

Musical acculturation through Korean primary school activities during Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945)

Abstract

Global colonialism and continuing post colonial influences caused widespread cultural change at the interface of different cultures. Musical acculturation can be observed in most colonized countries. The fact that even in modern day Korea musical culture is still dominated by Western music might very well be result of the introduction and subsequent acculturation of Western music during Japanese colonial period.

However, while the Vietnamese partly accepted Western musical culture without explicitly being forced by colonial France, Korean musical acculturation was a very different case as the Japanese colonial masters actively engaged in the extermination of Korean culture, including music. So far there has been limited research on musical acculturation of Korea either through Japan during the Japanese colonial period or through later Western influences in modern times.

Many pro colonialists apologetically allege that through colonisation the colonised territories would receive developmental aid and economical benefits. If this was the case, did Korean music education also benefit from Japanese colonisation as is commonly claimed? And also, was Korean school music acculturated by the Japanese curriculum?

To answer these questions, I scrutinized the intentions of colonial Korean music education through interviewing 42 witnesses who attended primary school of the time and simultaneously analysing school activities such as morning assembly and military draft, which shows musical contents at primary schools. The interviews focused in particular on the day to day life at school, pedagogic content and impacts of colonial education on pupils later life and cultural identity.

My findings unequivocally demonstrate that music at primary school of the time did not provide the pedagogic benefits of a modern school system but was only used as a propaganda tool to mould Korean children into becoming enthusiastic subjects of the colonial government. Japan did introduce its own education policies and curricula that influenced the Korean music education history past independence. However, according to the witness accounts the contents of the curricula did hardly ever make their way into the day to day operation of schools. In the contrary, the day to day life at school was dominated by political propaganda and the use of school children to support the war effort. So on the surface the colonial government did create a modern education system as an illusion to justify colonization and the so called modernisation of Korea, but in the end this was not realized in the schools of the time and the real reason for colonial occupation was the exploitation of Korea for Japans economical and military benefits.

일제시대 초등학교를 통해본 음악적 문화변형 (1910-1945)

글로벌 식민지화와 계속되는 포스트 식민지화 영향은 아주 넓게 다른 문화사이의 문화적 변형을 야기시키고 있다. 음악적 문화변형은 대부분의 식민지를 겪었던 나라들사이에서 볼 수 있다. 현대의 한국음악문화는 서구음악의 절대적인 영향을 통해 이루어졌는데, 이러한 영향은 아마도 일제시대 서구음악이 도입되면서부터 시작된 것으로 보인다.

하나의 예로, 베트남이 프랑스의 식민지하에 있을때, 어떠한 무력의 사용없이 프랑스 음악문화를 자연스럽게 받아들였다. 그러나 한국의 음악을 포함한 문화적 변용 케이스는 일본식민지들에 의해 전혀다르게 진행되어왔다. 지금까지 이러한 일제 강점기나 그 후 현대사회의 서구음악 영향력에 대한 음악문화적 변용케이스 연구는 지극히 제한적이였다.

일부 식민주의 옹호론자들은 식민화가 식민지인들에게 경제적 발전과 이익을 가져다주었다고 주장한다. 이 주장에 근거하여, 일제강점기 일제의 음악교육은 한국의 음악 교육에 어떠한 영향을 미쳤으며, 따라서 한국의 음악교육은 역시 일제 강점기를 통해서 이익을 받은 것일까? 그리고, 한국의 학교음악도 일제의 커리큘럼에 의해 어떠한 변용을 겪게 되었는가를 묻지 않을 수 없다.

이 문제를 해결하기 위해 본 연구에서는 일제강점기 초등학교를 다닌 42 명을 대상으로 하였다. 이 연구에서는 이들의 학교 활동, 즉 음악과 관련된 아침조회와 군대 징병 등에 대해 주도적으로 분석하였다. 또한, 이 연구는 매일의 학교생활, 교육적 내용과 일제강점기의 식민지 교육이 나중에 어른이 된 학생들의 느낌이나 문화적 정체성에 초점을 맞추었다.

