

Bilateral Directions of *P'ungmul* in Korea and the U.S.¹

P'ungmul, a Korean genre of percussion music and dance, is one of the most famous genres among traditional Korean performing arts, not only in Korea but also in the United States (US). There are a lot of *p'ungmul* groups in the US, many of which operate as clubs in universities and high schools. *P'ungmul* groups perform during important social events and ethnic festivals for their communities. Korean Festivals, Korean Thanksgiving, Solar New Year, and Lunar New Year's Day can hardly be imagined without the familiar sound of *p'ungmul* performances. While rapidly increasing numbers of traditional Korean music performances have been staged in the U.S., little scholarly attention has been given to the music itself. Given that staging traditional Korean music in the U.S. has been closely associated with Korean cultural policies, and that Korean American performances are influenced by contemporary Korean cultural policies, institutes, and styles, this paper demonstrates that traditional Korean music in the U.S. reflects a continuous transnational cultural flow between Korea and the U.S.

Quite a few studies on migrants have articulated the ways in which migrants' original cultures have changed, assimilated, and generated hybrid cultures in their host countries. In these studies, migrants were regarded as uprooted and isolated from the homeland. Furthermore, those studies have a tendency to overlook the fact that migrants have various channels to keep connected with their countries of origin and that some migrants frequently visit relatives in the homeland. Accordingly, such studies ignore or "minimize the impact of the home country on immigrants' lives and cultural expressions while emphasizing only the processes of becoming citizens of the New World in one kind of melting pot or another" (Zheng 2010: 10). More recent research, particularly since the 1990s, has highlighted the possibility that migrants keep in touch with relatives in their homeland and encounter cultural practices from their country of origin through various media like satellite TV, video recordings of soap operas, entertainment shows, and local TV channels that air famous TV programs.

This paper focuses on *p'ungmul* in Los Angeles (LA) and New York City (NYC), two of the largest cities in which Korean Americans reside, with two of the largest Koreatowns in the world. I introduce previous scholarly works on traditional Korean music in the U.S. and examine the history of traditional Korean musical performance that were staged and shaped by Korean government and Korean cultural policies since 1960s. Then, I delineate a history of Korea on the early phase of *p'ungmul* in the U.S. Additionally, I examine popular performance styles among the U.S. practitioners, including Pilbong (Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 11-5). I argue that studies of music in the Korean diaspora play important roles in Korean studies in the sense that Korean music in diasporic spaces shows not only the process of cultural transformation but also the manipulation of Korean cultures in the U.S.

Studies on Korean Music in the U.S.

As a number of studies on Korean immigrants have increased since the mid-1980s, a few studies on Korean immigrant's musical cultures in the U.S. have been produced. The article "Korean Musical Culture in Los Angeles," written by Ronald Riddle (1985), was the first one to shed light on Korean immigrants' musical activities. Riddle describes Korean immigrants' diverse musical taste as ranging

¹ This paper draw on my doctoral dissertation, entitled "Diasporic *P'ungmul* in the United States: A Journey between Korea and the United States." The dissertation was supported by the Korea Foundation Graduate Studies Fellowship from 2007 to 2008.

from Western art music to traditional and popular Korean music. He points out that the strong involvement in Korean Protestant churches and their choir music, accompanied by piano or organ or both, as unique aspects that make them different from other Asian immigrant groups. In regard to traditional Korean music, he mentions that the Korean Classical Music Institute together with an associated group called the Korean Classical Music and Dance Company and UCLA's Korean performing ensemble have attempted to foster traditional Korean performing arts in LA despite Korean immigrants' lack of interest. Anderson Sutton (1987) describes traditional Korean dance activities as well as music in his article "Korean Music in Hawaii." He has a similar view as Riddle in that traditional Korean performing arts play a less important role in Korean immigrants' lives (1987: 99). He traces this phenomenon back to early times of traditional Korean performing arts in Hawaii and investigates the organizations and figures that have taught and promoted traditional Korean music and dance.² Later, Peggy Myo-Yong Choy (1995) examines the history of traditional Korean music and dance in the States. Different from the two former studies, she attempts to cover Hawaii, Los Angeles, the Midwest and the greater New York and New Jersey region. Additionally, she first mentions *p'ansori* performances, a Korean genre of storytelling, in Hawaii. Maria Kongju Seo (2001) provides one of the most detailed historiographies by examining three historical divisions: 1903-1945, 1945-1964, and 1965 to the present.³ She deals not only with Western art music activities but also traditional Korean music and dance activities in Hawaii, Los Angeles and New York and New Jersey by Korean immigrants and their descendants. Seo also introduces descendants from early Korean immigrants to Hawaii such as Earl Kim, Donald Sur and Gregory Pai. Her work is unique because there are few histories of Korean Americans' music activities that introduce Donald Sur.

