist, allowing listeners to feel the contrast of the new, much as happens in many of Anaya’s pieces. After the folksong style re-appears, and following a bass guitar interlude, the contrast becomes more stark with the ending of the piece: while a vocable is developed as a folksong-style refrain, a second pop-style refrain is inserted as a response.

⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 4, songs based on traditional folksongs appeared in 1970s youth culture. One of these was ‘*T’abangne*’ based on ‘*Tabangne*’ from Chölla, sung by Sŏ Yusŏk in 1972.

Easternox (KMP 21, 2008)

Easternox received the Prize of Encouragement and World Music Prize in the 2007 and 2008 KMP 21 contests, respectively.⁶ This group features traditional and Western percussion. Two members perform on traditional percussion, the composer and lyricist Yi Sökchin (*kkwaenggwari* small gong, *ching* large gong) and Ch'oe Yöngjin (*changgo* hourglass-shaped double-headed drum). One plays Western percussion, Chang T'aesun, while the other members are Pak Mina (*taegüm* flute) and Yi Nuri (synthesizer). Kim Söngjin replaced Yi Nuri in 2009.

Figure 7.4 Easternox (2008)



Easternox grew from a project group led by Yi Sökchin for popular creative traditional music which formed around 2002. However, this group gained a regular line-up by 2005, when Yi had his first encounter with Darrell Jenks, the late diplomat and jazz

⁶ The background information is based on an interview in November 2011 with Yi Sökchin.

drummer who joined the group after watching their performance at the Kungnip Minsok Pangmulgwan (National Folk Museum), and expressed his wish to collaborate with them. His arrival provided a good opportunity for Yi. Basically, as a jazz drummer and leader of a group who had performed for about 40 years, Jenks had interest in a variety of rhythms including Korean traditional rhythmic cycles, and in particular the rhythms of *samullori*. Yi was able to gain much inspiration from him, with which to produce new creative pieces based on Korean rhythmic cycles. They then undertook many activities, including a ten-day tour to Mongolia, until in 2007 Jenks had to leave for the United States. The period between 2005 and 2007 saw the formation of Easternox, with three percussion performers including Yi and Jenks, a *taegŭm* performer and a pianist/synthesizer player. The group's name, 'Easternox', is a compound of 'Eastern' and 'equinox'. 'Eastern' accounts for a large portion of the name, showing that while they adopt something Eastern – Korean – as a departure point, they aim to make music in which elements from East and West are in good balance without favouring either side.

Their piece for the 2008 KMP was titled '*Hanja honja*'. This is a kind of a pun derived after a Chinese friend of Yi mispronounced the Korean 'honja', meaning alone, as 'hanja'. The music is percussion with a chorus refrain. It is based on '*Ujilgut*' the 'right-road' cycle used in the first movement of southwestern 'right side' local percussion bands (for details of which, see Hesselink 2006: 163-166). Literally, '*u*' refers to 'right', and is the direction of movement taken by the ensemble dancing in a circle with a *p'ungmul* performance, while *-jil* (*chil*) is dialect for road spoken in the southwestern regions, so *-jilgut* means 'road-music', more commonly known as *kilgut*

or *kilgunak* ('road-military music'). It is, then, a processional rhythmic cycle once played on the road. One cycle of '*Ujilgut*' consists of five phrases: 2+3+3+2 / 2+3+3+2 / 2+3+3+2 / 3+3+3+3 / 3+3+3+3. This pattern is the primary traditional music resource adopted by Easternox. Yi, emphasized to me how *changdan* – traditional rhythmic cycles – were the point of his music:

Looking back, our *sanjo* has only a 100-year history. The history of the *ajaeng* has less than that. However, *p'ungmul*'s rhythmic cycles have a very long history, possibly more than 5,000 years. They are our cultural heritage which is the closest of all to the masses, the folk. The culture of which they are part, deeply associated with local lives, is absorbed into local lives. The rhythmic cycles are reborn when performing *p'ungmul*, but unfortunately they are buried again when the performance finishes. It seems that *p'ungmul*'s rhythmic cycles are less valued than *sanjo*. They fall behind other resources in the newly emerging tradition, in terms of value, even if traditional percussion music has an obvious value and long history. Think of Brazilian samba, where much music has been created based on one rhythm, while being popular, and only one rhythm flourishes, becoming derivative genres with new names. Thinking of this, I can say that there are a number of hidden potential genres in *p'ungmul* rhythmic cycles (Yi Sökchin interview, November 2011).

Yi Sökchin's comments remind us of the opportunities and constraints when *p'ungmul* rhythmic cycles are utilized for new music. As he mentions, the opportunities can be found in many rhythmic patterns, which have rich variants, as can be seen in the *samullori* pieces based on them. However, complexity in a cycle can impose

constraints on composers. Where a *p'ungmul* rhythmic cycle is a complex pattern, the potential for varying it tends to be limited. Accordingly, a composer is likely to face a problem of how to deal with this complexity, or how to match these complex cycles naturally to melody. '*Hanja honja*' places emphasis on '*Ujilgut*'. From the beginning to the end, the piece progresses in sets of 48 quaver (eighth note) beats, normally dividing into 10+10+10+12+6). However, '*Hanja honja*' escapes the constraints in an original way, offering a new rhythmic structure. Overall, the total piece can be divided into two parts, the second starting from measure 88, in which there is a tempo and key change ($J=160 \rightarrow 180$, $Bb \rightarrow Eb$). In both parts, the *taegŭm* plays the main melody to a synthesizer accompaniment of rhythmical triads, while a ten-measure refrain is sung in chorus by all members. The new rhythmic structure emerges in measure 70-87, where the *taegŭm* and piano shift to 4/4, while at the same time the percussionists plays '*Ujilgut*' across 48 quaver beats; this combination allows listeners to feel an original rhythmic structure, with unexpected accents.

Tori'S (KMP 21, 2009)

Tori'S received the Grand Prize in 2009. This group is a choral ensemble with four regular members, Kwak Tonghyŏn (tenor and Kyŏnggi folksong specialist), Kim Kahŭi (soprano and pop-style vocalist), Paek Hyŏnho (bass and *p'ansori* specialist) and Yi Yihwa (alto and *p'ansori*). In 2009, they were joined by a guest singer, Cho Hyŏngjun (baritone) who substituted for Han Ungch'ŏn. Tori'S performs *a cappella* while utilizing traditional elements. This differs from other KMP 21 teams and other popular creative traditional music teams in Korea.⁷

⁷ The background information is based on a December 2010 interview with Kwak Tonghyŏn and Paek

Figure 7.5 Tori'S (2009)



We might compare Tori'S with Western-style *a cappella* groups. As in most groups, such as the internationally-acclaimed and award-winning Real Group from Sweden, M-PACT from America, and The Idea of North in Australia, Tori'S shares the common feature that the main melody is sung using functional chord progressions. However, in 'Abureisuna', their piece for the 2009 KMP 21, we can also find features widely found in Korean work songs: for instance, from verse-refrain to *shigimse* intonation and ornamentation, and a frame of uncommon chords. In fact, Tori'S was named after *t'ori* (in McCune-Reischauer romanisation), a term favoured by the scholar and researcher Yi Pohyŏng to denote the regional characteristics of folksong.⁸ The term avoids the earlier typical division in terms of mode (*cho/-jo*), as sets of discrete tones/pitches, but still divides the Korean peninsula into five types, according to regions, *kyŏng t'ori*

Hyŏnho.

8 Yi Pohyŏng has coined a new term, *tongnam t'ori*, a superordinate 'eastern/southern' folk style,, and argues that *yukchabaegi t'ori* (the southern folk style) derived from *menari t'ori* (the eastern folk music style) (2008: 115-142).

(central), *menari t'ori* (eastern), *yukchabaegi t'ori* (southwestern), *sushimga t'ori* (northwestern), and *Chejudo t'ori* (Cheju island). Regional identity is included in the first and the fifth, while the others are named after representative folksongs. This indicates that the group was intended to make the most of members' own individual regional backgrounds, particularly those of Kwak Tonghyōn and Paek Hyōnho.

Tori'S grew from these two members, Kwak and Paek. Kwak is the leader. He graduated from Yeungnam University in Taegu in the southeastern Kyōngsang province, and completed a Master's course at Korean National University of Arts in Seoul, specializing in *Kyōnggi minyo* (central style folksongs) and *Sōdo sori* (northwestern style folksongs) learnt from well-known singers Chōng Ŭnha and Kim Kwangsuk respectively. Paek graduated and also completed a Master's course in Korean National University of Arts, studying the epic storytelling genre of *p'ansori*, a genre that originated in the southwestern Chōlla region, studying under famous *p'ansori* vocalists such as Pak Songhŭi, Ahn Sook-sun, Cho Sanghyōn and Chōn Chōngmin. The direct opportunity for forming the group was participation in a concert by the aforementioned updated folksong vocalist, Kim Yong Woo, '*Kkungggungi*' (Secret Design; 2008). They were to be a guest *a cappella* group, and through this they were able to experience a harmonious musical exchange, which allowed them to enter the 2009 KMP 21. Kim Yong Woo had worked with *a cappella* groups before, as is heard on the album *Chige sori* (1996) where he works with the group *Sŭllist'ŭ*.

The Tori'S music for KMP 21 is titled '*Abureisuna*'. With Yi Sanghyu as lead vocalist, this is based on a rice-planting song of the same title once sung in Yech'ōn County in

North Kyöngsang Province, which is also included along with ‘*Ttabungne*’ used by Anaya in MBC’s folksong collection. ‘*Abureisuna*’ refers to workers gathering for rice-planting, according to the programme notes by Ch’oe Sangil in the collection. As widely found in Korea’s folksongs, including other rice-planting songs and work songs, this song has an overall verse+refrain architecture sung by a leader and chorus, although it differs in that the leader gives a particularly long melody. As already seen in other groups, Tori’S thought how to develop traditional musical elements in a new way. They did so by adding an original melodic line and refrain in a unique way, expressed with microtonal intonation, as Kwak and Paek told me in interview in December 2010:

(Kwak Tonghyōn) The third music – this is what I wanted to attempt to do, and I think it is Tori’S’s music. We prefer music that combines artistic value with popularity. Although our subject matter is extremely difficult to deal with, we utilize all sorts of intonation techniques and rhythms, add functional harmony, and transmit the songs to our audience in a rather easy way. We want to make our own music which other groups cannot follow.

(Paek Hyōnho) Although we do not set the standard of our music – its artistic value or popularity – I think the music of Tori’S has both. I hope that Tori’S does not have only one colour; it should contain various things. This is what I want Tori’S to seek. Although I can’t define specifically what our third music is, I will keep challenging the norm. Of course, I could become depressed and have to try again, but I believe that, through the process, Tori’S will find the third music which has not yet been imagined.

I wish people would not fix the music of Tori'S into only one genre. I hope that Tori'S will remain a pioneering team able to digest any genre of music (interview, December, 2010).

'*Abureisuna*', consists of four parts. The first is an introduction, beginning with '*aburei sunai*', a call of the lead vocal in the original version but here sung by all members in a frame of functional harmony (E7/B-Am-G#dim7-Em). This features a solo intonation (marked 'a' in Notation 7.4) by the tenor. Subsequently, in measures 8-12, the original lead vocal melody is sung by Tori'S using original unusual chords that include the sequence D7-Dm6/B-Am in measure 9.

Notation 7.4 Tori'S, 'Abureisuna' (2009): introduction

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with four staves for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are in Korean. The first system (measures 1-4) includes a vocal entry for the Tenor part marked with '(a)'. The second system (measures 5-8) and third system (measures 9-12) continue the vocal lines and accompaniment.

System 1 (Measures 1-4):

- Soprano: 아 부레 이 나 도
- Alto: 아 부레 나 도
- Tenor: 아 부레 이 수 나 이 도
- Bass: 아 부레 이 나 도

System 2 (Measures 5-8):

- Soprano: 수 여 어 하늘 땅에 생겨나고
- Alto: 수 여 어 하늘 땅에 생겨나고
- Tenor: 수 여 어 어 하늘 땅에 생겨나고
- Bass: 수 여 어 하늘 땅에 생겨나고

System 3 (Measures 9-12):

- Soprano: 만물들이 소생하니 한톨 씨앗씩이나서 꽃열매가 네
- Alto: 만물들이 소생하니 한톨 씨앗씩이나서 꽃열매가 네
- Tenor: 만물들이 소생하니 한톨 씨앗씩이나서 꽃열매가 피어나 네
- Bass: 만물들이 소생하니 한톨 씨앗씩이나서 꽃열매가 네

The second part starts with 'tumso', progressing in a repeated A minor – E minor sequence in the 4/4 metre, although the metre moves towards a 6/8, emphasizing beats 1 and 4. The group's members show their own skills in turn, as in Paek's *p'ansori*-style

solo. As tones become more rhythmical and the tempo becomes faster, the third part starts. Here, the ‘*tumso*’ melody develops. It includes a powerful refrain, ‘*ōgiya tiyōch’a*’, which is usually found in Korean fishing songs. Subsequently, in a metre notated as 8/8 due to the subdivisions (which start as 3+3+2) (marked ‘b’ in Notation 7.5), members perform arpeggios and are given charge of one pitch each in turn. Alto (*p’ansori*-style), tenor (*kyōnggi* folksong and *sōdo sori* northwestern folksong style), and baritone (*p’ansori*) demonstrate their techniques in turn, to the accompaniment of other members of the group. Then, a developed version of the refrain appears, which becomes a refrain without melody. The coda unfolds after a pause, as ‘*abureisuna*’ is sung once more, forming a symmetry with the introduction.

