Korean Primary School Music Education during Japanese Colonial Rule (1910–1945)

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ABSTRACT

After 500 years of stability in Korea under the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910), the Japanese colonial occupation (1910–1945) brought about major changes to Korean society and resulted in a significant decline in Korean culture including music. Some Japanese apologists claim that through colonisation the colonised territories would have received developmental aid and economic benefits. This instantly raises some important questions in regard to music education in Korea. If the claim of colonial development were true, Korean primary music education could also have benefited from Japanese colonisation. The aim of this thesis is to examine the key characteristics of, and changes to, Korean music education under Japanese colonial rule.

To analyse the effects of colonialism on Korean primary school music education, I have examined primary sources (music textbooks and education policy documents from that period) and scrutinised the intentions of colonial Korean music education through interviews with 42 eyewitnesses who attended primary school at the time, now aged between 75 and 90 years. Interview questions were also used as a basis for the analysis of school activities with musical content at primary schools. The interviews also focused on day-to-day school life, curriculum, and the impacts of colonial education on the pupils’ later life, degree of musical acculturation, and cultural identity.

Under a newly established modernised school system controlled by the Japanese colonial government, the subject of music was introduced into Korean primary schools. This thesis argues that despite the fact that music only appears to be of marginal importance in the curriculum, it played a crucial role within the school system in supporting the aims of the colonial government. It was used to convert Korean school children into enthusiastic subjects of the Japanese Emperor. Also, eyewitnesses’ powerful testimonies on their primary school life and the feeling they get singing military songs of the time are evidence that music education primarily served political purposes. This thesis also shows that through Japanese musical acculturation in Korean primary schools, schoolchildren’s sense of cultural identity faded. The regaining of a sense of cultural identity is a slow process, even for succeeding generations in Korea today.
Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Jeong-Ha Kim
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Introduction

This thesis explores the relationship between colonialism and music education by examining music in Korean schools during the Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945. The idea for this project arose some time ago while I was studying music education and Western classical piano at the University of Würzburg, Germany. I was asked by a German student what Korean music is like, and how it is different from Western music. I could not answer this, since I didn’t know much about Korean music myself. This is not unusual, as many Korean people, in particular young people, are hardly aware of Korean traditional music. After a while, I began to ask myself why most Koreans, including myself, regard Western music as more valuable than Korean music. Consequently, I began reading literature about this phenomenon while studying Western music in Germany.

As I quickly found out, part of the answer lay in Korea’s history. After the fall of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910), the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea was a significant historical turning point that deeply affected the economy, education, culture, society, and political system of Korea. The Joseon Dynasty in nineteenth-century Korea was a feudal agricultural society deeply influenced by Confucian thinking. Confucianism, a way of life, is a complex system focusing on philosophy, religion and politics (Lone & McCormack, 1993, pp. 1–2). In particular, its ethics are dominated by a paternalistic system. Confucianism was developed by the Chinese in the fifth century BC. It has deeply influenced many other countries, including Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. Through close cultural and political ties with China, Korea became a Confucian-influenced country (Kim, 2000) with few other contacts outside the Chinese sphere of influence. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that Western countries first arrived at Korean ports.

A Westernised school system was first introduced to Korea at the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time, missionaries brought Western music to Korea in the form of worship songs (Chansongga). Subsequently, and most importantly, the Japanese colonial government introduced during its rule a Westernised Japanese education system, including music education; this became a key factor in Koreans’ loss of cultural identity.
In response to Japanese colonisation, Korea’s political, social, educational and economic systems experienced rapid and profound change. These circumstances posed major challenges to Korean schools and to traditional Korean music. The colonial occupation by Japan initiated the forceful and sudden introduction of Western music and a simultaneous reduction of Korean traditional music (Kim, 2011). The fundamentals of modern music education in Korean schools were laid during this period. The Japanese occupation also brought challenges to Korean music education through a forced assimilation into Japanese culture that had direct impact on Korean schoolchildren. It can be argued that these impacts continue to be felt to this day in terms of a loss of cultural identity, in particular towards Korean traditional music. To understand Korean pro-Western musical attitudes in music education today (Min, 2008), the impacts of Japanese colonial rule on music education need to be examined.

The first half of the twentieth century, when Western music was flowing into Korea, represents a major turning point for the Korean education system. Although there is some literature on this topic, to my knowledge not a single study has involved recording interviews with Koreans who experienced these changes first-hand. It is crucial that we have access to historical documents that include eyewitness reports from the schoolchildren of that time. This issue is all the more pressing considering the time that has elapsed since the end of colonial rule (1945) and consequently the limited time left to interview eyewitnesses, who are now more than 75 years old. This study incorporates such interviews, and thus represents a significant contribution to an understanding of the impact of Japanese colonial music education on Korean society, felt to this day.

This study especially focuses on ideological, ethical, and psychological aspects of music education in primary school. I have examined primary literature, such as original textbooks of that time, as well as interviewed Korean people who were then attending primary school. This will help validate the claims of Korean scholars (e.g. Min, 2002b; Park, 1999) that Korean schoolchildren who learned music under the Japanese curriculum were deeply affected psychologically in terms of their sense of cultural identity and ethnic roots.
Introduction

Research questions

The main research question this project seeks to answer is: What were the key characteristics and effects of Korean music education under Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945)?

In pursuing this, the project addresses the following sub-questions:

1. What was the content and pedagogical approach of music textbooks from that period, and how were these delivered?

To answer this question, I have analysed education policies and music textbooks. The education policies in particular revealed the extent to which the Japanese colonial government influenced music education in schools. Additionally, I examined music textbooks to determine whether there were any emerging new music genres, in particular Japanised Western music forms.

2. Did Japanese colonial policy play a modernising role in Korean music education?

Some Japanese pro-colonialist scholars claim that through the colonial process, the colonised country received a great deal of economic benefit. If that is the case, did education also receive such benefits as is commonly claimed? To find out, I analysed the aims of the colonial education programme by interviewing witnesses of the time and scrutinising official colonial education policies.

3. How does Korean music education during the Japanese colonial period compare to how it was both before and after that period?

I studied Korean music education during Japanese colonial rule and compared it with music education before and after that period. However, due to the scope and limitations of this thesis, research on music education after colonial rule is limited to a literature review. In answering this question, I was also able to ascertain whether music education during that time was used (or abused) for political ends.

4. What underlying values and attitudes were conveyed, explicitly or implicitly, by Japanese colonial education policies?

The education policies under Japanese colonial rule resulted in specific curricula being designed for primary schools. These curricula, however, could turn out to have been just
administrative paperwork. The mere existence of curricula does not reveal what actually transpired in the day-to-day reality of school life. By interviewing witnesses of the time I have determined whether curricula of the time were actually applied to school education or whether they were just a “paper tiger”.

5. Is it possible to establish how Korean children were affected emotionally and musically by the Japanese music curricula based on how surviving members of that generation look back on it now?

Interviewees were specifically questioned about their emotional feelings while singing at school as a child and how they later related psychologically to the music of their school days as adults, e.g. if, how, and what kind of songs they would sing frequently as adults, in particular as regards Japanese songs. This shows how the schoolchildren experienced music activities during Japanese colonial rule and how they were affected by this experience afterwards.

**Significance of the study**

This research is significant for a number of reasons:

1. It brings together teaching material, pedagogies and policy documents that dictated Korean music education during Japanese colonisation.

This research collates important historical documents regarding Korean music education and triangulates the teaching materials, pedagogical approaches, and policy documents of the time. Even though original written documents might represent mere paperwork without real implications for the reality of schooling during the colonial period, these documents are crucial material for preserving the music educational history of Korea. Historical documents also reveal some of the underlying attitudes of the Japanese colonial masters towards their subjects in occupied Korea. Most significantly, formal music education in the Korean school system was born at this time. Therefore, this period is historically the most important turning point for Korean music education.

2. It preserves historical knowledge in the form of oral histories as an important documentation of Korean cultural history.
One of the main aspects of this work is to conduct interviews with witnesses of the time, providing an important historical perspective and also helping to preserve important historical knowledge regarding Korean culture. Even though a range of studies exists on issues arising from Japanese colonial rule, few interviews have been conducted. Interviews enable the experiences of eyewitnesses to be included in this study and reveal knowledge that cannot be acquired by studying documents alone. In particular, there is limited time left to collect valuable historical evidence due to the eyewitnesses’ age. Preserving their experiences is crucial both for academic scholarship and historical safeguarding.

3. It contributes to our understanding of how the psychology and the sense of identity of Korean children of that time were affected by Japanese colonial policy with regard to music education. One of the main contributions of this thesis is to understand psychological links between Japanese colonialism and the Korean sense of cultural identity. This study is unique in this line of investigation. The relationship between colonialism and the sense of cultural identity of Korean children of the time can only be measured by conducting interviews. Their feelings, emotions, and experiences are now told in regard to their colonial school education, and in particular, their music classes.

Presentation

1. Orthography
In this thesis I use the the official Korean-language romanisation system in South Korea, the Revised Romanisation of Korean (국어의 로마자 표기법; lit. Roman letter notation of the national language), instead of the older McCune–Reischauer system. However, for people with an internationally well-known name that is usually spelled in the McCune–Reischauer system, I use this instead of the official system.

2. Scope and limitations
This study is limited in its scope to the time period of Korean primary music education just before the start of Japanese colonial rule in 1910 until its end in 1945. It does not include a detailed study of music education developments in the post-war years. Also,
although there is some mention of higher schools in this thesis, it is mainly limited to primary schools.

I interviewed a total of 42 Koreans who were in primary school during the period under study. My results may not be seen representative of the entire Korean population even though the sample size can be considered to be comparatively large. Because of the low number of women that went to school at the time, interviews are biased towards male participants.

3. Coding
In the interview chapters, I provide only identification numbers as coding; the matching interviewees’ data are available in Appendix 4.

4. Primary source documents
Primary source documents are cited in the main text complete with publication name, date, and links to governmental resource web pages in footnotes. To prevent unnecessary replication, primary sources are not repeated in the references.

Thesis outline
The structure of this thesis follows a logical progression on the relationship between Korean primary school music education and colonialism, moving from a discussion of historical elements, to an examination of relevant documents, to an analysis of testimonies given by interviewees, all arranged chronologically.

In the introduction the rationale of this thesis is provided, followed by the research questions, significance of the study, and details of the thesis presentation, as well as the limitations of the thesis.

Chapter 1, “Literature review”, consists of four overview sections, influenced by the interdisciplinary nature of my thesis: 1. Ethnomusicology and cultural diversity in music education, focusing on the problems of Western hegemonic viewpoints and on the benefits of cultural diversity in music education. 2. Colonialism, with a focus on colonial education. 3. Musical acculturation, discussed in Chapter 8 in particular. 4. Korean traditional music, in which I present a general overview of Korean traditional
music, allowing me to argue that Korean traditional music was not considered in schools during Japanese colonial rule.

The methodology is described in Chapter 2, including study design, data collection, and my position as both an insider and an outsider to Korean culture. This is followed by a description of the primary sources used for this study, which are music textbooks and educational policy documents from the period, as well as the interviews I conducted. Chapter 3 details why Korea was colonised by Japan, focusing on Western encounters with Korea and Korea’s exclusionism. As a bridging chapter, this gives some general information on the history of colonialism in Korea, necessary to understanding my thesis.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the education situation before and during Japanese colonial rule, especially with regards to music, by examining music textbooks and four separate education policies over three distinct political periods. This shows the use of music education as a political tool as well as the process of transculturation.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are the result of interviews with eyewitnesses of the time. The use of music at primary school is examined from various perspectives, such as patriotism, nationalism, and musical acculturation. Chapter 6 presents how Japanese education policy and regulations were experienced by the school students. While Chapter 7 analyses music classes and outdoor music activities, Chapter 8 examines school activities such as morning assembly. This reveals how the colonial government used music as a form of political propaganda. In the conclusion, Chapter 9, I present a discussion of how the findings of my research relate to the original research questions.
CHAPTER 1 Literature review

In the following literature review, I try to provide an overview of four widely differing fields ranging from ethnomusicology and music education to a general background of colonialism. The reason for the wide range of topics researched in this literature review is that my thesis is an interdisciplinary work involving several interwoven subjects, including ethnomusicology from a musical, cultural, historical, and educational point of view, and music education in relation to colonialism. Firstly, ethnomusicology and music education is considered, focusing on Western hegemonic views and cultural diversity because my thesis examines culture and history in relation to music. Secondly, I review colonialism, with a particular focus on colonial education. Thirdly, the process of musical acculturation is considered together with some examples. Lastly, I provide an overview of Korean traditional music in comparison to Japanese traditional music.

1.1 Western hegemonic views in ethnomusicology and cultural diversity in music education

Ethnomusicology is “about music in its cultural contexts” (Schippers, 2010), and ethnomusicologists study “music as sound and in culture” (Nettl, 2005, p. 9) and investigate the widely differing characteristics of musical cultures, while avoiding the comparison of musics of different societies with the aim of determining value-based differences (p. 10), because “the musics and cultures of the world are unique” (Merriam, 1977, p. 193).

Nevertheless, some scholars point out limitations and criticisms of the concept of ethnomusicology. Nettl (1983) believes that ethnomusicology is a product of Western ideas, proclaiming that “ethnomusicology as Western culture knows it is actually a Western phenomenon” (p. 25). Nettl considers that there are limits to the extraction of meaning from a culture’s music because of the Western observer’s perceptual distance from the culture. The growing prevalence of scholars who study their own musical traditions and an increasing range of different theoretical frameworks and research methodologies have done much to address criticisms such as Nettl’s.

There are further criticisms of ethnomusicology beyond those of methodology. Wong (1999) claims that ethnomusicology has deep colonial roots and its epistemologies,
whether acknowledged or not, are inescapably based on Western ideologies of rationalism and empiricism. According to Wong, all ethnomusicology programmes in Thailand resembled Western programmes, and she wonders, “who is empowered to study what and to receive institutional academic recognition for it, is increasingly charged with an epistemological politics that has scarcely been written about in ethnomusicological circles” (p. 39).

As ethnomusicologists started shifting their interests from learning music to studying music in cultural and historical contexts (Schippers, 2010, p. 36), some became interested, from the 1950s, in introducing world music to music education. In the 1950s and 1960s, Hood pioneered an approach to the study of different musics and created a university training programme for ethnomusicologists. He advocated that students in university should learn how to play the “other” musics that they study, noting that his teacher Jaap Kunst at the University of Amsterdam was an expert in Javanese music but did not know how to play any of the music.

But the integration of ethnomusicology into education is not only about learning “other” music in a predominately Western context; it may be much more about how music is learned elsewhere. In Blacking’s 1973 book *How Musical Is Man?*, the relationship between the music, culture and society of the southern African Venda people is documented. He showed how differently music was learned by the Venda people compared to in the West, thus challenging Western preconceptions. Ethnomusicology has changed since the 1950s involving the vastly increased importance of learning and teaching (Nettl, 1992), even though this was “in the process of emerging [because Nettl’s] handbook *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction...* devotes little more than one page to learning and teaching” (Schippers, 2010, p. 37). Also, Rice notes that “few ethnomusicologists have examined the process of learning music in the many aural traditions they study” (2003). Szego (2002) further evaluates that “ethnomusicologists and folklorists have spent relatively little time studying these processes or the ways they are shaped by culture”.

Apart from the strong limitations encountered in studying ethnomusicology from a western education viewpoint, the long domination of music education by Western classical music in itself creates a significant bias. Many scholars argue that Western
classical music is the world’s most representative music and Western music education is the world’s best (eg. Mark, 1996; Thompson, 1998), which is still a result of the long and unchallenged hegemony of Western art music (Schippers, 2006). Drummond (2005) claims that “the idea of including in a music education program more than the music of the dominant culture or social group is comparatively new in Western nations... it is still quite common to find schools and tertiary institutions providing education only in Western classical music or allowing multicultural elements but privileging the European tradition” (p. 1). This might be one reason why the notion of the superiority of Western classical music as “the most valuable type of music” (Green, 2003) has traditionally been accepted by the majority of school music teachers. Dunbar-Hall (2000) mentions that the major challenge of overcoming Western hegemony and bias in music education is because “on a philosophical level, the main hurdle to teaching from a pluralist perspective might not be acceptance of strategies extrapolated from many types of music and their intrinsic teaching methods, rather the realisation that this is required” (p. 137).

Nettl (2005) states of musicologists that “at some level of conceptualisation, they regard all musics as equal. Each music, they believe, is equally an expression of culture, and while cultures may differ in quality, they are bound to believe in the fundamental humanity, hence goodness, of all peoples” (p. 10). Therefore, ultimately there are no qualitative differences between the musics of different cultures, and all expressions of music, despite aesthetic differences, are of immense value for humanity. As the musics from different cultures are different and unique, there is no need to evaluate other cultures and music in comparison to Western musical ideals. Nevertheless, there is a constant danger of unconscious comparison of cultural values. As Walker (1996) claims, the West has a “habit of making everything fit our terminology and our concepts” (p. 7). Drummond (2010) also argues that the West “denies the validity of the ways that other cultures use to describe and evaluate their own practices” and that Western classical music constitutes “a continuation of the historical European tendency to dominate and marginalize other cultures”, which is a form of colonial imperialism (p. 123). For example, in many cultures there is no term for concept of music aesthetics, even though there is one in the West. In the same way, in some African languages there is no word for “music” corresponding to the Western idea of this term (Szego, 2005, p. 199). Also, rhythm is the most important element in many African musics compared to
Western classical music, where the emphasis is on uniqueness of melody and harmony (Westerlund, 1999). O'Flynn (2005), who disagrees with Walker’s argument, argues that “the so-called Western idea of music has now become a global idea” (p. 192). However, the very fact that Western music as a “global idea” is a result of Western domination and colonial activities, and therefore, its global status does not in itself sanction its continuing unquestioned application, nor does it mean that it should be promoted.

The fact that there have been only a small number of academic studies involving culturally diverse music education is limiting progress in the field. For example, some scholars claim that there is little academic interest in cultural diversity in music education, few doctoral dissertations, and a lack of broad philosophical approaches to multicultural music education (Volk, 1998). Also, there is little independent research studying relationships between theory, policy, and practice (Hennessy, 2001). One reason for the lack of enthusiasm could be difficulties such a lack of immediate enjoyment of the musics of foreign cultures and a lack of understanding of other cultures (Campbell, 1997, p. 36; Draisey-Collishaw, 2004, p. 18; Elliott, 1989, p. 11; Hall, 1998).

Despite the difficulties associated with the study of cultural diversity, Campbell (1997) optimistically claims that cultural diversity in music education might “lead us toward the provision of more complete and more valid musical experiences for the children of the twenty-first century” (p. 28). Also, the International Society for Music Education (ISME), in its 1994 Policy on Music of the World’s Cultures, shows the positive aspects of ethnomusicological approaches to music education: “Music can best be comprehended in social and cultural context and as a part of its culture. Properly understanding a culture requires some understanding of its music, and appreciating a music requires some knowledge of its associated culture and society”.

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Other scholars have also suggested that there are countless benefits to a culturally diverse approach in music education. This can be separated into three points: understanding other cultures, gaining musical knowledge, and benefits for teaching.

Understanding other cultures
Learning “other” music can help students gain an understanding, through sound, of thoughts foreign to them (Volk, 2002). The inclusion of multicultural musics in a curriculum can ultimately create reciprocal understanding, tolerance towards other cultures, and a more peaceful way of life in this world (Alkoot, 2009; Skelton, 2004; Thompson, 1998). Additionally, cultural diversity in music education can “help students discover and understand each other’s cultural heritage and cherish their common values and unique attributes” (McCarthy & Stellacio, 1994). Loza (1996) even judges that “experiencing people’s musical expressions may be one of the most direct avenues to intercultural understanding” (p. 59).

Therefore, multicultural music education is a significant factor not only in developing an open mind and creating cultural awareness, but will ultimately help to make this world a more respectful and peaceful place. For example, Skyllstad’s study of the positive effects of multicultural music education on interracial relations in Oslo schools revealed “a significant increase in the reports of freedom from harassment… and the retention of positive attitudes toward immigration and immigrants” (1998, p. 95).

Gaining musical knowledge
Cultural diversity in music education has the potential “to advance students’ musical enjoyment, self-growth, creativity” (Elliott, 1998). McCarthy & Stellacio (1994) maintain that “a study of world music in the curriculum supports and enhances students’ ability to think globally in general” and that “an important dimension of a multicultural music curriculum is the students’ opportunity to perform and gain direct musical knowledge of the traditions/styles being studied” (p. 26).

Some scholarly research demonstrates positive effects on teachers and students in real situations. Marsh (2000) showed that the teaching of Aboriginal music to pre-service education students at the University of Western Sydney, Australia, positively affected students’ attitudes towards Aboriginal culture. A measurable degree of cross-cultural
understanding was achieved through personal contact with Aboriginals in the classroom, despite limited or absent knowledge of Aboriginal cultures by trainee teachers and the prevalence of stereotypical views. As a result, education students were able to reflect on their change in attitude. Marsh claims that this program achieved “considerable success in changing [students’] attitudes to the importance of teaching Aboriginal music in educational settings” (pp. 58–65).

Similar results were achieved in another multicultural fieldwork project conducted by Marsh (2005) at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney. Trainee teachers engaged with non-Anglo-Australian community members and recorded and transcribed musical performances. Students also interviewed performers and conducted cultural background research of the music studied. Generally, students taking part in this project changed their attitudes towards the use of a multicultural approach in music programmes as well as their approach to the teaching of music from one of monoculturalism to pluralism (pp. 40–45).

In a different example, Walker (2006) investigated how musical characteristics contribute to students’ preferences in musical style. In this case African-American students, grades 5–12, listened to several Western and non-Western excerpts of instrumental and vocal music. The study revealed that several musical characteristics, particularly rhythm, allowed for predicting preference in musical style. Fung (1996) investigated in a broader way the relationship between musical characteristics and students’ – both music and non-music majors’ – preferences for world music. Fung found that music characteristics play a significant role in world music and indicates that “the entire sample (N=449) preferred excerpts that were characterized as relatively fast, having many different pitches, tonal-centred, consonant, bright timbre, smooth, loud, complex or moderately complex in texture, and moderate in the richness of embellishment” (p. 71). Also, there was a significant difference between music and non-music majors’ preferences for world music.

Benefits for teaching experience

Dunbar-Hall (1992) highlights the highly important role played by music teachers in terms of cultural diversity, and asserts that “this may turn out to be the ultimate aim of a truly multicultural view of music education” (p. 192). A range of studies support the
presumed musical benefits of a culturally diverse approach and find that teaching world music provides significant benefits in class, although this requires additional efforts from the teachers (Olsen, 2000, p. 26). A 1993 survey of music teachers in Maryland, USA revealed several perceived aims of cultural diversity in music education, such as to “promote respect, tolerance, and appreciation for others in general, and members of different ethnic or cultural groups in particular” (McCarthy & Stellacio, 1994, p. 26). Furthermore, Shehan (1987) states that in many teachers’ experience, using multicultural music in student projects will generate “an understanding and appreciation of the music and its people” (p. 17).

Since the publication of Teaching Musics of the World (Lieth-Philipp & Gutzwiller, 1995) and a decade later Cultural Diversity in Music Education: Directions and Challenges for the 21st Century, musical diversity has become the norm today (Campbell et al., 2005). More recently, ISME adopted the goal to include cultural diversity in music education practices. The revised 2010 ISME Policy on Music of the World’s Cultures suggests:

- communicating with culture bearers and community musicians; seeking and taking part in in-service training and professional development; learning, practicing and concentrating on a few musical cultures over a period of years; remaining aware of issues such as tradition, authenticity and context without allowing them to suppress practice; being conscious of the many different ways of learning and teaching musics; and finding ways to challenge and address shortcomings in curriculum and pedagogical approaches.
- (International Society for Music Education, 2010, p. 10)

1.2 Colonialism

Colonialism is the control or governing influence of a nation over a dependent country, territory, or people. Fundamentally, colonialism invariably involves the economic exploitation of occupied territories in one form or the other. Based on Karl Marx’s economic theories, Vladimir Lenin (1917) postulated that colonialism is the final stage of imperial capitalism. Modern-day social scientists (Baylis, Smith, & Owens, 2008) further developed Lenin’s model, proposing that

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Natural resources flow from a periphery of poor and under-developed countries to a core of wealthy and developed countries, enriching the latter at the expense of the former, because of how the poor countries are integrated to the global economy. (p. 231)

While there are staunch critics to the perceived positive aspects of colonialism (Césaire, 1955; Mukuna, 1997; Sartre, 2001), pro-colonialists claim that it is right and necessary to enlighten and modernise colonised countries. The idea of the right to subjugate stems from the era of increasing nationalism and the ideas of social Darwinism. Colonisation of “savage” and “uncivilised” countries is justified through a feeling of Christian superiority or simply the right of the strong to dominate the weak (Russel, 1951). The mere act of forceful colonisation of “uncivilised” people is unethical and morally highly questionable. As Césaire argues (1955), a colonising civilisation must by definition be a morally corrupt civilisation:

What am I driving at? At this idea: that no one colonizes innocently, that no one colonizes with impunity either; that a nation which colonizes, that a civilization which justifies colonisation – and therefore force – is already a sick civilization, a civilization that is morally diseased... (p. 4)

The introduction of Western education is often used as an argument for the perceived positive aspects of colonialism. However, colonial governments usually make few concrete efforts towards opening schools (Sartre, 2001), because their main aim in colonising is to extend foreign domination, economic exploitation, and the settlement of its own population (Altbach & Kelly, 1984, p. 2). Also, education systems set up in colonies are often of inferior quality and are restricted to a limited part of the colonised population. According to Césaire (1955), colonial education is

a parody of education, the hasty manufacture of a few thousand subordinate functionaries, “boys,” artisans, office clerks, and interpreters necessary for the smooth operation of business. (p. 6)

In many societies, “formal schooling is an important institution for transmitting knowledge and culture from generation to generation, and for developing human traits that contribute to economic output, social stability and the production of new knowledge” (Carnoy, 1974, p. 1). Educators also claim that schooling plays a crucial role that extends over one’s whole life, teaching many things including an understanding of societal phenomena and the process of learning itself. In particular in underdeveloped countries, better schooling for the parents and pupils is seen as crucial to a successful working life, leading to higher incomes and better status. Colonial
education was portrayed as creating social mobility for the poor, shifting them from a life of poverty to one of prosperity. At the national level, schooling was seen as key to achieving “national economic growth and improvement” (Carnoy, 1974, p. 2).

However, these ideas stem from an imperial legacy (Carnoy, 1974, p. 2). In fact, schooling in colonies was instigated to develop and maintain the influence of the imperial powers in their bid to control the colonised.

The purpose of Western schooling as it was instituted around the world was to make people useful in the new hierarchy, not to help them develop societal relationships which carried them beyond that social structure to others. So schooling does not help reach stages beyond this capitalist/foreign or other class-controlled hierarchy, but tries to fit people to the needs of that hierarchy whether it benefits them or not. We define this as the colonizing aspect of schooling. Schooling as a colonial institution attempts to make children fit certain moulds to shape them to perform predetermined roles and tasks based on their social class. (Carnoy, 1974, p. 18)

Also, this colonial concept of the schooling system still continues today in formerly colonised countries, even though the period of imperialism is over; Carnoy believes that “it is because knowledge itself is colonized” (p. 3). For example, until today Māori students in New Zealand are still caught in a pattern of dominance and subordination perpetuated by a colonial school system that was created to ensure that Māori would remain second-class citizens (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

One of the aims of colonial education is the assimilation of the occupier’s culture by the colonised. Viswanathan (1988) claims that cultural assimilation is the most effective form of political action (p. 85). However, this cultural assimilation usually happens by exerting a kind of forced mental control, the process of which is implemented through the schooling system. Therefore, Altbach & Kelly (1984) find that “education in colonies seems directed at absorption into the metropole and not separate and dependent development of the colonized in their own society and culture” (p. 4). This cultural assimilation frequently intends to the brainwashing of colonised people through education. However, depending on the colonisers, this system of assimilation varies. For instance, the French in North Africa explicitly used education to fulfil colonial goals (Sartre, 2001). British Malaya, however, had a different colonial education system, offering streams in different languages – Malay, Chinese, English and Tamil – each independent of the others in terms of aims and curricula (O’Brien, 1980, p. 57).
1.3 Musical acculturation

Contrary to the modern day encouragement of cultural diversity, because of colonialism, a world-wide phenomenon until very recently, as well as ongoing post-colonial influences, acculturation can be seen in many cultures, which describes the process of cultural change at the interface of two cultures (Sam & Berry, 2010). Merriam (1964), an anthropologist of music, defines acculturation as involving the “changing of culture caused by external influence or the contact between two cultures”. Also, Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits (1936) argued that “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149). Therefore, acculturation is the process of cultural change induced through continuous contact between two or more cultures.

Changes in musical culture in Vietnam when it was part of colonial French Indochina is one example of acculturation. The article “The French Colonization and the New Vietnamese Music” (To, 2005) shows in a case study how musics interact with each other. While the French colonisation of Vietnam began in the nineteenth century, the French only began to exploit their Vietnamese colony (Indochina) in earnest around the 1920s. Before that, France was preoccupied with the First World War. Once the colony was consolidated, new administrative–cultural cities were established. As a result, a new social group of Vietnamese capitalists, intellectuals, and university students slowly appeared. At the same time, many Vietnamese desired to become modern and advanced. Through a massive campaign, Vietnam strove to change its own culture to conform with that of Western countries, viewed as high civilisation. Music played a significant role in this process and Vietnamese people started studying European music including musical instruments and music theory. The Vietnamese learned many different European musical genres in bars, at the Catholic churches, at public concerts organised by the French community, and from film music in cinemas (To, 2005, pp. 57–60). These were adopted into the lifestyle of Vietnamese intellectuals such as governmental officials, teachers, university students, and professors. Due to this process of musical acculturation, Vietnamese who sang French chansons could be regarded as “modern” people (p. 59) and people who played European musical instruments could be classified
as part of the “elite sphere” (p. 60). Even while European music increased in cities, farmers in the countryside were not affected and kept their traditional music. Also, increasingly Vietnamese composers turn to the aesthetics of Vietnamese musical tradition. To Ngok Thanh claims that as a result, Vietnamese used this stream of French music to develop a new way of musical Vietnamisation.

Another example of music acculturation can be seen in Javanese gamelan music. Java was colonised by the Dutch in the nineteenth century. Becker (1980) claims that although the Javanese gamelan music contains “little audible influence of Western music”, it was influenced by the Dutch colonisers to some degree, such as the adoption of Western notation and certain European stylistic elements. This type of acculturation shows that Javanese gamelan music cannot be freed from Western musical elements.

These examples show that acculturation can easily be observed in colonised countries. This is also the case for Korea. The fact that even in modern Korea music and music culture is still dominated by Western music might very well be the result of the introduction of Western music by Japan and subsequent acculturation during the Japanese colonial period. However, while the Vietnamese partly accepted Western musical culture without it explicitly being enforced upon them by colonial France, Korean musical acculturation presents a very different case as the Japanese colonial masters actively engaged in the extermination of Korean music (and the wider culture).

So far there has been little research on musical acculturation of Korea either through Japan during the colonial period or through later Western influences in modern times (Lee, 2005, p. 18). Lee explains that Korean musical acculturation can be divided into three periods: 1. Chinese influences until the nineteenth century, 2. Japanese influences from the 1880s, and 3. Western influences (through Japan and later the US) from the 1900s until the present day. He states that even though Japanese traditional music has not influenced Korean culture up until now, Koreans did voluntarily accept Japanese popular music (Gayo). However, it can be argued that this acceptance of Japanese popular music was not entirely voluntary: firstly, Japan actively tried to erase all Korean culture; secondly, Japan controlled most public music events; and thirdly, Japan dominated and mostly controlled the Korean markets. Hence, to a certain degree Koreans did not much choice apart from Japanese music. After independence from
Japan in 1945, the rebuilding of Koreans’ own sense of cultural identity was a slow process.

1.4 Korean traditional music

In this section, I introduce Korean traditional music, as opposed to the Japanese traditional music, and in particular the Japanised Western music, that was taught in colonial Korea. Teaching Korean traditional music at a Korean school was never considered when official Korean schools, controlled exclusively by the Japanese Resident General, were opened from 1906. It could be argued that the Japanese colonial government did not remove Korean traditional music from the curriculum as it was not a feature of previous Joseon schools. However, this comparison with the previous feudal Joseon school system, restricted to the education of the elite, is not straightforward as the Joseon system cannot be directly compared to a modern school system. As Imperial Japan claimed to have introduced a modern education system to Korea, it could have been expected that this would include at least some music material native to Korea, especially since on the surface the Korean education system was postulated as being non-discriminatory. This was not the case. This section will highlight the diversity of Korean traditional music that was simply ignored by the school curriculum, which was instead dominated by Japanised Western music.

Korean music is solemn and grand, with beautiful tones. It is one of the most expressive music types in the world, majestic and free. The naturalness and mysteriousness of its melodies are unmatched by any other music in the world. It is music of the mind and the spirit. (Allan Hovahness, as cited in The Korea Foundation (2011), p. 13)

Our ancestors liked plucked string instruments for the “margin” or “empty space” they conveyed, something professional musicians call the “rest” of the sound. The “cry of silence” created by Korean plucked string instruments is overwhelming in solo performance, especially in slow movements. The silence following the last vibration of a note is nothing less than imposing. The very essence of Korean music is this emphasis on the “rest” of the sound as much as the sound itself. (Han, 1993, p. 40)

The music of Korea has changed in a gradual manner throughout the thousands of years of Korean cultural history. While in the United Silla period (669–936) Korean native music (Hyangak) played an important role, during the next dynasty, the Goryeo (936–1392), music from the Tang and Song dynasties (China) was imported, and acculturated, and developed significantly, in particular for the upper class.
This Chinese music was soon adapted, transformed, and modified into Korean culture and ended up being Koreanised. Indeed, while some of this music was lost in China itself, Koreanised forms of it survived in Korea. For instance, Chinese court music and banquet music, introduced to Korea in the twelfth century, were lost and are never performed in China nowadays (see more details next section). During the Goguryeo period (ancient Korean Kingdom, 37 BC–AD 668), the geomungo (a plucked zither with six strings)\(^3\) was invented by the Korean musician Wang San-ak, a remodelling of the Chinese chin (a traditional Chinese seven-string plucked zither). Initially, geomungo appears to have had four strings, to which two more strings were later added to reach the present number of six. According to the Nihon Goki (Later History of Japan) in AD 809, there were four Goguryeo teachers in Japan. It is believed that Korean music and instruments of the Three Kingdoms period (AD 57–AD 668) were introduced to Japan as early as AD 554 (Lee, 1981).

### 1.4.1 Characteristics of Korean music

In this section, I provide an overview of Korean traditional music, dealing not with any particular repertoire, but with genres of historical and functional music such as Shamanist and Buddhist music.

While historically Korean traditional music was classified as Aak, Dangak and Hyangak, it is today generally categorised into Jeongak and Minsokak. Jeongak is court music reserved for the upper class, while Minsokak is music for the common class (Seo, 1981). Minsokak includes the vocal music genres Pansori (solo narrative singing) and Jabga (folk ballads), as well as instrumental music such as Sanjo (solo instrumental music) and Sinawi (improvised instrumental ensemble) (Kim, 2001). There are some exceptions. For instance, Pungmul (preserved by the Korean government as an icon and an Important Intangible Cultural Property (No. 11)) belongs to folk music, and includes drumming, singing, and dancing (Howard, 2005, p. 133), and some court music employs vocal music such as Gagok, Sijo and Gasa.

Jeongak (lit. proper music) is divided into three types of traditional music. While Dangak (lit. music of Tang), which was Chinese music originating from the Tang Dynasty (618–907), is rarely performed today, Hyangak (native Korean music) is the most extant type of Korean court music. During the later Joseon Dynasty (1593–1910), there was no separation between Dangak and Hyangak music. The third type of court music is Aak (lit. elegant music), which was introduced to Korea in 1116 in the form of Chinese ritual music and became popular. This music was better preserved in Korea than in mainland China and it was quickly Koreanised. Troops of the Red Turban rebellion (an uprising against the Chinese Yuan Dynasty of 1271–1368) invaded the Goryeo Dynasty (918–1392) in 1361, and during the associated fighting musical instruments were lost or badly damaged. As a result, during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), the musician Bak Yeon (1378–1458) invented the pitch pipi and remade some of the instruments, for instance the stone chimes (pyeon gyeong, a lithophone made of stone slabs suspended on a wooden frame) which were originally Chinese but survive only in Korea today. King Sejong encouraged Bak Yeon to complete Aak music in Korean style, establishing the Bureau of Music, or the Gwanseup dogam, in 1425 (Lee, 1981).
In the following sections I consider religious music, which can be divided into three forms: Shamanist music, Buddhist music, and Confucian shrine music.

Music and Shamanism

Shamanism was apparently a state religion during the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC–AD 668). From that time, shamanism spread slowly and mixed with Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Today, shamanist ritual music has become highly complex, which cannot be seen anywhere else but in Korea, and this music has been sustained as part of the state’s involvement in artistic traditions (Howard, 2006). Shamanist music is also mixed and it is not easy to distinguish whether it is a ritual music, a concert form, or folk dance music. Sinawi is one example of this phenomenon. In the ritual context, Sinawi is often performed by a small ensemble that includes the janggu (hourglass-shaped drum) and two melodic instruments, the daegeum (transverse flute) and the piri (a double-reed instrument similar to the oboe). In concert the ensemble is augmented with stringed instruments.

Rituals are performed for several purposes. For instance, in the Kut ritual the Mudang (shaman) appeals to the gods to make contact with the souls of ancient people, or simply strives to entertain or appease the gods. A number of shaman songs have become quite popular and have essentially been assimilated into the general folk music tradition (Yu, 1988). For instance, Ssikkim-kut, from the island of Jin-do (Intangible Cultural Property No. 72 in Korea), is performed on many different occasions on Jin-do usually relating to a death. It is often performed on the eve of a burial (funeral), on the second day after the burial, on the eve of the death-day, or when the mourning period ends. It is a long and complex ritual event, starting around 8 pm and ending early the next morning. The Dangol (shaman, usually female) sings ritual texts with instrumental accompaniment. The Dangol may sing for anywhere from three to thirty minutes. Some songs are improvised, while others are similar to folk songs. Ssikkim-kut integrates many other elements such as dance, drama, divination, magic, offerings and sacrifices, incantation, and possession (Park, 2003, pp. 359–360).

Buddhist music

During the unified Silla period (669–936 A.D.) Buddhism was introduced to Korea from China along with Buddhist music, and Chinese Buddhist music became hybridised
with Korean native music (Hyangak). During the Joseon Dynasty Confucianism was encouraged as a national philosophy over Buddhism. Nevertheless, Buddhism remained deeply rooted among the common people and this continues to influence today’s popular Buddhist culture in Korea. Traditionally music and dance were an important part of Buddhist ceremonies.

A few important Buddhist types of music are relevant to this discussion. Gyeongmun are vocal chants performed solo or in unison and accompanied by woodblocks or bells, with no melodic instruments. Bompe is held to be the most attractive form of Buddhist ceremonial music. Bompe music consists of singing and chanting, performed by solo voice with chorus. Although traditionally there were 72 songs, today only 13 songs remain. The breathing technique required for Bompe is complex to learn, and therefore is difficult to pass on. In 1963, the folklorist Ye Yong-Hae noted that only four Korean monks knew the celebrated formal chants of Bompe (Greene, Howard, Miller, & Nelson, 2004). Another Buddhist music is Beopgo, which is a monk’s dance performed with a very large drum. Yongsan hoisang (mass to the Buddha in the spiritual mountain) is a piece derived from seven syllables and found in a Musical Canon (Akhakgwebeom) in 1493, originally vocal but now performed with stringed instruments or with wind instruments (Lee, 1981, p. 103).

*Confucian shrine music*

In the fourteenth century the Joseon Dynasty adopted Confucianism as the state philosophy and this strongly influenced Korean society at the time. Along with the philosophy, Confucianism emphasised Aak. Under King Seongjong (r. 1469–1494) the first treatise on music (Akkak gwebeom) was written in 1493, covering the theory of music, the arrangement of the orchestral players, choreography, musical instruments, costumes, and properties. Today, Aak is performed from scores written in a notation that has been passed down virtually unchanged since the fifteenth century.⁴

Since then, music in the form of Aak is an important part of the Confucian Shrine Ceremony. The Royal Ancestral Ritual in the Jongmyo and its music (Jongmyo Jeryeak) are celebrated across Korea today. Literally, Jong means forefathers or

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ancestors and Myo means temple or shrine. Taken together, Jongmyo refers to a royal ancestral shrine (DeFrancis, 2003, p. 616). Jongmyo Jeryeak was performed four times a year until Japanese took over in 1910 (Howard, 2006, p. xi). Today, the ceremony for the Royal Ancestral Ritual in the Jongmyo is held once a year, in May, at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in Seoul as a rite to the kings and queens of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910).

Music and dance are significant aspects of this ceremony. The Korean government designated Jongmyo Jerye (the Royal Ancestral Ritual in the Jongmyo) (Fig. 1.2) as Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 1 in Korea in 1964. In 1995, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) designated the Jongmyo Shrine as a World Heritage Site and in 2001 proclaimed the Royal Ancestral Ritual and its music as one of its first 19 Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (Yi, 2003, p. 8). Today, there are two main repertoires performed in the ceremony: Botaepyong (Preserving the Peace) and Jeongdaeup (Founding the Dynasty). These pieces were composed and originated in court banquet ceremonies. King Sejo (r. 1455–1468) had the pieces transformed into the ritual music of the Royal Ancestral Shrine and since then the music has been used for the ceremony (Jang, 1985).
There are three types of classical vocal music that were reserved for the upper class and associated with Korean classical poetry: Gagok, Sijo and Gasa.\(^5\)

**Gagok**

Gagok (lyric song) is a long classical Korean lyrical song form. It was developed by the upper class during the late Joseon period between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. While today the singer is accompanied by a small wind and string ensemble, traditionally the accompaniment was provided by the janggu (an hourglass-shaped drum) in either 16 or 10 beats. Gagok always has instrumental accompaniment and is restricted to trained musicians due to the technical skill required. It is thought to be three songs: Mandaeyeop (slow big piece), Jungdaeyeop (moderate big piece), and Sakdaeyeop (fast big piece). The oldest notation of Mandaeyeop was the first Gagok melody, which is a slow lyric song in pyeongjo mode.

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Sijo
Sijo (short lyric song; lit. time rhythm) is known as the second lyrical song form as it appeared some time after the Gagok form. Even though its origins are unknown, notations of Sijo dating back to the eighteenth century can be found. It can therefore be concluded that the musical form was already established by then. The song form and singing technique are much less challenging than in Gagok. It is believed that this is the reason this type of lyrical song was popular with upper-class people. The songs also developed regional characteristics similar to Minyo (folk song).

Gasa
Gasa (narrative song) is a long song form showing influences from Sijo and Gagok, as well as from folk songs of North-western Korea. Very little is known about the origin of the Gasa music form. However, one document from the fifteenth century containing Gasa lyrics entitled “Obusa” (song for a fisherman) survives today. Gasa can be performed with janggu accompaniment or with a small ensemble of instruments including daegum, piri, haegeum (two-stringed fiddle), and janggu.

Next I describe the vocal music forms Pansori and Japga, which were mostly musics of the common people.

Pansori
The epic storytelling song genre Pansori (Korean Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 5 and designated by UNESCO in 2003 a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity) is a unique Korean composite art form combining literature with dramatic and musical elements (Howard, 2005). The telling of epic stories in song form was influenced by shaman rituals. The vocalist alternates between speaking and singing as the story progresses and uses a fan and a handkerchief to help illustrate the various scenes of the story. These works are performed entirely by a single vocalist accompanied by a barrel drum and performances can last up to eight hours in some cases (Fig. 1.3).6

Fig. 1.3: Oh Jeong-Suk, a bearer of an Important Intangible Cultural Property, singing with a fan, while a man sitting accompanies with a barrel drum.\(^7\)

**Japga**

Japga (refined songs) is a song form that was in vogue around the beginning of the twentieth century. Japga texts are drawn from numerous different sources. Japga includes Ipchang (standing songs) and Chwachang (seated songs). The specific characteristics of Japga songs show regional differences. During Japanese colonial rule, Japga was popular. In particular, Gisaeng (female entertainers) learned it at Gisaeng schools and their Japga music was recorded and sold, contributing to the genre’s popularity (Maliangkay, 2007). Nevertheless, over the 1930s Japga disappeared and was replaced by Japanese Changga.\(^8\)


1.4.2 Notation systems

Many different genres of traditional music have been transmitted through various notation systems. After King Sejong created Jeongganbo (a mensural notation), various types of musical notation came into use, such as Munjabo (a letter notation) and Gihobo (a symbolic notation). Here, I consider seven different Korean traditional notation systems: Yuljabo, Oeumyakbo, Hapjabo, Yukbo, Gongchelibo, Yeoneumpyo, and Jeongganbo. Today, there are approximately 100 types of conventional music scores (Kim, 2010, p. 21). While various types of notation were used for court music, other genres such as Minsokak (for the common people) were preserved through oral transmission rather than notation.