Two additional histories can be found in the books, entitled *Miju hanin imin 100 nyŏnsa* 미주 한인 이미 100 년사 [A 100-Year History of Korean Immigration to America]: "*Namgaju hanin ūmak-e 50 nyŏn* 남가주 한인 음악의 50 년 [A 50-Year History of Korean Music in Los Angeles]" and "*Mikuk sok-ŭi hankuk ūmak: Kukak* 미국 속의 한국 음악: 국악 [Korean Music in the U.S.: National Korean Music]." "*Namgaju hanin ūmak-e 50 nyŏn* [A 50-Year History of Korean Music in Los Angeles]" is about Western art music. Though the authorship is unknown, it lists all important concerts and their dates from 1967 to 2000. "*Mikuk sok-ŭi hankuk ūmak: Kukak* [Korean Music in the U.S.: National Korean Music]" is about traditional Korean music by Korean immigrants in LA. It is written by Kim Tong-sŏk, who demonstrates that Kim P'il-gwŏn and several members of Arirang Performance Troupe had visited the U.S. for performances in several cities. Kim points out that some members of Arirang Performance Troupe had remained in the U.S. and fostered traditional Korean performing arts in LA.

P'ungmul is one piece of the large puzzle of Korean immigrant music cultures. Although earlier studies of Korean music and musicians in the U.S. mention *p'ungmul* in the overall history of Korean immigrant music activities, it is difficult to locate detailed information about it.⁴ It is only since the late 1990s that *p'ungmul* became a main concern for scholarly works. Jennifer Bussell (1997) first investigated *p'ungmul* troupes in the U.S., particularly in Chicago, New York, and Boston, by looking at performance repertoire, membership of the troupe and ways of learning. Despite its brevity, Bussell's condensed illustration offers valuable inquiries that might be further examined later. For example, she considers the use of videotape recordings, vocalization of instrumental sounds (so called *ip changdan* 입장단) and politicized *p'ungmul* performances led by voluntary associations for Korean immigrants, aspects that subsequently have been further developed by Donna Lee Kwon's work (2001) and the present dissertation. In her article "The Roots and Routes of *P'ungmul* in the United States," Donna Lee

² Sutton enlisted organizations like Nam Pung Sa, Hyung Jay Club, and Halla Huhm Dance Studio and figures like Hwang Ha-su, Halla Huhm, Chi Yŏng-hŭi, Sŏng Kŭm-yŏn and Byong Won Lee.

³ Her divisions are each based on important historical events. The first period follows the first Korean immigration to the Hawaii sugar cane plantations and the Korea liberation in 1945. The second period includes the Korean War. The third period begins after the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which allowed the largest influx of Korean immigrants to the States.

⁴ Some of the above works deal with *p'ungmul* performances in the U.S. as well (Seo 2001; Choy 1995; Sutton 1987).

Kwon (2001), eloquently investigates different *p'ungmul* troupes throughout the States. While providing an in-depth ethnography, she delves into contributions of Korean political refugees to the creation of *p'ungmul* troupes in the U.S. and their means of transmission, which largely depend on passing video and audio recordings down from senior to junior performer and attending intensive training centers (*chönsugwan*) in Korea. She also examines characteristics of performance troupes that are based on community organization, college clubs and special interest groups. Her work shows cultural ties and influences between Korea and the U.S. as well as between different geographical areas across the States. Sung Youn Sonya Kwak (2006), in her dissertation “Becoming Korean in the United States: Exploring Ethnic Identity Formation through Cultural Practices,” investigates how *p'ungmul* takes a role in constructing Korean ethnic identity. By focusing on the Mae-ari *p'ungmul* troupe in Philadelphia, she looks at the teaching and learning process of *p'ungmul* with emphasis on cultural events, clothing styles, usage of language during *p'ungmul* rehearsals and transmission of folk songs. Youngmin Yu (2005; 2007) examines how Korean music constitutes Korean identity, Koreanness, in South Korea and its overseas communities, Japan and the States. To do so, she investigates *p'ungmul* groups in LA in addition to general traditional Korean musical activities in the surrounding region. Following Kwon (2001), Yu also acknowledges political refugees’ contributions in creating voluntary associations and *p'ungmul* groups for Korean communities in the States. Interestingly, all four works—Bussell, Kwon, Kwak and Yu—are concerned with identity constructions through *p'ungmul* performances. They attempt to examine the roles of *p'ungmul* performances to create, constitute, construct, and negotiate Korean immigrant’s identities.

