

Spring 1-1-2012

# The Making of Modernity in South Korea: A Discourse Analysis of Jazz in the Mass Media from the 1920s to 2011

Donghyup Ryu

University of Colorado at Boulder, ryudonghyup@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholar.colorado.edu/jour\\_gradetds](https://scholar.colorado.edu/jour_gradetds)



Part of the [Journalism Studies Commons](#), and the [Korean Studies Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Ryu, Donghyup, "The Making of Modernity in South Korea: A Discourse Analysis of Jazz in the Mass Media from the 1920s to 2011" (2012). *Journalism & Mass Communication Graduate Theses & Dissertations*. 5.  
[https://scholar.colorado.edu/jour\\_gradetds/5](https://scholar.colorado.edu/jour_gradetds/5)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by Journalism & Mass Communication Program at CU Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journalism & Mass Communication Graduate Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of CU Scholar. For more information, please contact [cuscholaradmin@colorado.edu](mailto:cuscholaradmin@colorado.edu).

THE MAKING OF MODERNITY IN SOUTH KOREA:  
A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF JAZZ IN THE MASS MEDIA FROM THE  
1920s TO 2011

by

DONGHYUP RYU

B.A., Sogang University, 1999

M.A., Sogang University, 2002

A dissertation submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
The School of Journalism and Mass Communication

2012

This dissertation entitled:  
The Making of Modernity in South Korea:  
A Discourse Analysis of Jazz in the Mass Media from the 1920s to 2011  
written by Donghyup Ryu  
has been approved for the School of Journalism and Mass Communication

---

Shu-Ling Chen Berggreen, Committee Chair

---

Andrew Calabrese, Committee Member

---

Hun Shik Kim, Committee Member

---

Brenda Romero, Committee Member

---

Lisa Penaloza, Committee Member

Date \_\_\_\_\_

The final copy of this dissertation has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

**Ryu, Donghyup (Ph.D., Mass Communication)**

**The Making of Modernity in South Korea:  
A Discourse Analysis of Jazz in the Mass Media from the 1920s to 2011**

**Dissertation directed by Associate Professor Shu-Ling Chen Berggreen**

**ABSTRACT**

This dissertation explores how the discourse of modernity played a critical role in creating the meanings of jazz in the topography of South Korean popular culture. Based upon a discourse analysis of Korean media coverage about jazz from the 1920s to 2011, this study examines how jazz as a component of US popular culture shaped the social meanings of modernity in Korea. Before delving into an analysis of jazz discourse in Korea, the study explains the historical development of jazz by reviewing published literature including books, journal articles and other historical texts. Modernity and post-colonialist theories are suggested as two key concepts in understanding jazz's cultural status and influences on contemporary Korean culture. This paper reveals three prominent discourses: the modern lifestyle discourse, the authenticity seeking discourse and, last but not least, the Koreanization of jazz discourse. These three discourses coordinated to enhance modernity as their overarching interest: modernity. Throughout the analysis, the collision of three discourses made the cultural meaning of jazz multi-layered.

In addition, this dissertation examines the dynamics between tradition and modernity. In the process of receiving jazz as a representation of Western culture, multiple collisions happened between Korean tradition and Western modernity. At the center of this research is an investigation of how such conflicts arose, were negotiated, and became legitimate. A plethora of discourses on jazz appearing in mass media works as an access point to observe the struggles for

hegemony among different, often conflicting social values. This research examines the process by which jazz acquired, changed and reproduced socio-cultural meanings in South Korea. It probes into the process of social and cultural meanings of jazz and how these have been changed and reshaped by Korean contexts. Modernity, tradition and post-coloniality as theoretical background have been drawn upon in this dissertation. Based on these concepts, this dissertation investigates how the social perception of jazz is constructed and how it responds to social reality.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my profound gratitude to my advisor, Shu-Ling Chen Berggreen for her guidance during the whole process of finishing this dissertation and for all her mentoring and support throughout my PhD program. Without her I could not have successfully finished my degree. I am very thankful for Andrew Calabrese who provided his theoretical insights into globalization and political economy of cultural policy of the US. I would like to thank Hunsik Kim for sharing his invaluable insights and experiences as a Korean audience of jazz. Lisa Penaloza deserves much of the credit for investigating Korean jazz from the perspective of consumer research. Brenda Romero also offered thoughtful insights for this dissertation and helped me form a bridge between music and communication study. I also would like to thank Martha Laforge for helping me deal with administrative issues related to this dissertation with her warm heart. My gratitude also goes to the Journalism and Mass Communication program at the University of Colorado at Boulder for the support in helping me improve upon this dissertation.

I would also like to thank my doctoral colleagues, Curtis Coats, Rob Peaslee, Mark Finney and Elizabeth Franko. I will remember our time together as precious moments. Finally, I gratefully thank my wife, Hyunjeong Min for her limitless patience and emotional support throughout this dissertation and our life journey together. Without her I cannot imagine finally finishing this dissertation.

## CONTENTS

<b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: JAZZ AS MODERNITY DISCOURSE.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAZZ IN KOREA .....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: MODERNITY, POSTCOLONIALISM AND COLONIAL MODERNITY IN KOREA.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5. JAZZ DISCOURSES IN MEDIA.....</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION: JAZZ AND MODERNITY .....</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>124</b>

## FIGURES

<b>Figure 1. The Trend of News Articles about Jazz.....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>Figure 2. The Relationship among Three Discourses .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>Figure 3. Three Pillars of Modernity .....</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>Figure 4. The Influence of Postcolonial Context .....</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>Figure 5. The Configuration of the Three Discourses and the Concept of Modernity.....</b>	<b>113</b>

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: JAZZ AS MODERNITY DISCOURSE

### Introduction

I happened to talk about my musical taste with a new friend. At that time, I was just wallowing in jazz music so I told him that I was crazy about jazz. To my surprise, he exclaimed, “I did not know that you were from a wealthy family.” Since I did not say anything about my family, his judgment about my personal background was solely based on my musical taste. According to his classification, jazz was positioned at the upper level of the hierarchy of musical genres in terms of the socio-economic status of its audience members. In his mind, a person who enjoyed listening to jazz had a Westernized, modern lifestyle that included drinking wine, playing golf, and being sensitive to up-to-date fashion. Even so, I did not have that kind of lifestyle of a jazz listener according to his pre-conception. In other words, he was also judging my family background based on the common perceptions of South Korean (used interchangeably with “Korean” in this work) society about jazz. Later I came to realize that other Korean people also shared this pre-conception of jazz. In Korea, jazz is generally considered to be a cultural product that represents and symbolizes a musical taste for the upper middle class. Jazz as a genre of popular music was working as one of the important props that people used to construct the identity of the modern self, as modern consumers use their possessions to express their identity (Belk, 1988). Audiences for Korean popular music were, as Lull (1987) has suggested, paying

particular attention to the social and cultural surroundings that bear upon the context of listening to music, as well as to the music itself.

Through an incidental conversation with a friend, I realized that jazz takes a special position in the tapestry of musical tastes in Korea. Despite the humble origin of jazz as music of the African-American working class, jazz in Korea could acquire as its image, the crystallization of modernity and a higher grade of music that only the upper middle class able to appreciate partly because the music originated in America, the leading country of modernization. To Korean people who experienced the oppressive Japanese colonial domination and the Korean War, the United States was regarded as a country far more advanced than Korea (Yoo, 2001) and therefore American music occupied a far more advanced position in the hierarchy of different popular music genres.

The way that American jazz has acquired high status in Korean popular culture is so multi-faceted that it is challenging to unravel the whole process in this dissertation. Nevertheless, analyzing media discourse about jazz can provide us with a way to observe the cultural trajectory of jazz music that was experienced during a turbulent time in Korean history. This dissertation examines the process by which jazz acquired, changed and reproduced socio-cultural meanings in South Korea. I do not have any intention of discussing the issue of pursuing the authenticity of American jazz in Korea. This study acknowledges that Korean jazz has its own unique qualities based on particular Korean cultural contexts, just as American jazz was created by combining cultural elements of Europe and Africa (Ward & Burns, 2000). Instead, I probe into the process of social and cultural meanings of jazz and how these have been changed and reshaped by Korean contexts. The influence of various mass media is central to this discussion because mass media play a crucial role in shaping social perceptions of jazz in the realm of public discourse. In

order to analyze mass media discourses about jazz in newspapers and magazines, I draw upon modernity, tradition and post-coloniality as the theoretical background for this study. These concepts collide or coordinate to construct socio-cultural meanings in the public discourses of jazz. Based on these concepts, this dissertation explores how the social perception of jazz is constructed and how it responds to social reality.

### **Class and Culture**

The relationship between class and culture has been investigated as one of the important issues in the tradition of “cultural studies.” Previous research has established that class has a strong explanatory power for understanding various cultural phenomena such as the forming of individual taste. Indeed, the impact of class on shaping jazz and jazz audiences in Korea cannot be ignored in understanding this cultural phenomenon. Pierre Bourdieu is one of the representative scholars who claimed a high correlation between class and its culture. Bourdieu’s works mainly focused on how the power of a particular social class works in the field of culture in order to reproduce its dominant status (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993). As Bourdieu (1984) pointed out, different class cultures were implicated by different cultural tastes in societies. He analyzed the social structure through which the dominant class of capitalist society maintains its own class status by utilizing cultural capital. It does not seem desirable to apply directly the insights based on the analysis of cultural tastes in the context of French culture for understanding the shaping of cultural taste in Korea. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that in Korean society, people use distinct cultural tastes to demarcate their own class from others, as do the French. Likewise, Paul Willis (1977) also demonstrates the connection between

class and culture through showing how English working class culture is reproduced in the youth culture of that class.

One of Bourdieu's important insights is that social classification through distinction is arbitrary rather than necessary in nature. There is no universal distinction between high culture and low culture. "The ideology of natural taste owes its plausibility and its efficacy to the fact that...it naturalizes real differences, converting differences in the mode of acquisition of culture into differences of nature" (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu is interested not so much in differences and distinctions among different classes as in the reproduction of social structure through the practice of making such distinctions. According to Bourdieu (1984), "cultural consumption [is] predisposed...to fulfill a social function of legitimating social difference" (p. 7). The hierarchy of taste reflects the hierarchy of social classes, and the former justifies and reinforces the latter. Despite Bourdieu's insightful contribution for understanding social aspects of individual tastes, his analysis also has some limitations due to its relying too much on the concept of economic class.

While Bourdieu's analysis focused on "what" different classes consume in their everyday lives, Richard Peterson (1992) was interested in the more complex relationship between class and its related cultural consumption. He concentrated on "how" different classes consume culture. Instead of the difference between elite culture and popular culture, he paid more attention to the difference between "omnivorous" and "univorous" consumption patterns. He discovered that the upper class has a tendency to understand and consume a variety of cultural tastes. On the contrary, the working class tends to consume only a particular type of culture rather than expanding their consumption across diverse cultural products. Peterson's research contributed to revealing the complexity of the relationship between class and cultural tastes

beyond the determinant role of class membership. Although the consumption of and tastes for music can be understood in terms of people's belonging to particular classes as Bourdieu demonstrated, such explanation cannot capture the whole picture of the social aspects of individuals' cultural tastes.

Showing the validity of Bourdieu's theory, American music, jazz in particular, has a tendency to be enjoyed in Korean society by upper- or middle-class people. However, because of special historical events that Korea has undergone, musical tastes are more than the demarcation of class cultures in Korean society. Explaining the consumption pattern of jazz in Korea solely by class culture would be too far-stretched considering the unique historical contexts of colonization, the Korean War and the division of Korea into North and South. In the shaping of jazz and the discourses around it, a multitude of forces, including class, colonialism and modernity exerted their own influences over Korean society. Because of its strong relationship with modernity, jazz ended up taking a higher place in the Korean popular music scene. For this historical reason, I argue that jazz can work as a window through which a researcher can look into the process whereby different social forces encroach upon the construction of individual tastes in Korean culture under the influence of audacious modernity. On account of its crucial role in the process, the discourse of modernity cannot be ignored in understanding how the cultural lives of Korean people have been shaped. A possible reason for the acceptance of jazz in secluded Korea since the late 19th century is that modernity provides Koreans with a foundation for Western culture.

## Modernity and Postcolonialism

In the history of modern Korea, the influence of modernity extends further than it may seem to many. In the 20th century, Korea underwent thorough cultural modernization as well as political and economic modernization. Jazz, a product of Western culture and civilization, played an important role in spreading cultural modernity in Korean society. The concept of modernity must be scrutinized in order to understand the socio-cultural meanings of jazz in Korea. The values related to the image of jazz have been closely associated with modernized ways of living. In the 1920s, jazz was introduced into Korean society as a music genre enjoyed by modern girls and boys in particular becoming the fashion of the age. Korean newspapers and magazines of this era produced articles about modern girls and boys; in these articles jazz was often mentioned as a new music. A news article in 1934 describes how modern girls and boys of that era reveled in jazz:

“Hey, boy! Bring a phonograph!” The *giseang* (Korean geisha) is snapping her gum. A Yankee’s jazz song sounds as if it flows out from the flexing spine that plants the *giseang’s beoseon* (traditional Korean socks) clad foot on the floor of the room. As a percussive rhythm emerges from the gum-chewing *giseang’s* mouth, everyone is racing to dance, hugging each other. It is a small paradise with a mad crowd (S. Ahn, 1934).

The above excerpt describes young people who dance to jazz. Such a scene was very new and surprising to many people, and news articles describing or criticizing the cultural transformation of girls and boys during that era appeared quite often in newspapers and magazines. Among the people who were enthusiastic in embracing modernity, jazz gained a great popularity and a reputation for hipness. The excerpt above shows the atmosphere of the 1930s, when people were fanatic about new technologies and new cultural experiences.

Technological development driven by expanding modernity played a critical part in making Korean popular music prosper. The conditions for the dissemination of popular music can be inferred through the quantitative distribution of phonograph and radio. The number of radios found in households was 20,565 in 1932, and that of phonographs was close to 300,000 in 1935 (C. Kim, 2003; T. S. Kim, 2005). With the increasing number of phonographs and radios, many people who came to listen to jazz and the jazz music itself created a great sensation as a phenomenon of the era. “When jazz began to be popular in the late 1920s, the so-called ‘jazz phenomenon’ had a consistent flow with modern phenomena of modern urban culture” (J. S. Kim, 1999). Although there were negative opinions about jazz because people believed it would destroy tradition and stimulate frivolous and impulsive behaviors, it was also true that jazz was introduced as a fashion of the new age. Korean society received the Western values as a shock of abrupt and drastic changes. While early news articles about jazz had somewhat negative tones in their depiction, positive articles increased as time went by. The changes in the tone of news articles were caused partly by the changes in people’s perception of modernity. As Korean society started to embrace modernity as an everyday reality, the perceptions about products and cultures considered “modern” began to turn positive.

Modernity was underscored as an important social value in the 1920s, when jazz was introduced into Korea. In this period, girls and boys who actively consumed Western goods such as radios, phonographs, Western clothing and films, participated enthusiastically in the phenomena of sudden shifts in Korean culture. The term “*modun*” (modern) entered the popular jargon, and fierce social debates on modernity proliferated. Modernity emerged in Korea in a different, more complex form than it has developed internally in Western countries. Although the history of the voluntary reception of modernity existed in late 19th century Korea, it was during

the era of Japanese colonialism that comprehensive modernity was introduced to Korea. In addition to the fact that modernity's formative period overlaps with the era of colonial domination, similarities of race and culture between the colonizer and the colonized made the process of shaping modernity, which is closely related to the conflicts between tradition and modernity, more complicated (K.-i. Kim, 2003). Historically speaking, Korea culturally maintained a superior position to Japan, passing down advanced products of Korean civilization to her eastern neighbor, which added layers to the multitude of influences that constituted the modernity concept. Therefore, considering Korea's superiority over Japan, it was a massive shock for Korean people to be dominated by Japan. Many Koreans associated reasons for colonialism with the fact that Japan accepted the modernity of the West earlier than Korea. As a result, modernity was an object of aspiration and Korea had to catch up with the flow of modernity in order to be liberated from colonialism. To achieve modernity, tradition was considered something to be eradicated, and this created conflicts that continue until now. To make things more complicated, not everyone took the same attitude toward Western modernity. While some advocated active complete acceptance of modernity as advanced as that found in Western civilizations, others rejected modernity because they regarded it as representing forced changes by the Japanese colonial government, introduced to make domination over Korea easier. These social debates, in fact, imply that Korean society fell into confusion in evaluating and receiving modernity. Korean society accepted modernity in the varied forms and means, and so multi-faceted that it could not be defined based on only one perspective.

Without understanding the conditions created by the conflicts between tradition and modernity, the complex process of shaping jazz cannot be grasped. Jazz was a genre of music that was introduced in Korea in the middle of the sharp controversies discussed above, and

therefore it is difficult to understand the status and meanings of Korean jazz apart from the concept of modernity. For this reason, understanding modernity should precede the examination of social and cultural meanings of jazz in Korea. Debate on modernity in the colonial age has dominated Korean society ever since, and no subsequent imported Western popular culture has been free from modernity's frame of reference. The complex spectra of social topography formed through modernity provide the key to understanding the phenomena related to jazz in Korea. Despite the explanatory power of the concept of modernity, the Western conceptualization of modernity does not suffice to grasp the socio-cultural particularities of Korea, such as the history of colonialism and its aftermath, including the Korean War that was caused by the Cold War.

Over the last century, as Korea experienced radical modernization from an agricultural to an industrial economy, Western technology and culture overwhelmed Korea. While the knowledge and culture of the West helped achieve successful modernization, many Koreans, at the same time, felt a certain nostalgia for the Korean traditional culture that was falling into oblivion (Yi, 2002). As a backlash to the phenomenon that the unique Korean identity was disappearing, a movement to revive Korean values started to emerge. The logic of applying Eurocentric modernity concepts to non-Western countries assumes the universality of the experiences of modernity. As a result, this logic is associated with the problem of colonial modernity because colonialism attempts to uniformly transplant modernity, which is rooted in European experiences, into non-Western countries. In turn, assuming the universality of the European experience justifies colonialism in that colonists would improve on the primitive state of their colonies (Ji, 2002). Without considering the intricate contexts linked to the active

reception or rejection of modernity, this dissertation cannot avoid the limitation of oversimplifying the processes shaping jazz in Korea.

In order to narrow the discrepancy between West-centered modernity and modernity from the vantage point of Korean people, a postcolonial perspective is necessary. Although Korea became liberated from Japanese colonialism after 1945 and grew as an independent industrial country, it is still under the military, diplomatic, and cultural influences of the US (S. Kang, 2008). Because of this socio-cultural context of Korea, American popular culture could be easily introduced to and received by the Korean public without any serious resistance. Postcolonial theories advocated by Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak provide the foundation for the colonial intellectuals' transition of epistemology in understanding the influence of empire on the colonized. In other words, postcolonial theories shift the paradigm of the colonialism from the perspective of the colonist to the colonized. Postcolonialist research is still in progress because it is necessary to investigate colonial discourse that exerts its influence on the people of a colony even after political liberation. Therefore, it is expected that intricate subjectivities in relation to jazz can be better understood by incorporating the postcolonial perspective into this discussion. Postcolonialism can provide a useful perspective for examining the influence of empires on the cultures of past colonies and their resistance to overcoming coloniality. Thus, it is useful even now when the boundaries of countries are being blurred by globalization. In this dissertation, I examined the intricate dynamics of power embedded in the meanings of jazz in Korea by deconstructing West-centered concepts of modernity drawing on postcolonialism. I expected that a discussion of postcolonialism would suggest a valuable foundation for identifying and evaluating the embedded meanings and their influences on Korean people as they

have received the popular cultures of the West and established them in Korean popular cultural scenes.

### **Jazz, Media and Society**

It is important to investigate the role that mass media played in this process because mass media are one of the most important forces for diffusing certain ideas and discourses in a society. It is not feasible to discuss the formation of meanings of jazz in a Korean context without examining the role of mass media in disseminating and reproducing such meanings. Among various media, television played a critical role in constructing the popular image of jazz. For instance, in one scene of a miniseries drama, a gorgeous young man who has recently come back from studying in the United States improvises free jazz with his saxophone in a jam session at an American-style jazz bar. The direct lighting glares off the saxophone as the sound blares from the stage. Female audience members in the jazz bar enthusiastically applaud the exotic performance. This is the description of a scene from the Korean miniseries drama *Saranggeul Goodae Poomanei* (My Love in Your Arms), which was broadcast by the *Munhwa* Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) and achieved an audience rating of 45.1% at its highest popularity in 1994. This drama series not only enjoyed high ratings, but also ignited popular interest in jazz in Korea. Even though the jazz-playing scene in the drama was based on popular perceptions of jazz in the mid-1990s, the above description explains the role that jazz plays in contemporary Korean society and how the general public understands jazz as an object of aspiration and exotic fantasy. Newspapers and magazines also distribute the same concept of jazz, making it an object of desire among audiences.

Besides mass media, educational institutions also took advantage of the sudden popularity of jazz. The explosive growth of the jazz audience could be inferred through the increasing number of schools teaching jazz. There were only two universities where students could learn jazz in South Korea in the mid-1990s, but currently 35 universities offer jazz studies through their Applied Music departments. Although jazz has remained a minor musical genre in the minds of South Korean audiences, it has garnered numerous jazz musicians through educating students at universities or other private music institutes. Moreover, the number of jazz festivals, as well as the size of these events, has been continuously growing since the festivals' inception in the mid-2000s. Because of the unprecedented success of jazz festivals, for the first time jazz began to attract attention from mainstream Korean audiences. In particular, the *Gapyung Jara* Island Jazz Festival acquired an international reputation after becoming one of the more prosperous music festivals in the world. It attracted around 188,000 fans in 2011 and the number of visitors from other Asian countries is on the increase. Jazz festivals have been booming in the last decade and they have constituted a new field for music consumption in Korea where hip-hop, dance music and ballads dominate the popular music scene. As the base of jazz performers and audiences expanded, the social implications of jazz started to get more attention. Since around 2000, when jazz music scenes started to be established in various venues, jazz has been growing and becoming constructed as an independent music genre in Korea.

Historically, however, jazz has not been popular and continues to be a music genre that appeals to a small, enthusiastic audience despite the fact that jazz was imported earlier than other popular genres. Rock and folk, which were only imported from the United States since the 1960s, have grown into popular musical genres. Even though the growth of jazz as a music genre is slow in South Korea, jazz is not unfamiliar to the Korean general public. The advertising

industry has frequently exploited jazz as background music in television or radio commercials that sell fancy innovative products such as cell phones, refrigerators or other electronic appliances. It is notable that jazz in Korea is widely associated with a Westernized, liberal, progressive, cosmopolitan, or upper-middle class lifestyle. Because of this correlation, jazz provides numerous instances for individuals to express their cultural sophistication and superiority. Drawing on such public sentiments about jazz, the Korean music industry produced a variety of jazz anthologies under the title of “Music in famous TV commercials.” For these reasons, the Korean general public has developed a familiarity with jazz without having distinguished it as an independent musical genre. In this way, jazz has occupied the position of “the music of Western modernity.” The aura originating from such images helped jazz to take a higher position in the hierarchy of musical tastes in Korea. That is, the perception of hierarchy between modernity and tradition influenced the shaping of this hierarchy among different musical tastes.

### **Context for This Study**

The perception of jazz expressed by my aforementioned friend, as well as in the milieu of jazz in the miniseries drama, and through frequent usage of jazz as a prop to express a modern, sophisticated lifestyle was dissimilar to my perspective on jazz. My perception of jazz, which was constructed through listening to various jazz classic albums, was somewhat different from the stereotype of my friends and TV drama. For me, jazz music was strongly associated with American black culture. To my surprise, however, my friend did not associate jazz with black culture. How was the meaning of race lost while jazz was being transplanted to Korea? When did

this historical oblivion happen? Stimulated by these curiosities, I realized the ease of losing the social contexts when studying jazz only from the viewpoint of its audiences. I next resorted to a researcher in my efforts to track down the historical trajectory of jazz in Korea. At the same time I, as a media researcher, came to be interested in the roles of various mass media in the process of introducing and converting US jazz into Korean culture. It was almost impossible for jazz, which was from an alien culture, to be chosen, to create meanings, and to penetrate into the consciousness of the general public in Korea merely through the power of the music itself. Since jazz was unpopular, the territories in the consciousness of Korean people into which it could penetrate were very limited. In other words, the construction of particular meanings of jazz could only have been attainable through the interactions among the music and diverse mass media.

Jazz described on television and in newspapers and magazines has a so-called reality effect (Hall, 1982). The media construct particular views of the world, and through continuous interactions with these views, people shape their own perspectives of and orientations toward reality. In effect, communication creates realities (Vavrus, 2002). Jazz offers researchers with a prism with which to view how this multi-faceted modernity is intertwined with imported Western popular culture because jazz bears the traces of history that were left in the early formative period of modernity in Korea. Even now the pattern of introducing Western popular culture has not changed much from the pattern observed in the 1920s. In fact, it is very difficult to find a Western music genre that is not intertwined with modernity. Even Korean traditional music has experienced changes that reflect modernity, resulting in various forms of hybrid music. Among various genres of popular music, however, jazz has one of the strongest associations with the concept of modernity in Korea. In Korea, jazz is regarded as the embodiment of modernity and this propensity is a definite reflection of the use of jazz in

commercials related to products that symbolize innovation, Western lifestyle, or sophisticated tastes. However, the domestication process of jazz music also shows the inherent conflicts that arise when a foreign culture is transplanted into the Korean domestic cultural terrain.