Notation 7.5 Tori’s, ‘*Abureisuna*’ (2009): the ‘*tumso*’ arpeggios

(b)

Soprano (S):
 29 어 기 야 차
 33

Alto (A):
 어 기 야 차

Tenor (T):
 어 기 야 차

Baritone (Brt):
 어 기 야 차

Bass (B):
 어 기 야 차

© Tori’s. Used with permission

Pak Chongsŏng (KMP 21, 2009)

Pak Chongsŏng received the Prize of Encouragement in the 2009 KMP with his ‘*Hamonik’a sanjo – Yŏllim/Sanjo* for Harmonica – Open, where he played the harmonica and Ko Myŏngjin provided *changgo* accompaniment.⁹ He can be differentiated from other performers in terms of his main instrument. Since the first year of KMP 21, various Western instruments such as bass guitar and drums have been used, but for accompaniment; in Pak’s piece, the harmonica was the main instrument. Its minority position is distinct, since, although it had been enjoyed by the general public, including school children, because of its cheapness and availability, it has only been studied at college level by a few, including Pak.

Figure 7.6 Pak Chongsŏng (left; 2009)



⁹ The background information is based on an interview in December 2010 with Pak Chongsŏng.

The story of Pak's harmonica begins with his first tutor, Ch'oe Kwanggyu, the president of Korea Harmonica Academy, a private organization which along with the Korean Harmonica Education Association has been particularly active. When Pak was in the final year at primary school, he began to learn from Ch'oe, who provided him with generous support and encouraged him to lead 'Harmony Kids', a children's ensemble. He gave Pak free lessons even after the course finished. Through learning from Ch'oe, Pak gradually grew as a harmonica performer. He received a prize at the 2002 Asia Pacific Harmonica Festival in Japan and the 2005 World Harmonica Festival in Germany, and won the 2008 Asia Pacific Harmonica Festival in Japan, the 2009 World Harmonica Festival in Germany, and the 2011 All-Japan Harmonica Competition. At high school, he studied various composition theories, ultimately aiming to compose for the harmonica. He was eventually able to study harmonica in the Department of Postmodern Music (commercial music) at Kyung Hee University. While at college, he was able to learn traditional Korean music in classes taught by Kang Eūnil, a *haegūm* fiddle performer. This became a turning point in his views about traditional music and his eventual career:

My teacher always told me that if I wanted to become a world player, I should know *kugak*. Since I was little, my father always encouraged me to know *kugak*, asking me what I would play later if a foreign audience asked me to play my own music. At that time I had no idea about *kugak* and no interest in *kugak*. So, I had no regard for their comments. However, I attended lectures in the analysis of East Asian music and in *kugak* ensemble in my third year at university in 2009, and these provided me with a new opportunity. In the former lectures Kang taught

kugak theory, and in the latter lectures she taught *changdan* and *t'ori*, and set students homework, for which students needed to compose a very short piece, using the *changdan* and *t'ori* they had learnt in each lecture. The lectures did not go into details, as these were aimed at students studying popular music. However, I was engaged by them, and the more I studied *kugak*, the more attractive *kugak* became.

One day I watched a *kugak* orchestra performing court ritual music, but there was no conductor! Even though this was the case, it didn't mean that the rhythm was in time. I asked my teacher why music was played in that way. She told me that the *pak* clapper was the conductor and that, distinct from European classical music, *kugak* does not expect performers to keep to the exact beat but to perform the way they feel is right. Initially, I wondered if the court ritual had been played wrongly but soon realized that I was judging it from the perspective of Western music, and that it was different, not wrong (Pak Chongsöng, interview, December 2010).

From then on, Pak began to recognize traditional music anew. His interest, particularly in fundamental concepts and the sound itself, led to his participation in the 2009 KMP 21.

The traditional element he chose was *sanjo*, a folk-art genre for solo melodic instruments with drum accompaniment. In some schools of *sanjo*, the rhythmic cycle *önmori* (10/8) is inserted towards the end, but this provides the opening of Pak's piece. Although arguments about the origin of *sanjo* are ongoing, it is generally agreed that

the *kayagŭm* performer Kim Ch'angjo (1865-1919) played a role in systematizing existing melodies from shaman improvisatory *shinawi* and the storytelling genre of *p'ansori*. It can be said that a primitive form of *shinawi* is closely associated with that of *sanjo*, in terms of rhythmic progression. When dividing shaman music into vocal and instrumental, *shinawi* refers to the latter, in which shamans performed for rituals in the southwestern region. *Shinawi* is an ensemble music for instruments such as *taegŭm*, *p'iri*, *haegŭm*, *changgo* and *ching* performed from slow to fast in a way that allows listeners to hear heterophony. In *shinawi*, performers attempted to perform solos, and perhaps the primitive form of *sanjo* derived from here (Song Pangsong 2007: 445). In the case of *p'ansori*, two factors have been discussed: musical idioms such as mode and rhythmic cycles, and the overlap between vocalists who performed both *p'ansori* and *sanjo* (Song Pangsong 2007: 448).

After liberation, *sanjo* has been transmitted in so-called 'ryu (schools)' of representative performers, particularly in respect to the *sanjo* for *kayagŭm*, *kŏmun'go* and *haegŭm*. The same term (*ryu*, or in Japanese *ryuha*) is encountered in Japan. But, whereas Japanese musicians are expected to belong to one school (Hughes and Tokita 2008: 14-19), Korean musicians have not been forced to follow such a stricture, learning from more than one teacher in the expectation that by doing so they will gain their own way (Howard 2009a: 46). When in 1959 *sanjo* performance was included in a collegiate institution – Seoul National University – the schools became fixed, particularly due to notation (Howard 2009a: 48). However, new schools are in the course of being formed, while musicians compose *sanjo* pieces for existing instruments such as *kayagŭm*, *haegŭm* and *p'iri*. As mentioned in Chapter 5, *sanjo* pieces for

Western instruments do not limit themselves to the standard rhythmic cycles of older *sanjo* (see also Jung, Eun-Young 2010). Yet, they tend to keep the overall movement structure of *sanjo*. Pak's piece does not begin with *chinyangjo*, the slow 18/8 rhythmic cycle with which older *sanjo* begin. After an improvised *tasŭrŭm*, he performs *ŏnmori* (10/8, divided (3+2)+(3+2)) then *chinyangjo*, *chungmori* (12/4), *chungjungmori* (12/8) and *hwimori* (fast 12/8). He develops his piece while showing traditional elements. The harmonica and *changgo* call and respond in *chungjungmori*, and he imitates the vibrato effect of string instruments through bending tones or shaking his head. He improvises somewhat in a jazz idiom within the key of G minor, in a way that allows listeners to feel the flexibility inherent in the *sanjo* form. Thus, although 'Open' is a composition, as it is open to improvisation, it shows a continuity with *sanjo*.

AUX (KMP 21, 2010)

The 2010 KMP 21 awarded AUX the Grand Prize. AUX is a five-member group consisting of Pak Sera (traditional wind instruments *p'iri*, and *t'aep'yŏngso*), Yi Usŏng (Western and traditional percussion), Sŏ Chinshil (*p'ansori*-style vocals), Han Tusu (bass guitar) and the composer Hong Chŏngŭi (*ching gong* and keyboard). Actually, at that time of the 2010 KMP, AUX consisted of seven members, some of whom later changed; Yi Kwangbok was *p'ansori*-style vocalist, Pak Hwanbitnuri traditional gong percussionist, Ch'oe Sunho *changgo* drum player and Kim Chiwŏn pianist.¹⁰

¹⁰ The background information is based on an interview in September 2011 with Han Tusu, Hong Chŏngŭi, Pak Sera, Sŏ Chinshil and Yi Usŏng.

Figure 7.7 AUX (2010)



AUX was formed in 2008 at the suggestion of the former member and *changgo* performer Ch'oe Sunho. The reason to form the group was not serious: they wanted to make and enjoy their own music, whether *kugak*-related or not. However, the colour of the group and the repertoire of the group began to form. There were two challenges. The first was the the 2009 *Ch'ŏnch'a manbyŏl k'onsötŭ* (lit., 'multifarious concerts'), an Indie Gugak Concert. This is both a contest and a series of small concerts, and a further project in the Activation Plan, held annually since 2008. Held on the stage of Pukch'on Ch'angu Theatre on designated days across nearly three months, and in one-and-a-half hour concerts featuring time for questions, it features the finalist musicians or groups. In 2011, the concerts took place from Monday to Thursday, 25 July to 4 October, featuring 17 teams. For the concerts, the members of AUX adapted *nun taemok* (well-known episode) of the *p'ansori* repertoire 'Ch'unhyangga/Song of 'Spring Fragrance' such as 'Okchungga/Song in prison' into pop style music but still

including traditional rhythmic cycles. The adaptations provided them with a core repertory for subsequent activities until they faced their second challenge: the 2010 KMP 21. For that, composer Hong Chŏngŭi was inspired by ‘*Okchungga*’ to make a new piece based on traditional rhythmic cycles, including shaman rhythms given on traditional percussions and electric bass. This became ‘*P’umba*’, their piece for KMP 21.

‘*P’umba*’ uses a well-known folksong, ‘*Kaksŏri ta’ryŏng*/Song of singing beggars’; in a word, this becomes their traditional musical resource. Singing beggars were once itinerant groups, so this folksong could be found nationwide. Although it is difficult to find the origin of their activity, singing beggars certainly existed in the mid-Chosŏn dynasty, and Shin Chaehyo’s *P’ansori sasŏljip* contains a record of them in the late 19th century (Pak Chŏnyŏl 1979: 181). However, the folksong can be classified as an entertainment folksong, because of its non-profit purpose. Differing from how *sadang p’ae* and *namsadang p’ae* (male and female itinerant entertainers) are normally described, singing beggars did not undertake profit-making activity as professional musicians, although they sang for their living. Again, the song’s lyrics are humorous and cheerful, and the song itself is somewhat metrical; it appears to place more emphasis on singing itself, rather than serving the purpose of making a living. AUX uses the traditional musical resource in a way that attempts to enliven the free spirit behind the lyrics of the folksong. Hong Chŏngŭi told me how there is a thread or motto connecting AUX to the singing beggars:

The singing beggars of the lyrics do not boast about themselves, being conscious of

other people. Rather, they sing for fun. This point appealed to me enormously, and I came to think that it was close to pure music and pure play. I chose that folksong, as the spirit of it coincided with our motto, that we had to reflect ourselves in the main body of our music without studying the pleasure of others, and we should do music through which we could feel fun, whatever others might say (Hong Chöngüi, interview, September 2011).

Their music-making is a kind of revisiting the ‘folk’. However, it is different from the case where college students visited rural areas to search for cultural roots in the *p’ungmul* movement discussed in Chapter 4 above. That is, AUX place emphasis on finding a common denominator between the identities of post-1987 individual and of the people, which has significance for them. In this sense, I would argue that the identity of newly-gained individual, which is based on but dominates that of the people, functions as an operating principle for their music. How, then, did AUX develop the traditional resources in their own way? First of all, they did not adopt ‘*Kaksöri t’aryöng*’ as it was, in terms of its music, but, rather, they utilized the folksong for rhythmic cycles such as those associated with shamanism (and the popularization of these by groups such as SamulNori), particularly featuring the ‘*P’unöri*’ pattern from East Coast shaman music. Hong wanted to use a melody such as he found in the folksong, which would be, as he told me in interview in September 2011, ‘easy and simple but able to incorporate these rhythmic cycles’.

After an introduction containing dramatic elements similar to a *p’ansori* singer’s stylized speech (*aniri*), ‘*P’umba*’ introduces a syncopated melody based on the main

theme of the folksong (4/4, except for an interlude in 7/8). Overall, the song is in a verse-refrain form somewhat different from standard pop music. So, although each verse lasts eight measures, as in many pop songs, between each verse and refrain is a small interlude which develops from the verse melody, also taking eight measures. A verse, then, is composed of the form A-B, the two sections contrasting each other. The important feature is the way of combining the existing folksong with their favoured rhythmic cycles. For instance, in measures 11 to 18, the group performs the first small interlude dynamically, developing from the main theme of the folksong but using the four-beat shamanic rhythmic cycle, *p'unōri*. In measures 29 to 30, by changing two groups into three, they produce an original hemiola effect.

AME (KMP 21, 2010)

Asia Music Ensemble (AME) is a young group rather different to other Korean groups because of the origins of the instruments it uses. These include traditional instruments from Korea and the Asian countries surrounding Korea – from Korea, a *taegŭm* flute played by Song Chiyun and a *changgo* played by U Minyōng, from Vietnam, a *dan bau* monochord played by Le Hoai Phuong, and from Mongolia, two stringed instruments, the *yochin* hammered dulcimer played by Barkhuu Khasbat and the *morin huur* horsehead fiddle played by Battulga Enkhmend.¹¹ In addition, Liying Peng is a former member who plays the Chinese zither *guzheng*. She played a leading role in organizing the group, and participated in the 2010 KMP 21. The group formed in February 2010, the line-up enabled because the three non-Korean members – Phuoang, Khasbat, and Enkhmend – as musicians had worked with Koreans in many concerts

¹¹ The background information is based on an interview in September 2011 with Battulga Enkhmend, Barkhuu Khasbat, Le Hoai Phuong, Song Chiyun and U Minyōng.

within the frame of Asian multiculturalism, and they had been fellow students with the two Koreans. Their experience was particularly significant in allowing the group to move toward something Asian rather than merely Korean, Mongolian or Vietnamese.