이러한 연구 결과, 일제강점기 초등학교 음악교육은 현대학교 교육제도의 교육적인 이익을 전혀 제공하지 못했음을 발견하였다. 일제는 한국 음악교육역사에 영향을 줄 수 있는 그들만의 교육정책과 커리큘럼을 적용하여 식민지 아동들을 제국주의의 철저한 신민으로 육성코자 하였다. 특히 학생들의 커리큘럼내용인 인터뷰의 결과에 의하면, 그들의 수업은 거의 이루어지지 않았으며, 오히려 매일매일의 학교수업에서는 정치적인 선동과 전쟁에 이용되어지는 학생들의 학교생활만이 주류를 이루었음을 볼 수 있었다. 외면적으로, 일제는 근대교육제도를 한국에 심어주었다고 하지만, 실제로는 그들의 경제적이익과 군사적 편익만을 위한 학교교육이었음을 알 수 있었다.

Introduction

Colonialism lead to global cultural changes through the interaction of different cultures. While there are staunch critics to the perceived positive aspects of colonialism (Césaire, 1955; Mukuna, 1997; Sartre, 2001), pro-colonialists claim that it is right and necessary to enlighten and modernise colonised countries. The right for subjugation stems from times of increasing nationalism. Colonisation of so called 'savage' and 'uncivilized' countries is justified through a feeling of Christian superiority or simple the right of the strong over the weak (Russel, 1951).

The introduction of Western education is often used as an argument for perceived positive aspects of colonialism. Carnoy (1974) claims in his colonial characterization that 'schooling helps develop colonizer-colonized relationships between individuals and between groups in society. It formalizes these relationships, giving them a logic that makes reasonable the unreasonable' (p. 19). Carnoy's statement, however, does not imply who the benefactors of these developed relationships are.

Colonial governments usually show little concrete efforts opening schools (Sartre, 2001), because their main aim of colonisation was to extend foreign domination, economic exploitation and settlement of their own population (Kelly & Altbach, 1984, p. 2). Additionally, education systems set up in colonies are often of inferior quality or are destined to a limited part of the colonised population. According to Césaire (1955, p. 6), colonial education is

A parody of education, the hasty manufacture of a few thousand subordinate functionaries, "boys", artisans, office clerks, and interpreters necessary for the smooth operation of business.

One of the aims of colonial education is the assimilation of the occupier's culture by the colonised¹. Viswanathan (1988) claims that cultural assimilation is the most effective form of

¹ <http://www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/Education.html>

political action (p. 85). This cultural assimilation frequently happens by force. Kelly & Altbach (1984) find that 'education in colonies seems directed at absorption into the metropole and not separate and dependent development of the colonized in their own society and culture' (p. 4).

Just as pro colonialists claim that colonizers develop colonised countries, Japan uses the same argument of how it developed Korea, including the introduction of a modern education system, to justify its colonial past. While Japan did introduce a new school system to Korea to replace the traditional Joseon system, this was a purely Japanese education system aimed at the Japanization of its colonial subjects and the eradication of Korean cultural identity. Even in modern Korea music and music culture is still dominated by Western music. This might be result of the introduction of Western music by Japan and subsequent acculturation during the Japanese colonial period

In the field of ethnomusicology, acculturation is defined as the process of contact between two or more cultures (Merriam, 1964). As a result of acculturation, musical culture is mixed and interchanged, which can either be a positive or a negative process. Acculturation, together with westernisation, transplantation, modernisation, syncretism, cultural addition, compartmentalisation and class imposition different forms of transculturation (Deva, 2000).

Nevertheless, transculturation of Korean school music under Japanese colonial rule does not readily fit in any of these categories because of the peculiarities of Japanese colonialism. Korean school children learned so called Japanized Western music, rather than Japanese traditional music, following a Japanese curriculum at Korean schools, which is a unique situation. Reason for this is that Japan itself changed its musical culture through Westernisation during the Meiji era (1852-1912).