Previous studies on *p'ungmul* in the U.S. have listed concerts, master classes and workshops given by Korean masters who were sent by the government. However, the studies ignore the role of the Korean government in motivating and inspiring Korean American practitioners to learn various performance genres. I demonstrate that the Korean government has an important role in stimulating Korean American performers to learn traditional Korean performances by sending various performance troupes to the U.S. since the 1960s. I also examine professional troupes from Korea that have traveled to the U.S. to hold workshops for young practitioners. They enable Korean American practitioners to keep up with the styles currently popular in Korea and to expand their performance repertoires and practices.

Support of Korean Government

The Korean cultural politics have sought stages abroad and made attempts to pass down traditional performing arts to Korean migrants and to introduce them to foreigners in various countries. For example, president Park Chung Hee sent several traditional Korean performance troupes abroad, including to the U.S. and Europe during the 1960s. Those performances stimulated Korean migrants to establish a variety of associations related to traditional Korean performances in their host societies. Such cultural politics were also pursued by other presidents. President Roh Tae Woo (1988-1993) established a “ten-year master plan for cultural development,” which involves promoting regional culture, and international cultural exchanges. One of the major objectives of cultural politics during president Kim Young Sam’s regime (1993-1998) was to introduce traditional Korean cultural practices to various parts of the world. As these cultural politics include cultural exchanges with other nation-states, and promoting traditional Korean culture, a number of performance troupes and masters have been sent overseas including to China, Japan, Europe and the States with the government’s support. A yearbook published by the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (NCKTPA) lists many performance genres and troupes in Korea, including performance troupes sponsored by the NCKTPA, which have performed abroad since 1990.⁵ The document also lists performances and workshops which are supported by the NCKTPA. The center is supervised by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism which means that the

⁵ Refer to the web site (http://www.ncktpa.go.kr/html/jsp/ncktpa_2006/d00_scholarship/d00_yearbook.jsp) for more detailed information about which performance troupes have been sent and which performance genres performed there under the auspices of the NCKTPA. The official name of the center in English has recently changed from the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts to National Gugak Center.

support by the NCKTPA is associated with Korean cultural politics. Among the various performance genres, workshops on *p'ungmul* and *samulnori* are some of the most famous ones in the States. This practice has stimulated the formation of many more performance troupes in the States. Workshops by Korean masters in the States demonstrate how much Korean American can be continually influenced by Korean cultural politics.

The existence of Korean culture-related associations that are operated by the Korean government is another indicator to see influences of Korean cultural politics and institutions on Korean cultural practices in the U.S. There are two associations operated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of South Korea in the U.S.: one is in LA, and the other is in NY. The Korea Cultural Center (KCC) in LA, located at 5505 Wilshire Blvd., sponsors Korean language programs, field trips, workshops, fine-art exhibitions and many other activities. It includes a library, auditorium, museum, art gallery and film archive, and theatre. The KCC also supports various types of Korean performing arts. Local performance troupes and performers as well as masters from Korea have given performances at the auditorium under the auspices of the KCC. *P'ungmul* performances have been staged at the KCC auditorium as a part of a monthly concert series of traditional Korean performing arts. The performing arts sponsored and hosted by the KCC include not only court music and dance but also folk and contemporary popular genres. When I visited the KCC during my fieldwork in the spring of 2007, the KCC building was also being used by the Korea Center Los Angeles that collaborates with the KCC in LA, the Korea Tourism Organization in Korea, and the Korean Culture and Content Agency in Korea. The Korea Center Los Angeles promotes contemporary Korean popular culture and distributes various brochures that introduce Korean popular drama, film, and music. The KCC currently makes an effort to present and introduce contemporary Korean culture as well as traditional culture in the U.S., as shown in its collaboration with the Korea Center Los Angeles. In this vein, the KCC hosted a B-Boy performance called "Battle Tactics," on July 31th, 2009.⁶

The Korean Cultural Service (KCS) is located at 460 Park Ave. in Manhattan, which is operated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea. Its function and role are similar to those of the Korean Cultural Center in LA. The KCS has a library, gallery and audiovisual room. In addition to Korean art exhibitions and film screenings, the KCS sponsors and hosts various Korean performing arts events in NYC and also supports workshops of Korean traditional performances. Since it is operated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea, the KCS actively takes part in promoting Korean masters' performances and workshops in New York. In regards to *p'ungmul* and *samulnori*, the KCS financially supported the Korean percussion music ensemble, led by Yuk Sang-min, at Wesleyan University for a few years. The KCS has also financially supported several of the *p'ungmul* groups who took part in the Korean parade in Manhattan and it had purchased *p'ungmul* instruments for *p'ungmul* groups in NYC. Also, it sponsored some *p'ungmul* practitioners when they visited Korea in order to learn *p'ungmul* from Korean masters. Additionally, the KCS collaborated to host a *samulnori* workshop with the National Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center of Korea in NYC in 2007.

History of P'ungmul in the U.S.