Figure 7.8 AME (2010)



AME began their collaboration with arrangements of Mongolian folk music. However, this was a starting point from which their aspiration to create new material grew, leading to them participating in the 2010 KMP 21 with a new piece. They received the ‘encouragement’ prize for their piece, ‘*Ch’owŏn ũi shingiru/Mirage of the Steppe*’. Although the group was not formed with a serious aim, their construction of identity is clear. Theirs is an identity as Asian musicians formed when making music that reflects their backgrounds. As a result, a dual identity, the identity of the people and that of

Asian musicians, the latter based on the former, served as an operating principle for their music. It took a while for their group identity to stabilize, although individual musical roles prescribed by their initial activity basically served to eradicate any different expectations they had, leading to a collaboration within which they could create music. Individual musicians were actively involved in musical exchanges. They shared challenges, and communicated within a process of exchange. This is clear in the process of preparing and performing for KMP 21. In this, they had to exchange traditional Korean techniques and rhythmic cycles to reflect the function of KMP 21 to promote newly-composed Korean music based on traditional elements. They decided to adopt traditional rhythmic cycles as their foundation. According to U Minyŏng, the melody of their KMP piece was based on the traditional cycles *ŏnmori*, a compound cycle (10/8), which is used in measures 108 to 153, and the 12/8 *t'aryŏng* rhythmic cycle mixed with it in the main melody (marked 'a' in Notation 7.6) derived from the central folksong '*Kyŏngbokkung t'aryŏng*'.

Along with rhythmic cycles, the group considered traditional performing techniques for melodic instruments important factors in creating their music. These included intonation and vibrato techniques, known in Korean as *shigimsae* and *nonghyŏn*, techniques that are also indicative of the Mongolian *morin huur* horsehead fiddle and the Chinese *guzheng* zither. However, utilizing such traditional elements proved a challenge to musicians from Asian musical backgrounds beyond Korea. Enkhmend, the *morin huur* performer, had difficulty following *ŏnmori*, because no such rhythmic cycle is used in Mongolian music. Only through active communication with the Korean performers was he able to express himself in this cycle. It is noticeable that a

shared expectation between the musicians functioned as a medium between the requirements of the ensemble and the individual background of each musician, so that in the process of active interaction, shared expectations changed. As a consequence, the ensemble system of the group became more stable. At the initial stage, the members had pre-existing expectations of the cultural difficulties they would face, but by sharing each other's musical styles they gained new expectations of the cultural opportunities. As cultural diversification, this was indicated by Phuong, the *dan bau* Vietnamese monochord performer in interview in September 2011:

At the initial stage of forming the group, I was concerned more about cultural aspects than musical aspects. How could I operate, when our cultures and customs are different? However, in the process of music making, it seems that at some point, while sharing Vietnam, Mongolian and Korean styles, we felt sympathy about each other. In the beginning, we were different, but we now do not have any problems. Instead, I enjoy the variety in our group.

Notation 7.6 AME, 'Mirage of the Steppe' (2010): the 'Kyöngbokkung t'aryöng' melody

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 112-116) features the following parts:

- Taegüm:** Treble clef, B-flat major, 2/4 time. Measure 112 is a whole rest. Measure 116 has a dynamic marking of *mf* and an *accel.* marking above the staff.
- Dan bau:** Treble clef, B-flat major, 2/4 time. Measure 112 has a dynamic marking of *pp*. Measure 116 has a dynamic marking of *mp* and an *accel.* marking above the staff.
- Guzheg:** Bass clef, B-flat major, 2/4 time. Measure 112 has a dynamic marking of *mp*. Measure 116 has a dynamic marking of *mp* and an *accel.* marking above the staff.
- Yochin:** Treble clef, B-flat major, 2/4 time. Measure 112 has a dynamic marking of *pp*. Measure 116 has a dynamic marking of *mp* and an *accel.* marking above the staff.
- Changgo:** Percussion clef, B-flat major, 2/4 time. Measure 112 has a dynamic marking of *mf*. Measure 116 has a dynamic marking of *mf* and an *accel.* marking above the staff. The part includes a Triangle and a Wooden clacker.
- Morin huur:** Bass clef, B-flat major, 2/4 time. Measure 112 has a dynamic marking of *mf*. Measure 116 has a dynamic marking of *mp* and an *accel.* marking above the staff.

The second system (measures 117-121) continues the ensemble's performance with various rhythmic and melodic patterns across all instruments.

© AME. Used with permission.

What interests me here is how this changed expectation allowed their belief and self-conception as fellow Asian musicians to intensify. Their Asian identity was constructed

gradually, leading to the establishment of a sense of belonging to Asia, as the *changgo* player U Minyǒng told me in September 2011:

Previously, although I am an Asian, I had a stronger sense that I was just a Korean performer. But while doing AME's musical activities, a sense that I was an Asian performer became stronger.

The stabilized ensemble system, then, affected the formation of the group's Asian identities. That is to say, AME's members came to think again what 'Asia' or 'Asian identity' might be. Here is what Song Chiyun commented in interview in September 2011:

While doing musical activities in AME, we kept thinking what music our team really wanted to do. We hoped that we could be a team such as Yo-Yo Ma's Silkroad Ensemble. So, while keeping thinking about our music, I really came to realize that I was making Asia's music, and it was Asia.

However, throughout creation and performance, it would be natural to expect that the musicians' national identities were maintained. That is, in the ensemble, differences were recognized and allowed to co-exist. The dual identities of the musicians – on one hand, Korean, Mongolian or Vietnamese, and on the other, Asian – contribute to their realization of both difference and connection. Phuong's commented:

I am Vietnamese. Of course, I provide a Vietnamese colour in our group. Other

members have the sense that they are Mongolian or Korean, but it seems that their own musical colours and instruments were harmonized as we formed the Asia Music Ensemble. Thus, we could experience Asian music, and from one point of view, we could instead experience Korean, Vietnamese or Mongolian music. In this respect, I am so proud of our team (Phuong, interview, September 2011).

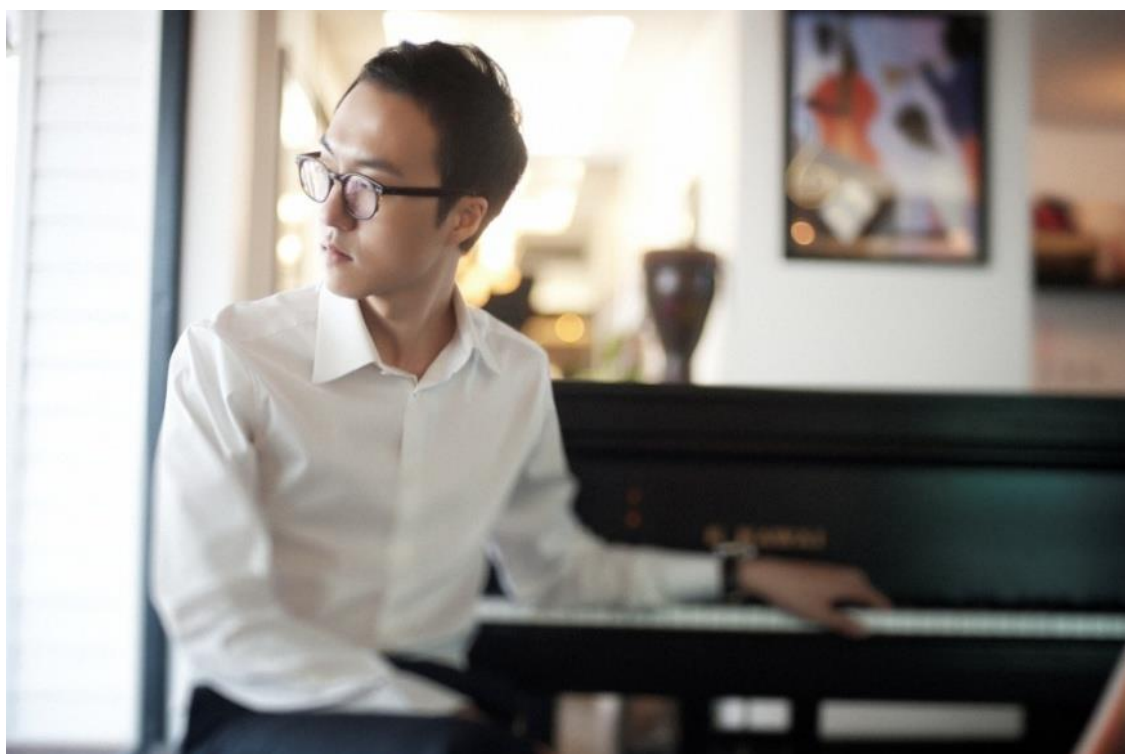
Yi Chisu (TASP, 2008-2010)

Moving now to the second sub-project, TASP, and as mentioned in the previous chapter, Yi Chisu was the producer of the first album of MIJI, a role he played between 2008 and 2010.¹² Yi had majored in composition at Seoul National University, and graduated in 2006. Since his college days, he has undertaken a variety of activities as a composer of popular music, writing scores for films in a manner that is somewhat different from the careers of most of his colleagues on the same course, but not dissimilar to the aforementioned composer Won Il. Yi is currently being paid much attention as a promising composer. His path began when he composed some of the music for Korea's soap opera, 'Winter Sonata' (2001), a standard-bearer for Korean Wave due to its popularity in Japan and elsewhere. As the outcome of this early output was fruitful, along with the great popularity of the drama his career followed two inseparable opportunities available to him in pop music. The first was as a composer. He produced parts of the soundtrack for three of the same producer's other TV dramas, *Yŏrŭm hyanggi* (Summer Scent; 2003), *Pom ũi walch'ŭ* (Spring Waltz; 2006) and *Sarang pi* (Love Rain; 2012), and for Korean films such as the internationally well-known 'Old Boy' (2003), and producing his own albums of New Age music for piano (2005, 2006).

¹² The background information is based on an interview in December 2011 with Yi Chisu.

The second opportunity was as a music director. He was placed in charge of the music of several films and musicals, and received a composition award for a musical at the 15th Korea Musical Awards (2009) sponsored by the daily newspaper, *Chosun ilbo*. Branching out from this mainstream activity, he created ‘*Arirang Rhapsody*’ as popular creative traditional music. Recorded on his second album in 2006, it was this piece that allowed him to take the position of music director of TASP. ‘*Arirang Rhapsody*’ is approximately four minutes long, and is for piano and orchestra. It uses themes from two folksongs, ‘*Miryang arirang*’ and ‘*Chindo arirang*’, from the southeast and southwest respectively. Following Won Il, Kim Soochul, and Yang Bang Eon, Yi Chisu has in this piece contributed to the establishment of orchestral music as a sub-genre of popular creative traditional music.

Figure 7.9 Yi Chisu
(photo courtesy of Yi Chisu)



Although ‘*Arirang Rhapsody*’ does not use any traditional instruments, it can be considered popular creative traditional music because he arranged and utilized the themes of two folksongs. He told me about the background of the piece in December 2011:

Composition of popular creative traditional music, I think, is work that I am able to attempt as a Korean composer. I want to make various attempts to express well-known folksongs to the utmost of my ability. My first work is ‘*Arirang Rhapsody*’.

This piece so moved the project director of TASP, Pak Sŭngwŏn, that he asked Yi to become producer of MIJI’s album. The goal they agreed was to record music for traditional melodic instruments (*haegŭm* fiddle, *kayagŭm* zither, *taegŭm* and *sogŭm* flutes, *p’iri* oboe and *saenghwang* mouth organ) and orchestra that were both popular and complete. He was also to match the given traditional musical resources with his musical skills. However, making such pieces presented a big challenge:

While working with traditional instrument performers, the most difficult thing is to combine traditional elements with Western orchestral forms, in terms of pitch and rhythm... In order to combine a certain melodic instrument’s music with Western music, it should form a ‘chord’, and to achieve this, the pitch should be exact. But it is not easy for traditional melodic instrumentalists to produce such steady, exact pitches. A solo traditional melodic instrument is fine, but if they play together, the pitches become multifarious; the more traditional instruments play together, the more differences arise. I kept trying to find rhythm, pitch and chords in which there would

be no conflict (Yi Chisu, interview, December 2011).

The problem was one of heterophony, caused due to the ornamentation of each pitch given by each instrument. Given this, ‘K·new’ on the MUJI album shows how he combined Korean instruments and orchestra. Here, ‘K’ means Korea or Korean traditional music. Using a 3/4 metre this piece is intended to express Korea’s dynamism. It combines a popular melodic code with creative rhythmic structures and divides into five parts. The first part is structured in the sequence AABB’CA, each element being eight measures in length. In the first two segments, A+A, the *kayagŭm* (and *sogŭm*) and *haegŭm* develop repeated ‘hooky’ melodies, while taking charge of one segment each in turn (Notation 7.7).

Notation 7.7 Yi Chisu, ‘K·new’ (2008): introduction

The musical score for the introduction of 'K·new' by Yi Chisu is presented in a multi-staff format. The top section includes the string quartet (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, Double Bass) and the Kayagŭm. The middle section includes the Taegŭm (+Sogŭm), Haegŭm, and P'iri. The bottom section includes the Band. The score is in 3/4 time and features a key signature of two flats. The dynamics range from *mp* to *mf*. The Kayagŭm and Taegŭm play a melodic line, while the Haegŭm and P'iri play a rhythmic pattern. The Band plays a complex rhythmic pattern. The score is divided into five segments, each eight measures long. The first two segments are A+A, the next two are B+B, and the final one is C. The dynamics range from *mp* to *mf*.