So far there has been little research on musical acculturation of Korea, either through Japan during the Japanese colonial period, or through later Western influences in modern times (Lee, 2005, p. 18). In particular, the process of acculturation of Korean music education during the colonial period received little attention, even though there were some research on music education policies and analysis of music text books of the colonial period (e.g. Cheon, 1997; Kim, 1997; Lee, 2007; Lim, 2001). In this article I will demonstrate how imperial Japan pursued to maintain its superiority over Korea through acculturation in school music education. It will also be shown that colonial education in Korea was qualitatively not a modern education system at all, but only a propaganda tool serving political purposes. This article is in particular concerned with musical activities of school life, such as school involvement with military draft and morning assembly.

Methods

To investigate the colonial education system I interviewed eyewitnesses of the time in October 2009 and April 2011. The interviewees were elderly Korean males and females who attended primary schools under Japanese colonial rule between 1910 and 1945. Therefore, pupils from that time are between 75 years and 90 years old. Females were only marginally represented as few girls were able to go to school during this period.

I interviewed 42 (38 males, 4 females) participants from Seoul and Naju City in parks and elderly centres. of these, the testimonies of 19 interviewees were relevant to the topic of this paper. Participants attended school at different periods of Japanese colonial rule and various localities, and also came from different educational and socio-economic backgrounds. In the following text, interviewees remain anonymous, but the interviewee's date of birth and place (city and province) where they went to school is presented after each interview excerpt. The selection of interviews for this article are limited to experiences of interviewees with Korean primary schools.

The interviews were semi-structured rather than highly structured protocols, with open-ended questions. The content of interviews were thematically analysed (coded) with attention to differences between various periods of music education, males and females, and between urban and regional areas. The duration of interviews ranged from 15 minutes to one hour. To assist the memory of the elderly Koreans that were interviewed, I used the 'stimulated recall' method. This method is often used to trigger memory for 'accuracy and authenticity' in research (Edwards-Leis, 2006, p. 3). For the stimulated recall I employed songs, music textbooks or photos of the time. This methodology can maximise "the validity and reliability" (Gass & Mackey, 2000, p. 105) of the historical testimony recorded with interviews for this study. Also, I meet some interviewees a second time after a two year period to allow participants to recall their musical experiences of the period and also made follow-up phone calls.

Results

1. Military draft

Political background to military draft

Japan announced the 'National Mobilization Law (Gukga chongdongwon beob)' in 1938 and began to forcefully draft Korean men to alleviate the increasing labour shortages during the 1930s, to further the economic exploitation of Korea in support of the war and for military goals, in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937 -1945) and the Pacific War (1941 - 1945). The purpose of conscribing Korean men as slave labourers was to use them for the construction of new train lines, roads, mining areas and military bases in South East Asia and the Pacific. Also, Korean men were forced to enter the Japanese military service to support the Japanese war effort as soldiers. In total, 1 to 1.6 Million Koreans were drafted by Japan (forced labour 800,000, military 130,000 - 210,000 and civilians attached to the military 110,000 - 150,000) (The Research Department of Joseon Bank [Joseon eunheng josabu], 1949). The total number of Korean men drafted represented an astonishing 25 - 28% of the Korean male population between 16 and 40 years old of the time. Most drafted Korean men were either sent for forced labour somewhere in Korea, or shipped to Japan, Sakhalin (nowadays Russia) and even as far as the southern Pacific (e.g. Solomon Islands, Guadalcanal). By the end of the war most of them had perished. The estimated deaths of forced labourers alone were up to 870,000 (Rummel, 1999). In the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima alone about 20,000 Korean forced labourers were killed².

The colonial government tried in many ways to draft Koreans for forced military service which Japan tried to justify through propaganda. An example for the Japanese propaganda machine is The Jeonsun United National Group (Gukmin chongryek joseon yeonmaeng) in 1940, under direct supervision of the Japanese Governor-General that derived from The Joseon Spiritual United National Group (Gukmin jeongsin chongdongwon joseon yeonmaeng) in 1938. This group was frequently marching and promoting in the streets that Koreans should appreciate to be conscripted.