Yukbo
This is the earliest notation, designed to imitate the unique sound of each instrument. As of the Goryeo period (918–1392), it was used for instrumental music such as for geomungo, gayageum (12-string zither), daegeum, piri, and bipa (lute) (Kwon, 2010, pp. 3–6).

Yuljabo
This is a letter notation that was introduced from the Chinese Song Dynasty in 1114 during the reign of King Yejong (1105–1122). Yuljabo signals the pitches of the notes using the initial letters of the 12 Yulmyeong (notes), followed by the equivalent pitches for the Western note in Dangak and in Hyangak:

- Hwangjong (黃鍾) C, Eb
- Daeyeo (大呂) C#, E
- Taeju (太簇) D, F
- Hyeopjong (夾鍾) D#, F#
- Goseon (姑洗) E, G
- Jungryeo (仲呂) F, G#
- Yubin (蕤賓) F#, A
Imjong (林鍾) G, Bb
Ichick (夷則) G#, B
Namnyeo (南呂) A, C
Muyeok (無射) A#, C#
Eunjong (應鍾) B, D

Fig. 1.4: The 12 Yulmyeong (notes) written in Korean and their corresponding Western notes rendered in C major.

Gongcheokbo
Like Yuljabo, this is a letter notation. It recorded pitches using the corresponding Chinese characters for the 12 Yulmyeong as well as four additional pitches one octave higher than the main octave. Gongcheokbo was introduced to Korea in 1114 and was used mainly for Dangak music from the Chinese Tang Dynasty.

Jeongganbo
This notation shows both the pitches and lengths of the notes. King Sejong (r. 1418–1450) invented Jeongganbo to overcome the limitations of existing musical notations. In the preface of the Sejong sillok akbo⁹ (Scores from Annals of King Sejong), it is explained why Jeongganbo was created:

In the previous generation, there was no musical notation that recorded the tones, the rhythm, the number of repetitions and tempo of the music; people transmitted the music through Yukbo that imitated sounds. In addition, the scores of Bipa, Piri, Heyongeum (Geomungo), Gayatgo (Gayageum), and Jeok (transverse flute) all differ from each other and therefore are complicated and difficult to learn, while there are no scores for songs. Now that we’ve produced a full score compiling the scores of wind and string

⁹ “Sejong sillok” refers to King Sejong’s annual records.
instruments, songs and percussion instruments as a set, it will be simpler and easier to learn. (Excerpt from the preface of *Sejong sillok akbo*, Vols. 136–147)\(^\text{10}\)

Jeongganbo (Fig.1.5) is notated in a grid pattern consisting of 32 squares vertically aligned in columns. The letters of the 12 Yulmyeong were notated in the grid, with the pitch and length of each note indicated. For instance, one square is one beat and two squares are two beats (Kim, 1999a).

![Image of Jeongganbo notation](https://jongmyojeryeak.culturecontent.com/sub1_1.asp?code1=3&code2=1&code3=5&code4=2&dlvl=4&pcode1=&pcode2=&plvl=)

**Fig.1.5:** Jeongganbo notation in a 32-square grid, fifteenth century.

Jeongganbo is the oldest type of mensural notation in East Asia. What is even more significant is that the first known full ensemble score was written in Jeongganbo, predating the use of scores in the West.

*Oeumyakbo*

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\(^{10}\) Retrieved April 1, 2012 from *Sejong sillok akbo*: http://jongmyojeryeak.culturecontent.com/sub1_1.asp?code1=3&code2=1&code3=5&code4=2&dlvl=4&pcode1=&pcode2=&plvl=. 
This type of notation was invented by Hwang Hyo-Seong in 1464 during the reign of King Sejo (1455–1468). Oeumyakbo is made up of 16 Jeonggan per square. This notation was invented specifically for Hyangak in a pentatonic scale, and displays five notes – gung, sang, gak, chi, and u – to indicate relative pitch.
Hapjabo
This is a tablature system that uses simplified letters combined with symbols indicating the order of frets of the geomungo, the fingering instructions for the left hand, and the string instructions and playing style for the fingers of the right hand (Kwon, 2010, p. 16). Hapjabo was invented and systematised by Seong Hyeon, Park Gon and Kim Gok-Geun during the reign of King Seongjong (r. 1469–94). Hapjabo was used for geomungo, gayageum, hyang bipa (pear-shaped lute with five strings), and dang bipa (pear-shaped lute with four strings, of Chinese origin). It first appeared in the Akhak gwebeom, a nine-volume treatise on music written in Korea during King Seongjong’s reign. It contains information about musical instruments, drawings of instruments with detailed descriptions and fingerings, song lyrics, and drawings of musical performances (Jang, 1976).

Yeoneumpyo
This is a phonetic type of notation and displaying intonation of songs using symbols above the text. It was mainly used for songs.

To sum up, a unique, diverse, and rich musical tradition evolved over several millennia within Korean cultural history. Despite influences from Chinese music during the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC–AD 676), the gayageum was invented by a Korean in the sixth century and the geomungo in approximately AD 550. From that time, Korean music gradually developed further. In particular, Korean court music (Jeongak) began taking shape in three different forms: Aak, a ritual musical form imported from China in 1116, which survives today in its Koreanised form but was entirely lost in China; Dangak, court music imported from Tang China; and Hyangak, native Korean music. Through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Korean music flourished and was systematised through the invention of new systems of notation. Many musical instruments were redesigned or invented and music theory was formulated. At the same time, lyric songs (e.g. Gagok, Sijo, Japga, Pansori) and folk music (e.g. Pungmul) started expanding and were developed in the latter half of the Joseon Dynasty, characterised by humour.
CHAPTER 2 Method

2.1 My position

My thesis can be seen as an interdisciplinary study bridging music education, ethnomusicology, cultural studies and ethnography. It is grounded in participant-observation, one of the fundamental fieldwork methods in ethnomusicology, used to develop an understanding of the relationship between music and culture. Titon (2008) defines ethnomusicological fieldwork as “knowing people making music”. The link between culture and music has found its way into research methods, for example face-to-face fieldwork in the Polish Mountains (Cooley, 2005), travel to remote communities in Uganda and Rwanda (Barz, 2006), and even extending the notion of fieldwork through the use of contemporary digital tools such as email (Barz & Cooley, 2008, p. 14). Blacking recommends that fieldwork should span about one year (Stock & Chiener, 2008) to develop an understanding of an ethnic group and their music’s relationship to ‘their culture’.

This method is, however, restricted to a Western researcher’s point of view, a means of gaining first-hand experience within the culture of the “Other”. Already in the 1970s, ethnomusicologists began to acknowledge the importance of balancing the reliance on cultural insiders and outsiders (Campbell, 2003). But, the concepts of the emic (insider/subjective) and the etic (outsider/objective) have often been questioned (Burnim, 1985). Timothy Rice, adapting a methodology from the philosopher Paul Ricoeur to mediate between field experience and field method, challenged the categorical differentiation of “insider and outsider”, “emic and etic”, and the associated preconceptions within ethnomusicology. Jonathan Stock and Chou Chiener (2008) flag the importance of home-based ethnographic study and how this approach will increase with the overall growth of academic involvement in ethnomusicology. Both authors agree, backed up by case studies, that performing fieldwork at home will bring many opportunities for furthering the field of ethnomusicology because it enhances the role of the researcher. Nevertheless, Pian (1992) suggested that a native researcher should strive to remain objective and to achieve an outsider’s viewpoint. While there were many improvements in ethnomusicological methodology towards the end of the twentieth century, “very few explicit models for the home fieldworker” exist (Stock &
Chiener, 2008, p. 108). Ultimately, I had to carefully consider my position as an insider to Korean culture and also as an outsider, as a Western-trained musician, within my research project.

2.1.1 Different field roles

My position as a native Korean could be seen as adding a bias to my interpretation of my research results of seeing things from a predominantly Korean point of view. On the other hand, I feel that due to my having lived overseas for a large part of my life and studying at universities in Korea, Germany, and Australia I have developed an open mind and the ability to discover aspects that I might have missed had I remained in Korea. In this section, I consider myself an “outsider” as a Western-trained musician and an “insider” as a Korean to conduct research for my thesis. This section will outline my role and identity during my fieldwork in Korea.

Outsider as a Western-trained musician

In Germany, I was trained as a music educator, musicologist, and Western classical pianist at the University of Würzburg, Germany. Ironically, it was during my residence in Germany that I found and became interested in my own culture. Korean music never played any significant part in my life before that. Recognising the lack of awareness of my own cultural background, I started asking myself where the roots of this ignorance lay. Realising that despite a presumed superiority of Western classical music over Korean music, musical phenomena native to Korea were present there, I started researching books, documents, and newspapers, in Korean and German, dealing with Korean history and more generally with colonialism. With this background knowledge, I gained the confidence to work on this thesis as part of the disciplines of cultural studies and ethnography, even though I did not have university degrees in these fields.

Insider as Korean

My intimate knowledge of Korean culture and society provided me with untold advantages in carrying out this research and, especially, guided the interpretation of my results. In particular, I gained confidence from the ability to read Korean, German, and English, which allowed me to access a wealth of original texts. I am still a beginner in Japanese, so there were limits to the range of Japanese documents that I could use for
my research. Nevertheless, there is a wide range of Japanese books translated into Korean available and Japanese colleagues also helped me with translations. Lastly, interviews with Korean eyewitnesses, one of the pillars of my research, went very smoothly because there was no need for interpreters. Also, I am aware of societal norms and how to behave towards older Koreans, something that could lead to cultural misunderstandings and pose great hindrance to an outsider. Taken together, my intimate knowledge of Korean culture and my viewpoint of the outside world gained from living overseas were both invaluable for the research presented in this thesis.

2.1.2 Entering the field

In Korea, cities that are at least mid-sized provide Seniors’ Centres offering programmes to older citizens in many areas such as language, music, and gymnastics. They also include facilities such as chat rooms, karaoke, massage rooms, and cafeterias. Before travelling to Korea to conduct interviews, I had contacted the Seniors’ Centre in the city of Naju, a rural centre in Southwestern Korea (South Jeolla Province) for help in recruiting candidates for my project. As the Seniors’ Centre holds information about its members on file, its administrators were able to pinpoint suitable candidates who might be interested in my project, and contacted them. Thanks to their assistance, everything went smoothly once I arrived in Naju.

However, when I tried to contact Seniors’ Centres in Seoul in the same way, things were more difficult. Some centres said that they did not have time for me; others requested monetary compensation for the interviewees in exchange for their participation. For one particular Seniors’ Centre, it was complicated to even establish contact as there were no direct contact details and the centre never replied to my emails. Because of these difficulties, I gave up attempting to establish relationships with Seniors’ Centres in Seoul. Instead, I came up with a new plan. Many parks in Korean cities provide meeting places where older people can chat or play games. I came up with the idea of going directly to parks to find suitable interview candidates. I visited two parks, and Sajik Park and the historical Tapgol Park in metropolitan Seoul, where I was able to find enough interviewees for my research.
Some challenges in fieldwork

Although as a native Korean speaker I was able to conduct the interviews with older Koreans without the assistance of an interpreter and without the need for a translator to prepare interview questions, I encountered range of challenges that I did not anticipate in the planning stage. The main ones arose from the specific interview group itself – people older than 75 years old – and the way I had to guide them through the interview process. I elaborate on the most significant of these challenges in the following paragraphs.

Before using the video camera to record interviews, I always made sure that the candidates would be comfortable with it. Before conducting my first interview, I was discussing the project with one of my friends on location in a park. While I was explaining, an older woman was behind me listening in. She spontaneously started singing a song in Japanese, then continued with several more songs. When I began chatting with her and asked her about the songs that she was singing, she was very interested in my project and agreed to be interviewed. After setting up the video camera right in front of her, we started talking. After a few minutes, she suddenly stated that she had to go home. This happened very unexpectedly and I could not understand why. Still, I gently told her that I wanted to meet her again if she had the time and I requested her telephone number. Later on the phone she told me that the video camera had made her nervous. So for our second interview, I placed the camera further away so that she could talk about her past experiences without feeling intimidated, which she did, at length. After that I was always careful to ensure enough distance between the video camera and the subjects.

I conducted interviews individually and in groups. Interviewing in groups was particularly challenging, but at times it was the only way to get people to commit. There are some benefits with groups, such as the triggering of forgotten memories through by memories expressed by other participants. However, some people tended to dominate the whole conversation while others were too timid to speak, and such sessions had to be carefully managed. I had to try to get such situations in hand as quickly as possible and think on my feet to avoid interviews being very time-consuming and not very productive. One interview group was particularly challenging for me. It was my first group interview, had five participants. One interviewee was very active and tried to
answer at every opportunity even when I was not addressing him. I politely said that I would like to hear from other people. After a while, he got used to the situation and became more cooperative.

Location is an important factor in successfully conducting interviews. I found indoor interviews to be preferable. However, since one of my interview locations was a park where a lot of older people gathered, I had to adapt my interview techniques to an outdoor environment. In such a public space there can be unplanned interruptions to the interview process. When I went to the park for the first time, I started interviewing one person. Others became curious and came closer to see what was going on. Most just listened to what we were doing, but others stood behind me and started asking questions: what I was doing, why I was doing it, whether I was Japanese. One even asked if I was working for a secret government agency. In such situations I had to decide when to answer them and when to ignore them. I needed to remain very polite as some of them might turn out to be very good interview candidates themselves.

I went to Korea twice to conduct interviews: October–November 2009 and April 2011. The aim of the first trip was to conduct as many interviews as possible, while on the second round I also wanted to interview a few candidates in more detail. On my first trip, in particular in the park in Seoul, many older people were interested in my project and wanted to talk to me about their experiences. However, on my second trip, I experienced a very different situation. When I went to the same park in Seoul, most people did not express an interest in my project and at times even ignored me. At the time, I did not know why; I just thought I was unlucky in meeting the right people. Only later did I find out that April 2011 was just after the tsunami in Japan, one of the biggest natural disasters in Japan in recent years. Every day there were calls for donations on Korean television to help mitigate the disaster and people donated a lot of money. However, soon afterwards, the Japanese government officially announced that the island of Dokdo belongs to Japan. This new territorial claim by Japan was constantly broadcast in Korea. As sovereignty over this island has always been a hot issue between the two countries, Koreans, who through their donations had shown a high degree of solidarity with Japan after the tsunami, became very angry and felt betrayed. Other sensitive issues dating back to the Japanese colonial period were dredged up, such as comfort women (forced prostitution) and forced labour, and Koreans became very emotional.
Unfortunately that was when I went to the park and tried to conduct interviews. It is not surprising that people were not very enthusiastic talking about their experiences during Japanese colonial times under these circumstances. In the end, these unforeseen events, completely out of my hands, interfered with my project. Luckily, with persistence I still managed to conduct enough interviews with a few people on that second trip.

When conducting interviews overseas, knowing the customs of the country that you work in is an essential factor for successful interviews. One example shows how an apparently irrelevant breach of etiquette can compromise participants’ willingness to cooperate. In Korea, sitting and crossing one’s legs is very impolite, particularly in front of older people. I have lived overseas for a while, so I got used to Western tolerance of this practice and adopted it myself. Unfortunately, I completely forgot about this issue and initially crossed my legs while conducting interviews. Luckily a friend of mine reminded me not to do this as it would be offensive to my interviewees and as a result they might not cooperate. Although this seems to be a minor detail, it could potentially have had a significant impact on the project in terms of whether interviews were successfully completed or not. Learning a country’s customs is vital when conducting interviews overseas.

2.2 Methodology

I used a combination of three well-established research methods: 1. historical literature review, 2. examination of primary sources, and 3. interviews with historical witnesses.

2.2.1 Historical literature review

A large number of Korean history books were reviewed to investigate the relationship between Korean education and Japanese colonial policies. History books authored by Japanese scholars were also reviewed as they provide a different perspective to enrich the analysis. Although I am a beginner in the Japanese language, some Japanese books have been translated into Korean, enabling me to access some Japanese history books written by Japanese scholars. For the interview chapters, I focused on books about interview techniques and interpretations such as the stimulated recall method (Wenger,
2001), accuracy and authenticity (Edwards-Leis, 2006), and validity and reliability (Gass & Mackey, 2000).

2.2.2 Study of primary sources (music textbooks, educational policy documents)

My main research question, the examination of the key characteristics and effects of Korean music education under Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945), was addressed by reviewing 1) four original educational policy documents released by the Japanese colonial government, and 2) a sample of 29 music textbooks of the time. Copies of the following original documents were obtained during fieldwork in Korea:

1) 29 music textbooks published and edited under the Japanese Governor-General to comply with the Joseon Education Policy (Joseon Gyoyukryeong) during Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945);
2) Original documents of the four Joseon Education Policies (Joseon Gyoyukryeong) published between 1911 and 1945:

- The First Education Policy (1911–1922)
- The Second Education Policy (1922–1938)
- The Third Education Policy (1938–1941)

An investigation of the explicit aims of the educational policies of the Governor-General contributed to understanding how Japan tried to influence Korean children through educational materials. The contents of original materials, such as music textbooks, were also analysed for evidence of changes due to Japanese colonialism, for example Japanese language use and the occurrence of Japanese musical elements. Primary source documents were accessed through the National Centre Library of Korea in Seoul. The Internet also allowed easy access to useful material for my research, such as the relevant educational policies, accessible online through the National Assembly Library.\(^\text{11}\)

Chapter 2

My examination of these primary sources contributed towards answers the main research question, which was to describe and assess the key characteristics and effects of Korean music education under Japanese colonial rule, as well two of the sub-questions: to determine the content and pedagogical approach of music textbooks from that period and how they were delivered, and to pinpoint the values andattitudes underlying them, both explicit and implicit.

2.2.3 Interviews

I used two techniques to analyse interview data. The first was historical integration “as interpreting the significance of a singular story in cultural or institutional context” (Pellico & Chinn, 2007, p. 61). During the interviews, I asked each person about their school life experiences in the context of a limited historical period, that of the Japanese colonial rule of Korea. Such cultural contextualisation of personal experience is rarely seen in academic research in Korea. A second approach included gathering social and historical information (Bamberg, 2007; Elliott, 2005) and recording the emotions of interviewees. Analysis of personal narratives can illuminate “individual and collective action and meanings, as well as the processes by which social life and human relationships are made and changed” (Laslett, 1999, p. 392). By comparing singular stories, shared universal experiences can be proposed.

Interviews are particularly useful for gleaning detailed information from individual experiences. They offer a way of gaining understanding and exploring our own world and offering others a glimpse of experiences, beliefs, and values (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Kvale, 1996). Interviews served to further elucidate my main research question as well as the sub-questions. Koreans who attended primary school during the Japanese colonial rule were interviewed to identify possible psychological and ideological effects. An example of an instance of a psychological effect is whether participants’ music preference is for Japanese-style music after learning Japanese songs at school and whether they remained affected by this in their later life.
Participants
The interviewees were older Korean males and females in South Korea who attended primary schools under Japanese colonial rule between 1910 and 1945. Pupils from that time were between 75 years and 90 years old at the time of the interviews. Women were only marginally represented as few girls were able to go to school during this period. I recruited participants from two locations, Seoul (the capital and centre of education in South Korea) and Naju (a rural centre in the southwest part of the country). Of these, 38 were men and 4 were women. Participants attended school at different points of the Japanese colonial period and in various localities, and also came from a variety of educational and socio-economic backgrounds.

Suitable interviewees were recruited through cultural centres in Korea or identified in public parks where older Koreans gather to socialise and enjoy themselves (Fig. 2.1). Ethics approval to conduct interviews was granted on the June 13, 2009 by the Griffith University Human Research Ethics Committee (Protocol Number QCM/24/09/HREC).

Data collection
I travelled to Korea for fieldwork to collect interview data for two months in October and November 2009 and for one month in April 2011. The interviews were semi-structured and included open-ended questions (see Appendix 3). Interviews were recorded with a video camera where participants agreed to it. The content of the interviews was thematically analysed (coded) with attention to differences between various periods of music education, men and women, and urban and regional areas. The duration of the interviews ranged from 15 minutes to one hour.
Older people are often assumed to have a fragmented memory that would make working with this age group more difficult than with other age groups. However, it is scientifically demonstrated that older people usually possess excellent long-term memory (Wenger, 2001, p. 262), and therefore are just as able to recover past information as any other age group. To help draw out memories, I used the “stimulated recall” method. This method is often used to trigger memory for “accuracy and authenticity” in research (Edwards-Leis, 2006, p. 3). To stimulate recall, I employed songs, music textbooks, and photos taken at the time. This method can maximise “the validity and reliability” (Gass & Mackey, 2000, p. 105) of the historical testimony recorded through interviews for this study. Also, I conducted follow-up interviews two years later to stimulate participants to recall further musical experiences of the period and also made follow-up phone calls.

Bringing together the findings obtained through the different methods used in this research – literature review of books and articles on Korean history, imperialism and colonialism, and Korean music education; investigating primary sources such as music textbooks and educational policy documents; and interviewing Koreans who were in primary school at the time) – I used triangulation to arrive at concrete answers to my main research question, as well as whether the claims of some Korean scholars (Min, 2002b; Park, 1999) – that Korean children learning music under the Japanese colonial
curriculum were deeply affected psychologically and in terms of their sense of identity – are supported. This “method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data” (O’Donoghue & Punch, 2003, p. 78) is well established, and well suited to this specific research project.
CHAPTER 3 A history of contact and colonialism

This chapter provides an overview of Korean history to show why Korea was colonised by Japan by investigating Western encounters with Korea, Korea’s exclusionist policies, and Japanese expansionism. The East Asian countries of China, Korea, and Japan had limited contact with Westerners until the early nineteenth century. China had contact with Japan only indirectly through Korea. Korea maintained limited diplomatic and trade contacts with Japan and was the most isolated country in East Asia. Due to historically negative experiences with invaders like the Khitans, the Mongols, the Manchus, and the Japanese, Korea tried to exclude foreigners and minimised its outside contacts. Additionally, Korea was internally weakened after a political crisis at the end of the nineteenth century which was one of the main reasons for the Joseon Dynasty’s decline (Seth, 2011, pp. 215–218). The period between the middle of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century constituted a major turning point for the Korean social and political order and for its economy, culture, and education system. The postcolonial presence of the US in Korea after the Korean War (1950–1953) is a further factor influencing politics, culture and education.

A basic understanding of Korean history enables better identification of issues present in the country’s current political, cultural, and educational system. This point was made by Best & Kahn (2003), who state that historical background knowledge is necessary to better understand the present;

Historical research describes what was. The process involves investigating, recording, analyzing, and interpreting the events of the past for discovering generalizations that are helpful in understanding the present and to a limited extent in anticipating the future. (p. 26)

In particular, by presenting an overview of Korean history, Japanese colonial policies, including educational policy, become clearer. Investigating Korean history as a music educator can provide a fresh perspective since music and music education are frequently influenced by political developments (Choi, 2007). Rainbow & Froehlich (1987) elaborate on the importance of historical research in music education:

Developments in music and music education seldom occur in a vacuum, and often may be influenced, if not caused, by any number of political, social, or general educational developments in the period under study. Knowledge of the social and cultural history of the time is therefore imperative for any good historian in music education. (p. 110)
To achieve this, I reviewed literature on Korean history written both in English and Korean, focusing on two periods: general Korean history during the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910), and the period of increasing Japanese influence from the 1860s until the beginning of Japanese colonial rule in 1910. These two periods were chosen to provide an overview of the relationship between the Joseon Dynasty and Imperial Japan. The period from the 1860s marks the time when the Joseon Dynasty started becoming unstable due to political interference by Western colonial powers, China, and Japan, as well as internal political struggles. This period preceded and led to the eventual Japanese colonial occupation.

When analysing historical events, it is necessary to understand the limitations faced by historians in reconstructing and understanding the past. In particular, perceptions of Koreans as colonised people and Japanese or Western powers as colonialists will differ widely. Colonialists will try to justify past actions, such as the legal status of colonialism, the development of undeveloped regions, the spread of religion, and colonialism and modernity (Gillen & Ghosh, 2007). However, as argued by Kahn (2005):

We realise that we can never know the past directly, only indirectly through the evidence that has been left behind. We see the past through the words and records and thoughts of the people who experienced it. We recognize that the past can be very different from the present. We accept that there is much we cannot know about the past because there are no records, or the records are incomplete or difficult to understand. We understand that any statement about the past is only as good as the evidence supporting it. We understand the differences between facts and interpretations and learn how to judge among differing interpretations. We understand the forces that shape people’s interpretations of the past. (p. 10)

In order to provide an interpretation of the past as a music educator, my aim in Chapter 3 is to investigate why and how the Joseon Dynasty became a Japanese colony after persisting for centuries as a stable dynastic monarchy that oversaw the height of classical Korean culture. The decline and subsequent colonisation of Joseon is directly connected to my main research question of determining the key characteristics and effects of Korean music education under Japanese colonial rule.
Table 3.1 Timeline of historical events from the decline of the Joseon Dynasty to Japanese occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Historical Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Japan–Korea Treaty of Amity (also known as the Treaty of Ganghwa or Treaty of Kanghwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Gabo Reform, aimed at modernising Joseon (similar to the Meiji Restoration in Japan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Establishment of the offices of the Japanese Resident General in Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Abdication of Korean Emperor Go-jong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Start of official Japanese occupation of Korea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1 Korea before Western contact

While Buddhism was the main religion during Goguryeo Dynasty (935–1392), it declined dramatically during the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910). Even though Buddhist temples were banned and destroyed during the Joseon Dynasty, a great deal of Buddhist temples retreated to the mountains and the countryside and continued to play an important role. In the meantime, under the Joseon Dynasty Korea became a Confucian society. Although Confucianism was originally introduced from China, Korean Confucianism eventually became stronger than in its area of origin. Confucianism is more a kind of philosophy that regulates social relationships than a pure religion. Three cardinal principles included loyalty to the ruler, filial piety toward one’s parents, and the distinction between men and women (Seth, 2011, p. 157). The 200 years between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries were Korea’s most stable and prosperous, during which peace reigned and there were no major invasions from neighbouring countries.

The Joseon Dynasty maintained correct, if not warm, relations with China’s Qing (Manchu) Dynasty (1644–1911). After the first (1627) and second (1636) Manchu invasions of Korea, the Manchu Qing Dynasty brought the Joseon Dynasty into submission. As a result, the Qing Dynasty forced Koreans to pay indemnities and held members of the royal family as hostages. Even though the Joseon Dynasty had to supply many valuables such as rolls of paper, furs, and cloth, it continued to regard the Qing Dynasty as barbarians. Despite this initially severe situation, the relationship between the two countries gradually improved. As the Qing Dynasty came to prosper in its culture and economy, so the Joseon Dynasty began to admire it. Still, not all Koreans were happy about the Qing Dynasty; many felt more loyalty towards the old Ming
Dynasty (1368–1644), which had a good relationship with Korea. Additionally, the Qing Dynasty was widely seen as not fully civilised, Korea standing as the last true bastion of (Confucian) civilisation. As King Yongjo reflected, “The Central Plains (China) exude the stenches of barbarians and our Green Hills (Korea) are alone” (Kim, 1983, p. 46). This gave the Korean elite a feeling of distinctiveness or separation from China as well as a sense of cultural superiority, even though Korea was militarily weak.

### 3.2 Western encounters with Korea

The modern Republic of Korea is situated on the Korean peninsula in North-East Asia (Fig. 3.1). Korea has a predominantly continental climate characterised by four seasons. The southern part of the peninsula, the Republic of Korea (also called South Korea), has an area of 100,210 km$^2$ with a population of 48,758,000 in 2009. The Korean writing system, Hangeul, was invented in 1443 during the reign of King Sejong and is included in UNESCO’s Memory of the World Register. While Korea has no official state religion, a variety of religions are practised there: Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, and Shamanism.

After the devastation of Korea resulting from the Japanese occupation (1910–1945) and the Korean War (1950–1953), the peninsula was partitioned into two countries, the democratic Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the socialist Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea). The two Koreas are technically still at war. Since the Korean War, South Korea has been rapidly transformed through economic growth and it is now a member of the G20 group of economic powers.$^{12}$

![Fig. 3.1: The location of the Korean peninsula in North-East Asia.](http://www.g20.org/about_what_is_g20.aspx)

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Chapter 3

The first documented Western contact with Korea occurred in August 1653. Hendrik Hamel (1630–1692) was travelling on business for the Dutch East India Company heading for Japan. He was shipwrecked on the island of Jeju, off the southern coast of Korea, and 36 out of the 64 crew members survived but were taken into custody and sent to Seoul. Thirteen years later Hamel managed to escape and return to the Netherlands. His report of this incident contains the first detailed description of Korea in the West (Uden, 2003, p. 231). An extract from the report shows how Koreans encountered Westerners for the first time in Korea and describes elements of anxiety and Korean culture:

On the morning of the 18th we were busy making a large tent, when towards noon about 1,000 or 2,000 men arrived, horsemen as well as soldiers. They encamped around the tent. Assembled in ranks, they sent for the secretary (book-keeper), the chief navigation officer, the second boatswain and a ship’s boy. When the four approached, the commander put around each one’s neck an iron chain on which a bell was hanging (like the one the sheep in Holland have around their necks). Crawling forward, they were thrown face down in front of the commander, accompanied by such an outcry of the soldiers that it was terrible to hear. Our men in the tent, hearing and seeing what was happening, said to one another: “Our officers precede us, soon we will follow.” We had been lying flat for only a moment when they gestured us to kneel. The commander asked something, but we did not understand him. We gestured and tried to indicate that we wanted to go to Nagasaki in Japan. But it was no use; we could not understand one another. They did not know the word Japan, since they call it Oenara or Ilbon. The commander ordered each of us to be served a small cup of arrack and be brought back to the tent. Our escorts came right into the tent to see if we had any provisions, but they did not find anything except the aforementioned meat and bacon, which they showed the commander. About an hour after they brought a little boiled rice for all of us, since they thought we must be starving and too much food would hurt us. In the afternoon they all returned, each one carrying a rope, which frightened us very much, thinking they had come to bind and kill us. But they walked towards the wreck, making a lot of commotion, and they collected everything on land that still was of use. In the evening they gave us rice to eat.\(^{13}\)

Approximately two centuries later, in 1816, Basil Hall, the captain of a British ship, dropped anchor on the west coast of Korea and reported that

\[\text{[
}t\text{]he islanders expressed some surprise on examining our clothes. But after that they took very little interest in anything belonging to us. Their chief anxiety was to get rid of us as soon as possible. (Cumings, 2005, p. 88)\]

His book, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea*, was published in London 1818 and contains specifics about the Korean way of life, local vocabulary, records of sea currents, and meteorological data.

Nineteenth-century German missionary Charles Gützlaff noted that Captain William Broughton (1797), Captain Basil Hall (1816), and the East India Company (1832) were reluctantly welcomed by local villagers and officials in Korea. He reported that he found Koreans as “the most misanthropic people in the world” because they kept asking, “What time do you think you will depart?” This may have been due to the “exclusionary impulse”. Koreans he met were “good-humoured and obliging”. Nevertheless, when they were told about Jesus Christ, they demonstrated indifference, prompting him to comment that “such callousness of heart bespeaks a great degree of mental apathy” (Cumings, 1997, p. 88). Gützlaff (1834) wrote:

> At all events [mine] is the work of God, which I frequently commended in my prayers to his gracious care; can the divine truth, disseminated in Corea, be wholly lost?... This I believe not, there will be some fruits in the appointed time of the Lord. In the great plan of the eternal God, there will be a time of merciful visitation for them. While we look for this, we ought to be very anxious to hasten its approach, by diffusing the glorious doctrines of the cross by all means and all power... The scripture teaches us to believe that God can bless even these feeble beginnings. Let us hope that better days will soon dawn for Corea. (Gützlaff, 1834, pp. 339–340)

The American businessman Percival Lowell (1855–1916) visited Korea in 1883, where he worked as counsellor and foreign secretary to the Korean Special Mission to the US. He reported that “the Koreans are passionately fond of scenery; a grove of trees is celebrated here, the precipices of a mountain there, the moonlight falling on a pool of water in a third spot” (Cumings, 1997, p. 22).

*China and Japan’s relationship to the West*

A short diversion into the relationship of China and Japan to the West is warranted here, particularly in light of Japanese colonial rule in Korea. As Western imperialism spread, in the early nineteenth century China was the first East Asian territory to succumb, as a result of the Opium Wars of 1839–1842 (Cumings, 2005, p. 86). This war between the British Empire and the Qing Dynasty, also called the First Anglo-Chinese War, resulted in the Treaty of Nanking, securing British economic benefits from trade with China (Tsang, 2004, p. 29). From the Chinese point of view, it was an unequal treaty including
the granting of indemnity to Britain, the forced opening of five treaty ports, and the accession of the island of Hong Kong. As a result, the war ended China’s isolation (Stockwell, 2003, p. 74). The first Westerners visiting Japan were the Portuguese, when it briefly opened its doors to the West in 1542. In 1611 about 20 Japanese merchants were sent to Mexico and in 1605 Dutch traders were allowed access to Japan. The US expedition to Japan, commanded by Commodore Matthew Perry, was part of a series of expeditions for “scientific, political, economic and military purposes”. Perry appeared in Tokyo Bay in 1853 with an American fleet consisting of two massive steam frigates and two sloops of war with a combined total of 66 guns and 977 men. Perry landed and handed a letter from the US President to the Emperor of Japan requesting protection for shipwrecked American seamen, the right to buy coal, and the opening of one or more ports to trade. Japan signed commercial treaties with the US in 1854 and also with Great Britain, France, Russia, and Holland. At about the same time, France was moving toward the colonisation of Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos).

Korea and the West
While China and Japan were forced into contact with Western countries, Korea remained inaccessible to Western colonial powers and was often described as the “Hermit Kingdom” (Griffis, 1889). However, from the Korean point of view, the country did not want outside interference in its affairs, as it was firmly aligned with China, the most important economic centre in East Asia. From the 1860s, the US, Russia, and France saw a potential for financial benefit and tried to force Korea open, which led to several military clashes. The first, France’s invasion of Ganghwa-do (Ganghwa Island) in 1866, was known in Korea as Byengin yangyo (the Western disturbance of the Byeongin year) (Sterner, 2003).

In July 1866, a US Merchant Marine ship, the General Sherman, heavily armed and carrying a mixed crew of US, British, and Chinese/Malay sailors (including the Welsh/US Protestant missionary Robert Thomas), attempted to enter Korean waterways for trade and to spread Christianity. The ship was denied permission to sail up the Taedong River leading to Pyongyang, but defied the Korean authorities and went ahead anyway. As a result, after four days of fighting, the ship was burned and 20 people were

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killed. In 1871 a US expedition consisting of 650 men, 500 sailors, 100 marines, and five warships sought to open port access to Korea. Two days of heavy fighting resulted in five ports destroyed and more than 600 Koreans wounded, with only three casualties on the US side. Nevertheless, the US departed several weeks later without having established any trade with Korea. After all these clashes with colonial powers, however, Korea was forced to sign an unequal treaty (the Ganghwa-do Treaty) with Japan in 1876. Despite constant Western military efforts, it was Japan that achieved the first international treaty with Korea (Sterner, 2003).

3.3 Korea’s exclusionism

In this section, I focus on Korea’s exclusionism. Some Western scholars labelled Korea a “hermit country” in the nineteenth century, as, for instance, in the book *Corea The Hermit Nation* compiled by Griffis (1889) (cited in Lone & McCormack, 1993, p. 9), whereas some Korean scholars prefer the term “exclusionist” (Kim, 1980). “Hermit country” and “exclusionist” are concepts that can be used in very different ways. Contrary to Western perception, Korea was not withdrawn from other countries; indeed, it maintained close ties, such as with China. Due to shifting political circumstances, Korea isolated itself from Western countries. Korea had always had an unstable relationship with Japan. Korea’s distrust of Japan is rooted in historical events and is further investigated in this section. Christianity as a reason for the distrust of Western powers is also presented.

a) Distrust of Japan

Through its history, Korea has had a difficult relationship with Japan. In the fourteenth century, the Goryeo Dynasty (918–1392) was in a state of chaos. In the North, it was weakened by the Mongol invasions with nearly 30 years of war. Despite that, Goryeo continued to rule Korea. In the South, incidences of Japanese pirates ravaging the coastline of Goryeo increased continually from the thirteenth century onward.

During the transition between the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and the Muromachi period (1336–1573) in Japan, Japanese governmental power was weak and regional power was not under the control of the central government. The lack of political stability in Japan was one of the reasons for the advent of piracy. The pirates were
former soldiers, ronin (samurai with no lord), merchants, farmers, and fishermen. They were commanded by a number of small- and medium-sized feudal lords from the coastal regions (Annals of the Joseon Dynasty, April 19, 1395, under the reign of King Taejo).\(^{15}\)

Under King U (r. 1374–1388), between 1376 and 1385 more than 378 instances of pirate attacks were recorded in Korea. Some involved as many as 3,000 pirates penetrating deep into the Korean interior. They robbed food supplies such as grain stores and abducted Korean people for slavery and ransom, causing the displacement of many people. The Goryeo Dynasty asked the Japanese government to crack down on pirates, but there was no reply from Japan. In the end, the constant pirate attacks was a contributing factor to the fall of Goryeo Dynasty.

In the late sixteenth century Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) established a centralised state and unified Japan. Nevertheless, domestic political fighting continued for another century. During the political turbulence, the Portuguese introduced firearms to Japan. Hideyoshi set domestic landlords to fighting each other in different regions with the aim of securing his political position and demonstrating his power to others.

In 1589 Hideyoshi sent two messages to Joseon: one was to “re-establish diplomatic relations” between Joseon and Japan after the damage caused by the pirate raids, and the other was to request permission to pass through Joseon to Ming (today’s China). His intention was to conquer Joseon and use this as a stepping stone towards conquering the Ming Dynasty (Kim, 1980).

In 1590, two years before the Imjin War (1592–1598), Joseon sent two diplomats to Japan to ascertain Japanese intentions. They returned with two completely different points of view. One of them reported that Japan intended to go to war with Joseon and the Ming Dynasty, while the other reported that there was no sign of preparations for a war against Joseon. The Joseon leadership believed the latter and no precautions were taken. Following this, the seven-year Imjin War broke out as Japan invaded the Korean peninsula twice, in 1592–1596 and 1597–1598. Joseon ended up losing one third of its

population, having its farming system ravaged, losing important cultural assets, and experiencing poverty and the severe outbreak of disease. These years of continuing piracy and acts of war were responsible for the deep distrust of the Japanese by Koreans (Hawley, 2005).

b) Christianity
After Joseon was devastated by the Imjin War (1592–1598), the region was again invaded, in 1627 and 1636, by the Manchu, a nomadic people from continental Asia. After these long and brutal wars, Joseon finally went into a peaceful period lasting approximately two centuries. The Joseon Dynasty became the longest-ruling East Asian dynasty (500 years) with internal peace and stable borders (Grayson, 2002, pp. 137–139).

By the end of the seventeenth century political power had become concentrated in a handful of high royal officials. This created hardship for ordinary people while the minority upper class received many benefits. As a result, some groups such as excluded officials and bureaucrats became interested in the pragmatic philosophy of Silhak, a school of practical learning (Jun, Cho, & Lee, 2006). Silhak scholars advocated practical social reforms and wanted to use realistic approaches to social problems taking into account the needs of ordinary people.

In 1770 Chon Du-won, a Joseon diplomat to China, returned with a book by Father Matteo Ricci entitled The True Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven. Silhak reformists believed that the Catholic Church might be helpful in eliminating the feudalism of the Joseon Dynasty (Kim, 2003b). In 1783, Silhak reformists sent Yi Sang-Hun, a son of a Joseon diplomat, to China on a mission to learn more about the Catholic religion. Yi was baptised in Beijing by a French Catholic priest and was sent back to Korea in 1784, bringing with him evangelical material (Kim, 2003b). The Catholic religion became widespread even though it was not tolerated by Korean Confucianism. In 1791 two Korean Catholics were executed for rejecting Confucian ceremony. Nevertheless, Catholics were tolerated under King Jeong-Jo (r. 1752–1800). The Korean Catholic church grew rapidly with 10,000 followers by the end of 1801. Even though Catholics were intensely persecuted, including the execution of three French missionaries and approximately 118 Korean Catholics in 1839 (Annals of the Joseon Dynasty, King
Heon-jong r. 1834–1849), the reign of King Cheol-jong (r. 1849–1863) was tolerant towards Catholics, allowing French missionaries to arrive in Korea in the 1840s to convert Koreans. Bishop Siméon-François Berneux was appointed in 1856 as head of the Korean Catholic church. By 1864, there were 12 French priests living and promoting their religion in Korea and in 1865 Korean native converts reached 23,000 (Kane, 1999). Nevertheless, Catholic ceremony neglected traditional Korean Confucian customs and social regulations (Kim, 2003b).

A few Korean Catholics suggested to Heungseon Daewongun, the de facto ruler and father of the boy-king Go-jong (1863–1893), that French missionaries could help broker a diplomatic relationship with France and Britain and this might assist in averting the threat of a Russian invasion. The French Catholic church refused its assistance, which sowed deep distrust in the Korean government towards the Church. At the same time, rumours were circulating that Catholics were often appearing and meeting in the royal palace of Heungseon Daewongun, attracting intense criticism on the part of opponents of the government for his unpatriotic behaviour and attitudes.

Rumours of conspiracy and the Catholic Church’s refusal to provide diplomatic assistance caused the royal court to become anti-Catholic and develop a general distrust of Western powers. In February 1866, Heungseon Daewongun ordered the prohibition of the Catholic faith in Korea. As a result, nine out of twelve French missionaries and approximately 8,000 Korean Catholics were executed within a few months. Father Ridel, one of three remaining priests, was able to flee to Tianjin, China. He reported:

Admiral, I am a Frenchman and missionary in Korea. By order of my superior I fled that country on a small boat in order to inform you that the Korean King ordered the massacre of nine Frenchmen – my priest, his coadjutor, and seven fellow missionaries – under the sole pretext that they were Europeans and Christians (Kane, 1999, p. 5).

In September 1866, Admiral Roze, Father Ridel, and four Catholic Koreans left China for Korea with a fleet containing a flagship, a sloop, and gunboats (all steam-driven) and an estimated 800 French troops. In October of the same year, the French fleet approached Joseon and landed on Ganghwa Island in Korea, starting a war that came to be called Byengin yangyo (Kim, 1980, p. 49). Korea defeated the French after a few months. The war with France was a further reason for the continued severe persecution of Catholics and Joseon began to exclude itself from the Western world (Kahn, 2005).
3.4 Japanese expansionism

a) The Treaty of Ganghwa-do (1876)

Ganghwa-do (Ganghwa Island), situated west of Seoul (Fig. 3.2), is a very important historical site. Since ancient times, many historical events have taken place there and many artefacts and historical sites have been discovered there: the legendary mountain of Go-Joseon (an ancient Korean kingdom, 2333–108 BC), a famous temple from the time of the Three Kingdoms (first to seventh century BC), and the site where the Goryeo Dynasty (918–1392) fought against the Mongols. Inlaid celadon ware (Sanggam chungja), as well as a complete collection of Buddhist scriptures carved onto over 80,000 woodblocks (the Palman Daejangkyeng, a national treasure, and housed at a UNESCO World Heritage Site) was manufactured here. Moreover, many treaties were signed and wars fought out in Ganghwa-do: the Byengsa horan (1636–1637) war with
Qing, the Byengin yangyo (1866) incident with France, and lastly the Shinmy yangyo (1871), an incident with the US.