In spite of the importance of jazz as a topic, researches on the reception process of jazz in Korea are insufficient but for a couple of exceptions (Yoo, 2001, 2008). Although the reception of foreign music genres such as rock and folk has attracted a considerable amount of attention from Korean scholars, the reception of jazz has not been studied as extensively. This is because rock and folk were a part of the youth culture in the 1960s and 1970s, an era that represented radical change in the face of traditional Korean culture. Unlike rock and folk that tended to advocate resistance and rejection of commercial culture or conservative social order as represented and embraced by older generations (Park, 2003; S. N. Shin, 2004), jazz has grown in close relationship with commercial culture in Korea. This association with commercial culture is part of the reason that jazz has not received much attention from scholars of Korean popular culture, who have tended to focus on the resistance demonstrated by youth culture as exemplified by their consumption of rock or folk music, and in particular the values represented by these genres, most notably through their lyrics. Jazz in Korea did not demonstrate outstanding drastic changes or resistance; thus, this dissertation examines the gradual changes and inherent conflicts in its development, and investigates the ways that inherent conflicts have been compromised in the process of extending the base of the genre.

Considering the impact that the modernity concept has on the current horizon of Korean popular culture, any attempt to comprehend multi-faceted modernity through jazz discourse would benefit from an understanding of how Korean society receives, accepts, or adapts various Western popular cultural modes in Korea's own social contexts. Moreover, jazz is now gaining a

firmer stand in the Korean popular music scene than before through the rapidly growing numbers of jazz musicians and festivals. Therefore, it is worth investigating the meanings and consequences of constructing jazz discourse in Korean contexts.

### **An Overview of the Following Chapters**

In the next chapter, I describe the historical processes by which jazz was introduced and received in Korean culture by referring to various types of historical literature, including published historical research and news articles since the 1920s. At first, I discuss political and social changes that appeared in the process of receiving modernity, and then the history of how jazz has been received. By doing so, I will be able to identify the influences from Japan and the US in the process of adopting modernity as reflected in the history of Korean popular music.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the theoretical background of this dissertation. In this part, I will show the relevance of modernity theories and postcolonialist theories in understanding the formation of the Korean jazz genre. In analyzing the cultural topography of modern Korea, where Western ideologies take a dominant position, modernity and postcolonialist theories will provide useful tools to navigate the historical complexity of the genre.

Discourse analysis as research methodology is discussed in Chapter 4. Discourse analysis is an appropriate methodology to investigate the historical development of jazz and the intricate power relations around the genre because discourse analysis deals with the analysis of the socio-cultural conditions that enable certain social practices as well as the analysis of the use of language and its meanings.

Chapter 5 suggests findings from analyzing textual data about discourses that were collected from newspapers and magazines from the 1920s to 2011. This chapter demonstrates research findings through the analysis of discourses of jazz as lifestyle, as authentic, and as Korean (Koreanization). Throughout the analysis, Westernized lifestyles have a very close association with jazz. The discourse of authentic jazz collided with the discourse of Koreanizing jazz, and this collision made the cultural meaning of jazz multi-layered.

Theoretical contributions and implications for this research are discussed in the last chapter. As discussed earlier, over the years, critical research has studied cultural tastes based on the concept of class. However, this dissertation shows that not only class affiliation, but also the processes of modernity must be taken into serious consideration as important factors in explaining the shaping of popular culture taste in the Korean context. I also demonstrate how the configuration of different discourses on jazz has contributed to the production of the meaning of modernity in understanding jazz. After discussing the theoretical contribution of this dissertation, I will conclude with suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER 2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAZZ IN KOREA

### Introduction

The original sin is called tradition. In a world where people cannot be valued unless they are innovative, tradition is smothering us. Because of the fact that they carry the music in their being, jazz musicians are under the yoke of tradition, dreaming of a different world. Jazz musicians who do not or cannot dream of a new world are bent on making money by compromising themselves when serving the world as it is. Their descendents will not remember them, and their contemporaries will try to sell their music at a cheap price without any guilt. To jazz musicians, tradition is a wall of contradiction that should be overcome and used as a stepping-stone (Hyunjoon Kim, 2004).

Jazz music was introduced in Korea in the 1920s and it was one of the Western popular music genres imported during the earlier years of forming modernity in Korea. Examining the history of jazz in Korea will inform us of the ways that Western popular music was introduced and established, how Korean people incorporated such music into their lives, and which social meanings were shaped by the music in Korean society. Therefore, reviewing the history of jazz is another way of examining the history of Korean popular music in the 20th century. The unique position of jazz in Korean popular music history was based on the experiences of colonialism and its aftermath.

Before becoming immersed in the history of jazz, it is necessary to understand the political and social context in which jazz was situated. As we investigate the complex political and social history of Korea, we can understand why the meaning of jazz has become multi-layered. Popular culture is not created in a vacuum, but constructed in a social context interacting with

external forces. In the next section, I will offer a brief political and social history of Korea. This is because understanding the structuring of Korean society through modernization and colonization must precede any examination of the meaning of jazz in Korea.

### **Political and Social History of Korea**

Voices for the modernization of Korea (then known as *Chosun*, 1392-1910) started to appear even before the opening of the ports to Western powers. They were embodied in the scholarship that is known as “Practical Learning,” or “*Sirhak*” in the late seventeenth century (K.-B. Lee, 1984). The late *Chosun* dynasty was facing problems from the inherent contradiction of an emerging, functioning system of self-government in full measure and the deterioration into rigidity and reactionary dysfunction of the neo-Confucianism that had been serving the *Chosun* dynasty (M. G. Kang, 1994). In the countryside, poor peasants were being forced to abandon their farms, and landless vagrants were rapidly growing in number, while some peasants grew rich through the practice of larger scale farming. In urban areas, a variety of changes were underway as wholesale merchants amassed wealth through their control of trade and handcraft production, while small merchants faced ruin as prices soared (K.-B. Lee, 1984). Progressive intellectuals, who were strongly critical of neo-Confucian thought and maintained their distance from the ruling clique, emerged under such circumstances. They proposed new ways of reconstructing political, social, economic and cultural systems of *Chosun* reflecting interests of *yangban* (the literati), newly emerged merchants and peasants outside of the ruling clique (M. G. Kang, 1994). The new system emphasized social science, natural science, and technology from the West (K.-B. Lee, 1984).

Since the seventeenth century, a variety of *Sōhak* (Western learning) books published in China came to Korea in the early stages of the transmission of Western culture, which was first introduced in Korea through European Jesuit missionaries residing in *Ming* China (Kang, 1994; K.-B. Lee, 1984). The topics of the books included mathematics, astronomy, and agriculture as well as Catholicism (Kang, 1994). It was the *Sirhak* thinkers who initially took an strong interest in *Sōhak*, and these books had a big influence on the development of their scholarship (M. G. Kang, 1994; K.-B. Lee, 1984). However, Western cultures had only a limited influence on the lives of ordinary people until Korea opened its ports to Western powers (J. S. Kim, 1999). The impact of the *Sirhak* movement on advocating the learning of Western civilization was not small, and it gave birth to some conflicts between *Sirhak* scholars and the ruling class of the *Chosun* dynasty.

Since the early nineteenth century, Western nations have displayed an increasing interest in establishing contact with Korea for trade and other purposes. One after another, Western powers, including Britain, France, America and Russia, came knocking on Korea's doors. Korea also indirectly learned from the fate of China that had undergone continuing clashes with Western nations. These insurrections included the Opium War of 1839-1842, the Arrow Incident in 1856, and others. For this reason, the Korean government rejected Western demands for trade and considered all contact with Westerners to be fraught with peril. Even contact with Japan, which had established relations with Western powers, was looked upon as dangerous; only relations with *Qing* China were permitted. In 1876, however, Korea gave up the isolationist policy, opened three ports to the Western powers, and finally was incorporated into the capitalist world system by concluding the Treaty of *Kanghwa* with Japan. This treaty worked as an impetus for Western powers, such as Britain, America, France, Russia and Germany, to begin trading with

Korea (K.-B. Lee, 1984).

By defeating China in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), Japan secured its dominant position in Korea. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, Japan forced Korea into an agreement that provided for Japanese financial and foreign affairs advisors within the Korean government. Although not stipulated in the agreement, Japanese advisors were also placed in other important government departments. This “rule by advisors” was strengthened under the residency-general system created by the Treaty of 1905 and continued until the Treaty of 1907, which formalized the resident-general’s control over Korea’s internal administration (C. Lee, 1999).

In 1910, Korea finally became annexed and colonized by the Japanese empire. Pillage of national sovereign rights by Japanese imperialism was one of the most tragic events in the course of Korean history. After annexation, Japan exploited Korean people and natural resources and even tried to erase Korean nationality and tradition by falsely claiming that Korea and Japan were the same (Caprio, 2009). During the colonization era, Korean people resisted Japanese imperialism in various ways, such as the March 1st movement, which was a peaceful parade in 1919 to demand the independence of Korea from Japan; the establishment of the Shanghai Provisional Government; and the armed resistance movement. What Mitchell (1988) pointed out about the influence of British colonialism in Egypt from a Foucauldian perspective applies to the impact of Japanese colonialism in Korea. As Mitchell indicates, colonialism exerted restrictive, exterior power giving way to the internal, reproductive power demanded by modernity. In other words, colonial power produced not only the organized power of armies, schools and factories, but also the modern individual, constructed as an isolated, disciplined, receptive, and industrious political subject. The Japanese colonial government attempted to eradicate Korean tradition, and

these efforts were somewhat successful in creating an empty space within the consciousness of Korean society. Stripped of a collective identity, Korean people endeavored to fill this void with modernity. Because of this experience, the identity of Korean people assumed an aspect of complexity as this tendency continued even after the liberation from Japanese colonialism.

On August 15, 1945, Korea was liberated from Japanese control when Japan surrendered to the Allies. After liberation, the Korean peninsula came under the occupation of North Korea by Russia and South Korea by the United States. As a result, two governments were established in terms of different ideologies: communism and democracy. The Korean War began on 25 June 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea. South Korean casualties in the fighting alone are estimated at 150,000 dead, 200,000 missing, and 250,000 injured. In addition, the number of war refugees reached several million (K.-B. Lee, 1984). Over half the country became ruined and the infrastructure of society could not function properly. The Korean War left indelible scars on both South and North Korea, and the Cold War that followed the Korean War exacerbated hostility between the two. “The true tragedy was not the war itself, for a civil conflict purely among Koreans might have resolved the extraordinary tensions generated by colonialism, national division and foreign intervention” (Cumings, 2005). On 27 July 1953, the Armistice Agreement was signed and the war was considered to have ended even though there was no peace treaty.

After experiencing the Korean War as well as colonization, Korea was placed in a dire predicament. In terms of politics, fierce antagonisms existed between leftists and rightists. As for economics, Korean economy was heavily depending on assistance from other countries, including the United States. As Morley (1965) argues, US economic and military aid still accounted for about 75 percent of South Korea’s military budget, 50 percent of the civil budget, and nearly 80 percent of the available foreign exchange in 1965. From the mid-1960s Korea

started to modernize itself through a five-year plan for economic development and “*Saemaeul Woondong*” (New Village Movement). While political democratization was delayed because of the military dictatorship, Korea achieved a remarkable level of economic development, the so-called miracle on the *Han* River. Modernization as a social reform took place on a national level, penetrating deeply into people’s consciousness regardless of their regions or classes. People were cajoled to eradicate tradition and old customs and adopt modernity quickly in order for them to be well-off. The collision between tradition and modernity is a topic that penetrates every moment of the history of modern Korea, and therefore discussing this conflict cannot be avoided.

United States foreign policy played a significant role in Korea’s expeditious economic achievement. Since the 1960s, the United States instituted her policy to help third-world countries develop their economies in order to confront communist countries such as the Soviet Union and China. Korea also became a beneficiary of this policy and could concentrate on developing its economy with grants and soft loans from the United States and embarking on state-initiated programs for economic development. For instance, during the second five-year economic development program (1967-1971), the Korean economy grew by an average of 9.7 percent annually (J. Seo, 2005). In the shadow of astounding economic growth was the growth-first ideology. Economic structures centered on economic growth led to an increasingly widening gap between the poor and the rich and intensified social conflicts. Such social conflicts could not be resolved under the military dictatorship and the desire for democratization intensified.

*Saemaeul Woondong* of the Park Jung Hee’s military administration was a typical modernity transplant program. It represents the ideology of state-initiated modernization, which

was a combination of the ideology of modernity and Japanese totalitarianism, an ideology that has long dominated the consciousness of Koreans (J. Kim, 1990). At the center of the modernization program were the ideals of the United States and Japan, and in this modernization program, the consciousness of Korean people was undergoing restructuring. *Saemaeul Woondong* was a project to transplant modernity forcefully into the consciousness of Korean people within a very short period of time. While it was successful at precipitately changing the outward appearance of Korean society, it resulted in more confusion about the meanings of modernization. Even after the collapse of the military dictatorship of President Park Jung Hee, Korea had to endure another military dictatorship before eventually achieving a more democratic society. The policy of the military government to transplant modernity into Korean soil was not entirely successful. With deteriorating traditions, Westernization occurred very rapidly. However, the resistance to such precipitate modernization was also severe. Korean people felt confusion between modernity and tradition in terms of their identity. There were some parts that could not be filled with economic development and Westernization, so many Korean people started to feel some void in their identities.

## **The History of Jazz in Korea**

### **Jazz in Colonial Korea**

It was the quickening period of Korean popular music when jazz was first introduced into Korea. As the technical conditions for appreciating popular music matured, the attitudes of audiences of popular music were very receptive. Mass distribution of Korean popular music was initiated by the radio broadcasting and recording industries. In the 1920s the influences of traditional culture were still strong in rural areas, while the influences of mass media were

increasing around urban areas. Japanese gramophone trading companies and American recording companies started to establish branches in Seoul in the 1920s. Columbia was established there in 1927, Victor in 1928, and a Korean company *Okeh* in 1933. Radio broadcasting started in February 1927 with the call sign JODK. As more people appreciated the benefits of radio, the number of radio sets in Korea increased to 20,565 in 1932. Gramophones increased as well up to 300,000 and were becoming a virtual necessity to the upper middle class. With the rapid diffusion of radios and gramophones, popular music started to reach a larger audience.

Although it is a recent phenomenon for jazz to attract the attention of a broad spectrum of the populace, jazz has had quite a remarkable history since its introduction to Korea. According to the records from old newspapers and magazines, jazz was quite a popular genre in the late 1920s and 1930s. However, it should be noted that the term jazz had wide usages. It was a representative term indicating Western popular music ranging from jazz to chanson and canzone at that time (Y.-m. Lee, 1998). The lack of understanding of African-American culture and music also resulted in the inaccurate use of the term jazz. In addition, there was the possibility of distortion in the process of importing the term and music by way of Japan. Despite the inaccurate usage of the term, it was undeniably true that jazz was popular at that time. The oldest record says that Hong Nan Pa, one of the founders of Western music in Korea, and Park Gun Won formed a Korean Jazz Band in 1926 (Kyungok Kim, 1964). Paek Myung Gon, a leader of the Chosun Soccer Team and a member of the band, purchased jazz scores and instruments when the Korean Jazz Band visited Shanghai, and staged its first jazz performance at the YMCA Korea. Hong Nan Pa played piano with Paek Myung Gon on first saxophone, Lee Chul on second saxophone, Park Gun Won on trombone, Hong Jae Yoo on violin, Lee Sang Joon on drums and vocalist Lee In Sun. In 1928, the Korean Jazz Band embarked on its national tours to Busan,

Masan, Jinjoo, Daejeon, Koonsan, and Kwangjoo and the performances were very successful. Although the band did not receive good reviews from critics, it garnered positive reviews from audience members and enjoyed popularity. Since the Korean Jazz Band did not leave any recordings, it is impossible to exactly confirm the styles of music they played. Nevertheless, based on the composition of its musical instruments, it is possible to infer that their music was something similar to early jazz.

Although we can have a glimpse of an earlier age of Korean jazz through the written records about the Korean Jazz Band, historical documents about early Korean jazz are very scarce. The modern era of Korean popular music coincided with the infancy of the Korean music industry. In the face of the poor quality of music technology in Korea compared with Western recording and performance technology, jazz performances took place and recordings were imported from Europe and the United States. For instance, *Dong-A Ilbo* of 4 September 1928 carried an advertisement of a new album saying “Paul Whiteman in an American jazz band, a new exclusive artist for Columbia Records.” In the same newspaper in 1930, there was an advertisement for jazz songs, sung by a famous singer, Pok Hae Sook, including “*Mokjangeu Nore*” (The Song of the Pasture) and “*Aeeu Kwang*” (The Light of Love) with the catch phrase of “in order to meet the demands of the times.” In the days when the Korean Jazz Band was active, audiences that appreciated jazz were increasing gradually. However, performances were concentrated in urban areas and primary access to jazz music was through recordings, thus limiting audiences to the upper classes who could afford to buy a gramophone and those people who lived in or near urban centers. Unlike girls and boys of the era who appreciated the Korean Jazz Band and actively embraced jazz, the general public could not distinguish jazz from other genres.

As the audience base for jazz expanded, other music genres were already very popular among the general public. The genres that ordinary Korean people loved were *shinminyo* (new folk song), which succeeded Korean traditional folk songs, and *trot*, which was two-beat rhythm music influenced by Japanese *enka* during colonization. *Shinminyo* refer to various songs that were newly created in the twentieth century by applying the rhythms, melodies, and lyrics of traditional folk songs, and these songs were mainly enjoyed by ordinary people (Y.-m. Lee, 1998). While traditional folk songs were usually transmitted by word of mouth in particular regions, *shinminyo* were widespread all over the country thanks to the disbanding of rural communities and an increase in urbanization. The term “*shinminyo*” began to appear around 1930. The main subjects of *shinminyo* included nature and the indigenous culture of Korea, and *shinminyo* expressed these subjects with traditional aesthetics of humor in a positive way. *Arirang*, various versions of which were transmitted in different regions, were also recreated in the form of *shinminyo* (C. Choi, 2000; Park, 1992). Examples of *shinminyo* in their early years include “*Odongnamoo*” (A paulownia tree) in 1931 and “*Era Jokuna*” (Hurray, It’s Great). Songs of *shinminyo* were usually sung by lower classes such as *gisaengs* (similar to Japanese Geisha) in contrast to *trot*, in which elite classes participated. *Shinminyo* took part in the Korean popular music movement that succeeded traditional folk songs. Nevertheless, *Shinminyo* failed to adapt to the changes that time has brought and slipped into oblivion after the 1970s.

*Trot*, which was first known by the name of *yoohangga* (a popular song), has survived, and still holds an important position in the field of Korean popular music. *Trot* as a music genre was created based on the *yona nuki* minor scale of Japan (Y.-m. Lee, 1998). This was a very new style that had never before been heard in Korea and became very popular. *Trot* grew, exchanging influences with Japanese *enka*, and its status in the Korean popular music field changed over

time. In 1932, “*Hwangsung Yetteo*” (Remains of a Desolate Castle) of Victor Records, a big hit song by Lee Aerisoo, sold 50,000 copies in a flash. In the 1930s *trot* was appreciated by elite classes and regarded as a new and sophisticated music genre. Later, however, it was pushed out of center stage and its influence and popularity became confined to the lower classes and older generations. Today *trot* is mistreated and is generally appreciated in rural areas more than urban areas, by older generations more than younger generations, and by minorities more than majorities. Although there were a number of factors for the decline of the *trot* genre, one of the crucial factors was the controversy over its Japanese style. An antipathy toward Japanese colonialism led to the hatred for Japanese popular culture. In addition, being left behind in competition with various US popular music genres that were introduced after liberation was also an important reason for the decline of *trot*.

Although mainstream genres of popular music in the 1920s and 1930s were *shinminyo* and *trot*, jazz could occupy a stable position in the Korean popular music field with a substantial number of musicians and audiences due to the help of Hollywood movies. Movies emerged at the center of popular culture along with popular music. Annual attendance at movies increased exponentially from 5.9 million in 1933 to 6.5 million in 1934 and 8.8 million in 1935 (Chun, 2003). At that time, the influence of foreign movies, in particular Hollywood movies, was very strong because domestically produced movies were limited. Many people developed their interests in jazz as they listened to background music in the movie theaters. Presumably, it can be said that the popularity of Hollywood movies had a direct or indirect impact on the popularization of jazz in Korea.

One of the basic characteristics of Korean popular music in the 1930s was that distinctions among different genres were somewhat blurred. It was quite common that *trot* singers sang jazz

and *shinminyo* as well. In the 1930s when jazz had become popular among a larger cross-section of the Korean public, songs of different genres were arranged in jazz style. For instance, a *shinminyo* song, “*Nodeul Kangbyun*”(Nodeul Riverside), was also performed in jazz style. Although crossing over different genres was not unusual, adapted songs within a given genre were more common. Because of the particularity of colonialism, all Western popular music was introduced to Korea through Japan. For instance, Benny Goodman’s song “Sing, Sing, Sing” was imported by way of Japan and became popular in its adaptation by Sohn Mok In in 1939. “Dinah,” which was released by Bing Crosby in 1931, went through an adaptation by Dick Mine in Japanese. Later this adaptation was again adapted in Korean by Kang Hong Sik and Ahn Myung Ok. In other words, jazz as it was consumed in Korea had already been transformed by way of prior Japanese adaptation of US jazz, which was further adapted by Koreans. The influence of Japan was somehow inevitable because there were no recording facilities in Korea; therefore, producers and singers, had to visit Japan to record albums until 1939. For this reason, many Japanese jazz songs as well as US jazz songs were introduced and adapted for Koreans, but filtered through Japanese sensibilities and influences. Although jazz adaptations were popular, original jazz songs in Korean also existed. Choi Myung Joo’s “*Chungchooneul Bahm*” (The Night of Youth) released in 1933 was early jazz music composed by a Korean.

Korean popular music was enjoying the period of prosperity in the mid-1930s. Jazz was growing with other genres such as *trot*, *shinminyo*, and traditional music, securing its position in the popular music market. As US swing jazz fever made a landing on Korean soil in the mid-1930s, the distinctiveness of jazz started to sink into the minds of Korean audiences. “*Dabangeu Purun Kum*” (Blue Dream of the Café) sung by Kim Hae Song in 1939 was composed based on an in-depth understanding of jazz, being well-versed in the usage of the

chromatic scale (which is a convention of Western music and not familiar to most Koreans), syncopation, and a big band formation. Today, Kim Hae Song is evaluated as one of the pioneers in the Korean jazz scene who overcame the limitation of adapted songs (Park, 1992). Kim Hae Song had a special interest in fusion works of *shinminyo* and jazz. Combining typical swing jazz with *shinminyo*, he released “*Namuamitabul*” (A Chanting of Korean Buddhists) in 1938 and “*Paldo Jangtaryng*” (Market Tunes of Eight Provinces) in 1939. He experimented with a new genre by fusing US jazz and Korean traditional music into new genres of music.

After the swing jazz fever had begun, Kim Hae Song and Sohn Mok In tried the domestication of jazz. However, as Japan entered World War II, jazz was banned because it was a music genre of the US, one of the enemies of Japan, and it was only allowed in military songs. Because of insolvency, many record companies were closed, and popular music lost its thrust. In this situation, the general public’s musical tastes were estranged from jazz, which became a niche genre that a few musicians and enthusiastic fans kept alive. Even though it was banned by the Japanese military regime, its impact was not neglected. It was obvious jazz had evoked a great sensation at the forefront of modern popular music as opposed to old traditional music in colonial Korea.

### **Jazz after Liberation from Colonialism**

The stationing of the US Army after the liberation from Japanese colonialism was a critical point for the introduction of new foreign music. US popular culture was delivered through radio, television, and various stage shows. With the help of the image of “a savior of liberation” or “an allied country,” Korean audiences mostly welcomed US popular music without rejection. In addition, modern US popular music was perceived as a more sophisticated, higher culture than

Korean popular songs. Since the liberation from Japanese colonialism in 1945, the US army has been stationed in South Korea. As the US Army government ruled Korean society, Korean popular culture was dominated by the US presence and the demand of US GIs to have the music they knew and enjoyed. In other words, the dominant position of Japanese-style popular culture since the colonial era was challenged by Western, in particular, US popular culture (C. Kim, 2003).

Until the 1920s, the purpose of cultural activities of the US in the international community was the global diffusion of Western civilization by civil organizations based on humanitarian values. However, with the economic depression, cultural activities of civil organizations reached their limit, and the US government decided to take the lead in these activities because it perceived the importance of culture for hegemony in the international community. As the US government took the initiative, the content and orientation of cultural activities began to be based on more concrete and realistic purposes such as the expansion of American influence in terms of world politics and economy. On the basis of this cultural policy, the US military government of Korea resulted in a very aggressive attempt to “transplant the American lifestyle.” On July 1, 1947, for example, a special committee for cultural policy in Korea passed down a policy order accurately reflecting the position of US government. This policy order commanded that, in order to achieve the ultimate purpose of the US occupation of South Korea, cultural efforts and programs should be reinforced for educating Koreans about US history, institutions, and culture (Kyun Kim, 2000). Such US foreign cultural policy continued even after the Korean War. For instance, a news article of *Chosun Ilbo* on January 9, 1965 reported that a jazz band from the University of Denver arrived in Korea to perform because of the culture exchange program of the US State Department.

For US popular culture to obtain hegemony in Korea, radio broadcasting played a crucial role in persuading Koreans to accept US cultural products as superior. The control of the US military government over radio broadcasting was no less than that of the Japanese Government-General of Korea. Broadcasting was under the direct control of the US military government, while *Chosunbangsonghyuphoe* (The Broadcasting Association for *Chosun*), which was an independent organization (at least in terms of organizational structure), had run broadcasting under Japanese colonialism. Direct control of the US military government over Korean radio broadcasting triggered new changes in programming with the active involvement of US advisers. According to the suggestions of these advisers, programs were produced imitating popular shows in US commercial broadcasting companies, such as “Twenty Questions,” “Information, Please,” “Man on the Street,” and “Round Table Discussion.” In August 1948, the number of radio sets registered at *Daehanbangsonghyuphoe* (The Association of Korean Broadcasting) was 156,700, and the frequency with which Korean people encountered American popular music through these radios was increasing. According to Lee (1964), the US military government required Korean broadcasting stations to air US popular music at least one hour every day, and US pop songs from the radio captivated the hearts of young people who were eager to indulge in a new culture in South Korea (B.-C. Lee, 1964).