School involvement

Schools of the time were used to encourage and support military draft by mobilizing school children, even including primary school children, to farewell draftees. The majority of interviewees testified that these mobilizing events were a usual part of school activities. School children would all together go to gathering places for the farewell ceremony of draftees, usually the train station where the drafted Korean men were leaving town, or the township office where there was a Shinto Shrine. Because the military draft was crucial for the Japanese war effort they used these ceremonies as propaganda. Farewell ceremonies events were a big event at the time according to the eyewitness reports, involving people of the entire village, Japanese officials, draftee's families and school children from all different schools lining the street, holding flags and singing songs for the draftees. The interviews are analysed for two main

² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atomic_bombings_of_Hiroshima_and_Nagasaki#Korean_survivors

categories concerning military draft: a) music as a propaganda tool b) music of the farewell parties

a) Music as a propaganda tool

Music often plays a crucial role in many events and activities to encourage a good mood and improve worker enthusiasm (Karageorghis & Terry, 1997). Nevertheless, imperialists used music as a demonstration of power. When nationalism and imperialism were the main political features to develop European countries in the 19th century, music played an immense role. Japan emulated the Western imperialistic powers (Gordon, 2003) and used music as a propaganda vehicle in Korea during the Japanese colonial rule. In particular, singing and clapping were usually used in the farewell ceremony in order to stimulate school children's emotion. Singing and clapping are typical musical actions to engage in varied musicking to manifest musical and social identities, communication and interactions (Harrop-Allin, 2011, p. 160).

In the colonial environment, Japan used music to manifest social identities in its subjects. This was one of the ways how the Japanese government tried to reach its colonial goals of assimilation. In this case, through these musical actions, school children were stimulated. In particular, certain military songs, such as *Gadegruso*, were always involved with these ceremonies:

When the draftees were gathering at the station, we would go out holding a flag and sung songs. I remember Gadegruso.... (singing in Japanese) "we bravely are off to the war, and returning dead. If you die at war, your parents will be proud of you"..... That's how we sung such military songs. (1929, female, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

The majority of interviewees recall that as school children they were marching from school to the train station or the township office. On arrival, they would hold Japanese imperial flags and sing some songs to farewell the draftees:

The ceremony was held in the train station. All children had to go there together and the draftees' parents were there too. We sung Gadason nippon (singing in Japanese the first few phrases of Gadason nippon). (1928, Wanggok, South Jeolla Province)

We would go outside holding the Japanese flag. We were standing in the street in a row and Japanese children from a different school turned up too. (1934, Nampyeong, South Jeolla Province)

Some interviewees said they did not attend the ceremonies because they were too young to sing as first or second year pupils, but he still joined and clapped. Those younger interviewees also witnessed older pupils joining the march to the train station. One example is as follows:

I remember that senior students gathered clapping and saying good-bye but I was there. I don't remember if I sung any military songs there. I remember pupils clapping but I think that fifth and sixth senior students were singing something not us junior students. All village people came too and the draftees were 10-20 from all different villages. We didn't know why the draftees were just about to leave and what they were doing in Japan [or elsewhere]. (1936, Wonju, Gangwon Province)

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

Since the Pacific War, the police administration division of the Japanese colonial government started to strictly control Korean media culture such as movies, media and popular songs. One of the reasons was to control 'enemy music' from America and England, which was supposed to be a praise of Western culture. This was all about to exclusively retain only Japanese culture in Korea. Even a prohibited song list was announced which included approximately 1000 songs in January 1943 (Lee, 2010a). Even though the song 'Japan won (Gadason Nippon)' was no school song, many interviewees remembered it very well. These types of military songs were often advertised in newspapers in order to make them popular (Lee, 2010b). The song 'Gadason Nippon (Japan won)' was also advertised in the Daily News December 31 in 1941, with an explanation of this song and the recommendation of it by the colonial government.

b) Music at farewell parties

Usually, village people would organize farewell parties for military draftees. These parties were held the day before draftees would leave for war. Music in form of songs and instrumental music was an integral part of these parties and school children were usually involved with these activities.