After diplomatic attempts to establish relations with Joseon failed, Japan developed a plan to open up and exert influence on Korea before any European power could. In 1875 the Unyo, a Japanese warship under the command of Inoue Yoshika, was dispatched to survey coastal waters without Korean permission, reaching Ganghwa Island soon after. Commander Inoue ordered the launch of a small boat under the pretext of searching for potable water when in fact, Japan was preparing to invade Joseon. Joseon ordered the Japanese warship not to approach but this was ignored. In the ensuing battle Joseon suffered heavy casualties compared with Japan’s two wounded soldiers. Under immense pressure and considering the international political circumstances of the time, after several meetings with Japan Joseon decided to open a port. Consequently, the unequal Treaty of Ganghwa-do was signed in 1876, the first between the two countries.

b) The Gabo Reform (1894–96)

Further reforms, known as the Gabo Reform, were introduced by the Joseon Dynasty during the reign of King Go-jong (r. 1863–1907). These were regarded as a move to modernise Joseon; however, the expression “modernisation” remains controversial because the reform was created as a result of intervention by the Japanese government. Before the Gabo Reform was introduced, there were a number of popular uprisings in Joseon in a push to change Joseon’s elitist social system of the time. The internal unrest eroded Joseon’s stability, which allowed and triggered Japanese intervention. The increasing Japanese influence on Joseon led to the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) between the China (Qing Dynasty) and Japan.

One notable uprising was the Donghak peasant revolution of 1894. Although it was essentially a people’s uprising, it caused external interference in domestic issues. Essentially, it was an anti-government, anti-yangban (upper class), and anti-foreign peasant uprising. Donghak (lit. “learning of Eastern thoughts”) was originally a new Korean religion. Its founder Choe Je-u (1824–1864) aimed for the equality of all humans and Donghak spread rapidly as the most popular religion among the peasant class.
The opening up of the country in the 1870s deepened the plight of the peasantry. Rice produced in Joseon was shipped to Japan in ever-greater quantities, resulting in rapid price increases. While the profits went to middlemen, inflation manifested itself in an increasing daily cost of living. Additionally, traditional coastal fishermen lost out to industrial Japanese fishing companies (Cumings, 1997, p. 116). Consequently, the peasant class began revolting against the political corruption of government officials throughout Joseon. The rhetoric of Donghak leaflets states that:

The people are the root of the nation. If the root withers, the nation will be enfeebled. Needless of their responsibility for sustaining the state and providing for its people, the officials build lavish residences in the countryside... We are wretched village people far from the capital, yet we feed and clothe ourselves with the bounty from the sovereign’s land. We cannot sit by and watch our nation perish. The whole nation is as one, its multitudes united in their determination to raise the righteous standard of revolt... When all the people can enjoy the blessings of benevolent kingly rule, how immeasurably joyful will we be! (Lee, 1984, p. 284)

King Go-jong, failing to suppress the peasant revolt, asked Qing (China) for military assistance. At the same time Japan offered to send troops to Joseon. Once the rebellion had been quelled, King Go-jong requested Qing and Japan to withdraw its troops. Although Qing did so, Japanese troops remained and started intervening in the domestic affairs of Joseon. Two days later a Japanese warship blasted Chinese ships off the coast near the city of Asan in south-eastern Korea, triggering the First Sino-Japanese War from which Japan emerged victorious. Japan pressured Joseon towards political reform. This was known as the Gabo Reform and was introduced in the three stages from 1894 to 1896 by the Japanese and pro-Japanese Koreans. Two significant declarations were the sovereignty of Korea (signalling independence from Qing external interference) and the abolishment of the class system (Gang, 2007). Superficially the reform appears significant in establishing and accelerating the modernisation of Korea, but it also helped Japan establish a “legal foundation” for colonialism in Korea.

In 1905 the Eulsa Treaty (also called the Japan–Korea Protectorate Treaty) was signed between Korea and the Japanese Empire. After Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese war, Russia promised to withdraw its influence from Korea, allowing Japan to further its goal to “legalise” the transformation of a sovereign Korea into a protectorate of Japan. Some pro-Japanese Korean cabinet members signed an agreement with Imperial Japan without Emperor Go-jong’s assent. Emperor Go-jong sent letters overseas (Fig.
3.3) seeking pledges of support against the illegal endorsement, but the major powers ignored Korea’s plight.

![Emperor Go-jong’s letter](image)

**Fig. 3.3 Emperor Go-jong’s letter.**

The Treaty of 1907 laid the foundation for Japan’s annexation of Korea. Itō Hirobumi became the first Resident-General of Korea and urged Emperor Go-jong to abdicate. When Hirobumi arrived at the Harbin Railway station in Manchuria for a meeting in October 1909, An Jung-Geun, a Korean independence activist, fired at him several times and fatally wounded him (An, 2000). Subsequently, the occupation was accelerated and in 1910 Japan officially annexed Korea.

Despite a strong Korean urge to keep Korea independent, by the end of the nineteenth century internal and external factors had led to Korea’s annexation by Japan, bringing an abrupt end to many centuries of political stability on the Korean Peninsula.
3.5 Conclusion

The historical background provided in this chapter gives an indication of the complicated relationship between Korean and Japan. It also shows that Korea was unprepared to meet the political challenges of the time. The unconditional annexation of Korea resulted in the introduction of a “modern education” system by the Japanese colonial government, which was very different from that of the Joseon Dynasty, and would shape Korea’s educational landscape for decades to come.
CHAPTER 4 Education before the Japanese colonial period (1880s–1910)

It could hardly have been obvious to any Korean in the early nineteenth century that their society was to undergo a relentless series of upheavals and radical transformations. Theirs was a land that had twelve centuries of political unity and a social and political system that had evolved but not drastically changed in more than a millennium. Korean leaders and elites were confident in the virtuousness of their kingdom, considering it a bastion of truly civilized values, the most faithful adherent of correct ethical norms derived from the Chinese Confucian tradition. Except for a tiny number of Christians, the world outside East Asia was of little concern for them. All this changed radically as the world of Western imperialism began to intrude upon Korea. (Seth, 2011, p. 225)

As Seth describes above, during the period of imperialism the world changed too rapidly for Korea. Therefore, it was also a sudden turning point for the Korean education system. It is said that during the Enlightenment (Gaehwagi) period Korea’s doors were opened to the world (1876) and preceded the Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945). During the unstable political situation of the 1876–1910 period, the introduction of a Western education system conflicted with traditional Confucianism. The continuing discussion of new and traditional philosophies of education was complicated leading up to the 1880s due to differing perspectives and philosophies such as traditional Silhak (Realist School of Confucianism), Jusahak (the doctrines of Chu-tzu), and Christianity from the West (Jo, 1995, pp. 97–101). In the 1890s a group of intellectuals known as Gaehwapa (a modernisation faction) strongly advocated in newspaper articles the necessity of introducing Western education for general citizens (Kim, 2003a). At the same time the Joseon government was trying to create its own modernised Korean education system and sent Korean scholars overseas to survey other education systems from the 1860s. Nevertheless, during this period the Joseon Dynasty was gradually politically weakened due to domestic turmoil and increasing Japanese interference. After winning the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 Japan deepened its direct interference in politics in Korea, eventuating in the forced signing of the Eulsa Treaty by Joseon in 1905.

Despite the unstable political situation the Joseon administration continued to improve education for Koreans through newly created educational policies until the beginning of the twentieth century. However, after the establishment of the office of the Japanese Residency-General (Tonggambu) in 1906, the Korean education system was completely changed as this office started interfering with and controlling Korean politics,
education, economics, and culture. From 1906 the Residency-General effectively controlled Korean education policies and all new policies were strongly influenced by political circumstances, particularly the colonial ambitions of Imperial Japan. This chapter helps to understand Joseon’s modernisation of education as a prologue to the education system under Japanese colonial rule, and is therefore limited to the period between the 1880s and 1910. It describes how the Korean government developed its modern education system and what kind of system it was, and, in particular, looks at the types of music that were in the schools.

**4.1 Historical considerations (1880–1910)**

In this chapter, I introduce the education protocol by following the influence of the Japanese Residency-General (Tonggambu) in Korea. This chapter considers the kind of music that emerged in the education system, then disappeared, before 1910 and examines the causes for this by providing evidence of ways in which the Japanese colonial government influenced the situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Historical event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Treaty of Ganghwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>First private primary school (Wonsan haksa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Donghak Revolution &amp; First Sino-Japanese War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td><strong>February</strong> King Go-jong announces his Education Protocol (Gyoyuk ipguk joseo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May Hanseong higher education school (Hanseong sabeom hakgyo) opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July Announcement of regulations for primary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August First modern public primary school (Sohakgyo) opened and regulations announced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>October Assassination of Empress Myeongseong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.2 Key historical events at the beginning of the twentieth century, outlining successive Japanese political influence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Historical event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Japan–Korea Treaty or Protectorate Treaty (Eulsa boho joyak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Office of the Japanese Residency-General (Tonggambu) established Regulation for primary schools (Botong hakgyo) announced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Emperor Go-jong abdicates Lee Wan-yong becomes prime minister and runs the Korean government under Japanese control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Regulations for private schools proclaimed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Office of Japanese Governor-General (Joseon Chongdokbu) established in Korea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1 The Education Protocol of 1895

In February 1895, Emperor Go-jong announced the Education Protocol (Gyoyuk ipguk joseo; see Fig. 4.1) emphasising his determination to modernise the Korean traditional education system. For example, one of the aims was universal access to education for all Korean children (Lee, 2010c, p. 202). The following statement in the protocol by Emperor Go-jong highlights the role of education as the only way towards a strong Korea:

The wealth and power of the nation only rests on the education of people. Improving knowledge is the aim of education, which is to keep the nation stable and in continuation. Learning practical knowledge is important to promote Koreans through education: continuing traditional ethics, improving modern knowledge, strengthening a healthy body. For this end, as many schools as possible are built to offer the opportunity to make this nation powerful.

Following this education protocol of 2 February 1895, Korea started operating a modern system by announcing further school regulations such as those of 19 July and 12 August 1895. Music in school was not mentioned in this protocol due to its perceived marginal importance.
4.1.2 Intensification of Japanese interference, 1906–1910

The time of Korea’s declining power represented a major stage in modern Korean education history, with expansion, conflict, and contraction over a five-year period (Kim & Oh, 2003, p. 2). In particular, this was a time of deepening Japanese influence with a plan towards a colonial political system including an education system, with Korea all the while trying to remain independent and building its own modern education system.

Around the time of the signing of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Eulsa boho joyak), which in practice ended Korean sovereignty, Korean interest in education was stronger than ever. This is evident from the many magazine articles and newspapers of the time, as the following headlines illustrate: “Opportunity for universal education” (Hwangsang Newspaper. January 11, 1907), “Aiming for the independence of the fatherland through education” (Taegeuk magazine, 1906), “The importance of education” (Seoul magazine, 1907) and “Learning for all children” (Magazine of Taegeuk, 1907). However, the situation was complex because pro-Japanese Koreans

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supported by Imperial Japan wanted to copy the Japanese education system, whereas patriotic Koreans aimed for independence. Realistically, though, there was never any chance to choose a Korean-style education system as Japan already held the political power in Korea and was making decisions to suit its own goals.

During that time, the Imperial Japanese government accelerated its influence over Korea. The first Japanese Resident-General (Tonggambu), Itō Hirobumi, was officially placed under the direct command of the Korean Emperor in Korea. The official function of the Resident-General was to protect the Korean royal family. In reality Japan intended to use this position to exert control over Korea. Even though the Japanese Resident-General already controlled Emperor Go-jong, the Emperor mentioned the importance of education in 1907 as follows:

Today, education is the most important task. Even though we have a system of public and regional education, it is worrying that there are not many schools. The schools cannot be built in a short time and as many as we want now. There are many empty places in the palace and regional palaces. Therefore, these should be repaired and used as schools. The official documents should be sent to every region about this. (Annals of the Joseon Dynasty, March 29, 1907)

Despite Emperor Go-jong’s passion and responsibility for education, it was too late for this to have any impact as he was losing his authority as the Japanese government tightened its colonial grip on Korea. In 1907 Emperor Go-jong was forced to abdicate and was replaced by Lee Wan-Yong who became prime minister and ran the Korean government under Japanese command.

4.2 The schooling system

Having discussed the political and historical situation in the previous section, the focus of this section is the Korean school system from the end of the nineteenth century until the official annexation of 1910. Schools during this period can be classified into three types according to the way they were organised: 1. Seodang (private informal schools or Confucian academies), which was the traditional school system of the Joseon Dynasty, 2. Botong hakgyo (primary schools, Japanese colonial public schools) and 3. private schools (patriotic and Christian). Of these three schooling systems, the colonial primary school system (Botong hakgyo) was the only one officially recognised by the colonial government, tightly controlled through the office of the Japanese Governor-General.
Seodang and private schools were not officially recognised by the Japanese colonial authorities before 1910. After the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Eulsa boho joyak), private schools were set up in dramatically increasing numbers by patriotic organisations to support the goals of the independence movement (Yang, 2008, pp. 187–189). In response to this perceived threat to colonial authority, the Japanese Governor-General aimed to transform private schools into state schools through a number of new school regulations designed to achieve better Japanese governmental control. Between 1906 and 1910, as many as ten regulations were issued dealing with Korean primary schools (including public, regional, and private schools). This large number of regulations controlling private schools indicates how tightly the colonial government tried to control the education system.

4.2.1 Seodang (private informal schools or Confucian academies)

The term Seodang, and its alternatives Geul-bang, Se-bang, and Cheak-bang, literally translates as “reading room”. Even though Seodang already existed during the Goryeo Dynasty (918–1392), it was only in the middle of the Joseon Dynasty that they became firmly established (1392–1910) (Cha, 1986, p. 138). The Seodang was the predominant non-compulsory primary school of the Goryeo Dynasty and was intended to teach pupils basic literacy and moral knowledge, or to prepare them for higher education. Children usually started school at five or six years old, but sometimes could be over 20 years of age (see Fig. 4.2). The Seodang class sizes ranged from small groups (two or three) to over 40 pupils. Most pupils were of commoner background. Seodang were recommended and fully supported by the Joseon Dynasty and located throughout the kingdom, in large towns as well as small villages (Jo, 1995, pp. 71–74).
Fig. 4.2: A painting by Kim Hong-do (1745–1806) depicting a scene in a Seodang. A teacher (behind the desk) and eight young boys and one adult pupil (wearing a hat indicating that he is a married man) can be seen in this scene from a Seodang in the eighteenth century. This painting is found in Korean National Treasure No. 527, an album of Kim’s paintings.

The first Seodang regulation from 1632 illustrates how the royal Joseon Dynasty recognised the importance of supporting good teachers and students:

In each village there are Seodang and their teachers, but it is a shame that this system seems to decrease recently. From now on, Seodang should follow the regulations. A teacher is chosen by the villagers, but selected teachers should be registered with the local department. The local education department should assist Seodang if they need any help. Outstanding teachers will receive a tax exemption and good students will receive prizes, while bad students should deserve the cane. Excellent students should be recommended to the local department and they can be teachers later or get other rewarding jobs (Annals of the Joseon Dynasty, February 1661).

Anyone could legally establish and maintain a Seodang. There were four ways to open a Seodang during the Joseon Dynasty. Firstly, a teacher could open one to make a living, or out of enthusiasm for education. Secondly, a wealthy villager could open a Seodang for his own children’s education, in which case neighbours’ children could join free of
charge. Thirdly, a wealthy organisation could open a Seodang for their own children’s education; in this case the organisation would invite and pay a teacher and cover maintenance costs. Fourthly, a local community interested in education could open a school for the village; indeed, this was the most common situation towards the end of the Joseon Dynasty (Lee, 2010d).

The textbooks used in Seodang were mainly concerned with the humanities, nature, national history, and the moral teachings of Confucianism (Jo, 1995). It should be pointed out that children from lower-class families were able to attend a Seodang if their parents were interested in education for their children. This is unusual considering that the Joseon Kingdom had a very strict hierarchy of social ranking. In similar feudal societies education is usually reserved for the upper classes only. Unfortunately, I am not aware of any written records indicating the total number of pupils attending Seodang during the Joseon Dynasty. This unique primary schooling system remained important until the beginning of the 1920s, well into the Japanese colonial period (Yang, 2008). Later on, however, the number of Seodang decreased dramatically under Japanese colonial control as a result of the Seodang Regulation of 1918. Considering the regulations imposed upon private schools that were introduced much earlier, the Japanese colonial government seemed to be relatively tolerant towards Seodang, possibly because at Seodang subjects such as Confucianism and humanities were predominantly taught, whereas the aim of private schools was to encourage Korean patriotism. For this reason, the Japanese colonial government might not initially have seen the Seodang as a threat to its colonial occupation of Korea.

### 4.2.2 Primary schools (Sohakgyo/Botong hakgyo)

Some time before the Japanese colonial government established its own primary schools (Botong hakgyo), the Greater Korean Empire (Daehan Jeguk) was already establishing a modern education system, called Sohakgyo. In July 1895 the regulations for primary education were established and the four very first modern-style public primary schools (Sohakgyo) were announced in the Korean Imperial Government Gazette (Guhanguk kwangbo) I, No. 123, on July 28, 1895. By 1903, as a result of determined efforts by the Korean Imperial Government, there were already 8 public and 52 local schools (Gongrip) (Kim, 1999b, p. 31).
However, as a result of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Eulsa joyak), these primary came under the control of the Japanese colonial government and became subordinated to the Japanese education system. One year later, with the establishment of the office of the Japanese Residency-General (Tonggambu), the colonial government took over direct control of the Korean modern education system and resulted in profound changes. For example the length of primary schooling was reduced from six to only four years. Meanwhile, the duration of Japanese primary schooling for Japanese children living in Korea remained at six years. Also, the designation Sohakgyo was changed to Botong hakgyo. The reduced duration of schooling and the change in designation illustrate an intensified discrimination against Koreans. The term Botong (lit. “normal”), introduced by the Japanese colonial government, made plain that there would be no further education after Botong hakgyo, i.e. no higher education was available to ordinary Korean children. Before Japanese interference, children could access higher education, providing them with a chance to elevate their status in society. Japan did not intend to give such an opportunity to Korean schoolchildren. Thus, the change in terminology was a symbol of oppressive control by Japan (Takeshi, 2008, pp. 112–113).

4.2.3 Private schools

Two different types of private schools, patriotic and Christian schools, are considered in this section. There was a range of other unofficial private schools, such as evening and agricultural schools. However, patriotic schools are of most interest because they explicitly supported an independent Korea and were therefore directly targeted by the Japanese colonial government. It was probably for this reason that the Japanese government announced the regulation of private schools so early, in 1908, even before the official annexation of Korea in 1910. As a result, the number of private schools decreased. This was a significant factor in the disappearance of the Korean traditional education system and its simultaneous replacement by a colonial Japanese education system.
a) Patriotic schools
While Botong hakgyo were gradually shaped by the Japanese colonial government, the number of patriotic schools peaked during the decade of the 1900s. In July 1910, before annexation, there were 2,250 approved private schools. If unapproved private schools are counted, such as evening schools and agricultural schools, it is believed that the number was approximately 6,000 (Kim & Oh, 2003).

The primary aim of patriotic schools was to achieve a strong nation, 1. ethically, by breaking down the class system (the strict class hierarchy of the Joseon dynasty) and establishing a new society, 2. philosophically, by accepting new and modern thinking from Western countries, education, and culture, and 3. educationally, by introducing a new and modern education system. In particular, patriotic schools had their own published textbooks aimed at fostering patriotism in the students.

However, this situation was quickly dealt with when the Japanese colonial government interrupted and interfered with private schools by announcing new school regulations. After a textbook compilation committee under the education department was established by the Japanese Residency-General in 1905, the education department started to control all textbooks by proclaiming a private school regulation in 1908 (Jo, Jong, Kim, & Kim, 2003, p. 8). While on the one hand it seems to be advantageous to have standardised curricula and textbooks for all schools, on the other hand, this was a chance for the Japanese Residency-General to directly control the content of textbooks. Patriotic schools were hit hard by the 1908 regulation because the content of their textbooks was mainly aimed at increasing students’ sense of patriotism. In particular, Japan tried to induce the transformation of private schools into state schools through financial incentives (Yu, 1988). This would have been tempting for some private schools, and from a Japanese point of view, would be a comparatively easy way to gain control over schools. As a result, the number of private schools decreased from 2,250 in 1910 to 1,467 in 1911 and to 822 in 1917 (Annual statistic report published by The Japanese General-Governor (Joseon chongdokbu Tonggye yeonbo), 1912–1943).\(^\text{18}\)

However, even though the number of private schools decreased, the number of children in those schools remained more or less the same until the end of Japanese colonial rule. It is interesting to see that the strategic reduction in the number of patriotic schools ultimately failed to achieve the primary colonial goal of reducing the number of students attending them. This may also be an indication of the determination of Koreans to support independence and to counter Japanese efforts to completely dominate all education in Korea.

b) Christian schools
Missionaries began to arrive in Korea in the 1880s and introduced and established educational institutes under a modernised schooling system. For example, Baejae Hakdang (Baejae Boys’ Academy) was established as the first Western-style private school (equivalent to middle school) by the missionary H. G. Apenjello in 1885. In 1889 subjects such as English, geography, mathematics, physics, religion (Christian), and chemistry were taught. One year later additional activities were added, including music and extra-curricular activities. Ten years later, in 1895, this academy was teaching 200 Korean students. The school was named by Emperor Go-jong in 1887, further proof of his great interest in supporting a modern school system.

Another example of a Christian private school is Ehwa Hakdang (Ehwa Girls Academy), established by Mary F. Scranton in 1886. The official mission of the academy was to educate women. Ehwa Hakdang was transformed into Ehwa University in 1945 after independence, and today it is the world’s largest university reserved for women. While most missionary schools focused on teaching their respective religions, some Christian schools were connected with patriotic schools to support Korean independence. This was one of the reasons why the Japanese colonial government began to try to control Christian schools through new regulations.

4.2.4 Seodang vs. the new types of schools (Botong hakgyo)

Although the Japanese tried to promote their own colonial schooling system of Botong hakgyo, Koreans still sent their children to Seodang and private schools. It was only from the 1920s, after the Seodang Regulation was proclaimed, that Seodang influence decreased, both in terms of school and pupil numbers (Table 4.3). In fact, until the beginning of the 1920s the number of Seodang pupils continued to increase compared to Botong hakgyo.

Table 4.3: The number of students enrolled in different types of schools from 1911 to 1923. Percentages of total student numbers are in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Public Botong hakgyo</th>
<th>Seodang</th>
<th>Private schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>32,384 (14%)</td>
<td>141,604 (61%)</td>
<td>57,532 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>60,660 (18%)</td>
<td>229,550 (67%)</td>
<td>51,724 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>159,241 (31%)</td>
<td>298,067 (58%)</td>
<td>57,074 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>305,864 (48%)</td>
<td>256,851 (41%)</td>
<td>68,439 (11%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although the number of Seodang pupils nearly doubled between 1911 and 1923, the proportion of children attending Seodang still declined from 61% to 41% (Table 4.3). Compared to this, enrolment in public primary schools (Botong hakgyo) continued increasing sharply, from 32,000 pupils enrolled in 1911 to 159,241 only ten years later (Table 4.3). Over that same decade, the number of private school students remained stable. Overall, the total number of children attending school increased over time, primarily through the rising number of children enrolling in public Japanese schools.

4.3 Music

This section deals with Korean traditional music and Western music at school, including not only primary schools but also higher-level schools. As the practice and learning of Korean traditional music diminished towards the beginning of the twentieth century, Western music was introduced and even replaced traditional music at school and in the Korean community. The appearance of music types over time and how they influenced music in schools until 1910 is also considered here.
4.3.1 Korean traditional music

Because of its political isolation, Korea had hardly encountered Western music until the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, evidence of exposure to Western music can be found in some earlier documents. For example, in 1631 Jeong Du-won (1581–?) brought a book about Western society, including Western music, from Myung (China) to Korea. Also, Kim Chang-up introduced the harmonium after visiting Beijing in 1712 (Min, 2007, p. 347; No, 1976).

There were no music institutes for ordinary Koreans during the Joseon Dynasty, which means that no formal music education was officially available to them. Jangaag won (The Music Management Bureau) was the only music institute engaged in teaching and performing royal court music, including dance. Jangaag won preserved traditional music throughout the 500-year period of the Joseon Dynasty. Due to increasing Japanese political influence in Korea following the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 and Eulsa Treaty (Japan–Korea Protectorate Treaty) in 1905, all royal court ceremonies with Korean music were reduced. This resulted in a significant decrease in the number of musicians at the court music institute. Under Japanese colonial rule Jangaag won was renamed Leewanggik Aakbu (King Lee’s Music Bureau). Despite the name change, the number of court musicians was plummeted from 772 in 1897 to 57 in 1915 (Chang, 1986, p. 483). Ultimately, Korean traditional music such as Aak (court music) and Jeongak (elite music) barely survived (Song, 2003, pp. 7–9).

In 1909 Joyang gurakbu, the first private Korean traditional music academy, was established to preserve Korean royal music (Jeongak). For financial reasons this academy closed in 1918. From then, this meant that Korean traditional music was only being preserved at Leewanggik Aakbu. In 1920 the Japanese musicologist Danabe visited Korea to investigate the music situation and suggested that conditions at Leewanggik Aakbu be improved. As a result, in 1922 the Japanese colonial government started supporting this music bureau – but only under the condition that official Japanese guidelines be followed, lest it be shut down. For example, its musicians performed the Japanese anthem at JODK (the Gyeongsang Radio Broadcast, run by the Japanese colonial government) in 1938, performed at a Japanese military hospital in 1939, and performed at Buminkwan Hall to celebrate Japanese Foundation Day in 1940.
(Kim, 2008). The photo in Fig. 4.3 shows the Leewanggik Aakbu musicians performing beneath the Japanese flag.

Fig. 4.3: Leewanggik Aakbu (King Lee’s Music Bureau) performing beneath the Japanese flag.21

4.3.2 Western Music

Ordinary Koreans experienced Western music for the first time through the church music introduced by missionaries or the music performed by Korean military bands established in 1900. In particular, outside of school Western-style Korean popular music (Yuhaengga, or Western rhythm) was attractive to curious Koreans (Maliangkay, 2007). In the following sections, I introduce three different types of Western music and outline their interaction with Korean music: Chansongga (Christian worship songs), martial music, and school music.

a) Church hymns (Chansongga)

The introduction of Western music into the mainstream in Joseon was done by missionaries that came to spread Christianity from 1885 and brought Western church hymns (Chansongga; Fig. 4.4 and 4.5) with them. Soon after, in 1892, the first book of church hymns with Western notation was published, called Chanmiga, by the Methodists G. H. Jones and L. C. Rottweiler (Shin, 1997, p. 164). However, the performance of these hymns was restricted to religious services, and the missionaries

were not trained musicians. The main purpose of the missionaries was to introduce and expand their own religion in Korea and they used church hymns as a tool towards achieving these aims (Kim, 1966; Lee, 1998). The teaching of musical knowledge itself was of lesser importance to them. Since the harmonium was introduced at the end of the 1880s, many Koreans were curious to see this musical instrument and gathered in church where missionaries taught church hymns (Park, 2010, p. 215). For example, an advertisement appeared in the Hwangseong newspaper on the September 1, 1896 about religious services held at a church, with singing and praying, and urging people to come and visit.

Fig. 4.4: A hymnbook (Chansongga) published by Underwood in 1894. The large Korean letters on the left hand side of the book translate as “Song of Praise (Chanyangga)”. 
However, from 1886 some missionaries extended their commitment to education and established missionary schools, such as Baejae, Keynesian, Yoking, and Ehoa hakdang (four well known academies), where they began teaching Western music (Go, 2004; Park, 2010). Though these schools included Western music in the curriculum, it is believed that they were teaching religious songs as part of the process of Christianisation. For instance, Changga (music) was found in the curriculum at Ehwa hakdang in 1891 and in 1896 at Baejae hakdang. According to George H. Johns, who established a missionary school in Incheon (near Seoul), school music at the time was called Changga and was taught in the form of church hymns (Lee, 1985). Due to the essentially religious purpose of missionary schools, there was no proper music class, such as piano technique or part-singing, until the 1910s when some music schools, such as Ehwa, began to offer higher degree courses (Park, 2005, pp. 256–257).

b) Military band music

In 1881, trumpet music for military services was introduced into Korea by Korean ambassadors returning from China and Japan. The establishment of a military band (Fig. 4.6) in 1900 contributed further to the establishment of Western music in Korea. This music was actively embraced by Korea (Chang, 1974, p. 69; Lee, 1985) and the idea was accepted that “Western martial music was the best way to encourage Korean

Fig. 4.5: Two pages of the hymnbook “Song of Praise (Chanyangga)”, showing a musical score in four vocal parts and lyrics written in Korean.\(^\text{22}\)

nationalism and cheer up Koreans” (Chang, 1974, p. 69). German Oboist Franz Eckert, a former music band teacher in Japan, was hired as music teacher for the Korean military band. Fifty musicians were admitted into the band and trained for over six hours daily. Training included Western music theory and instruments. The premiere concert was held on September 7, 1901 to celebrate Emperor Go-jong’s fiftieth birthday. Also, public concerts were held every Thursday in Seoul since 1902. Many different genres of music were played, including national anthems of other countries, marching songs, waltzes, and overtures. This military band music was attractive to ordinary Koreans at the time (Lee, 2008, pp. 3–9).

Although the number of military band musicians doubled in 1904, the size of the group was significantly reduced due to the break-up of Korea’s military under Japanese colonial policy and the band was deactivated in 1915 (Lee, 2008, pp. 8–9). Subsequently, about 20 musicians from the military band worked in schools contributing to school music and some of them established the first school music band in 1930 (Jong, 2003; Song, 2005). Other martial musicians went on to work for theatres, playing in the streets to attract audiences to theatre performances (Chang, 1974, pp. 172–223).

Fig. 4.6: Military band at Tapgol park in Seoul ca. 1903 (the same location where some of the interviews were conducted for this thesis).
4.3.3 Music at school

The Korean Education Department announced its Primary School Regulation (Sohakgyoreng) in July 1895, the first example of modern-style regulation of education. Since music is not mentioned in this regulation, it is believed that officially there were no music classes at school at the time in Korea. Almost ten years later in 1906, when Japan started interfering politically, Changga (music) appeared in the Botong Hakgyo Regulation (Seoul), based on the Japanese Primary School Regulation (Sohakgyoreng) from 1900 (Park, 2010, p. 214). The aims of Changga and the contents of Korean music textbooks were identical to the ones used in Japan (Min, 2002a, p. 18). In fact, all music-related materials, including regulations, curricula, and textbooks, were literally copied from Japan. The reason for this was that the Korean Education Department was controlled by the office of the Japanese Residency-General (Tonggambu), established in February 1906. During the time of the Residency-General (1906–1910), three music textbooks were used in schools and all the songs in these books either were written by Japanese composers or the melodies borrowed from Western songs. Japanese-style musical components, for instance duple/quadruple and syncopated rhythm, were all used in these textbooks, but no lyrics supporting Japanese imperialism have yet been found in them, except for a few examples in one ceremonial music book.

4.4 Conclusion

Due to the political turmoil in Korea, it is crucial to closely examine the education situation during this period. Although Korea started to introduce a Western education system – eliciting involved discussions of the pros and cons – Japan’s increasing interference was a big challenge to Korean education. Western music was introduced and developed in three different ways: by missionaries opening Christian schools and churches, with the appearance of military band music in Korea, and with the introduction of music curricula into schools. This may have been a great chance for Korea to introduce the music of other cultures, but in the end the process that was set in motion resulted in the loss of Korean traditional music both at school and in the community. 1906 was a crucial year since formal music education in schools did not exist before that. In other words, music in schools coincided with emerging Japanese interference. Additionally, the early twentieth century was a time when new music genres emerged in Korean society, and these involved and influenced music in schools.
CHAPTER 5 Music education during Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945)

Music education in schools has hardly been considered by Korean musicologists, and the situation during Japanese colonial rule is usually seen as a kind of “forgotten period”. Before 1990, some studies examined music education during colonial times from a sociological (Kim, 1991; Yang, 1966) and historical point of view (Kim, 1970; Ma, 1977); other studies have considered specific eras such as the Enlightenment period before 1910 (Gang, 1990; Jeong, 1991) and the period of 1910–1930 (Park, 1999). In recent decades, some scholars have researched music in schools during the colonial period (e.g. Cheon, 1997; Kim, 1997; Lim, 2001) focusing on the musical analysis of the contents of textbooks. Additionally, Kyung-Chan Min (2002b) studied the aim of music education of this period by analysing education regulations of the time, while Lee & Kim (2007) looked at music education from the colonial point of view. Some Korean scholars believe that Korean school music began after Korea’s independence from Japan in 1945 (e.g. Choi, 2007). This is correct only from a purely chronological point of view since Korea developed its own US-influenced music curriculum after independence.

Some significant earlier studies investigating music education during the Japanese colonial period are discussed here. Cheon’s study (1997) of 15 years of music textbooks (1931–1945) under Japanese colonial rule was the example of first research in this area in Korea. Cheon began an examination of music textbooks under the Second Education Policy (1922–1938) to demonstrate how deeply Japanese colonial policy was embedded in these. Cheon details the number of hours music was taught per week, what kinds of textbooks were used and in which years, and who the publishers were. Cheon explains that the three Japanese authors of the music textbooks of that time claim that 1) music can be used for the “education for the soul”, 2) singing in music class is the most practical music activity, and 3) only music textbooks approved by the Governor-General were allowed in the schools. Cheon claims that the idea of music education as being “for the soul” is related to the Japanese goal of controlling the emotions and ideology of Koreans. Cheon also analyses music textbooks between 1931 and 1945 in terms of tonality, rhyme, and lyrics, and postulates that music education under Japanese policy
was pitched towards shifting Koreans’ traditional emotions. Remnants of colonial policy can still be seen in Korean music education today (pp. 216–224).


- Tetrachord I: Minyō (民謡) (C – E♭ – F), found in children’s songs and folk music. Japanese folk music can be made using only these three notes.
- Tetrachord II: Miyako-bushi (都節) (C – D♭ – F), invented by Uehara Rokushiro (1848–1913) and used for the modern music (邦樂) of that time.
- Tetrachord III: Ritsu (律) (C – D – F), featuring a major second and often used in Gagaku (雅樂).
- Tetrachord IV: Okinawa (沖縄) or Ryūkyū (C – E – F), appearing only in Okinawa and found in folk songs there.

Although Koizumi’s model explains the most traditional Japanese genres, the hybridisation of Japanese and Western music in the twentieth century produced new phenomena such as Yonanuki and new folk songs. Two new modes appeared: Yonanuki chō-onkai (pentatonic major), relative pitches C D E G A; and Yonanuki tan’onkai (pentatonic minor), C D E♭ G A♭ (Tokita & Hughes, 2008, pp. 19–20). Yonanuki
notation is mostly used in Changga (school song), martial music, and Enka (popular song) in Japan. The Yonanuki scale consists of five notes – C, D, E, G, A – with Western chords were mixed in. Yonanuki was established in Korea in the 1920s formed the basis of a well-known Korean music genre of the time called Trot (the name derived from Foxtrot).

Park goes on to explain that the first three textbooks published by the Governor-General’s administration (Joseon chongdokbu) in 1914 were titled Shinpyen Changgagib (lit. recently published Changga book) and are all written in Japanese: 6 songs for ceremonies in the first volume, 29 songs for ordinary Changga in the second, and 6 songs in the third:

The first volume: six songs (all in 4/4)
- 1 song: Ritsu
- 3 songs: Yonanuki chō-onkai (pentatonic major)
- 2 songs: major scale

The second volume: 17 songs (five in 2/4, eleven in 4/4, one in 6/8)
- 2 songs: Minyō
- 14 songs: Yonanuki chō-onkai (pentatonic major)
- 13 songs: major scale

The third volume: six songs (in 2/4)
- 3 songs: Yonanuki chō-onkai (pentatonic major)
- 1 song: major scale
- 2 songs: Minyō

Park (1999) examines differences between Korean and Japanese music structures, such as in metre and rhythm. Korean traditional music consists of triple metre and over 70% of Minyō (folk songs) are in triple metre, while duple metre, including 6/8, can overwhelmingly be found in Japanese koto music, which was played in the Edo period (1600–1868). Japanese rhythm is typically in duple metre (including 6/8), the same as in Chinese music. Instrumental music for strings, such as that written for shamisen, is
always in duple metre. The Japanese music found in Japan is mainly in duple metre (pp. 64–65).

Kim’s study (1999c) is particularly interesting. Kim sought a way to preserve traditional Korean children’s songs by interviewing older Koreans. Kim mentions the major songbooks used by universities and colleges for training preschool teachers. One contains only two traditional Korean children’s songs out of more than 500; another contains only one out of nearly 400. From these observations it can be surmised that there has been an enormous lack of traditional children’s songs in music education in Korea. This study was undertaken in 1999 and now, ten years later, the situation seems to have improved with a better representation of Korean traditional music in the curriculum. This demonstrates that Korean musicians and music educators are reconsidering what matters in Korean music education and what should be done in that area the future.

Kim’s well-organised research method included “individual structured interviews, audio- and videotape recordings, and field notes taken with the informants, following transcription” (p. 41). The period of data collection was over five months. Fourteen women aged 68 to 91 “provided thirty-one songs of their childhoods” (p. 41), which were transcribed from the recordings. Kim found the following:

The majority of the songs were sung in the 1920s, learned from friends, grandmother, and mother, sung with friends, sisters and/or brothers, grandmother and aunt in various places like alley, street, yard, room and kitchen. Old Korean words and dialects represented in a few songs thus required clarification, consulting with a scholar of Korean literature. The seasons, trees and plants, animals, games, historic facts were the main topics of the songs. (p. 42)

Although Kim analysed the songs, unfortunately no scores were presented in the article. This leaves uncertainty about whether the songs were typical traditional Korean songs. Well-known songs sung by Koreans at the time could just as well have been Japanese or Western songs. Nevertheless, Kim’s study points to a significant way of preserving traditional Korean children’s songs. In addition, Kim concludes that “these songs are rapidly disappearing along with the diminishing number of elders who hold them in their memories – a significant loss of Korea’s culturally important treasure” (p. 44).
The next section examines whether political and educational environments influenced music in schools during the period of Japanese colonial rule and how music in schools was intertwined with other music genres. Due to different types of schools – colonial primary schools (Botong hakgyo) and mainly patriotic private schools – I also examine how music learning was developed under these political and educational regulations and what kind of music was used in these two types of schools.

5.1 Political background

5.1.1 Military policy (1910–1919)

There was strong resistance to Japanese colonial designs on Korea from the end of the nineteenth century and into the beginning of the twentieth century, with 1907–1910 being the most intense period (Gang, 2004, pp. 54–55). Resistance took the form of guerrilla warfare, which was connected with the Donghak Peasant Movement (1893–1895). Most of the guerrillas (Uibyeong or righteous army) were former Joseon soldiers and patriotic literati. Japan estimated that there were around 70,000 armed guerrillas operating in Korea in 1908, engaging in nearly 1,500 clashes with the Japanese army (Cumings, 2005, p. 146). Despite this resistance, Japan gradually established its power over Korea through military force.

In the end, after Japan’s annexation of Korea on August 29, 1910, Field Marshal Count Terauchi Masatake was appointed as the first Governor-General of Joseon, under the direct command of the Japanese Emperor. From the beginning of occupation, Terauchi employed strong military force, which was highly unpopular with Koreans. Even schoolteachers were made to wear police uniforms and carry swords (Cumings, 2005) (Fig. 5.1). That is why this period is known as “the era of military policy”. 
Terauchi tried to subsume Korean politics, economics, culture, and education into the Japanese colonial system, which was unacceptable to a large part of the Korean population (Gang, 2006, pp. 30–32). For example, the New People’s Society (Sinminhoe), an underground independence group connected with the Protestant Church, was suspected of plotting to assassinate the first Governor-General. As a result, 600 Koreans were arrested and 105 people put on trial (Han, 1971). Terauchi’s office went on to arrest as many as 50,000 Koreans in 1912 and 140,000 in 1918 (Cumings, 2005). This military policy, designed to counter Korean resistance, lasted for nearly a decade and directly influenced all levels of governmental control, including legislative, judicial, and administrative powers. These policies were invoked not only to control the public but also to organise and manage Korea’s economy as Japan started its intensive economic exploitation of Korea (Shin, 2001).

In 1912, the Governor-General initiated a land survey that resulted in the confiscation of properties, particularly from lower-class landowners. These properties were subsequently sold to Japanese investors at no cost (Nozaki, Inokuchi, & Kim, 2006).

Eventually, 59.6% of Korean properties came to be Japanese-owned (Shin, 2001). Indeed, the Governor-General encouraged Japanese people to migrate to Korea and buy land there at cut-rate prices. By 1920, 170,000 Japanese had availed themselves of this tempting offer. By the end of the Japanese occupation the number of Japanese living in Korea was over 700,000. As a consequence of this, many Koreans lost their employment and property and were subsequently displaced, some to as far away as Manchuria (Berry, 2008). Confiscation of land disguised as “land surveys” is a common feature of exploitative colonialism, as for example in the French-controlled colonies in North Africa (Sartre, 2001). Invariably the native land is expropriated for the financial gain of the colonising power.

5.1.2 Cultural policy (1919–1930)

In the 1920s Korean political groups introduced new ideas based on Western reforms, traditional Confucian values, and communism, spawning the emergence of nationalism and communism. In 1919 a provisional government for the Republic of Korea was founded in exile in Shanghai, while the Korean Communist Party was founded in 1925 in Korea. However, Korea could not maintain integrated politics between opposing parties under the strict times of Japanese rule. This situation remains unresolved in present-day Korea with the North–South division (Cumings, 2005, pp. 154–9).

Following Emperor Go-jong’s sudden death on January 21, 1919 amid rumours of Japanese involvement, millions of Koreans were expected to attend his funeral in Seoul on March 3. Various political groups took advantage of this event. On the March 1, Korea’s independence was declared during the peaceful March 1st (Samil) Movement at demonstrations attended by 2 million Koreans in Pagoda Park in Seoul and throughout Korea. The Japanese rulers reacted violently with military and police forces massacring civilians taking part in demonstrations. Officially 553 demonstrators were killed, but Korean sources claim that there were closer to 7,000 deaths and tens of thousands arrested, many of whom were murdered in extrajudicial killings (Gradjanzev, 1944, pp. 75–76).

One interesting aspect of this movement was that the majority of demonstrators were women, peasants, and ordinary non-elite residents. Due to the widespread resistance to
colonial rule, as manifested by the March 1st Movement, Japan changed its colonial policy and this was a major turning point in Korean history (Baldwin, 1979).

After this event, Saitō Makoto was appointed in 1919 as the new Governor-General. He introduced a new “cultural policy” in the 1920s which represented a softer stance on the part of the Japanese. It included the introduction of limited press freedom, allowing the founding of a few Korean newspapers such as Chosun ilbo and Donga ilbo. Hundreds of magazines appeared in which Koreans could express themselves. Many artists including novelists and intellectuals explored their creativity during this time. However, even though this kind of liberalism appeared to confer cultural freedom, the administration and police organisations still controlled everything under their power (Seth, 2011, pp. 269–272).

It is often claimed that economic development began in Korea from this time. However, this “economic boom” was restricted to a small class of Korean entrepreneurs who benefited from “economic development” by working closely with Japanese counterparts. This plan of involving a limited number of pro-Japanese co-operators worked well to appease the public by showing the “development and modernity of Korea” (Takeshi, 2008, pp. 248–249). To transport raw materials and products to Japan, the administration started building infrastructure such as railways. As a result, important Korean cities and ports were linked by rail in order to effectively transport products destined for Japan (Peterson & Margulies, 2010, pp. 144–146).