The first wave of Korean emigration to the States occurred between 1903 and 1924, until the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 took effect and prohibited Asian emigration to the States. Most of the Korean emigrants during the first wave were laborers on sugar cane plantations in Hawaii and their families. Some of them eventually moved to the mainland, particularly to California, for better working conditions. In Hawaii in 1905, the first official Korean language schools were founded and the schools provided history, language, and tradition classes (Seo 2001: 81). It is unknown whether the language school also taught Korean folk songs or traditional musical performances, as many contemporary Korean

⁶ The term B-Boy refers to a male dancer, or a group of male dancers, who perform break-dance and hip-hop style dance. As B-Boy performances have gained extensive popularity among teenagers and young adults in Korea since the mid 2000s, different *samulnori* troupes have attempted to perform with B-Boy performers in Korea.

language schools do. Only two years after the first group of Koreans came to the U.S., these Koreans in Hawaii showed how eager they were to maintain Korean cultural practices in the new land. As early as 1907, Korean emigrants in Hawaii arranged to import musical instruments for their Korean ceremonies and feasts (Bernice K. 1937: 116, quoted in Sutton 1987: 103). In 1922, the arts organization Nam Pung Sa was founded in Honolulu, Hawaii and offered classes in Korean traditional songs and dances and Nam Pung Sa disbanded in 1927 (Sutton 1987: 103).

Maria Kongju Seo (2001) notes that there are three Korean American musicians who are descendants of the first wave Korean emigrants to the U.S.: Earl Kim, Donald Sur, and Gregory Pai.⁷ They have actively taken part in composition (Kim and Sur) and performing traditional Korean performances (Pai) since the 1960s. During the 1960s, some traditional Korean performers and performance troupes, including Chong Jae-kook, the Folk Arts Troupe, the *Samchŏnri* Arts Troupe, and Little Angeles Arts Troupe, visited the States. Newspapers including *Tonga Ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang Shinmun* report the performance tours of traditional Korean performing troupes and their achievements. Many of them include *p'ungmul* in their repertoires.

Yu notes that the Folk Arts Troupe (*Minsok yesuldan* 민속 예술단) gave a performance in the U.S. in 1962 and the Arirang Troupe took performance tours in the U.S. and Europe in 1964 (2005: 193-194). In addition, Hwang Byung-ki, a well-known *kayagŭm* (twelve-string-zither 가야금) player and composer, was invited to teach the instrument at the University of Washington in Seattle in 1965. A few major traditional Korean musicians and scholars also emigrated to the U.S. since 1965. For example, Jin Hi Kim (a *kŏmungo*, six-string-zither, player), Byong Won Lee (a professor at the University of Hawaii), Kim Tong-sŏk (an adjunct assistant professor at University of California Los Angeles), to name a few, came to the U.S. after the Act took effect. They have devoted themselves to inviting professional performers from Korea and to introducing traditional Korean performing arts to the States.⁸ Chi Yŏng-hŭi and Sŏng Kŭm-yŏn moved to Hawaii. They are the *poyuja* (Individual Holders of the Important Intangible Cultural Asset) in the *sinawi* and *kayagŭm sanjo* genres, respectively. They opened a Korean music studio in Honolulu and taught Korean musical instruments such as *changgo*, *puk*, *ching*, *kkwaengwari*, *taegŭm* (a large transverse flute 대금), *ajaeng* (a seven-string bowed long zither 아쟁), *kayagŭm* (a twelve-string long zither 가야금), and *kŏmungo* (a six-string fretted long zither 거문고). Meanwhile, traditional Korean performance groups or associations in the U.S. have been created since the 1970s. One of the earliest traditional Korean music associations, the Korean Traditional Music Institutes in the U.S. (*Chaemi kukakwŏn* 재미 국악원) was established in 1973 in LA (Yu 2005: 194) and a few years later in 1980 the Korean Traditional Music and Dance Association (*Chaemi kukak hyŏphoe* 재미 국악 협회) was founded (Choy 1995: 920). The associations have contributed to promoting and to introducing traditional Korean arts in the States.

The first *p'ungmul* group in NYC, the Nongak Troupe of the Eastern U.S. (*Midongbu nongakdan* 미동부 농악단), was unexpectedly established just for an event on Independence Day on July 4th of 1976.⁹ In fact, it was a surrogate performance group. Fifty Korean performers were supposed to visit the U.S. for the event. However, a political issue between Korea and the U.S. at that time prevented the Korean performers from coming to the States; all of them were denied U.S. visas for that visit. The group's founding member, Kim Ch'i-jung recalled that one of the officers at the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (the predecessor of the National Intelligence Service) visited his work-place and

⁷ One of Earl Kim's uncles, Kim P'il-kwŏn, is known as *changgo harabŏji* (*changgo* grandfather 장고 할아버지). He led a parade of Korean Americans in Long Beach, California, which showed Korean music and dance. It was known that he had made his *changgo* by himself (Seo 2001: 84).