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

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

I was 10 or 11 years old. I always watched it. Gisaeng would be at the party and those draftees were priority to be seated just next to the Gisaeng in the middle of the party place. Gisaeng would make a lot of money at those parties. People simply stuck money on the Ginseng's forehead. That party took about two days there was a place where draftees gathered that came from each village. We waved goodbye to the draftees and (the party was over). Then, next day people followed the draftees along the street to the Japanese military vehicle, in which they were taken away.

There were two more types of such draftees (apart from military service), one to construct roads, train tracks, or any sort of things and others work in mining areas. Even though these three types of draftees were all gathered forcefully, only draftees leaving for the war got the farewell party. Other type of draftees (Bogukdan, and Jingyoung) never had such a party and all knew that once they were drafted then they would never return home alive. So if they got the letter for draft, then they would run away because they knew that they would die. (1935, Seoul)

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

(singing Japanese) Asagokuno nominigudo ... this is a military song. I think that's when I was 20 years old. About 10 to 15 days before independence, 15th August, I received a letter with the draft notice and actually I was already trained (for military service) much earlier. There was an extra military service at the village office and they decided who would be drafted next for the war and they already trained the future soldiers. On the day that my name was in the draft notice, I went to the township office and had the ceremony (with all other draftees) wearing a sash from the shoulder to the other side of my waist saying 'good luck'. All students from the school and village people gathered and sung Japanese songs such as 'Gadegurusodo'.

But, there was an emergency call and we were told that this draft was postponed and we should come back next time. But it was actually the day that Korea got independent on August 15 in 1945. The day before the independence, August 14 in 1945, I received a party. My village people organized it for me. In our village, of about 120 -130 households, it was only me that was about to be drafted at the time. In the yard, many people came [to see me] but I had such troublesome feelings and emotions and I knew that if I leave for the war now, I would not come back alive..... There were some Korean musical instruments played, such as buk (a barrel drum) and changgu (an hourglass-shaped drum). People usually played them on the New Year or Chuseok (Autumn Thanksgiving Day) and played Korean traditional games. On the day, they played musical instruments and sung Korean songs, the Japanese anthem, Japanese and military songs etc.(1925, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

In the party mentioned above, some Japanese military songs and Korean popular songs, called Yuhaengga, were sung such as 'Tears of Mokpo' (Mokpoe nunmul) and 'Sorrow Serenade' (Aesuui soyagok). It is interesting to see the mix of songs they sung at the farewell party. The Korean Yuhaengga (popular song) was all about the sorrow of the lost Korean nation at the time, whereas Japanese songs that they sung were military songs and the Japanese anthem. These were contradictory circumstances. On the one hand they identified themselves with Korean culture by singing Korean popular music, on the other hand they also sung Japanese colonial songs and even the Japanese anthem. Even though they kept playing Korean traditional musical instruments and traditional games, they would sing Japanese songs as well. These are signs of cultural acculturation through musical changes, including songs that were learned either at school or outside of school.

2. Morning assembly

One significant musical aspect of school life is the morning assembly. All interviewees recall attending an assembly being held every morning in the school yard or, as in a few schools, once a week. Even unregistered schools (private schools), which were usually less strictly regulated by the Japanese colonial government, were required to hold an assembly according to interviewees' testimonies.

After the first ring of the school bell, school children assembled in the school yard. Some schools numbered up to 1,300 children that were gathering in rows in the school yard. The general activity for the morning assembly was to bow to the principal, the Japanese flag and bow twice toward the East where the divine Japanese Emperor lived. This was followed by the principal's speech, singing of the Japanese anthem and reciting the 'Pledge of the Imperial Subjects', pledging to be a good enthusiastic subject. The typical assembly activities were propaganda like aimed at making school children into enthusiastic subjects of the Japanese Emperor.