Due to rice shortages in Japan during the 1920s, the colonial government ordered that rice production in Korea be increased for export to Japan. While rice production in Korea increased by less than 40%, rice exports to Japan increased more than eight times (Lee, 1984, pp. 347–348). As a result, Koreans suffered severely as rice production fell well short of planned goals, and rice was exported that had been destined for the Korean food supply (Takeshi, 2008, p. 248). On the surface, modernity and economic prosperity had arrived in Korea, but in reality the majority of Koreans experienced a harsher life. The increase in production hardly qualifies as an economic boom anyway since none of the exports were actually paid for, so there was no flow of earnings back into the Korean economy to fuel economic growth.
5.1.3 Wartime colonialism (1930–1945)

In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria in “response” to the Manchurian Incident and installed the puppet state Manchukuo that lasted until the end of the Second World War. This incident marks the beginning of increased Japanese militarism that ultimately led to the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and to the Pacific War in 1941. To support its war efforts from the mid 1930s, Japan initiated heavy industrialisation and exploitation of abundant raw materials in the northern parts of Korea and an intensification of rice production in the southern parts (Cumings, 2005).

From the time of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Japan became increasingly aggressive and intensified its power in Korea. In 1938 Japan declared the National General Mobilisation Law and Koreans were subject to military draft and forced labour. Many groups were established under the supervision of the colonial government, such as the Korean League for the General Mobilisation of the National Spirit and the Youth Organisations, reminiscent of similar efforts in the German Third Reich through the Hitler Youth and the Volkssturm, to control and mobilise young and old Koreans for the war effort (Gang, 2006). Large numbers of Korean forced labourers and military conscripts perished during the Pacific War. Forced labour was used to construct military installations in the Pacific theatre of war, for example the airfield on the Island of Guadalcanal, the scene of a bloody battle between Japan and the Allied Forces.\(^\text{24}\)

Through One Entity (Naeseon Ilche) policy, Koreans were forcibly subjected to a programme of mass assimilation (Seth, 2011, p. 294). Koreans were prohibited from speaking Korean in favour of Japanese, drafted for forced labour and the military, and coerced to partake in religious rituals by visiting Shinto shrines. Korean names were changed into Japanese ones and women were drafted as “comfort women” (forced prostitution) for the Japanese military (Berry, 2008). Additionally, all newspapers and magazines written in Korean, and Korean organisations, were prohibited from the 1940s (Lee, 2010d, p. 326).

Korea became independent in 1945 after Japan’s defeat at the end of the Second World War. Cumings (2005) claims that the last decade of the four-decade occupation was like

a “pressure cooker” (p. 174) that led to post-war tensions. The colonial occupation created two different political powers in Korea, communism and democracy, and the effects are still felt today.

5.2 Impact of the Joseon Education Policies

5.2.1 The First Joseon Education Policy (Joseon gyogykryeong 1911–1922)

The “era of military policy” following Korea’s annexation by Japan in 1910 and lasting through the first colonial period (1910–1918) began to influence the Korean education system. Korean education was rapidly and completely modified by the enactment of many school regulations by the colonial government. Teachers even wore Imperial Japanese uniforms and carried swords at school (Cumings, 2005; Fig. 5.1). The first Governor-General Terauchi Masatake gave a revealing speech in July 1911 about the colonial education system being set up in Korea (Hamakichi, 1927, as cited in Kim, 1999b, p. 96):

Education in Joseon is all about making Koreans into enthusiastic Japanese subjects. Therefore, Botong (lit. common) education is to be taught and practical education is the priority. (Second local ministry meeting, July 1, 1911)

One month after this speech, on August 23, the First Joseon Education Policy (1911–1922) was announced. Through it, the Japanese colonial government effectively took control of the existing Korean education system and immediately made modifications to it, such as the shortening of school duration from six to four years.

The First Education Policy (Fig. 5.2) was central to establishing the colonial education system in Korea. It dealt with the aim of education in Korea (Articles 1 and 2) and the need for education in Korea (Article 3).
It includes a total of thirty articles, with several crucial features. Firstly, in introducing the regulation, the Governor-General targeted and at the same time transformed the newly established Korean education system by changing it into a Japanese one. Secondly, the Governor-General affirmed in Article 2 that “[e]ducating is to promote the Joseon people to become good and loyal subjects [of Japan]”. This same aim had already been proclaimed in the Governor-General’s speech, as noted above. Thirdly, the Japanese language was recognised as the national language of Korea (Article 8). This should not be confused with learning Japanese as a second language in school; in fact, it was the Korean language that was treated and taught as a second language. By teaching Japanese as a first language the Governor-General expected Korean children to be transformed into Japanese. Fourthly, Japan shortened the duration of primary school from six years under the traditional Korean system to four under Article 9. However, this rule did not affect Japanese schoolchildren residing in Korea at the time as there was a special policy for them. Fifthly, the aims of the colonial education policy were always directly connected with the aims of Japanese colonial politics. For instance, the

Governor-General strengthened industrial schools (Sireop hakgyo, learning basic agriculture skills), in which children should only learn basic knowledge of agriculture with no higher education system. Japan wanted Korean children to be trained in such a way as to directly support Japan’s plans for economic exploitation. Also, preventing children from receiving higher education prevents the creation of future intellectuals that might challenge the Japanese occupation. The same aims can be seen in Article 2 of the First Joseon Education Policy, “educating is to promote Joseon people to become good and loyal subjects”.

a) The Primary School Regulation (Botong Hakgyo Gyuchik)
The Primary School Regulation (Botong hakgyo gyuchik) was announced in October 1911, just two months after the First Joseon Education Policy. The most noteworthy item in the weekly timetable from this period is the treatment of Japanese as the national language. In total 38% of the weekly hours were Japanese-language teaching compared to 21% for Korean and Chinese languages combined (Oh, 2005). Changga (music) was taught three hours per week combined with gymnastics.

b) The Private School Regulation (Sarip Hakgyo Gyuchik)
In 1905 approximately 1,200 private schools already existed in Imperial Korea and by 1909 numbers had increased to about 3,000. Private schools can be separated into two major types: Christian schools established by foreign missionaries and patriotic schools founded by Korean patriotic groups. Initially, private schools were not bound by the Primary School Regulation (Botong hakgyo gyuchik). The colonial government sought stricter regulations to cover and tighten Korean private schools, in particular because the aim of the patriotic schools was to pose a direct challenge to Japanese colonial interests in that they sought to create patriotic Koreans instead of loyal Japanese subjects. Just two years after Japan’s annexation of Korea in 1910, the Private School Regulation (Sarip hakgyo gyuchik) was announced in the official gazette of the Governor-General (Joseon chondokbu kwanbo). From this time on, the opening of a private school needed to meet a certain set of strongly regulated criteria. As a result, many private schools had financial problems as they were legally barred from obtaining funds from well-off private donors (Guhanmal kwangbo, March 1, 1909). Also, only textbooks approved by the Governor-General were allowed, thereby depriving private schools of much of their teaching material. As a result of the new regulations the number of private
schools decreased dramatically. There were about 3,000 private schools in 1909, but only approximately 1,000 remained in 1912, and then only 690 in 1919 (Son, 1971).

5.2.2 The Second Education Policy (1922–1938)

Due to the Koreans’ strong resistance to colonisation, including the March 1st Movement (Samil undong) in 1919, the colonial government modified its colonial education policies based on a new “cultural policy”. This policy was more liberal and allowed more freedoms in Korea.

The Second Joseon Education Policy was announced in 1922 with some noticeable changes from the first. The duration of Korean schooling was extended to match that of Japanese schools in Korea: primary school from four to six years, boys’ higher schools from four to five years, and girls’ higher schools from three to four or five years. Korean language, which was abolished during the First Education Policy, was now a compulsory subject, although Japanese remained the national language. Table 5.1 contains a list of compulsory subjects and the number of hours per week devoted to each (for year six primary schools) (Kim, 1999b, pp. 148–149):

Table 5.1: Weekly hours for primary schools; b=boys, g=girls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
<th>Year 5</th>
<th>Year 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National language (Japanese)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseoneo (Korean)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History (Japanese history)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>b:2</td>
<td>b:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changga (music)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>b:3</td>
<td>b:3</td>
<td>b:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing (g)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>g:2</td>
<td>g:2</td>
<td>g:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>b:30</td>
<td>b:31</td>
<td>b:31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to this table, Japanese history and geography were introduced for the first time for Year 5 and Year 6 students. While Korean language does feature in this
Chapter 5

curriculum, Japanese language lessons predominate with 3 to 4 times more hours than Korean.

Under special circumstances, some Japanese children residing in Korea were allowed to attend schools for Korean children, and sometimes Korean children would go to schools intended for Japanese children (Oh, 2000). The number of official primary schools increased dramatically during the period of the Second Education Policy. Takeshi (2008) claims that the increase in the number of public schools represented yet another change to the Korean education system purely aimed at the political goal of molding pro-Japanese Korean children (pp. 249–50). Other scholars attribute the increasing number of primary schools to Koreans’ keen interest in education rather than to Japanese colonial interests (Oh, 2005). On the one hand, Koreans criticised the education system forced upon them by the colonial government, but on the other hand, they desired greater access to schools for their children and the opening of more schools (Park, 1993). Therefore, with the options available, the devil lay in the details: either accept better access to schools but have your children brainwashed, or oppose the only available schooling system and disadvantage children’s education and risk their future. Officially, the opening of a primary school depended on public donations and a colonial government subsidy. Some Koreans were eager to support the “new education system”, and evidence of their interest in education and willingness to donate towards opening new schools can easily be found in newspaper articles of the time (e.g. Donga ilbo, Jan. 18, 1929; Jan. 27, 1930; July 17, 1931). Another reason for the increase in the number of primary schools was the introduction of regulations governing Seodang by the colonial government that were intended to reduce the number of Seodang. As admittance into a higher-education school was restricted to children from upper-class families who had attended official primary schools, upper-class Koreans increasingly preferred these official primary schools over Seodang. In an occupied country, attendance at a public school was perceived as better future-proofing than going to a school associated with the previous, deposed government (Oh, 2005).
5.2.3 The Third and Fourth Education Policies (1938–1942; 1943–1945)

With the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Japan became increasingly militaristic towards neighbouring Asian countries. To transform Korea into a strategically important military base and a reliable staging area for military pursuits in China, the colonial government entirely changed its colonial policy. As part of this, the Third Education Policy was announced in 1938 aimed at the Japanese assimilation of Korean children (Hwangminhwa gyoyou). This education policy was part of a larger policy known as One Entity (Naeseon Ilche). The then-minister of education (Hakmu gukjang) and the major figure responsible for introducing the Third Education Policy, Ipmoknobuo, defined Naeseon Ilche as

Joseon people (Koreans) with the sense of identity such as their tradition, customs and language should be changed to assimilate into Japanese sense of identity with Japanese tradition, customs and culture in the Japanese body. (Lee, 2010, p. 320)

The statement above clearly shows that assimilation was intended. The ways the Japanese went about assimilating Koreans through the education system is interesting. During this period, one means of assimilation was to change way some of the schools were referred to to mask distinctions between them. For instance, previously, a Korean primary school was referred to as Gukminhakgyo while a Japanese primary school was referred to as Sohakgyo; now they were both to be known as Sohakgyo. Nevertheless, one of the assimilation policies was to prohibit speaking and learning Korean at school.

One of the most interesting ramifications of the Third Education Policy was that the Korean language completely disappeared from the curriculum and its use completely prohibited at school, according to the weekly timetable for Simsang sohakgyo, as primary schools were referred to under the third education period (1938–1941, The Governor-General [Sohakgyo gyuchik, Joseong chongdokbu], Issue 24, March 15, 1938). Details of this timetable are given in Chapter 6 (p.129).

There was a significant increase in the number of weekly hours devoted to music, with the maximum increasing from three to six hours. This includes military drills (Cheryen). of which some of the hours were interchangeable with martial arts (Mudo). It can be speculated that the significant share of time devoted to music and militaristic sport subjects was related to a drive from the colonial government to prepare children for war.
Evidence of this can be seen in a 1939 statement given by the Vice Governor-General (Jeongmu chonggam) at a school education meeting, in which he emphasised the importance of military drills (Kang, 2010):

The first and fundamental importance to overcome this situation [war time] is to train the citizens’ [Koreans’] healthy bodies. For this, I believe that it is appropriate to have a class devoted to military drills. (p. 11)

The Vice Governor-General’s emphasis on military drills at primary school highlights the pressing into service of primary schools for war preparation in general. For instance, the “military drills for enthusiastic subjects of the Empire (hwangguk sinmin chejo)” class was held every afternoon after lunch at Jeonju primary school (North Jeolla Province). Military drills class in this school also included martial arts such as Kendo (Japanese wooden-sword fighting). A visiting Japanese general was moved to tears after seeing the schoolchildren’s dramatic demonstration of military drills in this class, highlighting the military’s keen interest in school education (Kanbal, 1944, p. 44).

In 1938 the National General Mobilisation Law was declared to increase the emphasis on mobilising of citizens in Korea for the war in the 1940s. The Primary School Regulation (Gukminhakgyo gyujeong) was announced in 1941 and, following the direct orders of the Emperor, again changed the name applied to primary schools, this time from Sohakgyo (little school) to Gukmin hakgyo (lit. school for enthusiastic subjects of the Japanese empire, i.e. Japan and the occupied territories Korea and Taiwan). “Gukmin” is short for “Hwangguk sinmin” (enthusiastic subjects). This change in terminology is significant as it further highlights the importance placed on schools as a tool to prepare citizens for war; in other words, primary schools are not simply schools, but are also propaganda tools to transform pupils into enthusiastic subjects of the Empire, both in Japan and in the occupied territories. Youth Organisations were another tool for creating conformist youth. For all this, music was frequently used as a propaganda tool.

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5.3 Music in schools

5.3.1 Music during the First Education Policy (1910–1919)

Music was not a crucial component of the curriculum as it was not a compulsory subject and was interchangeable with gymnastics. This is made apparent in the preface to the first music textbook in 1910, the Changga Book for Primary School (Botong gyoguk changgajib), where it is stated that only one music book is published for all school levels. However, the most important music genre, Changga, appeared in schools during this time. That is why music textbooks were entitled Primary School Changga (Simsang sohak changga – 19010, Changga Book for Primary School (Botong gyoguk changgajib – 1910), and New Changga Book (Shinpyen changgajib – 1914). The term “Changga” (lit. singsongs) was used to designate this subject in primary school; the subject of “music” only appeared as of middle school. In this chapter, I use the terms “Changga” and “music” interchangeably to refer to the subject taught in primary school.

Teaching a variety of music genres was one of the most important features of music in schools during the First Education Policy (1911–1922).

I argue that emerging new music genres are the sole result of the political situation. Two genres, Changga and patriotic songs, will be discussed in terms of their use in two different school types in conjunction with their political relationships: Changga in primary schools (Botong hakgyo) and patriotic songs (e.g. Aegukga, Korea’s national anthem) in private schools.

a) Music in primary schools (Botong hakgyo)

Music at school was not of primary importance in the school curriculum, as discussed previously. However, one music genre, Changga, was newly emerging, both in the schools and in wider Korean society. Despite of the lack of a proper academic definition of Changga, it is generally regarded as a music genre associated with Western rhythm and style. Depending on the musical style, until the 1930s Changga could include church music (Chansongga), martial music (Gunga), lyrical music (Gagok), and school music (Changga) (Min, 2008).

The use of “Changga” as a kind of catch-all term seems to have been a result of the arbitrary transfer of Western-style music onto traditional Korean society. Up to the early
twentieth century, the term had referred to a genre of Korean literature (Lee & Kim, 2007). The application of this term to a musical genre had no connection to its use in Korean literature. The term “Changga” in reference to music had already been used in Japan since 1872 (Min, 2008, p. 9) and was introduced into Korea by Japan as detailed below.

Western music was introduced into Japan in the sixteenth century (Maček, 2001, p. 151) and was firmly rooted there when the music curriculum was constituted in 1872. Two terms were introduced in this curriculum to designate the subject of music: “Changga” at the primary and “Juak” at the middle school level. In particular, in 1891 the aim of Changga at school, as published by the Japanese Education Department, was “to cultivate moral character by recognising beautiful music”. As can be seen, both the term Changga and the purpose it was assigned in Japanese schools was transferred to the 1906 Primary Schools Regulation (Botong hakgyo sihaeng gyuchik) in Korea (Article 23, Botong hakgyo Regulation, August, 27, 1906). After a Music Study Committee (Uemak chwijogwae) was set up in 1879 by Shuji Izawa (1851–1917), a pioneer of the Japanese public school program and Western music lover, music education and Western-style music blossomed in schools in Japan. In a report, he professed the superiority of Western music over “oriental” music, revealing a rather peculiar sense of inferiority of Asian music (Wade, 2005):

It will, therefore, be far better to adopt European music in our schools than to undertake the awkward task of improving the imperfect oriental music. (p, 13)

In an education policy in 1881, the Japanese education department conferred upon Changga the status of school subject (Lee & Kim, 2007, p. 177). The Music Study Committee started playing a significant role in spreading Western music, in particular via music education.

Some Korean scholars have analysed how Japanese music influenced the content of Korean music textbooks from a purely musical perspective (e.g. Kim, 1997; Lim, 2001). As an example, I describe one of the seven music textbooks, the Changga Book for Primary School (Botong gyoyuk changgajib), published in May 1910 by the Education Department and the first to be produced by the colonial administration in Korea. In the
book’s introduction it is emphasised that “this Changga book is intended to be used at school as well as at home”. It can be hypothesised that with this textbook, Japan intended to introduce songs that not only were to be sung by schoolchildren, but also spread to the entire Korean population (Park, 1999). The textbook includes 27 songs, virtually identical to the songs featured in the Changga book concurrently used in schools in Japan. Lyrics were mainly concerned with nature (11 songs), encouragement to study hard (10 songs), and relationships with friends, teachers, and parents (6 songs) (Hong, 1998). Lyrics pertaining to politics and nationalism were not a feature in this initial textbook, which sets it apart from those of the later colonial periods. However, the songs were typically Japanised Western music, with 26 out of 27 songs in Japanese duple (2/4) and quadruple (4/4) meter, compared to the triple meter of the typical Korean music style (Tokita & Hughes, 2008). Newly composed Japanese melodies of the time featured the Yonanuki scale (see p. 79). This scale, along with Western harmonies and a dotted rhythm, dominated music in Japan (Garrett, 1998).

Of the 27 songs of the first Changga textbook, seven continue to be sung in schools and churches in Korea today. Fig. 5.3 presents an example of a well-known Japanese soldier song reworked into a popular contemporary church song, evidence of the long-lasting effect of colonial music education in Korea. “A Brave Marine Soldier” was originally a Japanese military song composed in 1895 by Sasaki Nobuchuna and Oku Yoshinori to celebrate Japan’s victory in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Later on its melody was used as a school song, “Encouragement to Study Hard” (Gwonhakga), no. 22 in the Changga Book for Primary School (Botong gyoyuk changgajib). This was one example how school music, controlled by the colonial government, played an important role at the time in learning military music. This song was also a typical example of Westernised Japanese music, using a dotted rhythm, duple and quadruple beats, and the Yonanuki C major scale (Fig. 5.3, right). It is still used in Korean churches, with the same melody but without dotted rhythm (Fig. 5.3, left).
Fig. 5.3: A church song from modern-day Korea entitled “I Am Not Envious” (left), a reworking of the original military song “A Brave Marine Soldier” (right).\(^\text{27}\)

This example shows how Japanised Western music found its way into Korean culture. Japanese military and celebration songs such as these came to Korea through school music and subsequently spread into Korean society. Therefore, school music played a significant role in spreading Japanised Western music in Korea. As mentioned previously, typical Japanese music elements, such as duple/quadruple meter and a dotted rhythm, are used by Koreans today without them being aware that these elements are alien to traditional Korean culture. These examples highlight the power of colonial music education in changing people’s association with their music culture and the assimilation of introduced music.

b) Music in private schools

Patriotic schools

Patriotic schools used music in a different way to develop patriotic sentiments in Korean children. In 1996, an original music textbook used in private schools was uncovered by the Ministry of Patriots’ and Veterans’ Affairs of Korea. This textbook, called *Book of Recent Changga Music* (Choesin changgajib Buak Jeon), was used in a Manchurian middle school in China, one of a number of private schools built overseas by Koreans living in exile, and was probably published in 1914. It contained 152 Changga and included scores. The lyrics of songs used in private schools throughout Korea consisted of themes of hope for Korea’s independence and attachment to patriotism (Ministry of Patriots’ and Veterans’ Affairs of Korea (Gukga Bohon Cheo), 1996).

In Korea, teaching songs at private schools was done in an unusual way. Lyrics were usually published by pro-independence newspapers and teachers taught them at private the schools. It was only possible that such songs be published in the *Korean Daily News* (Daehan maeil sinbo) because its official publisher was an Englishman, Ernest Thomas Bethell, who was connected with Korean patriots. Because of the involvement of an international citizen and the associated delicate diplomatic circumstances, the Residency-General (Tonggambu) could not censor the newspaper. After Bethell’s death, in 1909, the newspaper was taken over by the colonial government and a new way to disperse patriotic songs had to be found (Clark, 1998).

One of the most famous patriotic songs was written by Ahn Chang-ho (1878–1938), a well-known Korean independence activist who defected to the US in April 1910. “The Song for the Whole Country” (Geogukga, Fig. 5.4) was published in the *Korean Daily News* (Daehan maeil sinbo) on May 12, 1910. It spread quickly within Korea and among Koreans exiled overseas. Ahn expresses in the lyrics the sadness that he felt leaving the fatherland and his pledge to return (my own translation):

Leaving, leaving, without you I am leaving.
The uncertainty makes me leave and part from you.
Although I won’t be able to see you for many years, I work for you.

---

Don’t be sad, my dear fatherland.

Fig. 5.4: The score for “The Song for the Whole Country” (Geogukga) and four verses of lyrics. Ministry of Patriots’ and Veterans’ Affairs of Korea (Gukga Bohon Cheo), 1996. 29

It is believed that the lyrics of Korea’s national anthem, “Aegukga” (Song of Love for the Country), were also written by Ahn Chang-ho. Initially, these lyrics were sung to the tune of the Scottish folk song “Auld Lang Syne”. On August 15, 1948, at the ceremony celebrating the founding of South Korea, the tune of “Auld Lang Syne” was replaced by one composed by Ahn Eak-tae in 1935 (Fig. 5.5); this is the version of the national anthem still in use today.

Fig. 5.5: Today’s Korean national anthem, composed by Ahn Eak-tae (translation below).\(^{30}\)

1. Until the East Sea’s waves are dry, (and) Mt. Baekdusan worn away, God watch o’er our land forever! Our country forever!

   **REFRAIN:**
   Rose of Sharon, thousand miles of range and river land! Guarded by her people, ever may Korea stand!

2. Like that Mt. Namsan armoured pine, standing on duty still, wind or frost, unchanging ever, be our resolute will.

3. In autumn’s arching evening sky, crystal, and cloudless blue, Be the radiant moon our spirit, steadfast, single, and true.

4. With such a will, (and) such a spirit, loyalty, heart and hand, Let us love, come grief, come gladness, this, our beloved land!

These lyrics are nationalist in character, similar to anthems of other countries. The Korean anthem uses many metaphorical phrases, such as “until the East Sea is dry and Mount Baekdusan [a mountain of spiritual importance to Koreans] worn away” to allude to Korea’s sempiternity. It also includes many colourful expressions relating to nature. Above all, it encourages patriotism and loyalty to Korea.

Private schools, in particular the patriotic ones, played a significant role in teaching songs and lyrics regarding an independent Korea and to encourage students’ patriotism. The Korean national anthem (Aegukga) was one of the most significant songs taught and, according to Kendall (1999), was sung at demonstrations during the largest uprising against the Japanese occupation ever organised by Koreans, that of March 1, 1919, apparently to the tune of “Auld Lang Syne”:

The crowds were unarmed and the march was consisting with the elder, the young, the students and the women….. The crowds started singing the Korean anthem, waving the Korean flag and the streets were filled with crowds.  
(Kendall, translated by Shin 1999)

Christian schools
While patriotic schools were mainly engaged with patriotic songs, Christian schools not only spread religious songs but occasionally also played the same role as patriotic schools. The impact of Christianity on modern Korean music is significant. One of the mainstream introductions of Western music into Korea occurred when missionaries came to Joseon in 1885, bringing with them Western worship songs (Chansongga). Most Christian schools were established in the decade of the 1900s, and by 1909 there were already 184 approved Christian schools in Korea. Among them, 168 schools offered music or Changga as a subject. Other schools taught music under the terms “Punggeum” (foot-pumped organ) or “Chanmi” (praise). Teachers at Christian schools were mostly missionaries, Korean musicians, Westerners, and Korean students who had studied overseas. In special outdoor activity classes, children would sing the most popular songs, such as the Korean national anthem (Aegukga) and the “Boys’ Marching Song” (Soyen hengjinga), composed by Ahn Chang-ho. These songs would be developed and encouraged to be sung in the street as protest songs (Park, 2005).
5.3.2 Music during the Second Education Policy (1922–1938)

After the March 1st Movement (Samil undong) in 1919, some significant changes were made to music education under a new politically motivated “cultural policy” known as the Second Education Policy (1922–1938). While only one music textbook was published under this policy in the 1920s, eight more followed in the 1930s. Table 5.2 lists the textbooks and their publication details (Kim, 1997, p. 97).

Table 5.2: The music textbooks published during the Second Education Policy (1922–1938). The first book was published by the Governor-General and the remaining by the Gyeongseong Education Department.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Supplementary Changga for Primary School (Botong hakgyo bochung changgajib)</td>
<td>Gyeongseong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Year three primary school</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Year six primary school</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Year one primary school</td>
<td>Gyeongseong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Year two primary school</td>
<td>Gyeongseong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Year three primary school</td>
<td>Gyeongseong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Year four primary school</td>
<td>Gyeongseong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Year five primary school</td>
<td>Gyeongseong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Year six primary school</td>
<td>Gyeongseong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To investigate how music textbooks changed during the 1920s in response to the new political “cultural policy”, I examined the Supplementary Changga for Primary School (Botong hakgyo bochung changgajib) book (Fig. 5.6), which was published by the Governor-General in 1926.

The prevalence of Korean lyrics increased compared to textbooks from the previous period. Supplementary Changga contains 21 songs in Korean and 39 in Japanese. Forty-seven of them are predominantly about nature while four are exhortations to study hard. Other lyrics are concerned with Korean history and cities, legendary Korean mountains, and historically great Koreans; none at all are related to Japanese militarism. However, only seven songs feature the 3/4 metre typical of Korean music; the rest were in 2/4 or 4/4 metre, typical of Japanese music (Tokita & Hughes, 2008). Some of the lyrics are the result of public contests organised by the Governor-General, the winning texts composed by Japanese with 16 in Japanese and 13 in Korean (Cheon, 1997, pp. 2–
3). Usually, songs are presented as a score with lyrics on the left-hand side of the page (Fig. 5.7) or with lyrics only on the right-hand side (Fig. 5.8).

Fig. 5.6: Cover of the *Supplementary Changga* book (Botong hakgyo bochung changgajib)

Fig. 5.7: “Moon”, score with lyrics (in Korean)  
Fig. 5.8: “Moon”, lyrics only (in Korean)
Some songs from this textbook are still sung today, in particular in church services. Fig. 5.9 (left) shows a score for Year Four students, taken from the book. Its lyrics, written in Korean, exhort students to study hard. The other score (Fig. 5.9, right) is in use in the Protestant Church today. This version features religious lyrics but the exact same melody.

![Fig. 5.9: A song about studying hard, as it appears in the 1926 Supplementary Changga textbook (left); the same melody as used in the Protestant church today with, religious lyrics (right).](image)

While the 1926 textbook contained a reasonable number of Korean texts, this drastically changed in the 1930s. Even though the Second Education Policy continued until 1938, the colonial government started changing its political goals at the beginning of the 1930s hand-in-hand with Japan’s increasingly militaristic aggression towards neighbouring countries, for instance its invasion of Manchuria in 1931. From that time on, the colonial government started preparing for war, using Korea as a military base to invade the Republic of China. In the 1930s, further music textbooks were published with more Japanese lyrics and Japanese traditional musical components than ever before. As an example, six new music textbooks, for Year One to Year Six, were published in 1935 (Table 5.3).
Table 5.3: The number of songs with Japanese vs. Korean lyrics in the new music textbooks published in 1935.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
<th>Year 5</th>
<th>Year 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is evident from Table 5.3, the use of Japanese predominated with a total of 183 songs written in Japanese versus a mere 12 songs written in Korean. The lyrics in these textbooks involved two types of Changga with ceremonial or general lyrics. The lyrics of the general Changga deal with a range of themes: there are 76 songs about nature, 93 songs about life and locations, 10 songs about history, persons, or stories, and 14 military songs.

After the Great Depression hit Japan in 1930, Japan experienced a major transformation in 1931 from a predominantly liberal to a largely militaristic outlook (Seth 2011, p. 293). Whenever Japan’s political situation changed, the political orientation of music education in colonial Korea followed shortly afterwards, such as the reduction in Korean lyrics in music textbooks after Japan’s government became militaristic. This clearly shows the close relationship between politics and music education.
Contrary to official primary schools that used didactic material supplied by the colonial government, private schools used their own independently published music textbooks. During the period of the Second Joseon Education Policy alone (1922–1938), 26 private Changga books were published. This large number of published books reflects the more relaxed attitude of the colonial government during the time of the “cultural policy” of the 1920s aimed at appeasing Korean resistance. The Changga books for private schools were all written in Korean by Korean composers and largely avoided Japanese musical elements, such as the Yonanuki scale (Kim, 1997, pp. 105–108), though at times Japanese musical elements were also employed, for example the Fun Changga Book (Yuhi Changga book) in 1933. Unfortunately, in these private school music books there were no Korean traditional musical components used either; instead, Western scales predominated in the 1930s.
5.3.3 Music during the Third Education Policy (1938–1941)

During the period of the Third Education Policy (1938–1941), the colonial government took a radical turn towards the mass mobilisation of the Korean people for the war between Imperial Japan and the Republic of China (Seth, 2011, p. 294). After the outbreak of this war in 1937, Korean music education became all about preparing Korean children to serve as colonial subjects. Evidence for this can directly be seen in Article 26, No. 3 of the Third Education Policy, which details that lyrics and music should be easy for children to pick up and the lyrics should strive to indoctrinate them as enthusiastic subjects of the (colonial) government and the Japanese Empire. The number of weekly Changga hours during the Third Education Policy is detailed in Table 5.4. As in previous timetables, Changga continued to be interchangeable with gymnastics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
<th>Year 5</th>
<th>Year 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changga/Gymnastics hours</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During this period the term used to designate primary schools was changed to Sohakgyo and all textbooks, including Changga books, had to be officially approved by the Governor-General or Education Department (Munbuseong). While many music textbooks used in private schools were published unofficially during the 1920s and 1930s due to the more relaxed cultural policy, between 1938 to 1940 many were prohibited and appeared in the list of prohibited books (Geumji danhaengmokrok) published in 1941 by the Education Department of the Governor-General (Pyeonjibbu 1986).
Table 5.5 lists the official music textbooks under the Third Education Policy (1938–1941):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Japanese Song (Mikueui norae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Primary Changga for Year One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Chodeung changga jeilhakyen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Primary Changga for Year Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Primary Changga for Year Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Primary Changga for Year Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Primary Changga for Year Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Primary Changga for Year Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Primary Changga for Year One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Noraechek ilhakyen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Primary Changga for Year One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Noraechek iihakyen)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As an example, the first music textbook in this list, *Japanese Song* (Mikueui norae) published in 1939, contained 11 songs, including the Japanese anthem, a pledge of allegiance to the Emperor, a New Year’s celebration with a pledge to obey the Emperor, a celebration of the foundation of the Japanese Empire, praise for the Emperor, and other ritual or ceremonial songs. Some of the songs from this textbook had already been used in the earlier *New Changga Book* (Shinpyen changgajib) published in 1914.

The song “Patriotic March” (Aeguk hengjingok) (Fig. 5.11) is an example of the relationship between increased political militarism and school songs, in particular during this period. This song won first prize in a lyrics contest organised in 1937 by the Japanese Cabinet Information Bureau for unified national patriotism in Japan. As a result, this song was released by six major record companies and sold over one million copies. “Patriotic March” was sung not only by soldiers but also at all official gatherings and in school ceremonies as a patriotic song, even though it is not actually featured in a school music book (Sugita, 1972, pp. 42–43).

In Korea, with assistance of the National Singing Movement (Gukmin geachang eundong), this song was selected out of 74 military songs and from 1943 was sung to encourage people to be enthusiastic subjects of the Empire (Lee, 2010c). Even before the efforts of the National Singing Movement, this song was already one of the newly
added songs in the *Japanese Song* school music textbook in 1939. The score (Fig. 5.11, left) and the lyrics sheet (Fig. 5.11, right) of the song and the translated lyrics are as follows:

![Fig. 5.11: Part of the song “Patriotic March” (left); the lyrics sheet for this song (right).](image)

Look, the skies of Eastern Sea have dawned,
The morning sun glows high,
The spirit of the earth and heaven is bright,
Hopes hover on the Japanese archipelago,
In the midst of bright morning clouds,
The figure of Mt. Fuji is perfect and majestic,
It is the pride of Japan

The lyrics of this song are filled with symbols of Japanese patriotism. Mt. Fuji is shown as the Japanese symbol of pride. This song is in duple meter, a typical military march beat.
5.3.4 Music during the Fourth Education Policy (1941–1945)

Under the Fourth Joseon Education Policy (1943–1945), primary school was renamed Gukmin hakgyo, and Changga became the term used to designate music class in general. Until then, Changga had largely involved only singing; in the fourth period, listening skills were emphasised, as can be seen in the primary school regulation (Gukmin hakgyo gyujeong) contained in the policy:

Accents and listening practice should be done. Sensitive listening should be improved through tones, dynamics, tone-colour, chords.

Kanichi Shimofusa, a professor at the Tokyo Music School, said in 1940s (Nakamura, 1982) that

Changga is important to concentrate in studying music skills. Improving listening skill is not only to improve music but also to have military purpose, which is one of music education aims. (p. 169)

He goes on to mention that this was a request from the navy. This statement indicates that Japanese education efforts were fully focused on the war effort, and Korean schoolchildren should be trained in music class for military purposes, such as being able to distinguish between Japanese and enemy airplanes (Nakamura, 1982, pp. 166–8). Most songs in the music textbooks during this period are military-related songs in duple meter. The direct involvement of the military (Japanese Navy) in the selection of music content for schools would be seen as highly dubious nowadays.

A further six music textbooks were published containing a total of 161 songs, all written in Japanese. Of these, 74 involved militarism, praise of Japan, and the Japanese Emperor. This represented the highest proportion of Japanese-themed texts of all the periods. The thematic content and exclusive use of the Japanese language shows the connection of education to Japanese imperialism and militarism now that Japan was at war and the use of music at school as a tool for militaristic propaganda.

The relationship between the proportion of lyrics written in Korean or Japanese in the Korean music textbooks and the prevailing political situation is of great interest to music educators. To explore this, I analysed the percentage of Korean language use in music textbooks for the second period, 1922–1938 (modified from Min, 2002b, p. 30), and compare this to historical events and the political situation over the entire Japanese
colonial period (1910–1945). Japanese and Korean music content fluctuated greatly over the years (Table 5.6):

Table 5.6: Summary of music textbooks from each education period, including the year of publication, the title, and the number of songs with Japanese vs. Korean lyrics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First education period (1910–1919)</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>New Changga Book (Shinpyen changgajib)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Normal Changga book (Botong Changgajib)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Primary Changga (Chodeung Changga)</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second education period (1919–1938)</td>
<td>1939–1940</td>
<td>Primary Changga (Chodeung Changga)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1943–1944</td>
<td>Primary music (Chodeung music)</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data from Table 5.6 can be made more accessible through a graphical representation to compare the political and historical background with the proportion of Japanese vs. Korean texts for each period (Fig. 5.12).

Fig. 5.12: The relationship between the political situation (historical events) and music education. The proportions in the language category show the percentages of lyrics in music textbooks written in Japanese compared to Korean (language data from three periods: Min, 2002b).

The period of the First Joseon Education Policy (1911–1922) was the time that Japan expanded its imperial power through the annexation of Korea in 1910, the First World War in 1914, and the Siberian intervention in 1918. During this time, the texts in the music textbooks were predominantly in Japanese, 85% versus only 15% in Korean. However, during the next period (1922–1938), the percentage of Japanese songs dropped from 85% to 65%, whereas Korean texts increased from 15% to 35% (Min,
Chapter 5

This was a direct result of the continuing Korean resistance to Japanese occupation, such as the March 1st Movement in 1919. This suggests that the Japanese colonial government softened its political approach towards Korea, such as by reducing censorship of media like newspapers. Nevertheless, officially the Second Education Policy was in force, and towards the second half the period, there was a significantly increasing number of songs with Japanese lyrics, 205 compared to only 12 in Korean, or 94% and 6% respectively.

In the period of the Third Joseon Education Policy (1938–1941) starting with the war with the Republic of China in 1937 (the Second Sino-Japanese War), the colonial government became absolutely militaristic. Korea was fully prepared to serve as a military base for Japanese military operations. The effects of this policy can be seen in the music textbooks with a 100% use of Japanese lyrics and 0% Korean. From this period, some military propaganda songs were published in the primary school music textbooks. This continued until the Fourth Education Policy (1941–1945), when the Pacific War broke out in 1941 with the attack on Pearl Harbour.

Apart from the Japanese lyrics, these textbooks contained numerous Japanese musical elements that Korean schoolchildren unknowingly learned. In particular, ceremonial songs were published as an extra textbook in each period, not only to be sung at ceremonies but also to indoctrinate Korean children as enthusiastic subjects of the Empire (Kim, 1997, p. 130).

I. Takeshi (1940) argued that these ceremonial songs were specifically created based on Japanese tradition and a sense of Japanese identity. Singing ceremonial songs was a first-hand experience of being Japanese. For this reason, singing ceremonial songs at school in colonised Korea constituted a meaningful first-hand experience of being enthusiastic subjects of the Empire (pp. 286–287).
5.4 Conclusion

Even though some research on music education during the Japanese occupation has previously been conducted, this chapter focuses specifically on the relationship between the political circumstances and music education covering the entire colonial period (focusing on public and private schools), which is a completely new approach.

Modern education systems are designed to create equal education opportunities and to allow for future career development. Education under a colonial system can have very different goals, as demonstrated in this study. Japan had previous experience as a colonial power from its occupation of Taiwan. Japan tried to apply past lessons learned in Korea and expected an easy assimilation of Koreans into the Japanese Empire, but ultimately it failed because of its two-faced approach. On the one hand Japan tried to Japanise Koreans and promised to make them equal citizens; yet, on the other, it strongly discriminated against Koreans, such as by excluding them from higher education. The push for cultural assimilation was also a widely used policy in European colonial education strategies.

The beginning of the Japanese colonial period was the time when newly created Korean schools were transformed into a Japanese education system through education policies and regulations. Music at school was no exception, as the findings of this chapter clearly demonstrate. The newly emerging music genre Changga played a crucial role at primary school during the first colonial period (1910–1918). The influx of Changga was only possible once the colonial government had taken control of the publication of music textbooks. Changga originated in Japan and was a feature of all music textbooks. It eventually became one of the most important Korean music genres and included school songs, military songs, and even patriotic songs. Influences of Changga can still be seen nowadays in school and church songs in Korea. Some military songs of the 1940s had already been included in primary music textbooks before being published for the Korean community. This shows how music in schools was used to spread Japanese military songs for the benefit of the Japanese colonial government.

It is obvious that music at Korean patriotic private schools was taught mainly for political reasons and not for musical education. The melodies of patriotic songs were
often borrowed from Japanese music textbooks, Changga, or Christian songbooks. The patriotic lyrics were more important to patriotic schools than the origins of the melodies. This is another example of how the goals of music education were mainly geared towards political propaganda, while education in music itself was only of secondary interest.

During the First Joseon Education Policy (1911–1922), many songs involved ordinary themes without any obvious references to the Empire, although there were extra music books specifically for music used at Imperial ceremonies. After the March 1st Movement (Samil undong), the colonial government had to change its political approach. This can be seen, for instance, in the music textbooks’ increasing use of Korean lyrics. However, this was only temporary. Even though the Second Education Policy lasted from 1919 to 1938, the textbooks were changed within that time and Korean lyrics decreased dramatically from the 1930s. The reasons for this lay in changing political circumstances with Japan’s invasion of neighbouring countries from 1931 onward. The exclusive use of Japanese lyrics mostly involved with militarism and imperialism and typical Japanese music components in the music textbooks continued in the Third and Fourth Education Policies.

In schools of the time, the study of music was surely not an end in itself, but was used for political purposes. As a result, Japanese-style music, Japanised Western music, became more familiar to schoolchildren than Korean traditional music. One of Japan’s colonial aims was to assimilate Koreans. Prohibiting the Korean language was one of its methods of assimilation. Music in schools was also used for the purpose of assimilation, as well as serving as a tool for propaganda.

Due to the initiation of modern-style music education through the colonial period, Koreans themselves did not have a choice as to whether or not to accept Westernised Japanese music’s influx into Korean culture. In particular, Korean traditional music was not considered at all in school at the time. The forced assimilation and uptake of Westernised Japanese music is likely to have contributed to a loss of the sense of cultural identity during this period and Koreans themselves did not have any influence over that process.
CHAPTER 6 Policy, regulation and student experience

The structure of this chapter is a reflection of the interview content, in particular the primary school pupils’ experience with colonial education policies and regulations. The changes in the school system over time are illustrated through the analysis of eyewitness accounts. The influence of cultural policies on education is discussed in relation to three categories: changes to the school system, school classes, and the military draft. Interview excerpts are provided as English translations with the original Korean transcripts. Following each interview transcript, the interviewee’s ID number for this study, year of birth, and city and province where they went to school are provided in parentheses.

During Japan’s occupation of Korea (1910–1945), the colonial government changed existing Korean school regulations by announcing new education policies. As a result, many regulations were changed including the shortening of the duration of primary school, the diminution of the traditional Korean informal education system (Seodang), and the introduction of Japanese as the national language for Koreans.

In this section, I focus on changes to the school system and school fees. It is interesting to examine school regulations not only through historical documents but also through the accounts of eyewitnesses. Indeed, the school system was a point of major concern and one of the most frequently mentioned topics by the former pupils I interviewed. Therefore, the following two points will be discussed:

1. The discriminatory nature of the school system, including the changing of the names of primary schools, the segregated schools between Korean and Japanese pupils, and the increased number of Japanese teachers at Korean schools. Despite the apparent triviality of this change in terminology, it was nonetheless significant because internally the Japanese colonial government tried to enforce a dominant–subordinate relationship with Korea. From the beginning of the occupation, the Japanese Governor-General handled Korea as a colonised country, even though Japan introduced the so called One Entity (Naeseon Ilche) assimilation policy as political propaganda (Takeshi 2008, p. 107).

2. The newly introduced aspects of the school system, such as school fees and entrance exams. These issues are discussed based on the testimonies of the interviewees.
6. 1. Discrimination in the school system

Three different themes are considered under this topic: the changing of the names of schools, segregated schools, and the prevalence of Japanese teachers. Additionally, two aspects of the newly introduced school system, school fees and entry exams, are analysed.

As way of introduction to this chapter, I briefly mention one interviewee’s testimony about Seodang, which was the typical school system for ordinary Koreans during the Joseon Dynasty and the later transition to the Japanese public school system, before moving on to the main part of the chapter.

The interviewee is one of the pupils that initially attended Seodang and later the Japanese colonial school (Botong hakgyo). This experience was typical of the time when Seodang was slowly disappearing. Mr. Park, born in 1922, is one of the oldest interviewees. He entered the village school (Seodang) first and attended it until he was nine years old. Usually Seodang consisted of a minimum of 2–3 to a maximum of 40 pupils (Jo, 1995). As in Mr. Park’s example, it was usual to attend the village school first before being transferred to an “official” primary school (Botong hakgyo) controlled by the Japanese colonial government:

*My school, named Mokpo Simsang Sohakgyo, was situated in Mokpo (South-west Korea), a private school with a four-year system. Before entering this primary school, I had attended the village school (Seodang). At Seodang, we were usually 7–8 boys per class and we learned Chinese characters. The teacher was a Korean wearing Hanbok (Korean traditional clothing) with a topknot on his head (Korean traditional hair dressing). When I was nine years old, I attended primary school (Sohakgyo, Japanese primary school).*

우리 학교 이름이 목포 심상 소학교라고 목포 (한국의 서남해) 에 있었어. 4 년제 사립학교였지. 내가 이 학교를 들어가기전에, 원래 난 서당을 먼저 다녔어. 서당에서, 7 명이나 8 명 정도야 공부를 하는데 전부 중국 한자를 배우는거지. 선생님은 한복입고, 머리에 상포 둘러쓰고 가르치는 한국사람이었네. 내가 한 9 살 되었을때, 이 소학교를 들어가서 공부했어.