After World War II, the US army actively took advantage of broadcast media for the consolation and morale of the American soldiers. In the midst of such a policy flow, the 24th Corps of the US Army, which was stationed in South Korea, established AM (Amplitude Modulation) broadcasting stations for American military. These stations were WVTP in Seoul, which later became AFKN; WLKJ in Chonju; and WLKC in Pusan. June 1951, the month in which the American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) began to operate, marked the beginning of

an era in which Western popular culture exerted enormous influence on South Korean culture. Television broadcasting started in 1957 while the American military were still stationed in Korea after the Korean War and it is still running under the name of AFN.

During the Korean War (1950-53), AFKN – nicknamed Radio Vagabond because of its use of military trucks – encouraged US soldiers through speech and music. The music was provided by the Los Angeles-based American Forces Radio and Television Service (AFRTS), which took the songs that at the time topped American Billboard charts and sent them to AFKN pre-recorded on discs made of a new material, vinyl, that proved more durable and had a much-improved sound quality compared to the shellac it replaced. During the war US soldiers were probably the only ones to notice the sudden improvement in sound as few Koreans listened to the station. Later, however, the audience of AFKN started to increase among college students in urban areas and they became enthusiastic fans of the station. AFKN was one of the quickest roads for young people yearning to access Western culture.

AFKN also had an influence on the programming of other Korean broadcasting companies and the dissemination of Western pop songs was accelerated. The Korean radio stations, KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) and CBS (Christian Broadcasting System), for some time resisted playing Western pop, but this did not stop it from rapidly growing in popularity. AFKN attracted so many listeners that in the late 1950s KBS began airing a weekly thirty-minute program dedicated to Western pop, called *Kumjuui Huimang Umak* (This Week's Music Requests) (Maliangkay, 2006). The program introduced chansons, Latin music, and the music of Glenn Miller and Benny Goodman. In 1962 *Kumjuui Hit Peraide* (This Week's Hit Parade) aired the latest American pop songs for thirty minutes a week. MBC, a private broadcasting company, initiated *Hanbamui Umakpyunji* (Midnight's Music Letter), which was the first daily program

and became very popular in 1962. Western pop, with its emphasis on individualism, energetic movement and expressiveness, as well as its use of a foreign language, appealed directly to Korean students (Maliangkay, 2006). For jazz, AFKN became a passage to reach the Korean audience, and such broadcasted jazz music worked as exemplary models for Korean jazz artists. For instance, Lee Dong Ki, a clarinet player, composed sheet music inspired by only listening to the music of Glenn Miller, Benny Goodman, and Les Brown via AFKN (H. J. Shin, Lee, & Choi, 2005).

The media were not the only inlets for Western popular culture. Live shows organized at military clubs and camps throughout the country also played an important role in constructing the Korean popular music scene. The American United Service Organization (USO) began organizing indoor and outdoor shows, known in Korean as *Mipalgun sho* (the US Eighth Army's Show), at military camps throughout Korea in 1956. They used to be frequently visited by well-known American musicians (Maliangkay, 2006). Entertainers like Nat King Cole, Elvis Presley, Marilyn Monroe, Johnny Mathis, Gene Russell, and Ann-Margaret were some of the prominent members of the performance troop (H. J. Shin, et al., 2005). Although the audience consisted mostly of relatively young US Soldiers, the shows had a great influence on Koreans who saw them (Maliangkay, 2006). However, the long-term involvement of US entertainers was unlikely to be sustained in Korea because of their wide popularity. Instead, the US Eighth Army instituted systematic consolatory performances by employing Korean musicians. Many Korean musicians such as Patti Kim, Yun Pokhui and Hyon Mi started their careers in such shows that were considered to be high quality entertainments (Hwang, 1983; Maliangkay, 2006; Seon, 1993; H. J. Shin, et al., 2005).

The US Eighth Army's Show was not a temporary consolatory performance under the

particular circumstance of the war, but a system requiring a continuous supply of Korean musicians for the American military audience, which was frequently mobilized. Big band-style show troops, which were very popular at the time, were established so as to satisfy the various tastes of US soldiers. A band made up of drums, bass, guitar, piano, trumpet, trombone, and saxophone with a bandleader was the mainstream of the US Eighth Army's Show. Korean bandleaders, modeled after Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington, Glenn Miller, and Billy Vaughn of America were operating their own bands (Hwang, 1983; Maliangkay, 2006; Seon, 1993; H. J. Shin, et al., 2005).

There were as many as 264 stages where the US Eighth Army's Shows were held, and those appearing in the US Eighth Army's Shows could earn a guaranteed yearly income of a whopping \$1.2 million (the total for all performers), at a time when the cumulative value of South Korea's yearly exports was no more than about \$1 million (Hwang, 1983; Maliangkay, 2006; Seon, 1993). The US government sent committee members to audition Korean musicians for the US Eighth Army's Show. The committee managed show troops systematically through auditions. The US Eighth Army auditioned every three to six months, issued registration cards, and offered ranks. Committee members who took charge of the auditions were music experts sent from the Pentagon. The standards of the auditions were strict and competitive. Even though show troops passed the audition, they had to audition again when their registration cards expired. Accordingly, show troops practiced assiduously to maintain these positions, which not only formed a great portion of the work available to Korean musicians, but also paid much better than the jobs they could have had under other conditions in Korea. Many Korean musicians adapted quickly by learning American jazz style from the radio so that they could pass the competitive auditions and work in the show troop's big bands (H. J. Shin, et al., 2005).

Many qualified Korean musicians were inspired to imitate American popular musicians because the show's popularity hinged on how similar Korean musicians' performances were to those of American performers. Korean singers performed popular music in the US Eighth Army Show. The singers had to imitate US singers' style because US soldiers had become accustomed to a certain sound. Thus, Korean performers who mimicked American jazz artists included Heejoon Choi (Nat King Cole), Patti Kim (Patti Page), Jooyong Yoo (Frank Sinatra), Sangkook Kim (Louis Armstrong) and Hyungjoon Park (Perry Como). Their popularity was dependent on the degree to which they were similar to American singers (Hwang, 1983; H. J. Shin, et al., 2005). Korean musicians had to imitate US popular musicians continuously, and in this process they learned and internalized the styles of US popular music.

Musicians of the US Eighth Army's Shows had to learn various musical genres. Clubs of the US Eighth Army did not have the same characteristics, so the musical tastes were different according to the ranks. Based on ranks, clubs of the US Eighth Army were divided into officers' clubs, NCO clubs and EM clubs. In addition, there were white clubs and black clubs based on race. Since musical preference was different depending on clubs, musicians had to change their specialty genres very often. Thanks to this need for adaptation, the Korean musicians from the US Eighth Army's Shows were trained as all-around musicians who could digest all genres such as rock, jazz, blues, and country music (Hwang, 1983; Seon, 1993; H. J. Shin, et al., 2005).

Until the late 1950s, although bands for the US Eighth Army's Shows usually specialized in swing jazz, each band had its own style. Examples include the Spring Variety Show with Kim Dae Hwan, Shin Joong Hyun, and Chung Sung Jo; the Tommy Ario Show pursuing high class and ostentation; the NBC show with Lee Dong Ki on clarinet; the KPK show of Kim Hae Song and Lee Nan Young; and the USO show with the best players at that time, such as Noh Gab

Dong on trumpet, Um Hyung Sup on tenor saxophone, Ryu Bok Sung on percussion, and Choi Se Jin on drums. The Summer Time Show, which was very popular in the 1950s, specialized in modern jazz that was imported from the mainland US. Two star players of this band were Choi Sang Ryong on trumpet and the legendary Lee Jung Seok on saxophone. In particular, many popular musicians were trained in the *Mindeulae* (dandelion) band, a house band of the EDFE (Engineering District of Far East). Famous musicians, such as Ahn Gun Man, Chung Sung Jo, Maeng Won Sik and Lee Baik-Chun, started their careers in *Mindeulae* (H. J. Shin et al., 2005). 1950s was the heyday of swing jazz bands, and many Korean musicians who were active in this era are called the first generation of jazz in Korea.

Incorporating the US Eighth Army's Show into "Korean" popular culture might be far-fetched since the show was staged only for the entertainment of US soldiers. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that the US Eighth Army's Shows trained many high-quality performers including jazz musicians, and contributed to the formation of the backbone of Korean popular music. Musicians that passed strict auditions did not disappear even though the number of available stages was decreasing. In the early 1960s, music performances were classified into two groups: one was the US Eighth Army's Show and the others were private stages. As stages in the US Eighth Army's Show were decreasing, the musicians of the military show moved to private stages (Seon, 1993; H. J. Shin et al., 2005). At that time, musicians from the US Eighth Army's Show were treated better than musicians who performed on private stages, and with this migration of musicians of the US Eighth Army's Show came new changes in the realm of Korean popular music.

Until the 1960s, the main stages for musicians were musical troupes that wandered all around the country. Musicians that started from musical troupes performed both in the US Eighth

Army's Shows and on private stages. Among them was Sohn Seok Woo, the first composer who successfully applied musical knowledge garnered from the US Eighth Army's Show to private stages. "*Noran Shaseu Sanai*" (A Man with a Yellow Shirt) composed in 1961 with hillbilly country style by Sohn Seok Woo evoked sensations among audiences and was the biggest selling album in Korea that year. While private stages were dominated by *trot* at that time, musicians affected by the US Eighth Army's Show became prominent on private stages.

A new factor influencing the structure of the music business was the emergence of private broadcasting stations. *Munhwa* Broadcasting Company (MBC) started in 1961, *Dong-A* Broadcasting System (DBS) in 1963, *Tongyang* Broadcasting Company (TBC) in 1964. There were only two choices of KBS or AFKN before the arrival of these new broadcasting companies; so now Korean people were able to enjoy more choices. In addition, KBS TV launched its broadcasting and TBC TV also started in December 1964. With the increasing number of venues in which musicians could perform, the music industry prospered. In particular, broadcasting companies acquired musicians from the US Eighth Army's Shows as they signed exclusive contracts with signers and formed exclusive bands for their own companies (H. J. Shin et al., 2005). As a result, the programs and music with the US Eighth Army's Show style were reproduced in Korean broadcasting, amplifying the influence of US popular culture.

The US Eighth Army's Shows, with a repertoire mainly of jazz songs, went through changes in music genres with the emergence of rock and roll and rock music, reflecting the changes in American musical tastes. In 1964, the Beatles swept across the American music charts and with the influence of this fever for rock music, the US Eighth Army's Shows became centered on rock music. Several bands sprang up in imitation of the Beatles. The *Kimchis*, The Key Boys, and The Add4 were such bands and they mainly performed live in music salons. Shin

Joong Hyun, who made his debut in the US Eighth Army's Shows, was reborn as the godfather of Korean rock music in this age. Shows with a big band arrangement changed into a small scale band with the emphasis on electric bass sound (H. J. Shin et al., 2005). The Vietnam War, as an external factor, influenced the fate of the US Eighth Army's Show. As the US corps moved to Vietnam in the 1960s, the size of the US Eighth Army's Shows shrank. Korean jazz musicians could not find positions to play in the US Eighth Army's Shows any more. They had a choice of either changing genres or looking for different venues for performance.

For the time being, jazz music was all but forgotten. Aside from the musical entertainment for American GIs, rock and folk music became the center of youth culture. For young people, jazz was perceived as old and tame. On the other hand, rock and folk music were considered to be passionate music for youth. At that time, the Korean popular music scene was divided into Western pop music and Japaneseque *trot*. However, with the introduction of rock and folk music, Western tastes of music began to expand their influence and the Korean popular music market started to be restructured with specialized music genres. The prosperity of rock and folk music overlapped with the decline of jazz. Once popular jazz performers were employed in bands for broadcasting companies, or became focused on composing rather than performing. However, for most jazz musicians even such changes were not easy. In order to adapt to the changing times, they had to change their genre specialty or find other places to perform.

However, in the mid- to late-1960s jazz enjoyed a short popularity as disciplined musicians from the US Eighth Army's Show and AFKN appeared in broadcasting and private stage performances. Park Choon Seok and Gil Ok Yoon formed a jazz band called "Hotpot" while they were attending Seoul National University. In 1965 and 1966 a jazz festival sponsored by TBC

radio and AFKN was held, and in 1967 and 1968 TBC the “National Male and Female College Students’ Jazz Festival” was held.

Gil Ok Yoon played actively in the Japanese jazz community and after returning to Korea he became involved in various musical activities, earning praise as the best jazz saxophone player in Korea. In his homecoming recital in 1966, Gil Ok Yoon performed with other jazz musicians in Korea under the band name “All Stars.” In the 1970s jazz musicians were having a hard time. *Chung Sung Jo and the Messengers*, which was formed in 1972, was barely surviving and its music was closer to rock music influenced by jazz. Until a little theater called *Gonggan Sarang* in 1977 and the jazz club Janus in 1978 were founded, there was no place for jazz performances. At *Gonggan Sarang*, diverse cultural performances as well as jazz took place and Janus was a place exclusively for jazz music. In the 1960s there were more than 500 jazz musicians. However, until the late 1970s, those performers who stuck with jazz music decreased to about 20 people and these musicians, including pianist Shin Kwan Woong, trumpeters Kang Dae Kwan and Choi Sunbae, trombonist Hong Duk Pyo, saxophonists Kim Soo Young and Chung Sung Jo, drummer Cho Sang Kook and clarinet player Lee Dong Ki became major players in the jazz club Janus. At the Janus, a jazz community called *Jazz Dongwoohoe* (community) held regular jazz concerts sharing opportunities to perform and listen to different style of jazz music. *Gonggan Sarang* also held regular jazz concerts. In particular, *Gonggan Sarang* led the trend of free jazz by arranging the collaboration between jazz musicians and traditional musicians such as Kim Duk Soo *Samulnori* (four-instrument play) and the Korean folk music society *Sinawe*.

While the number of musicians playing at jazz clubs increased, the re-popularization of jazz started in the 1990s. Ironically, ordinary people’s interests in jazz were not induced from the

experience of appreciating jazz in jazz clubs or performance halls. Their interests in jazz began to grow from indirect contact with the music through the background music of TV commercials. A TV mini-series drama in 1994, *Sarangeul Goodae Poomanei*, previously mentioned, helped to ignite the jazz boom. Jazz became a new cultural icon and attracted social attention as a cultural phenomenon. However, this trend did not last long or help professional jazz musicians to expand their careers. The jazz that the general public enjoyed and appreciated was from popular standard repertoire and this was very different from what jazz musicians in the 1990s pursued.

Representative jazz musicians who released albums as well as did performances include Yoon Hee Jung, Lee Joo Han, and Lee Jung Sik. In particular, saxophonist Lee Jung Sik was very active, releasing 5 albums in the 1990s. However, even Lee Jung Sik, a well-known jazz musician, had a relatively small number of fans. Over the 1990s, although the public interest in jazz could not connect to the expansion of the market for jazz music, jazz started to position itself as a distinct music genre in the minds of ordinary audiences of popular music.

Although the jazz boom in the 1990s did not make a dent in the popular music market of Korea, it did not disappear and led to the expansion of the jazz fan base. The expansion of this fan base resulted from a few factors. Firstly, a radio show called “Midnight Jazz” survived for 13 years on CBS beginning in 1995. The program introduced American jazz and also provided Korean jazz musicians with the opportunity to meet audiences. With this program, the size of the jazz audience increased. In addition, the number of jazz clubs also rapidly increased. While *Gonggans Sarang* and Janus were still active, new jazz clubs, such as Bird Land, Once in a Blue Moon, Hot House, and *Chunnyundongan* (For a Thousand Years), began to do business in this period.

Secondly, jazz festivals including the *Moojoo* International Jazz Festival in 1996 and the *Wooljin* Jazz Festival in 1998, took place and provided Korean jazz musicians with opportunities to interact with foreign jazz musicians. There were many trials and errors because these events were produced in haste by the local government. Despite these limitations, through these events the number of experts related to jazz festivals and performances increased, and this led to the successful launching of the *Jara* Island International Jazz Festival in 2004. The success of the *Jara* Island Festival showed the possibility that jazz could grow as a popular music genre in Korea. The popularity of the festival now reaches out to jazz fans from other Asian countries beyond Korea.

The increase of jazz publications from books to magazines was another important factor in the expansion of the jazz fan base. For instance, the jazz magazine *MonkMunch*, first published in 1997 as a freebie magazine, is still being published as a monthly magazine with the new name of *MMJazz*. New jazz magazines were successfully launched, for instance, *Doo Bop* in 1999 and *Jazz People* in 2006. The increasing number of jazz magazines clearly reflects the trend of growing the jazz audience.

Finally, people's perception about jazz has changed and jazz started to be regarded as an independent music genre, not easy-listening or background music. For instance, in the Korean Music Awards, which started in 2004, jazz was not considered as an independent genre and it was lumped together with the crossover genre. The fact that jazz was included the crossover genre in the Korean Music Awards reflected the general public's concept of jazz as background music because crossover music also served in advertising campaigns. Only since 2009 were jazz musicians' awards evaluated and given awards in an independent division, embracing the requests of jazz musicians and the increasing number of jazz fan base.

It was a long time before jazz reached its current position in the field of Korean popular music. In the colonial era, jazz competed with traditional/reformed Korean folk songs and Japaneseque trot. The process of receiving jazz in Korea showed a trajectory that imported popular music could go through: after original forms of music were imported, such music was adapted and introduced to the general public, and later native artists domesticated foreign music genres and created their own versions. The popularization of jazz was slow in Korea compared to other Western music genres such as rock and folk music, and for this reason the conflicts between Korean traditional culture and foreign culture are still apparent to those who appreciate Korean jazz music. By looking at the trajectory of jazz music in Korea, we can see that the cultural history follows a similar track of political and social history. Because many parts of Korean modern history were under the influence of Western forces, in particular the US, and Japanese colonialism, the development of jazz as a distinct music genre could not escape its political and social context.

## CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: MODERNITY, POSTCOLONIALISM AND COLONIAL MODERNITY IN KOREA

### An Overview of Modernity

#### What is Modernity?

The word “modern,” “*modernus*” in its Latin form, was first used in the late 5th century in order to distinguish the present, which had become officially Christian, from the Roman and pagan past. Thereafter the term “modern” has been employed to express the consciousness of an epoch to view itself as the result of a transition from the old to the new through a renewed relationship to the ancients (Habermas, 1983). In terms of reason, religion, and aesthetic appreciation, the moderns were considered to be more advanced, more refined, and in possession of more profound truths than the ancients (Smart, 1990). As Habermas (1983) tells us,

The term “modern” appeared and reappeared exactly during those periods in Europe when the consciousness of a new epoch formed itself through a renewed relationship to the ancients-when, moreover, antiquity was considered a model to be recovered through some kind of imitation (p. 4).

In other words, the idea of being “modern” by looking back to the ancients changed with the belief in the infinite progress of knowledge and in the infinite advance towards social and moral betterment. This belief was inspired by modern science (Habermas, 1983). As Williams (1983) contends, “modern” became virtually equivalent to improved, satisfactory or efficient in the 20th century. According to Habermas, in the course of the 19th century, out of the romantic

spirit “the radicalized consciousness of modernism” emerged and this “most recent modernism simply makes an abstract opposition between tradition and the present” (p. 4). As Bendix (1967) tells us, the industrial revolution in England and the political revolution in France led intellectuals to formulate pervasive contrasts between the old and the new social order. As a result, tradition and modernity came to be considered as mutually exclusive and these, the new conception of society and the opposition between tradition and modernity, led to a theory of social change culminating in the theories of Karl Marx and social evolution (Bendix, 1967). Based on such opposition, tradition was associated with backwardness, subjectivity, irrationality, and bias, while modernity was connected to advancement, progress, objectivity, rationality, technology and logic (Rappa, 2002).

This idea of modern as something new, advanced and discontinued from tradition has been pervasive in Korean society since the late 19th century. In addition, Western cultures were equated with modernity itself because of the particular situation of Korean people importing the concept from countries in Europe and the US through the mediation of Japan.

Many scholars suggest that modernity is an historical period following the Middle Ages (Barker, 2000). In particular, in many theoretical discussions (Giddens 1991; Habermas 1983), modernity is also usually understood as both a set of ideas or values closely tied to the European Enlightenment. In Western history the Enlightenment was a period characterized by a number of developments such as the partial replacement of religion by “human” values including liberty, equality, fraternity, individualism, the rise of science and scientific methods, a belief in reason, rationality and the civilizing effects of culture and technology, and a belief in progress (Birch, Schirato, & Srivastava, 2001). In a very general sense, therefore, modernity refers to the modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the 17th century onwards and

which subsequently became worldwide in their influence (Giddens, 1990, 1991). Beyond the Enlightenment, modernity is also frequently associated with rationalism, citizenship, individualism, legal-rational legitimacy, industrialism, nationalism, the nation-state, and the capitalist world-system. The Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution along with rationalist Enlightenment thought are considered to be the major events that shaped the rise and growth of European modernity (G.-W. Shin & Robinson, 1999).

The culture of modernity grew out of conditions of turmoil of during 18th to 20th centuries, which stemmed from the vast changes caused by the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution (Neal, 2007). It was a post-traditional order marked by change, innovation and dynamism (Barker, 2000). Basic institutions, including industrialism, surveillance, capitalism, and military power (Giddens, 1990) were expanded and elaborated on by the growth of new forms of knowledge, new approaches to the world, and a vast increase of resources for allocation (Neal, 2007). Therefore, modernity theories are concerned with explanations that engage the capitalist, neoliberal international world system in order for survival, maintenance, progress and the advancement of civilization as seen in the Enlightenment project that ostensibly began with the Industrial Revolution in the West (Rappa, 2002).

In its origins and nature, in short, modernity is inherently a historical and Western phenomenon that spread to other parts of the world (Giddens, 1990). However, in the process of transplanting European modernity through Japan, the consideration of the historicity and socio-cultural conditions that have spawned the notion of modernity has disappeared. Instead, modernity was treated as a teleological state that should be pursued by all cultures of humankind. In particular, the ideas of faith in human rationality, the decisive role of the nation-state in the modernizing process, and aspiration for progress provided Korean intellectuals with the

foundation for setting the objective of the liberation of Korean people from Japanese colonial domination by building a prosperous country through the pursuit of modernity.

### **Modernity and Aspiration for Progress**

Aspiration for progress is especially well reflected in what Habermas (1983) calls the project of modernity. This project led to an extraordinary intellectual effort by Enlightenment thinkers to develop objective science, universal morality, objective law and autonomous art. Enlightenment thought embraced the idea of progress, actively seeking a break with history and tradition which modernity espouses. The idea was to use the accumulated knowledge for the pursuit of human emancipation and the enrichment of daily life. The development of rationality promised liberation from the irrationalities of myth, religion, superstition, and a release from the arbitrary use of power and dark human nature. Doctrines of equality, liberty, and faith in human intelligence and universal reason abounded (Harvey, 1989). There was an extravagant expectation that “the arts and sciences would promote not only the control of natural forces but also understanding of the world and of the self, moral progress, the justice of institutions and even the happiness of human beings” (Habermas 1983, p. 9).

Habermas distinguished two main forms of rationalization. One is a goal-oriented or instrumental rationality, which is pushed forward by the economic and political systems, market and state, with money and administrative power as the main tools (Fornäs, 1995). In this sense, modernization has been frequently used in the sociology of development to examine the effects of economic development on traditional social structures and values. Modernization theory has also been used to refer to the stages of social development based on industrialization, scientific and technological development, the modern nation state, the capitalist world market,

urbanization and other infrastructural elements (Featherstone, 1991). In this process of modernization, according to Waters, Crook, and Pakulski (1992), “differentiation, commodification and rationalization define the transformation of premodern into modern systems as well as the central internal processes of modern societies.” In addition, as Marx and Weber suggest, “commodification and rationalization are closely connected to the forms and distribution of power in society” (p. 10).

The other form of rationalization is an ongoing lifeworld rationalization that creates a growing potential for communicative rationality, anchored in the use of meaningful symbols which are geared toward mutual understanding (Fornäs, 1995). As a result, modernity has been associated with an emancipatory project, which would lead to certain and universal truths and humanity’s forward path of progress. In other words, enlightenment philosophy and discourses of modernity have championed reason as the source of progress in knowledge and society. It was believed that reason could demystify and illuminate the world against religion, myth and superstition. Enlightenment philosophers thought that rationality and scientific exploration would lead to a break with tradition and modernity (Barker, 2000) and the emancipatory ideals would be founded upon a scientific and rational understanding of the world (Duara, 1991). Consequently, the word “modern” evokes associations related to the democratization of societies, especially the destruction of inherited privilege and the declaration of equal rights of citizenship (Bendix, 1967).

This belief in humanity’s progress had a huge impact on the modernity project of Korea. For instance, bourgeois and Marxist nationalists largely accepted a linear, progressive view of history. Despite their obvious differences in political and ideological orientation, their main ideologies and views of history both reflected the modernist orientation. Therefore, both

bourgeois and Marxist nationalists treated Korean tradition as backward and an obstacle to progress so they rejected it as a foundation for a new Korea. Instead, they explicitly participated in or at least implicitly accepted colonial modernity as a necessary step in the progress of history. Especially, bourgeois nationalists hailed colonial industrialization as an opportunity to create the national capital that would be required for future political independence and development. The stress of historical progress toward modernity has served the state nationalism of both the North and the South after the liberation from Japanese colonialism (G.-W. Shin, 1999).

The dynamism of modernity is such that it spreads out from its European base to the other parts of the globe (Barker, 2000). As Giddens (1990) writes, “The dynamism of modernity derives from the separation of time and space and their recombination in forms which permit the precise time-space ‘zoning’ of social life; the disembedding of social systems (a phenomena which connects closely with the factors involved in time-space separation); and the reflexive ordering and reordering of social relations in the light of continual inputs of knowledge affecting the actions of individuals and groups” (pp. 16-7). That is, through this dynamism of separating time and space the Western originating institutions of modernity are globalizing (Barker, 2000).