⁸ Anderson Sutton lists traditional Korean music and dance performances from 1963 to 1985 in Honolulu, Hawaii which were organized by Byong Won Lee or Halla Huhm, a dance studio (1987:113-115).

⁹ Kim Ch'i-jung and his colleagues use the term *nongak* regardless of their knowledge that the term was used under Japanese colonial period and has been widely replaced by *p'ungmul*. The new name of the group, Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe, still uses the term *nongak*.

asked Kim if he could perform at the Independence Day celebration event. He accepted the invitation to perform for the event because he was being paid well. This was the first performance of the Nongak Troupe of the Eastern States. The Nongak Troupe of the Eastern U.S. initially consisted of performers from New York and New Jersey and the group performed for the Independence Day celebration event for approximately ten more years. The performance for the Independence Day brought popularity to the Nongak Troupe and since then they were invited to various cultural events, such as the Korean American parade on *Broadway*, Manhattan, the Immigration Parade at Main St., Flushing, the Lunar New Year parade for Chinese and Korean in Flushing, the Korean Thanksgiving Day Festival at the Meadow Park in Flushing, and so on. The name of the group, the Nongak Troupe of the Eastern U.S., was changed in 1998 to the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe (*Pyŏnghwa t'ongil Nongakdan* 평화 통일 농악단). In spite of the founding members' ages, mid-sixties to seventies, this group still actively takes part in various performances and cultural events.

P'ungmul Inspired by the Minjung Cultural Movement

A number of important *p'ungmul* groups were created during the 1980s, as Korean political refugees came to the States (Kwon 2001; Yu 2005). Among the political refugees, Kim Pong-jun and Yun Han-bong are important to note. Kim and Yun formed *p'ungmul* groups as cultural affiliations of voluntary political social associations and they introduced politicized *p'ungmul* to Korean American practitioners. As with many other students who participated in the *minjung* cultural movement during the 1980s in Korea, he was also interested in learning mask dance and *p'ungmul*. When he came to the U.S. in 1987, he visited 8 cities with an aim to create folk arts groups, so called art group (*misulp'ae* 미술패). During his visit, Kim Pong-jun helped to establish the Korean Youth Cultural Center (*Hanin ch'ŏngnyŏn munhwawŏn* 한인 청년 문화원) in Oakland and the Minjung Cultural Research Group (*Minjung munhwa yŏnguso* 민중 문화 연구소) in LA and created *p'ungmul* groups that were affiliated with the Korean Youth Cultural Center.¹⁰ Until it was shut down in 2008 due to a lack of enrollment and funds, the Korean Youth Cultural Center had provided *p'ungmul* and mask dance classes. The Minjung Cultural Research Group facilitated forming *p'ungmul* groups at UCLA and UC Santa Barbara.¹¹ The research group sent *p'ungmul* teachers when the collegiate *p'ungmul* groups of UCLA and UC Santa Barbara were initially formed, so the *p'ungmul* groups were able to have resources to learn traditional Korean performance. Another important figure, Yun Han-bong, came to the U.S. as a political refugee after the Kwangju uprising (Yu Yongmin 2005). He established the Young Koreans United of USA.¹² Each of its affiliations formed *p'ungmul* groups later, such as Hannuri (1992 한누리), Binari (비나리) in Flushing (1985), Sorimori (소리모리) in Philadelphia and Ilkwa Nori (일과 놀이) in Chicago (1988). During the early 1990s, Yi Chŏng-hun and Ko Chae-ho also came to the States.¹³ They were strongly influenced by the *minjung* cultural movement and taught *p'ungmul* and other forms of traditional Korean performance genres for various political social organizations.

Moreover, the National *P'ungmul* Network (NPN) was created in 1999. It was supervised by the Korean Youth Cultural Center (KYCC) in Oakland which was founded in 1987 by Kim Pong-jun. The NPN was created as a way to exchange knowledge and resources about *p'ungmul* and other forms of traditional Korean performing arts among different *p'ungmul* troupes across the States. In addition to the NPN, Hannoori (한누리), a performance troupe in New Jersey, has held annual *p'ungmul* camps since

¹⁰ A few years later, the Minjung Cultural Research Group was renamed the Uri Cultural Research Group (*Uri Munhwa Yŏnkuso* 우리 문화 연구소).

¹¹ Interview with Nam Chang-u, March 7, 2007.

¹² See Youngmin Yu (2007: 204-206) for more a detailed historical background of YKU and its affiliations in Los Angeles, Chicago and Flushing. She notes that each of YKU's affiliations currently operates under the National Korean American Service and Education Consortium, founded in 1994.

