GENDER IN FUSION KUGAK: AN EXAMINATION OF WOMEN’S FUSION KUGAK GROUPS AND THEIR MUSIC PRACTICES

by

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Fusion *kugak* is defined as a contemporary and popular form of the traditional Korean music *kugak*. On the one hand, fusion *kugak* can appeal to researchers in terms of its musical style since it includes arrangements of Western music for traditional Korean instruments with non-Korean instruments accompanying; new compositions for ensembles combining traditional Korean instruments with non-Korean instruments; and collaboration between fusion *kugak* and other performing arts such as dance, martial arts, or acrobatics. On the other hand, as a cultural phenomenon in contemporary Korea, fusion *kugak* can be viewed from the perspective of gender, a social value system. However, which positions women are occupying in the field of fusion *kugak*; how women are playing their gender roles in their fusion *kugak* performances; whether women demonstrate their sexuality in their fusion *kugak* practices or not; and how women empower themselves in fusion *kugak* are all questions that current research has not yet explored.

In this thesis, I perform a case study of three women’s fusion *kugak* groups, Dasrum, MIJI, and Cheongarang, all of which consist of only women, in order to identify which gender issues can be explored through study of fusion *kugak*. By observing those women’s fusion *kugak* groups, looking at popular discourse on female *kugak* and fusion *kugak* performers, and analyzing those women’s fusion *kugak* groups’ musical performances and activities, this thesis demonstrates how the women’s fusion *kugak* groups take part in the formation of Korean national identity; how female fusion *kugak* performers can play motherly roles in their fusion
kugak practices; and how female fusion kugak performers represent their sexuality and exercise female agency in their fusion kugak activities.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE .................................................................................................................................... XI

1.0 INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................ 1

1.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS ........................................................................... 5

1.2 METHODOLOGY ............................................................................................. 11

2.0 KUGAK, FUSION KUGAK, AND WOMEN ............................................................ 13

2.1 OUTLINE OF KUGAK AND FUSION KUGAK .................................................... 13

2.1.1 Kugak ............................................................................................................ 13

2.1.2 Fusion Kugak ............................................................................................... 23

2.2 WOMEN IN KUGAK AND FUSION KUGAK .................................................. 33

3.0 WOMEN’S FUSION KUGAK GROUPS ................................................................. 38

3.1 DASRUM (다스름) ............................................................................................. 38

3.1.1 Overview ...................................................................................................... 38

3.1.2 Musical Practices and Characteristics ......................................................... 41

3.2 MIJI (미지) ........................................................................................................ 46

3.2.1 Overview ...................................................................................................... 46

3.2.2 Musical Practices and Characteristics ......................................................... 49

3.3 CHEONGARANG (청아랑) .............................................................................. 53

3.3.1 Overview ...................................................................................................... 53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2 Musical Practices and Characteristics</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0 GENDER ISSUES IN MUSIC PRACTICES BY WOMEN’S FUSION KUGAK GROUPS</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 GENDER AND NATIONAL IDENTITY</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 FROM MOTHER TO MOTHERING</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1 Women and Mothers as Themes in Fusion Kugak</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2 Mothering: Care of Children</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3 Mothering: Performance for Cultural Minorities</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 SEX AND SEXUALITY</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1 Display of Female Fusion Kugak Performers as Korean Popular</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musicians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2 Association with and Distance from Kisaeng</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0 CONCLUSION</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX D</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX E</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-ACADEMIC BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The score of Arirang ..................................................................................................... 19
Figure 2. The twelve pitch system in kugak ................................................................. 20
Figure 3. The examples of chŏngganbo.................................................................................. 21
Figure 4. Pyŏngjo and kyemyŏnjo ...................................................................................... 21
Figure 5. The semachi changdan ......................................................................................... 22
Figure 6. Gongmyung’s fusion kugak performance using traditional Korean instrument (puk, changgo and taegŭm) and foreign-oriented instruments (quitar, cymbals, and djembe)........... 24
Figure 7. Fusion kugak performance combining duo using a haegŭm and a guitar with ballet ... 25
Figure 8. Gongmyung’s application of a plastic bottle............................................................... 31
Figure 9. Female pipa player wearing traditional male costumes in the national chŏngak (literati music) group for Chongmyo Cheryeak.............................................................................................. 36
Figure 10. Dasrum’s 20th anniversary concert with its old and current members .................. 40
Figure 11. The CD cover of “Kugak for Children’s Emotion” released by Dasrum ............... 43
Figure 12. Twelve Girls Band of China................................................................................... 47
Figure 13. A picture of the front page of the promotional brochure of MIJI ......................... 49
Figure 14. MIJI on MBC Show Ŭmakjungsim ....................................................................... 51
Figure 15. MIJI’s gathering seashell in a mud flat for filming the morning news show........... 52
Figure 16. The concert hall, Ilhwadang, in the Samcheonggak.................................................... 54
Figure 17. Cheongarang instrumentalists ..................................................................................... 55
Figure 18. Korean food served in JAMI ................................................................................ 56
Figure 19. Modern dance performance accompanied by Cheongarang in the JAMI .............. 58
Figure 20. Dasrum’s performance in Arequipa, Peru ................................................................. 62
Figure 21. MIJI’s Western-style dress ...................................................................................... 63
Figure 22. MIJI’s reformed Korean-style dress ......................................................................... 64
Figure 23. MIJI’s members as fashion models .......................................................................... 77
Figure 24. MIJI’s members represented as characters in a children’s comic book ................. 77
Figure 25. An image of a vocalist in MIJI having on a dress revealing her shoulder and upper parts of her breasts ........................................................................................................................ 78
Figure 26. Images of MIJI members having on only their shirts with their black briefs and black stockings ........................................................................................................................................... 79
Figure 27. An image of a member of the K-pop girl group, Rainbow .................................... 79
Figure 28. An image of a member of the K-pop girl group, Brown Eyed Girls acting as a fashion model............................................................................................................................................. 79
Figure 29. An image of MIJI members with traditional Korean instruments ......................... 81
Figure 30. A cover photo of MIJI’s digital single, similar to the popular image of kisaeng ...... 83
Figure 31. A popular image of kisaeng represented in a fashion magazine ............................... 83
Figure 32. MIJI at the concert ................................................................................................... 83
Figure 33. A taegŭm player of the women’s fusion kugak group Hwang Jini ...................... 87
Figure 34. Kisaeng on the television sopa opera Hwang Jini............................................... 88
Figure 35. Ajaeng .................................................................................................................. 93
Figure 36. Changgo .............................................................. 93
Figure 37. Ching ................................................................. 94
Figure 38. Chǒlhyŏngǔm ...................................................... 94
Figure 39. Haegǔm ............................................................... 94
Figure 40. Kayagǔm ............................................................. 95
Figure 41. Kkwaenggwari ..................................................... 95
Figure 42. Kŏmungo ............................................................ 95
Figure 43. P'iri ................................................................. 95
Figure 44. Puk ............................................................... 96
Figure 45. Saenghwang ....................................................... 96
Figure 46. Sogǔm ............................................................. 96
Figure 47. Taegǔm ............................................................. 96
Figure 48. Taepyǒngso ......................................................... 97
Figure 49. Pipa ............................................................... 97
Figure 50. Tungso ............................................................ 97
PREFACE

For romanization of Korean words, I utilize the McCune-Reischauer system. The romanized Korean words are italicized except for country names, other geographical names, company or institutes names, performance group names and names of individuals, of which the first letters are always capitalized. In cases where romanization is given by persons or groups, I will follow their romanization. Also, I write all Korean persons’ names in Western order, with family names following personal names.

I would like to first express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Adriana Helbig for giving me her generous and insightful advice. I also would like to gratefully acknowledge Drs. Andrew Weintraub and Gabriella Lukacs for their suggestions and support for my work. Additionally, I wish to thank Janine, who was willing to proofread my thesis, and Heather, who was always there to listen to me. Lastly and most importantly, I would like to thank my family in Korea and New York. If they had not supported and prayed for me, I would not have completed this thesis.
1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of 2009, I was asked to recommend a performing group for the closing ceremonies of the 2009 Asia Pacific Lacrosse Tournament in Suwon Korea (hereafter referred to as the 2009 ASPAC tournament). My husband, the general manager of the Korea Lacrosse Association (hereafter abbreviated to KLA)\(^1\) called upon me for musical advice on the event performance.\(^2\) As a scholar of musical culture in Korea, I was qualified for my husband to consult about the performance for the closing ceremonies.

Believing this ceremony required a performance that could represent Korean culture, I proposed a performance of *samulnori*, the traditional Korean folk music genre. It is performed using four traditional Korean percussion instruments - a *kkwaenggwari* (a small gong), a *ching* (a medium-sized gong), a *changgo* (a hourglass-shaped drum), and a *puk* (a barrel drum).\(^3\) However, some male staff members of KLA did not agree with my recommendation. They insisted that the traditional *samulnori* was old-fashioned. Instead of *samulnori*, they requested ‘another’ genre that is not only more popular among the general public but contains a portion of traditional Korean music. Also, they suggested that some girls majoring in traditional Korean music and

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\(^1\) Korean students studying in the United States and the US Forces in Korea first introduced lacrosse in Korea after the mid 1990s. After that, some colleges of physical education started adopting lacrosse in their curricular and teaching it to their students.

\(^2\) Not only did I major in violin performance and musicology but also minored in dance theory for my undergraduate degree. In particular, Korea National University of Arts (KNUA), where I attended to study musicology and dance theory, is the most authorized educational institution cultivating the most capable performers and scholars into Western and Korean music, drama, film, dance, and visual arts.

\(^3\) The pictures of traditional Korean musical instruments cited here are available in Appendix A.
dance could perform a popular song from a Korean television show. The KLA men said that this example could serve a double purpose since the familiar melody out of popular music would make it easier for foreign lacrosse players to enjoy the music and then they could have a “Korean” experience by hearing traditional Korean instruments. It seemed to make sense – a rendition of popular music using traditional Korean instruments. Yet, I still could not understand why the male staff members saw a performance by young women as appropriate for the cultural event of the 2009 ASPAC tournament. It made me wonder if there could be a special reason why the KLA men preferred a musical performance by girls or women. Finally, the general manager of KLA accepted the male staff members’ suggestion and he hired the team consisting of break-dancers and players of traditional Korean musical instruments. The team called themselves ‘fusion kugak group.’

As a volunteer for the 2009 Asia Pacific Lacrosse Tournament in Suwon Korea, I was able to take part in the two closing ceremonies of the tournament on June 13th and 21st, 2009 and watch the performance of ‘another’ genre, that is, fusion kugak. As the KLA members had suggested, the fusion kugak group in the ceremony included female instrumentalists. Besides them, male performers took the role of breakdancing, also called b-boying. Three female players preformed on three traditional Korean instruments, namely the twenty five-stringed kayagŭm (a traditional Korean long zither with 12 strings), a haegŭm (a traditional Korean spike fiddle with two strings resembling Chinese erhu) and a taegŭm (a large transverse bamboo flute) appeared on the stage. Their Western-style cocktail dresses caught my attention because these clothes showed the bare skin of the women’s shoulders, arms, and legs. I expected that such traditional

\[\text{footnote}{\text{4 The first ceremony on June 13th was for the women’s tournament and the second one on June 21st was for the men’s tournament.}}\]
\[\text{footnote}{\text{5 The pictures of traditional Korean instrument addressed here are available in Appendix A.}}\]
Korean instruments should go with the traditional Korean dress called *hanbok* that conceals most parts of the human body. The female instrumentalists performed some arranged pieces of Western classical music such as Ave Maria by Giulio Caccini (1551-1618). The *haegüm* and the *taegüm* took the melody and the *kayagŭm* played the harmony to the pre-recorded accompaniment of a drumbeat at a fast tempo. The *haegŭm* and *taegŭm* players occasionally danced to the music they played since they were free to move their legs, as compared to the *kayagŭm* player who had to keep at the standing instrument. Each time the bodies of the dancing instrumentalists were lighted up on the stage, most male audiences cheered for the performance while some female audiences showed disapproval by shaking hanging their heads.

At the second closing ceremony on June 21st, another volunteer talked to me about her feeling toward the dancing instrumentalists of the fusion *kugak* group. She was thinking that they looked like vulgar showgirls because they were playing and dancing in front of drunken lacrosse men. No doubt she had had the same expectation I did. Meanwhile, some Japanese lacrosse players said that they were able to perceive the beauty of the Korean music that they had heard from Korean dramas on Japanese television. Through discussion with Japanese about Korean music and drama, I learned that a musical genre called fusion *kugak* had circulated beyond Korea via mass media.

This series of episodes, which I experienced around the performance for the event of the 2009 ASPAC tournament, encouraged me not only to think of what fusion *kugak* is but also to raise several questions on the role of women in fusion *kugak*. Why do women appear more frequently in fusion *kugak* performances than men do? What, if any, is the relationship between the female-oriented fusion *kugak* and the male-dominated *kugak*? In what ways do fusion *kugak* performances shape women’s images? In what ways do female fusion *kugak* performers identify
themselves through their music? In what ways do audiences receive and talk about women in fusion kugak and their performances?

By looking for answers to those questions, I will argue that as an arena where gender is expressed and gender relations are constructed, fusion kugak enables women to create their own roles, to negotiate between these roles and gender roles in Korean society, to demonstrate their sexuality, and then to find agency as women. This stands in opposition to the field of traditional Korean music, which women have rarely been allowed to enter profession\(^6\) or to exert their power.\(^7\) For my argument, I will examine the following issues in fusion kugak: the relationship between gender and national identity in overseas concert tours by women’s fusion kugak groups; female fusion kugak performers’ roles as care workers in their musical activities; and the representation of the female sex and female sexuality in performance of women’s fusion kugak. In order to fulfill this objective, I will focus on three fusion kugak groups exclusively composed of women. I will observe them, and analyze the discourse that surrounds them in the media and in the general population. I will also analyze their music practices and examine the ways that their performance practices are interconnected with the broader notions of female powers and identity in Korean music.

\(^6\) According to Kyungchae Hyun, the critic of traditional Korean music and ethnomusicologist, on Munhwa Sasaek (four colors of culture), the television program about Korean culture, traditional Korean music has been male-dominated in terms of musical profession although women take up 90 percent of students in the department of traditional Korean music at colleges or universities. Her statement is available at http://www.imbc.com/broad/tv/culture/4color/vod/index.html?kind=image&progCode=1000855100176100000&pageNum=1&pageSize=5&cornerFlag=1&ContentID=1&ProgramGroupID=0&sdate=&edate=.

\(^7\) Hee-sun Kim points out that women have been located at the periphery of traditional Korean music.
1.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Drawing upon my experience of fusion *kugak* at the closing ceremonies for the 2009 Asia Pacific Lacrosse Tournament, this thesis recognizes fusion *kugak* as both a contemporary style and a popular genre of traditional Korean music while exploring gender relations and gender representation in fusion *kugak*. In this light, I believe that the examination of gender in both popular music studies and traditional Korean music research can provide this thesis with the useful ways of reading gender relations and gender representation in fusion *kugak*.

As Bruno Nettl has pointed out, the recognition of gender and gender relations is “essential to the interpretation of musical cultures,” 8 Ethnomusicologists have discovered “women in music”, analyzed “women’s music,” and attempted “gender studies in music” since the late 1970s 9 in order to explicate various musical cultures. In particular, Ellen Koskoff’s pioneering work is a milestone for gender studies in ethnomusicology. She collected a number of studies on music and gender and produced the book *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, published in 1987. She notes in her introduction that both music and “inter-gender behaviors” are conceptually associated with “power and/or control” in many societies. 10 She then suggests that ethnomusicologists should integrate music with power, gender, and value in their work. 11 I will look at ethnomusicologists’ exploration of gender relations and gender representation to explain traditional Korean music and popular music to both which fusion *kugak* is applicable.

9 Ibid., 409.
11 Ibid., 15.
Unfortunately, only a small number of ethnomusicologists have conducted research on gender in understanding of traditional Korean music. Besides, most of these have been concentrated in studies on traditional Korean female entertainer called kisaeng. Referring to Korean literature, Byung Won Lee (1979) finds out that the roles and status of kisaeng have varied according to a three-ranking system traditionally applied to those women. Among the three ranks of kisaeng, the first class was most highly appreciated due to their moral behavior as well as their artistic attainment; the third class was considered lowest in that they engaged in prostitution. Dongeun Roh (1995) traces the course of the first and second ranks of kisaeng, who took part in Korean court music, then breaking up and degenerating into the third rank, prostitutes. He points out that Japanese colonialists\textsuperscript{12} dismissed the kisaeng in the Korean royal court to eradicate traditional Korean culture and forced the whole of kisaeng to become prostitutes in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Exploring the socio-musical value of kisaeng and their contribution toward history of traditional Korean music, Do-Hee Kwon (2001) argues that in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the kisaeng played a significant role in the development, distribution, and transmission of traditional Korean music by offering an apprenticeship education of traditional Korean musical genres at the kisaeng academies, the public performance of music and dance, and sponsorship of traditional Korean musicians. Also, she classifies kisaeng and categorizes their music into the repertoires of traditional Korean music according to the classes of kisaeng. Sŏng-ung Shin (2003) examines how the degradation of kisaeng into prostitutes impacted and continues to impact Korean people’s perception of traditional Korean music so that Korean people tend to consider traditional Korean music of less value than Western classical music. Joshua Pilzer (2006) observes that kisaeng’s disappeared in the Japanese colonial period and

\textsuperscript{12} Japanese imperialist colonized Korea for thirty-six years from 1910 to 1945.
post-colonial modern Korean society, but returned in the 1950s and the 1960s when *kisaeng* were exploited to serve such male guests as foreign and Korean businessmen and politicians with a performance of traditional Korean music and foreign and Korean popular songs. In this case, *kisaeng* were treated as sexual objects rather than as musicians since most male guests enjoyed *kisaeng*’s sexual service rather than appreciated their performance. For this reason, *kisaeng*, as Pilzer argues, became invisible in the history of Korean music. The Korean government, however, in the 1960s and the 1970s called out *kisaeng* as holders of traditional Korean music for “the institutionalization of Korean art forms” with the canonization of national culture. Through this institutionalization, some *kisaeng* were appointed as Human Cultural Assets (the current holders of traditional Korean music, dance, play, art, or crafts) by the Korean government while others partook in founding private *kugak* studios and the national high school for traditional Korean arts. These studies on *kisaeng* suggest ways in which the theoretical works on the roles, status, and sexuality of women in traditional Korean music can be linked to discussion on women in fusion *kugak* as a contemporary form of traditional Korean music.