### **The Ambivalence of Modernity**

The term, “modernization” became fashionable after World War II (Bendix, 1967) and, as Fornäs (1995) points out, became associated with a series of historical processes in various fields from economics and politics to culture. The examples include capitalist development, industrialization, urbanization, secularization and civilization, to name a few. Different theories took different sides of a complex historical process, uncovering varied foundations, motors and characteristics of our age (Fornäs, 1995).

The processes of modernization promoted a two-sided rationality with both positive (creative and emancipatory) and negative (destructive and oppressive) aspects. It is necessary to understand modernity as a fundamentally ambivalent phenomenon. The prefix ambi- means “both” and therefore the ambivalent have two, opposite values at the same time. This does not mean that modernity implies a general vagueness. Rather, it denotes that one singular force has two precise but contradictory implications. Reflecting these two different but inter-related rationalities, from its start, modernity has cherished linear goal-orientation as well as polydimensional fragmentation, Enlightenment rationalism and Romanticist anti-rationalism (Fornäs, 1995). According to Berman, “to be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world--and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are” (Berman, 1982, p. 15). The rise of industrial civilization in Europe engendered a new conception of society, invidious contrasts between tradition and modernity, and a theory of social change culminating in the work of Karl Marx. The social changes induced by modernity is well reflected in the following quote by Marx and Engels (1965):

Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones...All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and men at last are forced to face...the real conditions of their lives and their relations with their fellow men (Berman, 1982, p. 21).

Modernity is contrasted with the traditional order and implies the progressive economic and administrative rationalization and differentiation of the social world. These processes of modernity brought into being the modern capitalist-industrial state (Featherstone, 1991). The industrial revolution in England and the political revolution in France had a profound cultural

impact. These movements led people to formulate pervasive and invidious contrasts between the old and the new social order. Consequently, “tradition” and “modernity” came to be conceived as mutually exclusive terms. The destruction of inherited positions of traditional societies or old order and the consequent rise of equality are one hallmark of modernization (Bendix, 1967).

The image of modernism is one of continual excitement, the promise of technological and social progress, the etching away of tradition in favor of the new, urban development, and the unfolding of the self. As Simmel (1990) argued while individual liberty was increased in the modern world, people also had to submit to rigorous discipline and urban anonymity. Weber’s (1958, 1978) works on the development of modern bureaucracy provide another good example of the ambivalence of modernity. For Weber, the march of bureaucracy was an aspect of the spread of secular rationality and rational decision-making procedures, which were based on calculability, rules and expert knowledge. However, these developments were bound up with the “disenchantment” of the world in favor of economic and technological progress. Weber was convinced of the rationality and efficiency of bureaucracy as well as its encroachment on individual self-expression. Paradoxically bureaucracy was the “iron cage” of material “progress” (Barker, 2000).

Modernity can be said to unite all mankind, cutting across all boundaries of geography, ethnicity, class, nationality, religion and ideology. However, it is a paradoxical unity, putting people into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish (Berman, 1982). Modern life is filled with a sense of the fleeting, the ephemeral, the fragmentary and the contingent. As a result, modernity cannot have respect for its own past and pre-modern social order (Harvey, 1989) and aspires for teleological progress.

The image of creative destruction indicates the practical dilemmas that faced the implantation of the modernist project. One simply cannot make an omelet without breaking eggs. Creative destruction was simply the necessary condition of progress (Harvey, 1989). The potential for both creativity and destruction resulted in a great deal of ambivalence about the future of the human condition. As a result, the personal lives of individuals are characterized by both promise and catastrophe (Neal, 2007). Goethe's *Faust* represents this inherent dilemma of the modernity project (Berman, 1982; Lukács, 1978). Faust destroyed religious myths, traditional values, and customary ways of life in order to build a brave new world. He forces himself and everyone else to extremes of organization, pain, and exhaustion in order to master nature and create a new landscape, a sublime spiritual achievement that contains the potentiality for human liberation, form, want, and need. "Prepared to eliminate everything and everyone who stood in the way of the realization of his sublime vision, Faust, to his own ultimate horror, deploys Mephistopheles to kill a much-loved old couple who live in a small cottage by the sea-shore for no other reason than the fact that they do not fit in with the master plan" (Harvey, 1989, p. 16). This is the tragedy of development. However, just as Faust was troubled, so the optimism of modernity was shattered with the poverty and squalor of industrial cities, two destructive world wars, death camps, and the threat of global annihilation by nuclear bombs (Barker, 2000; Harvey, 1989).

### **The Principles of Universalism**

The inherent tendency of universalism is an important aspect of modernity. With this universalizing tendency modernity stretched itself all over the world and imposed its forces globally. Although modernization, with its many different faces, is not a one-way process

moving from a given center to remote margins, whatever its routes and concrete forms, it can clearly be experienced all over the world today (Fornäs, 1995). In this sense central values in the emergence of modern culture were the principles of universalism and the sharing of scientific information. Truth claims are not to be accepted or rejected because of the status characteristics of the investigator. Instead, universal criteria for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting scientific data became essential to the scientific method. Science and objectivity were emphasized as prevailing values of modern culture. The universality of modern science was achieved through employed methods, rather than upon such personal or social attributes as nationality, race, religion, class or gender (Neal, 2007). Bauman (1992) explains the universalism of modernity and its effect on the world as follows:

The spirit of modernity inspired ever renewed, though never conclusive, attempts to pinpoint the universally binding, apodictically correct resolutions to the questions of truth, judgment and taste. It is all too easy to pronounce with the benefit of hindsight the failure, or even misdirectedness, of such trials. What, however, constituted the formative features of cultural ideology in its 'legislative' optimistic and audacious, modern phase, was not so much the success for the enterprise, as the possibility of its continuations, and of the absorption of successive drawbacks with no irreparable harm to the ongoing discourse. The remarkable resilience of purpose so typical of the modern mentality was grounded in the unshakable belief that the efforts have history and invincible reason on their side and that the ultimate success was not just attainable in principle, but a foregone conclusion. The conviction had in turn all the backing of social, economic and political realities. Paradoxically, though modernity militated against the pragmatist compromise, it was in the end the *pragmatic* argument from the ever more evident superiority of the western [sic] mode of life and thought that kept lending credibility to the hopes of finding the clinching proof for the species-wide validity of western [sic] science, morality and aesthetics; or for the form in which they had been conceptually sublimated (pp. 12-3).

In its scientific and moral-political project, Enlightenment philosophy sought universal truths, knowledge and moral principles that could be applied across time, space and cultural differences (Barker, 2000). This self-confidence over philosophical certainty gave unreflective and unyielding resolution to Europe's missionary zeal and colonialism, which led to the

relentless suppression of locality and class-related forms of life at home (Bauman, 1992).

Although other phases and chronologies can be constructed in different parts of the world, the spatial effects of imperialist trade and warfare, market economy, transportation and communication technologies eventually spread modernity worldwide. Capitalist modernization created an effective world-system (Fornäs, 1995).

### **Modernity and Eurocentrism**

The modern, in many usages, is considered to be a synonym for the West. Modernization continues to be understood as a process begun and finished in Europe, from where it has been exported to the non-West regions. For this reason, becoming modern very often means acting like the West (Mitchell, 2000). Although modernity's ideals and accompanying technological progress were supposed to produce a utopia, the notion of universal rights and equality were only applied to a small percentage of people, excluding women, the lower classes and indigenous people in European colonies. Moreover, civilizing people worked as an excuse to dominate and enslave people who were considered to be "uncivilized" because their cultures were different and therefore inferior to the European cultures. Thus, the project of modernity was basically Eurocentric and used European technology to conquer non-European peoples (Birch et al., 2001).

However, modernity does not imply a universal standardization. Modernization processes take different forms and have various rates of speed in different geographical and social areas (Fornäs, 1995). Modernity has taken different forms as it spread over the world although it originated in Western Europe. Contrary to earlier modernization arguments, which held that societies must develop along the line of Western modernity, it is now well established that there

are multiple paths to modernity. Scholars of East Asia have posited an “East Asian modernity” distinct from that of Western Europe. Nonetheless, non-European modernity did not develop in isolation from Western Europe. It was influenced by the model of the Western nation-state and affected by power politics and economic relations in its transmission (G.-W. Shin & Robinson, 1999).

In order to understand the different paths taken by different countries while acknowledging the influence of the Eurocentric notion of modernity, one should avoid the essentialist perspective on the concept of modernity. Instead, modernity should be understood as a discourse or a representation that exerted its power upon the modernization of non-Western countries. Modernity as a discourse structures the perception of the world through inseparably entwined categories and values such as rationality, science, progress and secularism (Duara, 1991). That is, the concept of modernity is a “perception” of the world rather than the world itself. Modernity is a perception locally grounded in a way that implies its universality concealing its particularism at the same time (Bauman, 1992).

The notion of colonial modernity, therefore, is also a representation. As Mitchell (2000) suggests, claiming that the modern is a representation is not arguing that modernity is merely image-making. Instead, it indicates that the notion of colonial modernity involves creating an effect we recognize as reality because representation does not simply mean the making of images of meanings but refers to “forms of social practice that set up in the social architecture and lived experience of the world what seems an absolute distinction between image and reality, and thus a distinctive imagination of the real” (p. 17). To better understand the colonial modernity as a discourse, I will turn to the discussion of postcolonialism in the next section.

## An Overview of Postcolonialism

Modernity inevitably accompanies the notion of coloniality. In the process of modernization, it was considered that universality resides in the West and that the traditional culture of Korea should be eradicated because it could be an obstacle to modernization. Therefore, imitating Western civilization was considered to be a royal road to rapid modernization. The patterns of subordinate consciousness, such as the internalization of Western values and perspectives, self-depreciative perceptions, aversion to traditional culture, pro-American sentiments, were transferred to the minds of many Koreans (Koh, 2005). Given the fact that colonialism still exerts its power upon the Korean consciousness and culture even after her official liberation from colonialism, postcolonialism will be able to provide useful insights to examine modernization experiences during and after the colonization of Korea, including the relationship between modernity and jazz.

Postcolonialism examines the effects of colonization on cultures and societies (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2001). Although it was originally used to refer to the formal end of the colonial era when various countries in Asia, Africa and elsewhere became independent from European colonizers in terms such as a post-colonial state (Birch et al., 2001). However, from the late 1970s the term has been used by scholars to discuss the various cultural effects of colonization (Ashcroft et al., 2001).

In his pioneering work *Black Skin, White Mask*, Fanon (1967) explored the subjectivity of colonized peoples. He posits that the subjectivity of the colonized is a direct product of the colonial system which makes the colonized internalize versions of themselves which are actually built on the discourse of the colonizers (Mansfield, 2000; Wisker, 2007). According to Fanon

(1967), “it is the settler who has brought the native into existence and perpetuates its existence” (p. 28). Therefore, native subjectivity is not a pre-existing thing that encounters the colonizer with underdeveloped consciousness that must submit to a more advanced civilization of Europe (Mansfield, 2000).

Despite the historical complexity of the genealogy of postcolonial theory, it was the work of Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1979) on the cultural politics of academic knowledge that effectively established postcolonial studies as an academic discipline (Young, 2001). Said argues that, in the many different kinds of representations (books, policy documents, films, operas, television shows, media reports) of the Orient by the West, Western identity is suggested as different from, therefore superior to, that of orientals (i.e., Asians) in terms of culture, as exemplified by their political organizations, science and technology, legal systems, religion, clothes and eating habits, and possessing an “inferior culture” becomes one of the rationales that “justifies” people being treated as less than human (Birch et al., 2001). For Said, the Orient is not a pre-given in a natural order. It is a discursive regime of knowledge about the non-West in which the issues of power were inextricable from those of knowledge, rather than a truthful description of the Orient (Krishna, 2009; Young, 2001):

I have begun with the assumption that the Orient is not an inert fact of nature. It is not merely there just as the Occident itself is not just there either. We must take seriously Vico’s great observation that men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography: as both geographical and cultural entities—to say nothing of historical entities—such locales, regions, geographical sectors as “Orient” and “Occident” are man-made. Therefore as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary that has given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other (Said, 1979).

Said understands that a truth of the Orient is linked to discourse emergent from the nexus of power/knowledge (Krishna, 2009). Colonial discourse is an apparatus that turns on the

recognition and disavowal of racial, cultural, and historical differences. The predominant strategic function of colonial discourse is to create a space for a “subject peoples” through the production of knowledge in terms of which surveillance is exercised. The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a degenerate population on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction (Bhabha, 1999). Colonial discourse produces the colonized as a fixed reality. It employs a system of representation that is structurally similar to Realism (Bhabha, 1999). Anyone employing orientalism will designate, name, point to, fix what he is talking or thinking about with a word or phrase, which then is considered either to have acquired, or more simply to be, reality (Said, 1979).

Colonialism is, however, not necessarily a one-sided entity. According to Bhabha (1994), it is a deeply conflicted and contradictory enterprise. The confidence of the colonizer in his racial and civilizational superiority is constantly undermined by an ambivalence that seeks recognition of this superiority in the eyes of the colonized, which could be neither fulsome nor reliable because of the colonizer’s firm belief that the native was sly, untrustworthy and a congenital liar to begin with. Therefore, ambivalence lies at the heart of the colonial encounter, and it informs both colonizer and colonized. If the colonizer is rendered paranoiac because of his desire to be loved by the colonized, the one whom he ought to despise, he cannot be sure that such love is forthcoming or real or authentic. The colonized also goes through a related process of ambivalence in his relations of desire to the colonizer. On the one hand, the native wants to occupy the position of the colonizer. On the other hand, however, even as the native desires such a reversal of roles, his self is split because “the fantasy of the native is precisely to occupy the master’s place while keeping his place in the slave’s avenging anger” (Bhabha, 1994). To

become the colonizer while remembering the pain and the righteous anger resulting from the experiences of colonization is the impossibly ambivalent desire of the native, and this splits his self irrevocably (Krishna, 2009).

For Bhabha, the non-West is not a site of pure difference. It is not a place that is entirely outside the West (Mitchell, 2000). The difference between West and non-West must be reproduced constantly through a process of disavowal. Bhabha wrote:

The discriminatory effects of the discourse of cultural colonialism, for instance, do not simply or singly refer to a “person,” or a dialectical power struggle between self and other, or to discrimination between mother culture and alien cultures. Produced through the strategy of disavowal, the *reference* of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something *different*-a mutation, a hybrid (p. 159).

The hybrid forms of colonial modernity return to disrupt the West’s claim to originality and authority because “the display of hybridity-its peculiar ‘replication’-terrorizes authority with the ruse of recognition, its mimicry, its mockery” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 165).

Along with Said and Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak is often cited as an important theorist of postcolonialism. She sees the postcolonial as someone who is a product of the culture of imperialism. That is, the modern intelligentsia or middle class of decolonized countries is constituted into a situation of power even as they are colonized due to their felicity with the language, culture, politics, institutions, and ideology of the colonizer. Accordingly, the opposition of the intelligentsia or middle class to imperialism and colonialism, which was articulated in the movement for national sovereignty and independence, could never break with the culture of imperialism completely because of the very nature of its formation and content (Krishna, 2009). For this reason, Spivak sees postcoloniality as a condition that recognizes the privilege of being conversant with the culture of imperialism. One recognizes the culture of

imperialism as an instance of one's own colonization, but cannot disown it. About this matter, she writes, "This impossible 'no' to a structure, which one critiques, yet inhabits intimately, is the deconstructive philosophical position, and the everyday here and now named 'post-coloniality' is a case of it" (Spivak, 1993). As a result, colonial modernity is the vexed inheritance of the postcolonial because it is a structure that one cannot *not* wish to inhabit. This double negative indicates that for the postcolonial, while modern values, institutions and culture are indispensable for a desired future, at the same time they are the discomfiting insignia of one's former and continued colonization (Krishna, 2009).

### **Colonial Modernity of Korea**

One of the fundamental contributions of postcolonial scholarship has been to demonstrate an intimate connection between colonialism and modernity that is structural as well as historical. It affirmed that the modernity of the colonized and the shaping of a Eurocentric modernity was an important part of the very formation of Europe both at material and cultural levels (Dirlik, 2002). As Barlow (1997) puts it, colonialism and modernity are indivisible features in the history of industrial capitalism. Examining the notion of modernity in the light of the East Asian experience, therefore, involves recognition of the central role of colonialism in the construction of modernity both in colonized and colonizing nations.

The rise of modernity in Korea was also closely associated with external forces. Korea experienced early modernity as colonial modernity constructed in and through Japanese imperialism (Kendall, 2011). The emergence of modern Japan and its intrusion into Korea stimulated and provided a direct model for the effort to build a nation-state in the late nineteenth

century. Although there were internal efforts from above like the *Kabo* reform (Kabo Kyongjang 1894-96) movement or from below, such as the *Tonghak* peasant rebellions in 1894, these efforts were not successful in establishing a modern nation-state (Shin & Robinson, 1999).

While China and Japan started to receive the products of Western civilization and accumulated knowledge about Western culture before opening their ports to Western forces since the 17th century, Korea opened its ports in 1880s without any knowledge about Western culture or the climate of international politics. In particular, Japan had a first contact with Catholics in 1549. Although Japan declared seclusion in 1639 and became almost completely isolated from the outside world, trade relations with the Netherlands were allowed in the port of Nagasaki. On the contrary, Korea was occupied all of a sudden by foreign forces in the absence of knowledge about the West, and it could not have an opportunity to find a common ground between modernity and its own tradition (Shim, 2000). In addition to the fact that the shaping of modernity overlapped with colonialism, racial and cultural similarities between the colonizer and the colonized made the formation of modernity more complicated (K.-i. Kim, 2003).

Historical accounts say that Korean people, who maintained limited international relations with China and Japan, showed an inconceivable magnitude of culture shock after having contacts, all of sudden, with the products of Western civilization. Even the king and high ranking officials in Chosun, who thought Christianity to be very dangerous for the country, marveled at Western products and medical skills, which were introduced by missionaries. Electricity, streetcars, and moving pictures, which were introduced around late 19th to early 20th century, were considered to be magic (Shim, 2000). When a moving picture was shown to Korean people for the first time, the response toward it was astonishment itself. One description of a theater showing a moving picture shows this shock very clearly:

The light is out. As a train runs on the screen, the stands become pandemonium, people bawling and squalling and moving around to avoid the collision with the train because if the train runs onto them, they would be ghosts of *Kwangmoodae* (the name of a theater in Seoul from 1898 to 1930) without fail. The behavior after the movie was more of a sight. People swarmed toward the stage to look into the screen because they were too curious about from where the train came out (J. H. Ahn, 1998).

It was not that there was no attempt to voluntarily build modern society in Korea. There were efforts to understand Western culture with an academic approach by *Sirak* scholars of the North Learning School in the 18th century and members of the Enlightenment Party in the 19th century. However, their efforts were not reflected in the policies of the *Chosun* dynasty because these scholars were very few and they were not in the inner circle of the ruling class. Although voluntary efforts emerged to reform the pursuit of modernity based on the idea of *Dongdoseoki* (Eastern spirit and Western technology) in the late 19th century, it ended in 1905 with the forced Protectorate Treaty between Korea and Japan. With the double binding of colonialism and cold-war ideology after liberation, the so called “modernity of liberation” (Wallerstein, 2000) was ignored while the “modernity of technological advance” (p. 455) was embraced wholeheartedly (S. Y. Lee, 2001; Shim, 2000). The discourse of enlightenment surged forth in the late 19th and early 20th century, arguing for the enhancement of the power of a nation by accepting advanced Western civilizations (Mha, 2004). The yearning for modernization was so imperative that Koreans, who blamed themselves for losing their country, were fully motivated to break up with their own cultural heritages and legacies (Yoo, 2001).

In the process of modernization, colonized Koreans needed a role model, and the US provided that ideal. Americanism in colonial Korea was based on multiple dimensions of the US impact upon the daily lives of Koreans. First, there was “America” which Fanon (1967) called a governing fiction. In this imaginary/fantastic dimension, the US was conceived as the richest

nation in the world as well as a gentleman-like brotherly nation. According to *Tokrib Shinmun* of February 27, 1899, the US was a country that had no intention to occupy and was willing to help weak countries achieve their independence. The *Hwangsong Shinmun* of September 16, 1898 described the US as the most powerful nation in the capitalist world. It was regarded as the birthplace of Modernism, and as a benefactor to Korea.

In addition, there was “America” with its missionaries paving the way to the modernization of the everyday lives of the Korean people. For instance, the number of American-run schools in Korea in 1933 was 217 with 775 classes and 26,000 registered pupils. American-founded Christian schools numbered some 230 and educated some 40,000 pupils. Their education facilities saw no match in educational quality except for the public schools established by the colonial regime. The hospitals established by Protestant Christian missionaries treated altogether as many as one million leprosy patients free of cost. Moreover, they set up institutions leading petroleum, mining and electricity industries as well as welfare services and youth programs. With all this social work, pro-American sentiment was growing strong in Korea (Yoo, 2001).

Finally, there was “America” as Hollywood movies and the jazz sound that both stood as symbolic and visual images of modernity (M. J. Shin, 2003; Yoo, 2001). In the late 1920s as colonialism settled down, the discourse of enhancing the power of nation through enlightenment began to dwindle although the resistant sentiments to Japanese colonialism were intensified. On the streets of Seoul, modernism stood out with lively modernists such as strolling intellectuals, modern girls and boys, and students. Above all, they were trendsetters of the age. They pursued knowledge and products that were necessary to be up-to-date and most of their inspirations came from Hollywood movies. The US was considered to be the place of origin for every “thing.” This is why English became the language that one not only must learn, but also that one wants to

learn. The knowledge of English was necessary to read advertisements and signboards, to know the names of foreign foods and daily necessities, to have a cultured life, to read foreign books, and to be successful (Mha, 2004).

In fact, a close connection of modernity with consumption was apparent in late 19th century Korea. Aspirations for products of Western civilization were strong from the early days of the Enlightenment movement; wearing glasses and carrying a cane were regarded as symbolic representations of being modern and enlightened, and obtaining foreign goods was equated to getting hold of modern civilization (J. S. Kim, 1999). Although newspapers and magazines as advertising media did not penetrate into the general public at that time, the effects of advertisements should not be dismissed as limited because fashion trends and the craze for consumption diffused from the affluent and intellectuals to the general public (Mha, 2004). In summary, in Korea during the colonial period, modernization referred to an aspiration for wealth and power and was hence identified with Westernization itself (Yoo, 2001).

This phenomenon revealed that products were not consumed so much for their own purposes as for the symbolic meanings representing modernity from the early period of forming modernity in Korea. As Marx (1972) puts it, the system of commodities was an arrangement of production and exchange in which objects present themselves to us always as representations of something else. The mystical character of commodities arises from the fact that nothing can become a commodity, a thing of value, by standing for itself. An object can acquire value only by appearing to represent some quality beyond itself. Therefore, as Marx says, a commodity is a mysterious thing because it can never be just “a thing” but always appears, like a character on stage, as something representing something further (Mitchell, 2000).

Gianni Vattimo (1988) defines modernity as “that era where the modern becomes a value, or rather, it becomes the fundamental value to which all other values refer” (p. 99); being modern became a supreme value in colonial Korea as well. Consumption, in theory and practice, became subordinated to the main value of modernity. In this situation, material and non-material consumption patterns existed for the sake of representing modernity. Consumers continue to consume goods and services because these goods and services make the consumers modern (Rappa, 2002). Modernity became a criterion for differentiating and positioning an individual in a new order of society. Individual identity was formed referring to this new value, and the degree of individual modernization became a token for differentiating oneself from others (Yoo, 2001).

Naturally, music as well was not free from this distorted modernization process. Intellectuals of the late 19th and early 20th century did not view Western music as a different culture with different customs and practices from Korean traditional music. They regarded Western musics as more developed forms of civilization or advanced technologies that needed to be learned. The worldview and modes of traditional music were negated and considered to be inferior. As a result efforts for the voluntary modernization of Korean music were suspended. Modernization of music meant Westernization and this led to superficial reception of musical texts and skills without the emancipatory ideas embedded in the modern forms (S. Y. Lee, 2001).

## CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### Introduction

As my research methodology, I used discourse analysis in this dissertation. Discourse analysis is not just a method for data analysis, but a complete package that contains ontological and philosophical premises regarding the role of language in the social construction of the world, theoretical models, methodological guidelines for how to approach a research domain, and specific techniques for analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Discourse analysis was chosen because it provides a way to unpack the production of social reality. While traditional qualitative methods concentrate on providing more insights into the meaning of social reality, discourse analysis delves into the process of producing such social reality. For this reason, discourse analysis provides useful tools to examine processes underlying individual and socio-cultural phenomena (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). In addition, my interest in productive power also prompted an interest in using discourse analysis to investigate the social construction of jazz in Korea. In this section, I will start with the brief introduction of discourse theory and describe how I collected and analyzed data.

## Discourse Analysis

### Discourse Theory of Michel Foucault

The term “discourse” is used in various ways by contemporary theorists (Finlayson, 1999). It is usually used as a linguistic concept simply referring to passages of connected writing or speech (Hall, 1997). However, in order to make theories of language more generally applicable to the social and political world, it is necessary to broaden the definition of discourse (Hardin, 2001). In fact, as Gee (1999) puts it, “discourses always involve coordinating language with ways of acting, interacting, valuing, believing, feeling, and with bodies, clothes, non-linguistic symbols, objects, tools, technologies, times and places” (p. 176). That is, although discourse is basically a linguistic concept, it cannot avoid being interwoven with various practices and material reality.

According to discourse theory, language is not a neutral vehicle that carries information as a simple reflection of reality. Rather, language is characterized as constitutive. That is, language is the site where meanings are created and changed (Taylor, 2001). By creating and changing meanings, as a result, language constitutes social reality. As Wetherell (2001) tells us,

Discourse builds objects, worlds, minds and social relations. It doesn't just reflect them. ... Words are about the world but they also form the world as they represent it. ... Once we have the notion of “schizophrenia” and it continues to be widely current (in a way witchcraft is no longer) then it is difficult to construct events alternatively ... As accounts and discourses become available and widely shared, they become social realities to be reckoned with; they become efficacious in future events. The account enters the discursive economy to be circulated, exchanged, stifled, and marginalized or, perhaps, comes to dominate over other possible accounts and is thus marked as the “definitive truth” (p. 16).