(2951, 1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province).
Especially at the beginning of the Japanese occupation, many Korean parents still preferred the Korean traditional education system, which was only available through Seodang (Figs. 6.1 and 6.2) (Jo, 1987).

Fig. 6.1: Seodang, 1890, showing the teacher and four students, all wearing traditional Korean Hanbok.

Fig. 6.2: Seodang ca. 1900–1905 with a large number of students.
6.1.1 Changing terminology

In 1895 the Korean government introduced Sohakgyo (lit. “so” means little or small and “hakgyo” means school), a new six-year primary school system (The Korean Imperial Government Gazette [Guhanguk kwangbo], Issue 123, 1895). However, from 1906, prior to the annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese Residency-General was already interfering with and controlling the Korean education system, and the term used to refer to primary school was changed from Sohakgyo to Botong hakgyo (lit. “botong” is normal or ordinary) and the duration of primary schooling was shortened from six to four years (The Korean Imperial Government Gazette [Guhanguk kwangbo], Issue 3549, 1906). In the 1910s, even when the duration of Korean primary schooling was decreased, schooling for Japanese children in Korea continued to last for six years. At the same time, when Korean primary schools were renamed from Sohakgyo to Botong hakgyo, the names of schools for Japanese schoolchildren did not change. Japan openly discriminated against Koreans by introducing separate terms to designate primary schools and a shortened duration of Korean primary schools as compared to schools attended by Japanese pupils.

However, after the significant March 1, 1919 uprising against the Japanese occupation, the Imperial government shifted its policy from a military to a more conciliatory approach during the second political period (1919–1931), for instance by somewhat relaxing Korean people’s freedom of speech in newspapers. Another example of the conciliatory policy assimilation efforts was the expansion of the duration of primary schooling to the same level as that in Japan. This increase, from four to six years, restored the levels of pre-colonial times (The Gazette of the Japanese Governor-General [Joseon chongdokbu kwanbo], Issue 2477, 1920).

Changing the term used to designate primary school was very important for Japan and symbolised its superiority over Korea. “Botong” (lit. normal) signalled a “normal or simple” education system for Koreans with no access to subsequent higher education. Sidehara Daira, education adviser of the Japanese Education Department under the Governor-General in Korea, recalled how intensely they considered making the education system discriminatory. In other words, the Japanese colonial government saw higher school attendance (primary school => middle school => high school =>
university) as a way of advancing in the social class system in Japan. The Japanese Governor-General was worried that this system would pose opportunities for Koreans to be educated, and this was to be prevented (Takeshi, 2008, pp. 111–114).

The following timeline (Table 6.1) illustrates how the school designations changed over time. The Japanese colonial government made these changes in relation to its colonial policies. In particular, “Gukmin”, from Gukmin hakgyo, adopted in 1941, literally meant “nation” – and was representative of nationalism and colonialism.

Table 6.1: Changes over time in terminology used to refer to primary school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Term employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>First education period</td>
<td>Botong hakgyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Second education period</td>
<td>Botong hakgyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Third education period</td>
<td>Simsang sohakgyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Fourth education period</td>
<td>Gukmin hakgyo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, as I found out through the interviews, not only did the names of schools change over time, there were also regional differences. The first interviewee attended school in a region where the names of schools were not changed following official policy, while the second interviewee’s school was renamed in accordance to regulations:

My school Simsang sohakgyo was in Yongsanpo (South Jeolla Province). But this was later changed to Botong hakgyo [instead of the official Gukmin hakgyo of the time].

난 영산포 (한국의 서남해) 심상 소학교를 다녔어. 그러다가 나중에 보통학교라는 이름으로 국민학교가 바뀌었어 (2961, 1928, Gangjin, South Jeolla Province)

Another interviewee attended school in 1936, aged 11, and he remembers:

When I entered school, it was called Simsang sohakgyo, but this was later changed to Gukmin hakgyo.

내가 학교들어 갈때 그때는 심상 소학교 라고 불렀는데, 나중에 국민학교로 바뀌었어 (0119, 1925, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)
6.1.2 Segregated schools

Early in the Japanese colonial rule, schools for Korean and Japanese pupils were completely separated. However, with its Second Education Policy, which went into force in 1922, the Japanese Governor-General approved that Japanese and Korean children be allowed to attend the same schools. This was intended to support the Japanese “policy of conciliation”, which stretched from 1919 to 1931 and was aimed at the cultural integration of Koreans. Nevertheless, even though on the surface equality was affirmed, in practice attendance at the same school by Korean and Japanese children was, depending on the school, either rare or completely absent, and segregation was still the norm.

The following interviewee recalls that there were separate schools for Korean and Japanese pupils. The Third Education Policy (1938–1943) was part of the One Entity (Naeseon ilche) policy proclaiming Japan and Korea to be a single entity (Lee, 1984, p. 352). Through this policy, Japan tried to persuade Koreans that Japanese and Koreans were equal. Even the terminology used to designate the schools was changed. However, this change in terminology was just a superficial political concern. “Equality” here refers to the forced assimilation of Koreans and not that the intention that they are be with the same level of respect as Japanese. This policy was one of the most crucial and central issues for the Japanese Governor-General:

*At the time, schools for Japanese schoolchildren in Korea were called Sohakgyo, whereas schools for Korean children were called Botong hakgyo. However, since Naeseon ilche, we used the same name as for Japanese schools.*

The following interviewee recalled that even though his parents were well-off and would have been able to afford to send him to any school, his primary school was still for Koreans only, as Japanese children attended a separate school:

*I even attended kindergarten because my parents were rich. At the time, only rich Koreans could afford to send their children to kindergarten. At kindergarten, the majority of children were Japanese and only one or two were Koreans. For*
primary school, I went to a school where there were only Korean children and Japanese children attended a separate school elsewhere in town.

우리 부모님이 아주 부자이어서, 난 어릴적 유치원까지 다닌적이었어. 완전부자 부모들만이 아이들 유치원 보낼 시절이었거든. 그래서, 유치원에는 거의 전부가 일본아이들 뿐이고, 한명이나 두명 정도만 한국 아이들이었지. 국민학교 시절때, 전부 한국아이들만 있는 학교에 들어 가게 되었어. 일본아이들은 지네들 학교가 따로 있어. 저쪽 지역에. (0117, 1929, Hwasun, South Jeolla Province)

In addition, Japanese pupils would rarely attend the schools dominated by Korean pupils, as this younger interviewee remembers:

I attended an excellent primary school. There were dedicated music, science and arts classes. If your parents were very rich, you could attend this kind of school. We were all Korean children except for one Japanese child.

난, 완전히 좋은 국민학교를 다녔었지. 우리 따로 음악, 과학, 미술등을 배우는 교실이 따로 있었어. 부모님이 부자이면 이런 종류의 학교를 보내. 그런데 이학교에 한명 일본아이 빼고는 전부 한국 아이들이었어. (2954, 1933, Gwangju)

One interesting case is that of an interviewee who attended a Japanese school whose student body was mainly Japanese. The interviewee alludes to the fact that collaborators with the colonial government were able to send their children to Japanese schools as a reward, and also implies that schools for Japanese children were regarded as superior by the Japanese as only the only Koreans allowed to attend these schools were the children of collaborators:

Japanese school was separate in our town. Only one or two Korean children were allowed to go there if their father was either rich or worked for the Japanese upper class... I attended that school.

일본인 아이들이 다니는 학교는 우리하고 떨어져 있었어. 한국아이들 한명이나 두명 정도 일본인 아이들이 다니는 학교에 갈수가 있었지. 그네들 아버지가 부자이거나, 높은 계층의 일본인을 위해 일하고 있는 사람이던지. 그러면 일본 학교 다닐수 있었지... 내가 그런 일본인들만 다니는 학교에 다녔었어. (2961, 1933, Gangjin, South Jeolla Province)

During the interview, this witness did not mention anything about his father’s job even though I specifically asked about this. He told me that his father was working for a member of the Japanese upper class. From a Korean point of view, his father was a traitor for collaborating with the Japanese occupiers in exchange for benefits, for
example a better education of his children. Former collaborators with Imperial Japan are looked down upon by Korean society today, which is probably why he was hesitant to talk about his father’s position.

6.1.3 The prevalence of Japanese teachers

In July 1910, just before the start of the official occupation, of the 2,232 primary schools permitted by the Korean Imperial government only 80 were part of the public school system (Botong hakgyo) (Shin, 2001, p. 68). The remainder were either missionary schools (approximately one third) or patriotic private schools. In particular, patriotic schools were geared at building a strong Korea and encouraging in schoolchildren patriotic sentiments towards Korea (Kim, 1999b). This meant that patriotic schools were to be seen as a direct threat to the colonial government and were consequently discriminated against. Even though the traditional Korean school system (Seodang) was still popular, it peaked in the middle of the 1920s, followed by a gradual decrease due to the Japanese policies, while colonial public schools (Botong hakgyo) increased in numbers. This was achieved through Japanese Governor-General’s new plan of “one school for three villages”, which eventuated in the transformation of private schools into Botong hakgyo and the construction of new ones. In particular, Japan intended to transform Korean private schools by applying stricter school regulations to prevent them from receiving any funding from private donations or otherwise. Consequently, while in 1920 only 6.5% of all boys attended Botong hakgyo, this increased to 22.1% by 1925 (Takeshi, 2008, pp. 115–249).

While Japanese-style schools were on the gradual increase, Japanese teachers started teaching at all types of schools in Korea (The Gazette of Japanese Governor-General, [Joseon chongdokbu kwanbo] Issue 304, 1922). Table 6.2 shows the percentage of Korean schools with only Japanese teachers, only Korean teachers, or both, based on the testimonies of the 43 interviewees. Of these, 18% had only Japanese teachers, 13% had only Korean teachers, and 52% had both Korean and Japanese teachers during their time at school. Additionally, 17% did not comment and three attended schools in Japan. These figures show that most schools did have at least some Japanese teachers.
Table 6.2: The proportion of interviewees who had only Japanese teachers, only Korean, or both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korean only</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese only</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another interviewee attended school in 1932 but still had only two Japanese teachers:

_We had only Korean teachers apart from two Japanese teachers teaching Japanese history._

우리 학교에는 두명의 일본 역사 가르치는 일본인 선생이 있었고, 나머지는 전부 한국 선생이었지 (2977, 1924, Seoul)

However, as time went on the ratio of Korean versus Japanese teachers at school was reversed. This interviewee attended school in 1936 and recalls that at age eleven he had a lot more Japanese teachers:

_My first-year teacher was Korean and from my second year the teachers were all Japanese: Mr. Nagoya, Yamamoto, Smeiya, etc._

나일학년때 선생님만 한국 사람이었고, 이학년때부터는 전부 일본 선생들이었어요. 나고야, 야마모토, 스메야 선생님. (1925, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

Following this trend, younger interviewees had predominantly Japanese teachers:

_The only Korean teacher was for Joseon class [Korean language] and the rest of them were Japanese._

조선어 시간에 조선어 가르치는 선생님만 한국 사람이었고, 나머지는 전부 일본 선생이었어. (1929, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

_We had 100% Japanese teachers._

우리 학교에 100% 전체가 일본인 선생들이었어. (2954, 1933, Gwangju)

Nevertheless, there were some exceptions: in the remote countryside, Korean teachers still predominated, as exemplified by this interviewee who was younger and attended school towards the end of the colonial rule:

_We had only one Japanese vice-principal and the rest of the teachers were Korean. But we still spoke Japanese at school. I didn’t even see many Japanese in my village._
우리 학교에 교감선생 혼자만 일본인이었고 나머지는 전부 한국 사람들이었어. 그런데도 우리는 학교에서 전부 일본말 써서 난 우리 동네에서 거의 일본인들 못봤어. (2985, 1936, Wonju, Gangwon Province)

Also, remote locations were different. This interviewee lived on an island off South-West Korea and had no Japanese teachers:

We did not have any Japanese teachers. The principal, the vice-principal, and the teachers were all Koreans. But we had to speak Japanese.

우리 학교는 전부 한국 선생들 뿐이었어요. 교장 선생님, 교감 선생님 모두다 한국사람이었고, 일본 사람은 한사람도 없었어. 그래도 우리는 전부 일본말만 사용했지. (1145, 1930, Wando, South Jeolla Province)

Private schools might be another exception in having few Japanese teachers, as the following testimony exemplifies:

I attended a private school with a six-year system in Seoul. We had a Korean principal and only one Japanese teacher.

난 6 년제 서울에 있는 사립국민학교를 다녔어요. 일본 선생 한명만 학교에 있었고, 나머지는 전부 한국 선생들이었어. 교장선생님도 한국사람이었고. (Phone interview, 1929, Seoul)

Another example is that of one younger female interviewee who said that at her private school no Japanese teachers were available:

We had only Korean teachers and no Japanese.

우리는 일본인 선생은 한명도 없었고 전부 한국 선생들만 있었어. (1145, 1932, Seoul)

Many interviewees testified that the majority of the schools had both Japanese and Korean teachers, with rather more of them Japanese. Interviewees who had Japanese teachers only attended Japanese schools, whereas those who had Korean teachers only went to Korean private schools. Conversely, almost all interviewees who went to private schools testified they had only Korean teachers. The large number of public schools with Japanese teachers shows the colonial government’s infiltration of the schooling system, even at the primary-school level. Only private schools could somehow escape this “supervision”.

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6.1.4 School fees

Even though no school fees were introduced during the time of the Japanese Residency-General (1906–1910), the Korean middle class (Yangban) did not want to send their children to Botong hakgyo, preferring Seodang or one of the new forms of private schools (missionary schools run by Western missionaries or patriotic schools run by Korean patriots). Botong hakgyo was not welcomed at all at the beginning of the Japanese occupation in the 1910s because Koreans did not trust a Japanese education system that was forced upon them and saw it as discriminatory against Korean language and culture (Takeshi, 2008, pp. 113–6). Therefore it was difficult for Botong hakgyo to enrol enough students. Although there is no mention of school fees in the regulations issued during the time of the Residency-General, monthly school fees of 40 jeon (錢) were introduced in 1922, as reported in The Korean Imperial Government Gazette (Guhanguk kwangbo), Issue 2868. Because these fees were high, the majority of Korean parents could not afford to send their children to school. This was already a hot issue in society and mentioned in several newspapers. For instance, the provincial council of South Jeolla Province (South-West Korea) made a statement in 1932 that “due to high fees, … it is a fact that Joseon schoolchildren are taken out of school”. (Dong-A Ilbo, March 16, 1932).

In a special section of the Osaka Daily Newspaper on March 5, 1931, it is mentioned that the average monthly school fees for Botong hakgyo in Korea are 60 jeon. It seems that a school could charge more than the official amount of 40 jeon (錢) per month. In Dong-A Ilbo’s editorial column on June 23, 1932, entitled “Abolish school fees!” , it is mentioned that due to the heavy financial burden for parents posed by high school fees, parents could not afford to send their children to school. The September 7, 1934 edition of Chosun Ilbo included an article complaining about school fees and stating that “Botong hakgyo for children are under immense pressure because of school expenses and fees”.

My interview data indicates that school fees varied regionally:

*You couldn’t afford to attend the school if you were from a poor family. If you could afford to eat one or two meals a day, then you could go to school. One cow
at the time cost 100 won and we paid probably two won [for school fees; 2 won = 200 jeon] every month, which was really high for school fees.

가난한 집안에 온 아이들은 학교다닐수가 없었어. 하루에 한끼나 두끼나 먹을수 있는 상황이었으면 그러니 간 식생활이 해결될 정도의 집안이었으면 아이들 학교 보낼수 있는 형편이었지 그 당시, 한마리 소가 백원정도 였는데 그때 우리는 아마 200원 정도 학교 월사금 내야했어. 매월마다. 정말 비쌌지.
(1131, 1927, Daedeuk, South Chungcheong Province)

These two interviewees recalled that school fees were 50 and 60 jeon respectively, which was closer to the official level of 40 jeon:

Our Sohakgyo school had school fees which were 60 jeon... Due to high school fees, there were so many Koreans who could not afford to send their children to this type of school.

우리 소학교에서는 월사금을 내었는데 그게 아마 60 전쯤 되었어. 이게 너무 비싸니깐. 가난한 학부모들은 아이들을 이런 학교 보내지 못했지.
(2995, 1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province)

We paid 50 jeon in school fees. This was very high for the time. I don’t remember how much rice cost.

우리 학교 다닐때는 월사금을 50 전씩 내었어. 그 당시에 이건 정말 큰 돈이었지. 그 당기에 쌀값이 얼마나인지? 생각이 안나는데.
(1115, 1930, Naju, South Jeolla Province)

Other interviewees reported considerably lower school fees. Those were, however, still deemed unaffordable for ordinary people because of the low daily income levels:

Our school was the biggest in town. Girls and boys would drop out of school because of the high school fees. The monthly fees were 10 jeon and a whole day’s labour would earn only 7–8 Jeon. So many parents couldn’t afford it.

우리 학교가 여기 시내에서 제일 컸지. 그리고 월사금이 하도 비싸니까 여자아이들 남자아이들 많이 학교를 그만 두었어. 월사금이 10 전이었는데 그때 당시 하루 품상이 7 전이냐 8 전 정도였으니까. 많은 부모들은 이게 너무 비싸서 아이들 학교 못보냈지.
(1136, 1932, Seocheon, South Chungcheong Province)

According to Issue 83 of the Botong hakgyo Regulation of 1922, there was a provision to reduce the fee burden for families with two or more children by charging fees only
for the first child, with subsequent children fee-exempt. One of the witnesses recalled this:

I was on my grandfather’s family register and my grandfather had a son who was my uncle and we went to school together. So we paid half price for the school fees.

나 그때 우리 할아버지 호적에 올라와 있었어. 그리고 할아버지한테는 아들이 하나 있었는데 그러니까 내 삼촌이지. 우리들이 학교를 같이 들어가니까, 우리 반값만 월사금 내고 다녔어. (1131, 1927, Daedeok, South Chungcheong Province)

6.1.5 Entrance exams

Before the Japanese colonial rule, Korean schools applied an absolute evaluation system rather than a comparative one and there was no entrance exam. During the occupation, a comparative evaluation system was used and an entrance exam was introduced for primary school. Each school also maintained an official record of school marks and attendance of pupils during the Second Education Policy that went into force in 1922 (Son, 2007, pp. 21–44).

It appears that older interviewees that went to school earlier either did not have an entrance exam at all as they had not yet been introduced, or took an exam that was administered in Korean:

I didn’t take the entrance exam.

나 입학시험 안보고 학교 들어갔어. (2995, 1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province; 0119, 1925, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

I was asked my parents’ birthdays and ages, etc. and I answered in Korean.

입학시험때, 니 아버지 생일이 언제냐, 아버지 나이는 얼마냐. 동등 그랬으면 나는 한국말로 대답했어요. (2977, 1924, Seoul)

However, all the younger interviewees invariably recalled that they had an entrance exam and it was in Japanese. Also, the types of entrance exam differed between schools:

I still remember the day I went for the entrance exam. All the grown-ups wore a pair of slippers to get to the office and I insisted that I needed my own slippers that fit me. Later, in the exam, yes, I spoke in Japanese. That was all I did in the exam. I could speak Japanese before school because I spoke Japanese at home and I have got two older brothers so I learned it easily.
I attended Simsan Sohakgyo with a six-year system and in the entrance exam I was asked how many brothers and sisters I have, or you had to count from one to ten, all in Japanese. If you couldn’t answer, you would fail. Some kids failed.

In the entrance exam I had to count from one to ten in Japanese and was asked which ear I can hear, and things like that.

In the entrance exam, I was shown an illustration asking how a car can find its way out of a maze. I also had to answer in Japanese, what you call an exercise book in Japanese for instance.
6.2 Classes

There was a range of timetables for the different schools types during the three colonial periods (see also Chapter 3). Here I provide examples of timetables for Botong hakgyo (1911–1921), Simsang sohakgyo (1938–1941), and Gukmin hakgyo (1941–1945) showing a breakdown of number of hours by subject in a week. I selected these as they were designed for public schools, omitting the timetable from the period of the Second Education Policy because it was similar to the one under the Third Education Policy. These timetables are compared with findings from the interviews to gain an indication of what children actually learned in school at that time. This section examines the structure of school classes, what children learned, and how interviewees felt during classes. All interviewees recalled their school classes during the 1940s after the Pacific War broke out. I firstly present how and what children learned in general at school. Secondly, the personal influence of teachers is considered, in particular, how teachers influenced children’s thoughts politically or individually. The results show a substantial gap between the official education documents, including the weekly timetables, and the reality of life in the schools. From the perspective of a music educator, singing was part of school activities, but consisted mostly of military songs.

6.2.1 School timetables

Timetable given in Table 6.3 was used under the First Education Policy, set under the Botong Hakgyo Regulation of the Japanese Governor-General, Issue 110, October 20, 1911. There was hardly any difference in classtime hours per week between Year One (26) and Year Four (27). The timetable included six compulsory subjects: Ethics, National Language (Japanese), Joseoneo (Korean), Mathematics, Science, and Changga (Music). Other optional classes such as Sports, Arts, Handicraft, Sewing, Agriculture, and Commerce were taught depending on permissions granted by provincial ministers.
Table 6.3: Botong hakgyo (Seoul), four-year system, weekly timetable, 1911–1921, under the First Education Policy (Primary School Regulation, Governor-General [Botong hakgyo gyuchik, Joseong chongdokbu], Issue 110, October 20, 1911). The figures indicate the number of hours per week devoted to each subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Language (Japanese)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseoneo (Korean)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changga (Music)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparison, timetables from the Third Education Policy (1938–1943) are different in several ways (Tables 6.4 and 6.5). For instance, the duration of schooling was extended from four to six years, the hours devoted to Joseoneo (Korean) were dramatically reduced, and boys and girls are segregated for some subjects.

Table 6.4: Simsang sohakgyo weekly timetable, six-year system, 1938–1941, under the Third Education Policy; b = boys, g = girls; figures indicate hours per week devoted to each subject. (Primary school Regulation, Governor-General [Sohakgyo gyuchik, Joseong chongdokbu], Issue 24, March 15, 1938)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
<th>Year 5</th>
<th>Year 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Language (Japanese)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseoneo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National History</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b:2, g:1</td>
<td>b:3, g:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>b:2, g:1</td>
<td>b:2, g:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicraft</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changga (Music) / Sports</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>b:3, g:2</td>
<td>b:3, g:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>b:32, g:34</td>
<td>b:34, g:34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.5: Gukmim hakgyo weekly timetable, six-year system, 1941–1945, under the Fourth Education Policy; b = boys, g = girls; figures indicate hours per week devoted to each subject. (Primary school Regulation, Governor-General [Gikmin hakgyo gyuchik, Joseong chongdokbu], Issue 90, March 31, 1941)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Language (Japanese)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National History</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>b:5, g:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>b:3, g:2</td>
<td>b:3, g:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing (Japanese)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing (g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b:3, g:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>b:32, g:29</td>
<td>b:38, g:34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.2 The reality on the ground

Despite these official timetables drawn from the different school types and different periods, in practice these not do appear to have been adhered to. In fact, the majority of interviewees testified that they hardly learned anything at all at school towards the 1940s when the Pacific War broke out. Instead, Korean schoolchildren were made to engage in “outdoor activities”. In winter, the usual activities were going out to collect pine cones in the mountains, intended either as raw material for the production of resins for war planes or to heat class rooms; in spring they sowed barley in the fields; in summer they cut grass to make compost; and in autumn they harvested grain. Martial songs were always involved with these outdoor activities, such as “Gadason Nippon (Japan Victorious)” and “Patriotic March Song”.

While many interviewees talked about these “outdoor activities”, one remembers various additional activities that were performed during class time. This testimony highlights the general lack of any “proper” class during wartime. In particular, his testimony confirms that the children were also made to engage in propaganda activities encouraged by the Japanese colonial government:
I don’t remember any class but I do remember the forced labour. In spring, going out to the field to collect caterpillars, picking grass, collecting pine cones... since the Pacific War broke out, we didn’t have any class. We were made to hold up the Japanese flag and run through around the entire village while singing “Gadason Nippon”.

The song “Gadason Nippon” (Victorious Japan) was composed and promoted by the Japanese colonial government to celebrate the capture of Singapore and was advertised in the Daily News in 1941.

Despite the forced labour, another interviewee recalls that as a schoolchild he felt that missing school was unthinkable. It was possibly because they were just young children that they simply did what they were told by schoolteachers. The Japanese colonial government exploited this situation very well. Schoolchildren would absorb anything:

I didn’t learn anything at school, but I did work there. On the surface, it looked like studying, but in reality we were forced to work. We used to trample on barley in the field [for the following spring], harvest barley and potatoes. We weeded as well. We didn’t study at all. Nevertheless, I went to school every day without ever missing. I never thought that I wouldn’t go to school even though we were forced to work.

According to the next testimony, it seemed like that there was no place to avoid Japanese colonial oppression. Unregistered schools were not affected by the Japanese military propaganda and therefore did not force children to work. Nevertheless, this candidate still had to labour at home to help his parents with work that was forced upon them by the Japanese:

I didn’t go to the mountain to work during school. But I was performing the same duties at home [that other children had to do at school] because my parents had to work for the Japanese without getting paid: collecting pine resin, producing
Gamani [straw baskets used to send rice to Japan, Fig. 6.3] and collecting brassware [for the manufacture of ammunition]. Every ten days the Japanese would come to collect those items and if the work was not done well then we had to start all over again and if we did not provide enough of the items they wanted, then they searched the whole house. They took all kinds of things and loaded them on trucks.

In fact, at the end of the nineteenth century, Japanese businessmen had come to Korea to acquire Korean grain for export to Japan. The rice was transported in Gamani (straw baskets) as of 1904. At first these were imported from Japan; then in 1909, some Japanese moved to Naju, South-West Korea and started teaching Koreans how to make
Gamani, which would be more profitable for the Japanese. For this reason, the production of Gamani became big business in Korea. However, after the annexation of Korea in 1910, the colonial government took control of it and from the 1930s the production of Gamani was predominantly through forced labour.\textsuperscript{32} From the 1930s, articles about Gamani appear regularly in the newspaper \textit{Maeil Sinbo}, a pro-Japanese newspaper. Some examples include “Producing Gamani is important for Korean farmers; make the best effort” (May 6, 1931); “Price and production of Gamani up in Jeonnam Province” (May 4, 1935); “The price of Gamani in Gimpo” (December 29, 1939); “Contest for the production of Gamani” (May 11, 1940); “Changing the quota delivery of Gamani” (February 16, 1944); “Every effort to produce Gamani” (March 2, 1945).\textsuperscript{33} Even at school Gamani was produced, as can be seen in the photo in Fig 6.4.

![Fig. 6.4: School students making Gamani, ca. 1930 (Yeonhap News, August 10, 2005).](image)

Despite the above, one interviewee recalled that for half the week he was in class learning, and the other half he would go out to work. Even picnic day was used for collecting items:

\begin{quote}
We studied three days and worked the remaining three days. We went out to harvest barley. When we went out to the field, we were singing and marching... we
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{33} Retrieved December 12, 2012 from http://www.kinds.or.kr/.
went out for a picnic for a day, but collected pine cones to heat the classroom in the winter instead. I remember that we would sing military songs.

우리는 삼일간 공부하고 나머지 삼일간은 일했어. 보리따라 논에 나갔지. 논에 가는길에 노래부르고 방마추어 걸어가고... 소풍가는날 어디도 우리 술방울 따러 나갔지 겨울에 학교교실 따듯하게 했어. 군대 행진곡같은 노래부르면서 나간 기억들이 있어. (Phone interview, 1931, Gaeseong, North Hwanghae Province, North Korea)

Of the 42 interviewees, only one testified how learning process took place at school. This was one of the most important interviews because whenever I asked interviewees about their class, their usual answer was that they didn’t learn but were forced to work.

This interviewee said:

The classes were all about memorising. The book of the National Language (Japanese) was so thick, but we had to memorise the whole thing.

수업시간에 항상 외워야 했어. 일본어책이 굉장히 두꺼웠는데 우리그걸 전부 외워야 했어. (1144, 1930, South Hamgyong Province, North Korea)

The situation of not studying at school during 1940s seemed to be the same in Japan as well. One female interviewee spent her childhood and teenage years near Osaka in Japan. She recalled:

We hardly learned anything at school. Instead, we collected leaves from castor trees to produce oils for war planes and practised dropping fake grenades. This was all in case the enemy were to invade our country [Japan]. Boys practised kendo using wooden swords... We also practised escaping in case the air raid siren sounded. The stairs in the hallways at school were made of wood and were so slippery. Whenever the air raid siren went off, I saw many children slip and get injured there because they were in a hurry.

공부시간 별로 없었어 피아지 열매 나무 잎따서 심고 비행기 기름 만들어서 심고 포탄연습했어. 적군이 들어올것 (일본에)예상해서. 남자들은 검도 연습했어....공습이 일어나면 반공굴로 들어가는데. 계단때문에 다친사람 많았어. 학교계단이 나무로 만들어져서 잘 미끌어지지 않았어. 사이렌이 울리면 빨리나갈려고 하는통에 아이들 다치는것 많이 났어. (1146, 1933, Japan)

a) Sports

Although officially sports was an optional subject under Japanese colonial rule, this subject was used frequently for military training purposes. Many interviewees recalled the sports classes and military drills even if they did not remember any other class.
There was no proper sports equipment available, so they would mainly be running in the school yard or the countryside. Sometimes they used wooden guns and wooden swords for military exercises designed to prepare for war. These interviewees recalled that during sports class they acted like soldiers:

We usually learned Japanese language in the morning and in the afternoon we went out [to the school yard] to practise shooting using wooden guns and how to hide from planes... in those cases the record player played martial music in the background... I did not like the sports class at all, so I pretended many times that I was sick during that class. But I went to school every day without exception because it was compulsory.

오전에는 일본말 공부하고 오무에는 항상 목총으로 군대 노래 돌려놓고 맞춰서 음악 돌려놓고 총쏘는것 비행기 타는것처럼 동그런거 그려 돌아다니고 이러거 했지. ....(이런거) 하기싫어서 아프다고 안 나가고, 학교는 의무적이니깐 가는거지. (1136, 1932, South Chungcheong Province)

In the sports class, we would do gymnastics using a sword made of wood.

체육시간에 나무로 만든 칼가지고 체조하곤했어 (1120, 1935, Hampyeong, South Jeolla Province)

We exercised with wooden guns and senior students would go to Youngwang [20 km one way] to collect pine resin.

우린 나무로만든 총으로 연습하곤 했고, 4 학년들은영광까지 걸어서 간술따라 다니곤 했어 (1126, 1934, Damyang, South Jeolla Province)

Many songs were sung in sports class. In particular, many of the interviewees remember the military songs:

While in the sports class, we sang a Japanese song... [singing in Japanese] Miodokaini sora akide,..

체육시간에 우리 노래도 불렀어. (일본말로 노래) (3005, 1929, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

In fact, this song was one of the most popular military songs. The lyrics evoke Japanese imperialism and mention Mt. Fuji, the symbol of Japanese pride and nationalism.

Look, Pacific Ocean dawns, when the rising sun shines in the sky,
Consciousness of the universe and hope is vivid at Ohyashima.

Oh, in the morning holy cloud, standing Mt. Fuji with dignity must be invincible Japanese honour.

When censorship of culture and music recordings was introduced in 1934, the Japanese Imperial government started controlling these areas more strictly. In 1937, the government’s public information division devised a plan to spread patriotic marching songs (Gukminga) to showcase strong Japanese imperialism with respect to the war (Lee, 2010c). One scheme was to run contests for the composition of patriotic lyrics and music. Fig. 6.5 shows a contest flyer.

According to the Japanese government, over 57,000 contestants entered lyrics and over 10,400 entered music, hailing from Japan and the colonised countries Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria (Weekly News [Sajin Jubo] No. 62, p. 41, published by the Public Information Division [Naegak Jeongbobu], September 1937 (Lee, 2010c). The winning song,
Aikoku Koushinkyoku (mentioned by the previous interviewee), was played in a concert to promote it, then advertised and published in many arrangements such as for choir, for orchestra, and for children’s choir. Recordings were also released by some record companies (Hyhong, 2001, pp. 213–214).

One interviewee mentioned the song of Umiyukaba (海ゆかば, lit. “If I go away to sea”, which was regarded as the “second Japanese anthem” of marine military songs:

*After the sports class, we would sing the song “Umiyukaba”....*

체육시간에, 우미유카바 노래 부르곤 했지, (1146, 1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province)

The song “Umiyukaba” was composed as the result of a contest in the same way as described above. These kinds of contests were not only promoted by the Cabinet of the Public Information Division, but also by many newspapers. In December 1942, this song was already designated as a national patriotic song by the Japanese Music and Culture Association. It spread throughout Japan as a patriotic marching song (Gukminga) and became the second national anthem after “Kimigayo” (the Japanese national anthem). In Korea, this song started to be sung just a few months later, around February 1943. To make this song popular, the two pro-Japanese groups, the National Strength Joseon Union (Gukmin chongnyeok joseon yeonmaeng) and the Joseon Music Association (Joseon eumakhyeophoe), both under the control of the Japanese Governor-General, promoted it through concerts and contests. This propaganda song had already been advertised in newspapers such as the Daily News (Maeil Sinbo) on January 31, 1941; February 23, 1942; and March 23, 1943. Consequently, it became compulsory to sing this song at every opportunity in Korea. It was not surprising that it was sung by all the schoolchildren too. As a result, the interviewee above and many others still remember it, even though it was not a school song.

b) Teachers
According to the interviewees’ testimonies it appears to have been the same at school. Interviewees reveal themselves to have been easily and deeply influenced by the
teachers’ behaviour. If the teacher was nice to them, then they characterised that teacher as “good” and “high-quality” and even judged the Japanese education system as superb.

One interviewee remembered that his Japanese language teacher was a “good” teacher because the teacher selected him to perform particular activities in class:

_I liked my third-year [Japanese] class teacher, called Hichini. Somebody had to write the date every day on the blackboard. I was good at writing. So he asked me to do it. I always came to school much earlier than others to write it. He was a good teacher._

히찌니 선생이 내가 글씨를 잘썼어. 오늘은 몇월 며칠 이라고 칠판에 쓰는데 한문으로,나한테 쓰라고 해서 내가 그선생님을 좋아했어. 내가 아침 일찍왔지. 그거 써려고 그때가 3 학년정도 되었을까. (0119, 1925, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

Another interviewee thought the teachers were good, even though he was forced to work every day at school:

_I was loved by the teacher...I was never punished. So I feel they were good. ...We didn’t learn anything. Instead we would go to the mountain to collect pine resin for planes. We made a fire to produce plane petrol in a huge pot in the school yard. We hardly learned. The work was not for earning money but was forced labour without getting paid. That’s what I remembered mostly._

선생들이 너무 잘해주었어. 선생이 나보면 선생님께 귀여움 받았어... 벌받을때 눈감아주고, 귀여움 받아서 좋은 생각들었어오 ... 공부는 안하고 감솔따러 다니고 비행기 기름따러 다니고 운동장에서 술을 걸어놓고 기름때고, 수업하는 시간 별로 없었어요. 우리가 수출하는것이 아니라, 일본이 강제로 가져가니깐, 그런것들만 많이 기억에 남아요. (1120, 1935, Hampyeong, South Jeolla Province)

A female interviewee praised the Japanese education system. In this case her teacher was Korean. She believed that because the system was good overall, a good Korean teacher was selected. It is an interesting perspective to consider a link between the selection of a good Korean teacher and the quality of the Japanese education system:

_We had mostly Japanese teachers but one Joseoneo [Korean language] teacher was Korean. He was very good at speaking. Joseoneo was held every Saturday and the teacher would ask if we wanted to study or listen to a story. We would ask for the story. The Japanese are very clever because they chose such excellent teacher._
Four of the interviewees felt that Japanese teachers were nice, whereas Korean teachers were awful because they needed to secure their jobs and were subservient to the Japanese:

When I was in my third year, it was under the Japanese colonial rule. Japanese teachers were nice and polite whereas Korean teachers were terrible. I guess Korean teachers obeyed and tried to impress the Japanese all the time. So they didn’t even have time to teach us. I liked Ms. Gobajashi [Japanese teacher] so much.

Japanese teachers were much stricter [than Korean]. But sometimes Korean teachers were worse. I guess the Korean teachers were controlled by the Japanese. Therefore they needed to be stricter. I had a Korean teacher in my fourth class called Hashimoto [Japanese name]. He was bad. We always got punished… I didn’t like the teacher…. My first-year teacher was selected to be a spy by the Japanese government while he was teaching at school. So he left the school and was replaced by a female Korean teacher.

I think the Japanese teachers were good because they liked me. The first-year teacher was Ms. Masbara [Japanese]; the second-year teacher was Mr. Dogara [Japanese teacher]. They would say to me that I always had a smiling face.
We had a lot of Japanese teachers. The Japanese teachers were much better. Teaching and answering questions were their teaching methods. But Korean teachers were not good. If I asked something then I was told off: “Why don’t you know such simple things?”

In one exceptional case, an interviewee had contact with one of his former Japanese teachers for a long time after Korean independence. It seems that the Japanese teacher missed his Korean pupils a lot:

Until three years ago, we were in contact with one of our former teachers, who lived in Japan. I had some friends living in Seoul. They had had contact the with teacher for a while and I joined the group [12–13 friends] about 15 years ago. We picked up the teacher from Gimpo airport [Korea] whenever he visited us. He missed his Korean students and Korea. He died three years ago. If he lived today, he would be over 90 years old. His wife died too. I have still some postcards that he sent [Fig. 6.6]. He wanted to keep coming and visiting us. Who else would welcome him in Korea but us? He was our Year Six teacher. He can’t speak Korean so we spoke to him in Japanese. Now, we are all old. He looked much younger than us.

3 년전까지만해도, 우리 엽날 일본선생 한분과 연락하고 살았었어요. 서울에 살고 있는 친구들하고 12~13 명씩 연락하고 살았는데, 그들이 먼저 그선생하고 연락하고 있었었지. 한국에 도착하면 우리가 김포공항에서 직접 해오기도 하고, 한국이 좋아서 한국이 좋아서 못잊어 해졌어. 근데 3 년전에 돌아가셨어. 지금 살았으면 90 살도 넘었겠지. 그부인도 죽고. 나 아직까지 선생이 보내준 엽서들 가지고 있고 있지. 우리하고 항상 연락하고 싶어했지. 우리 학생들 아니면 어떤 한국 사람이 그런사람을 환영해 주겠어. 우리 6 학년 담임이었지. 한국말을 못해서 우리가 일본말로 이야기 하곤했어. 이젠 같이 나이먹어가니깐. 그사람이 더 젊어보여. (2946, 1928, Yongsanpo, South Jeolla Province)
Similarly, this interviewee recalled how the Japanese principal and pupils reacted on Independence Day in August 1945:

*On the day when Korea got independence, the Japanese principal told me that now I was free and in 20 years he would come and see me. At the time Japanese schoolchildren broke out in tears weeping and saying we didn’t know why they were beaten [in the war].*

한국이 해방 되던날에, 일본 교장선생이 나한테 이젠 너 자유다 그러더라고 그리고 20 년후에 널 다시봤으면 좋겠다고 하고, 그날 일본아이들 울고 불고 난리가 난지 왜우리가 죽는지 모르겠다고 하면서. (Phone interview, 1931, Gaeseong, North Korea)

The following interviewee grew up in Japan during the Japanese colonial rule and talked about his primary school life in Japan. He recalled how he lived as a Korean in Japan during a very harsh time. When he was bullied at school, the Japanese teacher’s reaction was to treat the Japanese children preferentially, definitely unfair but not unexpected:

*In history class, the teacher said that Korea was weak, and therefore needed a powerful helper [Japan]. All the children in class were looking at me, I felt so ashamed….Sometimes, the Japanese kids would bother me, so I told the teacher*
about them but the teacher said that I should put up with it and leave the Japanese children alone.

역사시간이었는데 선생님이 한국은 약하기때문에 타국의 힘을 빌려야 한다고 그러더라고. 반 모든 아이들이 다 나를 헛되보고 가끔씩 일본 아이들이 날 놀리곤하면 내가 선생님한테 일러요. 그러면 선생님은 그냥 나 보고 참으라고만 하고 일본얘들 건드리면 안된다고만 했지요 (1137, 1923, Japan)

Another interviewee did not have any doubt that the Japanese teachers were well-off because of the contents of their everyday lunch boxes. Such little things like a well-filled lunch box would make the Korean children feel inferior because they were poor and did not have good food:

*I never doubted that the Japanese teachers were rich... I would take hard barley [the staple diet of the poor] in a lunch box, but the Japanese teacher would bring delicious fancy rice and rice cake. I thought, “Oh, the Japanese are so rich.” It was a huge difference compared to poor ordinary Koreans.*

어릴적 항상 생각하기를 일본선생들은 원래 부자라고 아에 생각했지... 난 보리검밥 싸가지고 다녔는데. 일본선생이 검은 깨쌀에 인절미로 해서 먹고 있더라고. 내가 생각기에. 아. 일본 사람은 저렇게 잘사는구나 생각했지 차이가 많았지 (1125, 1934, Damyang, South Jeolla Province)
6.3 The banning of the Korean language at Korean schools

This section examines colonial language education in Korean primary schools, and includes interviewees’ feelings associated with learning Japanese at school.

From the 1890s, Japan started expanding its power into neighbouring countries and extending its colonial empire: Taiwan (1895–1945), Korea (1914–1945), Micronesia (1914–1945), Manchuria (1932–1945), parts of China (1937–45) and Southeast Asia (1942–1945). One of Imperial Japan’s political intentions was to enforce the universal use of spoken Japanese and schoolchildren were made to learn Japanese as the national language. This idea was conceived by Izawa Shuzi (1852–1917), the first director of the education department in colonised Taiwan (1895–1897). One of features of Japanese colonial rule was the assimilation of occupied territories (Jung, 2011) through the forced learning of the Japanese language. In a speech in 1896 about education policy, Shuzi explained that “Taiwan is a part of the Japanese body; Taiwan should be transformed to be Japanised” (Shinnong Educational Association, 1958, p. 612). Even though the basic idea of Japanisation was conceived in Taiwan, it continued to be developed in Korea. The colonial government believed that speaking Korean should be prohibited to prevent Koreans identifying ideologically with their own culture. In addition, the colonial government did not want Koreans to achieve higher education. Yujo argues that because of this open discrimination against Koreans, the Japanese assimilation policy was two-faced, that is, Japan claimed to place colonised peoples on the same level as its own Japanese people, but then restricted them in their rights as citizens of the Empire (as cited in Takeshi, 2008, p. 33).

From the 1930s till the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945, the policy of the Governor-General was to assimilate Koreans into “Japanese culture”. One of his actions was to completely ban Korean language use. In particular, schools were the prime target for the assimilation policy. As previously mentioned, in the Governor-General’s Botong Hakgyo Regulation, Issue 7 under the First Education Policy (1911–1922), learning Japanese as a Gukeo (“guk” means national and “eo” means language) was used to “encourage the national spirit”. Japan’s intention in forcing Korean schoolchildren to speak Japanese was to assimilate them into being Japanese, along with similar policies such as changing Korean names into Japanese ones. In applying this policy, many ways
to encourage the use of Japanese language were announced. For instance in 1915, at a school (Botong hakgyo) in South Pyeongan Province (today North Korea), children were encouraged to learn Japanese as a national language through the introduction of a new regulation, as follows:

- Teaching and other school activities should be held in Gukeo [national language, Japanese].
- All documents should be written in Gukeo.
- In Joseoneo class [“Joseon” means Korea and “eo” means language], translation from Japanese to Korean should be prepared before class.
- Practical language use is encouraged, e.g. students should purchase school supplies in Japanese shops to practice the national language.
- If a pupil is able to speak the national language (Japanese) but still speaks Korean in class, then the teacher should not answer.