¹³ Interview with Nam Chang-u, March 7, 2007.

1999. The first *p'ungmul* camp by Hannoori was coincident with the first *p'ungmul* camp hosted by the NPN. The camp by Hannoori was mostly for the groups in the eastern area of the U.S. like New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia. Indeed, numerous *p'ungmul* groups had been created across the U.S. by the end of 1990s. Founders of many of the groups had either participated in the *minjung* cultural movement, or were strongly influenced by the movement. For example, Hanool was founded in 1997. The troupe is a performance group affiliated with the Service and Education for Korean Americans (SEKA). Two of the founding members of Hanool and SEKA, Kim Tong-ch'an and Kim Tong-sök are known for their strong involvement in the *minjung* cultural movement. Both of them have emphasized *p'ungmul* as a politicized activity and Hanool has participated in political protests and campaigns. DDKY was created in 1996 as a performance troupe of the State University of New York, Stony Brook.¹⁴ Ch'oi Hyön-don, a founding member of DDKY, is known to have been influenced by the *minjung* cultural movement and he was also involved in founding the Korean Culture Research Group (*Uri munhwa ch'atkihoe* 우리 문화 찾기회) in 1990.¹⁵ Mo Se-jong is another important figure who helped to form Sorimori, a *p'ungmul* group at the State University of New York, Buffalo. He was also strongly influenced by the *minjung* cultural movement.¹⁶

In addition, Kim Duk Soo's SamulNori group also had enormous effects on the *p'ungmul* groups in the States. His SamulNori group has performed in the States since the 1980s. The original members of SamulNori performed in the U.S. in 1987. This performance was a sensation for Korean Americans. SamulNori performances led by Kim Duk Soo in the States motivated many people to create a *samulnori* groups in the States. More importantly, it broadened the repertoire of *p'ungmul* groups of the U.S. and many *p'ungmul* troupes in the U.S. now perform *samulnori* pieces as important pieces of their repertoire.

Since 2001: Greater Diversity among P'ungmul Groups

The NPN was officially shut down when the KYCC disbanded in 2008 due to lack of funding. The websites of the NPN and the KYCC do not exist any longer. It was unexpected that the KYCC disbanded because KYCC celebrated their 20th anniversary event in 2007. Even after the NPN disbanded, *p'ungmul* groups in close distance have worked to have performances that would bring the Korean American community together. For example, under Nam Chang-u's guidance, different collegiate *p'ungmul* groups have cooperated and performed the *chisinbalpki* ritual as a part of the Lunar New Year Festival in Koreatown, LA.¹⁷ Nam Chang-u had been involved in the KYCC during his college years and was one of the founding members to set up *p'ungmul* groups for UC Berkley, Stanford, UC San Francisco and UC Irvine. He currently serves as a mentor for the *p'ungmul* groups at UCLA, UC Santa Barbara, and UC Irvine, as he moved to Los Angeles a few years ago. He gives those groups advice on how to form entertainment-oriented *p'ungmul* (*p'an'gut* 판굿) events for their annual performance and for the Korean Culture Nights. He also holds an annual *p'ungmul* camp for collegiate *p'ungmul* practitioners. Also, *p'ungmul* groups in New York have been supported by the Korean Cultural Outreach Network (KCON) since 2002. Kang Kyöng-hüi, Ko Ch'an-hyöck, Yun Paek-ch'ön, and Ch'oe Hyön-don are founding members of the KCON and all of the figures are involved in different *p'ungmul* troupes. Before the foundation of the KCON, Hannoori took charge of many activities and roles that the KCON currently

¹⁴ DDKY is an abbreviated form of Döng Döng Kung Yi. Döng and Kung is a verbalization of the *changgo* (double headed hourglass drum) sound. *Yi* is a suffix for a person's character. For example, *Kuiyömtöngyi* (귀염둥이) refers to *kuiyöun saram* (a sweet person 귀여운 사람) and *simsulchaengyi* (심술쟁이) refers to *simsul manün saram* (a screwy person 심술 많은 사람).

¹⁵ Interview with Kang Kyöng-hüi, December 23, 2006 and interview with Ko Ch'an-hyöck, October 6, 2007.

¹⁶ Interview with Ko Ch'an-hyöck, October 6, 2007.