Discourse analytical approaches, therefore, claim that our access to reality is always through language. With language, people create representations of reality, which in turn

contribute to constructing reality. This does not mean that reality does not exist. Meanings and representations are real because they have material influence on reality. Physical objects also exist regardless of our consciousness of their existence, but they only gain meaning through the mediation of language or discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Discourse is an integral part of the complex composition of social life. Discourse not only reconfirms and re-enacts existing social relationships and behavior patterns, but it also renegotiates social relationships and introduces new meanings and new behaviors (Lemke, 1995).

In this respect, Foucault gave discourse a broader meaning. With the notion of discourse, Foucault did not study language per se, but discourse as a system of representation. By discourse he meant a group of statements which provide a language for talking about a particular topic at a particular historical moment (Hall, 1997). Foucault challenged individual will and reason by showing how every utterance is an utterance within a specific discourse (Andersen, 2003). In Foucault's theoretical arguments discourse structures the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking. In other words, discourse is a particular knowledge about the world that shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it (Rose, 2001). It excludes, limits, and restricts other ways of talking and acting while promoting particular ways of talking and acting (Hall, 1997). These practices enable particular forms of subjectivity in which human subjects are managed and given a certain form, which is viewed as self-evident and rational (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Foucault, 1978, 1980).

Since discourses are diverse representations of social life with their own positions, differently positioned social actors see social life from different vantage points and represent it in different ways, that is, as different discourses. For example, the social realities of poor and disadvantaged people are represented through different discourses in the practices of government,

politics, medicine, and social science, and different discourses correspond to the different positions of the social actors (Fairclough, 2001).

Moreover, since all social practices entail meanings and such meanings shape and influence what people do, all practices have a discursive aspect (Hall, 1997). Based on a Foucauldian perspective, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) use the term discourse to refer to semiotic elements of social practices. Therefore, discourse includes nonverbal communication and visual images as well as language that contain written and spoken words in combination with other semiotics, for instance, music in singing (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

Based on a Foucauldian definition of discourse, I examined the discourse of jazz music in contemporary Korean society. By jazz discourse, I refer to an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brought jazz music into its current state of being in Korean society (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Although I am not pursuing this line of investigation in this dissertation, if the idea of language can be extended to the communicative properties of music – its discourse – jazz too offered an aural representation of reality as perceived within the modernity project.

### **Discourse and Power**

In the discourse theory of Foucault, the notion of power takes the central position. Discourse is powerful because it is productive. Discourse disciplines subjects into certain ways of thinking and acting. Nevertheless, this process of disciplining subjects is not repressive. Discourse does not impose rules for how to think and behave on a pre-existing human agent. Instead, human subjects are produced within discourse. Our sense of our self is constructed through the operation of discourse. Similarly, objects, relations, places, scenes are also produced

through the workings of discourse (Rose 2001). Power is responsible for creating our social world. It forms the world in particular ways that can be talked about, while ruling out alternative ways of being and talking.

Foucault argues that power does not belong to particular agents such as individuals or the state or groups with particular interests (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Power relations permeate all levels of social existence and operate at every site of social life. Therefore, power in society cannot be pinpointed, and it is impossible to separate and isolate even social sciences and public welfare institutions, such as schools and hospitals, from the workings of power (Andersen, 2003). Power is not only negative, repressing what it seeks to control, but also productive (Hall, 1997). It produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. Conceiving power only as repression, constraint or prohibition is, therefore, inadequate (Sarup, 1993). As Foucault (1980) says, power “does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but...it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse” (p. 119). A discourse disciplines subjects into certain ways of thinking and acting, but it does not impose rules for thought and behavior on a pre-existing human agent. Instead, human subjects are produced through discourse. Our senses of our self, objects, relations and places are made through the operation of discourse. That is, discourse produces the world based on what it understands (Rose, 2001).

The notion of productive power is quite beneficial for studying how jazz music has been shaped in Korea. Although an audience’s class plays an important role in explaining how jazz came to have its current meanings in Korean society, class is not sufficient to explain the shaping process of jazz in Korea. Other than class, there are various social forces that have contributed to the current discourse of jazz, such as the unique historical experiences of Korean people, including colonization by the Japanese and the US military governments; rapid modernization;

mass media; and commercial culture, to name a few. Although power relations permeate the shaping process of current discourse of jazz in Korea, it is hard to say that the current jazz discourse is oppressing Korean people. Rather, for Korean people, jazz is used as a resource to construct their modern and sophisticated identity. For this reason, applying a negative concept of power would not be fruitful in explaining the complex process of how power works in the realm of jazz discourse.

### **Historicity of Discourse**

Discourse, representation, knowledge and truth are radically historicized in Foucault's analysis. He thought that knowledge, objects, subjects and practices produced in and through discourse differed radically from period to period, with no necessary continuity between them (Hall, 1997). To acknowledge the historicity in his analysis, Foucault relied on Nietzsche's genealogy concept, the core of which is that there are no essences to be discerned behind historical development: the goal is to explain why things developed as they did (Prado, 1995).

Genealogical analysis differs from traditional forms of historical analysis. Whereas traditional history builds grand explanatory systems and linear processes with historical events, genealogical analysis establishes and preserves the singularity of events (Foucault, 1977; Sarup, 1993). What genealogy unearths are accidents and coincidences that are united by essentialist interpretation (Prado, 1995). Genealogy reveals the multiplicity of factors behind an event and the fragility of historical forms (Sarup, 1993). In other words, genealogy is more interested in revealing how contingent historical events have been articulated to form certain knowledge systems and practices rather than constructing a coherent historical narrative.

In this dissertation, I do not intend to “go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things” (Foucault, 1977, p. 146). Drawing on Foucauldian historicity, I will investigate how and why jazz music comes to have current meanings in contemporary Korean society. Rather than focusing on what jazz music means to Korean people, I will be focusing on revealing the process of contingent articulation of various historical events under particular Korean socio-political contexts.

### **Discourse Analysis**

According to Wertherell et al. (2001), discourse analysis is “the study of talk and texts. It refers to a set of methods and theories in order to investigate language in use and language in social contexts. Discourse research can offer paths into the study of meanings, a way of investigating the back-and-forth dialogues constituting social action, along with the patterns of signification and representation that constitute culture (Wetherell et al., 2001).

In other words, discourse analysis is the name given to a variety of different approaches to the study of text, which has developed from different theoretical traditions and diverse disciplinary locations. Interest in this methodology is increasing rapidly. Unfortunately, there is no single “discourse analysis,” but many different styles of analyses that all lay claim to the name. What is common in these different versions of discourse analysis is a rejection of the realist notion that language is simply a neutral means of reflecting or describing the world, and a conviction in the central importance of discourse in constructing social life (Gill, 2000).

The rapid growth of interest in discourse analysis in recent years is both a consequence and a manifestation of the “linguistic turn” that has occurred across the arts, humanities and social sciences. The linguistic turn was precipitated by critiques of positivism, by the prodigious impact

of structuralist and poststructuralist ideas (Gill, 2000). In discourse research, decisions about the truth and falsity of descriptions are typically suspended because discourse analysts are much more interested in studying the process of construction itself, how “truths” emerge, how social realities and identities are built and the consequences of these. They do not focus on working out what “really happened” (Wetherell, 2001). In fact, while traditional methodologies often reify categories, making them seem natural and enduring, discourse analysis provides a way of analyzing the dynamics of social construction that produce these categories and hold the boundaries around them in place. Despite a growing acceptance of social constructivist epistemology, traditional qualitative methods provide more insight into the meaning of social reality than into its production (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

The overall goal of discourse analysis is to explain what is being done in the discourse and how this is accomplished. Therefore, the focus is on how the discourse is structured or organized to perform various functions and achieve various effects or consequences. It requires the identification and interpretation of systematic variability or similarity in content and structure, and the formation and checking of claims about functions and effects through a search for evidence in the discourse (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Therefore, analysis essentially consists of a detailed and repeated reading of the discourse against the background of the discourse-analytic perspective (Wood & Kroger, 2000)

### **Data Collection and Analysis**

For this dissertation, I focused on media representation such as articles related to jazz in mass media, in particular print media such as newspapers and magazines. The content of these articles was broad ranging, from brief news introducing various performances to reviews of jazz

musicians and albums and interviews with musicians. In addition to news articles, lyrics of popular songs, broadcasting history and previously published articles and books were included as supplemental data.

I considered these media representations appropriate materials to examine the construction of jazz in modern Korea because these texts are complex cultural and psychological products, which were constructed in ways that make things happen and that bring social worlds into being (Wetherell 2001). As Bakhtin and Volosinov present, language is essentially social and rooted in the struggle and ambiguities of everyday life. As Maybin (2001) puts it, “the meanings of words are derived not from fixed relationships between abstract signs, but from the accumulated dynamic social use of particular forms of language in different contexts and for different and sometimes conflicting purposes” (p. 64). Therefore, “Social conflict is evident both in the way language is used to put a particular interpretation on experience, and at the level of the sign itself in the struggle over the meaning and the evaluative accent of particular words or phrases” (p. 65). Language is already overpopulated with other people’s voices, and the social practices and contexts that are invoked by such voices (Maybin 2001).

Among various newspapers, *Chosun Ilbo* (Chosun Daily), *Dong-A Ilbo* (Dong-A Daily), and *Kyunghyang Shinmoon* (Kyunghyang Newspaper) were selected. In particular *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo*, have a long company history going back to 1920 and are expected to provide media representations of jazz in earlier eras. In order to have more balanced perspectives about jazz, *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, which was established in 1946, was included because it is considered to have a more liberal and progressive perspective compared with the two former newspapers.

I searched and collected articles of *Dong-A Ilbo* and *Kyunghyang Shinmoon* since 1990 in [www.kinds.or.kr](http://www.kinds.or.kr), which is a news-article database of the Korea Press Foundation. I searched for and read earlier articles before 1990 by using the news library service of Naver.com (<http://newslibrary.naver.com>). I collected articles of *Chosun Ilbo* since 1990 in <http://www.chosun.com>. I copied and printed older articles from *Chosun Ilbo* and magazine articles related to jazz in the National Assembly Library in Seoul, Korea.

For the analysis of historical data, I drew upon the discourse of historical method (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; Wodak, 2001). The approach centers on political issues and seeks to integrate as many of the genres of discourse referring to a certain issue as possible, in addition to centering on the historical dimension of the issue (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). The discourse-historical approach adheres to the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory. The approach seeks to integrate as many of the genres of discourse referring to a particular issue as possible with the historical dimension of that issue in which discursive events are embedded (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; Wodak, 2001). Through the approach, I examined how discourse and discursive acts of jazz were socially constitutive, focusing on four functional aspects: the producing, restoring or justifying, perpetuating and reproducing, and transforming of a certain status quo (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Data analysis was an iterative process. I initiated this research by reading collected texts repeatedly to be familiar with the data. The analysis involved the identification of patterns across the segments of discourse (Wood & Kroger, 2000). In particular, I tried to identify the ways jazz music was presented in articles from different news media and how different discourses about jazz converged and diverged in their representations. During the coding process, I identified key signifiers, such as jazz lifestyle, modernity, jazz connoisseurs, liberty, authentic American jazz,

and Koreanized jazz. Comparative analysis among all coded sections further demonstrated that these signifiers tended to occur together over different articles in different media venues, organized around the central signifier of jazz.

## CHAPTER 5. JAZZ DISCOURSES IN MEDIA

### Introduction

Before delving into the results of the discourse analysis I provide a brief review of the trend of news articles mentioning jazz. To observe the trend, I searched for news articles in *Dong-A Ilbo* and *Kyunghyang Shinmoon* until 1999 with jazz as a keyword using the search function of Naver Newslibrary (<http://newslibrary.naver.com>). Although articles from *Chosun Ilbo* were excluded in this trend review because the Naver Newslibrary database does not contain them, this did not cause any noteworthy problems for examining the historical trend. Since Naver Newslibrary does not cover news article after 1999, I used Kinds (<http://www.kinds.or.kr>) to search for the news about jazz in *Dong-A Ilbo* and *Kyunghyang Shinmoon* from 2000 to 2011.

Figure 1 shows the number of news articles about jazz from 1920 to 2011, and this simple frequency analysis show what historical process looked like in terms of dissemination of jazz to the general public. Before the liberation, there was one article each in 1929, 1930, 1931, and 1940. There were no news articles about jazz beginning in 1941 when the Japanese imperial government prohibited Western music; jazz news articles reappeared in 1958. The main topics of jazz news articles in the 1960s include the introduction of famous jazz festivals in foreign countries and information about world-famous jazz artists. It is hard to find news articles about Korean jazz musicians in

the early 1960s while they worked in the US Eighth Army's Shows. In 1963, the number of news articles surged up to 144 because of Louis Armstrong's visit to Korea, but the number returns to its usual level of around 50 in 1964. The quantity of articles remains at a similar level until the early 1980s when jazz gymnastics exercise became popular, but this increase did not last long.

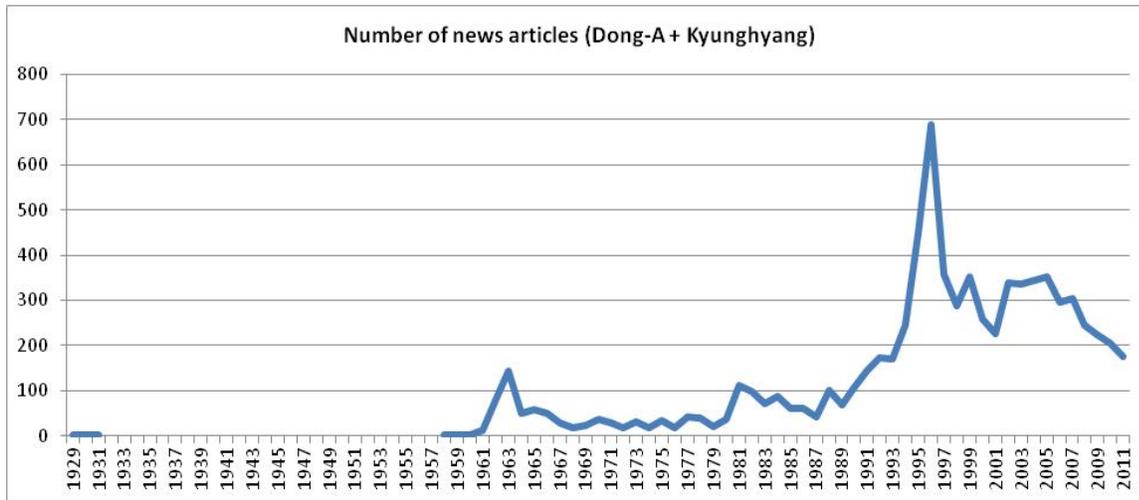


Figure 1. The Trend of News Articles about Jazz

However, the number of jazz-related news articles significantly increased in 1995 with the jazz boom, reaching 448. In 1996, 689 newspaper articles wrote about jazz. In particular, a substantial amount of news at this time dealt with the jazz boom among the youth in Korea rather than introducing foreign artists and festivals. Although the trend showed a downturn again after achieving a peak in 1996, the absolute number of jazz news articles remained much higher than the numbers before 1995. One of the reasons can be inferred from the fact that the Korean economy reached a higher level of development in the mid 1990s. In this period, news articles praising the achievement of Korean economy abound because it was about the time when it reached a \$20,000 GDP.

Jazz was frequently interpellated as the accompanying music for an affluent lifestyle. There were more news articles about the jazz lifestyle than those about jazz musicians in 1995 and 1996. It is very significant that the decrease of articles about jazz overlapped with the financial crisis of 1997, which is called the IMF crisis by Koreans. Another year that showed a sharp decrease in the number of articles about jazz was 2008, when a financial crisis hit hard all over the globe. That is, the relation between the economic situation and jazz music was apparent in the ebb and flow of the number of articles. More complex internal conflicts and the social situation related to the economic aspect of jazz discourse will be discussed in detail in the later section of this dissertation.

From the analysis of data, three distinctive but interrelated discourses were identified: 1) a discourse of jazz as a prop for modern lifestyles; 2) a discourse of pursuing authentic jazz; and 3) a discourse of Koreanizing jazz. The first discourse suggests jazz as something representing the Westernized lifestyle of the upper middle class. The second discourse contradicts the first one because jazz as a lifestyle is just a box that includes not much jazz but consumption of upper middle class music. This second discourse supported by jazz musicians, critics, and connoisseurs challenges the lifestyle discourse of jazz. The second discourse demands that Korean jazz should focus on establishing authentic jazz against an empty word jazz lifestyle. The third discourse argues that Koreanized jazz should be created to enhance the status of Korean jazz in the world music market. The third discourse of Koreanization looks opposed to the second discourse of authenticity because it aims at creating Korean style jazz, which can be considered to be inauthentic. Despite the differing positions taken about jazz, however, all three discourses contribute to reinforcing the connection between jazz and the notion

of modernity in Korea. In this chapter, I examine each discourse identified through the analysis and reveal how each discourse contributes to reproducing the meaning of jazz as modernity. The focus of the analysis of present research will be given to the tracking down the trajectories of how seemingly different, these three discourses collide and intersect with one another to reproduce the status of jazz as an emblem of modernity in Korean society.

### **Jazz as a Prop for Modern Lifestyle**

#### **Jazz and the Upper Middle Class**

The most prominent among different discourses on jazz was characterized as economic in nature. As Korea went through a rapid economic growth, a new social class with economic affluence emerged. Jazz garnered the attention of this new leisure class. Discourses that Korea had finally achieved enough economic affluence to appreciate jazz were circulated through news articles in the media. The vague connection between jazz and economic affluence provided such arguments with validity and worked as a foundation for an economic discourse of jazz. In the 1990s, a jazz boom took place in Korea and in this fad jazz emerged as something representing modern lifestyles. This jazz boom was not unrelated to the prosperity of the Korean economy in the 1990s. Although the hope for ongoing economic development was upset by a financial crisis in 1997, the so-called “IMF Crisis,” Korean society in the 1990s was optimistic about the possibility of achieving a per capita income of \$20,000. A jazz vocalist, Kim Joon, also acknowledged the connection between the success of jazz and economic factors.

According to Kim's interview for the *Wolgan Chosun* (Monthly Chosun) in 2001, Korean jazz was hard hit by the IMF crisis and jazz was just starting to revive in 2001 (B. Seo, 2001). This connection between the success of jazz and economic development is repeated in the interview of Chung Sung Jo, a first-generation jazz musician. Chung says, "Generally speaking it is not without reason that a fertile environment for jazz can be created when a country reaches a per capita income of at least, \$20,000" (B. Seo, 2001). Yoon Sukchan, a young medical student who plays jazz saxophone, expresses a similar point of view, "Because of its freewheelingness, jazz can flourish in somewhat affluent societies. In less affluent countries, it seems that jazz is restrained by policies containing numerous restrictions" (J. Lee, 1996). These quotes reveal that jazz musicians are subsumed by the frame of discourse connecting economic development and the appreciation of jazz. Many jazz musicians, along with jazz connoisseurs, have taken a critical stance toward the commercial culture's borrowing of the jazz image without its content. Therefore, it is very surprising that jazz musicians, who are very critical about the commercial culture promoting jazz as a prop of upper middle class lifestyle, also assume that belonging to an economic status above the middle class is necessary in order to appreciate jazz music. In fact, this assumption of jazz musicians reveals how strong the influence of the economic discourse is on the musicians' community.

Jazz has been utilized as background music in advertisements that promote the products for the affluent lifestyles of the upper middle class. Such advertisements usually show the Westernized lifestyle of yuppies as desirable by using various props. In order to enhance the effectiveness of advertisements, jazz was used in connection with luxurious dress suits, baguettes and oranges, a tranquil house that looks like the residence of a

upper middle class family, sophisticated interiors, and a main character with a professional, white collar career. The extensive use of jazz as an image enhancer in commercial culture is evident in the following news article:

In the advertising industry, a TV commercial using the yearning voice of Billie Holiday as background music was very successful in increasing revenues for the company. In fashion and makeup, jazz style is very popular among women. Although the synergy with the fad of retro style cannot be ignored, “jazz lipstick” and “jazz eyelash”, which create a 1950s look, are not irrelevant to the widespread popularity of jazz music ("*Eumak-Chulpan-Paesheone Shinmoonhwa Hyunsang...Jaez* (New Cultural Phenomenon in Music-Publishing-Fashion...Jazz)," 1996).

Jung Yoonsoo, a jazz columnist criticizes the above situation as follows:

Today’s jazz fever is not purely an enthusiasm for jazz as a music genre. It is only an ephemeral phenomenon in that people want to possess the image of jazz. Audiences are not listening to jazz. They are excited with jazz as an attractive term, and watching a multitude of cultural products gathered under the cloak of the term jazz (Y. Jung, 1995b).

The jazz boom in this period was not so much a boom for the music as a jazz fad image, and such an image was reproduced extensively with attempts by the commercial culture to appropriate the image. While news articles introduced jazz cafés and products appropriating the image of jazz, the articles about jazz musicians and their music were not increasing much. In this respect, Kwon Ohkyung, a student of Seoul National University who founded a jazz club with the intention of establishing an authentic jazz culture with the people who love jazz music itself, says, “It is a pity that jazz reminds people of a jazz café filled with cigarette smoke, the sweet sound of Kenny G’s saxophone, the Orange tribe of *Apgujung-dong* [a term indicating that young people who, with their parents’ wealth, have had experiences of studying abroad or international travel and enjoying decadent commercial culture], and people who perceive jazz as

extravagance, decadence, and indulgence in pleasure” (Bang, 1996).

The appropriated jazz image was used successfully to advertise the products that were totally irrelevant to jazz. This was possible because jazz became the discourse representing the image of the upper middle class. Lamenting the situation of excessive jazz images, a jazz pianist, Shin Kwanwoong says, “The fad of jazz started with the introduction of fusion jazz into *gayo* (popular songs) in the late 1980s. Later jazz was attached anywhere. The examples include jazz *karaoke*, jazz *norebang* (a karaoke-like place without an alcohol license), and jazz apartments” (S. Choi, 1998). The term “jazz” was combined with consumer products indiscreetly. In this nomenclature, jazz connoted simply “high quality” or “luxury” that is not related to jazz. By including “jazz” in product names, marketers could legitimately ask for higher prices. People did not feel much disconnection between jazz and greater economic affluence partly because jazz took a higher position in the hierarchy of popular music genres in Korea. Since it was widely perceived that upper middle class people usually enjoyed jazz, transferring the meaning of economic affluence into jazz seem natural. The connection between jazz and affluence was, therefore, quite arbitrary and unstable because it could be weakened if the tastes of the upper middle class changed. Although the frenzy of using “jazz” in naming consumer goods was short-lived, the fad helped reveal the connection between jazz and the upper middle class in the structure of meanings around the genre. The advertising industry took advantage of the upscale image of jazz music. Although the advertising industry did not create an upper-middle class image by itself, it stood against the prejudices and myths about jazz and modified them in order to serve its own interests.

For the general public, the understanding of jazz was quite inaccurate and

misrepresented because people associated jazz with its affluent image rather than an intrinsic appreciation of the music. Such distorted imagery and widespread public ignorance allowed the malapropism of creating a commercial that showed Cha Inpyo, an actor in the miniseries drama *Sarangeul Goodae Poomanei*, pretending to blow into an alto saxophone while the music track was that of Kenny G playing a soprano saxophone (Y. Jung, 1995a). Jazz musicians and connoisseurs considered that the sudden jazz fad sprang into being among people who only understood the surface of the medium. Those who perpetrated the image of jazz for material gain cared nothing about accurate distinctions as long as it was profitable enough. Playing upon the public's ignorance has long been a mainstay in the world of advertising. Had Cha Inpyo been holding a soprano saxophone, the imagery would have been entirely different. Firstly, despite widespread exposure to Kenny G's music, the people are less frequently given opportunities to see Kenny G with his soprano saxophone because his appearances in the visual media are rare compared to his public exposure through Muzak, radio, background music in television and movies (etc.). Therefore, the soprano saxophone is not as familiar an instrument as the alto saxophone. Secondly, the soprano saxophone is the only straight instrument in the saxophone family – the alto, tenor, baritone, and bass saxophones all curve at the neck and again at the bell. If Cha Inpyo had been filmed playing a soprano saxophone, the general population might actually have wondered what that instrument was. Lastly, the “curvaceous” shape of the alto saxophone could add to its sexual suggestiveness in the hands of a handsome actor.

The fad did not result from popular interests in enjoying the essence of jazz. Kim Hyun June, a jazz columnist, sighed about the general public's ignorance of jazz and the

mass media that only wanted the image of jazz. He says that many reporters request a jazz column introducing jazz music for beginners every autumn. The term “jazz” in the upper middle class life discourse is used interchangeably with other terms such as easy-listening, crossover, and new age music. For instance, as previously mentioned, the Korean Music Awards, established in 2004, combined jazz and crossover as one division (jazz/crossover) until 2008, reflecting the general public’s misunderstanding of jazz. Korean Music Awards practice actually reflected Korean audiences’ shallow level of understanding of the genre. In addition, the overlap of audiences between jazz and classical music in Korea contributed to the practice. The category of crossover included albums in which classical musicians sang any songs outside the classical repertoire.

Since the definition of jazz was not established clearly, it became possible for advertisers of diverse products to appropriate the images of jazz. It was quite common that products irrelevant to jazz used the name jazz, sometimes even embossing the word on the product. There was even a jazz café that did not play any jazz. These effects became stronger because most people did not truly know the genres of jazz, and could not tell jazz genres from other genres. In other words, the vague definition of jazz genres mystified the products associated with jazz and was very effective in establishing the products as objects of desire.