*(Joseon Bulletin, May, 1915)*

One interviewee from South Pyeongan Province recalls this same situation from his school time, such as speaking only Japanese in shops, suggesting that this practice was used widely:

*Japanese were very well prepared to make us speak Japanese only. Even when you buy a small thing in a shop, you have to speak Japanese or you won’t get anything that you want to buy. When you buy a pair of shoes, you have to speak Japanese in the shop or you won’t get any shoes.*

일본말만 하도록 일본인들 준비를 잘했지. 면소재지에 슈퍼에서도 일본말 해야지 주지 안그럼 안춰. 신발 샀으면 일본말로 해야 되고. *(1121, 1935, Suncheon, North Jeolla Province)*

In 1927 the Governor-General announced Issue 22 of the Botong Hakgyo Regulation, in which the subject of Japanese history was renamed “National History”:

*In my school, there were only two Japanese teachers for national [Japanese] history class.*

우리학교에 일본 역사 가르치는 일본선생 들이 있었어 *(2977, 1924, Seoul)*

All interviewees except one testified that they only spoke Japanese at school. In fact, with the announcement of the Third Education Policy in 1938, the Korean language was completely banned in all official places by the Japanese Governor-General in Korea. This lasted through the Third and Fourth Education Policies until the end of the occupation in 1945. In schools, Japanese was regarded as the national language and Korean, or Joseoneo, was treated like a foreign language. The testimony below
coincides exactly with the introduction of the Third Education Policy and the banning of Korean. The interviewee’s school was situated in the far south-west of Korea. He mentioned how he learned and managed the two languages at school:

*In the first year, I couldn’t speak Japanese so teachers explained in Korean and taught in Japanese. I learned in mathematics class things like addition and subtraction and I started speaking Japanese in the third or fourth year. .... But then later we were not allowed to speak Korean at school. As long as you don’t speak Korean and you behave well, then all is fine at school.*

The interviewee’s last point was an interesting one: that during the colonial rule, one standard of “being a good boy” was not to speak Korean. This was a deliberate assimilation strategy.

It seemed that the older interviewees who were in school before the announcement of the Third Education Policy in 1938 enjoyed a more relaxed school environment with less pressure on exclusively speaking Japanese. One interviewee who attended school in 1931 or 1932 (he did not remember the exact year) denied strongly that he was forced to speak Japanese at school. Although it is possible that his school was relaxed compared to others, his experience is more likely due to the fact that he attended school before the stricter period and Korean had not yet been banned:

*I was never forced to speak Japanese only. I think I could learn to speak Japanese automatically at school not by force, but because I was learning it at school. Who said that you were forced to speak Japanese only at school? They were wrong. Bring them here I will hit them because they spread lies.*

On the other hand, another interviewee was forced to speak only Japanese at school, maybe because his school was situated in a population centre (Seoul) that could have been experiencing more pressure from the Japanese, or simply because his school was stricter:
We had Gukeo [National Language – Japanese] and Joseoneo [Korean] .... I didn’t like the [Japanese] history class because it was so difficult and the teacher was always using a cane made of oak, which was really painful. This teacher, Mr. Gobayaki, a war veteran whose hands had been injured, was always hitting my head with the cane. I remember that I spoke Korean till the second year and afterwards it was banned.

One exceptional testimony of a person who was born in 1938 and attended the first year at an unregistered school in 1943 in Seoul was as follows:

Older Korean students at the school spoke Japanese with each other. My school teacher was Korean. We didn’t get forced to speak Japanese, even though there was no Korean class.

Based on this, Japanese policy did not spread fully to unregistered schools in Korea, suggesting that they were less tightly controlled by the colonial government in general.

In this section, I have mainly focused on the period when the schools were rather stricter in enforcing children to speak Japanese. That being said, I found that the interviewees did not seem to resist the policy or be bothered by not being allowed to speak Korean. Their reaction was that they just had to do what the school or teachers told them. Perhaps they were too young to view the situation in a critical way. This is one of the main points of the colonising of an education system. The social and political attitudes conferred upon young schoolchildren can be absorbed smoothly without major resistance. They would assimilate.

6.4 Methods of control employed to force pupils to speak Japanese

6.4.1 Cards
One way to prevent Korean schoolchildren from using the Korean language was by using cards with a penalty points system. Five to ten little cards (about half the size of playing cards) were given out weekly to children. Because a teacher could not oversee them all the time, the children had to spy on each other and take a card away from an offender whenever they heard Korean spoken. If a child had more cards at the end of the week, then there were a variety of benefits, such as better marks and presents:

We kids were all given ten cards and if we spoke Korean by accident, we lost a card each time, so we were spying on each other. In the end, if you lose all your cards, you get punished, such as cleaning toilets for a week or getting the cane.

우린 카드 열장씩 받았어. 우연히 조선말 하게되면 그때마다 카드를 주어 했지. 그래서 서로 감시하곤 했어. 카드를 전부다 잃으면 일주일간 화장실 청소하든지 매맞든지 벌을 받아. (2977, 1924, Seoul)

Ten cards were given at school and we were trying to take as many cards as possible from other kids so we were always on the lookout for children speaking Korean. If the kid didn't want to give it to me, then I would tell on the kid to the teacher. This improved your marks or you got loads of compliments from the teacher.

한사람당 열장씩 카드를 받아. 놀다가 조선말 쓰면 서로 빼앗아서 일주일씩 많이 모으면 선생한데 칭찬받고 그러지. 서로 빼앗려고 친구들끼리 그러지. 안주면 선생한데 일르고 그러면서 다시받고 이건것들이 성적이 반영되고 그러지. (0119, 1925, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

One interviewee recalled how he was using the cards. Even though they were children, they were clever enough to take advantage of the situation, for example by playing games with the cards. This shows that they did not take the issue as seriously as the adults nor regard it only as a political issue:

In my school, we had a majority of Korean children and only a few Japanese. The Japanese children spied on us and they took our cards so many times. If you collected more cards than others, you would get some prizes, while other children who lost cards got punished. On our way home, some friends tried to take cards from other children speaking Korean. But in my fifth grade, we talked to each other and made a promise that we should do it only at school and out of school we should not take cards from each other..... Sometimes while playing games we dealt with these cards too. If you lose the game you have to give the card to the winner of the game.

우리학교엔 한국아이들이 대부분이고 일본아이들이 몇명 있었어
일본 아이들이 우리를 조선말한다고 카드 빼어가고 그렇게. 다른 아이들보다 더 많이 카드를 모으면 상을 받고 반대로 잃으면 벌받고 그렇게. 집에 가는 길에, 어떤 아이들은 카드 빼율려고 그러기도 하고 그렇게. 그런데, 5학년때 우리들끼리 이런거 없애자고 약속을했지. 학교안에서만 이런표 제한하고 밖에 나오면 빼주자고 했지....가끔씩 여기서 거리 재놓고 가위바위보해서 일등으로 도착하면 표 주어야 하기도 했어. (2982, 1928, Wanggok, South Jeolla Province)
6.4.2 Punishments

After the Third Education Policy was announced in 1938, schools became much stricter in enforcing Japanisation. As mentioned above, cards were used to make sure children only spoke Japanese at school, and non-compliant children were punished. All the interviewees testified that they were punished in different ways if they spoke Korean at school:

If I spoke Korean, I had to pay a fine of 5 jeon.
한국말하면 5전씩벌금물었어 (1145, 1930, Wando, South Jeolla Province)

We had to clean toilets for a month.
한달동안화장실청소했어야 했지 (No video, 1934, Seoul)

Our marks were lowered.
성적에반영해서성적을나쁘게주곤했지 (3005, 1929, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

Some children got expelled from school.
퇴학당하기도하곤했어 (3011, 1930, Yangsan, South Jeolla Province)

We were severely beaten.
매엄청맞곤했지 (1136, 1932, Seocheon, South Chungcheong Province)

6.5 Feelings about speaking Japanese at school

The following three interviewees reveal what they thought and felt about being forced to speak Japanese. This situation was surely not comparable to learning a second language at school today. While the first interviewee felt frustrated at having to speak Japanese, the second interviewee experienced difficulty after Korea’s independence in having to learn Korean practically as a new language. Another interviewee felt that speaking Japanese was completely normal.

The first interviewee complained about only speaking Japanese and how tough it could be as a little child to be forced and spied on to speak a foreign language at school
different to the one he was speaking at home. He attended primary school two years before Korea’s independence in August 1945:

At the age of 8, I attended a colonial school and one year later Korea became independent in 1945. In my second year I had a fight with one Japanese child who was the class president. He would tell a teacher on me for speaking Korean. I couldn’t speak Japanese properly. And I always ended up being sent to the teacher’s room for punishment. The teachers already knew me and would exclaim, “You are here again!” At the time, I was very frustrated and I thought I would rather die. And I almost gave up speaking Japanese.

내가 8 살때 일본학교 다녔는데 일년 더 있다가 한국 해방되었지. 2 학년때 일본아이와 싸웠는데 그얘가 반장이었어요. 날 빼앗는다고 선생한테 고자질 하곤 했는데. 그때 난 일본말 잘 못했거든요 그래서 마지막에는 항상 교무실로 불려가곤 하고 거기서 벌썽곤 했죠 모든 선생들은 이웃집 드나들듯 또 은다고 할정도 엿이어 한국말 안쓸수가 없었잖어요. 나중에는 죽기야 할라고 라고 포기정도 까지 했어요. (1120, 1935, Hampyeong, South Jeolla Province)

Another testimony was remarkably different as the interviewee became accustomed to speaking Japanese during the school period. For him Japanese was surely the national language. This shows how schoolchildren can rapidly lose their cultural identity by being forced to learn only the colonial ruler’s language:

Speaking Japanese was easier than Korean. But after independence, I had to learn Korean again. I was upset because I was not interested in learning [another language – Korean].

일본말 하는것이 한국말 하는것보다 배는 쉬었지요. 그때는, 그런데, 해방된후엔 한국말을 다시 새로이 배웠어야 하나긴 그게 싫지, 집이 되야. (1124, 1934, Damyang, South Jeolla Province)

Another interviewee felt that he was Japanese and everything was completely normal, like speaking Japanese and having a Japanese name as a Korean:

When I started speaking Japanese it was initially hard, but at school I got used to speaking Japanese and [later] it was completely normal to speak Japanese. I attended school after the system of changing Korean into Japanese names was introduced [in 1940], so I was 80% Japanese.

일본말 할때는 처음엔 힘들었는데 내가 학교들어가서 일본말 하는것이 당연했던가리. 내가 학교 들어간때는 성도 이름도 다 바꾼후에 들어간후라 일본말이 80% 들어갔을때지 (1146, 1930, Sijong, South Jeolla Province)
6.6 Conclusion

As illustrated in this chapter, the colonial cultural policies focused not on educational purposes but on the subordination of colonial subjects and on militaristic purposes. Each education policy made plain that Korean schoolchildren must be converted into enthusiastic subjects of the Empire and that Japan considered Korea as subordinate.

Changes in the school system, for instance the shortening of the duration of primary schooling and the renaming of the schools, shows the susceptibility of the school system to the colonial and political situation. As the colonial period progressed, Korean parents increasingly sent their children to Botong hakgyo (official colonial schools). However, the cost of school fees made it difficult. The number of Korean traditional Seodang decreased in the later part of the colonial period as a result of the education policies. This shows how the colonial government actively favoured its own education system over that of the independent Korean schools. In particular, in segregating school names, it is evident that the colonial government did not see Koreans as equals. Another example of segregation was the introduction of primary school exams. Although on the surface the school system seemed to be open to all Korean children, in reality the colonial government offered only limited opportunities to Koreans. On the one hand, the colonial government needed to showcase the “modernisation” of Korea as a justification for the colonisation, but on the other, this was just an excuse for economic exploitation.

In the 1940s Korean society was being fully prepared for war and this can be seen in schools as well. According to the testimonies, children did not learn anything in school, even though there were official school timetables. Most school activities involved not study, but forced labour to help Japan to prepare for war. Sports classes were mainly intended to toughen the children up through military drills to prepare them for their duty as future soldiers. It must be said that this was the same situation as in Japanese primary schools in Japan. Despite the fact that detailed education policies and curricula were developed, schools of the time did not serve educational purposes, according to the testimonies of the interviewees.
The relationship between pupils and their teachers revealed some interesting facts. Some children preferred Japanese teachers over Korean ones. Some felt that the Japanese teachers were better than Korean teachers, mainly because Korean teachers were especially strict. One reason for this was that Korean teachers had to “behave well” and follow Japanese orders (collaborate) to protect their teaching jobs. Schoolchildren did not know anything about ideology or colonialism at the time. As long as their relationship with teachers was fine, they found that school life was good.

Forcibly learning a language was a hard task for schoolchildren during colonial rule. The use of Japanese as a national language in school was enforced through the use of cards and punishments, and the children had to adapt as soon as possible or they would get in trouble. According to the interviews some children felt that speaking Japanese was completely normal and had problems in speaking Korean after independence. Therefore, within only a few years of the prohibition of the Korean language in school, schoolchildren completely lost their cultural roots in the form of their own language. This shows how powerful a tool education was for colonial purposes. Therefore, the colonial government achieved its goal of making Korean schoolchildren ‘Japanese’ as part of the assimilation policy. On the other hand, the assimilation of Korean adults through the enforcement of the Japanese language was largely unsuccessful due to their strong resistance to the colonisation.
Chapter 7

CHAPTER 7 Music class and music outdoor activities

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, intensified nationalism swept the world, and nationalists of the time used music education to establish their national identity (Hebert, 2012) but without regard for “children’s culture” (see Bauman, 1982). Music plays a crucial role because music itself has an enduring power (Brown & Vogsten, 2006) and “a tremendous power to move people in any direction, towards peaceful and noble goals, or violent and destructive ones” (Urbain, 2008, p. 2). Hebert (2012, p. 1) outlines what can happen when music education is used for political purposes:

When music education is used for patriotic or nationalistic purposes, on one hand, the role and larger meaning of music is reduced to attainment of mere utilitarian goals, neglecting aesthetic values. On the other hand, such an approach often strengthens music education’s role in schools and society since it becomes more widely recognized as a highly effective activity for ideological indoctrination.

When the US got involved in the First World War, patriotic songs (Gary, 2002) and military bands (Jones, 1942) were strongly used to promote patriotism in the community. The High School Victory Corps was initiated in schools in 1942 to encourage participation in the military services. Every participant in this Victory Corps was expected to sing patriotic songs (Ugland, 1979). Some music associations such as the Music Educators National Convention (MENC) and its Music Educators Journal even promoted the use of music by teachers and students for militaristic purposes (Furdell, 1998; Mark, 1980). In more recent years, from 2005 to 2007, MENC created the National Anthem Project: Restoring America’s Voice to re-teach the importance of the anthem, in collaboration with the American military and other corporations during the Iraq War. Many academic scholars disagreed with this project. Humphreys (2006, p.183) states that “The National Anthem Project sends questionable messages during this time of controversy during a foreign war and the reduction of civil liberties at home and abroad”. Although “patriotic songs are commonly considered healthy and essential ingredients for school curricula, nurturing the respect, loyalty and good citizenship of children”, the possible negative aspects should be examined (Hebert, 2012, p. 8).

Japan copied the attributes of its imperialism from Western colonial powers, including economics, domestic politics, ideology, and racism (Myers & Peattie, 1984; Spielvogel,
2011; Tierney, 2010), even though the “divine-emperor-based ideology of Japan” during the Pacific War was a new conception. Japan previously already had a close relationship with German Prussia in the second half of the nineteenth century that led to German influences in military training and European literature (Lone, 2000). Therefore, it is likely that Japan also adapted education styles from Europe through this cultural exchange with Germany. In particular, music was possibly used as a propaganda tool for Japanese imperialism and militarism similar to the German Nazi regime. One example of how music education was used during the Nazi regime was through utilising music groups. One of the priorities of the Nazi party was to train and educate German children physically and mentally in preparation for the war by setting up the Hitlerjugend (HJ, or Hitler Youth) and the Bund Deutscher Mädel (BDM, or League of German Girls). In particular, many musical groups were sponsored by the HJ. According to Stumme (1944, p. 21), the Hitler regime used music as a propaganda tool for German children. In particular, during the Nazi period German folk music took on a new aspect. Fritz Stein, a music professor at the time in Bremen, Germany, illustrated the relationship between Nazi ideology and folk music, concluding that “folk music was the key method of unifying a fragmentary people” (Stein, 1934, p. 260). This idea was derived from G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) and, later, some composers (e.g. César Antonovich Cui and other Russian composers of the 1880s) adopted the same idea. Although the situations are different – Nazi Germany indoctrinating its own children versus Japanese imperialism in Korea, where another country was invaded and children of a different culture were indoctrinated – the use of music for political propaganda was the same.

Along with Russian musicians and composers under Lenin and Stalin (Edmunds 2004), in the 1920s and 1930s in Italy, music was also used as a political tool to promote fascism and to unify the country. The Mussolini government censored music, even though censorship was not as strict as in Germany. Many Italian musicians and composers struggled, and some of them eventually decided to emigrate (Sachs 1987).

Even though there are a very large number of studies on music education in schools, the comparative study of the relationship between colonialism and music education has received little attention by music educators. Although music should be used under all
circumstances depending on individual choice and preference, music is today still used as renewed patriotisms in different forms (Hebert, 2012).

Despite a large amount of scholarly work on cultural diversity and multicultural music education that demonstrates how learning music to gain intercultural understanding creates many positive outcomes, as I mentioned in the literature review (e.g. Campbell, 2003; Reimer, 2003; Drummond, 2010; Elliott, 1998), there are few academic scholarly publications that examine the misuse of patriotism and nationalism in music education for political purposes, such as the fostering of a militaristic culture and fundamentalism. In particular, studies like the responses of colonised schoolchildren are hardly investigated.

This chapter shows the influence of colonialism and music education in primary school during Japanese colonial rule in Korea by analysing music education policies and interviews. In the first section of this chapter, I investigate how the purpose of primary school music education during the occupation changed over the different music policy periods by analysing the policies in question. In the second section, interviews are analysed to find out what music class at school was really like, as well as how outdoor activities at school involved music: in the playground, at picnics, and during ceremonies. The chapter concludes with two contrasting extended narratives, which provide a nuanced picture of the interviewees’ overall experiences with school life, music, and their feelings about the past and the present in relation to the colonial period.

7.1 Music education policies

In 1906, the Korean Education Department, under the control of the Governor-General (Tonggambu), transformed the Korean education system into a Japanese system. Following the revised education system of Japan in 1909, music, called Changga (lit. singing songs), was designated as a subject in Korea as well (Lim, 2001, p. 11). At the time, music education officially started with the introduction of music textbooks published by the Japanese colonial government. To investigate pedagogical approaches, I firstly look at the aims of music education at school as stated in the education policies of the four different periods:
First period

Article 13
1. The aim of Changga is to sing appropriate songs for opening minds and building views.
2. Changga should be sung in unison and appropriate songs should be selected for children.
3. The text of Changga should be explained to pupils if there are any problems understanding texts in the music textbooks.

Second period

Article 17
1. The aim of Changga is to sing appropriate songs for opening minds and building morals.
2. Changga should be sung in unison but if possible children can sing in parts.

Article 43
Changga such as Kimigayo (the Japanese anthem) should be sung at special ceremonies, such as the Emperor’s birthday and New Year.

Third period

Article 26
1. The aim of Changga is to sing appropriate songs for opening minds and building morals.
2. Primary school (Simsang sohakgyo) should teach Changga in unison but it can be taught in parts if possible.
3. The lyrics and music should be easy for children and the lyrics should be appropriate to encouraging them to be enthusiastic subjects of the (colonial) government.

Article 45
Changga such as Kimigayo (the Japanese anthem) should be sung at special ceremonies, such as the Emperor’s birthday and New Year.

Fourth period

Article 15
1. Children should be able to sing songs and listen to music. Music should encourage schoolchildren to be enthusiastic subjects of the colonial government.
2. At primary school, music should be in unison and in chorus. Instrumental music should be taught.
3. Music should be easy for children.
4. The music and lyrics should be appropriate to encouraging them as colonial citizens.
5. Children’s musical talent should be encouraged.
6. Pronunciation and listening to music is to be practiced. Also, pitches, dynamics, tones, and chords are to be practiced.

Article 42
Changga such as Kimigayo (the Japanese anthem) should be sung at special ceremonies, such as the Emperor’s birthday and New Year.

The First Joseon Education Policy (1911–1922) consisted of 30 articles in total. Article 13 was the only one dealing with music education. Based on the aims set out in that
article, music appears not to be subject to colonial issues at that point; under consideration were song choice and teaching methodology. According to the policy, singing was the main learning process in music class and the only musical activity. In sections 1 and 2 of Article 13, “appropriate songs for children” are mentioned. The phrase “appropriate songs for children” is interestingly vague. It does in itself not clarify what is meant by “appropriate”, and whether this is a reference to the textual content of the songs. For instance, the music textbook for this period published in 1914 consisted of two main parts: songs for ceremonies and songs of common Changga (music). The majority of songs in this textbook had their origins either in Japanese traditional children’s songs with typical Japanese rhythms, or in nationalist ceremonies. Even though nationalist goals were not made explicit in the policy, the texts from the associated textbook made reference to an abundance of Japanese cultural topics, with a corresponding lack of Korean culture.

The stated aims of music education changed with newly emerging colonial and national approaches under the Second Joseon Education Policy (1922–1938). This was the time of expanding Japanese militarism, including Japan’s entry into the First World War and its invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Article 17 from the second period is almost identical as Article 13 from the first period (minus Article 13’s third point). However, a new article concerning music education, Article 43, was included in the new policy, showing signs of increasing nationalism. It directs that ceremonial occasions should include the singing of nationalistic songs. It was during this second period that the duration of primary schooling increased from four to six years following a major Korean uprising (March 1st Movement) against Japanese oppression. Year One and Year Two pupils learned Changga for up to three hours a week; it was one hour for those in Years Three to Six (Lim, 2001, p. 15).

The time of the Third Joseon Education Policy (1938–1941) coincides with Japan’s wars with neighbouring Asian states. From this time, Japan directly used Korea as a tool to support its colonial goals. One of these goals was the forcible assimilation of Koreans under the One Entity (Naeseon Ilche) policy, and this was one of the main characteristics of the Third Joseon Education Policy (Cumings, 2005, p. 176). The songs in the music textbooks of this period were mainly selected to emphasise Japanese militarism, such as Changga and military songs for ceremonies. In particular, no Korean
lyrics were permitted and the textbooks were exclusively in Japanese (Kim, 1997, pp. 120–133). A crucial difference with previous educational periods was that the lyrics should be appropriate to “encourage pupils to be enthusiastic subjects of the (colonial) government”, as stated in section 3 of Article 26. This is direct evidence that the colonial government used music education as a propaganda tool.

Under the fourth and last Joseon Education Policy (1941–1945), the role of music was emphasised in two ways: 1. through the creation of enthusiastic subjects of the colonial government and 2. through the emphasis on musicality (listening and singing skills) as set out in Article 15. Compared to previous periods, the goals of teaching music (section 1 of Article 15) included now listening skills. The importance of music as a means of promoting colonial citizenship was emphasised (section 4 of Article 15). More details of the education policy concerned with musicality, for instance pitches, dynamics, tones, and chords, can be found in other sections (section 6 in Article 15). Even though the colonial government appeared to be showing an interest in the musical education of Korean schoolchildren, it is to be remembered that during this period Japanese attention was fully focused on the Pacific War. Therefore, it is not clear whether in practice there were the resources to teach instrumental music to children as stated in section 2 or music theory in section 6. In fact, the results of my interview analysis show that schoolchildren at the time never learned musical instruments and not one of the witnesses remembered singing in a choral group. Moreover, Article 42 of the Fourth Education Policy regarding special ceremonies remains the same as in previous periods.

7.2 Music class

This section is divided into three sections considering three sub-themes: 1. music class, 2. outdoor school activities involving music, and 3. the musical life history of two interviewees.

In the first section, I focus on what music class was like during Japanese colonial rule. In particular, I investigate whether the interviewees actually had any music class at all, and if so, what types of songs they learned and what they remembered. Also, I present information about the music teachers as well as consider the feelings reported by the interviewees while singing. It is of interest to observe the ideologies that were being
imposed from the schoolchildren’s point of view as this can indicate whether Japanese influence on Korean children’s education was successful in terms of the goal of assimilating the children. The last consideration is how schoolchildren learned other types of songs outside of school. The answers to these questions are gleaned from the interviews.

7.2.1 What was music class like?

The majority of interviewees recalled that a foot-pumped harmonium (Fig. 7.1) was used in music class at school. As there was only one of these instruments available at each school, it had to be moved from one class to the next. The presence of these instruments in the schools was significant because they were the first Western musical instruments encountered by Korean schoolchildren in modern Korea. Since the annexation of Korea, all foot-pumped harmoniums were imported from Japan. All Korean schools had a foot-pumped harmonium and, according to my interview data, some primary schools that were more financially endowed also had a piano (e.g. 1115). This was a very important turning point for Korean instrumental music culture. In the 1920s, the piano was commonly used to accompany Changga (music), which can be heard in commercial recordings at the time. As of colonial times, a Western musical instrument culture was established in Korea via the piano and it continues to be used today in Korea in art music as a solo or accompanying instrument (Song, 2000). The foot-pumped harmonium is believed to have been introduced by missionaries for religious purposes and was gradually replaced in schools by the piano from the 1910s (M.-H. Kim, 2010). It must have been exciting for schoolchildren to have the harmonium in school due to its ability to generate harmony, the saenghwang being the only Korean traditional musical instrument with that feature. The keyboard instrument (the harmonium and later the piano) became a symbol of “modern” music. After the Japan–Korea Treaty of 1905, the educational department (Hakbu) under the Japanese Residency-General (Tonggambu) decided to teach the foot-pumped harmonium in schools, according to the Daehan Daily Newspaper (Daehan maeil shinbo, August 9, 1907).
7.2.2 Types of songs and their texts

Interviewees were asked if they remembered what kinds of songs they sang in music class in their childhood. While the majority of interviewees recalled military songs and ‘campaign’ songs, only a few remembered children’s songs from the music textbooks. Having already presented a detailed analysis of military songs based on my interviews, I try here to mainly refer to interviewees’ recollections of ordinary children’s songs that do not involve themes of militarism or nationalism. Most interviewees remembered well the Japanese lyrics and the stories of the songs that they learned at school. This indicates the colonial government’s success in using music as a propaganda tool to assimilate Korean children: even decades after independence former pupils still recall Japanese songs. Today, all children basically have access to music from different cultures and are free to choose and decide what they like. But the colonial period was very different. Schoolchildren did not have the option of deciding which songs they preferred. It is not criticised that they have learned one or a few Japanese songs, but that they were taught predominantly Japanese songs.

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The following interview is from one of the oldest interviewees. I expected that he might have learned rather more ordinary children’s songs than military songs as he attended schools during the third education period, which was less orientated towards military propaganda than the fourth. In fact, he did recall an ordinary children’s song about nature:

*It is spring now, so we were singing “Spring” [sings in Japanese].*

지금이 봄이잖아. 그러니깐 그 당시에 우리 봄에 대한 노래도 불렀어 (그리고 일본말로 노래). (2951, 1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province)

1st verse: Spring is coming, spring is coming, where is spring coming, on the mountain, in the field.
2nd: Blossoming, blossoming, where are flowers, on the mountain, in the field.
3rd: Birds are singing, birds are singing, where are bird songs, on the mountain, in the field.

Another example represents one of few occasions where an interviewee recalled a song related to animals, in this case song about a pigeon, that appeared in the first-year music textbook:

*I was good at singing. Right now, I do remember two songs, “Pigeon” and “Sakura”.*

난 노래를 정말 잘했어. 비둘기 같은것 노래하고 사쿠라라는 노래는 아직도 기억이 나오. (phone interview, 1932, North Korea)

1st verse. Gugugu pigeon gugu you want to eat peas? All right – I will feed you. Come, let’s share peas.
2nd verse. Gugugu pigeon gugu have you finished with your peas? Then, come fly to me.

At the same time this interviewee recalled a song called “Sakura”:

*Sakura sakura yayoi
Is the end of the sky clouds or fog?\nFragrant!\nLet’s have a look*

The text of this song does not in itself seem to reflect Japanese nationalism until one considers that “sakura” means “cherry blossom”, which is Japan’s national flower. Also, “yayoi” has two meanings: it literally means “spring”, but it is also the name of Japan’s Iron Age about 2,000 years ago which saw great advances in agriculture and metallurgy.
These texts are intricately linked to Japanese culture. Nowadays, it would seem rather peculiar to teach only songs about Japanese culture and the Japanese national flower to Korean children, instead of songs involving Korean history and culture. One of the features of music textbooks during the Japanese colonial rule was the reprising of stories encountered in other school subjects, for instance mystical stories and stories about hardworking people or famous Japanese military generals. In fact, some interviewees recalled these kinds of songs from the music textbooks:

We had a dedicated music teacher and in music class he explained what the lyrics meant but we did not understand exactly. But I still remember songs such as “Ninomiya ginjiro” [A Hard Worker] that we learned from him.

The song “Ninomiya Kinjiro” appeared in the 1914 music textbook New Changga Book (Shinpyen changagajib, Vol. 2) (Lim, 2001, p. 152). This song was published again in 1940 in the Year Three textbook, with the same lyrics:

1. You should follow the example of Ninomiya ginjiro, who takes care of his parents and family members.
2. You should follow the example of Ninomiya ginjiro, who works and studies hard.
3. You should follow the example of Ninomiya ginjiro, who is thrifty.

Another interviewee talked about a song based on another Japanese story:

We usually sang songs after the teacher. I remember the song called “Momotaro” that we learned in Japanese language class. And we sang the same lyrics from this story. The story is that once upon a time there was an old couple that did not have children. They found a baby that was born in a peach. And later this child became a hero by fighting a devil.

The interviewee said:

우리 선생노래 하는데 따라했지. 모모타로라는 노래가 기억나는데 이건 국어시간에 배운 내용이야. 그거하고 똑같아. 역사시간에 배운 똑같은 내용의 가사인데 그걸 노래로 해서 음악시간에 불렀어요. 옛날에 나이먹은 노부부가 있었는데, 그들 사이에 아이가 없었어요. 그런데, 그들은 복숭아속에서 나온 한아이를 발견했어. 그리고 그아이가 나중에 괴물과 싸워 영웅이 되었다는 내용의 이야기예요. (23, 1933, Japan)
A song with lyrics about the Japanese folklore hero “Momotarō” appeared in the music textbook published in 1914:

1. Momotarō, born in a peach, is warm-hearted and strong. When the demon appears, he fights to the death.
2. A dog, monkey, and pheasant are out all together. Everybody is in a hurry.
3. A big victory after fighting the demon, returning home in glory with treasures.
4. A dog drags treasures yoho, a monkey pushes them yoho, a pheasant drags them yoho.

In the old days, it was believed that all the animals and objects that Momotarō took as allies to the island to fight possessed spirits.35

Another song dealing with the story of Momotarō, with similar lyrics, was published almost 30 years later in a 1939 music textbook for Year One pupils (p. 268):

1. A Japanese flag, the blue sea, and a small boat is starting.
2. Momotarō is on the boat with the monkey, dog and pheasant.
3. His grandfather and grandmother are saying good-bye on the beach.

An interesting point is that the first lyrics published in 1914 did not have any connections to nationalism, while the song published in 1939 featured the Japanese flag.

Interestingly, the “Momotarō” songs mentioned above, published in the Korean school music books, were always on the same melody. However, the lyrics used in Japan were different from the ones in Korea; in addition, they themselves varied, for instance depending on the region in Japan. The following lyrics were published in 1911 in Japan:

Momotarō-san, Momotarō-san
Please give me a dumpling from the bag on your waist
Give me one, give me one, please, please give me one

I will give you one, I will give you one
If you come with me to fight the ogres now
Come along, come along and I will give you one

This song was very popular in Japan during the Second World War (Dower, 1986).

There is even a statue of Momotarō with a monkey, a dog, and a pheasant, as depicted in the music textbooks, at the train station in Okayama, Japan (Fig. 7.2).

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From the 1930s the Japanese government started to put cultural nationalism into effect. In particular, the animation industry was fully supported by the Japanese government and commissioned by the military in order to produce animations showing the Japanese spirit and political affiliation. For instance, the story of Momotarō was animated and released in 1943 as “Momotarō’s Sea Eagle” attacking Pearl Harbour. The sequel to this was “Momotarō’s Divine Sea Warriors”, released in 1945, which was again a propaganda film for the war. These animated films were aimed at children (Clements & McCarthy, 2006).

Analysing Korean music textbooks from colonial times, one important finding (see Chapter 5 for further detail) is that in the 1910s, music textbooks mostly contained ordinary children’s songs, notwithstanding the extra volume published containing songs for ceremonies. Compared to that, lyrics from the 1930s dealt with war or war heroes, for instance “The war hero”, “Captain Seju”; “Lieutenant Hirose”; and “A poem praising the emperor written by Jisima Godokku” (p. 260). This shows that as time
passed, the colonial government used music more and more as a means of promoting its political agenda.

7.2.3 Music teachers

In 1895 under the Korean government, a system to train primary school teachers was in place (Hangsang sabum hakgyo). Students who finished middle school could continue their studies for an additional year to qualify to become schoolteachers. At the time, the teacher-training programme did not include a specific subject devoted to music. After 1906, when the Japanese government began to influence Korean politics, music appeared at school as a subject. However, the number of schoolteachers in general was too low, so some were sent from Japan by the Japanese colonial government (Kim, 1997). In addition, musicians from disbanded military bands became music teachers in private schools after the deactivation of the Korean military (Lee, 2008).

In 1906, during the last years of the Joseon rule, already under the influence of the Japanese government, the Korean education department was merged into the Japanese education system (Kim, 1997, p. 70). Under the Second Education Policy (1922–1938), one of the most notable developments was that an academy system for teacher training was set up. Eight teacher-training academies were opened. In the academy for male teachers, music was taught once a week, while in the five-year academy for women, music was taught two hours every week until the second year and one hour every week for third- and fourth-year teacher trainees (Kim, 1997, pp. 92–94).

During the Japanese colonial rule, dedicated music teachers were available only in big schools. In small schools the class teacher taught all subjects including music. Music class was held once or twice a week, which can be seen both in the music policies and from the interview testimonies.
Table 7.1: The number and percentage of interviewees (responding, 38 in total) that had a dedicated music teacher or a general class teacher teaching music. No comment means that the interviewees did not remember.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Number of interviewees</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dedicated music teacher</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General class teacher</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While 18% of the interviewees recalled that they had a dedicated music teacher in school (who was able to play the foot-pumped organ), 43% claimed the class teacher taught all subjects including music. About one third of the interviewees did not answer as they could not recall whether they had a separate music teacher.

Music class mainly involved singing songs in Japanese and on rare occasions included clapping, a traditional music teaching method that is still used in modern music class (see Schleuter & Schleuter, 1985) as a simple means of stimulating children. Teachers during the Japanese colonial era would sing the songs to demonstrate them, with the children repeating, another simple technique for teaching music.

The following testimonies are about music teachers:

*We sang after the teacher, no clapping.*

선생님이 먼저 노래하면 우리 따라서 그대로 부르곤했지. 박수는 안 치고 노래만 불렀어요. (23, 1933, Japan)

*We had a dedicated music teacher. We had music class once or twice a week.*

우리 학교에 음악선생이 따로 있었고, 일주일에 한두번 음악시간이 있었어요. (2946, 1928, Yangsan, South Jeolla Province)

*The music class was once a week. We had no dedicated music teacher. But, teachers were changed depending on who could play the foot-pumped organ. We sang songs after the teacher.*

음악시간은 일주일에 한번 있었지 우리 음악선생이 따로 있지 않고, 그런데 오르간 칠수 있는 선생들로 바뀌기도 했어요. 선생님이 한번 부르면 우리도 그대로 따라 불렀지. (2987, 1933, Buyeo, Gyeongsang Province)
The music class was once a week. The class teacher taught music as well. A foot-pumped organ, of which there was only one at our school, was moved from one room to the other for the next music class.

일주일에 한번 음악시간이 있었어요. 우리 담임이 음악시간도 가르쳤지. 풍급이 학교에 딱 한대 있어서 음악시간이 어디 교실에 있느냐에 따라 그러로 옮기고 그랬어요. (2989, 1928, Guri, Gyeonggi Province)

Some interviewees remembered their school music teachers in terms of good, bad or funny experiences. Usually there was only one music teacher at each school, very rarely two. Teachers were either Korean or Japanese and could play the foot-pumped organ.

According to Greer, Dorow, Wachhaus, & White (1973), children are not influenced by music teachers in their music preferences unless particular music is repeated over some time during music class. Peery & Peery (1986) also claim that in experimental classical music classes, children’s preference for classical music was significantly increased. This shows how curriculum can be crucial to influencing children’s musical preferences. Music teachers can also be very influential for the same reasons.

This interviewee is one example of a former pupil who mentioned how he loved singing. It appears his positive feelings towards his music teacher is directly related to his enjoyment of music:

My music teacher was a female Korean who could play the foot-pumped organ. The music class was called Changga and the teacher spoke Japanese in class. She lived in the same hometown as I did. She was not much older than me but she was my teacher so I had to respect her. She died 15 years ago here in the same hometown. We sang the same songs or sometimes learned new songs and I enjoyed singing them. While I was singing I thought the teacher was beautiful.

음악선생은 한국 여자 선생이었는데 풍급을 칠줄 아는 선생이었어요. 음악시간을 창가시간이라고 그때는 그랬는데 그 한국선생은 수업시간에 일본말로 가르쳤어요. 같이 한 광주에서 살았는데, 나보도 나이차이는 별로 없었어요 은사라서 내가 말을려서 말하고 그랬지. 15 년전에 여기 광주에서 돌아가셨어요. 똑같은 노래 계속부르기도 하고, 가끔씩 새로운 노래 배우기도 했지만 난 노래를 정말 좋아하기요. 노래를 부르면서마선생님 참 이쁘다라고 생각했지. (0119, 1925, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)
The following interviewee spent his childhood in Japan and experienced music class there. His testimony indicates some similarities with music class in Korea. However, he mentioned that he had a music exam; yet but there was no testimony about exams from interviewees who went to Korean schools. I showed him some colonial music textbooks:

This music book is identical to the music book that I learned from in Japan.... I remember singing something ..... But I remember rather well some popular songs (Yuhaengga) .... [we had a] music teacher in a music class once a week. Only music and gymnastics had dedicated teachers existed extra (the only subjects with specific teachers) .... We had one male and one female music teacher. Teachers wore the military uniform while teaching at school. Teachers were former soldiers. What I remember is singing only military songs. In the music exam, we had to sing a song they provided us ... One day, I was laughing in music class and I got hit by the music teacher but [it was too hard] and the cane broke.

이 음악책은 내가 일본에서 배운 음악책하고 똑같아요...몇가지 노래들은 기억에 나는데...일본 유행가를 더 잘 기억하지요. ...음악시간이 일주일에 막 한시간씩 있었지요. 음악선생하고 체육선생하고는 따로 있었어요... 음악선생은 남자 한사람, 여자 한사람 있었지. 선생들은 일제 군복이고 수업 가르쳤어요. 육군소위 정도였는데. 그런 순전히군가만 불렀지요. 어때때, 음악시험이 있었는데 지정곡이 있었지 그것만 블러어 했어...어느날, 내가 음악시간에 웃었는데 음악선생한테 지휘봉으로 맞았는데(너무 세게 때려서) 부러졌어요 (1137, 1923, Japan)

One informant recalled a humorous experience in music class:

One teacher taught all subjects including music as well. We had a wind organ at school. The teacher apparently could not play the wind organ because I saw him practicing after the school. One day, he farted while playing the wind organ. The next day, while we were waiting for the teacher, one of my classmates imitated in front of class how the teacher farted. At that moment, the teacher was behind him and saw it all. Of cause, the boy got punished... We had a music textbook written in Japanese with lyrics but no notes. We learned the songs by copying the teacher. Sometimes we were clapping while singing.
따라서 노래하고, 노래하면서 박수치기도 하고 그랬던것 같아요. (2961, 1933, Gangjin, South Jeolla Province)

This testimony gives crucial evidence about how the Fourth Joseon Education Policy (1941–1945) affected school education in mentioning a textbook with lyrics only and no scores. Even though the education policy was superficially aimed at improving children’s musicality in terms of pitches, dynamics, tones, and chords, in reality, children did not learn music theory and were not able to read music.
7.2.4 Personal feelings while singing songs

One of the interview questions asked how interviewees felt about singing songs in music class. Even though the question was concerned with their feelings at school at the time, their answers included their thoughts about their relationship with music in their later life. According to these interviewees, the music of the time was used for ideological purposes. Two of them talked about how they felt when they were singing songs. Their opinions were directly opposed to each other. One interviewee actually enjoyed music class very much and did not care what kind of songs (for instance, Japanese military songs) he sang as long as it was for fun. However, after independence he never sang Japanese songs again and he explained why:

*The music teacher at school was Japanese. We had a foot-pumped organ and the Korean teacher couldn’t play it so the Japanese teacher came for the music class. She taught the meaning of the lyrics. I enjoyed it a lot and we as children didn’t know anything about colonialism but sang songs in Japanese only for fun. I never sang Korean songs at the time. After independence, I was told that the Japanese wanted us to be Japanised. After that, I started seeing the Japanese as my enemy and later I never sang Japanese songs again.*

The following interviewee talked about his feelings. According to Greer et al. (1973), the music preferences of children can be manipulated by the teacher due to “repeated listening or familiarity during classroom contact” (p. 345). This can be seen in this interviewee’s testimony. From a Japanese point of view, learning music at school was one of the effective ways to become a Japanese patriot:

*We sang songs such as those encouraging us to study hard at school, but mostly militaristic songs. In particular, songs about how we should fight for the Japanese Emperor were sung often. We thought that we should give our loyalty to the Japanese Emperor and there was no antagonism towards Japan because at the time everything was normal [to collaborate with Japan].*
This interviewee expresses his feelings that music at school was not for fun or pleasure:

We learned many military songs or songs to encourage being together. There was no choice as to whether to sing or not to sing. We were ordered to sing. That’s why I sang without fun.

Another interviewee did not enjoy singing at all, saying he felt terrible and worried about being arrested as a child even for singing any song:

I don’t remember that I sang military songs. I felt just terrified even singing any song in case I would be arrested [by police].

This emotion suggests that people at the time were afraid of the Japanese masters even in harmless situations such as singing songs. In fact, from the 1930s censorship of culture and music recordings was introduced with the announcement of a “List of Forbidden Music” to prevent the “breaking of public order and destruction of morals” (Lee, 2007, p. 201), and in particular, after 1937 with the onset of the Sino-Japanese War, to ban music from the US, which was Japan’s enemy at the time. In other words, the Japanese colonial government wanted to restrict the expression of Korean culture through Korean songs against Japan (e.g. Yuhaengga [popular songs]) and instead promote Japanese militaristic songs by holding songwriting contests with prizes (Lee, 2010a). As a result, under this controlled environment, schoolchildren possibly felt intimidated and decided not to enjoy any songs.

The following interviewee wondered why he had to continue singing a particular song after Korea’s independence. In fact, 1945 to 1948 – when Korea was under the
governance of the US military – was a politically chaotic time, and the Japanese music textbooks were still used in school during this period (Choi, 2006, p. 33):

In music class, some teachers taught only military songs while other teachers taught different songs. We were told to repeat songs after the teacher. So I did. We did not have a foot-pumped organ at school. The “Rabbit Song” was the same song we were singing during the Japanese colonial rule and after independence. I found it strange that we were singing the same songs we learned during the occupation.

Two other interviewees testified that they felt like soldiers and enjoyed the singing:

I don’t remember if we sang children’s songs at school, but what I remember is that we sang military marching songs with 2 and 4 beats, which are usually used for marching songs. We were taught to be Japanese. And you know, Japanese education at the time was administered with good intentions.

I loved military songs at the time. Whenever I heard them, I felt I should join the military service to fight in the war. They made military songs very well. Korean military songs are not as good as Japanese ones. In my later life, sometimes I would sing military songs drinking with my friends, whether we could remember them or not.