¹⁷ The purpose of *chisinbalpki* is to chase away bad sprits and bad fortune and to bring good fortune, wealth, health and good spirits into a village. It is traditionally performed between the first day and 15th day of the New Year. Performers sing traditional folk songs and perform *p'ungmul* by stepping on the floor, which signifies stepping on the bad spirits and chasing them away.

holds. By offering leadership training and membership training for collegiate *p'ungmul* practitioners and hosting the annual *p'ungmul* camp, it creates opportunities to meet other performance troupes, to build friendships with them and to obtain more knowledge about *p'ungmul* and traditional Korean performing arts. Particularly, the KCON has taken over Hannoori's annual *p'ungmul* camp since 2002 and created its own webpage, www.poongmul.com. As of 2008, the KCON has the largest affiliation of groups in the eastern area. It consists of numerous collegiate *p'ungmul* groups and other kinds of *p'ungmul* groups like 149 *P'ungmul* Place, Peace and Unite *Nongak* Troupe, and New York *P'ungmul* Troupe.

The current younger generation of *p'ungmul* practitioners are not as interested in participating in political protests or demonstrations when performing *p'ungmul* as they were in the prior period. I met one of the *p'ungmul* practitioners in LA who had moved from NYC. He plays the *kkwaenggwari* and had been involved in Binarai, which is an affiliated *p'ungmul* troupe of the National Korean American Service and Education Consortium in Flushing, New York. However, he does not like politicized activities. As he moved to LA, he sought a performance group which is not involved in politicized performances. He is now involved in one of the *samulnori* troupes not performing any political activities. In addition, Hanool separated from the Corean Center, one of the major voluntary social organizations in Flushing, New York in 2008. All Hanool members agreed to found a performance troupe that was not involved in political issues. Also, Kang Kyöng-hüi, a founding member of the Korean Culture Research Group (*Uri munwha ch'atkihoe* 우리 문화 찾기회), which leans toward politicized activities, has turned his interests to non-political ones.¹⁸

Moreover, the Nori Company led by Yuk Sang-min is composed of *New York P'ungmuldan* (뉴욕 풍물단) and *Samulnorip'ae Param* (사물놀이패 바람).¹⁹ The former performs for a Korean American audience and the latter for a non-Korean American audience. Initially, Yuk Sang-min came to the States for his studies. However, while serving as a leader of the *p'ungmul* parade for the Korean American Festival in Manhattan, New York, he changed his mind and decided to devote himself to traditional Korean performances. Although he had not been a professional *p'ungmul* performer in Korea, intensive training experiences in Korea have since enhanced his performance skills and repertoire, ranging from the *Ansöng namsadang* to the *Honam udo* style. Since founding his own group in 1989, his interest lies in theatrical performance. Thus, he has sought to learn and perform the *namasadang* and *udo* style which is known for its virtuosity and for performers' gymnastic movements. He has also taught Korean drumming ensemble classes as part of the world music ensemble classes at the Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, until 2008.²⁰

Performance Styles

By the end of 1990s, *p'ungmul* groups in LA and NY tended to play common repertoires such as *ich'ae* (two-stroke rhythmic pattern), *samch'ae* (three stroke rhythmic pattern) and *samulnori* pieces. Particularly, as *samulnori* became more popular in the U.S., *samulnori* pieces obtained a significant presence in the repertoire of Korean American *p'ungmul* practitioners. As Kwon (2001) and Bussel (1997) demonstrate, the common repertoire of Korean American *p'ungmul* consists of pieces based on rhythms ranging from *i ch'ae* and *sam ch'ae* to *sölchanggo*, *yöngnam*, *honam udo*, *uttari*, and *miryang o pukch'um*. The current *p'ungmul* repertoire and practices in the States is shaped by an expanded repertoire selection and more varied regional styles. A group's repertoire largely depends on the learning experiences of the group members. The number of performers that adapt to using a *sangmo* (spinning tasseled hat) is dramatically increasing in NYC. The annual *p'ungmul* camp in 2008 had the largest number of *sangmo*

¹⁸ Interview with Ko Ch'an-hyöck, October 6, 2007.

¹⁹ The Nori Company has been affiliated with the KCON since 2008. Yuk Sangmin, the director of the Nori Company, serves as a principal director of the KCON.

²⁰ The Korean drumming ensemble class was later taken over by Kang Kyöng-hüi, a vice director of KCON, since Yuk moved far from the school.

practitioners to date. Even afterwards, camp participants continue to practice regularly at the KCON office. Major figures in KCON such as Kim Pan-ya and Ko Ch'an-hyök had visited Korea and learned *sangmo* techniques and these learning experiences enabled them to transmit *sangmo* practices to the rest of their group members in NY.