TV commercials’ using jazz as background music clearly identifies and targets people who consume jazz. For instance, there is a TV commercial for high-quality dress shoes for women playing “*I Am A Fool To Want You*” sung by Billie Holliday in a husky voice as background. Sangjoon Lee who planned the commercial analyzed the audiences of jazz music indirectly through the target consumers of the commercial. (According to the analysis), target consumers for the commercial were middle class career women who were in their 20s and lived in urban settings. They were more like the Korean version of affluent yuppies who enjoy showing prosperity in their lives. He

thought these consumers were a group of people who distinguished themselves from the generation who listened to rap music, and such a differentiation strategy in this commercial was very successful (E. Jung, 1995).

As the advertising executive explained, the main audience for jazz was the upper middle class, economically. Geographically speaking, most of them were yuppies living in urban areas. They used consumption objects as tools to distinguish themselves from others, and jazz was a very useful means to create synergy. Commercials targeting upper middle class urban yuppies frequently used jazz as their background music, and their attempts to attract these customers were very successful. The success of commercials using jazz music basically relied on the assumed association between jazz and the upper middle class. The increasing number of jazzy commercials, in fact, indicated the strong connection of jazz with the economic discourse of Korean society.

In the jazz boom of the mid 1990s, the image of jazz overlaps and is intertwined with an upper middle class lifestyle. With the increasing number of upper middle class Korean with buying power, the advertising industry chose jazz as background music in its commercials. In turn, this combination of jazz and an upper middle class lifestyle in various commercials reinforced the upper middle class image of the jazz audience. The association of jazz and upper middle class taste is not a uniquely Korean phenomenon. However, the association between the upper middle class and jazz music appeared in a more intensified form in the reality of Korean society because the economic development and the modernization of lifestyle occurred in Korea in a compressed manner within a very short time span.

## **Liberal Jazz and Self-Expression**

The freedom of expression takes a very important position in explaining various phenomenon of Korean society in 1990s. Since Park Jung Hee came into power through coup d'état in 1961, the military government of dictator Park remained for 19 years and the military government of Jeon Doo Hwan succeeded Park's government after the assassination of Park by one of his government official. Until a civilian government was established in 1987, freedom of expression was severely oppressed. As soon as he came into power, Park established the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), which had the authority for intelligence, surveillance, and investigation. The organization performed works of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the U.S. combined (J. Seo, 2005). Eminent figures from diverse fields were under the continuous surveillance of agents of the KCIA. Celebrities in popular culture were also not exempt. In military governments, popular music was under severe surveillance. So many songs were prohibited at the slightest provocation. The thirst for freedom of expression grew bigger under the oppressive regimes, and it could not be fully realized even after the retreat of military governments in Korean political history. However, freedom of expression was growing as governmental control weakened under the civilian government. Along with the freedom of expression in political arena, a social atmosphere of encouraging personal expression was also growing.

For many people, in particular people of the younger generations, it is somewhat difficult to express personal opinions freely because in Korea conservative Confucian ideals of humility and moderation are still dominant in the norms of everyday life. In this social context, jazz collides with Confucian tradition by aligning itself with the value of

“self-expression.” Characters in commercials with jazz music as the background are usually very assertive emphasizing free self-expression through consumption.

Unconventional lifestyles seen in commercials, from fashion to demeanor overthrow Confucian rules and norms and are perceived as liberating to many people. Main characters in the advertisements using jazz were described as modern men with liberal ideas who were free from the prejudices and stereotypes of Korean society.

The pairing of liberty and jazz is well reflected in a corporational advertisements in 2001 of KTF (Korea Telecom Freetell), in which a young CEO in jeans and a t-shirt goes to work on roller blades and is shown in contrast to a corporate executive in a suit riding in a limousine. In this KTF commercial, the stereotype that successful upper class businessmen wear neckties and ride in luxury cars is subverted by the young CEO in jeans, and such a liberal idea is directly associated with the corporate culture of KTF. The content of the commercial applauds a reasonable society in which people are evaluated based on their abilities rather than seniority as reflected in the traditional values of the Confucian culture in Korea, and this idea was very well received by the younger generation. In line with the association of jazz with liberty, an analysis of a newspaper article reveals that its liberal image is one reason that jazz became popular with the youth, “The reason today’s young people have a preference for jazz is that jazz is more luxurious than rock music, and more liberal than classical music” (Han, 2002). The KTF commercial declaring “A necktie and blue jeans are equal” uses “Take 5” of Dave Brubeck as its background music, and the popularity of the commercial led to the huge popularity of the song “Take 5” itself.

In addition to images constructed by commercials, the characteristics of jazz using

improvisation liberally played an important role in establishing the association of jazz with freedom. While classical music, which has the image of luxury and high quality, is perceived as music with formality, the idea that jazz is free has prevailed in the past and continues to prevail today. Very often jazz musicians have recited the belief that classical music is centered on composers while jazz music focuses on players, reflecting this stereotype. While jazz was perceived as upper middle class music similar to classical music, it also had a more liberal image than classical music. This liberal image embedded in jazz was borrowed as symbols of freedom and wealth in various commercials and the strategy worked well with younger generations who felt smothered by conservative neo-Confucian ideology.

The idea of jazz as freedom is evident in news articles reporting how jazz delivers the message of freedom in the oppressive social culture of the Soviet Union in the 1960s. One of them is a news article from *Chosun Ilbo* on 4 August 1962 reporting the visit of Benny Goodman to the Soviet Union. The article tells that “people of the Soviet Union are crazy about the jazz of Benny Goodman” and claims that “this enthusiasm for jazz cannot be put down unless the political oppression of Stalin is restored” (“*Soryuneul Duggulgehan Mikookeu Jaez (American Jazz Stirs up the Soviet Union)*,” 1962).

For Koreans, jazz implied freedom and represented individualistic values that emphasize self-expression rather than considering what others might think. These individualistic values were liberating for people who suffered from collectivistic culture, in which it is considered to be a virtue to restrain one’s interests for the groups that she or he belongs to, such as family and the nation. At the same time, the value of self-expression and its strong association with jazz were very useful marketing tools

because the value worked well with the mantra of consumer culture and the expression of one's self through consumption. The example of the KTF commercial also regards the value of self expression defying social conventions and stereotypes as a new way of life well-matched to the new, advanced society, and the company, KTF, suggests itself as realizing such values in its corporate culture. The following interview shows how jazz is associated with individual values in the mind of audiences.

We met Kim Yoojin (a jazz fan) in *Stereo file*, a live jazz club located near *Hongik* University. She told me jazz liberated her. Jazz made her feel comfortable. To her, jazz is free-spirited, unfixed, individualistic music. She wants to put jazz in her heart all the time. In another interview with Kim Youngjoon, owner of *Stereo file*, he said that the current jazz boom is not a fad but a new social phenomenon. Jazz will become mainstream music in accordance with the progress of urbanization and civilization. He argued that people don't listen to jazz while plowing fields. It is more appropriate to listen to jazz in a rushing car in the city. He said, "as civilization develops, jazz comes closer to us" (S. Lee, 1995).

People who consider jazz as freeing the spirit tend to have a view that it collides with tradition. They reinforce the jazz image as free from the past conservative mentality. The values of individualism and freedom were expressed and consumed through jazz music. Jazz was perceived as the opposite image of old fashioned tradition, and such contrast accounted for a part of constructing modern lifestyle. In particular, women imposed freedom on jazz because women have very limited freedom in strongly Confucian Korea.

### **Jazz and the Romantic Man**

The advertising industry prefers romantic, melodious jazz to dissonant free jazz because it attracts more consumers to products without distracting their attention. The

jazz songs used in commercials were usually soft, standard numbers such as “Fly Me to the Moon,” “I am a Fool to Want You” and “I Left My Heart in San Francisco.” The popularity of these songs resulted in the production of compilation albums with titles such as CF (Commercial Films) Jazz Collection with people regarding these songs as mood music. The perception of jazz as mood music appears in the testimony of the owner of the jazz club “All That Jazz,” “In Korea, jazz is still put in the corner, being treated as mood music or background music” (Han, 2011). The combination of jazz and the notion of being romantic appear in its condensed form in media contents such as *Sarangeul Goodae Poomanei*, which was mentioned earlier. The juxtaposition of the man devoted to his love and his appreciation of jazz music in the drama reinforced the romantic image of jazz even more. Men in television advertising featuring jazz represent a romantic male image in contemporary Korea. The man who listens to jazz is contrasted with the Confucian paternalistic man. In advertising or TV series, the new romantic male figure was described as an obscure object to be desired by women who were disgusted with Confucianism.

The romantic ideal of men also strengthens the modernity implied in jazz genres because the ideal male image in the traditional Confucian perspective is far from being a romanticist. In traditional Confucian thoughts the discrimination between male and female is justified based on the belief of natural distinctiveness between men and women; the domination of men over women and women’s submission to men are suggested as social norms. The inherent inequality between men and women demanded sacrifices of women under the Confucian culture centered on family and the nation (H. Lee, 2005). Therefore, a romanticist who is devoted to his lover is a modern and Westernized ideal of

a man, and such a Westernized image of males contributes to the stabilization of the modernity connoted in the meanings of jazz. Media representations of non-patriarchal, romantic males went well with jazz music. Female audiences and consumers consumed the fantasy of modern, romantic men created in TV dramas and commercials, which was constructed based on the modern image of jazz. Images of romanticism along with freedom of expression became major components in creating Westernized modern lifestyle.

### **Jazz and English Language Hegemony**

The proportion of English lyrics in jazz is much higher than in other music genres. When a foreign genre is introduced, it is common practice to adapt foreign lyrics to native ones for an audience that is not familiar with a foreign language. Even so, jazz musicians in Korea did not find any need to adapt English lyrics, but also treasured conserving the original language form. One of the reasons jazz musicians in Korea continue to sing English lyrics is that English in Korea functions as cultural capital. In forming a luxurious upper middle class image of jazz, English also played a crucial role. While folk or rock that was similar to jazz in terms of the fact that it was imported and adapted from English and sung in Korean have interest in connecting with youth generation, jazz that was reluctant to be adapted and was sung in the original English lyrics takes advantage of the image of the upper middle class lifestyles.

Recently, in order to develop a more Koreanized jazz repertoire, many jazz singers began to sing famous Korean popular songs by arranging them into jazz styles. What is interesting about this trend is that the original lyrics in Korean were rewritten in

English. For instance, jazz singer Woongsan recorded “*Maeil Gudaewa*” (“Every Day with You,” 1985) with a famous Korean rock band *Deulkookhwa* (Wild Chrysanthemum) and “*Uhneuse*” (“Before I Realize,” 1989) with Jang Pilsoon. In the new 2008 recordings, “*Maeil Gudaewa*” became “On a Sunny Day” and “*Uhneuse*” became “It Was You” with new English lyrics. A jazz album of all Korean lyrics by jazz vocalist Malo became news because of the reality that the title and lyrics of even new original jazz songs are usually written in English. The following is a news article about Malo that appeared in

*Kyunghyang Shinmoon* on 28 June 2007:

Jazz singer Malo is different. Like her previous album, her new album contains songs with all Korean lyrics. Her lyrics are written in non-abstruse, ordinary words such as summer, the colors of water, Han River, flowers, silence, whistle stop, and echoes. It is hard to find even a word with foreign origin. ... (She says), “Why should I sing in English for Americans when I live on the Korean soil?” (Baek, 2007).

While Cho Youngnam, who started his career as a folk singer, is sometimes jokingly made fun of as a singer without an original hit song except for adapted songs, not having original hit songs is not mentioned as an issue for jazz singers. Famous jazz singers sing English lyrics without any translation or lyrical adaptation. It is not considered unnatural for jazz singers to sing English lyrics on Korean television. It was customary to sing in English among many Korean jazz singers. Singing in English was perceived as a higher level of performance.

The performance with English lyrics results in widening the gap between jazz musicians and the general public who are not very familiar with the English language because the knowledge of English in Korea serves as a sign representing the people with higher education and higher socio-economic status. The fact that someone is knowledgeable about English and able to speak it freely implies that the person has

benefited from higher education. In particular, since the number and ratio of older people who experienced higher education is lower than in the younger generation, the correlation between higher socio-economic status and knowledge of English is expected to be higher in the younger generation.

English serves as a barometer to indicate the high intellectual level of an individual in Korean society. Speaking English well is considered to be a royal road to social success. In order to have a job in major companies, applicants should submit English test scores such as TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) and TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), even when English is not required to perform the types of work for which they are applying. High scores for TOEIC or TOEFL are a necessary condition for successful application to major companies, such as Samsung, LG, and Hyundai, in Korea. Children of middle class families read English picture books and go to English kindergarten even though there is no occasion to use English in their everyday lives. College students go abroad to study English after withdrawing from school temporarily. In summary, English language in Korea is a more important factor than professional knowledge in evaluating the job skills of applicants.

The culture of emphasizing the acquisition of English seems to be highly related to the perception of modernity in Korean society. First of all, English is the language of America and Britain, two countries that had and have hegemony in world politics and in a more advanced state of economic development than Korea. In other words, the language is necessary to acquire the advanced culture of advanced countries. This is in line with the fact that modern girls and boys in colonial Korea had to learn English to enjoy Western culture and imported products from the West. In particular, the perception of the

US as a gentlemanly and advanced country that helped Koreans overcome the destruction that resulted from the Korean War contributed to strengthening the connection between American English and modernity in Korea.

People who could speak English in colonial Korea were those who had benefited from modern education, and they usually had an affluent family background. The relationship among English, higher education, and the acquisition of modernity continued in the 1950s and 1960s. When people who did not graduate from grade school were plentiful, the fact that someone knew the English alphabet meant that he or she had a secondary education. Listening to American pop songs and understanding the lyrics were regarded as the privilege of college students. These college students were able to get white-collar jobs after graduation and led successful middle-class lives, and in this process the English hegemony was reproduced and reinforced. By the same token, jazz practices, such as singing with original English lyrics without any adaptation or translation and composing original jazz songs in English, have contributed to establishing jazz as a symbol of Westernized upper middle class life. English was one of the key components of a Westernized lifestyle. The fact that someone enjoys jazz music implied that she or he could understand English and had basic knowledge of Western culture. As a result, Korean jazz musicians and audiences came to form a community with people who understood English, and belonging to this community was a basic requirement to enjoy jazz and a Westernized lifestyle. Critiques of Korean singers singing English lyrics were not present until recently. In other words, jazz as lifestyle discourse stands opposed to English language hegemony in Korean society.

## Seeking Authentic Jazz

In response to the discourse that sees jazz as a prop for a Westernized modern lifestyle, jazz musicians and connoisseurs take the position of critiquing commercial culture that is appropriating the image of jazz with commercial intentions. The discourse of critiquing commercial culture takes the form of arguing for the pursuit of authenticity in jazz. Many jazz musicians agree with the statement that seeing jazz as a prop of a modern lifestyle is far from the essence of jazz. The essence and authenticity of jazz that is pursued by these musicians is something that is extremely hard to reach. From the perspectives of jazz musicians, Korea has a sterile environment for jazz. According to trumpeter Kang Daekwan, “Korean people only care for money and they are fools that do not know about music” (R. Lee, 2007).

The laments and critiques about the sterile reality of jazz in Korea can frequently be spotted in others. Hwang Dukho, a jazz columnist, says that jazz has a market that is one-third the size of the classical music market, which is famous for having a small market demand. That is, the small size of the jazz audience is not confined to Korea, but is a worldwide phenomenon. In his opinion, however, a bigger problem is the fact that there is no communication between jazz fans and general music fans and this is partly because the Korean music industry has been reluctant to make jazz albums in the mid-price range. Otherwise, he argues, jazz could be considered to be a more valuable music genre by the general public rather than being consumed as just an image (Hwang, 2007).

Jazz musicians, critics and connoisseurs very often criticize the consumption of

jazz images as something void of the core of jazz. This statement results from the clashes of interest between the jazz music scene and the commercial culture of consumerism. Even in the jazz boom it is hard to get more jazz fans because the commercial culture induces a wrongful understanding about jazz. The jazz boom, based on the appropriation of the jazz image, serves the interests of companies in producing consumer goods and those of media in creating contents based on jazz stereotypes. However, this excess of jazz image spawns a reality that is devoid of jazz as seen in a jazz café in which jazz music is not played, and in turn this creates the false perception that people are consuming jazz when actually they are not. As a result, the consumption of its image does not always contribute to expanding the fan base of jazz, but creates a distorted perception of jazz. This is why musicians and connoisseurs criticize the reality of the excessive jazz image.

Jazz music used to promote consumerism is usually music at a beginner's level such as hit songs from the past and the standard jazz repertoire. On the other hand, the repertoire that current Korean jazz musicians are pursuing is more professional, including up-to-date sub-genres of jazz such as free jazz and instrumental music without lyrics, compared to the earlier preference for standard numbers. In addition, publishers produce only beginners' guidebooks for jazz and it is hard to find books addressing a more advanced level of jazz knowledge. As a result, the general public's shallow knowledge of jazz and the excess of jazz images tend to result in alienating jazz musicians from the Korean jazz boom. What many Korean jazz musicians usually play is very different from what the general public perceive as jazz. For this reason, jazz musicians declare the jazz boom of 1990s as "bubbles without substance" and express the hope that jazz lovers

would come to disassociate themselves from the commercial associations of jazz by the mid-2000s because “real” fans of jazz were increasing after the bubble burst in the jazz market (Moon, 2006).

As there are real and fake jazz fans of Korean jazz musicians, so is there real jazz and false jazz. While jazz was not clearly defined in the discourse of commercial culture, real jazz is strictly defined in the discourse of authenticity. In the musicians’ perspective, “jazz which is true to its essence has not been played in Korea until now” (“*Jaez: Jukungjukin Musi Saengmyung: (Jazz: The Taste of Improvisation)*,” 1963). If we look into the solutions suggested by jazz musicians and connoisseurs, we can infer how these people define what jazz is. Jazz columnist Hwan Dukho says as follows:

Before we can address the problem of revitalization of the jazz market, we first encounter a huge wall, that of bad business in the music recording industry. Other problems include radio programming without programs dedicated to introducing music, implicit exclusion of jazz because of its multi-racial origins, and the late introduction of jazz genres in the Korean market. However, there are some things for jazz-related people to do to alleviate this dire situation. Recording companies should release good albums, while critics and mass media should convey the attractiveness of jazz to people through their writings. So even if someone is not a jazz fan, if he or she is a general music fan the person should be guided to understand the music of Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, Miles Davis and John Coltrane. This falls into the realm of culture education, just as we came to know the music of Mozart and Beethoven, and appreciate the paintings of van Gogh and Picasso” (Hwang, 2007).

From the above quote, it is detected that Hwang regards jazz as something closer to classical music rather than popular music. That is, he sees the listening and appreciation of jazz as a lack of cultural education rather than a simple matter of individual taste. The perspective to equate jazz with classical music is detected very often from jazz aficionados other than Hwang. Kim Hyunjoon, a famous jazz critic, also claims that jazz should be raised to the level of classical music and the government should

support jazz musicians as it supports classical musicians. According to Kim, “Popular musicians have a more competitive edge in capitalistic society (compared to other music genres). But classical music and jazz are art forms that cannot survive in the market without concrete support and assistance from the government” (Hyunjoon Kim, 2004).

Equating jazz to classical music is associated with the perception of jazz as music that should be studied in order to be properly appreciated. As Hwang (2007) says, “In Korea, jazz is still unfamiliar music to ordinary people. Although jazz clubs began their businesses and cultivated jazz fans since the 1970s and a number of jazz musicians are returning to Korea after studying jazz in foreign countries, jazz is still an unknown, mysterious territory to ordinary Korean people.” Jazz album producer Ha Jongwook also unfolds an opinion similar to that of Hwang and supports the claim that it is hard to appreciate jazz without studying or training by mentioning the experiences that he had while attending a jazz performance with his wife:

She started to listen to jazz, but before long she kept nodding as she tried to fight off sleep. It is not wrong for her to think that jazz is difficult, abstruse, and unapproachable. It is not that she is ignorant either. For those who did not have any training for listening to jazz, jazz is music for accomplished musicians, and the jazz sound, in which all the instruments are represented indiscriminately with balance, is a distracting and disagreeable sound that can upset the stomach (Ha, 2005).

Park Sungyon, a jazz vocalist and an owner of the jazz club *Janus* supports the statement that study and training are needed to understand jazz music. She says, “If pop songs and *gayo* (Korean popular songs) are representational paintings that express emotions in a straightforward way, jazz is an abstract painting in which the expression is in moderation and symbolism”(Kwon, 1998). In her opinion, in representational paintings people can grasp the subject of the paintings with little effort, but jazz requires much

more knowledge to appreciate its beauty because the expression is subtle and in moderation as in abstract paintings. This idea of jazz as difficult music leads to the concept that an educative approach is necessary to disperse jazz to more people.

The perception of seeing jazz as a high level art form can be gleaned from the discussions of jazz professionals about the popularization of jazz for the general public. They draw the line between popular singers and jazz musicians saying,

Not everyone can be a jazz musician because he or she is influenced by jazz in terms of musicality, and a monolithic distinction is not required either. The weaker is the base of jazz, as in Korean society, the firmer the stance of jazz musicians should be. If jazz musicians desert their designated positions because of various realistic reasons, they are not different from any commercial musicians who pursue appearing in popular music shows on television (Hyunjoon Kim, 2004).

Therefore when Insooni, a famous popular singer, sings jazz songs, and a popular actress Soh Yoojin performs a jazz number on stage, this induces a cold smile from jazz professionals. They express their doubt and show the attitude of seclusion saying,

Can jazz become popular because a huge star released a jazz album? The attempt is just a pleasure-seeking play for a star and it makes jazz music more alienating. The urgent matter for us jazz professionals is not opening the door in search for friendliness with other genres without purpose but closing the door and securing it more firmly (Jongwook Ha, 2005).

Such a closed attitude is in line with the idea of art for art's sake and puts emphasis on the purity of jazz music. In contrast to the reluctance to fuse jazz with other popular music genres, there is a strong perception that jazz contributed to enhancing the quality of Korean popular music. That is, jazz as high-quality art has a positive influence on ordinary popular music. Again, this statement shows that jazz professionals internalized the hierarchical conception of popular music and considered jazz genres to

be superior to other popular music genres. For instance, a news article titled “Jazz Fever Returns in America” says, without any supporting arguments, that “unlike rock music which offers answers without considering the complexities of life, jazz seems to be closer to the dilemma of modern times” (*Mie Dasi Chajaon Jaezyulpung (Jazz Fever Returns in America)*, 1977). The perception of the superiority of jazz to other genres is also expressed by music critic Lim Jinmo, and he argues, “the jazz fad of the 1990s contributed to improving the quality of Korean popular music” (Lim, 2001). Jazz musician Kil Okyoon also expresses a similar opinion:

Jazz is booming in other countries because jazz has high artistic value and strong influence on other music genres. I felt the need to distribute jazz because Korea is like a barren land in terms of jazz music (“Hankook Jaekklup Baljok Hoejangjimateun Jakkokga Kil Ok Yoonssi (Composer Kil Ok Yoon Inaugurates Korean Jazz Club)”, 1978).

In a news article in 1981 to introduce a radio program, “Jazz Story,” for which the DJ was Kil Okyoon, a very strong expectation for jazz was revealed. According to this article, Jazz Story will “mainly introduce orthodox jazz music and accompany Korean pop songs and performances of Korean jazz musicians. If more young people can understand jazz and participate in the Korean popular music scenes, the quality of domestic popular songs will be considerably enhanced” (“Junpatanun Jaenyumak, Yonkukmudae (Broadcasting of Jazz Music and Theater),” 1981). This argument is based on the enlightenment discourse that jazz can lead the way for Korean popular music and upgrade the quality of it because of the inherent superiority of jazz.

Similar to the strict conception of the hierarchy of different music genres, the evaluation of jazz musicians is also very strict. To explain the higher quality of jazz, news articles frequently used foreign musicians as references. The aspiration for foreign

jazz musicians resurfaced with articles introducing foreign jazz musicians visiting Korea, the jazz trend in America, and foreign jazz festivals in the 1960s and 1970s. This tendency continues until now and is shown in a description of new album by Choi Sunbae in 2011, *In A Trumpet in the Night Sky*, an album on which Choi Sunbae plays trumpet and flugelhorn along with a string section, “We can have a glimpse of the styles from old jazz masters in the distance to Chris Botti among contemporaries” (M. Ahn, 2011). Rather than describing the performances of Choi Sunbae in a concrete manner, terms like jazz master and the name of a musician, Chris Botti, are used as references to indicate the quality of music and performance.

The practices of using foreign musicians as references to evaluate the performance of Korean jazz musicians seems to be related to the fact that many Korean jazz musicians started their career in the US Eighth Army’s Show. After the Korean War, the US Eighth Army’s Show and AFKN worked as a textbook for Korean popular musicians to study. Reflecting on their past, many musicians recited their experiences of scoring by listening to AFKN like a tale of bravery and used those scores for their performances. In their narrative it is considered a mark of pride to have started one’s career with the US Eighth Army’s Show. Reminiscing over the US Eighth Army’s Show, jazz pianist Shin Kwanwoong says, “The US Eighth Army was the gathering place of American popular culture. There were several clubs in every army station, but so-called capable Korean musicians went to the US Eighth Army. They learned American culture while making friends with Americans in the Army and later spreading the acquired culture outside the army” (S. Choi, 1997).

The fact itself that a certain musician started his or her career in the US Eighth

Army's Show was suggested as evidence of one's ability as a musician. In particular, auditioning for the US Eighth Army's Show played a big role in Korean musicians' internalizing the practice of using US musicians as references. As explained above, the better a musician was at imitating US singers, the higher the rank he could obtain. For musicians in the US Eighth Army's Show, higher rank was considered to mean greater musical ability. This audition system strengthened the American orientation of Korean musicians, leading them to use US singers as their references. The perception of the authenticity of jazz was not confined to the realm of the US Eighth Army's Show; rather, it extended to the "mainland" US.