The two interviewees above said that they loved singing the songs, irrespective of whether they were military songs. From a musical point of view, schoolchildren just
enjoyed singing any song, even militaristic ones, that stimulated their feelings. The military music even got them feeling like joining the military service. Similarly, Kertz-Welzel (2012), who studied patriotism and nationalism in the German music education curriculum, finds that

[s]inging patriotic songs was supposed to support the members’ loyalty to Hitler’s ideology, strengthening the community and fostering a strong emotional bond. Due to the power of music, music education became, according to Hitler’s vision of ancient Greece, important in public schools because singing was an ideological subject, manipulating people emotionally and training them in the National Socialist ideology. (p.30)

Overall, 42 interviewees answered whether they remember songs from primary school under Japanese colonial rule (Table 7.2). In total, 36 interviewees remembered songs from school times (three remembered only the Japanese anthem); these were predominantly military songs. Six interviewees did not remember any songs, even though I showed them music textbooks of the time. Surprisingly, 19 interviewees spontaneously sang songs during the interview. Since military songs were sung most frequently during the interviews, it is clear that these were the ones best remembered.

Table 7.2: Interviewees’ recollection of songs from their primary school during Japanese colonial rule.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remember songs</th>
<th>Number of interviewees</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Japanese anthem</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sang during interview</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.5 How did Korean children learn Korean and Japanese Yuhaengga (popular songs)?

Some interviewees talked about preferring Korean and Japanese Yuhaengga to military songs. I present here four ways in which they learned these songs, which was mostly after graduating from primary school. This shows how children of the time actually learned songs other than in school, since there was hardly any media (e.g. radio) available:

a. Learning songs with Japanese children:
When I was in primary school, I was singing only military songs. That’s what I remember now. And when I was in middle school, I sang lots of Japanese Yuhaengga. At school, I taught the Korean “Arirang” [to Japanese students] and Japanese students taught me Japanese Yuhaengga.

This was an interesting interview as the interviewee taught a Korean song to Japanese children, which was very unusual because at the time the Korean language was generally forbidden at school. Nevertheless, apparently there was occasional cultural exchange between Korean and Japanese students in school. What makes this case even more interesting is the fact that the student taught “Arirang” (Fig. 7.3) to the Japanese students. “Arirang” is regarded as the unofficial national anthem of Korea (Stout, 1998, p. 278). The colonial government censored, for political reasons, all kinds of Korean literature, music records, and media. Nevertheless, the Korean student exchanged songs, and in particular a song of such significance as the unofficial Korean anthem. The word “Arirang” itself has no meaning. There are many variations of this song from different regions. The following text is one of the most common versions of “Arirang”. It has three fast beats in 9/8, which is typical Korean-style music. The lyrics show Koreans’ sorrow, which consoled Koreans (translated by Ha, 1978):

![Arirang Sheet Music]

Fig. 7.3: “Arirang”, regarded as Korea’s unofficial national anthem.

1st Verse:
If you leave and forsake me, my own,
Ere three miles you go, lame you’ll have grown.

2nd Verse:
Wondrous time, happy time – let us delay;
Till night is over, go not away.

3rd Verse:
Arirang Mount is my Tear-Falling Hill,
So seeking my love, I cannot stay still.

4th Verse:
The brightest of stars stud the sky so blue;
Deep in my bosom burns bitterest rue.

5th Verse:
Man’s heart is like water streaming downhill;
Women’s heart is well water – so deep and still.

6th Verse:
Young men’s love is like pinecones seeming sound,
But when the wind blows, they fall to the ground.

7th Verse:
Birds in the morning sing simply to eat;
Birds in the evening sing for love sweet.

8th Verse:
When man has attained to the age of a score,
The mind of a woman should be his love.

9th Verse:
The trees and the flowers will bloom for aye,
But the glories of youth will soon fade away.

Refrain:
Arirang, Arirang, Arariyo,
Arirang Pass is the long road you go.

b. Watching Japanese movies:

We sang in Korean outside of school while playing games. But when we were in a group at school then we were ordered to sing in Japanese ... After finishing primary school [still during Japanese colonial rule], I learned Japanese songs by myself while watching Japanese movies at the cinema.

게임하고 밖에서 놀때 한국노래불렀지. 그런데 학교안에 있을때는 일본말로 노래도 해야돼. 이건 명령이니까.....국민학교 졸업하고, 난 혼자 일본영화나 아니면.
Chapter 7

영화관이나 이런데서 보면서 일본노래 배웠어. (2951, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province)

c. At parties (to farewell young Korean military draftees):

At parties sometimes, I learned from adults drinking and singing Japanese songs. Japanese authorities including Koreans were there at parties sometimes, so (Korean) people were singing only Japanese songs. We kids were there but a bit outside. What I am singing now is all I learned from those places.

징집가기전 송별식같은때, 어른들이 술마시고 일본노래 부르면 그런데에서 노래 배웠지. 일본높은 관계자들이 가끔씩 그런 송별식에 참석하기도 하는데 그때는 한국사람들 전부 일본노래만 부르고. 우리같이 어린아이들은 밖에서만 구경 하고 그랬지. 내가 지금 부른 노래들은 전부 그때 그런 장소에서 부른 노래들이야. (2969, 1935, Seoul)

d. Copying from adults:

I copied Korean adults singing Japanese Yuhaengga.

한국어른들이 일본유행가 부르는것보고 나도 똑같이 부르지. (2982, 1928, Wanggok, South Jeolla Province)

7.3 Outdoor activities and music

Many music education scholars investigate children’s music associated with activities such as playground games (Campbell, 2010; Gaunt, 2006; Glover, 2000; Marsh, 2008). They have found the differences between children’s music in class and in the playground and applied music by observing children’s music in the playground. Marsh (2008) claims that “children’s playground singing games and chants have played a significant role in the formulation of twentieth-century music education practices” (p. 4). However, there have been few discussions concerning music activities during oppressive periods, such as colonial occupations. The oppressive circumstances of the Japanese colonial period have to be taken into account compared to an ordinary school period today. Strong colonial influences can result in cultural loss of traditional music.

The interviewees unfortunately remembered very little in terms of songs they sang in the playground. Judging from the interviews, it is likely that they did not spend much
time there because they could not remember much. Only a few recalled that they spent time in the playground and that they played games, and while these few did remember singing at times while playing, none could remember any particular songs.

They played games such as the bean-bag game, the rubber band game, and skipping rope, which are still played in the playground today. One common activity at school was to have picnics, although this activity was remembered by only a few interviewees. While walking to the picnic, they would sing military songs. The majority of interviewees remembered the kinds of ceremonies they had at school for special days such as the Emperor’s birthday and New Year. They also recalled what they sang on those special days.

In this section, three main activities involved with music are discussed based on the interviews: the playground, picnics, and ceremonies. Some music texts are also presented and analysed.

7.3.1 The playground

We usually sang in Japanese only at school, such as “Ninomiya gijiro” [a song about a legendary hard worker appearing in the music textbooks], whereas I sang “Arirang” [regarded as an unofficial Korean national anthem] and other songs, such as “Nodel gangbyen” (Noryang Riverbank) and “Tahyang sari” (living away from home), at home and in the playground.

Some interviewees testified that they tended to sing popular songs (Yuhaengga) outside of school rather than songs learned at school. At first, I was wondering why they sang songs intended for adults. However, some children attended primary school when they were 10 or 12 years old, and it might have happened that they mostly heard songs at home through their family members. In fact this was mentioned by one interviewee (2982) as per his quote on p. 173.
In the 1930s a genre of popular music emerged in Korea called Shinminyo, or new Korean folksong. “Nodel gangbyen” (Noryang Riverbank, Fig. 7.4), mentioned in the quote above, was released in 1934 by Mon Ho-Wol and is one of five well-known Shinminyo songs that continue to be popular in Korea today. It is a typical Korean-style song, with three fast beats and usually written in 9/8. “Nodel gangbyen” refers to a port in Seoul that provided a very important connection between the northern and southern regions:
In spring Noryang riverbank flowing willow
Hanging willow
Tiding up in the waist of hardhearted life
Eheyo--
Willow in spring, which is not trustful
Just passing by in flowing blue water

Fig. 7.4: The lyrics and music of Nodel gangbyen (Noryang Riverbank)

After school we would sing the same songs as at school. In the evening, we would hang out with friends singing Japanese songs and playing.

학교끝나고도 우린 똑같은 학교노래 불렀지. 저녁에 친구들하고 놀때도 일본 노래부르고 일본게임같은거 하고 놀기도 하고 그러랬지 (2969, 1935, Seoul)
We sang Japanese songs and military songs only while playing.

놀때도 우리 전부 일본노래만 부르고 일제 군가만 불렀지 (2982, 1928, Wanggok, South Jeolla Province)

In the playground at school, we played with a bean bag so small it fit in your hand and we also skipped rope. We would sing while playing in the schoolyard, but I don’t remember what kinds of songs they were.

학교운동장에서, 속에다 콩넣은주머니를 만들어서, 오자미라고 하는데, 그렇게 놀기도 하고 그크기가 손에 올어갈 정도의 크기인데 그리고 줄넘기 같은거 하기도 하고, 학교운동장에서 노래하면서 이런 놀이를 하고 놀았지. 그런데 어떤 노래하고 놀았는지 정확히 기억이 안나요. (3011, 1930, Yangsan, Gyeongsang Province)

According to the above testimonies, interviewees largely sang Japanese military songs, a few school songs, and Korean Yuhaengga in the playground. None of my interviewees mentioned singing Korean traditional children’s songs. These results are quite different to those of a previous study. Kim (1999c) tried to identify Korean traditional children’s songs in use from the 1910s to the 1930s. In her study, 14 female informants remembered songs from their childhood. Song topics mostly concerned “the seasons, trees and plants, animals, games, [and] historic facts” (p. 42). My findings were very different in terms of song topics. This could be because of differences in gender (Kim’s informants were all female; mine were predominantly male) and ages (Kim’s informants were 5–8 years old; mine were 6–12). Also, the studies differed in purpose. While Kim was specifically identifying children’s songs, my aim was to find out what kinds of songs children were singing in the playground.

7.3.2 Picnics

Not many interviewees recalled the yearly picnics, even though these would have been exciting events in school life. On these picnics, children sang military songs. In particular, one interviewee, who spent her childhood in Japan, remembered her picnic lunch box, which showed a Japanese flag over rice:

For the picnic we went out to the countryside where rapeseed was flowering in the field. On our way to the countryside, we sang some songs, but I don’t remember them. We were given lunches that were showing the Japanese imperial flag over rice and a vegetarian soup.
The three other interviewees talked about picnics at their Korean schools:

We left the school grounds but I don’t remember whether it was for a kind of picnic or training. On our way, we sang the song “We are going out to die while having a cigarette”.... We were hearing so often about the war and that we would win [against the US]. We as children did everything the same way as the Japanese did. After independence we were so happy, as happy as the Korean adults were. But we didn’t know what exactly happened on Independence Day. I didn’t sing those [military] songs anymore after the independence of Korea but I still do remember them.

At a picnic we would sing military songs.

We went on a picnic on the outskirts of Seoul. We took a lunch box for the day and came back in the evening. I sang Japanese songs in Japanese.

The song “We are going out to die while having a cigarette” mentioned in the first interview extract is surely not a children’s song or a school song; they only remembered such Japanese songs and they identified as Japanese and behaved accordingly. However, after the independence of Korea, they felt the same happiness as the Korean adults who opposed the Japanese occupation. It seems they copied behaviour from
adults without much contemplation. Because of children’s propensity to copying adults, education is always an influential force on schoolchildren. The colonial government made use of this to achieve their colonial aims.
7.3.3 Ceremonies

On the Emperor’s birthday, sometimes we received treats like erasers and exercise books in the classroom. I don’t remember what songs we sang but I do remember receiving such treats. One time I got a ball. This was too nice a surprise and I could not play with it because it was the best present ever. At the time, the balls we usually played with were made of threads, which didn’t bounce at all. But this was a real ball that bounced. Occasionally, if you were a good boy at school, then you would even get a pair of shoes. Well, someone like me never imagined getting such presents from the teacher.

일본천황 생일날, 우린 가끔씩 지우개나 공책같은거 선물같은거 교실에서 받기도 하곤 했어요. 우리가 무슨 노래 불렀는지 기억이 잘 나지는 않지만 이런 선물받은 기억은나네. 한번은 공을 선물로 받았어. 생각지도 못한 선물을 받아가지고 너무놀래서 가지고 놀지도 못했지. 너무좋아서. 우리가 그때 가지고 놀았던 공은 실로 만든 것이어도 훌쩍도 없고 그랬는데, 이공은 하늘로 딱딱 올라가고 그랬지. 가끔씩, 운동화가 한두켤레씩 나오는데 선생한테 잘보인 학생만 받는거야. 우리가 눈에 안들어온 아이들은 받을수가 없었지. (1122, 1934, Damyang, South Jeolla Province)

This interviewee was one of a few who shed tears during his interview. He felt overwhelmed talking about his childhood. He remembered how unfairly they were treated and how unbelievably rich the Japanese were compared to Koreans. Ironically, he did not hate the Japanese, but he did hate one Korean who was the chief of his village because he oppressed other villagers. This chief was a Japanese collaborator.

7.4 Two interviewees and their school life and music

I now present two interviewees whose stories about music were different than the others’. The first story is from one of the oldest interviewees (Chae Bong-Suk, born in 1924). His primary school education took place earlier than most of the others, so it is worth taking a closer look at his experiences in music class. His father was the first official Korean professional popular singer in the 1930s and Chae himself became a musician. The testimony reveals how he lived as the son of a popular singer at the time and as a musician himself later under the Japanese colonial rule, and how he learned music in his later life. The second interviewee that I chose is a woman (Ahn Chun-Ja, born in 1930) who remembered many songs from her childhood very well. Her interview shows how a girl experienced school at the time and how she later lived in her
adult years. Although I present their stories with occasional annotations and interpretations, to preserve the narrative of these stories this part of the chapter remains intentionally descriptive. These two interviewees answered the same questions as all other interviewees.

1. The story of Chae Bong-Suk (male):

JH: Tell me about yourself.

I was born in 1924 in South Hamgyong Province [North Korea]. I am a musician [looks at the music textbook] ... saying [in Japanese from the music textbook] “Soldiers in arms are marching to the music”... I can sing it from memory [sings in Japanese].

1924 년 함경남도에서 태어났어. 난 음악가예요. (음악책들여다보고)... (일본말로) 군인들이 팔짱을 끼고 행진곡에 발맞춰 행진을 한다... 난 이 노래 안 보고 할수 있어 (그리고 일본말로 노래 시작한다).

JH: When did you learn Japanese songs?

I sang “Kimigayo”, the Japanese anthem. I started singing it when I was eight. We sang it on special days [Emperor’s birthday] or New Year. We had morning assembly – not every day, but only sometimes. Also, we went to Shinsa chanmbae to worship the Japanese Emperor once or twice a month.

내가 8 살때부터 일본애국가인 기미가요를 부르기 시작했어. 그때부터 노래 부르기 시작했어. 그런 노래들은 황제생일이나 설날에 부르곤 했지. 아침조회가 있었는데 날마다는 아니고 가끔씩 있었지. 그리고 신사참배하러 한달에 한번이나 두번 신사당에 갔었어.

...I loved music class at school and I always got the best grade. I always sang songs. I was the best among 800 pupils... In music class, the teacher said, “I sing first and you repeat.” So we sang what the teacher was singing. We did not have music textbooks and there was no clapping at all.

난 음악시간이 너무좋았어 그리고 내가 항상 제일 높은점수받고 그랬지. 난 항상 노래불렀어. 내가 전체 학생 800명중 최고했지. 음악시간에 음악선생이 “내가 먼저 부를때니 너희들 따라서 불러라” 하면 우리 선생님이 하라는대로 따라 하곤 했지. 우리 음악책이 없었어 박수도 전혀 안치고.

We had dedicated music teachers, both Japanese and Korean. The Japanese teacher could not sing well. So Korean teacher replaced him and we sang all in
Japanese. In music class I was always chosen as the best singer and I sang Japanese songs in front of the class, such as the Japanese anthem [Kimigayo] and the song of the graduate ceremony [Joepshik Norae]...

우리학교에 음악선생이 있었는데 일본선생 그리고 한국선생 이렇게. 일본선생이 노래를 못하니까, 한국선생이 대리로 들어와서 우릴 가르쳤어. 노래부르면 전부 일본말로 노래하는거지. 음악시간이 되면, 난 항상 제일 노래잘하는 사람으로 뽑혀. 그리고 아이들 앞에서 일본노래부르고 그렇게 일본 애국가나 졸업식노래 같은거 하고 했지.

JH: What games did you play after school? Did you sing anything while playing games?

After school in the afternoon we usually had games like Jegichagi and wrestling with friends ... and going out to the mountains and rivers. Sometimes I saw adults out there singing Japanese Yuhaengga, and I would learn songs from them by listening, if I found them nice. So when I got back to school I showed them off to friends ... but usually you are not allowed to sing “adult songs” at school. You had to sing school songs only.

Firstly, I am going to sing a military song [sings it in Japanese to the end of the second verse]. I sang it when I was 15 years old. I did not learn military songs in primary school. After finishing primary school, I started singing them. When I turned 15, I stopped singing school songs because they were boring and started singing Yuhaengga... [starts singing Yuhaengga in Japanese] “When you call me, I answer you. The sky is blue and we are happy.” I am going to sing a military song now [sings “Letter from Shanghai”].

먼저, 내가 일제군가 부터 부를게. (그리고 2 절까지 일본말로 불렀다) 내가 그런노래 부를때가 15 살이었어. 난 그런 일제군가는 학교에서 안배웠지. 국민학교 졸업하고 나서 그런노래 배웠지 내가 15 살되었을때, 학교노래는 그만부르고 왜냐면 그런 노래는 너무재미없이, 일제군가나 유행가 같은거 부르기 시작했어. (그리고, 또 일본말로 일본 유행가 부르기 시작했다).

Dear Mother
I am fine since we got to the land.
Proud to show bullets on the iron helmet.
I will do if enemy does
Look, in the severe battle
Give you news of getting a tank from the enemy
Wait for the news, mum

JH: What did you do after primary school?
I went only to primary school. My mother could not afford to send me middle school. So I bought a saxophone and learned it by myself. When I would go out in the street, I could hear music blasting from music shop loudspeakers. And I tried to memorise what I wanted to learn and play it again at home. There was a mix of songs, Korean and Japanese songs. Japanese songs were sung in Japanese. At home, I had a few records of father’s songs. [sings Japanese Yuhaengga] “The air in the evening is so cold. My heart is cold... I am wandering like a bird.”

I could not afford to go to middle school. So, I went to Majuria with the saxophone by myself to work in pubs. I sang all songs, Korean and Japanese. When the customers were Korean, then I sang Korean, and when there were more Japanese customers then I sang Japanese. Later, I moved to Tokyo, Osaka. In Japan, I had to sing Japanese songs because they did not like Korean songs [looks at the music textbook and sings in Japanese].

1. Spring is coming, spring is coming, where is it arriving, in the mountain, or the village and in the field.
2. Blossoming, blossoming, where is it arriving, in the mountain, or the village and in the field.

My father was a Yuhaengga singer with the Japanese name Hasegawa Icchio or Choi Gye-Yep in Korean... do you know “The song of hope (Heemangga)”?
That’s one of my father’s hit songs. I am the oldest and have two younger brothers from a different woman. [My father released so many songs] like “The song of hope (Heemangga)”, “Myengsa way (Myengsashipri)”, “A long way (Adeukhan chenrigi)”, etc... they are just absolutely gorgeous.
I did not live with my father. He came to Korea to visit us every three years. He would hit me. I didn’t know why he did. He never sent any money, no clothes, no shoes for me. He usually lived in Japan. My mother alone worked for a living.

In fact, his father was the first professional Yuhaengga singer in Korea (Kim, 1995, pp. 232–234). In the 1920s his father studied vocals at a music school in Tokyo. After returning to Korea, he worked as a music teacher at Gyeunhwa, a women’s school. Later, in the 1930s he became the first Yuhaengga singer in Korea. In 1935, he won a popularity vote in Samchenri Magazine for top male singer (Fig.7.5). After that, he went to Japan, took a Japanese name, and worked there as a singer. Sometimes, he came back to Korea and sang Japanese Enka (Yuhaengga) in Korea. It was believed that he was pro-Japanese and that he even served as a Japanese soldier in 1943. He died in North Korea in 1949.
Fig. 7.5: The five most popular male singers as voted by the public, Samchenri Magazine, 1935. Rows correspond to singers’ names and columns to months (January, February, March, June, October). In the first row, Choi gye-gyp was awarded first prize with 337 votes (January), 521 (February), 901 (March), 1,379 (June) and 1,844 (October).

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Samchenri Magazine, a monthly general magazine, was launched in June 1929. It was the most popular magazine in Korea during Japanese colonial rule through to its last issue (150) in 1941. Retrieved October 12, 2011 from http://www.kostma.net/sub/gatewayServiceView.aspx?gwCorpsId=2&gwServiceId=12 (Center for Korean Studies Materials; materials from magazines in modern times).
2. The story of Ahn Chun-Sa (female):

JH: When did you attend primary school?

I entered primary school when I was nine. Entering primary school at nine years old was not unusual. Some children entered at 11 years old. The name of my school was Yangsan Gukmin hakgyo [Yangsan primary school] but it was changed to Yangsan Sohakgyo [Yangsan little school], when I was in Year Two. Our primary school was very large with approximately 1,500 pupils.

JH: What did you learn at school?

We learned words like pine tree, meats, book, etc. in Korean in my first year. But later we were forced to speak in Japanese and learned Japanese only. We were given five cards [a week] and if you spoke Korean you got one card taken away whoever caught you. We had two Korean teachers and the rest of them were Japanese. In my first year, the Japanese principal’s real name was Gara, and his nickname was Neko [dog] because he was very small. Of course he didn’t know his nickname. So we would say to each other whenever he was coming, “Hey, here comes Neko.”

Japanese children had their own separate school which was situated in Yongsanpo [10 km away]. In our village, a Korean child who used to live in Japan went to the Japanese school. He went there on foot. Sometimes after school me and a few friends would go to the Korean child’s place to play. And, we had to get our names changed into Japanese ones. My name was Yasuda Haruko. All my friends called me Haruko. I didn’t like it.

일본아이들은 자기만 다니는 학교가 따로 있었지만, 영산포읍에 있었는데, 우리동네에 한 한국아이는 일본서 일학년 학교를 다니다가 와서 거기 영산포 일본학교를 다니더라고. 그엔 열어도 항상 걸어서 영산포읍에 있는 그학교에
JH: Tell me about life at the school.

In our village with 50 households in total, only two households could send girls to the primary school. Those were me and my friends. Because of elevated school fees many ordinary children could not afford to attend primary school. Everybody was poor. There were separate morning and afternoon classes because there were not enough schoolrooms compared to the number of children. I was in morning class and in the afternoon we went out to work. We did not learn anything at school even though we went every day. We worked.

JH: Did you go to the train station for farewell ceremonies?

From school we would go to the train station to say goodbye to young Koreans who were leaving for some Japanese war. We walked there [10 km]. While walking we would sing songs, many different songs. But “Gadason Nippon” is the popular one, which means “Japan should win”. And, we would make something like bands at school for those young Korean men and they would wear the band for the ceremony over one shoulder crossing to the opposite waist. People wished for their safe return.

JH: Tell me about morning assembly.

We had morning assembly everyday. Everyone gathered in the schoolyard. The first thing we did was gymnastics and to sing the song “Gadason Nippon” about
how the Japanese should win. We always sang it at morning assembly, and also
before lunchtime. If you didn’t sing it, you were not allowed to have lunch. I
didn’t know what this song meant; I just sang it because they ordered me to.

아침마다 아침조회가 있어서 전체학생들 다 학교 운동장에 모였제. 처음엔
체조하고 그 다음엔 가다순니폰 노래 부르고 그렇게. 그 노래는 일본 국
기�이라는 거지. 이 노래는 꼭 아침조회때 부르는 노래였어. 그리고 점심바로 전에
이 노래를 부르지 않으면 점심도 못먹게 하고. 그때 나는 그 노래가 무엇을 하는지 전혀
알지 못했제. 그냥 부르라고 하니까 불렀지.

JH: What was music class like?

We had music class once a week. If your class teacher could not play the wind
organ, then another teacher would come to play it. We had a music textbook you
have to pay for that you could take home. Till Year Four, I learned songs in music
class. Afterwards, I hardly learned anything because it was wartime.

일주일에 한번씩 음악시간이 있었지. 만약에 담임선생이 풍금을 못치면 다른반
선생이 와서 가르치고 그렇게. 음악책도 있었는데 전부 한권씩 다 사야 했제.
그리고 집으로도 가져갈수 있는 그랬어. 4 학년때까지 우리는 음악시간에 노래도
부르고 그렇게. 그 후로, 전쟁이 터져서 거의 노래부르거나 배운적이없었어.

JH: Do you remember singing songs while attending sports classes?

We had a sports day playing in two groups, the white and the red. Because of the
school’s large size, the sports day was big too. There were many prizes like
exercise books and pencils.

운동회하는 날이면 두개 그룹으로 나뉘어서 한팀은 하얀팀 다른팀은 빨간팀
이름을 지었지. 학교가 정말 컸어 운동회도 엄청 컸지. 상품도 엄청 많았지. 
그리고 공책이나 연필 이런거 타고 그렇게.

In winter, we would go to the mountains to catch rabbits. That was the time of
year when many rabbits could be caught, and we usually had no class for the
whole day in order to catch them. They were just for the teachers, who wanted to
eat rabbit. When I was in first grade, we caught seven rabbits, and because we
caught a lot we got a small piece. They were tasty. But after the second year, we
couldn’t catch them. They were just too clever. We would hold hands together and
climb to the top of the mountain, usually singing songs at the same time [starts
singing]. This was a school song that we sung in gym class, but it is the same song
we would sing for rabbit hunting.
겨울이 되면 가끔씩 산에 올라가 토끼도 잡고 그랬는데. 한번은 우리가 엄청 많은 토끼를 잡았어. 그런날이면 우리는 수업이 그날 하루종일 없고 토끼잡으러 산으로 올라갔어. 선생들이 그 토끼를 먹고 싶어 그렇게 하지. 내가 일학년때 7 마리 토끼를 잡았어. 그때는 그렇게 많은 토끼를 잡아서 우리도 한점씩 했제. 토끼고기 참 맛있었습니다. 근데 2학년때, 우리는 한마리도 못잡았어. 토끼들도 엉리해졌고 다들 도망갔어. 그렇게 토끼를 잡을때면 이런 손에 손을 얻사람들과 함께 잡고 산 꼭대기까지 올라갔제. 그렇게 올라갈때면, 노래도 부르면서 올라가곤했제. (그리고 노래부르기 시작한다...)이 노래는 원래가 학교노래인데 그리고 체육시간에 불렀던 노래인데. 산에 올라갈때도 똑같이 부르면 토끼도 잡고 그랬지.
JH: What kind of songs did you sing while playing?

Sometimes, when the moon was full, we did gymnastics at school and finished a bit later than usual. So, me and a friend from my village and a few friends from another village would go home all together because it was getting dark. We would sing songs on our way back home. In the morning, my friend and I would sing in front of our house. In the playground, I would skip rope and sing the [Japanese] song “Ninomiya ginjirou”.

JH: Do you still remember any songs from primary school?

We would sing Yuhaengga at school even though teachers did not allow it. [sings Japanese Yuhaengga] Japanese Yuhaengga was fun to sing. I did not know about Korean Yuhaengga at the time. We would sing Yuhaengga in the schoolyard without the teacher knowing. But later in life I hardly sang Japanese Yuhaengga because I had a harsh life. I did not have the time to sing. I had 15 family members to take care of, so there was no time to sing. I worked from very early morning until night. I even worked when I was just about to give birth.

My father’s father was rich. My father liked studying instead of working in the fields. Later, he had to work on a farm and there he learned Japanese and also went to a Japanese school. [My father got rich] We had a big rice farm and many employees but he mainly worked in a post office as a post officer. We were rich.
There were about 50 houses in our village and nobody in the village had a sewing machine but us. My father bought it for my mother. During the Japanese colonial rule, the Japanese always came to our place to take rice [without paying].

[The problem is] my father was not available to hide the rice because he was working from very early morning till evening at the post office. So there was no time to hide the rice. So we were always hungry even though we had a big rice farm. My mum would say, “When could you eat enough rice?” Then I would answer, “There is no chance at all to eat enough rice.”

And, we were forced to give Gamani [straw bags, to send rice to Japan] or pine resin [for use in war planes]. When Korea got its independence, my parents were very happy because the Japanese would stop taking our rice. Later I ate enough rice.
7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I considered three points. Firstly, one of the obvious features of music education policies was that they were interconnected with the political situation. As wartime approached at the end of the 1930s, the aim of music education became to indoctrinate schoolchildren into being enthusiastic subjects of the Japanese Empire, which was not a feature of music education in the previous period.

Secondly, according to the testimonies of interviewees, schoolchildren mainly learned songs by listening and copying from other sources, such as Japanese movies, teachers, and friends. This learning process is similar to the one suggested by Green in her research (2006, p. 8). Listening and copying songs is a traditional, yet modern learning strategy. Children appeared to have picked up predominantly militaristic music during that time, which might be obvious because they remembered the most recent period in the 1940s most vividly. Even in the playground, at picnics, and at ceremonies mainly military songs were performed. While the interviewees readily remembered military songs, they remembered less well songs used at annual ceremonies, such as the Emperor’s birthday, presumably due to there having been less days spent practising those songs. It is not hard to imagine that the prevalence of Japanese militaristic music in children’s everyday life would eventually result in the cultural loss of Korean traditional music.

The dominance of the music of the colonial power in colonial schools, as was the case here, is not a feature of all colonial systems. For example, in colonial India, which was under British rule for two centuries, there was hardly any Western musical influence on music education. According to Kulshreshtha (2010), reasons for this are “an utter lack of exposure and a passive disinterest in what is considered esoteric at best” (p. 273). It seemed to be that Indians were at least able to choose their music preference. In other words, the British hardly used music education as a tool to promote their own goals. This is completely different to the colonial situation in Korea. The colonial government forced Korean schoolchildren to display patriotic loyalty through music activities. This is what Takeshi (2008), in his examination of the colonial education system, termed Japan’s two-facedness. On the one hand, Japan claimed to assimilate Korea as an
extension of itself; on the other, Korea was deeply discriminated against. The colonial government used music education in the same way.

Thirdly, my interviewees displayed two completely opposing sets of emotions towards Japan. Some revealed deeply anti-Japanese sentiments, while others showed a preference for Japan and felt that Japan had educated Korean schoolchildren well. The latter emotion is very interesting because it clearly shows that interviewees were brainwashed through music at the time and consequently felt very positive about the Japanese occupation even though in reality they were strongly discriminated against by Japanese law. They felt they should obey the Japanese Emperor by singing military songs in any circumstance. These findings match Altbach’s conclusions (1995), that colonial education is intended to provide colonised students with skills and attitudes that only benefit the colonisers. Although it is surely not surprising to encounter brainwashing education in a colonial period, it must be acknowledged that in modern times many countries still use music to promote their own schoolchildren’s patriotism (e.g. the National Anthem Project in US), which in the end is just another form of indoctrination through music education that serves to promote patriotism and/or nationalism (Hebert 2012). In the end, patriotism in its most extreme forms creates a feeling of superiority of one’s own culture and nation over others. Therefore, a comparison of the influence of patriotism in music education today to colonialism of the past would be a significant line of study to be pursued in the future.
CHAPTER 8 School activities: military draft and morning assembly

In this chapter, a direct continuation of Chapter 7, I present an analysis of the interviews focusing on school activities that involved music. Military draft and assembly were the most frequently mentioned activities that interviewees remembered. Through my analysis I tried to find the role that music played in these activities and how the colonial government used music as a political tool therein. This chapter is divided into two sections: military draft and morning assembly. The results show the political power of music education and, simultaneously, the process of musical acculturation.

Political background to military draft

The forced draft during Japanese colonial rule is even today a hot political issue in Korea, along with contortion of the history textbooks in schools and the denial of and lack of compensation for comfort women (sex slaves). When Japan invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria in 1931, Korean men had not yet been drafted, even though Korea was already under Japanese colonial rule. However, Japan announced the National Mobilisation Law (Gukga chongdongwon beob) in 1938 and began to forcefully draft Korean men to alleviate increasing labour shortages and to further the economic exploitation of Korea in support of the war and for military goals. The purpose of conscripting Korean men as slave labourers was to use them for the construction of new train lines, roads, mining areas, and military bases in South-East Asia and the Pacific. Also, Korean men were forced to enter the Japanese military service to support the Japanese war effort as soldiers. In total, 1 to 1.6 million Koreans were drafted by Japan (forced labour 800,000, military 130,000–210,000, and civilians attached to the military 110,000–150,000).37 The total number of Korean men drafted represented an astonishing 25–28% of the Korean male population between 16 and 40 years old of the time. Most drafted Korean men were either sent for forced labour somewhere in Korea or shipped to Japan, Sakhalin (nowadays Russia), or even as far as the southern Pacific (e.g. Solomon Islands, Guadalcanal). By the end of the war most of them had perished. Up to 870,000 forced labourers alone are estimated to have died

37 The Research Department of Joseon Bank (Joseon eunheng josabu), 1949.
(Rummel, 1999). In the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima alone about 20,000 Korean forced labourers were killed.\textsuperscript{38}

The colonial government employed many means of drafting Koreans for forced military service, which Japan tried to justify through propaganda. An example of the Japanese propaganda machine is the Joseon United National Group (Gukmin chongryek Joseon yeonmaeng) of 1940, under the direct supervision of the Japanese Governor-General. It was a derivation of the Joseon Spiritual United National Group (Gukmin jeongsin chongdongwon Joseon yeonmaeng) of 1938. This group marched frequently in the streets promoting the draft and encouraging Koreans to enlist (Fig. 8.1).

Fig. 8.1: The Joseon United National Group (Gukmin chongryek joseon yeonmaeng), marching with a music band through a village to advertise the draft

Chapter 8

8.1 School involvement

Schools were used to encourage and support this military draft by mobilising schoolchildren, even at primary level, to farewell draftees. The majority of interviewees testified that these farewell events were a usual part of school activities. Schoolchildren would all go together to attend the farewell ceremony for draftees, usually the train station from where they were to leave or the township office where there was a Shinto shrine. Farewell ceremonies were held only for military draftees, not for forced-labour draftees. Because the military draft was crucial for the Japanese war effort these ceremonies were used as propaganda. According to the eyewitness reports, farewell ceremonies were big events involving all the people of the village. Japanese officials, draftees’ families, and schoolchildren from all different schools lined the street, holding flags and singing songs for the draftees. The interviews are presented in three main sections: school involvement (music as a propaganda tool and privilege vs. personal experience), morning assembly, and effects on later life.

8.1.1 Music as a propaganda tool

Music can play a crucial role in events and activities to encourage positive feelings and improve worker enthusiasm (Karageorghis & Terry, 1997). It can be used as a demonstration of power. When nationalism and imperialism were important political features in European countries in the nineteenth century, music played a large role in reinforcing them. Urbain claims that music has “tremendous power to move people in any direction, towards peaceful and noble goals, or violent and destructive ones” (2008, p. 2). Germany during the Third Reich is only one example. Music was used for patriotic and/or nationalistic purposes effectively as political indoctrination (Hebert, 2012). Japan emulated the Western imperialistic powers (Gordon, 2003) and used music as a propaganda vehicle during its occupation of Korea. In particular, as many interviewees testified, singing and clapping were usually used in the farewell ceremony in order to stimulate students’ emotions. These are typically musical actions used in various forms of musicking to manifest musical and social identities, communication and interactions (Harrop-Allin, 2011, p. 160).
In the colonial environment, Japan used music to manifest social identities in its subjects. This was one of the ways in which the Japanese government tried to reach its colonial goals. In this case, schoolchildren were stimulated through musical actions. In particular, certain military songs, such as “Gadegruso”, were always performed in these ceremonies:

When the draftees were gathering at the station, we would go out holding a flag and singing songs. I remember “Gadegruso”.... [sings in Japanese] “We bravely are off to the war, and returning dead. If you die at war, your parents will be proud of you...” That’s how we sang such military songs.

Some interviewees said they didn’t attend the ceremonies because they were too young to join as first or second year pupils, but those younger interviewees witnessed older pupils joining the march to the train station. One example is as follows:

I remember that senior students gathered clapping and saying good-bye and I was there. I don’t remember if I sang any military songs there. I remember pupils clapping but I think that fifth and sixth senior students were singing something and not us junior students. All village people came too and the draftees were 10–20 from all different villages. We didn’t know why the draftees were leaving and what they were going to do in Japan [or elsewhere].

The majority of interviewees recall that as schoolchildren they often marched from school to the train station or the township office. On arrival, they would hold Japanese flags and sing some songs to farewell the draftees:
The ceremony was held in the train station. All children had to go there together and the draftees’ parents were there too. We sang “Gadason Nippon” [sings the first few phrases in Japanese].

We would go outside holding the Japanese flag. We were standing in the street in a row and Japanese children from a different school turned up too.

The following interview is particularly interesting as the interviewee talks about his feelings. He mentioned that he actually did not know what exactly happened at those ceremonies. Possibly this was because he was too young to understand the circumstances. Everyone around him was crying and, maybe due to a psychological phenomenon, even being such a small boy he experienced the same feeling of sadness while singing:

In the train station, we all were crying and singing…. The song means that you should return after winning the war [speaking in Japanese]… we just sang, but I didn’t know what exactly happened at the ceremony.

According to these testimonies, the majority of schoolchildren participated in ceremonies for the military draft as part of school events. It is notable that schoolchildren remembered these events very well and that certain songs were frequently sung at these kinds of events. Some older schoolchildren surely knew the meaning of the lyrics that they sang, but younger schoolchildren did not necessarily comprehend the meaning of the lyrics or even the situation or the environment. From a Japanese point of view, these “patriotic” songs could induce schoolchildren to feel loyal and turn them into good citizens (e.g. 2954, 0117, 1146), as these testimonies show. Through these events, social identity was manifested, such as holding the Japanese flag and singing Japanese militaristic songs. The fact that these songs were performed as part
of a mass movement would have been especially appealing for the schoolchildren. Hebert (2012) wrote about this phenomenon:

Exposure to particular kinds of music will necessarily guide anyone to act in a particular way, yet music clearly contributes to the conditions in which individuals are more susceptible to the emotional appeal of mass movements, which is why all across the world it has for so long played such a prominent role in the political and religious spheres. (p.2)

One of the most popular songs at these ceremonies, as recalled by interviewees, was “Gadason Nippon” (Victorious Japan). In fact, many military songs like this one were intended to be spread widely in Korea for the purpose of strengthening loyalty to Japan. The Japanese colonial government used music as a tool for the war and this intention is evident in some newspaper articles, such as “Music is [one of our] military supplies” (May 8, 1941, Yomiuri); “To serve the country through music: carrying out music week” (May 8, 1941, Daily News [Maeil sinbo]); “Culture is a tool for the war: six policies decided” (December 14, 1941, Daily News); “Music week serving the country” (June 2, 1941, Daily News); and “Citizens, culture and music” (July 23, 1941, Daily News).

After 1941, the police administration division of the Japanese colonial government started to strictly control Korean media such as movies and popular songs. One of the reasons was to control “enemy music” from the US and England, which was seen as promoting Western culture. The purpose was to retain only Japanese culture in Korea. A prohibited song list was announced in January 1943 that included approximately 1,000 songs (Lee, 2010a). Even though the song “Gadason Nippon” (Victorious Japan) was not an official school song, many interviewees remembered it very well. Such military songs were often published in newspapers in order make them popular (Lee, 2010b). The song “Gadason Nippon”, including the score, was published in the Daily News in 1941, with an explanation of the song and a government endorsement (Fig.8.2).
Fig. 8.2: Excerpt from the Daily News (Maeil Sinbo), December 31, 1941. The title on the left-hand side exclaims “Destroy America and England through music”. The article explains that since Singapore was captured a song is needed to celebrate. The recommended song is “Victorious Japan”, which is about victory over the US and England.

8.1.2 Privilege vs. personal experience with music

Privilege, often through collaboration with the Japanese, meant that some Koreans could the escape military draft. One interviewee was privileged because of his father’s connections with the Japanese:

My father was a translator working for the Japanese. That’s why I wasn’t drafted; and my father gave money to the Japanese officers.

Another interviewee never joined the ceremony at the station or city hall. Possibly this was because he was a junior student or because his school, only for wealthy Koreans,
might have not been mobilised for propaganda duties, such as ceremony attendance, due to privilege:

*I attended an excellent school... We were never forced to go there. I guess the train station was too far from our school.*

난 국민학교 아주 좋은데 다녔어....우린 강제로 그런데 절대 안갔어요. 내 생각엔 역전이 학교하고 너무 멀어서 안갔단것 같아요. (2954, 1933, Gwangju)

In contrast to those who did not attend farewell ceremonies, one interviewee told me without any emotion about his experience of being drafted into forced labour. After Korea’s independence, he had a difficult life spent in poverty:

*I was drafted into forced labour, called Bogukdae. After I completed primary school, I was forced to work in Dongduchen, Seoul. I had to work without getting paid. The Japanese were too powerful so we couldn’t complain.*

난 보국대라는 대로 끌려갔어. 강제로 노동 시키는데로 끌려 갔어. 동두천으로 갔어. 국민학교 끝나고 끌려갔지. 돈도 안받고 강제로 그랬지. 일본사람들한테 끌리고 못하고 살았지 그때는. (2989, 1928, Seoul)

The following interviewee was born in 1935 and lived in a village close to Seoul. Even though he was quite young at the time, he remembers a two-day-long party organised by the village people for draftees just before they were sent away. He recalled that even though many Korean songs were sung at the party, Japanese military songs were also sung:

*In our village young men were sometimes drafted. Two or three days before they had to leave for the war, people in the village put on a huge party for them. Then, Gisaeng [female entertainers] would come, a big pig would be slaughtered for the party, rice wine would be brewed in some houses which had a hot ondol floor [Korean traditional underfloor heating system] for 2–3 days long. The party would last about two days. Korean people would play janggo [Korean drum] and sing Korean songs...*

*I was 10 or 11 years old. I always watched. Gisaeng would be at the party and the draftees were given priority seating just next to the Gisaeng in the middle of the venue. Gisaeng would make a lot of money at those parties. People simply stuck money on their foreheads. That party took about two days... there was a place where draftees that came from each village gathered. We waved them goodbye and [the party was over]. The next day people followed them down the street to the Japanese military vehicles and they were taken away. There were two other types of draftees [apart from military], one to construct roads, train tracks, or any sorts of things and others for working in the mines. Even though they were all forcibly enlisted, only the ones going to war got the*
farewell party. Other types of draftees [Bogukdan and Jingyoung] were never thrown a party and everyone knew that once they were drafted they would never return home alive. So if they got the letter with the draft notice, then they would run away because they knew that they would die.

동네 형님또래들이 군대 영장이 다 나와요. 그 형님들이 전쟁터에 나가기 이틀 삼일전 정도에 동네 사람들은 파티를 열어 주었어요. 그리고 기생들이 거기 와서 있었어요. 왜지를 찾아서 잔치를 해줍니다. 술은 동네에서 한꺼번에 다 만들어서 집안에 따뜻한 방안목에 이틀, 삼일간 삽어 두었다가 만들어지고 한 이틀씩 그렇게 잔치했지. 장구치고 어른들 노는것은 한국노래 부르고.

그때가 10 살인가 11 살 정도였고, 난 항상 다 치켜봤지요. 기생들이 와서 힌따이상들은 (군대갈사람들) 먼저 우선권이 있어서 한가운데 기생님에 앉아서 있고. 기생들 그때 돈많이 벌었지. 사람들이 기생이마에 돈 막부치고 그러졌지. 한이를 그렇게 놓지. 또, 집결지가 있는데 거기를 가면 각 마을에서 온 힌따이상들이 거기서 집결하지 거기서 잡가라고 손혼들고 끝나지. 그리고 그다음날 힌따이상들은 길거리에 줄 서있으면 일본 짐차가 와서 그들을 데리고 가지.