Popular music scholars, including sociologists, humanities scholars, feminists, and popular musicians, have addressed various issues on women in popular music from a feminist perspective. Looking at black female singers in dance music bands in the 1980s and the 1990s, Barbara Bradby (1993) argues that “there is an obvious way in which women have…been equated with sexuality, the body, emotion and nature in dance music, while men have been assigned to the realm of culture, technology and language” (Bradby 1993: 157). In this gender

14 Ibid., 305-306.
15 Ibid., 306.
division, female performers could not take the leading part for which men were responsible. Thus, women could not take part in producing, composing, mixing, or rapping. However, there have been women challenging such men’s spheres in popular music. Charlotte Greig and Keith Negus note those female challengers. Looking back at folk and country music produced in the 1960s and the 1970s, Greig (1997) points out that some female singer-songwriters such as Dolly Parton, Peggy Seeger, Joni Mitchell, Laura Nyro, Patti Smith, Bonnie Raitt, Roseanne Cash, Mary Chapin Carpenter, Madonna, Sinéad O’Connor, and Neneh Cherry started to write about their specific experiences, different from men’s. She notes that female songwriters have brought “the issues of childrearing and motherhood” into their music. Among the female songwriters who Greig mentions in her article, Negus (1997) concentrates on Sinéad O’Connor, as an ‘author.’ He talks about how Sinéad O’Connor has taken an active part in representing herself both visually and acoustically. According to Negus’ argument, her music has been a part of her identity enunciated in words, sounds, and images that she formulated. Emma Mayhew (1999) examines the representation of female popular musicians in terms of the formation of ‘authenticity’ in popular music. Defining authenticity as being constructed via the music press and the discussion of fans, she points out that authenticity has marginalized women and their musical roles. She, however, asserts that the meaning of authentic popular musicians has been challenged through media representation of female musicians and through the process of negotiation with regard to the marginalization of female musicians by fans of certain female popular music performers such as Hole and Madonna.

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18 Ibid.
Madonna has attracted wide attention from feminists in all academic disciplines. In musicology, Susan McClary and Stan Hawkins discuss Madonna. McClary (1991) appreciates Madonna as a rebel in the history of gender relationships in Western music. With her music performance, Madonna not only pulls out the hypocrisy of sexuality in Western music but also problematizes it. Although she appeals to her body and her feminine sexuality like Carmen or Lulu or Salome in the same-named Western classical operas, Madonna denies the construction by which she would be pushed back into a surrender to the male-controlled sexual convention. Focusing on Madonna’s song, “Music,” Hawkins (2004) argues that her musical production, through which her performativity is exerted, allows her to express a political agenda and acts as a powerful representation of social relations and identities. As an English literature scholar and a feminist, Ann Cvetkovich (1993) points out that Madonna has positioned herself as “the feminine object of the gaze” in her music videos and films. Yet, according to Cvetkovich’s argument, although Madonna’s strategy of self-objectification of the gaze seems to satisfy others’ visual pleasure, this strategy is linked to her enjoyment and she can place herself in a position of power by an active display of herself.

Ethnomusicologists also have conducted gender studies in popular music. Recognizing black women’s activity in rap music during the 1990s in the United States, Cheryl L. Keyes (2000) points out that female MCs composed their own songs, produced their own records, and

20 Ibid., 152.
23 Ibid., 155-156.
established their own record companies in order to oppose the sexist restraint prevailing in the field of rap music. She argues that although it is still regarded as a male-dominated genre, rap music can be a way that black women empower themselves, make choices, and create rooms for themselves and their sisters. Heather A. Willoughby (2006) examines images of female singers in Korean popular music. Emphasizing the importance of images in Korean popular music, she asserts that Korean female singers’ images not only reflect the social value of gender but also influence the construction of idealized gendered images for fans. Eun-Yung Jung (2010) explores the ways in which Korean popular music videos, which in the past decade have been made for sale in the United States, apply the concepts of race and sexuality that are valid in the United States. According to her argument, artists and producers from both the United States and Asia manipulate musical production and visual images of Korean popular musicians in the US market by either conforming their racial and sexual identities to the Western stereotype of Asian race and sexuality or by challenging such the stereotype.

As explored above, the amount of research on gender and gender relations in Korean popular music is not excessive; therefore, for my gender analysis of fusion kugak, I looked at research in the area of popular music studies in general. I believe gender analysis of popular music studies can serve as an effective way to how female fusion kugak performers as popular musicians are represented, negotiated, or empowered through their musical practices.

25 Ibid.
1.2 METHODOLOGY

This thesis is primarily a case study on gender issues in fusion kugak. Pursuing the case study on gender issues in fusion kugak, I first selected three groups as representatives from the large number of fusion kugak performance groups consisting of only women (women’s fusion kugak groups). In selecting the groups, I considered their musical style, their established musical practices, and their popularity. After selecting three groups, I collected information online to determine each group’s unique characteristics and to become familiar with the discourse on the groups. Furthermore, I conducted the fieldwork on the groups in Seoul, Korea between June and August in 2011. During this fieldwork, I interviewed the members of each group and the persons related to the groups (e. g. the former director, the former manager and the current manager of the groups). Since I am acquainted with the music director of the women’s fusion kugak group I picked, I was able to meet interviewees through her introduction. Moreover, as there are many alumni at my alma mater, Korea National University of Arts, among the members of the groups, I was able to establish a good rapport with the interviewees. I also attended a performance by the group for the fieldwork. In the cases where I could not participate in the performances during the fieldwork or they were presented before my fieldwork, I checked out videos provided by the groups or linked on the YouTube site.

In Chapter 2, I outline traditional Korean music (kugak) and fusion kugak. Also, I trace women’s presence in the fields of both kugak and fusion kugak. This chapter offers readers a basic understanding of Korean music as an arena where gender is operative. In Chapter 3, I write the general facts about each group on the basis of the data I obtained. Then I argue significant

27 The interview list is available in Appendix E.
gender issues related to the women fusion *kugak* groups and their music practice throughout Chapter 4, a core part of this thesis. For my argument, I identify gender issues by not only analyzing the discourse on and of the women’s fusion *kugak* groups but also looking at their performances, since the issues on women or gender in fusion *kugak* has not been examined in a specific way as far as I know.\(^{28}\) Therefore, this thesis shall act as a flashpoint to bring the theorized and under-analyzed keyword of gender into the arena of discussion on fusion *kugak*.

\(^{28}\) Hee-sun Kim has addressed very shortly that young women in diverse phenomena of *kugak* are recently labeling their sexuality as a feminine charm, while presenting her paper at the conference of Korean Musicological Society in April 9, 2011. However, it is uncertain that she points out fusion *kugak* as a various phenomenon of traditional Korean music.
2.0  KUGAK, FUSION KUGAK, AND WOMEN

2.1  OUTLINE OF KUGAK AND FUSION KUGAK

Fusion kugak is a neologism commonly used in modern South Korea. It is the combinational term that connects ‘fusion’ coming from English with ‘kugak,’ a Korean word meaning traditional Korean music. As suggested by the senses of fusion and kugak, this term implies the incorporation of traditional Korean music and other types of music. Before looking into which musics are combined with traditional Korean music and in what ways traditional Korean music is fused with others, I will first offer some background and information on kugak.

2.1.1  Kugak

Kugak²⁹ literally means “national music” since it is a combination of the Sino-Korean word: 
kuk³⁰ (국, 國), which means nation and ak (악, 楽), which means music. Kugak has been the

²⁹ It may be romanized as kukak or gugak depending on researchers and institutions. I follow the romanization in the garland encyclopedia of world music.
³⁰ When ‘kuk’ is individually written, normally, the last spelling is used as ‘k.’ However, in the word, ‘kugak,’ I romanize k into g since k is pronounced as g when the character ending with k is connected to the letters initiated with vowels such as ‘ak.’
general term for Korean music as distinguished from Western music, which was introduced to Korea at the end of the 19th century. For this reason, *kugak* has come to signify traditional Korean music that has been transmitted from the past to the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in the 20th century.

The musical tradition integrating song, musical instrument and dance is recorded as the first form of Korean music. This tradition began the period of about 2000 B.C. and was passed down to the three Korean ancient kingdoms of Silla (57 B.C. - 935 A.D.) Koguryŏ (37 B.C. - 668 A.D.) and Paekche (18 B.C. - 660 A.D.) after the tribal countries, and became the root of *hyangak*: *hyang*, which means folk/indigenous and *ak*, which means music. *Hyangak* is distinguished from such foreign music as *tangak* and *aak*, both of which came from China. In this sense, *hyangak* is the core of *kugak*. Yet, *tangak* and *aak* are undeniably included in Korean music’s category.

In the eras of the three kingdoms and the Unified Silla, the major musical instruments of *kugak* appeared in each nation. For instance, *kômungo*, the six-stringed long zither, was designed and created by Sanak Wang (?-?) in Koguryŏ around the fourth century, by reforming the Chinese seven-stringed zither. *Kayagŭm* and *taegŭm*, the twelve stringed zither and the transverse bamboo flute mentioned in the introduction, also emerged and were developed in this period. Uruk (?-?), a musician from Kaya, produced *kayagŭm* in the mid sixth century,

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33 It literally means music of Tang dynasty.
34 Its literal meaning is elegant music.
36 Among three kingdoms of Silla, Koguryŏ, and Paekche, Silla unified them in 676.
37 *Kayagŭm* and *taegŭm* are most commonly used in fusion *kugak*.
modeling it after the Chinese zheng.\textsuperscript{38} Urük instructed young people from Silla in song and dance as well as kayagŭm and also composed twelve kayagŭm pieces in his new country. Therefore, this instrument was able to occupy an important part of Silla’s music culture. Taegŭm originated from the transverse flute of Koguryŏ. This flute came from China and was accepted by Koguryŏ in around the fifth century.\textsuperscript{39} After the unification of three kingdoms, Silla absorbed Koguryŏ’s transverse flute and then developed it as an instrument for indigenous Silla music, or hyangak.

A categorization of Korean court music was made in the era of Unified Silla. In addition to the already established hyangak, or native Korean music, the term of tangak, was first practiced for the court music of Unified Silla.\textsuperscript{40} Although tangak originally indicated music from the Chinese Tang dynasty (618-907), this term started to be used for the localized version of the foreign music during the period of Unified Silla.\textsuperscript{41} After that, the term tangak was extended to mean Chinese-derived court banquet music.\textsuperscript{42} The category of literati music, where major instrument was kŏmungo, was also formed in this era. This high-class and male-dominated literati music using kŏmungo shows an aspect of Taoist music culture in Korea and can be interpreted as art music that intellectuals played to cultivate their character.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{38} As a small kingdom located in the most southern area of Korean Peninsula, Kaya had consisted of some tribal communities and perished in 562 by being annexed by Silla. Just before the fall of Kaya, Urük fled to Silla with his student.
\textsuperscript{39} Song, Hankuk Ŭmak Tongsa (The History of Korean Music), 46.
\textsuperscript{40} Hye-jin Song, Chŏngsonyŏnŭl Wihan Hankuk Ŭmaksa: Kugakpyŏn (The History of Korean Music) (Seoul: Durimedia, 2007), 74.
\textsuperscript{41} Unified Silla practiced dynamic and balanced music by adopting various foreign music cultures from Central Asia, Southwest Asia, Southeast Asia as well as Chinese Tang dynasty (Song (Hye-jin), 2007).
\textsuperscript{43} Song, Chŏngsonyŏnŭl Wihan Hankuk Ŭmaksa: Kugakpyŏn (The History of Korean Music), 75.
Sharing the same Chinese characters as *yayue* in Chinese (雅樂), *aak*, Confucian ritual music, was first introduced from China to Korea in 1116 during the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) which superseded Unified Silla, Hu-paekche (post-Paekche), and Taebong (post-Koguryŏ).\(^{44}\) *Yayue* of the Song dynasty was called *aak* in Korean. *Aak* was played for national Confucian rituals as a symbol of political and national stability during Koryŏ dynasty.\(^{45}\) This *aak* tradition became steadier and more elaborate in the period of Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) after the Koryŏ dynasty as Chosŏn espoused Confucianism. Accordingly, *aak* was also able to become a major genre of *kugak*.

Literati music formed in the period of Unified Silla was able to hold a place as one category of *kugak* during the Chosŏn dynasty since the government officers, and the nobility as well as the scholars developed art music. For this music, such musical instruments as *kŏmungo*, *kayagŭm*, *pipa* (a bent-necked lute), *taegŭm*, and *tungso* (an end-blown vertical bamboo flute) were played in solo performances or as a duo or trio.\(^{46}\) Also, the literati and the professional visiting musicians enjoyed performing the art song genres of *sijo*, *kasa*, and *kagok*, based on the classical poetry, to ensemble accompaniment by *kayagŭm*, *kŏmungo*, *pipa*, *p’iri* (a double-reed small bamboo oboe), *taegŭm*, *haegŭm*, and *changgo*.\(^{47}\) This type of music is called *chŏngak* which means “neat music.” In modern Korea, it is common for *kugak* to be mainly classified into the three categories of *kungjung ŭmak* (court music), *chŏngak* (literati music), and *minsok ŭmak* (folk music).

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\(^{44}\) In the late period of Unified Silla when the national power became weakened, post-Paekche (892-936) and post-Koguryŏ (901-918) uprose. Thus, Korea was divided by three nations again. This period is called the era of post three kingdoms.

\(^{45}\) Song, *Chŏngsŏnyŏnul Wihan Hankuk ŭmaks$: *Kugakpyŏn (The History of Korean Music)*, 146.

\(^{46}\) Ibid., 215.

\(^{47}\) Ibid., 216.
Among these three categories of traditional Korean music, *minsok ūmak*, also called *minsogak*, refers to folk music. Since there is little literature on the musical life of the general population, one can understand Korean *minsok ūmak* on the basis of its forms, each of which that has been handed down from generation to generation and is now taught in schools as well.\(^{48}\)

Among such forms of folk music, I will, in particular, give brief accounts of *p’ungmul* (percussion band performance), *p’ansori* (storytelling music), *minyo* (folk song), and *sanjo* (solo instrumental music), since these genres are frequently utilized in fusion *kugak*. I will mention the application of those folk music genres to fusion *kugak* throughout the following section and chapters.

Also called *nongak* (agricultural music), *p’ungmul* is played by the percussion instruments, such as *kkwaenggwari*, *changgo*, and *ching*, for military marching, communal entertainment, collective labor, and religious rituals for the community. Normally, the musical style of *p’ungmul* has been varied somewhat from town to town.\(^{49}\) Although the percussion band tradition has been declining with the westernization of modern South Korea in the twentieth century, the government endured the preservation of *p’ungmul* by designating *nongak* as number eleven of the *chungyo muhyŏng munhwajae*, Important Intangible Cultural Properties (cultural products worth preservation at the national level) in 1966.\(^{50}\) After that, *p’ungmul* was not only performed as a part of mass culture for students and urbanites, but was also performed to support the student movement for Korean democracy in the 1970s and the 1980s.\(^{51}\)

\(^{48}\) Ibid., 241.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., 248.

\(^{50}\) Keith Howard, “Nongak (P’ungmul Nori),” in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, 932.

\(^{51}\) Ibid.
As a musical storytelling genre, *p’ansori* is performed by one singer accompanied by a drum, *puk*. In order to tell a story based on traditional Korean tales or the historical novel,\(^{52}\) the *p’ansori* singer uses *sori* (song), *aniri* (narration), and *ballim* (gesture). The drummer not only accompanies the singer by beating the drum but also gives responsive words called *chuimsae* to the singer. *Chuimsae* is practiced also by the audiences. Many *p’ansori* singers have been called *myŏngchang*, which means “*p’ansori* master”, and most of them have been awarded the title of Korean Human Cultural Asset by the government of South Korea. In 2008, *p’ansori* was on the list of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO.

Literally meaning the people’s song, the third category of traditional Korean folk music, *minyo* refers to folk songs generated and orally transmitted by the common people. Even though their physical sounds and musical scores have not been recorded and passed down throughout the time, folk songs named *hyangga* in Silla and Koryŏ *kayo* in the Koryŏ dynasty can be considered *minyo*. Basically, *minyo* is classified into two kinds, *tongsok minyo* (widespread folk songs) and *hyangto* or *tosok minyo* (locally featured folk songs). The former were disseminated to the various regions in Korea by professional singers like *p’ansori* singers who embellished the local folk songs and spread them; the latter consists of labor songs, play songs, and ritual songs reflecting the localities.\(^{53}\) *Arirang*, the worldwide famous Korean ‘national’ folk song,\(^{54}\) for example, represents *tongsok minyo* (figure 1). This song has various versions all over the nation: Chŏngsŏn *Arirang*, Milyang *Arirang*, Chindo *Arirang*, and so on. While they share the word *Arirang*, their melody, rhythm, and mood are totally different. This difference results from the

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\(^{52}\) Since the eighteenth century, five *p’ansori* stories have been transmitted. They have been standardized as the traditional repertoire of *p’ansori*.