Whenever musicians and critics evaluated the level of Korean jazz, they were always conscious of jazz music of the "mainland." The consciousness of "mainland" jazz did not disappear even for musicians who were eager to create their own styles and avoid imitating US jazz musicians. The term "mainland" assumed the US as the center of the jazz world and Korean jazz was considered to be on the margin. This consciousness of "mainland" jazz is evident in the following quote from Ryu Boksung, a famed jazz drummer, "Will it be possible for Korean jazz musicians to surpass musicians on the mainland? Therefore, we have to create original jazz to fit Korean taste by studying night and day" (Hoonam Kim, 2007). Jazz professionals still think that Koreanized jazz styles should be developed because Korean jazz musicians cannot surpass US jazz musicians from the mainland. For that reason, the fact that Na Yoonseon, who has been "recognized in the European market" with her mysterious voice color and elegant style, was the first Korean to perform in "Jazz at Lincoln Center" in New York City, a capital of jazz music; she was reported and praised as a very proud achievement (Sunghyun Choi, 2007). This

attitude shows the desires of Korean jazz musicians for recognition from the “mainland” jazz world. In her interview, Na says, “after showing that the power of Korean jazz cannot be ignored, I would like to work at the front line for popularizing jazz that is sympathetic to Korean audiences.” Ceaseless aspiration for the level of mainland jazz as an unapproachable ideal, and desire for recognition from the mainland clearly reveals the cultural coloniality inherent in Korean jazz genres.

In the end, ceaseless efforts and devotion to pursuing authenticity in jazz can be said to be the realization of fundamentalism, in which musicians try to reach an unreachable essence. However, it is not clear what authentic jazz actually is and if it consists of so-called jazz of the mainland that has been fragmented into different subgenres, and with which many musicians are trying to create their own style of jazz. Since these idiosyncrasies in the so-called “mainland” are not integrated into one thread so that we can identify “the essence of authentic jazz,” the statement that the essence of authentic jazz exists in the mainland is one of the discourses that has an actual effect on reality. In other words, the authenticity of jazz is just an invented, social construction based on the combination of experiences related to the US Eighth Army’s Show and the AFKN, and the idealized image of the US as the mainland of jazz. Ultimately, one of the purposes of this dissertation is to point out the limitations of fundamentalism in forming an authentic discourse of jazz, and to emphasize that such a discourse is a social construction based on the workings of various social forces.

## The Discourse of Koreanized Jazz

One of the strong discourses around Korean jazz is about the Koreanization of US jazz. This discourse about Koreanized jazz appears increasingly in the mass media and in the opinions of jazz musicians and critics. This new discourse seems to have originated from the realization of Korean jazz musicians that having one's distinctive identity is important in interaction with foreign musicians in the international jazz market. Jazz album producer Ha Jongwook says that the boom of joint performances of Korean musicians with world-renowned jazz musicians started in 1997. With this trend, Korean jazz started to show a desire to go outside the fence. After two to three years of such a trend, albums that tried to find something Korean were released in the market and received positive feedback from audiences (Ha, Kim, Kim, Choi, & Ahn, 2007).

Out of similar problems, jazz singer Malo raises a question of identity as she poses a challenge: why should she have to sing English lyrics when she lives on Korean soil? (Baek, 2007). Lee Wonsoo, who is the leader of *kukak* (Korean traditional music) crossover group "Stone Jazz," also mentions as an important turning point the time he worked in the US as a jazz musician. Lee says, "I started to do this activity (crossover with *kukak*) because I realized that I needed an identity as a Korean when I worked in the US. I think that putting *kukak* on jazz and creating the sound that everyone can relate to is in line with the fundamental spirit of arts, creation through imitation" (M. Ahn, 2007).

Within the discourse of Koreanization, however, there is the logic that developing a local style is a reasonable strategy because jazz is originally black music and it is hard for Koreans to produce the same quality jazz music with the same feelings as black jazz

musicians did. Following this logic, saxophonist Lee Jungsik says, “We cannot escape imitating the music of black people as we perform, no matter how hard we try.” To overcome this limitation, he mixed the Korean folk song *Arirang* with the foreign folk song, “The Water is Wide.” He invented a musical instrument called *Sikkum* by combining the Korean traditional musical instrument *daekum* with the Western flute, and used this instrument in order to introduce the sound of *daekum* into the Western musical scale (Seunghyun Choi, 2007). Heo Daewook, a jazz pianist, expresses a similar opinion. “Isn’t it more desirable to create our own color if we cannot create a feeling that matches the feeling of black jazz musicians? Although it is important to have cultural exchanges with foreign performers, ultimately I would like to express oriental sentiments. [I would like to express] not just the combination of musical instruments or harmony but the sentiments and thoughts in a literal sense because I am a Korean, after all” (M. Ahn, 2006).

What jazz musicians want to do with Koreanized jazz is to spread the excellence of Korean jazz in the world market. For this reason, there is significant meaning in the fact that the realization of Koreanized jazz resulted from the cultural exchange between Korean and foreign musicians, as Ha Jongwook mentioned. It means that the need for Koreanization does not originate from a voluntary awakening while reviving and developing traditional culture; instead, it is based on the logic of globalization. That is, Koreanizing jazz is a differentiation strategy for effective marketing in the world jazz market.

This project of making Koreanized jazz inevitably connotes the “Western gaze” based on Orientalism because the project was devised to differentiate Korean jazz in the

more profitable Western market. In other words, musicians tend to choose and display exotic elements that match the Oriental perspective in their music. Accordingly, the most common practice of Koreanization is the practice of including *kukak* instruments into the performance, and such activities are usually special events rather than ongoing efforts. The emphasis is on the fact that *kukak* instruments are included in the performance regardless of whether the fusion was successful or not. This is a situation very similar to that of commercial culture appropriating the jazz image to promote products. As commercial culture appropriates a jazz image without a deeper understanding, so jazz is appropriating the image of *kukak* for its benefit without in-depth understanding of traditional music. The borrowed image of *kukak* worked as an embellishment to make the Korean jazz more distinctively appealing to world audiences in the international market. Since the choices of Korean elements are based on the internalized Orientalism embodied within Koreans, the chosen elements are very often far from the current reality of Korea, and more exotic objects are unwittingly based on Western perspectives.

The discourse around Koreanization in the period of globalization is not confined to the realm of jazz, but it is in the same flow of globalization discourse that has affected Korea since the mid 1990s. This discourse is best summarized in the statement that “the most Korean things are the most global.” As globalization intensifies, it is considered to be desirable to develop products based on Korean traditional culture to inform the world of the excellence of local culture while at the same time making profits. In this aspect, the discourse of Koreanizing jazz is based on commercialization logic. As the number of jazz musicians increases, the small Korean jazz market has worked as a limitation for the commercial success of jazz musicians, and the need for cultivating an international

market has emerged. With regard to Korean jazz in the competitive world market, attractive cultural products cannot be produced by imitating US jazz. Therefore, the differentiation strategy is necessary to attract more audiences and the elements from traditional Korean culture become very useful in this regard.

Korean popular music, in particular pop idol groups, started to be very popular in other Asian countries under the name of “*Hanryu*” (Korean Wave) since 2000. In line with *Hanryu* fever in other Asian countries, the new term, “Jazz *Hanryu*” has recently started to appear in the mass media. For instance, in a news article reporting the *Jara* Island Jazz Festival, which started in 2004, the ambition of becoming the best jazz festival in Asia, where successful jazz festivals are very few, is evident. This ambition seems to result from the pride that comes from Korea’s economic development and the success of *Hanryu*. What is behind this ambition is the evolutionary social assumption that Korea has achieved economic and cultural development following the other advanced countries such as the US and European countries, and now is the time to inform other less developed countries of our excellence. Indeed, this is very unfortunate because this discourse is reproducing the same logic of imperialistic colonialism from which Korea had suffered for so long.

### **Three Discourses: Lifestyle, Authenticity and Koreanization**

Through analysis I have identified three different but intertwined discourses. In these discourses of jazz, diverse desires that Korean people have formed during the rapid modernization process are injected and intermingled in a complex way. Different

discourses collide or complement one another to construct the ecology of discourses. While the lifestyle discourse emphasizes images and appearances, the authenticity discourse challenges jazz as a lifestyle discourse pursuing the inherent essence of jazz. The authenticity discourse emphasizes the authority of foreign sources. On the other hand, the Koreanization discourse tries to illuminate Korean tradition. That is, the authenticity discourse and the Koreanization discourse are facing the opposite direction from each other. Figure 2 illustrates the topography of meanings pursued by each identified discourse. However, these discourses share some points of contact. The authenticity discourse overlaps with the lifestyle discourse in terms of Western orientation. The authenticity and Koreanization discourses share common grounds because both pursue the advance of jazz as a music genre and the improvement of jazz musicians' standing economically and musically. While the authenticity discourse prioritizes musical perfection rather than commercial success, the lifestyle and Koreanization discourses coincide with each other in terms of pursuing economic success.

Figure 3 shows how the three pillars of the definition of modernity, which includes pursuit of progress, essentialism, and universalism, are reinforced through the three

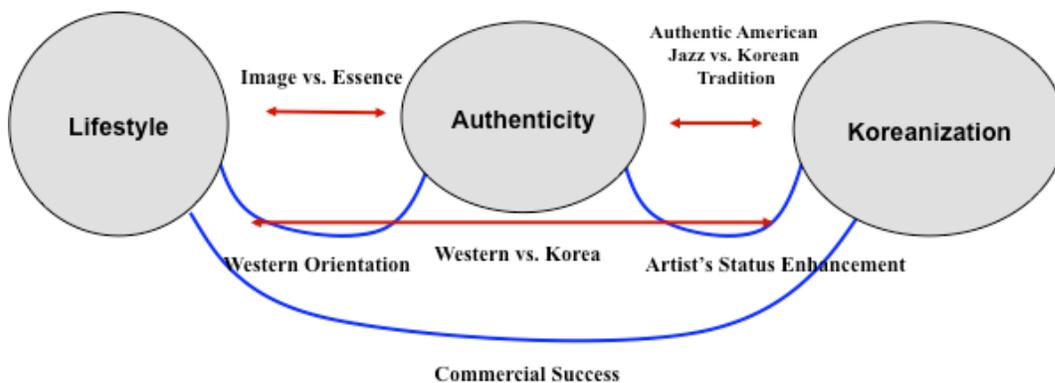


Figure 2. The Relationship among Three Discourses

discourses identified through the analysis. The pursuit of progress as one of the main pillars of modernity is closely related to the fact that people tend to think that a Westernized lifestyle, similar music to the authentic jazz of the mainland, Koreanized jazz embodies more advanced quality. Considering that historical progress has directivity toward a certain point, the three discourses reinforcing the meaning of progress also contribute to strengthening the essentialism in modernity. Premises on historical progress and essentialism also end up assuming the existence of universal criteria to measure the advancedness of certain entities. Only with such universal criteria, one can make judgments such as “a Westernized lifestyle is better than a traditional one,” “authentic jazz of the mainland has higher level artistry,” and “the Koreanized version of jazz is better than just mimicking Western musicians.” In this way, the three discourses reinforce the equation of “jazz = modernity” by having a relationship with the three pillars of modernity.

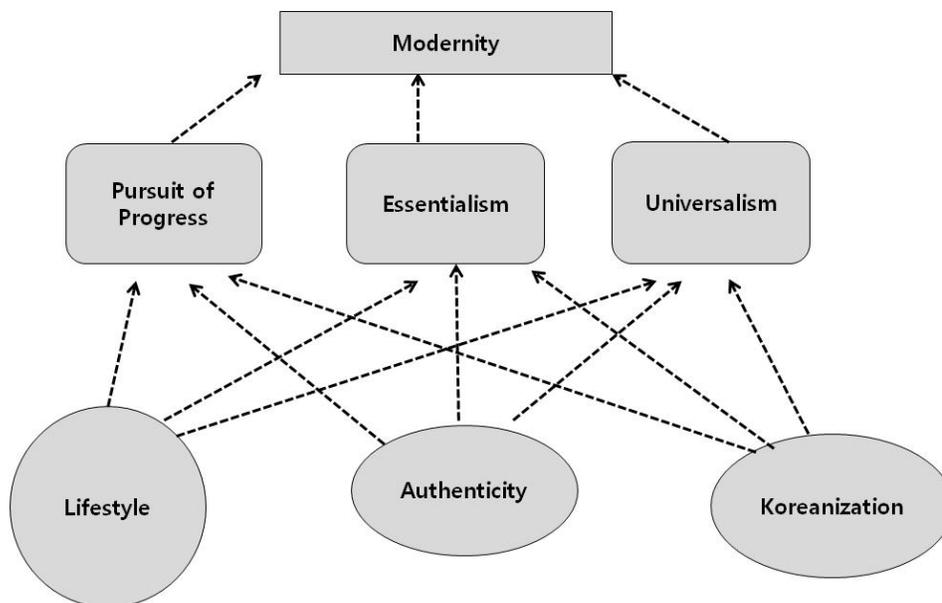


Figure 3. Three Pillars of Modernity

The meanings of modernity should be understood under the local context of Korean society, where postcolonial reality penetrates every aspect of social life. Figure 4 shows the very influence of postcolonial context on the reinforcing meaning of jazz as an emblem of modernity. Modernity is a value that was transplanted into the Korean society under the power imbalance in the relationship with world powers. Pursuing economically more affluent Westernized lifestyles or authentic jazz of the mainland represent a paradoxical postcolonial situation where the Korean as colonized tries to overcome the trauma of colonialism by following the paths of the colonizers. The intention to stand out in the world jazz market with Koreanized jazz is closely associated with the desire of getting recognized as legitimate by so called advanced societies including the U.S. as the mainland of jazz. From a postcolonial perspective, therefore, it is proper to understand the meaning of modernity by considering globalized world system with Western hegemony.

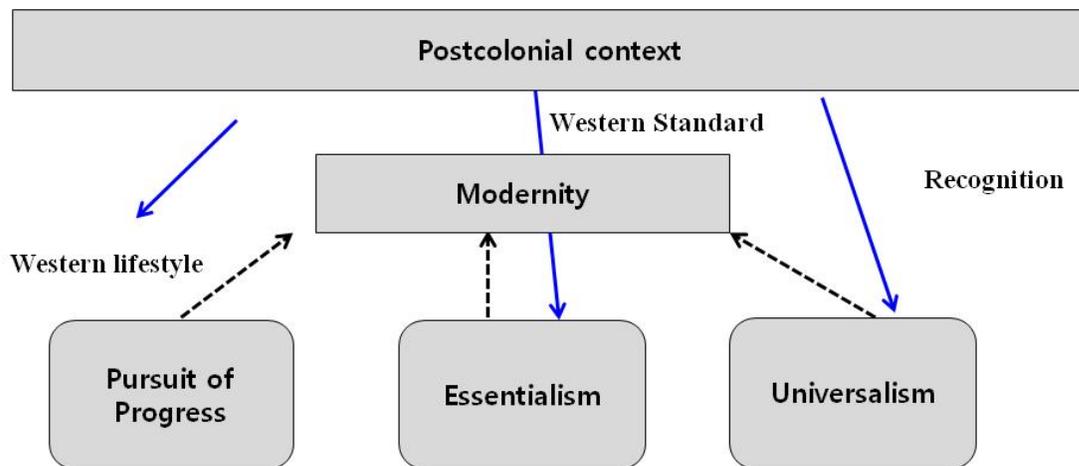


Figure 4. The Influence of Postcolonial Context

## CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION: JAZZ AND MODERNITY

This dissertation examined how the dominant position of American popular culture in Korea has influenced and shaped the meaning of Korean jazz throughout Korean history. As Korean popular culture has been shaped under the influence of foreign cultures such as the US, Korean jazz also has followed suit. Jazz had been considered an object of aspiration that is associated with American life compared with the distressing aspects of Korean life as it was during Japanese colonization. After liberation, early Korean popular culture has been constructed by US military culture through the AFKN and the US Eighth Army's Show.

This study investigates how jazz as a musical genre has acquired social meaning in Korea through media discourse analysis. I discovered three prominent discourses in this dissertation: the modern lifestyle discourse, the authenticity seeking discourse and, last but not least, the Koreanized jazz discourse. Even though each discourse concentrated on its particular interests, these discourses coordinated to enhance modernity as their overarching interest.

Figure 5 summarizes the whole process of how these discourses relate to each other in social settings. Various discourses about jazz take different positions about the issue based on the interests of different social agents. When they are seen from the broader perspective, however, these discourses contribute to reinforcing the connection between jazz and modernity and reproducing the current configuration of relations in the

realm even though their contributions are made in different aspects. It is difficult to have a comprehensible idea about the structure of discourses without understanding that all these discourses are currently existing cultural phenomena within the postcolonial context.

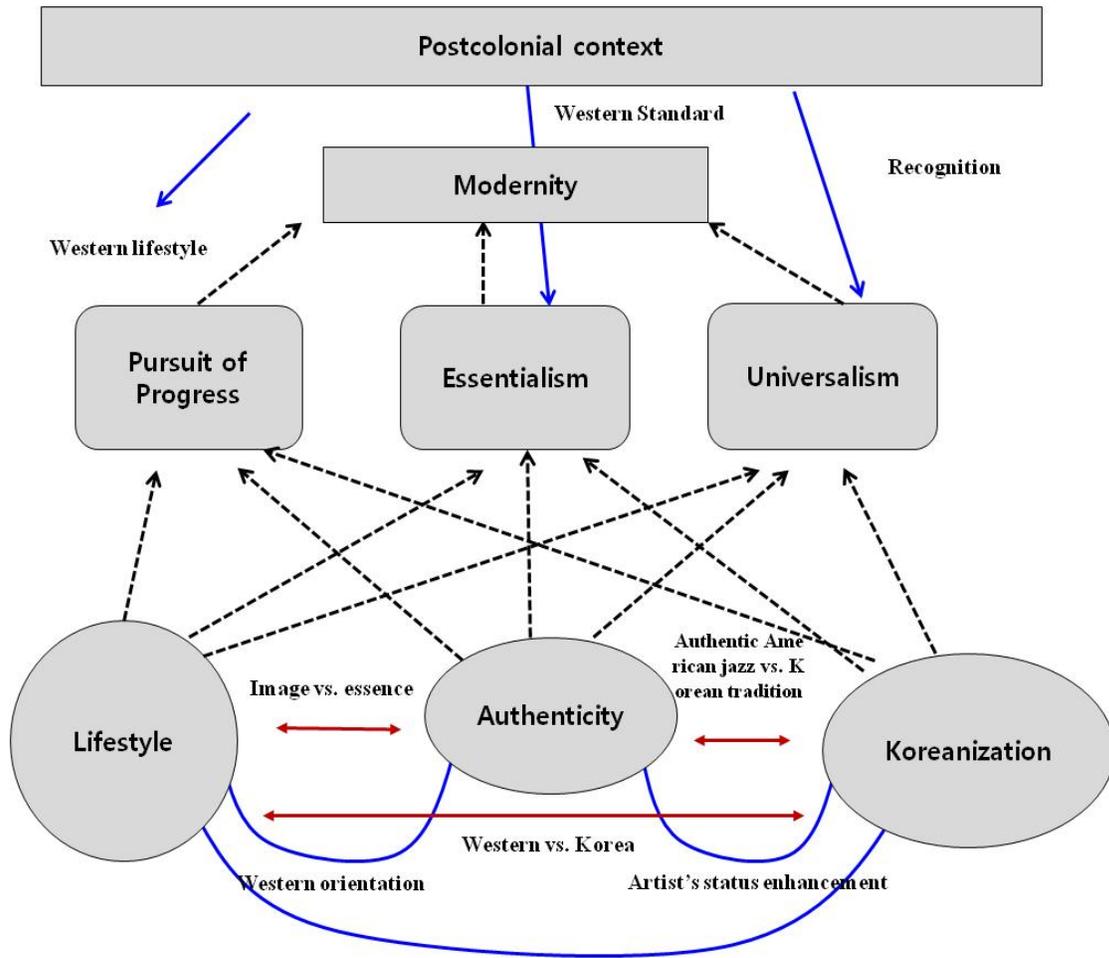


Figure 5. The Configuration of the Three Discourses and the Concept of Modernity

### Representation of Economic Modernity through Jazz

The first discourse shows how jazz music has been employed to represent economic modernity. Jazz in advertising or news articles is used as a prop to represent the

lifestyle of the well-educated, white collar and upper middle class. TV mini series dramas usefully employed jazz as Westernized upper middle class lifestyles in order to explain characters. The advertising industry utilized jazz for maximizing the effects of connecting products with a Westernized lifestyle.

This modern image of jazz has been ambiguously consumed in Korea without a clear definition of jazz. The image of jazz as freedom is associated with the notion of self-expression, and it has effectively served to promote consumerism, which encourages self-expression through the consumption of the products available in the market. In addition, the relationship between jazz and English strengthened the connection of jazz and modernity. Historically, the acquisition of new knowledge requires Koreans to learn English, the language of two countries (Britain and America) that are more advanced than Korea. Therefore, becoming a member of the white-collar, upper middle class is required to acquire new knowledge that is constructed by means of the English language. Considering the Korean people who are familiar with English, jazz can be associated with the social status of the upper middle class in Korea.

After all, the lifestyle that jazz represents in Korea is the ideal of the Western upper middle class, the objective point that Korean society is constantly trying to reach through her modernity project. The ideal is that a lifestyle discourse using jazz is connected with the affluent life that Korean society wants to lead through economic development. Aspirations for economic modernity are in line with the desire to eradicate the tragedy that was shaped by the memories of exploitation from the Japanese colonization together with the Korean War's wreckage. To the mind of Koreans, it is the predominant view that the Japanese colonization of Korea was the result of Japan's

preceding successful adoption of modernity and Korea's missed opportunity to voluntarily modernize her nation politically and economically before Japan had accomplished that for herself. Moreover, Korean people aspired to be like Americans in overcoming the economic destruction of the Korean War, which was shortly followed by the liberation from Japanese colonialism. Along with the image of an advanced country in terms of economy and culture, the assistance received from the US government reinforced the image of the US as an object of aspiration. Accordingly, after achieving economic development to some extent, Korean society was modeled upon the US upper middle class lifestyle. The discourse connecting jazz and the US upper middle-class lifestyle became one of the most formidable discourses in Korean society. In other words, jazz reinforces US-centrism within the context of Korean post-colonialism and also helps to strengthen the assumption that there is a universal standard by which to evaluate the ideal way of life.

### **Desperately Seeking Authentic US Jazz: Essentialism in Jazz Discourse**

While jazz discourse from the perspective of the audience highlights consumerism, Korean jazz discourse from the perspective of musicians focuses on the authenticity of Korean jazz. This view challenges the jazz discourse of consumerism because jazz that is represented in consumerism is considered to be an empty shell, void of substance. The so-called empty jazz culture was established as an obstacle to be overcome. Unlike the lifestyle discourse, the authenticity discourse defines what jazz means in Korea and uses US jazz as a reference that shows the true models to follow.

Korean jazz musicians continue to compare themselves with US jazz musicians and to strive for achievements that match US levels.

In Korea, jazz is considered to be closer to classical music in terms of authenticity and something that musicians should study for its precious value. In this regard, jazz musicians and enthusiasts' authenticity discourse is connected with modernity as progress. This discourse regards jazz as art form rather than popular culture. Accordingly, jazz belongs to the realm of social culture rather than the realm of personal tastes. This discourse calls for the Korean nation to support jazz as it does classical music and *Kukak* (Korean traditional music).

The authenticity discourse seems to take a position of art for art's sake; however, on a different level, it has something to do with economic interests. The attitude of seeking US authentic jazz originated from the experience of Korean jazz musicians who listened to the AFKN and performed in the US Eighth Army's Show. To internalize the US-style jazz means to profit in numerous ways. The US Eighth Army's Show's audition committee rated jazz musicians based on their abilities to emulate US jazz, so a higher rate of successful approximation meant more money for Korean jazz musicians. The practice deeply implanted US-style jazz in Korean jazz musicians' consciousness. Korean jazz musicians no longer depend on the US Eighth Army's Show, but the memory of that experience has lived long and the influence of that show on shaping the concept of jazz is inestimable. These attitudes were passed down from the WWII jazz generation to the next jazz generation. In the same vein, the 1990s jazz boom caused many Korean jazz musicians to study jazz in the US because they wanted to learn authentic jazz on the mainland. Despite the fact that jazz is a foreign nation's music, Korean jazz musicians

think they can make inroads into foreign markets if they master authentic jazz in the US.

Based upon the assumption that the essence of jazz exists in authentic US jazz, Korean jazz musicians follow this gateway to the authenticity of jazz. Nevertheless, in fact there is no authentic US jazz and it is only for the invented concept of jazz that it is difficult to find a tangible entity. Because it is hard to condense the various styles of jazz into one authenticity, to reach authenticity has been an unattainable dream from the beginning. Korean jazz musicians train and discipline their bodies to come up to the standard that is based on US jazz. As Foucault points out, to the extent that a docile body may be subjected, used, transformed and improved, Korean jazz musicians would produce a docile body to be subjected, used, transformed and improved within the realm of authentic US jazz.

### **Koreanized Jazz Discourse and Universal Standards**

A new discourse seems to have become popularized with Korean jazz musicians that their jazz should be Koreanized. Basically, this discourse relies upon a universal way of thinking that is associated with modernity. When it comes to Koreanized jazz, there is no traditional Korean-based jazz that Korean people might like, but only a Western orientalism-based jazz that Western people might like. Even in Koreanized jazz, there is objectified Koreanness that is aware of the gaze of the Westerner. In other words, the extent of Koreanization should remain at a level that is acceptable to Westerners. For instance, in Koreanizing activities, the fusion between jazz and *kukak* happens at the surface level, such as the addition of *kukak* instruments and borrowing melodies from

traditional folk music, rather than at a more fundamental level. These actions by jazz professionals are based on the universal motivation to develop more advanced forms of jazz music. Koreanizing jazz began with the realization of the need to differentiate Korean jazz in the global market while Korean musicians were engaged in cultural exchanges with foreign musicians. For this reason, the Koreanization work does not go beyond creating attractive products by adding Korean elements to differentiate itself in the US or European jazz market.