In the next two segments, B+B, the mood reaches a climax, particularly with an

original syncopated effect between brass instruments such as horn, trumpet, trombone and the orchestral timpani. In segment C, although the existing metre does not change, the accents prescribed for all instruments allows listeners to feel hemiola (Notation 7.8). The initial theme is then repeated, reaching the end of the first part.

Notation 7.8 Yi Chisu, 'K'new' (2008): measures 28-35

The musical score for measures 28-35 of Yi Chisu's 'K'new' (2008) is presented below. The score is for a full orchestra and includes traditional Korean instruments. The orchestral parts include Flute (Fl.), Clarinet in B-flat (B♭ Cl.), Horn (Hn.), Trumpet in B-flat (B♭ Tpt.), Trombone (B. Tbn.), Timpani (Timp.), Harp (Hp.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vlc.), and Double Bass (D.B.). The traditional Korean instruments are Taegum, Kayagum, Haegum, and P'iri. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. Measures 28-35 show a complex rhythmic pattern with accents and dynamic markings such as *mf*, *f*, and *fp*. The flute part starts in measure 28 with a rest, then enters in measure 29 with a melodic line. The strings and traditional instruments play a syncopated rhythmic pattern throughout the segment.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine how traditional musical elements have been adopted, looking at the motives of young musicians involved in KMP 21 and TASP in terms of their cultural identity, as evidenced through interviews and brief analyses of their music. It has been seen that the core reason for young musicians participating is the identity of post-1987 individual or Asian musician based on that of the people – a permissive Korean identity. Siuroon, a young group which participated in the 2007 KMP 21, utilized as a motif ‘*Kyemyŏn karak todŭri*’, the first movement of the short suite ‘*Ch’ŏnyŏn manse*’, a representative repertoire of traditional literati music. Pulsech’ul, an instrumental group, employed the shamanistic *shinawi* in an original way offering subtle changes in mode between the minor *menarijo* (C-Eb-F-G-Bb) and *namdo kyemyŏnjo* (C-D-Eb-F-G) – modes that originally came from different regions in Korea. The vocal group Anaya took ‘*Ttabungne*’, a Kangwŏn Province folksong, but made it as a new piece alternating between folk and pop vocal styles. Easternox explored changes in rhythm, adding to the 48-beat traditional ‘*Ujilgut*’ of local percussion bands a 4-beat rhythm on *taegŭm* and piano. Tori’S, an *a cappella* group, arranged ‘*Abureisuna*’, a rice-planting song from Yech’ŏn County in North Kyŏngsang Province, adapting the original melody and refrain in a unique way, harmonized, but with *shigimsae* traditional intonation ornamentations. Pak Chongsŏng, a harmonica performer, used the overall architecture of *sanjo* with a jazzy improvisation technique. AUX, a vocal group, utilized traditional elements in ‘*P’umba*’, taking a nationally distributed folksong, but producing a rhythmic effect with new hemiola, adopting the identity of newly-gained individual which is thought to be equal to that of the people. AME took ‘*Kyŏngbokkung t’aryŏng*’, a central region

folksong, as their traditional element, but developed a technique of making changes in time, based on their dual identities. Finally, Yi Chisu, a music producer of TASP, expressed the popular melodic lines of traditional instruments through dynamic orchestration, in part producing hemiola effects.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Conclusion

In my Introduction, I raised as my central research question why the Activation Plan was carried out. Adopting a theoretical approach of cultural globalization and seeing it as a historical process, I subdivided this question into two parts: under what conditions as a popular music culture operating on individual, national, cross-national, and global levels has it been carried out, and, what type of Korean identity has been shared by policy makers – by those who drafted the Activation Plan, by the project directors and by the young musicians. Putting my findings together, I will conclude with several statements. First of all, the Activation Plan has been carried out within three cultures – what I label the post people’s music culture), the cross-national Asian-centred Korean Wave, and global world music. Those who drafted the plan, the project directors, and the young musicians who have been involved in the sub-projects have seen these three cultures from their own perspectives, perspectives underpinned by what I define as a ‘permissive identity of the people’. In this, a Korean identity of the people plays a role as the basis, but in a way that allows co-existence with potential identities at different levels. Where the post people’s music culture moves toward tradition, the project directors of two subsidiary plans, KMP 21 and TASP, adopted what I have termed a ‘future traditionalism’. This, too, has been supported by the identity of the people, but in a way that is open to individual identities. Where the cross-national Asian-centred Korean Wave and global world music (ultimately) do not follow tradition, the drafters paid attention to Korean music, but with an open attitude to different cultures; thereby, they constructed an identity of the people that potentially allows for both the cross-national and the global to operate. Young musicians involved in the two subsidiary

plans have taken on the identity of newly-gained individual (or group) based on the people or the region. I would argue, then, that this permissive identity of the people, shared amongst those behind the Activation Plan, by its project directors and its young musicians, naturally responded to the post people's culture, to the cross-national Asian-centred Korean Wave, and to global world music. Thus, the implementation of the Activation Plan was facilitated, activating new creative traditional music from the private camp, and ultimately, realizing what I term 'cooperative conservation' in an age of cultural globalization.

To summarize, the post people's culture has to be seen in terms of a massive historical process that took place amongst the Korean people. This is for two reasons. First, the process was a kind of accumulated popular hybrid music culture; it was formed on top of several hybrid cultures, where earlier cultures set down the conditions for later ones, often in association with political considerations. Second, it was driven by a perception of a shared Korean identity, and was maintained by hybrid music and, often, by the discourses on it. The basic culture was a patriotic popular hybrid music culture. The musical origin traces back to the latter part of the 19th century, when western music was introduced to Korea. The cultural formation was initiated outside the educational system in the 1920s, when Japan's control over traditional music was maintained through textbooks. So, the culture arose as a counter-culture against Japanese oppression and was operated by the identity of the oppressed. It was maintained by *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, the characteristic type of *yuhaengga*, from the 1920s, and by *shin minyo*, new folksongs as an alternative genre of music, from the 1930s, mainly through lyrics that were nationalistic. However, after liberation, during the period from the 1950s to the

1960s, the *shin minyo* culture was not able to survive. This was, partly but significantly, because of the influence of a global popular music culture from America. For two decades, this was diffused through the AFKN, local theatres, and the American Eighth Army Shows. As a result, an American style of hybrid music became popular in Korea, operated by transient Korean identity.

In the 1970s, this culture stimulated the emergence of the *chōngnyōn munhwa* American-style youth culture, partly because of the authoritarian regime led by Park Chung Hee. Youth culture emerged in respect to the style of musical expression as an alternative to the 1960s mainstream. This was motivated by the identity of the youth, and had a sceptical perspective of the older generation. It mainly used *p'okūsong*, a genre of song sung with acoustic guitar, adapted songs, slow popular songs, and partly, new-folksong style pieces. In the same period, amongst young people in a different camp and among intellectuals, *minjung ūmak munhwa* became a counter-culture that opposed the authoritarian regime, and as an alternative to the American style youth culture. In the 1980s, this developed further, countering the regime of Chun Du Hwan and further challenging mainstream culture. In these two decades, *minjung munhwa* was spurred by the identity of the oppressed who resisted, and by that of the oppressed who shared a nationalistic sense of freedom through newly created traditional arts. This culture unfolded in three sub-cultural movements of the *madang kūk* (theatrical genre), *norae* (song), and urban *p'ungmul* (music of local percussion bands). It partly used the song genre *kugak kayo*, the first sub-genre of popular creative traditional music and a sort of new version of *shin minyo*, which was first generated by an alternative *madang kūk* movement in the mid-1970s, but which was further activated

by the ensemble *Seulgidung* in the 1980s. It inevitably involved discourses and debates amongst intellectuals about Korean music and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Following the June 29th Proclamation for democratization in 1987, the post people's culture gradually arrived. From 1993, when Kim Young Sam's tenure as president started, to the early 21st century, the post people's culture was consolidated as the culture of citizens in a true sense. This was supported by the people's culture, in respect to populist sentiments and music, but unfolded in a way that was distinguished from it. The post people's culture was operated by the identity of citizens – the identity of new individuals based on that of the people. Its soundscape was significantly formed by Korean pop but in some cases by sub-genres of popular creative traditional music, the latter growing from *minjung munhwa* or among the diaspora in Japan. These include the prominent folk-based genre for electric guitar, guitar *sanjo*, *samullori* fusion, and orchestral works by Yang Bang Eon, the composer and second-generation Korean Japanese. One important aspect was the discourse amongst intellectuals about the *shin saedae* (new generation). In summary, the Activation Plan reflected social demands for continuously generating popular creative traditional music in the private field, and demands from citizens motivated by newly-gained individuality based on populist sentiments. It aimed to support, apply to the real life of citizens, and conserve music based on tradition.

Korean Wave is a recent historical process that has evolved particularly since the 2004 boom created almost singlehandedly by the popularity of the TV soap drama 'Winter Sonata' amongst East Asian and South East Asian peoples. Korean Wave has

constructed a popular hybrid music culture. Looking back in history, since the introduction of Western pop through the American Forces Network beginning in 1951, Korea's popular music culture has interacted with globalized Western popular culture. It developed in reaction to the individual pop cultures of other Asian countries as people searched for a dual identity between the nation and the region, the national and the 'glocal'. K-pop, in Korea, by turns kept its dual identity through strengthening the common cultural ground perceived to exist amongst citizens, and so the Activation Plan embraced it as a popular culture with a potential Asian identity based on the identity of the people.

Global world music is part of a new and multifaceted historical process. Since the term was decided on at a meeting of record producers and others in London's Islington in 1987, world music has become part of the global music industry. It is in part an interaction between non-Western (traditional) and Western (modern) musical cultures, and has become a kind of alternative to the existing Western mainstream popular music. However, its development has sometimes led to further westernization, falling within the critique offered by Edward Said's Orientalism, in that it allows an implicit hierarchy between 'Us' and 'Others' to exist. In some cases, those who market global world music and the musicians who operate within it have sought exoticism, as a post-colonial Western identity, through classification and appropriation. At the same time, non-Western musicians have searched for identities from within the hybridity of post-colonialism, bargaining their positions, joining Western musicians and jumping onto the Orientalist discourse. To the extent that such behaviour has been seen, arguments have arisen. However, we can observe how cultural pluralism has been influenced by

world music, in which a Korean identity based on a global identity has featured in the perspectives of those behind the Activation Plan.

The major findings of my research are as follows. First, is the potential for developing a conceptual framework to analyse the background and enforcement of a music promotion policy that involves an accommodation to tradition. Any such policy can be seen as a product of cultural globalization, and as the outcome of how primary policy makers perceive the conditions of popular music cultures that surround them. In other words, policy is an outcome of cultural identity made in response to popular music cultures at the individual, national, cross-national and global levels. What I have found is that where a framework needs to distinguish different approaches, levels and cultural identities are involved. Such a framework has the potential to be applied in other cases, and therefore to contribute to research on traditional arts promotion – which is an area that has yet to be fully explored in the field of ethnomusicology.

Second, I have explored the motives behind the Activation Plan. I have identified two aspects, the first being the historical context of popular creative traditional music. Based on case studies of two subsidiary projects, KMP 21 and TASP, the Activation Plan positively attempts to provide popular creative traditional music, although it has been undertaken by a government ministry. The second aspect had to do with the policy makers themselves – those who draft plans, those who direct projects and the musicians who take part. In terms of motive, they likely start from different points, but to some extent they share a common ground. In the Activation Plan, they share a permissive Korean identity, and, as a consequence, it can be argued that the Activation

Plan derives from social demand. This suggests, in Korea as elsewhere, the importance of analysing local conditions and values to determine whether an enforcement of traditional art and music promotion policies can be successful.

Third, I have identified a sensory stage of popular creative traditional music culture, that is, how music culture is formed in terms of the identity of the people. This is apparent in the *minjung munhwa* of the 1970s and 1980s. In this, the identity of the oppressed I – the identity of resistance – was built against the authoritarian regime, and developed into the identity of the oppressed II – the identity of people who shared a liberated sense through art or the potential identity of citizens – that equally responded to westernized youth culture through the development of the theatrical genre *madang kŭk*. This sensory stage took place before there was a conscious process of resistance or of seeking for an alternative. Given that this sensory stage may be considered part of any popular culture, it can be argued that the necessity to define a cultural self arises in reaction to political and/or cultural stimuli. Furthermore, it may be expected that understanding this will help clarify the procedural aspects of popular culture.

Fourth, I have found a conscious aspect of popular creative traditional music in the relevance of the cultures of a people to political regimes. In the case of Korea, unlike neighbouring countries in East Asia or some countries elsewhere, this was seen during the militaristic regimes of Park Chung Hee and Chun Du Hwan, which provided the stimuli to generate the people's culture from the 1970s to the later 1980s.

Fifth, I have identified the social meaning of popular creative traditional music, as the

object of the Activation Plan. As noted in my Introduction, the popular creative traditional music genre has sometimes been considered 'easy listening'. However, my analysis of it in its cultural-historical context leads to an understanding of its social meaning and social role. This is because sub-genres of popular creative traditional music have been produced from cultures of the people, while at the same time supporting the same cultures. This allows me to say that there is a new continuity of Korean tradition, intended to be secured first in the national arena and then spread outwards globally, and that this represents a positive response to colonization, modernization and westernization. Thus, I argue that popular creative traditional music is a new product of glocalization, but one relating to tradition.