The significant influence of P'ilbong *p'ungmul* on *p'ungmul* troupes in the U.S. can be seen through Hanool in Flushing, New York. Hanool has been closely related with P'ilbong *p'ungmul* troupe since their first meeting in 1999. The Preservation Society of P'ilbong in New York invited one of the P'ilbong performers to visit in 1999 and Hanool had an opportunity to have one month of intensive training with him. Since Yi Chong-hwan, a director of the preservation society, participated in the creation of Hanool and served as a mentor for young members of Hanool at the time, he introduced the P'ilbong performer to Hanool first. The performer from Korea was Yi Chöng-u, a director of an intensive training center (*chönsugwan*) in Seoul. He has been involved in *p'ungmul* since the 1980s when he attended college. When he went to Japan for studies he founded *p'ungmul* groups. It seems that his experience in Japan might have led the P'ilbong *p'ungmul* troupe to have frequent workshops and performances in Japan. Yi also visited Oakland in San Francisco and taught *p'ungmul* at Sister's Sound (*Jamaesori* 자매소리) and the Korean Youth Cultural Center (KYCC). In 2000, he came to the U.S. with Yang Chin-söng, the leader of the P'ilbong *p'ungmul* group and they provided a *p'ungmul* workshop for Hanool in Flushing, New York and Sister's Sound and KYCC in Oakland, San Francisco (Kwon 2001: 48). Thereafter, a group of P'ilbong performers came to the States in 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, and 2008. Whenever they came to the States, they visited Flushing in New York and met members of the Hanool troupe. Thus, Hanool has had more extensive opportunities to acquire the P'ilbong performance style from authoritative teachers and to maintain P'ilbong performance practices than other performance group in the States.

From July 21 to August 2, 2008, a P'ilbong workshop was held in Flushing, New York, hosted by Hanool and Teoh. The P'ilbong workshop in 2008 was significant because the majority of the participants had practiced P'ilbong performance styles and met P'ilbong performers before, either in Korea or in the States. For instance, some members of Shimtah had participated in a P'ilbong Intensive Training Center since 2005. Thus, Shimtah is well known to other collegiate groups in NYC in that it has been particularly inspired by P'ilbong *p'ungmul*. Do Söng-hüi's family has also attended the Intensive Training Center. Amie from Oakland, California had previously met the P'ilbong performers when representatives of P'ilbong *p'ungmul* visited Oakland to provide a workshop. She was involved in Jamaesori, a performance troupe which has practiced the P'ilbong style for a few years since the group first met the P'ilbong performers (Kwon 2001). In addition to the participants who regularly attend workshops, there were several visitors who came to the workshop and gave their regards to the P'ilbong instructors: Yi Chong-hwan, Kim Ch'i-jung and Kang Kyöng-hüi. All of them had attended the P'ilbong workshop in 2001 and 2003 and were familiar with the P'ilbong representatives. This demonstrates that the P'ilbong style is familiar to U.S. *p'ungmul* practitioners.

Music in the Korean Diaspora for the Korean Studies

Colin Mackerras notes, "diasporas will become so assimilated into their new homes that their cultures become completely indistinguishable" (2005: 227). His remark presupposes that displaced people have no influences from or connections with their homelands. However, this assumption does not consider technological and communication developments and their contributions to transmitting cultural practices in immigrant communities. Nancy Foner (1997) points out that Russian Jews and Italians in New York at the turn-of-the-century had economic, political and cultural links to their homeland and therefore that retaining ties and connections with the homeland is not unique to contemporary migrants. Foner affirms that the new phenomenon of modern day transnationalism enables people to have "more frequent" and "closer contact" with home societies thanks to technological development (1997: 362). Foner acknowledges the presence of connection with homeland but does not go further in considering to what extent the homeland policies encourage the transmission of influence to immigrants. Throughout

this study, I have shown that *p'ungmul* in the States is not isolated from the homeland and the host society. Rather, it is continuously structured, constructed, and manipulated by close cultural and political relations between the homeland and the host society, by the cultural institutions, cultural policies, and ideologies of contemporary Korea as well as various socio-cultural contexts of the host society. In other words, continuous exchange between Korea and the U.S. functions to construct *p'ungmul* in the States. While increasing numbers of scholarly works have paid attention to Korean cultural policies and politics and their impact on cultural practices in Korea, there has been little attention given to contemporary Korean cultural policies and their influence among Korean diasporic communities. In addition, numerous reports and studies have examined traditional Korean performances held abroad. However, those works do not acknowledge how those performances could stimulate immigrant societies' transmission of cultural practices.

Martin Stokes sheds light on music studies in diasporic spaces which require looking at on-going transnational movements, stating, "while earlier migration literature tended to the before-and-after of assimilation and acculturation in accordance with modernization theory, contemporary theories of music in diaspora elaborate cultural ambivalences of return, subalternity in host societies, and the forging of transnational strategic alliances" (Stokes 2001: 390). He articulates various dynamisms that reside in diasporic spaces. With emphasis on movement, the role of the Korean government's cultural politics and policies in transmitting cultural practices and constructing performance styles among Korean diasporic communities would pave the new way to expand the scope of Korean studies.

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***Interview**

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