The current position of Korean jazz is perceived to be midway between the center and the margin, in which the center is the US as the birthplace of jazz and the margin is the past of Korean jazz. The perception of Koreans about the *Jara* Island Jazz festival is a good example of the mediating position of Korea. The ambition of the *Jara* Island Jazz Festival is to establish itself as a representative jazz festival in Asia with Korea as the connecting hub between the center (US) and the margins (other Asian countries).

The fact that jazz vocalist Na Yoonseon is recognized by French jazz artists and audiences and is now willing to enter the US market becomes an important piece of evidence to support the mediating position of Korean jazz. Considering its humble beginning in the US Eighth Army's Show, the fact that Korean jazz began to be recognized by Westerners as an important player in the global jazz market arouses a feeling of pride in the minds of Korean people. In addition, the postcolonial desire of Koreans to obtain recognition from the land of authentic jazz is also projected in this pride.

The underlying issue of enhancing national pride by the recognition of the mainland US is an economic one. In fact, this localizing discourse is related to the

export-oriented economic discourse in Korea. Historically, Korea has developed its economy based on export-driven policies and this export-oriented perspective seems to have an influence on cultural realms as well. The standard to evaluate the quality of jazz is highly associated with whether the music is successfully marketable or not. Judgment of the success of the *Jara Jazz Festival* is based more on how many tourists came and how much money they spent than on the musical artistry of the participating musicians. The possibility of attracting more tourists and earning revenues from those tourists is one of the most important justifications for local government to continue hosting a festival.

In summary, what penetrates the Koreanizing discourse of jazz is the assumption that there is a universal standard by which to evaluate the jazz of Korea and other countries. According to this standard, US jazz is at the highest position and European jazz is below US jazz. Therefore, being recognized by American or European jazz musicians and audiences becomes a sort of certification for the status of Korean jazz. Based on this assumption, Korean jazz professionals claim that Koreans cannot achieve the same level of feeling and quality that US jazz musicians can create, and therefore Korean musicians should strive to create a localized version of US jazz that will stand out in the global market. This argument is nothing but the manifestation of internalized Western universalism in the minds of the Korean people.

### **Intertwined Discourses and the Reproduction of Modernity**

The different discourses identified in the analysis have both opposing and complementary relationships with one another. The authenticity discourse criticizes the jazz lifestyle discourse because of its emptiness, but these two discourses share the

tendencies of Western orientation and the pursuit of progress. On the surface level, the lifestyle discourse promotes economic development and the corresponding upper middle class lifestyle while the authenticity discourse pursues artistic development and art for art's sake. However, the economic interests of different social agents underlie both discourses. That is, while the jazz lifestyle discourse represents corporate interests to promote consumerism, the authenticity discourse partly represents the desires of jazz musicians to be commercially successful.

The authenticity discourse puts US jazz masters at the peak of artistry and attempts to reach the same level as these jazz artists on the mainland. On the other hand, the Koreanization discourse tries to create something local. Nevertheless, two of these discourses take the position of essentialism and also assume there is a universal standard by which to evaluate the level and quality of Korean jazz. Although the Koreanizing discourse seems to pursue the particularity of Korea, at the same time it intends to achieve a universal status in the global jazz market by using Korean traditional elements to differentiate itself from other competitors.

Therefore, these three discourses reinforce the universalism of modernity. From the perspective of universalism, the Westernized upper middle class lifestyle is the lifestyle of Western countries in an advanced stage of economic development. To Korean jazz musicians' mind, authentic jazz is US jazz that is at the peak of artistry of the jazz genre. Therefore, Korean musicians try to follow its lead and reach the same level. The efforts to Koreanize jazz are in part the realization of a desire to catch up to the authentic original by using Korean traditional elements as points of difference. After all, these three discourses contribute in their ways to the reproduction of the value of the "pursuit of

progress,” which is evident in the Enlightenment idea of modernity.

### **English Language Hegemony and the Internalized Oriental Gaze**

While examining the relation between modernity and jazz, additional insights emerged: English language hegemony and the internalization of the oriental gaze. These forces were underlying in the process of reproducing the connection between modernity and jazz in Korea.

#### **English Language Hegemony**

English language hegemony emerged as an important mechanism for the sedimentation of the relationship between jazz and modernity. While folk songs were adapted with Korean lyrics and original rock songs were composed in their domestication process, jazz songs were sung with their original English lyrics. Even when jazz songs were composed by Korean musicians, most of the titles and lyrics were written in English. In adapting existing Korean popular songs into the jazz style, the original Korean lyrics were replaced with newly written English lyrics.

This closer relationship between English language and jazz than that of other music genres is relevant to the fact that jazz is considered to be a more modern genre among various popular music genres. In particular, the significance of the English language in Korean society provides the ground for this inference. In Korea, having knowledge of English was regarded as a crucial skill to obtain advanced culture and civilization, which led to having a successful social standing. In today’s Korea, English

skill is a crucial factor in getting a good job and having a stable middle class life. Koreans should acquire higher scores on the TOEIC and TOEFL to be accepted in major companies. Graduating college in an English-speaking country provides even better opportunities, implying a high correlation between English skill and middle-class life. Considering this social context, the status of jazz music as a genre representing modernity is not far from the hegemony of English language in Korean society.

### **Internalizing Orientalism's Gaze**

Additional insight from the analysis was that Korean jazz musicians internalized the gaze of others based on Orientalism. In particular, the US was referred to as the mainland of jazz and provided a standard for Korean musicians. This tendency seems to be formed in the context of postcolonialism. In terms of Koreanizing jazz, the focus is on finding elements of traditional culture that might ignite the responses and interests from Westerners who see Korea in an orientalist perspective.

Korean jazz musicians use tradition to differentiate themselves in the international jazz market, which represents a universal standard of evaluating jazz music. Koreanization of jazz is used to attract the attention of Westerners in the global market. Therefore, Koreanizing activities usually include very simple things such as including *kukak* instruments in the arrangement, and creating crossover with *samulnori*. This is paradoxical because tradition is used as cultural capital for Korean musicians to pursue universal modernity.

This suggests the possibility that the fusion of local culture and Western culture is not so much the pursuit of local identity as a differentiation strategy to preoccupy an

advantageous position in the frame of Western universalism. The objectified gaze of Korean jazz musicians is closely related to the internalization of the values of modernity. Through this internalization, Korean jazz musicians, critics, and even audiences are disciplining themselves in the panopticon of Orientalism.

### **The Limitation of This Research and Plan for Further Research**

This dissertation identified socio-cultural meanings hidden under the gamut of different jazz discourses in Korea through discourse analysis of newspapers and magazine articles. In addition, the present study revealed how meanings of jazz are related to the notion of modernity under the postcolonial context of Korea resulting from Japanese colonization and the stationing of US military forces in Korea since the Korean War. The findings from this dissertation illuminated the way mass media participate in creating socio-cultural meanings of jazz in Korean society.

However, the present study has a limitation in terms of understanding the reception of jazz discourses by audience members because it was hard to examine how audiences accept, negotiate or reject the jazz discourses disseminated through mass media. This limitation can be overcome only through directly examining audience members. For this reason, I intend to embark on ethnographic audience research by using participant observation and in-depth interviews to investigate how Korean audiences of jazz receive different jazz discourses identified in the present research.

## REFERENCES

- Ahn, J. H. (1998). *Hankook yonghwa cheukmyunbisa (A secret history of Korean film on the side)*. Seoul, Korea: Hyundae Meehaksa.
- Ahn, M. (2006, July). Piple: Pianist Heo Daewook (People: Pianist Heo Daewook). *Jazz People*, 52-53.
- Ahn, M. (2007, October). Krosobeo Kukak (Crossover Kukak (Korean Traditional Music)). *Jazz People*.
- Ahn, M. (2011, May). Jaz laipnun yongwonhee kesokdoenda (Jazz life goes on forever). *Jazz People*, 16-19.
- Ahn, S. (1934). *Jiokhang chungookhangeu bamyulcharul tagoseo 2* (Riding a night train for the heaven and the hell), *Chosun Ilbo*.
- Alvesson, M., & Karreman, D. (2000). Varieties of discourse: On the study of organizations through discourse analysis. *Human Relations*, 53(9), 1125-1149.
- Andersen, N. p. s. (2003). *Discursive analytical strategies: understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (2001). Key concepts in post-colonial studies, *Key concepts series* (pp. xi, 275 p.). Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/utah/Doc?id=10070525>
- Baek, S. (2007, June 28). Jeonkok Hangeulgasa Sanyunmane Sajipgasu Malo (Jazz Singer Malo Releases 4th Album with all Korean Lyrics), *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, p. K15.
- Barker, C. (2000). *Cultural studies: theory and practice*. London ; Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Barlow, T. E. (1997). *Formations of colonial modernity in East Asia*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (1992). *Intimations of postmodernity*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Belk, R. W. (1988). Possessions and the extended self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15(2), 139-168.
- Bendix, R. (1967). Tradition and modernity reconsidered. *Comparative Studies in Society & History*, 9(3), 292-346.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1999). The other question: The stereotype and colonial discourse. In J. Evans & S. Hall (Eds.), *Visual culture: the reader* (pp. xviii, 478 p.). London: Sage.
- Birch, D., Schirato, T., & Srivastava, S. (2001). *Asia: Cultural politics in the global age*. New York: Palgrave.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Johnson, R. (1993). *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Caprio, M. (2009). *Japanese assimilation policies in colonial Korea, 1910-1945*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Choi, C. (2000). *Minchoksunankiui dajoonkayosa (History of popular music during the Japanese Colonization)*. Seoul, Korea: Ilwallseogak.
- Choi, S. (1997, December 27). Jaz pianist Shin Kwanwoong: 3 (Jazz pianist Shin Kwanwoong 3), *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, p. 28.
- Choi, S. (1998, January 10). Jaz pianist Shin Kwanwoong 11: Naeu julmum naeu sarang (Jazz

- pianist Shin Kwanwoong 11: My youth, my love), *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, p. 28.
- Choi, S. (2007, June 2). Jaejeu gasu Nayunseon nyuyogseo kum-ui mudae seonda (Jazz singer Nayunseon goes to dream stage in New York), *Chosun Ilbo (Chosun Daily)*. Retrieved from [http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2007/06/02/2007060200027.html](http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2007/06/02/2007060200027.html)
- Choi, S. (2007). Tojong saxophonist Lee Jungsik, jaeze 'Hankookeu Saek' iphida (Native saxophonist Lee Jungsik puts Korean color on jazz), *Chosun Ilbo*. Retrieved from [http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2007/04/27/2007042700040.html](http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2007/04/27/2007042700040.html)
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Chun, J. (2003). *Gundaeui chagilki (Reading in modern Korea)*. Seoul, Korea: Pureunyeoksa.
- Cumings, B. (2005). *Korea's place in the sun: A modern history* (Updated ed.). New York: W. W. Norton.
- Dirlik, A. (2002). Modernity as history: post-revolutionary China, globalization, and the question of modernity. *Social History*, 27(1), 16-39.
- Duara, P. (1991). Knowledge and power in the discourse of modernity: The campaigns against popular religion in early twentieth-century China. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 50(1), 67-83.
- Eumak-Chulpan-Paesheone shinmoonhwa hyunsang...jaez (New cultural phenomenon in music-publishing-fashion...jazz). (1996, February 2). *Chosun Ilbo*. Retrieved from [http://news.chosun.com/svc/content\\_view/content\\_view.html?contid=1996020270529](http://news.chosun.com/svc/content_view/content_view.html?contid=1996020270529)
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks*. New York: Grove Press.
- Featherstone, M. (1991). *Consumer culture and postmodernism*. London ; Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Finlayson, A. (1999). Language. In F. Ashe, A. Finlayson, M. Lloyd, I. MacKenzie, J. Martin & S. O'Neill (Eds.), *Contemporary social and political theory: An introduction* (pp. 47-68). London: Open University Press.
- Fornäs, J. (1995). *Cultural theory and late modernity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Language, counter-memory, practice: Selected essays and interviews*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality* (1st American ed.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press.
- Gee, J. P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.
- Gill, R. (2000). Discourse Analysis. In M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative researching with text, image and sound: A practical handbook* (pp. 172-190). London: SAGE.
- Ha, J. (2005, July). Jaezekwanhan poolijiahnun euimoondl (Unanswered questions about jazz). *MMJazz*, 28-30.
- Ha, J., Kim, K., Kim, H., Choi, K., & Ahn, M. (2007, January). 2006 Jaezkerul dolaboda (Reflecting 2006 Korean jazz world). *Jazz People*, 22-24.
- Habermas, J. (1983). Modernity - an incomplete project. In H. Foster (Ed.), *The Anti-aesthetic : essays on postmodern culture* (1st ed., pp. xvi, 159 p.). Port Townsend, Wash.: Bay

- Press.
- Hall, S. (1982). The rediscovery of "ideology": Return of the repressed in media studies. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, C. James & W. Janet (Eds.), *Culture, society and the media* (pp. 52-86). London: Methuen.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage.
- Han, H. (2002, October 27). Jaejeuleul ibgo masinda (Wearing and drinking jazz), *Chosun Ilbo* (*Chosun Daily*). Retrieved from [http://news.chosun.com/svc/content\\_view/content\\_view.html?contid=2002102770222](http://news.chosun.com/svc/content_view/content_view.html?contid=2002102770222)
- Han, H. (2011, June 25). Samsibnyeon man-e isasjim-eul ssaneun jaejeu seongji (Moving prestigious jazz club after 30 years), *Chosun Ilbo* (*Chosun Daily*). Retrieved from [http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2011/06/24/2011062401191.html](http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2011/06/24/2011062401191.html)
- Hankook Jaekklup baljok hoejangjikmateun jakkokga Kil Ok Yoonssi (Composer Kil Ok Yoon Inaugurates Korean jazz club) (1978, February 19). *Chosun Ilbo*, p. 5.
- Hardin, P. K. (2001). Theory and language: Locating agency between free will and discursive marionettes. *Nursing Inquiry*, 8(1), 11-18.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Hwang, D. (2007, August 25). Koripmuwone pajin jaez (Jazz in isolation), *Dong-A Ilbo*, p. 31.
- Jaez: Jukungjukin musi saengmyung (Jazz: The taste of improvisation). (1963, September 8). *Chosun Ilbo*, p. 6.
- Ji, B. (2002). Talshikmin yironkwa postmodernismui hyupsangul tonhan talshikminjeok gondaesung kosung moonjae (Construction of postcolonialism through negotiation between postcolonialism and postmodernism. *Critique and Theory, Spring/Summer*.
- Jung, E. (1995). TV Drama Kwanggo Jazz Yeolpyung Baekyung (Background For Jazz Fever in TV Drama and Advertizing), *Donga Ilbo*.
- Jung, Y. (1995a). Jaejeu yeolpung-gwa imiji sobi sidae (Jazz fever and the age of image consumption). *Dure Sasang* (*Dure Thought*), 3, 10.
- Jung, Y. (1995b, November 11). Jaejeuga eobneun jaejeu yeolpung (Jazz frenzy without jazz), *Kyunghyang Shinmoon* (*Kyunghyang Newspaper*), p. 26.
- Junpattanun Jaezumak, Yonkukmudae (Broadcasting of jazz music and theater). (1981, January 29). *Chosun Ilbo*, p. 12.
- Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.
- Kang, M. G. (1994). *Gotchusseun hankook gundaesa* (*Revised history of modern Korea*). Kyonggi, Korea: Changbi.
- Kang, S. (2008). Beyond eurocentrism and postmodernism: The Latin American modernity/coloniality research group. *Euksabepyeong* (*Historical Criticism*), 84, 20.
- Kendall, L. (2011). Introduction: Material modernity, consumable tradition *Consuming Korean tradition in early and late modernity: commodification, tourism, and performance* (pp. 1-18). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Kim, C. (2003). *Dajoongmunhwa eehae* (*Understanding popular culture*). Seoul, Korea: Hanwool Academy.
- Kim, H. (2004). *Kim Hyunjooneu jaeznot* (*The jazz note of Kim Hyunjoon*). Seoul, Korea: Sikongsa.
- Kim, H. (2007, December 15). Jaejeu deuleom geojang Ryubogseong 50 nyeon ginyeom eumban (Jazz drum player Ryu Bog Seong's 50th anniversary album), *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*

- (*Kyunhyang Newspaper*), p. 15.
- Kim, J. (1990). Uri morisokae huikabeedul (Ghost in our minds). In Y. Park & K. Kim (Eds.), *Hanmee kwankaesa (History of the Relationship between Korea and the United States)*. Seoul, Korea: Silchunmoonhaksa.
- Kim, J. S. (1999). *Seoule dansholeul huhara: Geundaesungeu hyungsung (Allow a dance hall in Seoul: The formation of modernity)*. Seoul, Korea: Hyunsil Moonhwa Yeongu.
- Kim, K. (1964). *Hangok Gundae Poonwoonsa (Korean Modern History)*. Seoul, Korea: Changjosa.
- Kim, K. (2000). Mikookeu daewoe moonhwajungchekeul tonghebon migoonjung moonhwajungchek (Cultural policies of American military government in Korea looking through American foreign cultural policies). *Hankook Unronhakbo (Korean Journal of Journalism)*, 44(3), 36.
- Kim, K.-i. (2003). *Hankookeu gundaewa gundaesung (The modern age and modernity of Korea)*. Seoul, Korea: Paeksansudang.
- Kim, T. S. (2005). *Ggotgachi pieo maehokke hara (Blossom like flowers and charm: The landscape of the modern looking through newspaper ads)*. Seoul, Korea: Hwangsojari.
- Koh, I. H. (2005). Talsikminjooeuwa damroneu jeonyong (Appropriation of postcolonialism and discourse). *Haksan Moonhak*, 50(December), 81-91.
- Krishna, S. (2009). *Globalization and postcolonialism : hegemony and resistance in the twenty-first century*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kwon, H. J. (1998, June 13). Hankookjaz daemo Park Sung Yeon doobunje albeom choolpan (Park Sung Yeon, a dad mother of Korean jazz, releases her second album), *Chosun Ilbo*. Retrieved from [http://news.chosun.com/svc/content\\_view/content\\_view.html?contid=1998061370133](http://news.chosun.com/svc/content_view/content_view.html?contid=1998061370133)
- Lee, B.-C. (1964). Jazz in postwar Korea. *Korea Journal*, 4(9).
- Lee, C. (1999). Modernity, legality, and power. In G.-W. Shin & M. E. Robinson (Eds.), *Colonial modernity in Korea* (pp. 21-51). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Lee, H. (2005). Namnyeosomeu yookyo (The confucianism in men and women). *Onuleu Dongyangsasang (Oriental Thoughts of Today)*(12), 155-170.
- Lee, J. (1996, February 3). Jaezsaksophon Yonju Euidaesaeng Yoon Sukchanssi (Yoon Sukchan, a Medical School Student, Plays Jazz Saxophone), *Chosun Ilbo*. Retrieved from [http://news.chosun.com/svc/content\\_view/content\\_view.html?contid=1996020370401](http://news.chosun.com/svc/content_view/content_view.html?contid=1996020370401)
- Lee, K.-B. (1984). *A new history of Korea*. Seoul, Korea: Ilchokak.
- Lee, R. (2007, November 29). Bulmoji jaejeu myeongmaeg isda (Continuing jazz tradition in bad situation), *Kyunghyang Shinmoon (Kyunghyang Newspaper)*, p. SB.
- Lee, S. (1995). Dalyeoonun jazz (Running jazz), *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*.
- Lee, S. Y. (2001). Suyangumakeu sooyongkwa juntongumakeu byunhwa (The reception of the western music and the change of traditional music). In Yeoksamoonjeyeongooso (Ed.), *Juntongkwa Seogooeu Choondol (The Clash between Tradition and the Western Civilization)*. Seoul, Korea: Yeoksabipyungsa.
- Lee, Y.-m. (1998). *Hanguk Dajoongkayosa (Korean Popular Music History)*. Seoul, Korea: Sikongsa.
- Lim, J. (2001, February 18). Jaenun? Heukinsoomkyun Ganghaedo 'Baekinjihyang' Damkyu (Jazz Contains 'White Orientation' despite Black Breath), *Chosun Ilbo*. Retrieved from [http://news.chosun.com/svc/content\\_view/content\\_view.html?contid=2001021870321](http://news.chosun.com/svc/content_view/content_view.html?contid=2001021870321)

- Lull, J. (1987). Listeners' communicative uses of popular music. In J. Lull (Ed.), *Popular music and communication* (pp. 140-174). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Mansfield, N. (2000). *Subjectivity: Theories of the self from Freud to Haraway*. New York: New York University Press.
- Marx, K. (1972). *Capital: Volume I*. London: Dutton.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1965). *The Communist manifesto*. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Mha, J.-M. (2004). *Kwanggoro Ilkneun Hankook Sahoe Moonhwasa (A History of Korean Society and Culture Looking Through Advertising)*. Seoul, Korea: Gaemagowon.
- Mie Dasi Chajaon Jaezyulpung (Jazz Fever Returns in America). (1977, August 6). *Chosun Ilbo*, p. 5.
- Mitchell, T. (1988). *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mitchell, T. (2000). The stage of modernity. In T. Mitchell (Ed.), *Questions of Modernity* (pp. 1-34). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Moon, H. (2006, January 8). Hankook jaez mirae 'jaemimani' youkin (The future of Korean jazz musicians, 6 members of 'jaemimani'), *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*. Retrieved from [http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?artid=200601081718311&code=960100](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=200601081718311&code=960100)
- Morley, J. W. (1965). *Japan and Korea: America's allies in the Pacific*. New York,: Walker.
- Neal, A. G. (2007). *Sociological Perspectives on modernity: Multiple models and competing realities*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Park, C. (1992). *Hangok kayosa (History of Korean popular music)*. Seoul, Korea: Hyunarmsa.
- Peterson, R. (1992). Understanding audience segmentation: from elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics*, 21, 15.
- Phillips, N., & Hardy, C. (2002). *Discourse analysis : investigating processes of social construction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London ; Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Prado, C. G. (1995). *Starting with Foucault : an introduction to genealogy*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Rappa, A. L. (2002). *Modernity & consumption: theory, politics and the public in Singapore and Malaysia*. Singapore ; River Edge, NJ: World Scientific.
- Rose, G. (2001). *Visual Methodologies*. London: Sage.
- Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism* (1st Vintage Books ed.). New York: Vintage Books.
- Sarup, M. (1993). *An introductory guide to post-structuralism and postmodernism* (2nd ed.). Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Seo, B. (2001, August). Hanyureumbameu jaez: musishyun 15 myungeu 15 insaeng (Midsummer night jazz: 15 lives of 15 musicians). *Wolgan Chosun (Monthly Chosun)*, 305-340.
- Seo, J. (2005). *Sajinkwa gurimuro bonun hangook hyundaisa (Korean modern History with Pictures and Photos)*. Seoul, Korea: Woongjin.
- Seon, S. W. (1993). *Palgunshoweseo rapkaji (From the 8th army's show to rap)*. Seoul, Korea: Arum Publishing.
- Shim, K. (2000). *Modunitieu choongkyukkwa jansang: 20segi hankookeu geundaejuk gongganhyungsungeu ugeutnan goejuuk* (Shock and afterimage of modernity: Dislocated trajectory of the shaping of modern space in 20th century Korea ). *Hankook Yesool Jonghap Hakkyo Nonmoonjip (The Research Collection of Korea National University of*

- Arts* ), 197-222.
- Shin, G.-W. (1999). Agrarianism: A critique of colonial modernity in Korea. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41(4), 784-804.
- Shin, G.-W., & Robinson, M. E. (1999). Introduction: Rethinking colonial Korea. In G.-W. Shin & M. E. Robinson (Eds.), *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (pp. 1-18). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press.
- Shin, H. J., Lee, Y. W., & Choi, J. S. (2005). *Hankookpopui gogohak 1960s (The archeology of Korean pop music 1960s)*. Paju, Kyonggi, Korea: Hankil Art.
- Shin, M. J. (2003). *Modunboi kyongsongeul gunilda (Modern boy strolls over Kyongsong)*. Seoul, Korea: Hyunsil Munhwa Yeongoo.
- Simmel, G. (1990). *The Philosophy of money* (2nd enl. ed.). London: Routledge.
- Smart, B. (1990). Modernity, postmodernity and the present. In B. S. Turner (Ed.), *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity* (pp. 14-30). London: Sage.
- Soryuneul Duggulgehan Mikookeu Jaz (American Jazz Stirs up the Soviet Union). (1962, August 4). *Chosun Ilbo*, p. 2.
- Spivak, G. C. (1993). *Outside in the teaching machine*. New York: Routledge.
- van Leeuwen, T., & Wodak, R. (1999). Legitimizing immigration control: a discourse-historical analysis. *Discourse Studies*, 1(1), 83.
- Vattimo, G. (1988). *The end of modernity: Nihilism and hermeneutics in postmodern culture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Vavrus, M. D. (2002). *Postfeminist news: Political women in media culture*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Wallerstein, I. M. (2000). *The essential Wallerstein*. New York: New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton.
- Ward, G. C., & Burns, K. (2000). *Jazz: A history of America's music* (1st ed.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Weber, M. (1958). *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*. New York: Oxford University press.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: an outline of interpretive sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Williams, R. (1983). *Culture and society, 1780-1950*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Willis, P. E. (1977). *Learning to labour: How working class kids get working class jobs*. Farnborough, England: Saxon House.
- Wisker, G. (2007). *Key concepts in postcolonial literature*. Houndmills, Basingstoke ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wodak, R. (2001). The discourse-historical approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Wood, L. A., & Kroger, R. O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis: methods for studying action in talk and text*. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications.
- Yi, J. D. (2002). Globalization and recent changes to daily life in the republic of Korea. In J. Lewis & A. Sesay (Eds.), *Korea and Globalization*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Yoo, S.-Y. (2001). Embodiment of American modernity in colonial Korea. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 2(3), 423-441.
- Young, R. J. C. (2001). *Postcolonialism: an historical introduction*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.