These findings allow me to conclude with the following statements. The Activation Plan was a positive, not defensive, response to cultural globalization. Although conceived within the demands of national, cross-national and global popular music cultures against the force of westernization, it was directed with a new constructive view generated by the permissive identity of the people. Accordingly, the Activation Plan aimed to sustain traditional arts from the private camp, but with a permissive identity of the people open to many levels and which could mediate the intensified associations between different cultural units. It was, then, a cultural policy for the 'co-operative conservation' of non-governmental Korean traditional arts.

REFERENCES

Website references, documents, album liner notes, and newspapers are cited in the text.

Ahn, Choong-shik, 2005. *The Story of Western Music in Korea: A Social History, 1885–1950*. eBookstand Books.

Ang, Ien, 1994. 'On Not Speaking Chinese: Postmodern Ethnicity and the Politics of Diaspora', *New Formations* 24: 1-18.

Anholt, Simon, 'Beyond the Nation Brand: The Role of Image and Identity in International Relations', *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy* 2(1): 1-7.

Appadurai, Argun, 1990. 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Economy', *Theory Culture & Society* 7: 295-310.

Baecker, Dirk. 1997. 'The Meaning of Culture', *Thesis Eleven* 51(1): 37-51.

Baylis, John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, eds, 2011. *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beltran, Luis, 1978. 'Communication and Cultural Domination: USA-Latin America Case', *Media Asia* 5: 183-192.

- Bhabha, Homi, 1989. 'Location, Intervention, Incommensurability: A Conversation with Homi Bhabha', *Emergences* 1(1): 63-88.
- Blacking, John, 1973. *How Musical is Man*. London and Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Bohlman, Philip, 2012. 'On Track to the Grand Prix: The National Eurovision Competition as National History', in Stefan Berger, Chris Lorenz, and Billie Melman eds, *Popularizing National Pasts: 1800 to the Present*, pp. 267-287. New York: Routledge.
- Byeon, Gyewon, 2001. *Ch'angjak kugak: Writing New Music for Korean Traditional Instruments*, PhD dissertation. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Byeon, Gyewon, 2007. 'Contemporary Korean Music', In Lee Byong Won and Yi Yong-Shik eds, *Korean Musicological Series 1: Music of Korea*, pp. 171-185. Seoul: National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts.
- Chae, Hyun-Kyung, 1996. *Ch'angjak kugak: Making Korean Music Korean*, PhD dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Chang Oknim, Chöng Ilsö, Kim Chinu, Min Nohyöng, O Sujin, Pak Yöngsim, and Sö Chöngyöp, *et al.*, 2005. *KBS FM wöldü myujik* [KBS FM World Music].

Seoul: Munhaksasang.

Chang Sahun, 1974. *Yŏmyŏng ũi tongsŏ ũmak* [Korean and Western Music at the Dawn of A New Age]. Seoul: Pojinje.

Chang, Yoonhee, 2004. 'Promoting Traditional Music Through Radio in South Korea: An Ethnography of GugakFM, a Media Institution', MA thesis. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Chang Yujŏng, 2006. *Oppa nŭn p'unggak chaengi ya* [My Brother is a Street Singer]. Seoul: Hwanggŭmgaji.

Chang Yujŏng, 2010. 'R'ok k'idŭ (Rock Kid), kugak ũi pada e ppajida: Kim Soochul ũi ũmakkwan ũl chungshim ũro [Rock Kid, Absorbed in *Kugak*, with Emphasis on Kim Soochul's View on Music]', *Taejung ũmak* 5 [Popular Music 5]: 99-124.

Chang Yujŏng, 2011. 'Taejung ũmak [Popular music]', in Seoulshi sa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, eds, *Seoul kongyŏn yesul sa* [A History of Seoul Performing Arts], pp. 460-473. Seoul: Seoulshi sa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe.

Chen, Xiaomei, 1992. 'Occidentalism as Counterdiscourse: 'He Shang' in Post-Mao China', *Critical Inquiry* 18(4): 686–712.

Chin Nara, 2006. ‘Namsadang! Hallyu ūi chungshim ūro segye ro hyanghara! [Namsadang! Proceed to the Centre of the Korean Wave, and to the World]’, *Wŏlgan munhwajae* 261 [The Monthly Magazine of Cultural Properties 261]: 10-11.

Cho, Hae-Joang, 2005, ‘Reading the ‘Korean Wave’ as a Sign of Global Shift’, *Korea Journal* 45(4): 147–182.

Ch’oe Ch’angho, 2000. *Minjok sunan’gi ūi taejung kayosa* [A History of Korean Popular Music during the Japanese Occupation]. Seoul: Ilwŏl sŏgak.

Ch’oe Chisŏn, and Shin Hyŏnjun, 2011. ‘Taejung ūmak [Popular music]’, in Seoulshi sa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe, eds, *Seoul kongyŏn yesul sa* [A History of Seoul Performing Arts], pp. 865-876. Seoul: Seoulshi sa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe.

Ch’oe Chisŏn, and Shin Hyŏnjun, 2011. ‘Taejung ūmak [Popular music]’, in Seoulshi sa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe, eds, *Seoul kongyŏn yesul sa* [A History of Seoul Performing Arts], pp. 1096-1110. Seoul: Seoulshi sa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe.

Ch’oe Sangil, 2002. *Uri ūi sori rŭl ch’ajasŏ* I-II [In Search of Korean Folk Song I-II]. P’aju: Dolbegae.

Chŏng Chinsŏk, 2001. ‘Ŏktae chŏnggwŏn ūi ŏllon chŏngch’aek – Kwŏnwijuŭijŏk t’ongje esŏ semu chosa kkaji [Journalism Policies of Korean Successive

Governments: From the Authoritarian Control to the Tax Investivation], *Kwanhun chönöl* [The Kwanhun Journalists' Club Resarch Journal] 80(3): 36-51.

Chǒng Pyǒngho, 2002. 'Seshi wa nori [Seasons and Folk Play]', *Ilbon kwansǒ chiyōk hanin tongp'o ūi saenghwal munhwa* [Life and Culture of Korean Residents at the Kansai Region in Japan], pp. 285-308. Seoul: The National Folk Museum of Korea.

Chu Ch'angyun, 2009. '1950 nyōndae chungban taensū yōlp'ung: chendǒ wa chōnt'ong ūi chaegusǒng [The Social Meaning of Dance Fever in the Mid-1950s: The Reconstruction of Gender and the Invitation of Tradition]', *Han'guk ōllonhak po* [Korean Journal of Journalism & Communication Studies] 53(2): 299-299.

Ch'u Kwangyǒng, 1986. '1960-70 nyōndae ūi han'guk ūi sahoe pyōndong kwa maesūmidiǒ [The Transformation of 1960-70s Korean Society and Mass Media]', *Sahoegwahak* 25(1) [Social Science Review 25(1)]: 231-271.

Clarke, Eric, and Nicholas Cook, 2004. 'Introduction: What is Empirical Musicology?' Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook, eds, *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*, pp. 3-14. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coryell, Julie, and Laura Friedman, 2000. *Jazz-Rock Fusion: The People, the Music*.

New York: Hal Leonard Corporation.

Crane, Diana, 2002. 'Culture and Globalization: Theoretical Models and Emerging Trends', in Diana Crane, Nobuko Kawashima, and Ken'ichi Kawasaki, eds, *Global Culture: Media, Arts, Policy, and Globalization*, pp. 1-25. New York: Routledge.

Curran, James, and Park Myung-Jin, 2000. 'Beyond Globalization Theory', in James Curran and Myung-Jin Park, eds, *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, pp. 3-18. New York and London: Routledge.

Daichi Life Research Institute Inc., writer, and Kim Yöngdök, trans., 2004. 'Ilbon üi 'Kyöul yön'ga' bum i han'guk kwa ilbon üi köshigyöngje e mich'i nün yönghyang [The Influence of Japan's 'Winter Sonata' Boom on Macroeconomics in Korea and Japan]', *Pangsong tonghyang kwa punsök 20* [World Broadcasting Information 20]: 85-88. Seoul: Korea Creative Content Agency.

Feld, Steven, 1996. 'Pygmy POP: A Genealogy of Schizophonic memesis', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28: 1-35.

Feld, Steven, 2000. 'The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop', in Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds, *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, pp. 254-279. Berkeley:

University of California Press.

Field, Norma, 1993. 'Beyond Envy, Boredom, and Suffering: Towards an Emancipatory Politics for Resident Koreans and Other Japanese', *Positions* 1(3): 640-670.

Finchum-Sung, Hinary, 2002. *Uri Saenghwal Ŭmak: Music, Discourse, and Identity in South Korea*. PhD dissertation. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Finchum-Sung, Hinary. 2006. 'New Folksongs: Shin Minyo of the 1930s', in Keith Howard, ed., *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, pp. 10-20. Folkestone: Global Oriental.

Fricker, Karen, and Milija Gluhovic, eds, 2013. *Performing the 'New' Europe: Identities, Feelings and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest Studies in International Performance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Frith, Simon, 2000. 'The Discourse of World Music', in Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds, *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, pp. 305-322. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gauntless, David, 2007. *Creative Explorations: New Approaches to Identities and Audiences*. London and New York: Routledge.

Giddens, Anthony, 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, Anthony, 2000. *Runaway World*. New York: Routledge.

Gioia, Ted, 1998. *The History of Jazz*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gross, Joan, David McMurray, and Ted Swedenburg, 2002. 'Rai, Rap, and Franco-Maghrebi Identities', in Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo eds, *The Anthropology of Globalization*, pp. 198-230. MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Hall, Stuart, 1991. 'The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity', In Anthony King ed., *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System*, pp. 19-30. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Shimin undong chŏngbo sent'ŏ [Citizens' Movement Information Center], 1996. *Han'guk Shimin Tanch'e Ch'ongnam* [Directory of Korean Non-Governmental Organizations]. Seoul: Shimin ūi shinmunsa.

Han Yŏngu, 2004. *Tasi channŭn uri yŏksa* [A Review of Korean History]. Paju: Kyongsaewon.

Han, Young-Woo [Han Yŏngu], writes, and Hahm Chaebong, trans, 2010. *A Review of Korean History*. Paju: Kyongsaewon.

Handler, Richard, and Jocelyn Linnekin, 1984. 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', *Journal of American Folklore* 97: 273-290.

Hebdige, Dick, 1979. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Methuen.

Hesselink, Nathan, 1998. 'Of Drums and Men in Chöllabuk-do Province: Glimpses into the Making of a Human Cultural Asset', *Korea Journal* 38(3): 292-326.

Hesselink, Nathan, 2004. 'Samul nori as Tradition: Preservation and Innovation in a South Korean Contemporary Percussion Genre', *Ethnomusicology* 48(3): 405-439.

Hesselink, Nathan, 2006. *P'ungmul: South Korean Drumming and Dance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hesselink, Nathan, 2007. 'Folk Music: Instrumental', In Lee Byong Won and Yi Yong-Shik eds, *Music of Korea: Korean Musicological Series 1*, pp. 93-104. Seoul: National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts.

Hesselink, Nathan, 2011. 'Korean Rock, Sanjo, and National Identity', *Perspectives on Korean Music* 2: 87-102.

Hesselink, Nathan, 2012. *Samulnori: Contemporary Korean Drumming and the Rebirth of Itinerant Performance Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago

Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds, 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hopper, Paul, 2007. *Understanding Cultural Globalization*. Cambridge: Polity.

Howard, Keith, 1999. *Korean Music: A Listening Guide*. Seoul: National Center for
Korean Traditional Performing Arts.

Howard, Keith, 2002. 'Contemporary Genres', in Robert Provine, Yoshihiko
Tokumaru, and Lawrence Witzleben, eds, *Garland Encyclopedia of World
Music Vol. 7: East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, pp. 951-974. New York:
Routledge.

Howard, Keith, 2006a. 'Coming of Age: Korean Pop in the 1990s', in Keith Howard,
ed., *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, pp. 62-71. Folkestone: Global
Oriental.

Howard, Keith, 2006b. *Creating Korean Music: Tradition, Innovation and the
Discourse of Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Howard, Keith, 2006c. *Preserving Korean Music: Intangible Cultural Properties as
Icons of Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

- Howard, Keith, 2009a. 'Sanjo Evolution and Transmission: The Formation of 'Schools'', in Yi Yongshik ed., *Music of Korea: Korean Musicology Series 3*, pp. 45-71. Seoul: National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts.
- Howard, Keith, 2009b. *Live Music vs Audio Tourism: World Music and the Changing Music Industry*. London; School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Howard, Keith, 2010. 'Rebranding Korea: Creating a New Old Music', in Laurel Kendall, ed., *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*, pp. 195-215. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Howard, Keith, 2012. 'Introduction: East Asian Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage', in Keith Howard ed., *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage: Policy, Ideology, and Practice in the Preservation of East Asian Traditions*, pp. 1-22. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Howard, Keith, forthcoming. 'Korean Music before and after the West', in Philip Bohlman, ed., *The Cambridge History of World Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huat, Chua Beng, and Koichi Iwabuchi, eds, 2008. *East Asian Pop Culture: Analysing the Korean Wave*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

- Hughes, David, and Alison Tokita. 2008. 'Context and Change in Japanese Music', in David Hughes and Alison Tokita, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, pp. 1-34. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hwang, Junyon, 2002. 'Melodic Patterns in Korea: Modes and Scales', in Robert Provine, Yoshihiko Tokumaru, and Lawrence Witzleben, eds, *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Vol. 7: East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, pp. 847-851. New York: Routledge.
- Hwang, Okon, 2006. 'The Ascent and Politicization of Pop Music in Korea: From the 1960s to the 1980s', in Keith Howard, ed., *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, pp. 34-47. Folkestone: Global Oriental.
- Hyön Kyöngch'ae, 2011. 'Kugak [Traditional Music]', in Seoulshi sa p'yöngch'an wiwönhoe, eds, *Seoul kongyön yesul sa* [A History of Seoul Performing Arts], pp. 1068-1088. Seoul: Seoulshi sa p'yöngch'an wiwönhoe.
- Hyönshil munhwa yön'gu [Cultural Studies on Reality], eds, 1993. *Shin saedae: ne möttaero haera* [New Generation: Rule Your Own World]. Seoul: Hyönshil munhwa yön'gu.
- Incorporated Association of the International Country Culture Exchanges by Youth, 2009. *Encounters with Korean Traditional Music 1*. Seoul: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism.