\(^{54}\) It is very well known that Saltacello, the German jazz band has performed *Arirang*. Also, New York Philharmonic Orchestra has played the arranged version of this song for the concert in Pyŏngyang, North Korea.
fact that the wandering singers made alterations on the basic Arirang tune. At present, *tongsok minyo* are familiar to everybody since they have been handed down via recordings, broadcasts, and music classes at schools.\(^{55}\) In the case of *tosok minyo*, Korean ethnomusicologists have collected, transcribed, and preserved it through the fieldwork. Particularly, since the end of the 1980, the Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) has not only supported accumulating and transcribing the vast amount of the local folk songs, but also published a collection of *hyangto minyo*.\(^ {56}\)

![Figure 1. The score of Arirang included on page 68 in a music textbook for the 3rd grade students at Korean elementary schools. Photo credit: www.kyohak.co.kr.](image)

*Sanjo*, the last category of folk music, is music for a solo instrument accompanied by the *changgo*. For the solo, *kayagǔm, kǒmungo, taegǔm, haegǔm, ajaeng* (a bowed long zither with seven or eight strings), and *p’iri* have been used. *Sanjo* originated from traditional Korean shamanic music as well as from the melodies of *p’ansori*. *Sanjo* took its form from the *kayagǔm sanjo* in the end of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, *sanjo*’s melody is composed of three

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\(^{56}\) Ibid.
patterns: solemnity and strength; peace and safety; sadness and sorrow.\textsuperscript{57} The rhythmic pattern of
\textit{sanjo} is varied, starting in the slowest tempo, becoming faster, and reaching the fastest tempo. However, \textit{sanjo} is improvisatory rather than fixed although it has specific melodic and rhythmic patterns. Several great \textit{sanjo} players have their style or “\textit{ryu}.”\textsuperscript{58} Since \textit{kayagŭm sanjo} was registered as number twenty-three of the Important Intangible Cultural Properties in 1968 and \textit{taegŭm sanjo} as number forty-five in 1971, some sanjo masters have been designated as Human Cultural Assets and are supported by the Korean government.

Though it is hard to deal with all matters of music theory of \textit{kugak} within this thesis, it suffices to focus on notation, which offers the basic modes and the major rhythmic patterns that are required to understand some musical terms and forms cited in this thesis. There are two styles of pitch and rhythmic notation for traditional Korean music. The Korean pitch system is different from Western music: there are twelve tones in an octave and each tone has its name in Sino-Korean letters. The standard pitch, or the starting tone, called \textit{hwangjong}, varies according to the musical category or genre. For instance, \textit{hwangjong} can be close to E flat in the \textit{hyangak} genre but can be close to C in the court music genre, such as \textit{aak} or \textit{tangak} (figure 2). King Sejong, who created \textit{sinak} for the Chosŏn dynasty, invented the Korean rhythmic notation called \textit{chŏngganbo} to notate \textit{hyangak} and \textit{sinak}. As a kind of mensural notation, \textit{chŏngganbo} is made with a series of vertically connected square cells called \textit{chŏnggan}. The character within the cell shows the pitch and the number of the cells indicates the duration (figure 3).

\textsuperscript{57} Kwon, \textit{Hanminjok Êmakron (The Theory of Korean National Music)}, 182.
\textsuperscript{58} These sanjo players pass down their sanjo \textit{ryu} to their students via oral transmission. Among the students, a few outstanding ones are named as their teachers’ successor.
Kugak’s scale is based on an anhemitonic pentatonic scale, which is a five-tone scale without half tones. With this basic scale system, there are two major modes in traditional Korean music: pyŏngjo and kyemyŏnjo (figure 4). Kugak’s three categories of court music, literati music, and folk music basically follow pyŏngjo and kyemyŏnjo. However, the intervals vary in accordance with each category and genre.
Changdan is a Korean term referring to the rhythmic systems or patterns in traditional Korean music. The system of changdan is wide-ranging, from a two-beat system to a thirty-beat system. These beats do not merely mean recurrence of the beats but feature specific rhythmic patterns consisting of compound rhythms. For example, Arirang, the previously mentioned Korean folk song, is based on semachi changdan, a three-beat system. This changdan is composed of the following rhythms (figure 5). It is noticeable that not only one but several changdan numbers appear in sanjo and p’ansori. As explained, sanjo begins in the slowest tempo and concludes in the fastest tempo by becoming faster. Referring to changdan, the rhythmic pattern in the slowest tempo is called chinyangjo and the rhythmic pattern in the fastest tempo is called tanmori. In the case of p’ansori, the singer changes changdan according to the song text.

Figure 5. The semachi changdan. Photo credit: www.gugak.go.kr.

Some categories and genres of kugak have changed in the twentieth century, while others have remained unchanged from these original forms. For instance, while p’ansori kept its tradition, changgūk (song drama) diverged from p’ansori to become a new form in the early twentieth century. Basically, changgūk follows the vocal style and repertoires of p’ansori. However, unlike traditional p’ansori, where is played by a single singer in the market place or the courtyard of the noble, changgūk is performed by several singers in the western styled theater. Moreover, changgūk is more theatrical than p’ansori in that the performers wear stage clothes
with stage props according to their character and the story. *P’ungmul* also has a new form, *samulnori*. In 1978, some young percussion players launched this form, while has just four percussion players, which traditional *p’ungmul* can have many more. New compositions for *kugak* instruments and compositions based on traditional forms of *kugak* have been also produced since 1940. This new work is called *changjak kugak* (creational traditional Korean music) or *sinkugak* (new traditional Korean music). I will discuss *changjak kugak* later when outlining fusion *kugak*.

Currently, *kugak* is handed down through various educational institutions including private academies, national middle and high schools for *kugak*, and colleges and universities all over Korea. Also, the National Gugak Center (former the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) has been taking a significant role in preserving *kugak* genres and musical instruments since it was established in 1950. The Korean government has been at the center of such efforts. It has been supporting *kugak*’s preservation and revival through national policy since the 1950s. The governmental leadership in developing *kugak* may suggest that *kugak* deserves the title of national music as its name suggests rather than just being considered a traditional Korean music form.

### 2.1.2 Fusion Kugak

Koreans are currently exposed to fusion *kugak* through various media. For instance, online, if one googles *퓨전국악*, the Korean word for fusion *kugak*, countless web pages show up. Ninety-four *kugak* performances were presented in total on both capital and local stages for March 2009. Evidence of official references can be found in the Gugak Year Book published by the National
Gugak Center, a government sponsored organization. Among such kugak performances officially recorded in the Gugak Year Book, twenty three performances presented fusion kugak repertoires. Also, some fusion kugak performances were combined with other performing genres such as B-Boy or the circus. For instance, when the Sookmyung Gayageum (or kayagǔm) Orchestra had their concert on March 21, 2009 in Gochang-gun, Jeollabuk-do, they performed fusion kugak with a B-Boy dance team. The Busan Metropolitan Traditional Music Orchestra presented the performance with Dong Choon Circus, the most famous circus troupe in Korea on March 27, 2009 at Busan Cultural Centre. Mass media, such as TV and radio, are also active in exposing more people to fusion kugak. For instance, Kugak Hanmadang (a place of traditional Korean music), the oldest and the most representative television program for kugak, aired every Saturday by Korean Broadcasting System (KBS), included the pieces categorized as fusion kugak in fifteen episodes among thirty five episodes in total aired between January 1 and September 3, 2011. In particular, the 864th, 875th, and 884th episodes on January 22, April 16, and June 18 solely featured fusion kugak rather than traditional music (figures 6 and 7). Thus, it is very common for contemporary Korean people to recognize and speak about fusion kugak.

![Figure 6](image_url). Gongmyung’s fusion kugak performance using traditional Korean instruments (puk, changgo and taegǔm) and foreign-oriented instruments (guitar, cymbals, and djembe) on Kugak Hanmadang (the 864th episode) aired on January 22, 2011.
However, the amount of academic attention to fusion kugak has been far less than that paid by the general population. The amount of research on fusion kugak is not as much as one might expect from the number of its performances being done. In fact, the studies on fusion kugak are just starting. Most Korean music researchers still focus on traditional kugak for academic works. Accordingly, I will sketch fusion kugak by consulting some concert reviews as well as a small number of research papers for this thesis.

Even though fusion kugak is the most popular term in current Korean society, some scholars use other terms: Jung gang Yun, Eun Jung Kim, and Inhwa Sŏ use “fusion kugak” (Yun 2004; Kim 2007; Sŏ 2011); So-young Lee59 and Keith Howard use “gugakfusion” (Lee 2003) or “kugak fusion” (Howard 2008, 2011); R. Anderson Sutton writes about “Korean fusion music” (2003, 2008); Finchum-Sung prefers the term “Korean neo-traditional music” (2010). Among these terms, I employ fusion kugak since it the most common.

59 Lee is also using the term, fusion kugak along with gugakfusion in her writings. But two words have a slight difference in nuance.
Then, how can one conceptualize fusion *kugak*? In order for conceptualization, I look to the definitions of fusion *kugak* given by Lee, Sutton, and Howard, the foremost scholars in this area.

...“fusion” to call collectively all ways of producing new sounds from two or more different musical genre, grammar, or arrangement of musical instruments...*gugakfusion* produces “music by the performer,” or “music uniting performance and composition”...*gugakfusion* finds its partner of fusion in jazz and Korean pop music influenced by western music...(Lee 2003: 192-194).

...(“fusion”) music...its fundamental reliance on conscious and perceivable cultural mixture. The musical elements that figure into Korean fusion music are remarkably broad, from traditional Korean folksongs performed on a combination of Korean and Western pop instruments to arrangements of Western classical pieces and popular songs for Korean instruments (Sutton 2008: 395).

“*Kugak fusion*”...indicates music performed by a young generation of musicians that has porous boundaries and, insofar as it features musicians trained in *kugak*, might be considered as traditional music made modern. Unlike in world music elsewhere, the fusion in *kugak fusion* is not a mix of indigenous and foreign but a mix of Korean and Korean. It appropriates...elements of Western music styles present in Korea, be they jazz, classical, or pop, coupling these to elements of *kugak* (Howard 2011: 195).

According to the above definitions, fusion *kugak* can be understood as a new and contemporary form combining *kugak*, traditional Korean music, with other musical genres familiar to Korean people, such as Western classical music or Western and Korean pop music. Fusion *kugak* includes the following styles: an ensemble of Korean and Western instruments; an arrangement of Western classical or pop pieces and Korean popular music for the *kugak* instruments; new compositions based on the mixed musical idioms of *kugak* and Western and pop music for *kugak* instruments or an ensemble of Korean and non-Korean instruments. The
concept of fusion kugak, however, has been recently extended to the mixture with world music instruments and other types of performing genres, as previously exemplified.

Although fusion kugak seems like a cultural phenomenon which emerged through the end of the 1990s and the early 2000s, its pedigree could be traced back to changjak kugak begun in the 1940s. Here, I will mention a few phases of the creational traditional Korean music, changjak kugak, as it acts as a bridge from traditional kugak towards fusion kugak.

Western music began influencing traditional Korean music at the end of the nineteenth century (Chosǒn dynasty) and the Western music theories and practices began to be taught in both the national and private institutes for traditional Korean music during the Japanese Colonial Era (1910-1945). Western influence on traditional music resulted in composition of new kugak pieces called changjak kugak. As a pioneer of changjak kugak, Kisu Kim (1917-1986), who had learned Western music at the national institute and worked in the national center for kugak, exclusively released most of his newly composed kugak pieces in the 1940s and the 1950s. But his music style hardly shows the marks of Western music. He just applied the concept of creativity, changjak, from Western music to making his kugak pieces. Thus, he still preferred the traditional Korean notation, chǒngganbo, to the Western music notation, when transcribing his compositions. Also, the progression of tones or the rhythmic structures he made use of were almost same as ones in traditional Korean music.61

However, in the early 1960s, Changjak kugak evolved to a form closer to fusion kugak. One of the trends of new kugak compositions in the 1960s was to apply Western music forms

60 The national music institute was called yiwangjik aakpu (the Lee kings’ department of aak), which became the National Centre for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (the present National Gugak Center) in 1950. The private institute was Chosǒn chǒngak chǒnsūpo (the Chosǒn learning institute for chǒngak).
61 Myung-hee Hahn, Hye-jin Song, and Jung gang Yun, Uri Kugak Baeknyŏn (Our Traditional Music for a Century) (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 2001), 263.
like sonata to the kugak pieces or to emulate Western classical style.\(^\text{62}\) In the 1970s, changjak kugak evolved yet again, because while changjak kugak in the 1960s could be considered the imitation of Western music, the concept of creativity and experiment was adopted in composing new kugak works. This encouraged several composers trained in Western music to start joining the field of changjak kugak from the 1970s. Western composers of this time began incorporating traditional Korean instruments and genres into their contemporary composition.\(^\text{63}\) The many facets of changjak kugak allowed for abundance experimentation with the form in the 1980s. Among these diverse facets, kugak kayo (kugak-style popular song) and kugak sillaeak (kugak chamber music) led to fusion kugak.

In his writing, Yun, the kugak critic, suggests that Korean youth culture in the 1970s served as a prelude to the birth of fusion kugak. In the 1970s, the youth not only enjoyed Western genres like music by Bob Dylan, Simon and Garfunkel, and Leonard Cohen but also accepted such traditional genres as p’ansori and talchum (mask dance) in their culture.\(^\text{64}\) Thus, kugak coexisted with Western music in the youth culture in the 1970s. In addition to this youth culture, new stages of dance and drama in the 1970s, which engaged the combinational musical formation of traditional Korean instruments and guitar as the accompaniment to kugak-styled songs,\(^\text{65}\) laid the groundwork for fusion kugak, which intertwines kugak with other performances.

Based in changjak kugak, the youth culture, and new performances of dance and drama with the kugak accompaniment, the first generation of fusion kugak was launched in the mid 1980s, even though it was not called fusion kugak. In general, researchers see the kugak chamber

\(^{62}\) Ibid., 264.
\(^{63}\) Alan Hovhaness (1911-2000) released the Symphony No. 16 for Kayagûm and chamber orchestra in 1963; studying traditional Korean music at the National Gugak Center in the early 1960s, Lou Harrison (1917-2003) wrote Mukunghwa, Sae Tangak (Sharonrose, New Tangak) for Korean court music ensemble in 1962.
\(^{64}\) Jung gang Yun, Kachiwa Chihyangil Nômda: Yun Jung Gang Nebônjjae Pyôngronjip (Beyound the Value and Taste: Jung Gang Yun’s Fourth Criticism Collection) (Seoul: Minsokwon, 2004), 154-155.
\(^{65}\) Ibid., 156.
ensemble, Seulgidoong (슬기둥, 슬기둥) as the first fusion kugak group. It was founded in 1985 and consisted of eight young university graduates in their twenties. Seulgidoong pursued the new composition of kugak kayo showing a traditional Korean folk song style. Their music making by adding a guitar and an electronic keyboard (synthesizer) to the kugak ensemble not only made it successful in winning popularity, but also led to its becoming established as the most typical way to perform fusion kugak. Another kugak chamber ensemble seen as part of the first generation of fusion kugak, Dasrum (다스름, 다스름), was founded in 1990. It is distinguished from other groups doing their musical activities at that time in that it was the first team consisting of only women members. I will talk about Dasrum more specifically in Chapter 3.

The 1990s was a milestone in the development of fusion kugak since it was taking shape and starting to be even more supported by mass media throughout the period. Yong Woo Kim (b. 1968) presented new minyo by integrating Korean folk songs with a cappella and jazz styles, and by harmonizing traditional Korean melodies. Puri (푸리), founded in 1993, and Gongmyung (공명, 공명), founded in 1997, are fusion percussion ensembles. Puri combined kugak with Latin and African rhythms as well as African drums; Gongmyung collaborated with modern dancers. Kayagǔm also underwent change with the development of fusion kugak in the 1990s. The modernized kayagǔm has twenty one or twenty five strings, more than the traditional twelve-stringed kayagǔm, in order to realize Western pitch and harmony with kayagǔm. The Seoul Saeul Kayagǔm Trio (서울 새울 가야금 3 중주단), founded in 1990, the Gayageum Ensemble Sagye (가야금 앙상블 사계), founded in 1999, and the Sookmyung Gayageum Orchestra (숙명 가야금 연주단), founded in 1999, have all utilized the modern kayagǔm to

66 See the example of kugak kayo by Seulgidoong at http://youtu.be/EkYzB67_hqw.
perform the arrangement of Western classical and popular music for *kayagǔm*: Pachelbel’s *Canon* by the Seoul Saeul Kayagǔm Trio; Vivaldi’s “Winter” in *Four Seasons* by the Gayageum Ensemble Sagye; Beatles’ songs by the Sookmyung Gayageum Orchestra. Meanwhile, mass media such as television and radio took the lead in the production of fusion *kugak*. A variety of crossovers between *kugak*, jazz, Western classical music, and rock were made and broadcasted through the programs *Kugak Chunchu* (spring and autumn for *kugak*) on KBS TV, *Hanyǒrǔm Bamǔi Kugak Jazz Hanmadang* (a place for *kugak* and jazz at a midsummer night) on KBS FM and *Sami Kipǔn Mul* (deep spring water) on MBC TV in the 1990s.

The term, fusion *kugak* finally caught on, upon entering the 2000s when ‘fusion’ was applied to various cultural phenomena under postmodernism. In the 2000s, fusion *kugak* is being expanded through newer and more diverse practices. Gongmyung, for example, has adopted daily goods like plastic bottles, electronic drills, and wooden plates as well as bamboo items into their percussion music (figure 8); Kǔrim, founded in 2001, is pursuing new age music in fusion *kugak*; Soloist Ensemble Sangsang, founded in 2000, presents meditation music using *haegǔm*, *kǒmungo*, and *chǒlhyǒngǔm* (a seven-stringed zither) without any non-Korean instrument. These groups show the rendition of their own compositions rather than the arranged Western classical or Western and Korean popular musics.

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67 See the video of Vivaldi’s “Winter” (*Four Seasons*) by the Gayageum Ensemble Sagye at http://tvpot.daum.net/clip/ClipView.do?clipid=12538242&srcid=419357; see the video of Beatles’ *Let it Be* and *Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da* by the Sookmyung Gayageum Orchestra at http://youtu.be/tb8Y6lyFWxg.

68 Hahn, Song, and Yun, *Uri Kugak Baeknyǒn (Our Traditional Music for a Century)*, 274.

69 Yǒngchǒl Kim, who was a *kugak* musician and an entertainer, designed *chǒlhyǒngǔm* modeled on a *kǒmungo* and a guitar in around 1943. This instrument can be played by plucking the strings with a stick (*sultae*) like *kǒmungo* and by sliding a marble on the strings. Kim also composed the *sanjo* for *chǒlhyǒngǔm*.