Some pupils recalled principals giving speeches about the war effort, while others remembered the principal talking about school issues. The testimonies are presented in order from the older to the younger interviewees to highlight changes in assembly practice over time. Note that most interviewees first attended school at the age of 8-9 years old, whereas a few were 7 years old. The following two interviewees entered school in 1934 and 1935. This was still during the period of the second education policy (1922-1938). Therefore, the following two testimonies show that the principals' speech was less strict than testified in the remainder of the interviews in the next paragraph:

When the principal went to the podium, we greeted the principal 'Ohayou gozaimasu' (Jap.: 'Good morning') and the principal greeted us 'Ohayou'. The principal often lectured that Japan was fighting for world peace (1927, Daedek, South Chungcheong Province)

After the bell rang, we were gathering and the principal and teachers assembled in the school yard. Before the principal came to the podium we sung the Japanese anthem. We had a Japanese principal speaking in Japanese. He usually talked about what we should do at school (1928, Yangsan, South Jeolla Province)

In the following two testimonies, the principal's speeches concentrated on the war. Those two interviewees are younger than the previous two and attended school in 1938 and 1942; i.e. those two younger interviewees attended school during the period of the third education policy (1938-1943), in which war preparation was of primary concern even at school. Just one year earlier (1937), the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, which later escalated with the onset of the Pacific War in 1941. During this time, principals' speeches were predominately war propaganda:

We assembled every Monday. It was the time during the Pacific War. The principal used to talk about the war situation, that Japanese planes and war ships were unharmed while enemy (American) ones were heavily damaged. (1930, Baekam, North Gyeongsang Province)

I remember that the principal's speech every morning was about how many enemies (Americans) were killed and how many enemy planes were destroyed by Japanese soldiers during the Pacific War. (1934, Gwangju, South Jeolla Province)

The following testimony is different because this interviewee remembered activities emphasizing school regulations and especially the inspection of pupils. This inspection of schoolchildren appears very intrusive, showing complete disrespect of personal privacy of the pupils and reminds of the actions of a police state. In fact, these inspections were regular monthly activities during the time and this still remains at school as a school tradition today (Chosun ilbo, 13 August 2007):

We were told about the school regulations and what to do during the assembly which was held everyday. Afterwards we sung the Japanese anthem. We had a midday assembly as well, in which our trouser pockets were inspected whether we had leaflets on the Korean independence movement, cigarettes or lighters and things like that. And also we were checked if we had dirty hands (1933, Gangjin, South Jeolla Province)

Following the principals' speech, sometimes songs were performed during the assembly, most commonly the Japanese anthem. The origin of the anthem's lyrics is derived from a Japanese traditional poem. Usually this poem was used for important national festivals. In 1868, these lyrics were tuned to a Western style melody completed by the German musician Franz Eckert. Beginning with the premiere of the anthem at the Emperor's birthday celebration (1888) it was used as the Japanese anthem (Gottschewski, 2003). Musically, the Japanese anthem is Westernized Japanese music with four beats (Tokita & Hughes, 2008) and a Japanese pentatonic scale without F and B. The lyric of the Japanese anthem is all about the immortality and the eternal reign of the Emperor. Japanese always used to deify their Emperors through this song, which is therefore claimed to be a symbol of Japanese imperialism, colonialism and militarism.

Other songs frequently performed during the assembly either had a martial music background or were related to the Japanese Emperor. For instance, popular songs at school were Gadason nippon, expressing loyalty towards the Emperor and another song Umiyukaba, which was regarded the second Japanese anthem. The melody of this song feels like a requiem, which is very slow and sacred. It was usually used for sending soldiers to war. According to the lyrics, sea and mountains were described as a battlefield. Also, as the Japanese Emperor was regarded as the Holy Father so Japanese soldiers would die for the Emperor without any regrets.

According to some testimonies, children also performed some sports as part of the assembly. One witness explained that in retrospect, this was to prepare children for later military service:

As parts of the assembly, we performed sports while we were singing 'Miodokaino soraikide'. Additionally, we swore that 'we are an enthusiastic subject by studying hard' and also there was the 'Pledge of the Imperial Subjects', we swore as well that 'we are the subjects of the great empire of Japan'.