군대징용외에 두가지 더종류에 징집되는 사람들이 있는데, 길이나 기차길 고치러 징집되는 사람들이나 아니면 탄광에 가서 일하던지. 세가지 종류가 다 징집되는거지만. 오로지 군대징집 되어가는 사람들만이 파티를 열어주었지. 보국단 징용나온 사람들은 이런 전치상 못받아요. 가면 죽는줄아니간 도망다고 했지. (2969, 1935, Seoul)
Chapter 8

The colonial government made major efforts to draft Koreans, especially for the military. For example, the photo in Fig. 8.3 shows a flag in front of the house of a draftee who passed the physical examination. The flag says, “Congratulations for joining the army”.

Fig. 8.3: A flag in front of a draftee’s house congratulating them for passing the physical examination.

One older interviewee was himself drafted for military service. He gathered with others in front of the township office and was about to leave for the war:

[sings in Japanese] “Asagokuno nominigudo”... This is a military song. I think I was 20 years old. About 10 to 15 days before independence, on August 15, I received a letter with the draft notice and actually, I had already been trained [for military service] much earlier. There was an extra military service at the village office and they decided who would be drafted next for the war and already trained the future soldiers. On the day I was named in the draft notice, I went to the township office and attended the ceremony [with all the other draftees] wearing a sash from the shoulder to the other side of my waist saying “good luck”. All students from the school and village people gathered and sang Japanese songs such as “Gadegurusodo”.

But, an emergency phone call arrived and we were told that this draft was postponed and we should come back next time. But it was actually the day that Korea got its independence on August 15, 1945. The day before independence, August 14, 1945, I was given a party. My village people organised it for me. In our village, of about 120–130 households it was only me that was in that draft. In the yard, many people came [to see me] but I had such troublesome feelings and
emotions and I knew that if I were to leave for the war now, I would not come back alive... There were some Korean musical instruments played, such as buk [a barrel drum] and janggo [an hourglass-shaped drum]. People usually played them on the New Year or Chuseok [Autumn Thanksgiving Day] and played Korean traditional games. That day, they played musical instruments and sang Korean songs, the Japanese anthem, Japanese and military songs, etc.

(일본말로 노래)....이건 군가인데 내가 20 살땐가 불렀던것 같아요. 8 월 15 일되기전인 10 일이나 15 일에 징병영장 편지를 받았어요. 원래 그전에 난 벌써 훈련다 왔었었지만째 병사계가 있어서 앞으로 소집할 사람들 먼저 훈련시키고 다 거뒀어. 훈련때 때리고 맞고 그러지. 영장받은날. 그날 옆내 통사무소로 가서 거기서 지시다. 우리는 “무운장구” 라는 문구가 써있는 뒷같은거에 걸치는 가운데것있고 있고 각 학교에서 나온 학생들, 면민들, 유지들 다 서서 신사당에서 환영식하고, 갖대구르소도...라고 이겨서 돌아오라는 일본노래인데, 그거 불러주었지.

그런데, 갑자기, 급급 무선전화가 왔어. 해방되었다는 소리는 안하고, 말없이 무기연기한다고만 그러더라고. 그리고 다음에 소집하냐면 집으로 돌아가라고. 그런데, 그날이 바로 8 월 15일 한국 해방되는 날이었지. 해방되기 바로 전날 8 월 14일, 부락에서 날 위해 송별식 해주었죠. 우리 마을이 120이나 130 호 정도 되는데 나혼자 징병영장 받았어. 많은 동네사람들이 찾아왔지. 나보러, 덕석을 마당에 쌓아놓고했는데 심정이 복잡했지. 가면 죽는다라는것 때문에 도망도 못가고...그 송별식에서 복이나 장구 치구 놀고그랬지. 동네용으로 그런 악기들이 있었는데, 설명절날이나 동네에서 잔치하면 그런 악기가지고 놀고, 또, 짐실파기 같은거하고 그러지. 그날도 징장구치고 놀았어. 한국노래도 부르고, 일본유هم가 노래도 부르고 혼합해서, 군가, 일본애국가도 부르고 동등. (0119, 1925, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

At the party mentioned above, some Japanese military songs and Korean Yuhaengga (popular songs) were sung, such as “Tears of Mokpo” (Mokpoeun nunmul) and “Sorrow Serenade” (Aesuui soyagok). It is interesting to see the mix of songs that were sung. The lyrics of Korean Yuhaengga were all about sorrow over the lost Korean nation, whereas the Japanese songs were military songs and the Japanese anthem. These were contradictory circumstances: on the one hand they identified themselves with Korean culture and expressed sorrow for the loss of an independent Korea by singing Korean popular music, while on the other hand they sang Japanese colonial songs and even the Japanese anthem celebrating Japanese imperialism and military power. It is very revealing that they spontaneously sang songs like the Japanese anthem – not the Korean one – and felt an impulse to join the Japanese military service. When I asked
specifically what kinds of Korean songs they sang, they remembered ones that convey feelings of sadness and grief. Contrary to this, singing Japanese military songs, Japanese popular songs, and the Japanese anthem did not generate sadness, only stimulation. Although it is impossible to measure which songs were sung more often, songs’ repertoire changes show musical acculturation.

Here are some examples of Korean songs they frequently sang:

1. “Tears of Mokpo (Mokpoue nunmul)”, released in 1935, was about underlying Korean anger and resistance. The female singer sang it in the style of the traditional Pansori genre (narrative song performed by one singer accompanied by one drummer from South Jeolla Province), and it reflects the harsh life of ordinary people. The Korean sorrow expressed in these songs is one reason for their popularity (Youngnam Daily, July 26, 2007). The lyrics are as follows (my own translation):

   The song of the sea man is waving
   Waves of Samhakdo pervade
   The girl of the harbour is wearing wet clothing
   The tears of farewell are the sorrow of Mokpo

2.” Sorrow Serenade (Aesuui soyagok)” was one of a few songs involving a sad love story about missing a sweetheart; other songs under Japanese colonial rule were about national sorrow. The lyrics are as follows:

   My sweetheart would not return even through tears
   Tonight I cry myself calm
   Opening the window and glance at the stars
   Is someone whistling for me?
   I promise to forget you but I can’t
   The whole night, I remember my sweetheart
   Even my breath is frosty, I close my eyes

8.2. Morning assembly

One significant aspect of school life was morning assembly. All interviewees recall attending an assembly held in the schoolyard every morning or, for a few schools, once a week. Even unregistered (private) schools, which were usually less strictly regulated by the Japanese colonial government, were required to hold an assembly.

After the first ring of the school bell, schoolchildren gathered in the schoolyard for assembly (Fig. 8.4). The children – up to 1,300 in some schools – lined up in rows. Morning assembly generally involved bowing to the principal and the Japanese flag, then twice to the east where the divine Japanese Emperor lived. This was followed by a speech from the principal, the singing of the Japanese anthem, and the reciting of the Pledge of Loyalty of the Imperial Subjects. These assembly activities were essentially forms of propaganda aimed at inculcating the schoolchildren with devotion to the Empire.

Fig. 8.4: Students bowing to the east (facing the Emperor in Japan) during morning assembly at a school in 1936.
Some interviewees recalled principals giving speeches about the war effort (e.g. 1124, 1131, 1139) or about school issues (e.g. 2946, 2961). Testimonies are presented here in order from older to younger interviewees to highlight changes in assembly practice over time. Note that most interviewees first attended school at the age of eight or nine years old; a few were seven years old. The first two interviewees I quote here (1131, 2946) entered school in 1934 and 1935. This was during the period of the Second Education Policy (1922–1938), so it is not surprising that the speeches they report by their principals are less strict than those described in the other interviews (1139, 1124):

*When the principal went to the podium, we greeted him with “Ohayou gozaimasu” [Jap.: “Good morning”] and he responded “Ohayou”. The principal often lectured that Japan was fighting for world peace.*

*교장선생이 강단으로 올라가면 우리는 오하오고자마스 하고 교장보고 인사하지 그러면 교장선생은 오하이오라고 답하고 보통 교장선생 연설하는것은 일본은 세계평화를 위해 싸우고 있다는 그런것들이지 (1131, 1927, 84, South Chungcheong Province)*

*After the bell rang, we gathered and the principal and teachers assembled in the schoolyard. Before the principal came to the podium we sang the Japanese anthem. We had a Japanese principal speaking in Japanese. He usually talked about what we should do at school.*

*벨이 울리면 우리 전부 학교운동장으로 집합해요. 학교선생들도 다 나오고 교장이 강단에 오르기전에 우리는 일본 애국가 부르고 우리교장은 일본 사람이었는데 일본말로 연설했지. 보통 연설하던것들은 학교에서 우리가 어떻게 처신해야 하는가 뭐 그런것들이었지요 (2946, 1928, South Jeolla Province)*

In the following two testimonies, the principal’s speeches concentrated on the war. These interviewees are younger, having attended school in 1938 and 1942. This was during the period of the Third Education Policy (1938–1943), when preparing for war was of primary concern, even at school. Just one year earlier (1937), the Second Sino-Japanese War had broken out, which later escalated with the onset of the Pacific War in 1941. During this time, principals’ speeches predominately consisted of war propaganda:

*We assembled every Monday. It was the time of the Pacific War. The principal used to talk about the situation with the war, that Japanese planes and warships were unharmed while enemy [US] ones were heavily damaged.*
우린 매주 월요일마다 조회가 있었어. 그때가 태평양전쟁 때였는데, 교장선생훈화는 보통 전쟁이 어떻게 진행되어 가는 것들에 대한 거였지. 적들군함이나 비행기는 얼마나 많이 파괴되었는데 일본비행기나 군함은 손상되지도 않고 그랬다고 그런 이야기를 했지. (1139, 1930, North Gyeongsang Province)

I remember that the principal’s speech every morning was about how many enemies [Americans] were killed and how many enemy planes were destroyed by Japanese soldiers during the Pacific War.

오늘 대동아전쟁에서 적군몇명이 죽고 적 비행기 몇대가 떨어지고 그런소리 말날 교장훈화시간에 들었던 기억이 나오 (1124, 1934, Gwangju, South Jeolla Province)

The following testimony is different because this interviewee remembered activities emphasising school regulations and especially the inspection of pupils. Such inspections appear very intrusive, showing complete disrespect for the personal privacy of the pupils and suggestive of the actions of a police state. In fact, these inspections took place monthly at the time, and they are still carried out in schools today (Chosun ilbo, 13 August 2007):40

We were told about the school regulations and what to do during the assembly, which was held every day. Afterwards we sang the Japanese anthem. We had a midday assembly as well, during which our trouser pockets were inspected for leaflets relating to the Korean independence movement, cigarettes or lighters, and things like that. And also our hands were checked to see if they were dirty.

매일 아침 조회시간마다 모여서, 학교왔다고 학교에 관한 규칙이야기나 학교에서 뭐 하라고 지시하고 그러한후에 일본 애국가가 불렸어. 우린 중간 조회시간도 있었어. 그시간에 우리호주마니 검사 당했지 혹시 호주마니 속에 뭐 독립선언문이나 담배. 라이터같은거 있는지 손 더러운 학생들은 지적당하고 그랬지. (2961, 1933, Gangjin, South Jeolla Province)

Following the principal’s speech, sometimes songs were performed, most commonly the Japanese national anthem, “Kimigayo”. The anthem’s lyrics are derived from a Japanese traditional poem, which was often recited for important national festivals. In 1868, the poem was set to a Western-style melody, with harmonic accompaniment composed by the German musician Franz Eckert. Following the premiere of the anthem

at the Emperor’s birthday celebration of 1888, it was adopted as the Japanese anthem (Gottschewski, 2003). After the Second World War, the use of this anthem was discontinued. Nevertheless, in 1999 this highly controversial song, directly connected to Japan’s militaristic past and used by the Japanese to deify their emperor, was reinstated as the national anthem. Musically, the Japanese anthem is Westernised Japanese music in four beats (Tokita & Hughes, 2008) on a Japanese pentatonic scale without F and B.

The music and lyrics (full title: “His Majesty’s Reign: Kimigayowa”) are as follows:

May the reign of the Emperor
continue for a thousand, nay, eight thousand generations
and for the eternity that it takes
for small pebbles to grow into a great rock
and become covered with moss.

The lyrics of the Japanese anthem are about the immortality and the eternal reign of the Emperor. Japanese always used to deify their Emperors through this song. Phrases such as “continue for a thousand generations” and “for the eternity that it takes” have incited some neighbouring countries to claim that the song is a symbol of Japanese imperialism, colonialism, and militarism. According to Spickard (2005, p. 117), it is certain that the Emperor has always been regarded as offspring of the sun goddess Amaterasu.

Other songs frequently performed during the assembly were either martial songs (testimony 3005) or related to the Japanese Emperor (testimony 3011). For instance, popular songs at school were “Gadason Nippon” expressing loyalty towards the Emperor, and “Umiyukaba”, which was regarded the second Japanese anthem and sung before takeoff by many Kamikaze (lit. “divine wind”) suicide attack pilots in the final stages of the Pacific War (Fig. 8.5).
Umiyukaba (Going to the sea)

If I go away to the sea,
I shall be a corpse washed up.
If I go away to the mountain,
I shall be a corpse in the grass
But if I die for the Emperor,
There will be no regret.

The melody of this song feels like a requiem, very slow and sacred. It was usually used for sending soldiers to war. In the lyrics, the sea and mountains are likened to a battlefield. Also, as the Japanese Emperor was regarded as the heavenly sovereign, so Japanese soldiers would die for the Emperor without any regrets.

One area of investigation through the interviews was to see what pupils thought while they were singing these songs. A few completely accepted the situation at school, such as speaking Japanese and singing Japanese songs for the Japanese Emperor (1146, 0117). It might be that they were older and had spent more time living under colonial rule:

*Before doing gymnastics, as part of the assembly, we sang the Japanese anthem. After finishing with sports we sang “Umiyukaba”. I can still sing both those songs very well. And we used to sing the school song in the assembly as well, but I don’t remember it. I felt like I was Japanese at the time, so of course we should sing the Japanese anthem as Japanese people.*
아침조회시간 체조하기전에 우린 항상 일본 애국가를 불렀어. 그리고 체조끝나면 우미유카바 부르고. 난 아직도 이노래를 잘 부르지. 이노래도 조회시간에 부르곤 했는데, 그런노래는 잘 생각이 안나. 그당시에 난 일본사람이었어. 그러니 당연히 일본사람으로 일본애국가 불러야지. (1146, 1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province)

I sang “For the Emperor, we should fight against enemy”. I felt that I should give my total loyalty to the emperor and I didn’t have any antagonism toward Japan at the time. I thought China was the enemy.

일본황제를 위해 우린 적들과 싸워야한다라는 그런노래 불렀어요. 그당시에 난 충성심을 다할뿐이지 반감이 하나도 없었어. 실제로 그당시엔 난 중국이 적이라고 생각했었지. (0117, 1929, Hwasun, South Jeolla Province)

Another felt he was too little to comprehend the lyrics of the Japanese anthem or the general situation of life at school:

Yes, we assembled every morning and sang the Japanese anthem as well. In retrospect, the Japanese tried to turn us into Japanese. I think it was a kind of education by brainwashing. I remember the song “Now I am a first-year pupil”. And I think I can’t sing the Japanese anthem confidently now, but could sing along if others are singing it. I was too little to notice what had happened. [Later he sang the Japanese anthem with other interviewees.]

예, 우린 매일아침마다 조회했는데 그때 일본 애국가도 같이 불렀어. 돌아보면 일본인들이 우리를 일본사람 만들려고 했던거 같아. 지금 같으면 세뇌교육시키는것 같아. 난 국민학교 입학년생이지. 그러니까 일본에 부르고, 애국가 기억은 나는데 혼자서는 못하면. 남들이 하면 같이 따라 할것 같아. 너무어서 무슨일이 있었는지 아무것도 몰랐지. (1120, 1935, Hampyeong, South Jeolla Province)

Others were simply puzzled as to why they had to sing in and speak a foreign language at school:

I sang the Japanese anthem during morning assembly. We were told to sing it. I was always wondering why we had to speak a different language at school instead of Korean, which we spoke at home. We didn’t know what nationalism or colonialism was.

아침 조회시간에 일본 애국가 불렀지. 부르라고 하니깐 불렀지. 난 항상 왜 우린 다른나라말을 해야냐 싶어서 한국말 하는가라고 의문을 가졌어. 그런 민족인것도 모르고 그러 Jays (1124, 1934, Gwangju)
I don’t remember any Japanese school songs apart from the Japanese anthem because I sang it every day in the assembly.

일본애국가 외에 다른 노래는 생각안나요. 그노래는 매일 아침 조회시간마다 불렀으니깐. (2986, 1933, Buyeo, South Chungcheong Province)

These testimonies highlight a significant point, because the witness was puzzled by the differing languages used at school and at home and as a child did not know what nationalism or colonialism was. Preventing children from realising the truth about occupation was one of the impacts of colonial education. Such puzzlement would have slipped away gradually as time passed. And, as expressed by some interviewees (1146, 2951, 1148), speaking Japanese would become perfectly normal. Some even felt they were Japanese. The way of education, including speaking Japanese and singing Japanese songs, would cause Korean traditional customs to fade and enforce new Japanese ideas. Korean schoolchildren under the occupation were slowly shifting from a Korean sense of identity towards a Japanese one. The loss of cultural identity is a common outcome of colonial education, according to Wa Thion’o (1981), as colonial education

annihilates a people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves. (p. 3)

According to some testimonies, children also did some physical exercise as part of the assembly (3005 and 3011). One witness explained that in retrospect, this was to prepare children for later military service (3005):

As part of the assembly, we did exercises while singing “Miodokaino soraikide”. Additionally, we swore that “we are an enthusiastic subjects by studying hard” and also there was the Pledge of the Imperial Subjects, where we also swore that “we are subjects of the great Empire of Japan”.

At midday, we usually went to the schoolyard wearing only underpants without shoes and ran around it many times, because the Japanese wanted Korean boys to enter the Japanese military service later. After that, it was lunchtime, but more than half the children did not bring a lunch [because they couldn’t afford it].

아침조회시간에 우린 체조도 했지. 미오도가이노 이런 노래 부르면서 일본 천황한테 충성한다고 우리는 대일본제국주의 국민입니다. 라고 이런 선서
먼저하고 4교시 끝나면 학교운동장에 팬티만 입고 나가 신발도 안 신고 그리고 운동장을 몇바퀴씩 뛰었지. 아마도 일본인들이 남자아이들 나중에 군대보낼려고 그랬던 것같아. 그러한 점심시간인데, 반수이상이 점심 못먹었지 (도시락을 싸올 형편이 아니라서). (3005, 1929, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)
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The colonial government also had children sing propaganda songs as a condition of receiving lunch, which was perceived as cruel by this interviewee:

We assembled every day. There was no exception. At the beginning we did exercises and every day we sang “Gadason Nippon”. We had to sing this song more often than the Japanese anthem. We were not allowed to have lunch unless we sang “Gadason Nippon”. It was terrible [because he was so hungry]. I just wanted to have lunch.

아침조회를 날마다 했어요. 한번도 안한적이 없었지. 다 모어서 체조하고, 우리 일본애국가보다는 가다손니폰(일본이기라는 노래)이라는 노래를 매일 아침조회시간마다 불렀어. 점심먹기전에 꼭 이노래 불러야 했어. 안부르면 못먹게하고. 아주 징했어. (3011, 1929, Yongsanpo, South Jeolla Province)

All interviewees acknowledged that they had to pledge to be imperial subjects at morning assembly after bowing to the east toward the Japanese Emperor and shouting “Long live the Emperor” (e.g. 2985). In fact, the colonial government required Koreans to recite the Pledge of the Imperial Subjects from 1940 on. There were two versions, one for children and one for adults, and these were recited at all public gatherings, including at school. The following is the pledge for children (Kang, 2001, p. 115):

We are the subjects of the great Empire of Japan.  
We shall serve the emperor with united hearts.  
We shall endure hardships and train  
Ourselves to become good and strong  
Subjects of the Emperor.  

My school was in the remote countryside. That’s why there were not many Japanese in our village. At the assembly, we shouted “Long live the Emperor”. All children who attended the Japanese [public] school did the same thing. We sang the Japanese anthem at every assembly and many other songs, but I can’t remember any apart from the Japanese anthem.  

우리학교는 아주 산골에 있는 학교였는데. 그래서, 본인들이 마을에 별로 없어. 아침조회시간에는 일본천황만세라고 소리치기도 하고 그러지 못하면 일본학교나온 학생들은 다 독적이 그런것했지. 조회시간에 일본애국가도 부르고 다른 노래들도 불렀는데 애국가 외에는 기억이 없어. (2985, 1936, Wonju, Gangwon Province)

Some interviewees talked about etiquette expected during morning assembly and when speaking about the Japanese Emperor:

On very cold winter days in the schoolyard during assembly, we would hide our hands in our pockets to warm them, but the Japanese teachers did not like this. So
our trouser pockets were sewn together. That’s how we learned from the Japanese. When you speak about the Emperor, you should be dressed formally and stand up properly.

아주 추운 겨울날 아침조회시간에, 우리가 손을 바지호주머니에 따뜻하라고 집어넣고 있으면 일본선생들이 아주 싫어했어. 그래서 바지호주머니를 쨼바버리기도 하고 그랬어. 그런것들 우리가 일본인들한테 배운지. 만약에 일본천황에 대해 이야기를 하면 옷이랑 몸자세랑 똑바로 해야 했어요. (1121, 1936, Suncheon, South Jeolla Province)

8.3 Effects on later life

The next two interviewees show opposing perspectives about singing military songs in later life. My oldest interviewee (2951) testified that he would sometimes sing military songs and as Japan was the most powerful country at the time, he considered himself Japanese. He would sing the same “draft songs” in his early twenties while out drinking. This interviewee seems to have accepted the situation of his childhood and would even sing such songs later in life. In fact, many interviewees recalled that they would sing military songs when they were in their late teens or early twenties:

All Korean young men were drafted... [sings in Japanese] “Derikawa nide hukio bus”... later when I was older in my late teens or twenties, I would often sing this song while drinking. Japan was the whole world at the time...

모든 한국젊은이들이 징병되었지...(일본말로 노래)... 십대후반인가 20 대쯤에 이런노래들 술마시면서 많이 불렀어. 그땐 일본이 이세상의 전부였었거든. (2951, 1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province)

On the other hand, another interviewee, one of the younger ones, said that when he sang military songs later in life, he felt like a traitor. He recalled the military song “The song of a soldier going to the front” (Chuljeong bongsa eu norae) (Fig. 8.6) from a farewell ceremony at the train station while in his second year:

When you sang such songs after Korea’s independence, you were a traitor.

해방후에 이런 노래 불렀다면 반역자로 몰리지 (1148, 1935, Donggang, South Jeolla Province)
Yet, as he sang this song during the interview, the pitch, rhythm, and lyrics of the song were perfect and he was even moving his arms up and down like a marching soldier and engaging with the song. He seemed completely transformed into a soldier. The song’s lyrics are:
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My life honoured to the Emperor in the early morning
Amidst millions of cheers
Go warrior, Japanese soldiers!

Fig. 8.6: The record, with music score, of “The song of a soldier going to the front”, recorded by King Records. Lyrics by Ikuta Daizaburo and music by Lin Isa; released in October 1939.
8.4 Conclusion

According to the testimonies, even though military draft was an adult matter, schoolchildren were highly involved through school activities. Singing military songs at ceremonies was a common task for schoolchildren. The fact that the interviewees more easily recalled military than school songs highlights the importance of military activities in the process of acculturation during colonial times. Also, the oldest interviewee, who spent a longer period of time under Japanese colonial rule, seemed to have readily accepted the colonial situation compared to younger interviewees who spent only a short time under the occupation. The younger ones felt like traitors when singing military songs later in their life. The complete acceptance of the status quo by the older interviewee demonstrates how easily schoolchildren could unknowingly be influenced by militarism and colonialism.

This also shows how quickly children absorb things at school and subsequently remember them long into their adult life. Young children spending only two years at school were still able to sing the Japanese anthem as adults. This is an indication of how often the Japanese anthem must have been sung during school and how it was regarded as an essential and crucial song. This also proves how effective the Japanese education policy was in assimilating Korean children and transforming them into good Imperial subjects. Even today, decades later, some of them still identify with Imperial Japan and express how great Japan was (e.g. 1146, 1120, 0117, 2946, 2954, 2995, 3005, 2951). Through the colonially influenced learning process (e.g. singing militaristic songs), schoolchildren’s musical and cultural identity changed – a form of acculturation.

Acculturation is defined as the process of contact between two or more cultures (Merriam, 1964). Global colonialism and continuing post-colonial influences caused widespread cultural change at the interface of different cultures. Musical acculturation can be observed in most colonised countries. As I mentioned in the literature review, while the Vietnamese partly accepted Western musical culture without explicitly being forced into it by colonial France, Korean musical acculturation was a very different case as the Japanese colonial masters actively engaged in the extermination of Korean culture, including music. This contributed to Korean school children apparently losing their cultural identity. Therefore, in the case of Japanese colonialism “acculturation”
meant the forced replacement of Korean culture, with limited mixing and interchange between the two cultures.

This chapter shows the real danger of the misuse of music education for political purposes: music as a tool for forced acculturation through school activities during the Japanese colonial rule.
CHAPTER 9 Conclusion

The beginning of the twentieth century was a turning point for Korean music education history as it saw a rapid rise of Western music and a decrease in traditional Korean music in Korean society. It was also a turning point because it was in 1906, during the Korean Empire (Joseon Dynasty), that music was officially taught in school for the first time. However, it cannot be ignored that this period of Korean music education development began at a time of increasing Japanese influence. Korean music education was literally born under the influence of the Japanese. Therefore, colonialism could be partly responsible for the neglect of Korean traditional music in school. The effects of Koreans having lost their sense of cultural identity during the Japanese occupation continue to be felt in Korean music education today. After the colonial period, Koreans tended not to appreciate Korean traditions and customs. This cultural alienation was further exacerbated through influence of the US on Korea during the time of the Provisional Government (US trusteeship) after Korean independence, and later the Korean War (1950–1953).

The results of my study show that the colonial government created Korean music education and used Japanised Western music in Korean schools while downgrading Korean culture and customs.

1. What was the content and pedagogy of music textbooks from that period, and how were they delivered?

Education policies and music textbooks illustrate how the colonial government deeply influenced music education in schools. The newly emerging music genre Changga, Japanised Western music imported from Japan, played a crucial role at primary school during the colonial period (1910–1945). The influx of Changga was only possible once the colonial government controlled the publication of music textbooks.

Even though there is still no academically agreed-upon definition of Changga today in Korea, one of the Changga genres was military band music (Min, 2008), and melodies originating in this type of Changga are still in use at school and in Korean society today,
particularly in Protestant churches. This shows the persistence of Japanese influences on musical pedagogic material even in modern Korean society.

Songs in primary school played an important role, although music was not a compulsory subject during the colonial rule. Later, around the 1940s, some military songs were published in the primary-level music textbooks, before adult Koreans started to sing these military songs. Therefore, primary schoolchildren were the first to be exposed to militaristic propaganda songs and actively sang them in school.

Music textbooks were heavily influenced by the political situation. Comparison of the prevalence of Japanese vs. Korean lyrics in the music textbooks of different colonial periods reveals that there was a close link between key historical events, Japanese colonial goals, and school education. For example, at the beginning of the colonial period the textbooks were predominantly written in Japanese. However, due to a significant Korean uprising – the March 1st Movement in 1919 – Korean language content was increased in pedagogical materials in a move to appease Korean sentiments and make Japanese occupation more palatable. Nevertheless, the increasing militaristic aggression of Imperial Japan from the 1930s onwards resulted in wars with neighbouring countries and eventually led to the Pacific War. Evidence of this militaristic ideology can be clearly seen in the music textbooks of the time with a 100% use of Japanese language. These examples demonstrate that political influences can also be shown in the music textbooks of the respective periods. Music education during colonial times was closely linked to political goals.

2. Japanese modernisation?

One of my questions was whether Japanese colonial policy had a modernising role in Korean music education. It is often asserted that Japan improved the Korean economy and that colonial rule was a time of modernisation. However, Korea’s modernisation process manifestly started during the later periods of the Joseon Dynasty, before the Japanese occupation (Schmid, 2002). While the Japanese possibly did modernise Korean education, my research clearly demonstrates that the aim of the Japanese education system introduced into Korea was to maintain imperial goals and that music education was primarily a propaganda tool to support Japan’s colonial ambitions.
One of the main goals of the colonial government in its education policies was the assimilation of Korean schoolchildren into the Japanese empire. The first Governor-General, Terauchi Masatake, explicitly stated the goal of transforming Korean schoolchildren into enthusiastic subjects in a speech in 1911 (Kim, 1999b, p. 96). This continued after Japan started invading other countries through the wider assimilation policy of Naeseon Ilche (two people into one entity). Therefore, one of the main goals of Japanese colonialism was to eliminate local cultural values and to replace them through a process of the Japanisation of subjugated peoples. A further aim of music education is revealed through a statement in 1940 by Kanichi Shimofusa, a professor at the Tokyo Music School. He claimed that the improvement of listening skills through music education in school would not only to foster musicality in schoolchildren but also serve a wider military purpose.

The most important educational aim for the colonial government was to force Koreans to learn and speak Japanese. Speaking Japanese not only meant that Korean schoolchildren learnt an additional language, but also that they were not allowed to speak their own Korean language. The Japanese scholar Komagomemn claims that the colonial government’s approach was paradoxical, featuring both discrimination and integration (Oh, 2005). Also, forcing children to speak Japanese could create a dominant–subordinate relationship among Koreans. Some Koreans had to or were willing to learn the Japanese language to obtain a better job and achieve higher status. Oh (2005) claims that the colonial government intended that this dominant Korean class act as a bridge between the colonial government and the colonised.

Japan introduced its own education policies and created curricula that for the first time included music education as a subject in Korea. However, according to witnesses, the contents of the curricula hardly ever made their way into the day-to-day operation of the schools. So while on the surface the colonial government did create a modern education system, it was not realised in practice in the schools of the time. Apart from this, many of the educational included concepts in the modernised policies would be largely questionable from a modern pedagogical perspective, such as the drive to forcefully Japanise Korean children and turn them into reliable subjects of Imperial Japan. The contempt that the colonial government felt towards the Korean population becomes
obvious through the fact that Koreans were actively prevented from attending higher education. Again, this is a step backwards as higher education options were available during the Joseon Dynasty before Japanese occupation of Korea. This is the exact opposite of the modernisation of an education system.

The colonial government needed to create the illusion that the reason for colonisation was to “modernise” Korea, but in reality, the real reason for the occupation was the exploitation of Korea for Japan’s economic and military benefits. Music education in schools at the time was not primarily concerned with education purposes, despite education policies including detailed curricula.

3. How did this relate to Korean music education before and after Japanese colonial rule?

Music is a common tool to promote patriotism. Both the US (Bauman, 1982; Gary, 2002) and the Nazi regime in Germany used music to promote citizen patriotism in the early twentieth century. My research indicates that Japan used music in the same way to promote nationalism in Korean children. However, while the US and Nazi Germany promoted patriotism in their own population, Japan used music as a propaganda tool to transfer its superiority onto Koreans. Viewing the evidence presented in this thesis, there is little doubt that music education under the colonial occupation of Korea was largely used as a propaganda tool to Japanise Korean children. Korean scholars have often neglected to view the colonial period as belonging to the greater music education history of Korea; instead, it has predominantly been examined as a separate phenomenon.

Furthermore, Koreans were not concerned with preserving Korean traditional music until recent years due to a perceived inferiority of Korean culture that was instigated during Japanese colonial occupation and further cemented during increased US influence. This lack of appreciation of traditional Korean culture continued well after the Korean War (1950–1953). Schoolchildren were most seriously affected by the loss of a Korean sense of identity as they were not able to realise that they were being brainwashed at school. Many interviewees claimed that they now think that Japan brainwashed them at the time. However, it is not possible to tell if they arrived at this
conclusion on their own or were influenced by what they learned from others later in their lives.

Colonial times are still felt as too painful for Koreans to recognise them as part of their history. As a result, there are hardly any studies about school music in education history before and after independence, even though the Japanese colonial school system continued to be used virtually unchanged after independence. The educational influence of the US after the Korean War in 1953 further deepened the gap between Korean schoolchildren and their cultural roots.

4. What underlying values and attitudes did they convey, both explicitly or implicitly?

A book called the Document of Reformation (Kyohwa uigyenseo) published in September 1910 just after the annexation of Korea contemplated whether Koreans could be assimilated by the Japanese. Four reasons were given why assimilation was thought to be impossible: 1. Koreans did not recognise the Japanese Emperor, 2. They were strongly nationalistic, 3. They were highly self-aware, and 4. The Korean population was too large (Lee & Kim, 2007, p. 98). The book suggested that while Koreans could not be turned into enthusiastic subjects, they could be induced to be compliant ones. It also suggested that education for Koreans be restricted to basic levels as higher education could threaten Japan’s authority; similiarly, it advised that Koreans be prevented from freely competing with Japanese and be kept as a subordinated people. Consequently, the Japanese position was contradictory right from annexation and throughout the colonial period.

My study shows that education under Japanese colonial rule successfully erased Korean cultural affinity. For example, through the enforcement of Japanese and the exclusion of Korean at school, some children came to feel that speaking Japanese was completely normal and lost their Korean skills to the point of practically having to learn it as a new language after independence. All this happened in the short timeframe of only a few years before independence, illustrating the powerful tool that education can be when used for political purposes.
This was what the colonial government intended: that through the loss of the Korean language Korean schoolchildren would ‘become’ Japanese. This was a part of Japan’s assimilation policy. The main issue, however, was that the colonial government did not want Koreans to be educated beyond the point of being “enthusiastic subjects” of the Empire. This is the argument of the Japanese scholar Ujo, who characterised the Japanese assimilation policy as two-faced (as cited in Takeshi, 2008, p. 33). The assimilation of Korean adults through the enforcement of Japanese was largely unsuccessful as they were resistant, whereas it was highly successful with Korean schoolchildren.

Other revelations stem from an analysis of the relationship between pupils and their teachers. Schoolchildren either could not comprehend or simply were not concerned with ideology or colonialism. As long as their relationship with their teachers was good, they rated life at school positively. Education is a powerful tool and schoolchildren are always an easy target for the achievement of political purposes. Indeed, music education policies kept pace with political and historical events of the time and served as a powerful propaganda tool.

5. Is it possible to establish how Korean children were affected emotionally and musically by the Japanese music curriculum from the way surviving members of that generation reflect on it now?

Schoolchildren were heavily involved in the process of the military draft through school activities by learning military songs and singing them at draft-related events. This was the reality of music education at the time. Older interviewees largely accepted the colonial situation, but younger ones felt like traitors, for instance when singing military songs later in their life. This shows how easily schoolchildren can be influenced through militarism and colonialism.

In the same way, morning assembly in school was utilised as a means of spreading war propaganda. The speeches of school principals were about progress in the war and children sang Japanese military and propaganda songs. One finding from my interviews is that even young children spending only two years at school were still able to sing the Japanese anthem in their later life. This is an indication of how often the Japanese
anthem must have been sung at school and how it was regarded as an essential and crucial song. It also shows how quickly schoolchildren take up information at school and subsequently are able to remember it long into their adult life.

The interviewees reacted emotionally in different ways. Some felt strongly anti-Japanese, while others showed a predilection for Japan and felt that Japan educated Korean schoolchildren very well. The latter case is remarkable as it clearly shows how interviewees were brainwashed to believe that the music education they experienced was a Japanese achievement, even though they were openly discriminated against by Japanese rule. Despite subjugation to the Japanese, through the singing of military songs they came to feel that they should obey the Emperor.

The effects of the Japanese influence on Korean culture, including music, during the occupation are well known within Korean academic circles. But while there are a large number of studies focusing on the ultimate outcomes of colonial occupation, there has been little effort to develop a systematic understanding of the processes that caused these cultural transformations. In particular, there is a lack of knowledge regarding the involvement of the colonial administration in music education at school and how this affected Korean pupils of the time, and the wider implications of this in terms of the cultural genocide that was happening at that time.

This study is limited to the examination of cultural transformation during the Japanese colonial period itself. Nonetheless, based on interviews with eyewitnesses, it explains the process of cultural and psychological change in the Korean population and the far-reaching effects of colonialism on music culture in Korea that are still felt today.

The period after the annexation of Korea in 1910 was a major turning point for music in Korean schools because it marks the introduction of the subject of music (Changga) into the curriculum. Korea did not have the political power to create its own curriculum. Instead, it was forced to introduce music under a Japanese education system. This was a unique situation because Japan forcefully imposed a curriculum not focused on Korean traditional music, nor even on Japanese traditional music, but on Westernised Japanese music. Therefore, Japan, after abandoning its own culture during the Meiji Restoration,
forced Korea to abandon Korean traditional music and replace it with what was essentially Western music.

According to Lee (2005), musical change (acculturation in music) is a natural process of culture (p. 9), and while voluntary acculturation might be for the long term, forcefully acculturation is usually short-lived. However, after independence from Japan in 1945, Korea was placed under a US system in an effort to erase the memory of Japanese colonial policies. However, the weakened sense of cultural identity resulting from Japanese policies persisted, as is evident from the interviews. For example, Koreans had difficulty learning their own language or were confused or ashamed when singing Japanese songs. It is clear that the acculturation of Westernised Japanese music at school weakened the sense of Korean cultural identity of schoolchildren of the time to a great degree. Schoolchildren never had a chance to learn the traditional music of their own ethnic background, and only a handful of the people I interviewed encountered Korean music outside of school.

The significant cultural and psychological damage to Korean students and the success of Japan’s cultural genocide becomes clear when viewing the psychological effects of school education during the occupation. Even though Koreans were discriminated against in primary school by the Japanese education system, some of them still praised Japan. During the interviews, some of them sang military songs as if they were imperial soldiers. Additionally, they looked down on, or were ashamed of, their own cultural background. Therefore, the colonial education system was lacking in true educational merit, and beyond that, even acted as a vehicle for brainwashing.

The Korean education system did not return to its cultural roots until the 1980s. One reason for the long delay is that for a long time, the Korean government concentrated on economic development while attributing only minor importance to cultural issues. So while Koreans were busy creating economic growth, the so-called Miracle on the Han River (Lee, de Bary, & Choi, 2000), Korean music, including popular music, continued to be dominated by Japanese-style Gayo. Therefore, taking a broader view, Japanese acculturation in popular music prevailed until very recently with the advent of a Korean popular music industry.
Lastly, even though the Korean government officially announced the Important Intangible Cultural Properties (Jungyo Munhyeong Munhwajae) programme in 1962 to preserve its cultural heritage (Yang, 2003), the music curriculum was only significantly changed in the last two decades with an increase in the proportion of Korean traditional music compared to Western music at school, which somewhat transformed Korean music education into a multicultural system. However, this thesis reveals the challenges faced by older Koreans: that regaining a sense of identity within a Korean society is a much slower process. There is still a long way to go until ordinary Koreans adopt and appreciate the value of their own culture.
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References


Appendices

Appendix 1 Information sheet

Korean Music Education under Japanese Colonial Rule

INFORMATION SHEET

Who is conducting the research

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Why is the research being conducted?

I am conducting this research at Queensland Conservatorium Griffith University. With the fall of the Chosun Dynasty (1392–1910) and the beginning of Japanese colonial occupation, Korea suffered deeply at that time. These circumstances had a significant effect on Korean music education and subsequently might have influenced Korean schoolchildren. The main questions this research aims to address are the key characteristics and effects of Japanese colonial rule on Korean music education and on the sense of identity and psychology of students.

What you will be asked to do

You will have conversations with me one on one and will be asked to recall experiences you had in music classes at school and/or music related events. This whole process will be recorded with a camcorder to create historical documents. It will take from half an hour to one hour. I will visit your house or a place where elderly Korean gather everyday for entertainments depending on your preference. The historical documents created with this research are to be stored indefinitely for their continuing value for the research community.

The expected benefits of the research

1. This research will bring together teaching material, pedagogies and policy documents that dictated Korean music education during Japanese colonisation.
2. This research will preserve historical knowledge in the form of oral histories as an important documentation of Korean cultural history.
3. This research will help to find out how the psychology and the sense of identity of Korean children of that time were affected by Japanese colonial policy with music education.
Appendices

Risks to you
There are unlikely to be any risks associated with your participation. If any questions are uncomfortable for you to answer you have the right not to answer them. You will not be asked for any sensitive information.

Your confidentiality
If you are willing, you may be identified by name in the research report and information you give to the researcher will be attributed to you. If you prefer not to be personally identified and to not have opinions or information attributed to you personally, you have the right to inform the researcher, and you will not be personally identified.

Your participation is voluntary
Your participation is voluntary and subject to your own personal consent only. You may withdraw from the research at anytime or you may decline to answer particular questions.

Questions / further information
The primary contact for information on this project is the Student Researcher, Jeong-ha Kim. You can contact me for additional information about the project.

Feedback to you
Each participant in the research will receive a short summary of research outcomes at the conclusion of the project.

The ethical conduct of this research
Griffith University conducts research in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans. If potential participants have any concerns or complaints about the ethical conduct of the research project they should contact the Manager, Research Ethics on 3735 5585 or research-ethics@griffith.edu.au. In addition, to ease access and for language reasons, complaints about the ethical conduct of this research project can also be directed at an independent contact person that is collaboratively involved with this project: Professor Lee Byeng-Dam, Japanese Literature, Senam University, Korea. Ph: 063 620 0058. Email: bdd6654@hanmail.net. Any received complaints by the local contact person will be promptly forwarded to the Manager, Research Ethics.

Privacy Statement
The conduct of this research involves the collection, access and/or use of your identified personal information. The information will not be disclosed to third parties without your consent, except to meet government, legal or other regulatory authority requirements. A de-identified copy of this data may be used for other research purposes. However, your anonymity will at all times be safeguarded. For further information consult the University’s Privacy Plan at www.griffith.edu.au/ua/aa/vc/pp or telephone (07) 3735 5585.
Appendices

Appendix 2 Consent Form

Griffith University Letterhead

Korean Music Education under Japanese Colonial Rule

CONSENT FORM

Research Team
Student Researcher:

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By signing below, I confirm that I have read and understood the information package and in particular have noted that:

- I understand that my involvement in this research will include answer a number of questions in either a semi-structured or an informal interview up to one hour in duration and one on one;
- I agree that the interviews will be recorded and are to be stored indefinitely as they are important historical documents and of continuing importance for research;
- I have had any questions answered to my satisfaction;
- I understand that there will be no direct benefit to me from my participation in this research;
- I understand that there is no direct benefit to me from my participation in this research;
- I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary;
- I understand that if I have any additional questions I can contact the research team Jeong-ha Kim;
- I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time, without comment or penalty;
- I understand that I can contact the Manager, Research Ethics, at Griffith University Human Research Ethics Committee on 3735 5585 (or research.ethics@griffith.edu.au) if I have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the project;
Alternatively, I can contact a local independent person in case of any concerns I have about the ethical conduct of the project: Prof. Lee Byeng-Dam, Japanese Literature, Senam University, Korea. Ph: 063 620 0058. Email: lbd6654@hanmail.net. Any received complaints by the local contact person will be promptly forwarded to the Manager, Research Ethics. And
- I agree to participate in the project.
Appendices

Appendix 3 Interview questions


1. Can you say anything about the music you like, sing, or play, now and in the past?
   - What kind of music do you like (Japanese style/ Korean traditional songs etc.)?
   - Do you like/prefer traditional Korean music or Western music? And why?
   - Do you still enjoy songs from your time in school?

2. Can you tell me something about your background?
   - What did you do for a living as an adult?
   - When did you attend primary school (how old are you now)?
   - Where did you attend primary school (city or countryside)?
   - What did your parents do for a living (social status)?

3. What can you remember about music class at your school?
   - What did you learn in music class (songs, instruments, etc.)?
   - Do you remember any songs that you learned at school?
   - Can you sing any of those songs? (use stimulated recall by singing and showing songs, pictures, and music textbooks)
   - Was music a subject you liked?
   - Did you sing songs in Japanese or Korean?
   - Do you remember whether your music teacher was Japanese or Korean?
   - Did you have any special events involving music such as assemblies? Can you describe that?
   - Do you remember any opinions that music teachers presented during music class?

4. What were your sentiments – then and now – about your music lessons?
   - How did you feel about music classes and/or music teachers of that time?
   - In retrospect, how do you feel about that today?
   - How do you relate your music education to Japanese colonialism?
### Appendix 4 List of Interviewees

* = phone interview, $ = no video, f = female

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