70 See the introductory video of Kǔrim at http://youtu.be/snkiJtuC6S8; see the example of *chǒlhyǒngǔm* performance at http://youtu.be/YTrVrM6-kF4.
Observing these fusion kugak practices, scholars have raised some issues. Jung Hee Kim (2001) points out that young performers try to combine Western elements and Korean tradition in pursuing their fusion kugak, noting both the orientalism embedded in the commodification of traditional Korean music, kugak, for Western music consumers and the westernization of musical styles of changjak kugak (creational traditional Korean music); Lee (2003) suggests the necessity for critical discussion on the popularization and the commercialism of fusion kugak in order to improve the musical quality of fusion kugak; Yun (2004) sees fusion kugak as a ‘Korean’ popular music with a positive view, and therefore proposes fusion kugak could be born from the fusion kugak musicians’ concern about the popularization of kugak and the limitation of traditional repertoires of kugak; according to Sutton’s criticism (2008), it can be hard for fusion kugak to become “a savior of kugak”; Um (2008) finds fusion kugak connected to globalization and the culture industry; connecting the manifold fusion kugak’s practices to discourse on the popularization of kugak, Hee-sun Kim (2009) considers new age music and crossover the aim of fusion kugak; Howard (2008, 2011) points out that Western audiences could feel fusion kugak is cliché and gives some attention to the backlash against the commercial success of fusion kugak; Sŏ (2011) discusses the nationalism and the commercialism in fusion kugak.
Considering the issues which Kim (2001), Um, and Sŏ raise, fusion kugak can be recognized as a cultural and ideological nexus in Korean society or simply as a musical style. Accordingly, one may view fusion kugak not only as a contemporary and popular musical style different from kugak but also as being structured by social value systems and social phenomena. Among those social value systems and phenomena valid in contemporary Korea, gender has not been considered as a way of approaching fusion kugak. In other words, women in the field of fusion kugak or fusion kugak as a gendered genre have not been discussed yet in a full-fledged way. Talking about the backlash from fusion kugak, Howard only states that “too much of kugak fusion is about being pretty and sexy. It is about trying to get quick fame. It is closer to pop than to kugak” (Howard 2011, 211). Finchum-Sung also just mentions about Yen, the fusion kugak group called “kinetic kugak group” that “the sexy, youthful performers combine their expertise in traditional performance with electronically-produced sounds and dance rhythms, and the image presented to the audience is of a cool, confident, Korean youth culture” (Finchum-Sung 2008, 446). These comments imply that there have already been situations and discourse related to gender in fusion kugak. As stated above, fusion kugak studies are in the beginning stages. Currently, researchers can hardly turn away from the most basic and the most conspicuous topics in fusion kugak such as its forms and function, meaning discourse on gender has yet to develop. Also gender is a very new conceptual category in terms of a subject for Korean music studies across traditional Korean music, Western music in Korea, and Korean popular music. In this situation, in order to draw gender as a topic of discourse in Korean music studies, I begin with an analysis of women’s presence and women’s status in both kugak and fusion kugak.
2.2 WOMEN IN KUGAK AND FUSION KUGAK

Currently, one can see many female performers in the field of traditional Korean music. For example, if one attended the kugak performances at the National Gugak Center on April 2011, one could find that a female p’ansori singer presented a p’ansori piece; a female kayagûm player had a kayagûm recital; a female haegûm player rendered a haegûm sanjo and other compositions; and a female kagok singer performed some kagok pieces for female voice. Also, one can observe that there are several female singers and instrumentalists who have been designated by the Korean government as the Human Cultural Assets in the Important Intangible Cultural Properties. In addition to those recent scenes, one can find from remains and historical records that women took part in various musical events in Korea. For example, women playing string and wind instruments were painted in a tomb mural of the ancient kingdom, Koguryô in the fourth and the fifth centuries; also, the historical texts recorded that professional female musicians sang songs, played instruments, and danced in the performances of court music in the Koryô dynasty and the Chosôn dynasty.

This visibility of women’s presence in traditional Korean music, however, does not necessarily imply that women’s status was high or equal to men in kugak. I argue the reason why women in kugak have had a lower status than men is because women have been under dual discrimination as professional musicians and women in Confucian Korean society.

Traditionally, Korean Confucianism divided people into four classes depending on their job. The first class was literati; the second class was farmers; the third class was craftsmen; and the fourth class was merchants. People who did not belong to those classes, such as shamans, entertainers, or butchers, were ranked as the lowest class in Korean society. Thus, the social status of professional musicians classified as entertainers was extremely low even though they
worked in court. Moreover, women were impacted by sexism in Korean Confucianism. In particular, Confucianism in the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) banned men and women from sitting together after they were seven years old. Accordingly, women had to stay at home and cover their body with a cloak when they went out in order to avoid contact with men. According to Korean Confucianism, female musicians, a type of kisaeng, should only have been able to perform in front of female audiences such as queens, princesses, and noblewomen in court. Nonetheless, as the lowest class, those professional female performers were obligated to work for higher-class men so that they were forced to serve as entertainers in the private banquets for male government officers and male literati. These kisaeng, addressed in Chapter 1, played a major role in not only presenting performances for female audiences in court but also entertaining male noblemen in men’s private parties.

The social status of female musicians, restricted by Confucius sexism, could never be high or achieve equality to men’s. Although the class system was abolished and the education of traditional Korean music was expanded to more general people through the end of the Chosŏn dynasty and the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), women could not claim a position in kugak because it was still believed that men should enjoy more educational and professional opportunities than women. Accordingly, men occupied the educational institutions and jobs in kugak. As a result, kisaeng, professional female entertainers, were driven to serve as sexual workers rather than act as professional musicians or dancers in those times.

In the 1940s and 1950s, although the social status of female musicians was still lower than men’s, they did play a role in the development of kugak in the area of Korean traditional folk music. While men started to form the national performance groups for aak (Confucian ritual music), kungjung ūmak (court music), and chŏngak (literati music), women were involved in

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transmitting traditional folk music genres such as *p’ansori* in schools and private studios. In the 1940s, when *p’ansori*, a musical narrative genre in traditional Korean folk music, branched into a new form, *changgük* (song drama), female singers established a new music drama genre called *yŏsŏng kukŭk* (women’s national drama). This genre is performed only by women. Although in the 1970s, great female performers in folk music genres started to be appointed as the Human Cultural Assets, the national performance groups were seldom open to women. Also, as the patriarchy of Korean academia attacked *yŏsŏng kukŭk* in that this genre allowed women to dominate the stage, which should be controlled only by men, *yŏsŏng kukŭk* dwindled away in the 1970s. 71

Nevertheless, currently female students comprise 90 percent of the population in the *kugak* department at colleges and universities in Korea. 72 It is hard for these women majoring in *kugak* to enter the professional world such as the national performance groups because it is common that men have occupied positions in those groups. 73 Even if a woman is lucky enough to join a national performance group, she must wear a male costume in order to hide her sex and pretend to be a male performer, following the tradition established in the Chosŏn dynasty, in which female instrumentalists were not able to participate in the official court music events for men (figure 9). 74


73 Ibid.

74 Cheongarang’s members, interview by the author, MP3 recording, July 29, 2011, Samcheonggak, Seoul, Korea.
In this context, as Kyungchae Hyun, a critic of traditional Korean music and ethnomusicologist, recognizes, it would not be surprising if women moved their attention from traditional Korean music genres to fusion *kugak*, the contemporary genre of traditional Korean music. It is evident that fusion *kugak* is a field where female performers are rushing to: female students often participate in fusion *kugak* as their part-time job;\(^75\) female graduates begin their career in fusion *kugak* groups;\(^76\) and the established female performers experiment with creative music in the fusion *kugak* genre.\(^77\)

Although a few researchers and critics have recognized women’s presence in fusion *kugak*, they have just been observing the scene with female fusion *kugak* performers. I will look at this scene more critically and carefully and then analyze in which ways this scene is constructed in the following chapters. These works will demonstrate that as the arena where gender is articulated

\(^75\) Female instrumentalists who I watched in the ceremonies of the 2009 ASPAC Tournament were college students majoring in *kugak*. They worked as the part-time fusion *kugak* performers.

\(^76\) Fusion *kugak* groups founded in the 1990s such as Dasrum, Gayageum Ensemble Sagye, and Sookmyung Gayageum Orchestra are representative of female graduates’ way of beginning their career.

\(^77\) Many female *kugak* performers working as professors, soloists, and members of the professional ensembles make an attempt at fusion *kugak* as their musical experiment. For instance, three members of the Seoul Saeul Kayagŭm Trio were already well-known for their virtuosity and teaching when they founded this group in 1999.
and gender relations are built, fusion *kugak* allows women to formulate their own roles, to negotiate between these roles and the socially assigned gender roles, to manifest their sexuality, and then to find women’s agency.
3.0 WOMEN’S FUSION KUGAK GROUPS

In the previous chapter, I presented a brief overview on women in fusion kugak as well as kugak. As stated in Chapter 1, I selected three performance groups, which consist of only women, and focus on them in order to explore more specific gender issues in fusion kugak. Prior to the full-fledged exploration of gender issues in women fusion kugak groups and their musical practice in Chapter 4, I introduce some basic information in this chapter.

3.1 DASRUM (다스름)

3.1.1 Overview

Dasǔrǔm means ‘tune,’ the verb, and indicates the short pieces played while each instrument is tuned in traditional Korean ensemble music. Deriving its name from the Korean musical term dasǔrǔm, Dasrum was established in 1990 by eight female players who majored in kugak at universities. As briefly stated in Chapter 2, it was the first women’s fusion kugak group.

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The concept of tuning in Korean music is different from Western system for which each tone is tuned according to an equal temperament. Thus, through dasǔrǔm, kugak musicians are adjusting themselves to others’ tempo, melody, and feeling rather than tuning instrumental.
Although Eun Sun Yu, the founder of Dasrum, and its members are currently identifying themselves as a fusion kugak group, it started as the kugak chamber ensemble.

Yu, who was not only the founder but also the music director of Dasrum, says about the background of Dasrum’s foundation that she needed an opportunity to work as a kugak musician after her graduation since women majoring in kugak, regardless of their musical ability, had less choice in kugak professions than men, who in Korean society are considered responsible for getting a job and for making money to support their dependents. Moreover, as she specialized in composition of traditional Korean music, she was offered even fewer chances to pursue a career as a professional kugak musician than those who majored in musical instruments, because there is little demand for female composers of kugak in the field. In this situation, Yu couldn’t help creating her own business. She was encouraged to found a kugak chamber ensemble by the established ensembles such as Seulgidoong and Ŭulim (founded in 1988), which were engaging in changjak kugak, the creational traditional Korean music.

Organizing a new kugak group, Yu intended to pick up only female players being interested in the newly composed kugak with excellent skill among her friends and classmates at Seoul National University. Seven players who shared Yu’s vision joined her and these eight members constituted Dasrum in 1990: Yu (composition, arrangement, and synthesizer); Aeri Chi, Ŭnjin Kim, Yuna Lee (kayagŭm); Sŏnok Kim (kŏmungo); Yŏngja In (haegŭm); Chenam Pyŏn (taegŭm); Yunhi Kye (p’iri). Since it started with these members, Dasrum has gone through several changes of its members so that there have been ten Dasrum incarnations, consisting of six to fourteen members up to now. New members are recruited when Dasrum members invite

79 Eun Sun Yu, interview by the author, MP3 recording, August 2, 2011, National Gugak Center, Seoul, Korea.
80 Ibid.
81 All old and current members’ names of Dasrum are available in Appendix B.
their colleagues and students as guest performers for the concerts and those guest performers decide to become a member of the group. For this reason, the old and new members of each incarnation have been closely related with one another so that they were able to gather in Dasrum’s 20th anniversary concert in 2010 (figure 10). Meanwhile, the former Dasrum members have moved forward as soloists or assumed a more important and higher post in the kugak field on the basis of their career as a member of Dasrum. For example, Yu has been able to occupy several positions such as writer, researcher, and consultant on many kugak events after her activity in Dasrum. Also, most Dasrum members have been able to hold concurrent jobs thanks to their good musical ability. Han-na Kim (changgo and percussion), present member of Dasrum, for instance, is working as an instructor at the National Kugak High School and as a member of another women’s fusion kugak group, Cheongarang; Yuan Lee (p’iri and taepyŏngso)82 is a member of both Dasrum and Cheongju City Korean Music Orchestra. Currently, directed by Shin-Won Moon (arrangement and synthesizer), the 10th class of Dasrum is working as a resident kugak performance group of Mapo Art Center in Seoul.

82 Taepyŏngso is a conical wooden shawm with seven anterior finger holes, a posterior thumbhole, and a detachable metal bell. See Appendix A for detail.
3.1.2 Musical Practices and Characteristics

According to the press release on Dasrum, it aims at both the ideal passing down and the modernization of traditional Korean music. Dasrum’s initial pursuit of *changjak kugak* conforms to these musical aims in that the concept of creation, which is considered western and modern among *kugak* people, can be realized through the newly composed pieces. Dasrum’s performance of fusion *kugak* serves to educate others about *kugak* and disseminate it.

Founding Dasrum in 1990, Yu thought of how to differentiate it from other *kugak* chamber ensembles or fusion *kugak* groups. She and Dasrum members pursued a strategy involving *kugak* education as a channel for people to meet *kugak*, which common people still considered unfamiliar and difficult. No *kugak* chamber ensemble or fusion *kugak* groups had tried to educate others about traditional Korean music up to that time. Yu says that *kugak* education was the best way of identifying Dasrum, the women’s group, differently from other established music groups, which were composed of only men or both men and women.83

However, Dasrum did not target adults, who were commonly biased against *kugak*, feeling it is the vulgar music of *kisaeng*, traditional Korean female entertainers. Instead of approaching those adults with a prejudice against *kisaeng* and *kugak*, Dasrum aimed *kugak* education at children who had no idea about traditional Korean music, and so no prejudice against it.

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83 Yu, interview by the author, MP3 recording, August 2, 2011, National Gugak Centre, Seoul, Korea.
In order to have children learn kugak, Dasrum members visited some elementary schools and asked permission to show students a kugak performance during their class. Since Dasrum conducted kugak education in May 1990 at the Dong Myeong elementary school in Seoul for the first time, Yu and other members have developed an efficient curriculum for children. To be specific, they firstly play the school song and children’s songs familiar to students with kugak’s instruments. Then, introducing each musical instrument, Dasrum has the students hear and identify each instrumental sound. Turning to kugak performance, Dasrum plays traditional repertoires in somewhat fast tempo in order not to bore the children. Lastly, Dasrum members teach the students some instruments so that children can practice kugak.

Drawing upon Yu’s speaking about Dasrum’s strategy, it was clear that these women were serving as educators. The strategy also suggests popular discourse on kisaeng is determining women’s activities with respect to both traditional Korean music and fusion kugak. I will more look at these points in Chapter 4.

Appreciated by elementary school students and teachers, Dasrum’s project of kugak education became more and more famous. Accordingly, Dasrum presented ninety concerts as a part of the kugak education program between 1990 and 1997. Also, in 1991, Dasrum released four sound recordings of “Korean Traditional Children’s Songs and Folk Songs,” “Kugak for Children’s Emotion,” “Musical Story Telling for Children,” and “Newly Composed Children’s Songs” (figure 11). In this project, as a kugak composer, Yu created several kugak-style pieces.

84 Dasrum selected some kugak pieces to calm down children’s nerves and cultivate children’s emotions in “Kugak for Children’s Emotion.”
85 A list of these recordings is available in Appendix C.
Figure 11. The CD cover of “Kugak for Children’s Emotion” released by Dasrum in 1991. Photo


While Yu began holding her dual jobs as a director of Dasrum and a scriptwriter for TV and radio kugak programs from 1990 shortly after establishment of Dasrum, the venue for musical activity of Dasrum extended from schools toward radio and TV broadcasts. Dasrum’s wider activity led to performance of fusion kugak, which is more preferred by the broadcasting and is much easier for the populace to listen to. In this situation of the practice of fusion kugak, some members withdrew from Dasrum because they sought changjak kugak rather than fusion kugak in the group. However, the remaining and new members accepted fusion kugak as one of Dasrum’s musical scopes.

The Korean government labeled rural areas, where didn’t have cultural facilities, including concert halls or museums, as the culturally marginalized areas and instituted the cultural visits of performing artists to those areas in the early 2000s. Accordingly, many performers of both kugak and Western music carried out the cultural visit. Kugak performers presented more performances of fusion kugak than traditional ones in order to make it approachable to the audience, who seldom heard kugak or any kind of music. Dasrum’s musical practices accumulated at schools and broadcasters fit in the cultural visit program in that these
practices were designed for popularization of kugak. Recognizing Dasrum’s kugak education and performance, the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism of Republic of Korea started supporting the cultural visit by Dasrum in 2003. Dasrum has had musical trips to culturally marginalized regions of mountains, seaboard, and islands in Korea since 2003. In addition to these areas, Dasrum has presented their performances in contexts where people are secluded from both social and cultural contacts such as prison, nursing homes, hospitals, and military camps. Throughout these musical trips, Dasrum has practiced various kugak genres to meet the audience’s musical preferences. For example, traditional Korean music is performed rather than fusion kugak for seniors in the nursing home as they had experienced kugak when they were young before the 1950s and fusion kugak performances of Korean or Western popular songs is mainly presented in front of young men in the military camps, who are more familiar with popular music genres than traditional Korean music.