In the mid day, we usually went to the school yard wearing only underpants without shoes and running around in the school yard many times, because Japanese wanted Korean boys go to the Japanese military service later. After that, it was lunch time, but more than half the children did not bring their lunch (because they couldn't afford it). (1929, Haenam, South Jeolla Province)

Every interviewee acknowledged that they pledged to be imperial subjects in the morning assembly after bowing to the East toward the Japanese Emperor and shouted 'Long live the Emperor'. In fact, the colonial government required Koreans to recite the 'Pledge of the Imperial Subjects' from 1940 on. There were two types of pledges, one for children and one for adults, that were recited at all public gatherings, including at school. The following is the pledge for children (Kang, 2001, p. 115):

We are the subjects of the great Empire of Japan.
We shall serve the emperor with united hearts.
We shall endure hardships and train
Ourselves to become good and strong
Subjects of the Emperor.

My school was in the remote countryside that's why there were not many Japanese in our village. In the assembly, we shouted 'Long lives the Emperor'. All children, who attended Japanese school (public school), did the same thing. We sang the Japanese anthem in every assembly and sang many other different songs, but I can't remember other songs apart from the Japanese anthem. (1936, Wonju, Gangwon Province)

The colonial government also had children sing propaganda songs as a condition to receive lunch which was perceived as cruel by this interviewee:

We assembled everyday, there was no exception. At the beginning we did sports and we daily sung the song Gatasongnipho (Japan won). We had to sing this song more often than the Japanese anthem. We were not allowed to have lunch unless we sung the song 'Gatasongnipho' (Japan won). It was terrible (because the witness was so hungry), I just wanted to have lunch. (1929, Yongsanpo, South Jeolla Province)

3. Effects on later life

The next two interviewees have two opposite perspectives about singing military songs as grown ups in their later life. The oldest interviewee among my interviewees testified (1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province) that he would sing military songs sometimes and Japan was the most powerful country at the time, therefore he considered himself a Japanese. He would sing the same 'draft songs' in his early 20s while being out drinking. This interviewee seems to have accepted the situation of the time and even would sing such songs later in life. In fact, many interviewees recalled that they would sing military songs when they were in their late teenage years or beginning of their twenties, just like him:

All Korean young men were drafted, ...(singing in Japanese) Derikawa nide hukio bus.... later when I was older in my late teens or twenties, I would sing this song many times while drinking. Japan was the whole world at the time... (1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province)

On the other hand, this interviewee felt that when he sung military songs later in his life, he would be a traitor. One of the younger interviewee's, who was in his second year at the time,

recalled the military song 'The song of a soldier going to the front' (Chuljeong bongsa eu norae) during a farewell ceremony at the train station:

When you sung such songs after Korea's independence, you would be a traitor.(1935, Donggang, South Jeolla Province)

However, as he was singing, pitch, rhythm and lyrics of the song were perfect and he was even moving his arms up and down like a marching soldier and engaging with the song. It appeared that he completely transformed into a soldier while singing during the interview.

A particular remarkable aspect was to see what pupils thought while they were singing these songs. A few were completely accepting the situation at school, such as speaking Japanese and singing Japanese songs for the Japanese Emperor:

Before doing gymnastics as part of the assembly, we sung the Japanese anthem. After finishing with sports we sung Umiyukaba, both of which I can still sing very well. And we used to sing the school song in the assembly as well, but I don't remember it. I felt being a Japanese at the time, so of course we should sing the Japanese anthem as a Japanese. (1922, Mokpo, South Jeolla Province)

I sung 'for the Emperor, we should fight against enemy' I felt that I should give my total loyalty to the emperor and I didn't have any antagonism toward Japan at the time. I thought China was the enemy (1929, Hwasun, South Jeolla Province)

Others felt they were too little comprehended the lyrics of the Japanese anthem or the general situation of school life:

Yes, we assembled every morning and sung the Japanese anthem as well. In retrospect, Japanese tried to transform us to be Japanese. I think it was kind of a brain washing education. I remember the song of 'Now I am a first year pupil'. And I think I can't sing the Japanese anthem confidently now, but could sing along it if others are singing it. I was too little to notice what had happened (later he sung the Japanese anthem with other interviewees) (1935, Hampyeong, South Jeolla Province)