- Iwabuchi, Koichi, 2000. 'Political Correctness, Postcoloniality, and the Self-Representation of "Koreaness" in Japan', in Sonia Ryang ed., *Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin*, pp. 55-73. London and New York: Routledge.
- Iwabuchi, Koichi, 2002. *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Iwabuchi, Koichi, 2004. 'Feeling Glocal: Japan in the Global Television Format Business', in Michael Keane and Albert Moran eds, *Television Across Asia: Television Industries, Programme Formats and Globalization*, pp. 21-35. London & New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Jung, Eun-Young, 2006. 'Articulating Korean Youth Culture through Global Popular Music Styles', in Keith Howard, ed., *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, pp. 109-122. Folkestone: Global Oriental.
- Jung, Eun-Young, 2010. 'From the Margins: Sanjo for Western Instruments', *Perspectives on Korean Music* 1: 97-111.
- Kang Hön, 1993. 'Han'guk öndögüraundü taejung ũmak ũi kyebohak [The Study of Genealogy of Korean Underground Popular Music]', *Norae* 4 [Song 4], pp. 247-271. Seoul: Shilchön munhaksa.
- Kassabian, Anahid, 2004. 'Would You Like Some World Music with Your Latte?

Starbucks, Putumayo, and Distributed Tourism', *Twentieth Century Music* 1(2): 209-223.

Keil, Charles, 1987. 'Participatory Discrepancies and the Power of Music', *Cultural Anthropology* 2(3): 275-283.

Killick, Andrew, 1990. 'New Music for Korean Instruments: An Analytical Survey', MA thesis. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i.

Killick, Andrew, 1991. 'Nationalism and Internationalism in New Music for Korean Instruments', *Korea Journal* 31(3): 104-116.

Killick, Andrew, 2002. 'Musical Profile of Korea', in Robert Provine, Yoshihiko Tokumaru, and Lawrence Witzleben, eds, *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Vol. 7: East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, pp. 803-810. New York: Routledge.

Killick, Andrew, 2011. *In Search of Korean Traditional Opera: Discourse of Ch'anggŭk*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Kim Ch'aewŏn, 2011. 'Muyong [Dance]', in Seoulshi sa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, eds, *Seoul kongyŏn yesul sa* [A History of Seoul Performing Arts], pp. 983-1014. Seoul: Seoulshi sa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe.

Kim Ch'angnam, 1986a. 'Norae undong noraenmal undong ūmak undong [Song Movement, Lyric Movement, Music Movement]', *Norae 2* [Song 2]. Seoul: Shilchŏn munhaksa.

Kim Ch'angnam, 1986b. 'Salmŭl chihyang hanŭn norae [Songs That Aim for Life]', in Kim Ch'angnam, Yi Kŏnyong, Mun Sŭngghyŏn, Song Toyŏng, Yi Yŏngmi, and Yi Changjik, et al., pp. 12-31. *Norae undongnon* [Discourse of the Song Movement]. Koyang: Kongdongch'e.

Kim Ch'angnam, 1995. *Taejung munhwa wa munhwa shilch'ŏn* [Popular Culture and the Practice of Culture]. Seoul: Hanul.

Kim Ch'angnam, 2008. '1970 nyŏndae ch'ŏngnyŏn ūi munhwa chŏk chŏngch'esŏng: t'ong kit'a ūmak ūl chungshim ūro [Cultural Identity of 1970s Youth, with Emphasis on *T'ong kit'a* Music]', *Taejung ūmak 2* [Popular Music 2]: 144-165.

Kim Chin'gon, 2006. 'Chŏnt'ong yesul ūi him uri mirae rŭl pakkunda [The Power of Traditional Arts, Changing Our Future]', *Kugak nuri* 80 [The Monthly *Kugak* World]: 12-15.

Kim Chip'yŏng, 2000. *Han'guk kayo chŏngshin sa* [A Nationalistic History of Korean Popular Music]. Seoul: Arŭm ch'ulp'ansa.

Kim, Chul-Kyoo, 2010. 'Teenage Participants of the 2008 Candlelight Vigil: Their Social Characteristics and Changes in Political Views', *Korea Journal* 50(3): 14-37.

Kim Duk Soo ed., Dong-Won Kim, writer, and Shin-Gil Pak, trans, 1999. *Samulnori Textbook*. Seoul. Overseas Koreans Foundation, Korean National University of Arts.

Kim, Hee-Sun, forthcoming. 'Between Global and Local: 21st Century Korean-Music-Making', *Asian Musicology*.

Kim Hõnsõn, 1995. *Kim Hõnsõn ũi samullori iyagi* [The Story of Kim Hõnsõn's *Samullori*]. Seoul: P'ulpit.

Kim Hyõnsõn, 2011. 'Chaeil miljip chiyõk kwa ch'ukche, aident'it'i: osak'a 'T'ongil madang ik'uno' lül chungshim ũro [An Analysis on 'T'ongil Madang' and the Identity of Korean Residents in Japan' *Kukche chiyõk yõn'gu* [International Area Studies Review] 20(1): 1-30.

Kim Hyujong, 1997. *Han'guk ũmban sanõp yõn'gu* [Research on the Korean Record Industry]. Seoul: Samsung Economic Research Institute.

Kim, Ki-Jung, 2002. 'Teaching International Studies from a Regional Perspective: An ISP Symposium on Power, Wealth and Global Order: An International

Textbook for Africa', *International Studies Perspectives* 3(3): 235-257.

Kim Ki-Jung, 2005. 'Ishipil segi han'guk oegyo ūi chwap'yo wa kwaje: tongbuga kyunhyŏngja non ūi kukche chŏngch'ihak chŏk ūimi rŭl chungshim ũro [The Coordinates and Tasks of 21st-Century Korean Diplomacy, with Emphasis on the Meaning of Korea as a Balance in Northeast Asia in International Politics]', *Kukka chŏllyak* 11(4) [State Strategy 11(4)]: 149–174.

Kim, Kwang-Ok, 1994. 'Rituals of Resistance: The Manipulation of Shamanism in Contemporary Korea', Charles Keyes, Laurel Kendall, and Helen Hardacre, eds, *Asian Visions of Authority: Religion and the Modern States of East and Southeast Asia*, pp. 195-219. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Kim, Kwang-Ok, 1997. 'The Role of Madangguk in Contemporary Korea's Popular Culture Movement', *Korea Journal* 37(3): 5-21.

Kim Myŏnggon, 2011. *Kkumkkunŭn kwangdae: Kim Myŏnggon chajŏn* [The Dreaming Clown: Kim Myŏnggon's Autobiography]. Seoul: Yurich'ang.

Kim Sunjŏn, and Chang Mikyŏng, 2013. '3·1 undong ihu ilje ūi munhwa chŏngch'aek – 'Pot'ong kyoyuk ch'anggasŏ' wa 'Pot'ong hakkyo poch'ung ch'anggajip' ūl chungshim ũro [Japan's Culture Policy after 3.1 Independence Movement – Comparative Study of Elementary School Music Books and Elementary School Supplementary Music Books', *Ilbon ōmunhak* [Korean Journal of

Japanese Language and Literature] 57: 194-214.

Kim T'aehun 2007. 'Han'guk ūmak sanōp ūi maenijimōntū pyōnhwa kwajōng [The Development of Arts Management in Korean Music Industry]', MA thesis. Seoul: Dankook University.

Kim, Yongbock, ed., 1984. *Minjung Theology: People as the Subject of History*. London: Zed Books.

Kim Yōngdal, 1991. 'Dainijitaisenchū no chōsenjin senjidōin ni tsuite [Concerning Japan's Wartime Mobilization of Koreans during the Second World War]', in Sengo hoshō mondai kenkyūkai [Research Society for the Issues of Postwar Compensation] eds, *Zainichi kankoku chōsenjin no sengo hoshō* [Postwar Compensation for Korean Residents of Japan]. Tokyo: Akashi shoten.

Kim Yōngnae, 2007. 'Minjujuūi wa shimin sahoe kach'i ūi chaejōngnip [Re-Establishment of Democracy and Civil Society's Values]', *NGO yōn'gu* [NGO Studies] 5(1): 1-25.

Kim Yōnju, 2009. 'Taejung munhwa mak'et'ing e kwanhan yōn'gu: kasu p'aen k'ŭllōp ūl chungshim ūro [A Study of Popular Culture Marketing, with Emphasis on Singers' Fan Clubs]', MA thesis. Seoul: Dankook University.

Korea Video and Record Association, 1995. *Han'guk ūmban pidio yōn'gam* [Yearbook

of Korean Videos and Records]. Seoul: Korea Video and Record Association.

Kwak Yumin, 2008. 'Ch'angjak kugak shillaeaktan 'Seulgidung' ŭi pyŏnhwa kwajŏng yŏn'gu [A Study of the Development of the Creative Traditional Music Ensemble, 'Seulgidung']', MA thesis. Seoul: Ehwa University.

Kwŏn Hyegŭn, 2010. *Han'guk kŭn · hyŏndae ŭmak kyoyuk yŏn'gu: Han ·il ŭmak kyoyuk kwajŏng ŭi pikyo* [A Study on Korean Music Education in Modern and Contemporary Age: A Comparison of Music Curriculums in Korea and Japan], PhD dissertation. Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University.

Kwon, Hyun Seok, 2008. 'Government and Local Artists: A Case Study of Cultural Policy on Local Art of Gyeongsangnam Province, Korea', MA thesis. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.

Kwŏn Osŏng, 1986. 'Han'guk minsok ŭmakhak ŭi yŏn'gu pangbŏp [Research Methods of Korean Ethnomusicology]', *Minjok ŭmakhak* 8 [The Journal of Asian Music Institute 8]: 41-55.

Lee, Bohyung [Yi Bohyŏng], 2002. 'Sinawi', in Robert Provine, Yoshihiko Tokumaru, and Lawrence Witzleben, eds, *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Vol. 7: East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, pp. 889-891. New York: Routledge.

Lee, Changsoo, 1981. 'Koreans under SCAP [the Supreme Command for the Allied

Powers]: An Era of Unrest and Repression’, in Lee Changsoo and George De Vos eds, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation*, pp. 73-90. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lee, Hye-Kyung, 2013. ‘Cultural Policy and the Korean Wave: from National Culture to Transnational Consumerism’, in Youna Kim ed., *The Korean Wave: Korean Media Go Global*, pp. 75-92. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Lee, Kang Sook [Yi Kangsuk], 1977. ‘Korean Music Culture: Genuine and Quasi-Korean Music’, *Korea Journal* 17 (8), 4-10.

Lee, Kang Sook, 1980. ‘Today’s Korean Music’, *Korea Journal* 20/11: 70-77.

Lee, Namhee, 1991. ‘The South Korean Student Movement: 1980-1987’, in Bruce Cumings ed., *Chicago Occasional Papers on Korea*, pp. 204-245. Chicago: Center for East Asian Studies, University of Chicago.

Lee, So-Young, 2003. ‘Reading New Music In the Age of Fusion Culture: Focused on Korean Fusion Music (Gugakfusion)’, *Tongyang ūmak* 25: 189-226.

Lee, Young Mee [Yi Yōngmi], 2006. ‘The Beginnings of Korean Pop: Popular Music During the Japanese Occupation Era (1910–1945)’, in Keith Howard, ed., *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, pp. 1-20. Folkestone: Global Oriental.

- Lie, John, 2000. 'Ordinary (Korean) Japanese', in Sonia Ryang ed., *Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin*, pp. 197-207. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lowenthal, David, 1985. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Malbon, Justin, and Albert Moran, 2006. *Understanding the Global TV Format*. Bristol and Wilmington: Intellect.
- Maliangkay, Roald, 2002. 'Reconstructing Icons: The Recording Industry and the Representation of Folk Music in Korea', in *Embracing the Other: The Interaction of Korean and Foreign Cultures*, pp. 1476-1483. Söngnam: Han'guk chöngshin munhwa yön'guwön.
- Maliangkay, Roald. 2006. 'Supporting Our Boys: American Military Entertainment and Korean Pop Music in the 1950s and Early-1960s', in Keith Howard, ed., *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, pp. 21-33. Folkestone: Global Oriental.
- Manuel, Peter, 1988. *Popular Music of the Non-Western World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McDonald, Barry, 1996. 'The Idea of Tradition Examined in the Light of Two Australian Musical Studies', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28: 106-130.