Dasrum’s span of Korean music performance from traditional genres to fusion kugak appealed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Republic of Korea. Accordingly, the Ministry selected and appointed Dasrum as a cultural delegation in 2005. Getting governmental support, Dasrum has had concert tours to several foreign countries such as Japan, China, Singapore, Lebanon, Tunisia, Jordan, Morocco, Algeria, Oman, Hungary, Bosnia, Russia, Tajikistan, United States, Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, Columbia, Peru and Ecuador. Throughout these trips, Dasrum primarily aims to introduce traditional Korean music to foreign lands. At the same time, in order to make traditional Korean instruments more approachable to foreign audience, Dasrum plays the foreign countries’ folk songs or popular songs in a way that

86 One can see DVDs of Dasrum’s concert tour to South America (Columbia and Peru) in 2006 and the cultural trip to Arab regions (Lebanon, Tunisia, Jordan, Morocco, Oman) with other teams of Korean martial art (Taekwondo), B-Boy and samulnori. The DVD list is available in Appendix C.
those songs are arranged for Korean instruments. Thus Dasrum’s players of taegūm, haegūm, kayagūm, ajaeng, and synthesizer performed Zeizafouneh, a Jordanian traditional folk song in Jordan, 2005 (the included audio file No.1); the ensemble of sogūm, taegūm, p’iri, saenghwang (a mouth organ with seventeen bamboo pipes), haegūm, kayagūm, changgo, puk, percussions, and synthesizer has performed El Condor Pasa, folk-style song by Peruvian composer and ethnomusicologist, Daniel Alomias Robles in Peru, 2006; the players of p’iri, haegūm, kayagūm, changgo, puk, percussions, and synthesizer performed Besame Mucho, a Mexican popular song by Consuelo Velazquez, Mexican pianist and composer in Mexico, 2008.\(^{87}\) These performances of foreign folk songs or popular music with Korean instruments are fusion kugak.

Dasrum not only plays each country’s music with Korean instruments but also conforms to each social norm in order to fulfill the task as cultural ambassadors. When Dasrum visited Jordan, for instance, Dasrum’s short-sleeve Korean dress for fusion kugak performances\(^{88}\) was modified because Jordan bans women from exposing their bare skin in public places.

Like Dasrum’s educational strategy, their musical practices in the world can be discussed in terms of relation between gender and national identity as mentioned in the introductory chapter. I will analyze the ways in which gender can be associated with national identity in Dasrum’s concert tour to foreign countries in Chapter 4.

\(^{87}\) Dasrum’s fusion kugak practices for which traditional Korean instruments perform foreign folk songs or popular songs are included in the second CD, Joyful Music. The list of CDs of Dasrum is available in Appendix C.

\(^{88}\) Many fusion kugak groups have modified their costume in accordance with their musical characteristics - combination and experiment. While traditional Korean musicians stay with traditional Korean dress called hanbok, fusion kugak performers wear Western-style dress or the reformed Korean dress.
3.2 MIJI (미지)

3.2.1 Overview

Unlike Dasrum, which was established by individuals, MIJI was designed and founded at the national level. As the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism of Korea supported a project to produce digital contents of traditional Korean arts toward the global arts in 2009, the project department tried to not only turn traditional arts into digital contents accessible to more people but also develop more representative and more popular forms of each art field, which are easier for people to enjoy. For the field of kugak, traditional Korean music, the project department sought to perform fusion kugak, which had been more popularized than the traditional form and was considered easy listening. Benchmarking the images of Chinese Twelve Girls Band (女子十二樂坊), in which female performers in Western-style dresses play traditional Chinese instruments (figure 12), and noticing the predominance of girl groups in Korean popular music (K-pop), the project department designed a new fusion kugak group consisting of young female performers. This development of the project was left up to an entertainment management agency, Loen Entertainment.

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89 Twelve Girls Band was founded in China, 2001 with the aim of new Chinese music in the rapidly changing Chinese society of the 21st century. Here, new Chinese music refers to the combinational music between traditional Chinese genre and Western classical music, Western pop, and jazz, which is performed by twelve female players of traditional Chinese instruments such as erhu, pipa, and guzheng. Thus, new Chinese music by Twelve Girls Band is very similar to Korean fusion kugak.

90 Seung-won Park, interview by the author, MP3 recording, August 9, 2011, Loen Entertainment, Seoul, Korea.

91 Loen Entertainment has the department of Korean traditional music so that the company has produced Dasrum’s second album before planning and producing MIJI. That can be why Loen Entertainment was responsible for the national project to turn out digital contents for kugak.
Loen Entertainment planned out this new women’s fusion kugak group. On August 2008, the company started posting an audition ad for performers to the kugak departments at colleges and universities and carried out the auditions in September of the same year. The auditions consisted of three stages of documentation, performance/interview, and training base. Sixty-seven applicants passed the first and second screenings; twenty-four applicants got in the training base for two nights; seven instrumentalists (two kayagŭm players, two haegŭm players, one taegŭm player, one sogŭm player, and one p’iri player)\(^2\) and one vocalist passed the final round. Then eight members were finalized on October 2009 and MIJI, the group name, was decided in November 2009.\(^3\)

Under the management by Loen Entertainment, MIJI’s members started training in the ways of individual and communal instrumental practices, rehearsal with composers, stage manners, acting, physical exercise (swimming, yoga), learning foreign languages, and so forth from December 2009. In particular, MIJI’s training for body and foreign languages to this point had been mainly applicable only to popular singers or actors or actresses rather than to

\(^{2}\) Other times, sogŭm player may play taegŭm; p’iri player may perform saenghwang or taepyŏngso.

\(^{3}\) The names of the first and current members of MIJI are available in Appendix B.
performers of traditional Korean music or Western classical music in Korea. This suggests that fusion kugak was moving into the arena of popular music and becoming regarded as a commodity in the music market. Furthermore, in this process, fusion kugak performers were being shaped for sale. Therefore, the issue of commodification of women in fusion kugak can be raised. Also, like the case of Dasrum, the relation between gender and national identity can be discussed in that the Korean government planned and supported the project of MIJI. I will examine these issues in Chapter 4.

Soon after getting into the training, MIJI released their first album on January 2010 and unfolded their activity as a women fusion kugak group. Getting support from the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism and being professionally managed by Loen Entertainment, MIJI was more visible than other fusion kugak groups through being promoted through mass media such as YouTube, TV programs and newspaper articles around MIJI’s debut (figure 13). However, MIJI is no longer under governmental support at this point because the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism sponsored MIJI only for 2010. Also, the management company of MIJI has altered since May 2011. The number of members has decreased from eight to five. Specifically, three members quit MIJI due to their new musical step or marriage, and the current MIJI consists of five players of a kayagûm, a haegûm, a taegûm, a sogûm, and a p’iri (saenghwang or taepyŏngso). Currently, the present management agency of MIJI, Mask Entertainment, is running an audition ad for new performers specializing in vocal (minyo) and kugak instruments.

94 MIJI’s debut promotion video is available at [http://youtu.be/_Kvc3BiUNXQ](http://youtu.be/_Kvc3BiUNXQ). This video shows the process of the birth of MIJI, in which many people such as a famous photographer, a musical director, a film director, an actress, and popular music composers have been involved. Also, K.new, the first track of MIJI’s debut album is played as the background music of the promotion video.
3.2.2 Musical Practices and Characteristics

As stated above, MIJI was founded for the sake of popularization of kugak. The group, however, has rather pursued the performance of fusion kugak than focused on the realization of traditional Korean music as the means of popularizing kugak.

Basically, MIJI is pursuing fusion kugak in a way such that the group plays new-composed pieces by renowned composers in the field of K-pop and newly arranged traditional Korean folk songs. Again, MIJI’s performance of new fusion kugak pieces can be mainly divided into two subcategories of vocal music and instrumental music without any vocals. As for vocal music in newly-composed fusion kugak pieces, while a singer of MIJI is singing new pieces composed by K-pop composers, other MIJI instrumentalists are playing the accompaniment part with a popular music band consisting of guitar (electronic guitar and bass guitar), keyboard (piano and synthesizer), and drum. A Western classical orchestra joins the instrumental part in
some pieces.\textsuperscript{95} Also, the MIJI singer and a vocalist of the famous pop group in K-pop sing a duet to the accompaniment of MIJI instrumentalists and a pop music band.\textsuperscript{96} Instrumental pieces in new fusion *kugak* by MIJI are based on an ensemble of traditional Korean instruments and Western ones, similar to other fusion *kugak* groups’ practices.

Although MIJI is performing fusion *kugak* similar to other groups in terms of instrumentation and an attempt at composition, their musical style can definitely be distinguished from other groups. Even if traditional Korean instruments are used, MIJI’s musical style is much more weighted toward Western-style popular music rather than experimenting with the blended or mingled style of *kugak* and non-traditional Korean music. For example, *Heunoni*, the title song of MIJI’s debut album, can be classified as being in the pop ballad genre; *Romantic Tango*, one of the instrumental pieces in MIJI’s debut album, presents rhythms and melodies of the tango also as assumed from the title; *Valediction*, an instrumental piece also in MIJI’s debut album, shows the jazz style. Seung-won Park, the former manager of MIJI, says that this musical style conforms to MIJI’s primary strategy of appealing to common people who are familiar with the conventional melody of popular music genres.\textsuperscript{97} Then he points out that MIJI is accomplishing the purpose of fusion *kugak* in that the general population can learn to recognize the sound of traditional Korean instruments while listening to MIJI’s pieces.\textsuperscript{98}

In order to come even closer to the populace, MIJI not only draws upon the musical style of Western pop but also displays itself throughout mass media. Of course, other fusion *kugak* groups, as previously stated, have been active in utilizing broadcasts for introducing their music

\textsuperscript{95} Young Soo Cho, one of the most famous composers and producers in Korean popular music composed MIJI’s title song in their debut album, *Heunoni* ([희노니](http://youtu.be/66DeLzVixOk)), longing for someone) where Bo Sung Kim, the MIJI singer sings the song, other MIJI members accompany her with a guitar, an electronic bass guitar, a drum, and members of Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. The music video of this song is available at http://youtu.be/66DeLzVixOk.

\textsuperscript{96} The example of this type of vocal music by MIJI is available at http://youtu.be/2xJbmyPcNB4.

\textsuperscript{97} Park, interview by the author, MP3 recording, August 9, Loen Entertainment, Seoul, Korea.

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
to common people. However, MIJI's activities on broadcasts are different from other fusion kugak groups’ in that, while other groups have presented fusion kugak just in the programs appropriated for traditional Korean music, MIJI has mainly appeared in the pop music programs, which are more popular than the traditional Korean music programs (figure 14).  

![Figure 14. MIJI on MBC Show Ûmakjungsim aired on February 6, 2010.](image)

Due to the fact that MIJI’s musical style followed popular music genres, MIJI was able to participates in the original sound track of the popular soap opera Sin Kisaeng Dyôn (new tales of kisaeng), which was aired on Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) in 2011. This soap opera was the life and love story about contemporary kisaeng who majored in traditional Korean arts and worked as professional entertainers in a high-class restaurant. Since the kisaeng in the soap opera wore traditional Korean dress, hanbok, and performed traditional Korean music and dance, the original sound track took on the sound of the kugak-style pieces. MIJI members played traditional Korean instruments and sang in the trailer music, the title music, Yŏakjika (song of

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99 MIJI’s live performance of Heunoni on MBC Show Ûmakjungsim (MBC show, the center of music), the weekly popular music program of MBC on February 6 2010 is available at [http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xc6a1p_live-miji-vyy_music#rel-page-1](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xc6a1p_live-miji-vyy_music#rel-page-1).

100 The heroine in this soap opera became kisaeng to make a living for her poor family.
female musician), the theme song, *Mongyŏn* (relationship in dream), and nine tracks on the original sound track album of *Sin Kisaeng Dyŏn*.\(^{101}\) In fact, MIJI released a digital single on which the title music and the theme song were recorded.

Moreover, MIJI’s activities on broadcasts have not been limited to just performing fusion *kugak*. A morning news program featured MIJI members as reporters. The MIJI members visited the sights and famous restaurants in Korea and introduced those places to the audience (figure 15). If one considers the main audiences watching the morning news show, MIJI members’ appearance as reporters in the show exposed themselves to broader age groups such as workers or housewives in addition to young music fans. This non-musical activity of MIJI on broadcasts resembles K-pop girl groups’ activities for which in order to get into public favor, the girl groups tend to show their talking or acting in entertainment programs rather than to demonstrate their musical ability in music programs. I will look at how MIJI’s strategy for popularization is similar to or different from K-pop girl groups’ in Chapter 4.

![Image](blog.naver.com/singunji)

**Figure 15.** MIJI’s gathering seashell in a mud flat for filming the morning news show. Photo credit: blog.naver.com/singunji.

3.3 CHEONGARANG (청아랑)

3.3.1 Overview

The last women’s fusion kugak group I will introduce in this chapter is Cheongarang (or chŏngarang). As a permanent performance group belonging to the Samcheonggak (or samchŏnggak), Cheongarang was founded in 2010. Thus, the members of Cheongarang get paid from the Samcheonggak and present their performances there. Before talking about this fusion kugak group, I will briefly introduce Samcheonggak.

Samcheonggak is located in the back of Cheong Wa Dae (the office of the Korean president), the central area of Seoul. It was established in 1972 as a high-class restaurant in which businessmen or politicians or government officers were able to dine and drink during receptions and meetings. While eating, they could enjoy appreciating music and dance performed by young women as well as being served at table by those women. At this time, not only did the women working at high-class restaurants such as the Samcheonggak present performances and wait on tables but they also provided men with sexual service if necessary. Due to the roles of those women as entertainers and sexual workers, they reminded the general population of kisaeng who were forced to become prostitutes rather than professional entertainers after the early twentieth century in Korean society. Indeed, many ex-kisaeng, who used to be musicians or dancers, got in the high-class restaurants, such as the Samcheonggak, since they were not able to find a job as professional entertainers. Accordingly, the hostesses at those restaurants were openly called kisaeng and the restaurants were also known as “kisaeng houses.” A negative view of the general population towards kisaeng as prostitutes rather than as professional entertainers, which had been constructed throughout the early twentieth century, caused people to consider
places such as the Samcheonggak decadent and illicit. Furthermore, since only extremely rich businessmen, very powerful politicians, or high-ranking government officers were allowed to come to the restaurants, common people could not help seeing the Samcheonggak as exclusive and untouchable. I will discuss discourse on *kisaeng* related to the Samcheonggak in more detail in Chapter 4.

In the mid-1990s, the Samcheonggak went out of business as a so-called “*kisaeng* house,” and then changed into a wedding hall and traditional Korean restaurant without the employment of women who could be recognized as *kisaeng*. Upon entering the 2000s, the city of Seoul, the capital of Korea, planned to create a cultural district around the Gwanghwamun (or kwanghwamun), the main and largest gate of the Gyeongbokgung (or kyŏngbokkung) Palace, located in the central area of Seoul. Being located near this neighborhood and built in a traditional Korean style, the city incorporated the Samcheonggak into the cultural district as a concert hall for traditional Korean music as well as traditional Korean restaurant (figure 16).

![Figure 16. The concert hall, Ilhwadang, in the Samcheonggak. Photo credit: www.samcheonggak.or.kr.](image)

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102 The Gyeongbokgung Palace, also known as the Gyeongbok Palace, was constructed in 1392 in the Chosŏn dynasty and used as the royal palace.
As the concert hall got remodeled, the Samcheonggak needed *kugak* players to present performances regularly. Eun Sun Yu, the founder and the music director of Dasrum, was asked to give advice to the Samcheonggak in preparing the performances, and then she was hired as the first music director of the Samcheonggak concert hall. As she already had experience in Dasrum, she was able not only to design repertoires of both *kugak* and fusion *kugak* appealing to general audiences but also to establish a *kugak* chamber ensemble fit to the stage of the Samcheonggak. Accordingly, she formed Cheongarang exclusively for the Samcheonggak.

Cheongarang literally means “blue and beautiful eyebrows.” Also, this word refers to “the beauty” metaphorically. As the name of the group implies, Cheongarang consists of only women. Currently, Yu has resigned as the music director of Cheongarang and there are ten members in the group: Shin-Won Moon (music director), Jiyŏn Chung (*kayagŭm*), Hye-rim Choi (*ajaeng*), Nayŏng Shin (*haegŭm*), So-yeon Yu (*taegŭm*), Na-Yeon Ju (*sogŭm*), Jihye Lee (*p’iri*), Han-na Kim (*changgo*), Kyung-jin Park (percussion), Mun-ju Lee (synthesizer), Sun-hee Lee (*p’ansori*), So-ee Kim and Jŏnghwa Lee (dance) (figure 17).

![Cheongarang instrumentalists. Photo by the Samcheonggak operator.](image-url)
3.3.2 Musical Practices and Characteristics

Basically, Cheongarang presents permanent performances in the Samcheonggak. The permanent performances are composed of “JAMI,” a concert during lunch, and “The Fresh Morning at the Samcheonggak,” a concert with Korean tea in the morning. Thus, Cheongarang serves “table music” in the Samcheonggak.

Literally meaning nutritious good food, JAMI provides Korean-style table d’hôte for lunch (figure 18) and a Korean music concert with music director’s comments. JAMI are normally given at the Ilhwadang, the concert hall, in the Samcheonggak on every Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday from noon to 1:30 PM through March to June and September to December.

![Figure 18. Korean food served in JAMI. Photo by the author.](image)

Korean music performed in JAMI includes traditional kugak, fusion kugak, and traditional Korean dance. In the first part of a JAMI, traditional music is presented. For the performance of traditional kugak, Cheongarang extracts short pieces from traditional court music genres, and kagok for female vocals from the literati music genres.
Fusion kugak is performed in the second part of a JAMI. Whereas Dasrum and MIJI have their own fusion kugak repertoires, that is, the newly composed fusion kugak pieces, the fusion kugak of Cheongarang in a JAMI, is basically an arrangement of Western/Korean popular music and famous film scores. Sometimes, other fusion kugak musicians’ established pieces are also included. For instance, when I attended a JAMI in June 22, 2011, the repertories of fusion kugak Cheongarang presented were: Love is Blue, a popular light piece by Paul Mauriat; Nella Fantasia, a popular song, setting lyrics to Gabriel’s Oboe, Enrio Moricone’s film score from Mission; Eres tu, a Spanish popular song by Mocedades (the included video file); Mannam (meeting), a Korean popular song; and Frontier, a fusion kugak piece composed by Bang Ean Yang for the 2002 Pusan Asian Games.