Others were simply puzzled why they had to sing and speak a foreign language at school:

I was singing the Japanese anthem during the morning assembly. We were told to sing it. I was always wondering why we had to speak a different language at school instead of Korean which we spoke at home. We didn't know what nationalism or colonialism was. (1934, Gwangju)

I don't remember any Japanese school songs apart from the Japanese anthem because I sung it everyday in the assembly. (1933, Buyeo, South Chungcheong Province)

The following interview is particularly interesting as the interviewee talked about his feelings (1928, Yangsan, South Jeolla Province). People gathered for the ceremony and they were singing and at the same time had tears in their eyes for the draftees, but actually he did not know what exactly happened at the ceremony at the time. Possibly it was that because he was too young to understand the circumstances. This might be a psychological effect. Because all other people were crying so a small boy had the same sad feeling while singing:

In the train station, we all were crying and singing...The song means that you should return after winning the war (speaking Japanese)... we just sung but I didn't know what exactly happened at the ceremony (1928, Yangsan, South Jeolla Province)

Conclusion

Korea's school musical culture was forcefully changed by Japan during the colonial period. Japan did not teach Japanese traditional music to Korean school children but so called Japanized Western music, in particular military music songs that most school children (interviewees) of the time remembered. In this case, the musical acculturation during the Japanese colonial rule can be seen as a negative example of acculturation. In particular Japan intended to use school education to maintain its superiority over Korea by exposing school children to political propaganda in order to Japanize Korean school children. As a result Korean school children seemed to lose their cultural identity. Therefore, in the case of Japanese colonialism 'acculturation' meant the forced total replacement of Korean culture, with limited mixing and interchange between the two cultures.

According to the testimonies, even though military draft was an adult matter, school children were involved intensively through school activities. Singing military songs at ceremonies was a common task of school children. The fact that the interviewees more easily recalled military than school songs highlights the importance of military activities in the process of acculturation during colonial times. This also shows how easily school children are influenced. They quickly absorbed the militaristic music of the time and for some had a significant influence on the music choice for the rest of their life.

As analysis of the interviews shows, the time when they were living under colonial rule could determine people's attitude towards the occupation. The oldest interviewee that was living much longer under Japanese colonial rule seemed to have accepted the colonial situation, whereas the younger interviewees spent only a short time under the colonial period. Therefore, the younger interviewees felt like traitors when singing military songs later in their life. The complete acceptance of the status quo by the older interviewee demonstrates how easily school children could unconsciously be influenced by militarism and colonialism, even after only a relatively short time.

It seemed that before the 1940s the morning assembly was used for normal school activities, such as announcing school rules. However, after the 1940s when Japan was fully at war the morning assembly was primarily utilized for war propaganda purposes. The principal's speeches were predominantly about the Japanese success in war and children sang Japanese military and propaganda songs.

One finding from my interviews is that even young children spending only two years at school at the time were still able to sing the Japanese anthem in their later life. This is an indication of how often the Japanese anthem must have been sung during school and how important it was regarded as an essential and crucial song. It also shows how quickly school children take up things at school and subsequently remember it for long time into their adult life. This proves how effective the Japanese education policy was in transforming Korean children into being Japanese and to be good subjects of the Empire. Even years later, some of them still identify with Imperial Japan. Through the colonially influenced learning process (e.g. singing militaristic songs), school children's musical and cultural identity changed, which is a form of acculturation.

The example of Japanese colonial education shows the real danger of the misuse of education for political purposes and how school music was a tool for the forced acculturation during the Japanese colonial rule. This work also shows that, from the perspective of musical school activities, Japanese colonial education is another example of a colonial education system that was purely introduced for political purposes and was not a real education system in the modern sense at all. Therefore, the introduction of a 'modern education system' can hardly be used as justification for the colonisation and subjugation of Korea by Imperial Japan in the name of progress and development.

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