- Meintjes, Louise, 1990. 'Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning', *Ethnomusicology* 34(1): 37-73.
- Merriam, Alan, 1960. 'Ethnomusicology: Discussion and Definition of the Field', *Ethnomusicology* 4(3): 107-114.
- Merriam, Alan, 1964. *Anthropology of Music*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Merriam, Alan, 1977. 'Definitions of 'Comparative Musicology' and 'Ethnomusicology': An Historical-Theoretical Perspective', *Ethnomusicology* 21(2): 189-204.
- Min Kyöngbae, 1997. *Han'guk kyohoe ch'ansöngga sa* [A History of Korean Church Hymns]. Seoul: Yöonse taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu.
- Min Kyöngch'an 2008. "'Ch'angga" rül tashi munnünda [Asking the New Way of Studying the "Ch'angga" Again]', *Han'guk munhak yön'gu* [The Journal of Korean Literature] 51: 5-33.
- Mitchell, Tony, 2004. 'Self-Orientalism, Reverse Orientalism and Pan-Asian Pop Cultural Flows in Dick Lee's Transit Lounge', in Koichi Iwabuchi, Stephen Muecke, and Mandy Thomas eds, *Rogue Flows: Trans-Asian Cultural Traffic*, pp. 95-118. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Monbushō ongaku torishirabe kake [Research Department for Music of the Ministry of Education, Japan], 1881. *Shōgaku shōkashō* [Collection of *Shōka* for Elementary Education]. Tokyo: Monbushō. Available at: <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/992051/2> (accessed 23 May 2014).

Mun Okpae, 2011. *Han'guk kŭmjigok ūi sahoesa* [Social History of Censored Korean Music]. Seoul: Yesol. Available at: <http://www.krpia.co.kr/pcontent/?svcid=KR&proid=206> (accessed 11 May 2014).

Nam Chaehŭi, 1970. 'Ch'ōngch'un manhwa non: Chōlmŭn sedae ūi munhwa hyōngsōng ko [Discourse on Youth Culture: A Study of the Formation of a Young Generation's Culture]', *Sedae* 70(2) [Generation 70(2)]: 122–129.

Namsadang Pinari Yōn'gudan [Namsadang Pinari Research Group], 2009. *Namsadang pinari pogwōn mit chaehyōn pogosō* [A Report on the Restoration and Revival of Namsadang Troupes' *Pinari*]. Yesan: Minjok ūmakwōn.

National Gugak Center, 2010. *Kugak yōn'gam* [Yearbook of *Kugak*]. Seoul: National Gugak Center.

National Gugak Centre, 2012. *Kungnip kugagwōn kusul ch'ongsō IV: Han Myōnghŭi* [Oral History Series, National Gugak Center, IV: Han Myōnghŭi]. Seoul: National Gugak Centre.

- Nederveen Pieterse, Jan, 2009. *Globalization and Culture: Global Melange*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Nettl, Bruno, 2006. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts*. Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press.
- No Tongŭn, 1993. ‘Kugak iran yongŏ, ilbon yongŏ in’ga? hankuk yong’ŏ in’ga? [Is the term, *Kugak*, Japanese or Korean?]', *Ŭmak kwa minjok* 6 [The Journal of Society for Music and Korea 6]: 114–25.
- Nye, Joseph, 1991. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books.
- Nye, Joseph, 2005. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Oman, Charles, 1994. *Globalisation and Regionalisation: The Challenge for Developing Countries*. Paris: OECD.
- Paejae Kodŭnghakkyo [Paejae High School], 1955. *Paejae sa* [A History of Paejae High School]. Seoul: Paejae Kodŭnghakkyo.
- Pak Chŏnyŏl, 1979. ‘Kaksŏri ũi kiwŏn kwa sŏnggyŏk [The Origin and Characteristics of *Kaksŏri* Troupes]’, *Han’guk munhwa illyuhak* 11 [Korean Cultural

Anthropology 11]: 179-189.

Pak Ŭn'gyōng, 1999. 'Yi Sangjun yōn'gu [A Study of Yi Sangjun]', *Nangman ūmak* [Korean Journal of Romantic Music] 11(2): 5-82.

Pak, Gloria, 2006. 'On the Mimetic Faculty: A Critical Study of the 1984 *Ppongchak* Debate and Post-Colonial Mimesis', In Keith Howard, ed., *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, pp. 62-71. Folkestone: Global Oriental.

Pak Kwangmu, 2010. *Han'guk munwa chōngch'aek non* [Korean Cultural Policy Studies]. Seoul: Gimmyoungsa.

Pak Sōnhŭi 2010a. "Sohak ch'anggajip' e nat'a nan 'kūndae shinmin mandŭlgi' yangsang [An Aspect of Making Modern-Age Subjects which Appear on Meiji *shōka*: With Emphasis on Musical Structures of *Shōgaku shōkashū*]', *Ilbon ōmunhak* [Korean Journal of Japanese Language and Literature] 36: 185-205.

Pak Sōnhŭi 2010b. "Sohak ch'anggajip' e nat'a nan 'kūndae shinmin mandŭlgi' yangsang [An Aspect of Making Modern-Age Subjects which Appear on Meiji *shōka*: With Emphasis on Words of *Shōgaku shōkashū*]', *Ilbon ōmunhak* [Korean Journal of Japanese Language and Literature] 46: 275-303.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London:

Routledge.

Raykoff, Ivan, and Robert Tobin, eds, 2007. *A Song for Europe: Popular Music and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Rice, Timothy, 2007. 'Reflections on Music and Identity in Ethnomusicology', *Muzikologija 7* [Musicology 7]: 17-38.

Robertson, Roland, 1995. 'Glocalization: Time-space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity', in Featherston Lash and Roland Robertson eds, *Global Modernities*, pp. 25-43. London: Sage.

Rowe, William, and Vivian Schelling, 1991. *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America*. New York and London: Verso.

Ryang, Sonia, 2000. 'Introduction: Resident Koreans in Japan', in Sonia Ryang ed., *Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin*, pp. 1-12. London and New York: Routledge.

Said, Edward, 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Seeger, Anthony, 2004. *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

Shim Usöng, 1994 [1974]. *Namsadangp'ae yön'gu* [A Study of *Namsadang* Troupes].
Seoul: Tongmunsön.

Shim Yöngbo, 2005. *Wöldü myujik: Segye ro yöllin ch'ang* [World Music: A Window
on the World]. Seoul: Haet'o.

Shin Hyönjun, 2002. *Külloböl, loköl, han'guk üi ũmak sanöp* [Global, Local, and the
Korean Music Industry]. Seoul: Hannarae.

Shin Hyönjun, 2003. *Wöldü myujik sogüro* [Into World Music]. Seoul: Woongjin.com.

Slobin, Mark, 1993. *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*. Hanover and NH:
Wesleyan University Press and University Press of New England.

Sö Hanböm, 2009. *Kugak kaeron* [Introduction to *Kugak*]. Seoul: T'aerim ch'ulp'ansa.

Sö Namjun, 2003. *Wöldü myujik: Möllisö tüllyöonün meari* [World Music: The Echo
That Reached Our Ears from Afar]. Seoul: Taewönsa.

Son T'aeryong, 2006. *Ŭmak iran muöt in'ga* [What on Earth is Music?]. Taegu:
Yöngnam taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu.

Song Pangsong, 1980. 'Han'guk ũmakhak üi söngjang kwajöng gwa tangmyön kwaje
[The Development and Present Questions of Korean Musicology]', *Minjok*

munhwa yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ 6 [Korean Culture Research Series 6]: 145-172.

Song Pangsong, 1984. *Han'guk ūmak t'ongsa* [A Broad History of Korean Music].
Seoul: Ilchogak.

Song Pangsong, 2007. *Chŭngbo han'guk ūmak t'ongsa* [An Expanded Broad History
of Korean Music]. Seoul: Ilchogak.

Stock, Jonathan, 2004. 'Documenting the Musical Event: Observation, Participation,
Representation', Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook, eds, *Empirical Musicology:
Aims, Methods, Prospects*, pp. 15-34. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stokes, Martin, 1997. 'Introduction', in Martin Stokes ed., *Ethnicity, Identity and
Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, pp. 1-27. London and New York:
Berg Publishers.

Sutton, Anderson, 2003. 'Innovation and Accessibility: Towards a Typology of Fusion
Music in Korea', *Tongyang ūmak* 25: 227-250.

Sutton, Anderson, 2009. 'Korean Fusion Music on the World Stage: Perspectives on
the Aesthetics of Hybridity', *Acta Koreana* 12(1): 27-52.

Sweeney, Philip, 1991. *The Virgin Dictionary of World Music*. London: Virgin Books.

- Taehan min'guk yesulwŏn [National Academy of Arts], 1988. *Han'guk yesul ch'onjip: ūmak p'yŏn* II [Complete Works of Korean Arts: Music II]. Seoul: Taehan min'guk yesulwŏn.
- Tan, Shzr Ee, 2012. *Beyond 'Innocence': Amis Aboriginal Song in Taiwan as an Ecosystem*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Taylor, Timothy, 1997. *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Taylor, Timothy, 2001. *Strange Sounds: Music, Technology, Culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Tetuo, Simura, 2002. 'Korea Music in Japan', in Robert Provine, Yoshihiko Tokumaru, and Lawrence Witzleben, eds, *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Vol. 7: East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, pp. 797-798. New York: Routledge.
- Throsby, David, 2001. *Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tomlinson, John, 1991. *Cultural Imperialism*. London and Newyork: Continuum.
- Tragaki, Dafni, 2013. *Empire of Song: Europe and Nation in the Eurovision Song Contest*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press.

- Tulloch, Sara, comp., 1991. *Oxford Dictionary of New Words: A Popular Guide to Words in the News*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, Victor, 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Tylor, Edward, 1871. *Primitive Cultures: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom, Vol. 1*. London: John Murray.
- U P'yönggyun, 2008. 'Tongbuga kongdongch'e wa munhwa sanöp üi hwaksan: hallyu hyönsang kwa tongbuga kakkuk üi chöngch'aek [The Northeast Community and the Spread of the Cultural Industry: The Korean Wave Phenomenon and the Northeast Countries' Policies]', *P'yöngghwahak yön'gu* 9(1) [Peace Studies 9(1)]: 135–156.
- Um, Hae-Kyung, 2002. 'Kagok, Sijo, Kasa', in Robert Provine, Yoshihiko Tokumaru, and Lawrence Witzleben, eds, *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Vol. 7: East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, pp. 919-928. New York: Routledge.
- Vincent, Joan, 1998. 'Plural Society', in Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer eds, *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, pp. 641-642. London: Routledge.

Wallerstein, Immanuel, 2004. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press.

World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987. *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks.

Yamaguti, Osamu, and Tokumaru, Yoshihiko, 2008. 'A Pair of International Cooperative Endeavours Spanning the 20th and 21st Centuries: Empowerment of Ex-Court Music Traditions and Training in Documentation of Performing Arts of Ethnic Minorities in Vietnam', in Hwang Junyon ed., *Essays on Music Offerd to Dr Lee Hye-ku in Honor of His Hundredth Birthday*, pp. 1009-1032. Seoul: Minsokwon.

Yamano, Sharin, 2005. *Manga Kenkanryū* [Hate Korean Wave]. Tokyo: Shinyusha.

Yang Bang Eon, 2010. *P'ūrōnt'io, sangsangnyōk ūl yōnju hada* [The Frontier: Changing Fantasies into Fact]. Seoul: Shigongsa.

Yang Hūūn, 1993. *Iruōjil su innūn sarang* [Love Realized]. Seoul: Usōk.

Yano, Christine, 2002. *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Yi Hyegu, 1986. 'Han'guk ūmak sahak kwa minsok ūmakhak ūi pangbōp kwa kwaje

[Methods and Present Problems of Korean Historic-Musicology and Korean Ethnomusicology]', *Minjok ūmakhak* 8 [The Journal of Asian Music Institute 8]: 1-8.

Yi Kangsuk 1985. *Ūmak chōk mogugō rŭl wihayō* [Musical Mother Tongues for Koreans]. Seoul: Hyōnūmsa.

Yi Kangsuk 1987. 'Han'guk ūmak e kwanhan sogo [A Study of Korean Music]', *Ūmak nondan* 4 [Music Forum 4].

Yi Kangsuk 1990. *Han'guk ūmakhak* [Korean Musicology]. Seoul: Minūmsa.

Yi Kangsuk, Kim Ch'unmi, and Min Kyōngch'an, et al., 2001. *Uri yangak 100-nyōn* [100 Years of Western Music in Korea]. Seoul: Hyōnamsa.

Yi Kōnyong, 1987. *Han'guk ūmak ūi nollŭ wa yulli* [Logics and Ethics of Korean Music]. Seoul: Segwang ūmak ch'ulp'ansa.

Yi Kōnyong 1988. *Minjok ūmak ūi chip'yōng* [Prospects of People's Music]. Seoul: Han'gilsa.

Yi Kōnyong 1990a. 'Ch'aegŭl naemyōnsō [Editor's Notes]', *Minjok ūmak* 1 [People's Music]: 10-11.

Yi Kōnyong 1990b. ‘80 nyōndae ūmak non ūi chōn’gae kwajōng – han’guk ūmak non, norae undong non, minjok ūmak non [The Development of Discourse about Korean Music in the 1980s: Discourses of Korean Musicology, Song Movement and National Music]’, *Ŭmakak* 2 [Musicology 2]: 87-129.

Yi Kōnyong 1992. ‘Minjok ūmak yangshik non ūi sōngkyōk kwa kujo [The Characteristics and Structure of Discourse in the Style of National Music]’, *Ŭmakhak* 3 [Musicology 3]: 83-120.