The third part of a JAMI features the performances of traditional folk music and Korean dance. Kayagum sanjo, excerpts from p’ansori pieces, some traditional folk songs (minyo), and short works from traditional court and folk dance genres are mainly presented. Western-style modern dance is occasionally performed instead of traditional Korean dance (figure 19). Members of Cheongarang play an accompaniment to those vocal and dance performances.

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103 In the 1970s and the 1980s, Paul Mauriat and his orchestra gained popularity in Korea. Their music was called “semi-classic,” or “light music” among Korean people.

104 After being adapted and awarded in MBC song contest for college students in 1978, this song became popular in Korea.

105 Bang Ean Yang is Korean-Japanese pianist and composer. His composition style covers a wide range of genres from Western classical music, rock, jazz, world music, and traditional Korean music to fusion kugak.
As addressed above, the music director comments on the program of the JAMI. At the end of the concert, she gives the audience some quizzes about traditional Korean instruments or kugak or fusion kugak that she has explained during the performance, and awards gifts to those who give right answers. The music director’s comments and the quiz session in the JAMI enable the audience to recognize that Cheongarang’s kugak and fusion kugak are not light table music but formal performances. Specifically, her comments allow people to understand that these musical styles do have a particular form and have played special roles throughout history.

While both kugak and fusion kugak are presented for the lunch concerts, JAMI, traditional kugak and changjak kugak (creational traditional Korean music) are performed for the morning concerts, The Fresh Morning at the Samcheonggak. This morning concert is given at small concert halls, outbuildings of the Samcheonggak, every last Saturday from 10 to 11 AM every throughout the year. In the morning concerts, each member presents a solo recital. In 2011, Yu (the former music director) and Moon (the current music director) presented their changjak kugak works in January and December; Choi played an ajaeng sanjo (an improvisational piece for solo ajaeng, a bowed long zither with seven or eight strings) and a contemporary ajaeng
piece in February; Ju and Yu gave a duo recital using *p’iri* (a double-reed small bamboo oboe) and *taegŭm* (a large transverse bamboo flute) in March; Kim performed traditional Korean dance in April; Lee and Eunkyong Min (a guest performer) presented *p’ansori* (a musical storytelling genre) in May and July; Min-yeong Kim (a former member) performed a *kayagŭm sanjo* (an improvisational piece for solo *kayagŭm*, a long zither with twelve strings) and traditional folk songs in June; Kim and Park played traditional pieces for Korean percussion in August; Yuna Kim (a former member) and Nakyong Won (a former member) gave *haegŭm* (a spike fiddle with two strings) recitals focusing on the *haegŭm sanjo* (an improvisational piece for solo *haegŭm*), folk songs, and new compositions for *haegŭm* in September and November; and Jihyun Kim (a former member) presented traditional Korean pieces for *p’iri*, *saenghwang* (a mouth organ with seventeen bamboo pipes), and *taepyŏngso* (a conical wooden shawm) in October.

In addition to the permanent performances such as JAMI and The Fresh Morning at the Samcheonggak, Cheongarang provides special concerts in the Samcheonggak. These concerts are unofficially given only when businessmen or government officers or delegates request renditions for a dinner party. A couple of instrumentalists of Cheongarang and the music director participate in the special concerts and present a short performance of *kugak* and fusion *kugak* with director’s comments after the dinner.

The popular perception of those unofficial and private concerts as well as of the history of the Samcheonggak must make the female performers uncomfortable. Cheongarang’s members, interview by the other, MP3 recording, July 29, 2011, Samcheonggak, Seoul, Korea.
popular songs outside of the performance program.\textsuperscript{107} Why do those men make excessive and rude demands for demonstrations of music on female performers? This is because it is commonly perceived that women in the Samcheonggak should serve male guests, whatever demand they make, as \textit{kisaeng} did in the past. I will further examine the popular perception of female performers in the Samcheonggak and the relationship between that perception and popular discourse on \textit{kisaeng} in Chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{107} Shin-won Moon, interview by the author, MP3 recording, June 22, 2011, Samcheonggak, Seoul, Korea.
4.0 GENDER ISSUES IN MUSIC PRACTICES BY WOMEN’S FUSION KUGAK GROUPS

4.1 GENDER AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

As addressed in Chapter 2, kugak, traditional Korean music, has been associated with the nation in regard to being supported and institutionalized by the Korean government. Accordingly, I suggested that kugak could truly be labeled national music besides its literal meaning, national (kuk) music (ak). Fusion kugak can also be said to have a close relationship with the nation in that the government assigned the cultural delegation to the women’s fusion kugak group (Dasrum), and designed a new women’s fusion kugak group (MIJI) for globalizing digital contents of traditional Korean arts, as explored in Chapter 3. The government has dispatched the women’s fusion kugak groups to foreign nations in order to introduce Korea and Korean culture. In this chapter, I will examine how the women’s fusion kugak groups’ performances in foreign countries can be discussed in terms of gender and national identity.

An image of a nation, as Benedict Anderson argues “an imagined political community,”²¹⁰⁸ seems symbolic²¹⁰⁹ so that symbols of national identities such as clothing and

food form images of nations. In the Korean context, how can women’s fusion kugak groups represent national identity in their musical practices?

As a Korean cultural delegation, Dasrum’s members play the role of constructing an image of Korea through their performance overseas since they have on traditional Korean costumes. In particular, Dasrum’s dresses are characterized by vivid colors, gold and silver embroidery, and fine materials, styles of Korean dresses traditionally designed only for high-class women in the Chosón dynasty. Also, Dasrum uses props representing Korea in the performances. For instance, when Dasrum had a concert in Arequipa, Peru in 2006, they hung up a copy of a traditional Korean painting alongside the flag of Arequipa on the stage (figure 20). Like Dasrum’s traditional Korean dresses, the traditional Korean painting can be linked to a social class because high-class people owned such paintings in order to prove their financial power. Particularly, high-class women were expected to learn and practice painting at home for their high level of artistic sophistication. Therefore, the image of Korean identity, which Dasrum constructs through their performances in foreign countries, symbolizes the noble traditionality relevant to Korean females.

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However, the image of Korean identity produced by the women’s fusion *kugak* groups does not always represent traditionality relevant to noblesse. For example, in their performances in foreign countries, MIJI’s members do not have on traditional Korean costumes but wear Western-style dresses and the reformed Korean-style dresses, which do not have straps or sleeves, which leave everything above the chest bare (figures 21 and 22). Thus, the Korean identity that MIJI’s dresses are representing implies Korean-occidentality or modernity rather than tradition.

Figure 21. MIJI’s Western-style dresses in its performance in Moscow, Russia on June 3, 2010. Photo credit: cafe.daum.net/mijiisland.
Looking at the formation of the image of Korean identity through women’s fusion *kugak* groups’ performances, one should also consider the music they play, the auditory medium. As creators or deliverers of music, the women’s fusion *kugak* groups incorporate musical sound as well as visual symbols in constructing Korean national identity. On the one hand, Dasrum mainly performs traditional Korean music pieces, including traditional court banquet music, literati music, and folk music, for the audiences throughout Latin America and Arab countries. When Dasrum presents fusion *kugak* pieces on its international concert tours, the application of electronic sound or Western oriented instruments is excised from arrangements as much as possible. Also, Dasrum plays foreign countries’ folk songs or popular songs on traditional Korean instruments. This type of performance makes the Korean national sound more approachable to foreigners. Dasrum’s members recognize that the performances of foreign folk and popular music allow Korea and other countries to develop a more friendly relationship. However, Dasrum’s performances of foreign folk songs or popular music cannot be considered just as a way to promote pure international friendship but can be construed as a sort of manifestation of imperialism. Thus, when Dasrum plays foreign indigenous music on Korean
instruments in front of foreign audiences, Dasrum demonstrates its understanding of foreign musical styles and reinterprets that music in a Korean way. This musical skill enables the foreign audiences not only to feel friendly toward Koreans but also to acknowledge Koreans’ cultural power to handle foreign indigenous music.

On the other hand, MIJI focuses on showing its Western pop-style fusion kugak pieces in its overseas concerts rather than on introducing traditional Korean music. Also, in those concerts, MIJI shares its performance program with local performers. For example, when MIJI had a concert tour in Moscow, Russia in 2010, a Russian orchestra came on stage with MIJI and they presented a joint performance. After MIJI performed its fusion kugak repertories alone, the orchestra played Russian and other Western pieces, replacing MIJI on the stage. Then MIJI and the orchestra took the stage together and they presented the traditional Korean folk song Arirang jointly. At that time, the Russian concert agency said that MIJI was selected since its music demonstrated Korean-Western style with contemporaneity. The Russian agency’s reason for selecting MIJI seems to confirm my analysis of Korean identity, that is, of Korean-occidentality or modernity, as represented by MIJI’s clothing. This can mean that Korea, which MIJI is building through its musical sound and visual images, is not only westernized but also contemporized while it holds its tradition to some degree.

While observing women’s fusion kugak groups’ role as representatives of Korea through their international concert tours, I began to ask a question: why are women representing the nation in the context of Korean fusion kugak? Some feminists’ perspectives provide an answer. According to Marianne Marchand and Anne Sisson Runyan, neoliberalism brings up gendered

restructuring of social spheres. In the past, males represented the nation and women were a symbol of the home. Marchand and Runyan argue that now females rather than males symbolize the nation while males represent the market. Viewed from those feminists’ perspective, the women’s fusion kugak groups are appropriate representatives of the nation. Under the neoliberal globalization, the distance between nations is shrinking and borders are becoming more indistinct. While fusion kugak itself seems to share this characteristic of shrinking distances and blurring borders, the women symbolize the nation. In this light, the women’s fusion kugak groups can represent Korea. It is also the fact that many Korean businessmen accompany with the women’s fusion kugak groups’ overseas concert tours. While women perform fusion kugak on the stage, men accomplish trade with foreign men off the stage. Therefore, women’s fusion kugak groups’ performances in foreign countries can act as a gendered conduct beyond acting as an introduction to Korea and Korean culture.


113 In a television program reporting Dasrum’s concert tours in the Latin Americas, aired on November 28, 2006, one can see several posters in which the logo of the Samsung is printed on the wall of the concert hall. Also, supporting the Dasrum’s concert tours, some Korean conglomerates expose their advertisement through Dasrum’s concert brochures. Dasrum made DVD of this program. This DVD, titled Dasrum in South-America, is currently available only in the library of National Gugak Center.
4.2 FROM MOTHER TO MOTHERING

4.2.1 Women and Mothers as Themes in Fusion Kugak

In her monograph *Feminine Ending: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, McClary argues that female composers’ writing music becomes “an important political position and strategy” (McClary 1991: 19). Some female fusion kugak performers are also finding their positions by writing music. Their writing fusion kugak can be political in the field of changjak kugak (creational traditional Korean music) because males have dominated this field in Korea.

As Western music started being introduced to Korea in the end of the nineteenth century, Western theories and concepts influenced traditional Korean music so that the concept of composition was applied to kugak and composition of new kugak pieces called changjak kugak was born. Accordingly, composers, who write new kugak pieces, changjak kugak composers, entered the field of kugak. However, those composers, including the first changjak kugak composer, Kisu Kim (1917-1986), have been nearly all men. This scene, in which male composers are commanding the musical field, seems usual and even familiar since many musical cultures, as musicologists/ethnomusicologists have been pointing out, have encouraged only men to write music. Like a lot of women around the world, Korean women have been marginalized in writing music, including kugak.

Looking back on those days when she graduated from Seoul National University in 1990, Eun Sun Yu (the founder and the first music director of Dasrum), says that as a kugak composition major, she was not able to get a chance to enter the musical profession because no musical institutions accepted female composers of kugak but only wanted to hire male kugak
performers or male composers of kugak.\textsuperscript{114} As a result, she decided to create her own business by founding the kugak chamber ensemble Dasrum.\textsuperscript{115} At that time, the kugak chamber ensembles were preferred among young kugak musicians as means through which young kugak composers were able to realize their new pieces. Thus, although Dasrum is currently focusing on performing fusion kugak genres, it started as a kugak chamber ensemble, which was engaging in changjak kugak, and came to realize new kugak pieces composed by Yu.

Yu has shown a desire to represent the female identity in fusion kugak pieces. This is similar to how Sinéad O’Connor has represented herself in her own music. Negus argues that O’Connor has enunciated herself through words, sounds, and images, all which are formulated in her music.\textsuperscript{116} Yu and Dasrum also have performed the fusion kugak pieces reflecting and speaking to their female identity. Those pieces newly composed by Yu have lyrics using traditional Korean poetry and traditional Korean song lyrics either created by females or spoken from a female viewpoint. For example, Yeoinbyeolgok (Women’s Poem), presented in 2009, is based on anonymous lyrics for traditional Korean literati music, kagok. Written from the female viewpoint, these lyrics are speaking about women’s restrained love.\textsuperscript{117}

Mothers or motherhood have been dealt with as part of women’s identity or experience in the musical pieces by many female singers and composers.\textsuperscript{118} For example, in her song, Nick of Time, Bonnie Raitt talks about her female friend’s concern about having a baby.\textsuperscript{119} Women’s identity in Dasrum’s fusion kugak pieces also features “mothers.” Dasrum’s mothers, however, can be interpreted a little differently from other female musician’s in that Dasrum’s music is

\textsuperscript{114} Yu, interview by the author, MP3 recording, August 2, 2011, National Gugak Center, Seoul, Korea.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{116} Negus, “Sinéad O’Conner – Musical Mother,” 179.
\textsuperscript{117} See at \url{http://youtu.be/tIo-7b_Oqos}.
\textsuperscript{118} Greig, “Female Identity and the Women Songwriter,” 176.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 175.
using some poems as its lyrics, in which narrators are missing mothers or thinking of relation
with mothers. Thus, the Dasrum’s music talks about the relationship between mothers and
daughters, that is, the relationship between women’s experiences beyond projecting women’s
identity or experience onto mothers.

Dasrum had its 10th concert of the fusion kugak pieces about mothers in 2004. Collecting
these pieces, Yu released the album Songs for My Mother ‘While Parents are Still Alive’ with
Dasrum accompanying in 2010. Among the tracks on this album, 10 Motives from Poems
“Mother” by Kim Cho-hye Poem consists of ten pieces by taking the form of a song cycle. With
the titles by Yu, each piece gets their lyrics from a series of Cho-hye Kim’s poems Mother: 
Mother 1, 5, 7, 10, 12, 35, 36, 42, 50, and 51. Also, these pieces incorporate a poem recitation
into a musical performance (the included audio file No. 2 – the 6th piece Endurance). The titles
of the pieces are as follows:

   Relationship – From mother
   Relationship – Persevering mother
   Patience – Mother who keeps things to herself
   Benevolent – With a benevolent heart
   Loving – Never changing holy person..
   Endurance – Mother who lived a long painful life
   Virtue – Mother who said to be virtuous
   Goodness – Goodness and a big heart
   Saving with love – Gave birth to everything with love
   Giving back the blessing – May you pass away peacefully
   (Titled by Eun Sun Yu; translated by Chee-min Kwon)

Not only does Dasrum write about mothers in its fusion kugak pieces but they also practice
motherhood through fusion kugak activities. In the next part, I will look at in which ways the
women’s fusion kugak group Dasrum is fulfilling motherhood in its musical activities.
4.2.2 Mothering: Care of Children

In 2010, Dasrum, the first women’s fusion kugak group, celebrated its 20th anniversary. It had its 20th anniversary concert with its old and current members on September 26, 2010. Before the concert, the press turned to look at Yu, the founder of Dasrum, and illuminated Dasrum’s teaching activity. Recalling this activity, Yu called Dasrum “the mother of the kugak education” in the newspaper interviews. Her word, “mother,” is suggesting Dasrum’s role as the birthgiver of kugak education like Mary, the Birthgiver of God, or as the doyenne of kugak education rather than indicating biological mothers or physiological motherhood. However, why did Yu use the word, “mother” in describing Dasrum’s role? Why didn’t she describe Dasrum as a pioneer or trailblazer of kugak education? As Adrienne Rich argues that motherhood and mothering are socially constructed rather than naturally born,120 I assert, then, that she used the word “mother” because Yu and Dasrum’s members have internalized and practiced socially constructed mothering and motherhood in positioning themselves and determining their roles in kugak education.

First of all, I will examine how motherhood, interwoven with education, has been socially constructed in Korea. In Korean society, education has been discussed within discourse on motherhood. Although traditional Korean Confucianism assigned education to fathers, by the nineteenth century, mothers replacement in the educational role when fathers passed away.121 As Korean society was modernized in the early twentieth century, it was, however, claimed that

121 Sungjoo Chae, “A Study on Discourse of Motherhood in Formation of Modern Education” (PhD diss., Korea University, 2006).
both fathers and mothers should be involved in education for their children in the home.\textsuperscript{122} In the 1930s, discourse on “wise mothers” was constructed and this discourse was prevailing in Korean society by the 1980s.\textsuperscript{123} Since the term “wise” implies that mothers should be wise enough to teach their children at home, the discourse on wise mothers encouraged women to play a role as educators for children. This role for women was much more emphasized while men were mobilized for Korean industrialization throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. In particular, during these periods, education was regarded as the strongest value in Korean society. To be specific, the college entrance examination was considered as the most important project both personally and socially because higher education became an easier way to move in to the upper class. For their children’s examination, mothers helped their children prepare and reviews lessons at home and also helped their children gain favor with instructors by giving them gifts, including money.

The discourse on Korean mothers and the role they should play in children’s education influences mothers to do their utmost to ensure their children’s success. To be specific, mothers having children majoring in Western classical music take it upon themselves to do everything for their children’s music education: to find good instructors; to make a plan for the children’s lessons and practice; to support the children’s concerts, and so on. When the children are finally a success as professional musicians, those mothers’ works are not only highlighted in the articles about and interviews with the children but also widely known to the general population. In some cases, mothers are asked to share their experiences in the children’s music education with the public. For example, Won-sook Lee (1918-2011), a mother of the Chung Trio (Kyung-wha Chung, violin; Myung-wha Chung, cello; and Myung-whun Chung, piano), published her

\textsuperscript{122} Ibid.

autobiographical essay collection focusing on her children’s music education. Lee’s essay collection was listed on the bestsellers in 1991. In recognition of her educational contribution to the Chung Trio, she was awarded the prize for “the great mother” in 1970 and a national medal in 1990.

Yu and Dasrum’s members, growing up in such a social environment, seem to have internalized that women should take a part in music education of children. Thus, Dasrum’s kugak education can be a way of realizing mothers’ role as music educators in Korean society beyond the strategy distinguishing Dasrum from other male kugak chamber ensembles or from other female kugak performers misunderstood as kisaeng.

Dasrum’s motherly role as music educators is applied not only to children but even to unborn fetuses. Koreans traditionally have thought that education should work even for the fetus. Conventional Korean wisdom promotes the idea that education of the fetuses begins with the mother. If pregnant women see, hear, and think only good things, this provides the appropriate environment for the fetuses to develop physically and mentally. Due to this belief, many Korean pregnant women listen to some Western classical music pieces as researchers have presented that these kinds of music is good for prenatal education. Yu, with Dasrum accompanying, took the initiative to create an album of fusion kugak pieces for babies, opening up a role of women’s fusion kugak groups as educators of fetuses as well (the included audio file No. 3).

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125 I also have given a series of lectures about Western classical music pieces good for prenatal education at the Samsung-Tesco Homeplus Community Center in Seoul, Korea from October 2007 to December 2007.
126 The title of this piece is Binari for a Beautiful World. Yu not only composed it but also wrote its lyrics in 2001 with a worry about the environment, in which children grow up, and a wish for the beautiful world, in which children enjoy happiness. Some Dasrum’s members are pointing out this piece as their favorite repertoire.
4.2.3 Mothering: Performance for Cultural Minorities

As examined above, Dasrum’s kugak education and fusion kugak performance for prenatal education can be interpreted as practices of mothering. It is noticeable that Dasrum’s mothering is not limited to children but extended to marginalized populations such as country people, the elderly, patients, soldiers, and prisoners.

As Korean society went through rapid industrialization throughout the 1970s and 1980s, some Korean people became marginalized from both social and cultural benefits. This is because, while most Korean people came to enjoy a lot of economic profit, in promoting economic growth during the rapid industrialization, the Korean government paid little attention to the governmental policies on fair distribution of public welfare or culture. Thus, the government was negligent in building social and cultural facilities, such as museums, theatres, schools, gyms, hospitals, and so on, for people in rural areas. People in nursing homes, hospitals, military camps, or jails were also excluded from appreciating artistic works during their treatment, recuperation, army lives, or punishment. Accordingly, the government came to classify country people, the elderly, patients, soldiers, and prisoners as social and cultural minorities in the industrialized Korean society. The Korean government enacted a cultural policy for which musicians and drama players were sent to perform for those cultural minorities. Since the early 2000s, the government has supported such performers for their performance trips to the marginalized areas or facilities such as the countryside, nursing homes, hospitals, military camps, and prisons.

Being selected as musicians for the cultural minorities, Dasrum’s members have presented their performances in such places isolated from both social and cultural resources. As scholars are recognizing, while the ideology of motherhood has entrusted women with the care for children and elderly parents, the concept of mothering can be extended to the nurturing and
caring relationships between various individuals. I argue that Dasrum’s fusion kugak performances for cultural minorities enable Dasrum to realize extended mothering, including through nurturing and caring. Also, those musical activities offer a platform from which redefinition and expansion of the concept of mothering can be discussed in Korean society.

4.3 SEX AND SEXUALITY

4.3.1 Display of Female Fusion Kugak Performers as Korean Popular Musicians

As pointed out in Chapter 2, more women are engaged in fusion kugak than men since women have fewer opportunities to enter the professions of traditional kugak such as the national performance groups. Thus, for women majoring in traditional Korean music, fusion kugak can be a way to realize their career as professional performers, as Eun Sun Yu, the founder of Dasrum, created her own business with Dasrum in the fusion kugak genre.

In that case, why can women move into fusion kugak more easily? On this question, Jiyŏn Chung, the kayagŭm player in Cheongarang, points out that since there is a great demand for female performers in the field of fusion kugak, women can get involved in fusion kugak without any effort. Then, why are women in demand more than men in fusion kugak? I looked

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for the answer to this question in the current situation, in which fusion *kugak* is marketed as Korean popular music (K-pop).

In K-pop, visualization of singers is the most important marketing strategy so that most K-pop singers show off their cute or handsome faces and their slender bodies in their performance for advertisements for and the sale of their music. In particular, girl groups are definitely utilizing this “good-looking” strategy since they have had to survive in an arena of K-pop that boy bands or boy groups had already come to dominate by the mid-2000s.128

However, this strategy is led not by the girl group members’ free will but by the entertainment management agencies.129 Thus, in order to promote the visually attractive girl group, the agency first focuses more on applicants’ appearance than their musical ability when selecting girl group members. After selection, the agency controls those girls’ diet and exercise, and even urges them to undergo plastic surgery. The girl group members in good shape win popularity by displaying themselves through mass media. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the K-pop girl groups mainly talk or act in entertainment programs. If the girl groups present their performances in music programs, the performances concentrate on exhibiting a spectacle based on the girls’ beautiful faces and bodies rather than on demonstrating the groups’ musicality. Furthermore, the girl groups wear revealing costumes or perform suggestive dances using particular parts of the female body, such as legs, breasts, and hips, in order to make the spectacle more attractive. While visual media emphasize the girls’ dancing suggestively in revealing costumes, those images can and do result in sexualization of the girl groups. These activities visualizing and sexualizing the girl groups are controversial in Korean society in that the

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129 Ibid., 52.
agencies are increasing profit by taking advantage of the visualized and sexualized girls in mass media.

The auditions Loen Entertainment held to pick out MIJI’s members are very similar to those held for selection of K-pop girl groups. Park, the former manager of MIJI recalls the auditions, in which he and jurors valued the applicants’ good-looking appearance above their playing skill. He also says that, if the fusion kugak genre is a better way to popularize traditional Korean music, visualization of the fusion kugak group’s members can be a better way to boost fusion kugak itself. Accordingly, MIJI’s members are visualized in various images. For example, one can see two of the members individual photos and six of the group photos in the promotional brochure of MIJI; and two or three of their individual photos and seven of the group photos in MIJI’s first album, The Challenge. Also, one can find MIJI’s members acting as fashion models in a wedding magazine (figure 23). In 2010, although it has not been published, MIJI members were represented as characters in the children’s comic book, Ari Ari Kungtakung volume 3 (figure 24).

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130 Park, interview by the author, MP3 recording, August 9, 2011, Loen Entertainment, Seoul, Korea.
131 Ibid.
Figure 23. MIJI’s members as fashion models for the Korean-style wedding dresses in a wedding magazine. Photo credit: cafe.daum.net/mijiisland.

Figure 24. MIJI’s members represented as characters in a children’s comic book. Photo credit: sports.khan.co.kr.

The ways of representing MIJI’s members in those images are not very different from the ways in which K-pop girl groups are represented. In particular, one of the individual profile photos of Bo Sung Kim (a former singer of MIJI) in the promotional brochure bares her shoulder and upper parts of her breasts (figure 25). Moreover, two of the group photos in the album The Challenge encourage viewers to imagine that the MIJI members have on only their shirts with
their black briefs and black stockings (figure 26). These female images represented in those photos are the general way of visualization of K-pop girl groups. Thus, when visualizing themselves through mass media, the girl groups are utilizing images in which they expose their bodies such as breasts or take off bottoms (figures 27 and 28). These images objectify the girl groups and create an unequal power relationship between the girls and viewers (audiences). When this power relationship involves gender, males occupy an active looking position, while females lie passively looked-at. This gender relationship arouses the development of scopophilia, voyeurism, and fetishism among men so that the girl groups can be sexually objectified as well as visually objectified, since the way in which visual media emphasizes the parts of the female body can interpret women as sexual objects. With discourse on the sexuality of K-pop girl groups really prevailing in Korean society, it seems that visualization of the girls must be causing sexualization of the girls.

![Figure 25. An image of a vocalist in MIJI having on a dress revealing her shoulder and upper parts of her breasts in MIJI’s promotional brochure.](image)

Figure 26. Images of MIJI members having on only their shirts with their black briefs and black stockings in MIJI’s first album *The Challenge*.

Figure 27. An image of a member of the K-pop girl group, Rainbow under an introduction to the group members in its official website. Photo credit: rainbow.dspmedia.co.kr.
The images of MIJI presented above are also connected to the discourse on sexuality because the news, an editorial, and the blog entries on MIJI describe MIJI as ‘sexy.’ Furthermore, Nam, the taegŭm player of MIJI identifies herself as a ‘sexy leader.’ However, Myŏngbŏm Kim (a former manager of MIJI) says that MIJI pursues ‘classy sexiness.’ Seung-won Park (a former manager of MIJI) also insists that MIJI’s sexy image is different from K-pop girl groups’ because the MIJI members’ figures with traditional Korean instruments seem ‘classy.’ Park’s insistence suggests that the kugak instruments may offset the sexual implication made by the images of the MIJI members’ body parts and revealing costumes (figure 29).

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137 Sin, “‘Yenŭngdo Dramado Duryŏpji Anta’ Dangchan Kugak Girl Group MIJI (‘Not Afraid of Entertainment and Drama’ Confident Kugak Girl Group MIJI).”
Figure 29. An image of MIJI members with traditional Korean instruments. Photo credit: cafe.daum.net/mijisland.

On MIJI’s strategy, which is similar to K-pop girl groups’, MIJI's members also asserts that, although their exercise and diet are definitely for the purpose of looking good in visual media like the girl groups’, MIJI is different from the girl groups because MIJI’s members made their own decision about keeping their body in shape without the pressure from the management agency, whereas the agency plays a leading role in the regulation of the K-pop girl groups’ bodies.\textsuperscript{139}

As Kim, Park, and MIJI’s members are insisting, MIJI can be different from K-pop girl groups, although both MIJI and the girl groups employ visualization of themselves as a strategy for gaining popularity. First, MIJI’s members sing and play the instruments during their performances on TV programs, while the girl groups focus more on dancing than singing and playing the instruments live. Second, as adult females, MIJI’s members are not only aware of the association between their body and image but also exercising female agency in using their body without any outside coercion, as they assert. Therefore, MIJI is attempting to keep a balance between music and image. Also, I argue that MIJI’s members’ awareness of association of their

\textsuperscript{139} MIJI’s members, interview by the author, MP3 recording, August 9, 2011, Mask Entertainment, Seoul, Korea.
body with image and exercising of their female agency can be linked to Madonna’s strategy of self-objectification for personal enjoyment and empowerment, which Cvetkovich suggests.

Nevertheless, one can hear a few voices to criticize the commercialization of traditional Korean music using popular music-style fusion kugak and K-pop girl groups’ visualization strategies in an entry posted on the blog named as Soulounge on January 19, 2010. Also, some images MIJI is using for the visualization strategy can be controversial. For instance, the cover photo in the MIJI’s digital single for the original sound track of Sin Kisaeng Dyŏn (New Tales of Kisaeng) is very similar to the most popular image in which kisaeng are portrayed (figures 30 and 31). Moreover, MIJI’s members continue to show this image in their performances by having on the modified traditional Korean dresses that are used for representing kisaeng in mass media (figure 32). Thus, MIJI’s image, which in similar to kisaeng’s, can remind viewers (audiences) of kisaeng. However, as pointed out in the previous chapters, many Korean people have perceived kisaeng as prostitutes rather than as professional entertainers since the early twentieth century due to the historical fact that kisaeng was obliged to serve as sexual workers in the Japanese colonial period. In the next part, I will continue to look at controversial discourse on women’s fusion kugak groups linked to kisaeng.

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**Figure 30.** A cover photo of MIJI’s digital single, similar to the popular image of *kisaeng*. Photo credit: music.cyworld.com.

**Figure 31.** A popular image of *kisaeng* represented in a fashion magazine. Photo credit: vogue.co.kr.

**Figure 32.** MIJI at the concert for the foreign residents in Korea on June 29, 2010. Photo credit: cafe.daum.net/mijiisland.
4.3.2 Association with and Distance from Kisaeng

*Kisaeng* is one of the most important keywords in understanding Korean music including traditional music, Western music, and popular music.

As the official servants belonging to the royal palace and the government offices, *kisaeng* played instruments and danced in the traditional court music genres and the official banquets. Also, *kisaeng* not only accompanied male literati’s singing in the men’s private parties but also sang poetry and played instruments with those men. When American missionaries established the modern schools for females and started to teach Western music to them throughout the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century,\(^{141}\) *kisaeng* were included among those first students learning Western music because the American missionaries did not differentiate between Korean students’ classes in accepting them, and *kisaeng* were much freer to go out for receiving the modern education than the higher-class females.\(^{142}\) In the 1930s, as popular music became developed in Korean society, *kisaeng* were able to take part in performing and recording popular music, with their background trained in singing and dancing.\(^{143}\)

However, as stated in previous chapters, *kisaeng* were forced to work as sexual workers rather than professional entertainers during the Japanese colonial era (1910-1945). Accordingly, the general population came to have a prejudice against *kisaeng*. This bias also influenced people’s perception of traditional Korean music so that they considered *kugak* as the music of *kisaeng*. Due to the popular negative perspective toward *kisaeng*, female *kugak* performers, the


ex-kisaeng, could not enter the profession as musicians to be formal members of the national performance groups so that some ex-kisaeng taught kugak unofficially when they could find students, which was rarely, while others were thrown into serving as a new type of kisaeng, working as both entertainers and prostitutes in high-class restaurants, called “kisaeng houses,” such as the Samcheonggak.

In the 1960s, as the Korean government began to institutionalize traditional Korean art forms and canonize national culture, kisaeng became in demand as holders of traditional Korean music. Through this institutionalization of kugak as national music, a few ex-kisaeng were registered as the Human Cultural Assets by the Korean government. Also, some ex-kisaeng opened the private studios for traditional Korean music and helped establish the national high school for traditional Korean arts.

Nonetheless, the general negative perception of kisaeng has not yet changed too much. Furthermore, even though the Korean government institutionalized and supports kugak as national music, the general population still regards kugak as the vulgar music of kisaeng. In particular, many people have tended to relate female kugak performers to kisaeng. For example, in the 1980s and the 1990s, when Yu, the founder and the first music director of Dasrum, majored in kugak and entered a profession in the field of kugak, the general adult population had a prejudice against kisaeng and kugak. For this reason, she and Dasrum’s members, as she said, targeted children, who had no idea about kisaeng and kugak and so no prejudice against them, for the kugak education, in order to avoid being labeled as kisaeng. Moon, the current music

145 Ibid., 306.
146 Ibid.
147 Yu, interview by the author, MP3 recording, August 2, 2011, National Gugak Center, Seoul, Korea.
director of both Dasrum and Cheongarang, also said that she and Cheongarang’s members are pursuing a more sophisticated arrangement for their fusion kugak repertoires and wearing the finest costumes keeping the traditional Korean style in their concerts in order not to remind audiences of the image of kisaeng associated with the Samcheonggak. Due to the popular perception of the Samcheonggak in which kisaeng worked as both prostitutes and entertainers, a few members of Cheongarang have experienced their parents’ disapproval of working at the Samcheonggak. Some audiences talk low about the Samcheonggak as a high-class restaurant with kisaeng in front of the Cheongarang’s members and some passers-by even asked the Cheongarang’s members if they could play music during guests’ banquet as kisaeng did in the past. Whenever experiencing this reaction, the Cheongarang members reported that they feel like speaking out that the Samcheonggak is no longer a high-class restaurant where kisaeng are working.

However, most Cheongarang’s members, who majored in kugak in the 2000s, are taking pride in working as the permanent musicians in the Samcheonggak although they already knew about the reputation of the Samcheonggak. For them, their musical activity is much more important than a signified of the Samcheonggak as a high-class restaurant with kisaeng. This Cheongarang’s self-identification seems relevant to the recent Korean social perception of kisaeng, which is gradually changing. The film Hwang Jin Yi, released in 2007, focuses on the noble and pure love of Hwang Jin Yi (1520 ca. – 1560 ca.) (or Hwang Jini), a real kisaeng in the Chosŏn dynasty. The soap opera Hwang Jini, produced in 2006, describes kisaeng’s training in

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149 Han-na Kim and Hye-rim Choi, interview by the author, MP3 recording, July 29, 2011, Samcheonggak, Seoul, Korea.
151 Cheongarang’s members, interview by the author, MP3 recording, July 29, 2011, Samcheonggak, Seoul, Korea.
152 Ibid.
music and dance as hard and systematic. In 2009, a special documentary film about *kisaeng* was broadcast. With academic consultancy by historians and ethnomusicologists, this film not only reconstructed *kisaeng*’s lives but also emphasized their artistic activities and education. Getting favorable reviews from both the press and the audiences, this film provided the redefinition of *kisaeng*’s value.

Currently, then, young female fusion *kugak* performers are more willing to associate themselves with *kisaeng*. As explored above, MIJI is adopting a way of representing *kisaeng* in its image. Although I did not research them for this thesis, other women’s fusion *kugak* groups such as Hwang Jini and Chunhyang are also following the popular images of *kisaeng*, which are circulated in mass media (figures 33 and 34). Moreover, these groups were named for the bywords of the most famous *kisaeng* in Korean history – “Hwang Jini” and “Chunhyang.”