Yi Pohyōng, 2008. ‘Tongnam t’ori ūm kujo yuhyōng saengsōng kwa pyōni: menari t’ori wa yukchabaegi t’ori rūl chungshim ūro [The Formation and Change of Types of Tonal Structures of Southeastern *T’ori*, with Emphasis on *Menari T’ori* and *Yukchabaegi T’ori*], *Han’guk ūmak yōn’gu* 44 [Korean Music Research]: 115-142.

Yi Pyōnggi and Paek Chōl, 1957. *Kungmunhak chōnsa* [A Complete History of Korean Literature]. Seoul: Sin’gu munhwasa.

Yi Sangman, 1975a. ‘Hyōndae ūmak – taejung ūmak [Modern Music – Popular Music]’, in Koryō taehakkyo minjok munhwa yōn’guso [Research Institute of Korean Studies, Korea University] eds, *Han’guk hyōndae munhwa sa taegyē – munhwa yesul p’yōn* [An Outline of Modern Korea’s Cultural History – Culture and Art]. Seoul: Research Institute of Korean Studies, Korea University. Available at:

<http://www.krpia.co.kr/pcontent/?svcid=KR&proid=170&arid=626&ContentNumber=127&pagenumber=111> (accessed 13 November 2013).

Yi Sangman, 1975b. ‘Yi Sangjun kwa kõgukka [Yi Sangjun and the Nationwide Song]’, in Koryõ taehakkyo minjok munhwa yõn’guso [Research Institute of Korean Studies, Korea University] eds, *Han’guk hyõndae munhwa sa taegye – munhwa yesul p’yõn* [An Outline of Modern Korea’s Cultural History – Culture and Art]. Seoul: Research Institute of Korean Studies, Korea University. Available at: <http://www.krpia.co.kr/pcontent/?svcid=KR&proid=170&arid=626&ContentNumber=116&pagenumber=115> (accessed 24 May 2014).

Yi Sangman, 1976. ‘Ŭmak kyegwan [An Outline of Music]’, *Munye yõn’gam* [Yearbook of Literature and Art], pp. 329–52. Seoul: Han’guk munhwa yesul chinhũngwõn.

Yi Sangman, 1995. ‘Chõnt’ong ũmak kongyõn ũi saeroun chõngnibũl wihan cheõn [A Proposal for the Establishment of Traditional Performing Arts]’, in *Kwangbok 50-chunyõn kinyõm haksul taehoe* [The Conference on Korean Musicology in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of National Independence], pp. 9–18.

Yi Soyõng, 2005. *Han’guk ũmak ũi naemyõnhwa toen orient’allijũm ũl nõmõsõ* [Beyond Internalized Orientalism of Korean Music]. Seoul: Minsokwon.

- Yi Yǒngmi, 1986. 'Kongjang ūi pulbit [The Factory Light]', in Kim Ch'angnam ed., *Kim min'gi*. Seoul: Hanul.
- Yi Yǒngmi, 1997. *Hankuk taejung kayosa* [A History of Korean Popular Music]. Seoul: Sigongsa.
- Yi Yǒngmi, 2001. *Madang kūk yangshik ūi wǒlli wa t'ūksǒng* [The Principle and Characteristics of the Theatrical Genre *Magang kūk*]. Seoul. Shigongsa.
- Yi Yongshik, 2002. 'Han'guk ūmakhak kwa ūmak minjokchi [Korean Musicology and Music Ethnography]', *Tongyang ūmak* 24 [The Journal of the Asian Music Research Institute]: 189-209.
- Yi Yusǒn, 1985. *Han'guk yangak paengnyǒn sa* [The Hundred-Year History of Western Music in Korea]. Seoul: Chungang taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu.
- Yi Yusǒn, and Yi Sangman, 1984. 'Hyǒndae yangak [Modern Western Music in Korea]', in Yi Haerang ed., *Han'guk ūmak sa* [A History of Korean Music], pp. 477-608. Seoul: Taehanmin'guk yesulwǒn.
- Yi Ŭnmin, 2005. 'MP3 tǔngjang e ttarūn kungnae ūmak sanǒp ūi kujo pyǒnhwa [Structural Change in the Korean Music Industry Following the Emergence of MP3s]', *Chǒngbo t'ongshin chǒngch'aek* 17(23) [Telecommunication Policies 17(23)]. Seoul: Korea Information Strategy Development Institute. Available

at: <https://www.kisdi.re.kr/kisdi/common/premium?file=1%7C9939> (accessed 13 November 2013).

Yö Song'i, 2009. 'P'yujön kugak ũi kayagŭm sönyul koch'al [A Study of *Kayagŭm* Melodies for *Kugak fusion*]', MA thesis. Seoul: Ehwa University.

Yölhwadang Yöngsang Charyoshil [Yölhwadang Film Archive], eds, 1998. *Kungp'iphan shidae ũi hüimang, yönghwa: 1950-nyöndae uri chapchi e shillin yönghwa, kwanggo* [Film, Hope of the Needy Times: Films and Advertisements Publicized in 1950s Korean Magazines]. Seoul: Sölhwadang.

Yöngghwa Yöjung [Yöngghwa Girls' School], 1963. *Yöngghwa ch'ilship nyönsa* [The Seventy-Year History of Yöngghwa Girls' School]. Seoul: Yöngghwa Yöjung.

Yu, Youngmin, 2007. *Musical Performance of Korean Identities in North Korea, South Korea, Japan, and the United States*, PhD dissertation. Los Angeles, CA: University of California, Los Angeles.

Zemp, Hugo, 1996. 'The/An Ethnomusicologist and the Record Business', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28: 36-56.

SELECTED DISCOGRAPHY

This discography makes a list of recordings mentioned in the thesis, in chronological order for collections (as for the same year, in alphabetical order by the publisher), and in alphabetical order by performers.

Mattol: Palgŭn norae moŭm [The Milestone: Collection of Slow Popular Songs], 2004.

Riverman Music RMCD005R.

T'ong kit'a k'ap'e ũi ch'uők – ch'uők ũro ponghan p'yŏnji [The Memory of *T'ong*

Kit'a Café: Letter Sealed with the Memory] (2 CDs), 2011. Sony Music S30850C.

Seshibong ch'in'gudŭl [The C'est Si Bon Music Hall Friends] (3CDs), 2011. Universal

DK0650.

Baez, Joan, 2013. *The Legendary Best of Joan Baez: The Queen of Folk*. Pony Canyon

PCSD00956.

Francis, Connie, 2005. *Connie Francis: Gold* (2 CDs). Universal/Polydor B000402202.

Mouskouri, Nana, 2005. *Nana Mouskouri: Chants De Mon Pays*. Universal DC-9037.

Robert Shaw Chorale, 1960. *A Chorus of Love: From the Men of the Robert Shaw Chorale*. RCA Victor Red Seal LM 2402.

Yang Hūiūn, 2004. *Yang Hūiūn Memories* (2 CDs). Yejeon Media YWRCD095.

Yi Yǒnshil, 1992. *Yi Yǒnshil: Panji, mongno chujǒm* [A Ring, Mongno Pub]. Oasis ORC-1123.

GLOSSARY

- ajaeng* (牙箏) Eight-string bowed zither
- ch'ae* (채) *ching* stroke; mallet
- ch'angga* (唱歌) Common title of new pieces of vocal music in a Western style in Japanese era
- ch'angjak kugak* (創作國樂) Creative traditional music, a genre aimed at the elite
- chajinmori* (자진모리) Fast 12/8 rhythmic cycle
- changdan* (長短) 'Long and short'; rhythmic cycles
- changgo* (杖鼓) Double-headed, hourglass-shaped drum
- ching* (징) Large hand-held gong
- chinyangjo* (진양調) Slow 18/8 rhythmic cycle
- cho* (調) Melodic modes
- Chöllla(-do) (全羅(道)) Southwestern province(s)
- chöngak* (正樂) Literati music
- ch'öngnyön munhwa* (青年文化) 'Youth culture'; within the field of Korean popular culture studies, it usually refers to the 1970s Western-style youth culture which is symbolized as 'blues jeans', 'draft beer', 'hippie-like long hair', and 'acoustic guitar'.
- Chönt'ong yesul hwalsöngghwa pang'an – pijyön 2010* (傳統藝術活性化方案 – 비전 2010) Activation Plan for Traditional Arts – Vision 2010
- Chönt'ong yesul t'im (傳統藝術팀) Traditional Arts Team in the Arts Bureau in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism
- chönt'ong yönhüi* (傳統演戲) Traditional performing arts

- chungjungmori* (중중모리) Moderate 12/8 rhythmic cycle
- chungmori* (중모리) Moderate 12/4 rhythmic cycle
- Gangnam [Kangnam] (江南) Centre of fashion and culture south of the Han River
in Seoul
- gugak* [*kugak*] (國樂) See *kugak*
- haegŭm* (奚琴) Two-string bowed fiddle
- han'guk ūmak non* (韓國音樂論) Discourse on Korean music
- hohŭp* (呼吸) 'Breathing'; breathing technique required for *samullori* performance;
mutual interaction between performers and audience
- honam u-do nong'ak* (湖南右道農樂) *Samullori* piece; rhythms from the 'right
side' [west] of the Chŏlla province
- hwimori* (휘모리) Fast 4/4 rhythmic cycle
- kagok* (歌曲) Literati lyric song genre
- karak* (가락) Rhythmic variants
- kasa* (歌辭) Literati narrative song genre
- kayagŭm* (伽倻琴) Twelve-string plucked zither
- kŏmun'go* (거문고) Six-string plucked zither
- kugak* (國樂) 'National music'; Korean traditional music
- kugak fusion* (퓨전國樂) Contemporary hybrid genre of music, including creative
and rearranged music, a genre aimed at the public
- Kungnip Chŏnt'ong Yesul Hakkyo (國立傳統藝術學教) National Middle and
High School of Traditional Arts (former private Traditional Arts Middle and
High School)
- Kungnip Kugak Kodŭng Hakkyo (國立國樂高等學校) National Gugak High

School

- Kungnip Kugagwŏn (國立國樂院) National Gugak Center
- kutkori* (굿거리) 12/8 rhythmic cycle
- kwaenggwari* (꽝과리) Small hand-held gong
- Kyŏnggi(-do) (京畿(道)) Central province
- Kyŏngsang(-do) (慶尙(道)) Southeastern provinces
- madang kŭk* (마당劇) Nationalistic outdoor ritual dramas, developed based on traditional folk arts
- minjung kayo* (民衆歌謠) People's song
- Minsokakhoe Shinawi (民俗樂會시나위) Folk Music Association Shinawi
- minyo* (民謠) Folk song
- modŭmbuk* (모듬북) 'Performance on various kinds of drums'; performance on non-Korean large mounted barrel-shaped drums and often a larger gong
- namsadang* (男寺黨) 'Male temple troupe'; male itinerant performance troupe
- nong'ak* (農樂) See *p'ungmul*
- noraе undong* (노래運動) Song movement
- ŏnmori* (엇모리) 10/8 rhythmic cycle
- p'an kut* (판굿) *Samullori* piece; entertainment-oriented *p'ungmul* performance
- p'ansori* (판소리) Epic storytelling through song
- p'iri* (피리) Double-reed wind instrument
- p'ungmul* (風物) 'Wind objects'; music of local percussion bands
- pinari* (비나리) *Samullori* piece; chanted blessing from the central region
- popular *ch'angjak kugak* (大衆的인 創作國樂) Popular creative traditional music
- ppongtchak* (뽕 짝) Informally-used onomatopoeic term for *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (2/4 or 4/4)

which describes the downbeat as *'ppong'* and the upbeat, *'tchak'*

puk (북) Double-headed, barrel-shaped drum

samdo nongak (*karak*) 三道農樂(가락) *Samullori* piece combining rhythms from three provinces

samdo söl changgo (三道설杖鼓) *Samullori* piece for four *ch'anggo* combining rhythms from three provinces

samullori (四物놀이) 'Four things play'; contemporary genre of Korean percussion music, developed from *p'ungmul*

SamulNori (四物놀이) Founders of the genre *samullori*

sanjo (散調) 'Scattered melodies'; prominent folk-art genre for solo melodic instruments

sesanjosi (세산조시) Fast 4/4 rhythmic cycle

shigimsae (시김새) Intonation; ornamental techniques

shin kugak (新國樂) New traditional music, aimed at the elite

shin minyo (新民謠) Japanese-era new folksongs

shin sedae tamnon (新世代談論) Discourse on new generation

shinawi (시나위) Shamanistic improvisational instrumental ensemble styles

shōka (唱歌) Japanese-style Western music for children song

sogo (小鼓) Small hand-held drum

sogŭm (小琴) Small transverse bamboo flute

t'aep'yōngso (太平簫) Double-reed, conical wooden oboe

t'al ch'um (탈춤) Masked dance

t'ong kit'a (통기타) Acoustic guitar

t'ungso (洞簫) Vertical notched flute

- t'ŭrot'ŭ* (트로트) Representative type of Japanese-era popular music (2/4 or 4/4)
- taegŭm* (大琴) Large transverse bamboo flute
- tanmori* (단모리) Fast 4/4 rhythmic cycle
- uttari nong'ak* (웃다리農樂) *Samullori* piece; rhythms from the central region
- yanggŭm* (洋琴) Hammered dulcimer with seven sets of four metal strings
- yŏngnam nong'ak* (嶺南農樂) *Samullori* piece; rhythms from the region centered
in Kyŏngsang Provinces
- yuhaengga* (流行歌) Japanese-era popular music