![Figure 33. A taegûm player of the women’s fusion kugak group Hwang Jini. Photo credit: www.kctashow.com.](image)

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153 Hwang Jini, as mentioned above, existed in the Chosòn dynasty. Chunhyang was not a real figure but she is a heroine of *Chunhyangjôn* (Tale of Chunhyang) as both a traditional Korean novel and a piece of *p’ansori*. Strictly speaking, she was not *kisaeng*. However, as a daughter of the ex-*kisaeng*, she was urged to serve as *kisaeng* by some men because her mother’s social status as *kisaeng* was passed down to Chunhyang.
Considering *kisaeng’s* success in popular music in the 1930s and the 1940s, some women’s fusion *kugak* groups’ association with *kisaeng* can be interpreted that they also want to be conspicuously successful in fusion *kugak* as a popular music genre. However, if they overuse the employment of the sexually promoted female images of *kisaeng* without consideration of skillful musicality, the fusion *kugak* groups may cause controversy by promoting an image *kisaeng* as sexual workers rather than as professional entertainers: the audiences would not appreciate the aural elements of fusion *kugak* but rather would focus on the visual implications of female fusion *kugak* performers.
5.0 CONCLUSION

As a cultural phenomenon in contemporary Korea, fusion kugak provides various opportunities to kugak performers. Some male performers experiment with music in fusion kugak genre; some female performers get a job in the field of fusion kugak; and some females affirm their gender identification and create their gender roles through their fusion kugak performances. In this thesis, I attempted to analyze in which ways gender is working within those opportunities of fusion kugak.

Currently, there are about one hundred eighty active fusion kugak groups. Among these groups, women’s groups hold a large majority. That is because, as a national music, traditional kugak has marginalized female performers, even though they have participated in musical activities. This marginalization of female kugak performers resulted from sexism under traditional Korean Confucianism. Also after the westernization, modernization, and industrialization of Korean society in the twentieth century, female kugak performers continued to be excluded from entering the professions of traditional Korean music due to the general bias toward female sexuality. Nonetheless, more women have received kugak education than men. When those women have met with difficulty in working as professional kugak musicians, they have found a new way to make use of their kugak majors in the field of fusion kugak.

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However, since fusion kugak is a cultural phenomenon in the recent Korean society, contemporary social value systems can run within fusion kugak. Gender is included in those systems. As gender is a very new conceptual category in Korean music studies and fusion kugak studies are in the beginning stage, I had to formulate my research for this thesis, as many ethnomusicologists have done, in order to recognize gender in explicating musical cultures. Thus, I attempted to look at “women in fusion kugak,” elucidate “fusion kugak as women’s music,” and then raise/analyze “various gender issues in fusion kugak.” Therefore, this thesis can be the first attempt to recognize gender in explaining fusion kugak as a Korean cultural phenomenon.

First of all, I examined in which ways gender is related with nation in fusion kugak performances and how this relationship is structured in the women’s overseas concerts of fusion kugak. Dasrum and MIJI create the image of Korea by using some symbols of Korean identity in their performances. The Korean identity formed by those women’s fusion kugak groups is, however, not homogenous. It encompasses the traditionality, internationality, and contemporaneity of Korea. Also, throughout Dasrum’s fusion kugak performances in foreign countries, cultural imperialism may be manifested and gendered restructuring of social spheres can occur.

Second, I analyzed how the issues of motherhood and mothering in women’s fusion kugak groups’ musical pieces and musical activities enable female fusion kugak performers to position themselves and to determine their roles. When dealing with the idea of “mother” as a theme of their music, Dasrum’s performers use poems as lyrics, in which a female narrator misses her mother or thinks of her relationship with her mother. Thus, their fusion kugak dealing with mothers talks about the relationship between mothers and daughters, that is, the relationship between women’s various experiences beyond projecting women’s identity or experience onto
mothers. Dasrum’s members position themselves and determine their roles as motherly educators through kugak education for children, influenced by discourse on Korean motherhood associated with education. Also, as their fusion kugak performances for cultural minorities can be interpreted as a way of mothering, those fusion kugak performances can redefine and expand the concept of mothering in Korean society.

Lastly, I discussed female sexuality in women’s fusion kugak groups’ performances. Kisaeng, traditional Korean female entertainers, should be drawn upon for this discussion in that their social status has caused controversy about sexuality of female musicians. Popular prejudice against kisaeng, kugak, and female kugak performers has influenced Dasrum and Cheongarang’s self-identification and fettered their image making in their fusion kugak performances. However, as reillumination of kisaeng’s role as professional entertainers is changing the general population’s negative perception of and discourse on kisaeng little by little, some women’s fusion kugak groups, including MIJI, are more willing to employ popular images of kisaeng represented in mass in order to gain more popularity as fusion kugak performers. Also, since fusion kugak is classified as a popular music genre, MIJI uses K-pop girl groups’ visualization strategy for more effective advertisement and sale of fusion kugak. However, unlike K-pop girl groups’ visualization and sexualization, which is led by their employers, MIJI’s members are not only aware of the association between the female body and image but are also exercising female agency in exploiting this association.

Throughout this thesis, I made efforts to examine fusion kugak as a Korean cultural phenomenon in terms of gender. As stated above, my work is the first attempt in Korean fusion kugak studies. However, this work needs to be supplemented in that I researched only three women’s fusion kugak groups, Dasrum, MIJI, and Cheongarang, among many others working in
the field; and I looked at only female fusion kugak performers without consideration of male fusion kugak performers and the audiences. Also, I should do more in-depth research on fusion kugak and its relationship with the Korean music industry, marketing strategies, roles of Korean government sponsorship, development of mass media such as the Internet, and so forth because this type of research will identify the gaping holes in both the study of ethnomusicology in Korea and Korean music studies. Nevertheless, reading this thesis, one will be able to obtain a new but essential perspective in understanding of the fusion kugak genre as part of Korean musical culture.
APPENDIX A

PICTURES OF TRADITIONAL KOREAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS CITED IN THIS THESIS

A.1  MOST COMMONLY USED KUGAK INSTRUMENTS IN FUSION KUGAK

Figure 35. Ajaeng. Photo credit: threemusic.com.

Figure 36. Changgo. Photo credit: emuseum.go.kr.
Figure 37. *Ching*. Photo credit: [ehistory.korea.kr](http://ehistory.korea.kr).

Figure 38. *Chǒlhyǒngǔm*. Photo credit: [www.bscf.or.kr](http://www.bscf.or.kr).

Figure 39. *Haegǔm*. Photo credit: [gugak.go.kr](http://gugak.go.kr).
Figure 40. Kayagǔm. Photo credit: musicmeca.com.

Figure 41. Kkwaenggwari. Photo credit: eh history. korea.kr.

Figure 42. Kǒmungo. Photo credit: emuseum.go.kr.

Figure 43. P’iri. Photo credit: www.hojuk.co.kr.
Figure 44. *Puk*. Photo credit: ehistory.korea.kr.

Figure 45. *Saenghwang*. Photo credit: gugak.go.kr.

Figure 46. *Sogŭm*. Photo credit: emuseum.go.kr.

Figure 47. *Taegŭm*. Photo credit: emuseum.go.kr.
A.2 KUGAK INSTRUMENTS CITED IN THIS THESIS BUT NOT COMMONLY USED IN FUSION KUGAK

Figure 48. Taepyôngso. Photo credit: emuseum.go.kr.

Figure 49. Pipa. Photo credit: http://culturecontent.kr.

Figure 50. Tungso. Photo credit: http://emuseum.go.kr.
APPENDIX B

THE LIST OF MEMBERS OF WOMEN’S FUSION KUGAK GROUPS

B.1 CHEONGARANG

Current members (ten members)

Shin-Won Moon (music director and composition)
Jiyŏn Chung (*kayagŭm*)
Hye-rim Choi (*ajaeng*)
Nayŏng Shin (*haegŭm*)
So-yeon Yu (*taegŭm*)
Na-Yeon Ju (*sogŭm*)
Jihye Lee (*p’iri*)
Han-na Kim, Kyung-jin Park (*changgo* and percussion)
Mun-ju Lee (synthesizer)

B.2 DASRUM

The 1st incarnation (eight members)
Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Aeri Chi, Ŭnjin Kim, Yuna Lee (kayagŭm)
Sŏnok Kim (kŏmungo)
Yŏngja In (haegŭm)
Chenam Pyŏn (taegŭm)
Yunhi Kye (p’iri)

The 2nd incarnation (six members)

Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Sukyŏng Park, Ŭnjin Kim (kayagŭm)
Kilsun Chung, Yŏngja In (haegŭm)
Chenam Pyŏn (taegŭm)

The 3rd incarnation (six members)

Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Chiyŏn Ryu (kayagŭm)
Junhi Kim (haegŭm)
Hyŏngsŏn Kim (taegŭm)
Hyŏnwŏn Park (p’iri)
Chŏnghyŏn Yu (synthesizer)

The 4th incarnation (ten members)

Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Yuhwe Cho, Suil Choi, Yŏngsin Lee (kayagŭm)
Sŏnhi Lee (kŏmungo)
Aera Kim (haegŭm)
Hyŏnsuk Kim (taegŭm)
Yong-mi Kwon (taegŭm and sogŭm)
Yunhi Kye (p’iri)
Chŏnghyŏn Yu (synthesizer)

The 5th incarnation (nine members)

Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Yŏngsin Lee, Yangsuk Moon (kayagŭm)
Aejin Kang (ajaeng)
Aera Kim (haegŭm)
Kiwŏn Chae (taegŭm)
Yong-mi Kwon (taegŭm and sogŭm)
Hyejin Kim (changgo)
Chŏnghyŏn Yu (synthesizer)

The 6th incarnation (nine members)

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Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Kayŏng Ha, Yŏngsin Lee (kayagŭm)
Kyung-ja Oh (kŏmungo)
Aejin Kang (ajaeng)
Aera Kim (haegŭm)
Kiwŏn Chae (taegŭm)
Yong-mi Kwon (taegŭm and sogŭm)
Hyejin Kim (changgo)

The 7th incarnation (thirteen members)

Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Kayŏng Ha, Yŏngsin Lee (kayagŭm)
Kyung-ja Oh (kŏmungo)
Aejin Kang (ajaeng)
Ju-hee Cho, Chŏnga Hong (haegŭm)
Jung-ah Kang (taegŭm)
Yong-mi Kwon (taegŭm and sogŭm)
Ju-hee Kang (p’iri and taepyŏngso)
Hyo-young Kim (p’iri and saenghwang)
Han-na Kim, Hyejin Kim (changgo and percussion)

The 8th incarnation (twelve members)

Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Shin-Won Moon (arrangement and synthesizer)
Min-young Kim (kayagŭm)
Kyung-ja Oh (kŏmungo)
Jung-ha Lim (ajaeng)
Ju-hee Cho (haegŭm)
Jung-ah Kang (taegŭm)
Yong-mi Kwon (taegŭm and sogŭm)
Ju-hee Kang (p’iri and taepyŏngso)
Hyo-young Kim (p’iri and saenghwang)
Han-na Kim, Hyejin Kim (changgo and percussion)

The 9th incarnation (fourteen members)

Eun Sun Yu (director, composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Shin-Won Moon (arrangement and synthesizer)
An-ji Song (composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Min-young Kim (kayagŭm)
Jung-ha Lim (ajaeng)
Ju-hee Cho, Hye-na Pang (haegŭm)
Myeong-hui Kim, Yong-mi Kwon (taegŭm and sogŭm)
Hyeong-rye Park (sogŭm)
Chuhi Kang, Hyoyŏng Kim (*p*’iri and *taepyŏngso*)
Han-na Kim, Kyŏngjin Park (*changgo* and percussion)

The 10th incarnation (thirteen members)

Shin-Won Moon (director, arrangement and synthesizer)
An-ji Song (composition, arrangement, and synthesizer)
Min-young Kim (*ka*yagŭm*)
Jung-ha Lim (*ajaeng*)
Ju-hee Cho, Hyena Pang (*haegŭm*)
Myeong-hui Kim, Yong-mi Kwon (*taegŭm* and *sogŭm*)
Hyeong-rye Park (*sogŭm*)
Ju-hee Kang, Yuna Lee (*p*’iri and *taepyŏngso*)
Han-na Kim, Kyung-jin Park (*changgo* and percussion)

B.3 MIJI

First members (October 2008-June 2011) (eight members)

Bo Ram Jin, Young Hyun Lee (*ka*yagŭm*)
Kyung Hyun Lee, Ji Hye Park (*haegŭm*)
Ji In Nam (*taegŭm*)
Ja Yong Sin (*taegŭm* and *sogŭm*)
Hee Sun Shin (*p*’iri, *saenghwang*, and *taepyŏngso*)
Bo Sung Kim (*minyo* and vocal)

Current members (five members)

Young Hyun Lee (*ka*yagŭm*)
Kyung Hyun Lee (*haegŭm*)
Ji In Nam (*taegŭm*)
Ja Yong Sin (*taegŭm* and *sogŭm*)
Hee Sun Shin (*p*’iri, *saenghwang*, and *taepyŏngso*)
APPENDIX C

THE LIST OF AUDIO AND VIDEO MATERIALS OF DASRUM AND MIJI


Dasrum. *Dasrum in South-America.* 2006, DVD.


MIJI. *Tell Me Your Wish.* [http://channel.pandora.tv/channel/video.ptv?ch_userid=seo0m&prgid=37088653](http://channel.pandora.tv/channel/video.ptv?ch_userid=seo0m&prgid=37088653).
MIJI. *The Challenge*. 2009, CD.


APPENDIX D

THE LOG OF CHEONGARANG, DASRUM, AND MIJI’S PERFORMANCES IN 2011

D.1 CHEONGARANG

Samcheonggak’s Premium Lunch Concert “JAMI,” March 1-June 29, September 5-December 28 (every Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday), Ilhwadang (Samcheonggak).

Samcheonggak’s Saturday Morning Concert with Tea “The Fresh Morning at the Samcheonggak,” January 30-December 31, 2011 (every Saturday), Chunchoodang, Chungchundang, Ilhwadang, Norimadang, and Yoohajung (Samcheonggak).

(Joint performances)

Samcheonggak’s a Warm Lunch Concert “JAMI Winter Story,” January 8-29 (every Saturday), February 6-27 (every Sunday), 2011, Ilhwadang (Samcheonggak).

Samcheonggak’s Seasonal Customers Concert for New Year “Happy Songs on New Year’s Day,” February 3-4, 2011, Ilhwadang (Samcheonggak).


D.2 DASRUM

Korean Culture in China, March 31, 2011, Korean Cultural Center in Peking, China.
African Cultural Festival, July 1, 2011, Theater Yong (National Museum of Korea).
*Changjak Kugak* Dedicating to Dasrum, September 20, 2011, Mapo Art Center.
Concert of Traditional Korean Music Based on Archaic Scores, November 10, 2011, National Gugak Center.

D.3 MIJI

New Year Concert for Smaller Enterprise Association, February 9, 2011, National Gugak Center.
KBS Happy FM Concert, April 16, 2011, KBS Hall.
Coffee Concert, April 20, 2011, Incheon Culture and Arts Center.
Ulsan Soeburi Festival, April 22, 2011, Ulsan Bukgu Plaza.
Kugak Festival in the Early Summer Night, June 9, 2011, Jukjeon Band Hell.
Concert for the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympic Games, June 16, 2011, Seoul Plaza.
Closing Concert for the 57th Baekje Cultural Festival October 9, 2011, Riverside of Gongju Kumgang River.
The 83rd Cheongju City Korean Music Orchestra Concert, December 20, 2011, Cheongju Arts Center.
APPENDIX E

THE LIST OF THE INTERVIEWS WITH WOMEN’S FUSION KUGAK GROUPS

Cheongarang in Samcheonggak (3 Daesagwanro, Seongbuk-Gu, Seoul 136-823, Korea) on July 29, 2011

Dasrum in Mapo Art Center (28 Daeheungro 20 Gil, Mapo-Gu, Seoul 121-809, Korea) on August 2, 2011

Joo, Jong-woo (General Manager of MIJI) in Mask Entertainment (75-1 Gangnam-daero 126 Gil, Gangnam-Gu, Seoul 135-012, Korea) on August 9, 2011

MIJI - in Mask Entertainment on August 9, 2011

Moon, Shin-Won (Music Director of Cheongarang and Dasrum) in Samcheonggak on June 22, 2011

Park, Seung-won (Music Producer and Chief of Korean Traditional Music Department in Loen Entertainment; Former General Manager of MIJI) in Loen Entertainment (17 Teheranro 103 Gil, Gangnam-Gu, Seoul 135-882, Korea) on August 9, 2011

Yu, Eun Sun (Director of Division of Music Research in National Gugak Center; Former Director of Dasrum) in National Gugak Center (2364 Nambusunhwanno, Seocho-Gu, Seoul 137-070, Korea) on August 2, 2011


155 In the case of that the publishers do not provide English titles of books and articles written in Korean, I romanize Korean titles and put their English translation in parentheses. However, I do not italicize the romanization of the articles’ title.


Bibliography entry. Single-spaced within entries. Usually ‘hanging’ from the second line on, like this.
NON-ACADEMIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brochures

Websites
Kugak Hanmadang (a place of traditional Korean music). http://www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/sisa/kookak.
Vogue (Korea). [http://vogue.co.kr](http://vogue.co.kr).

Yong Woo Kim. [http://soriggun.co.kr](http://soriggun.co.kr).

### Audio and Video Materials\(^{156}\)

Beatles’ *Let it Be* and *Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da* by the Sookmyung Gayageum Orchestra. [http://youtube.be/tb8Y6iyFWXg](http://youtube.be/tb8Y6iyFWXg).

*Chŏlhyŏngŭm* performance. [http://youtube.be/YTrVrM6-kF4](http://youtube.be/YTrVrM6-kF4).


*Kugak Hanmadang* featuring fusion *kugak* (Gongmyung). [http://www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/sisa/kookak/vod/1696985_960.html](http://www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/sisa/kookak/vod/1696985_960.html).\(^{157}\)

*Kugak Hanmadang* featuring fusion *kugak* (haegŭm). [http://www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/sisa/kookak/vod/1724390_960.html](http://www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/sisa/kookak/vod/1724390_960.html).\(^{158}\)

*Kugak Hanmadang* featuring fusion *kugak* (kayagŭm). [http://www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/sisa/kookak/vod/1712474_960.html](http://www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/sisa/kookak/vod/1712474_960.html).\(^{159}\)


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\(^{156}\) Some linked videos may not be seen if one accesses them from the IP addresses out of Korea.

\(^{157}\) Korean site requiring registration and login to see the video

\(^{158}\) Do.

\(^{159}\) Do.

\(^{160}\) Do.

\(^{161}\) Korean site