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Graduate Institute of Musicology College of Humanities National Taiwan University Master Thesis

1970年代台灣及韓國民歌場景的建構: 以《滾石》與《流行歌月刊》為例 Construction of Folk Scenes in 1970s Taiwan and Korea: "*Rock Magazine*" and "*Monthly Pop Song*"

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Abstract (English)

This research examines the issue of localization of popular music through folk music in the 1970s Taiwan and South Korea. Two representative pop music magazines in this period, *Rock Magazine* (Taiwan) and *Monthly Pop Song* (Korea), are examined and compared to show how the American folk as a genre was localized and modified, and what the possible reasons would be. The two magazines are valuable data which show how Anglo-American popular music was promoted and localized each in Taiwan and Korea. Furthermore, the publications contributed greatly to the construction of domestic pop scenes and connections between participants of the music scenes, not only promoting the pre-existing overseas popular music.

In particular, the magazines participated actively in the emergence of domestic folk scenes. Folk music was one of the most prevalent musical trends of the youths in the 1970s Korea and Taiwan, along with other genres of overseas-oriented popular music. Korean and Taiwanese youths participated in constructing new domestic folk scenes as audience, musicians, and workers in the music industry, arousing changes in domestic pop music environments. They adopted many musical elements in the American modern folk revivals, but domestic folk scenes were placed in different contexts from American ones. Specificities of Korean and Taiwanese folk come from the historical contexts of domestic pop scenes, as well as different mindsets of scene participants, which are shown through these two magazines.

As well as analyzing the publications, this research also tries to give an overview of popular music and the emergence of folk in Korea and Taiwan. The 1970s Korean and Taiwanese folk, as genres and scenes, were two separate phenomena in themselves. Still, this paper examined, compared and contrasted the

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two different cases together, starting from several notable common features of folk's development in Korea and Taiwan. Multiple reasons, including political limitations under authoritarian regimes, specific socio-cultural conceptualizations of youth, and prevalence and internalization of Anglophone pop music, are mentioned as the reasons for similarities. At the same time, through investigating magazines and other related materials, this research also dealt how Korean and Taiwanese folk, which share the root of modern American folk, diverged under different domestic circumstances.

Keywords: Pop Music, Localization, Folk, Music Magazines

Abstract (Chinese)

本論文以1970年代台灣與南韓的「民歌(Folk)」為研究對象,指出 流行音樂的在地化議題。本文特別分析與比較這段期間主要的兩種流行音樂雜 誌,《滾石(台灣)》與《流行歌月刊(南韓)》,並顯示美國現代民歌如何 各自在台灣與南韓在地化與變化,以及其原因。有關英美流行樂的在地化過程 與當地聽眾的回應,這兩種雜誌對於英美流行樂及國內民歌音樂的「文化翻譯」 可說是相當珍貴的資料。

在1970年代的台灣與南韓,民歌在年輕人中廣泛流行,成為新的音樂 潮流並代表年輕文化的重要因素。過去英美次文化(Subculture)研究者曾經 指出,(在都市的勞動階級男性)年輕人對於社會表現出有反抗性的態度,並 且透過音樂及其他文化象徵來認同自己。但是在1970年代台灣與南韓以美國流 行樂成為學習的榜樣與大眾追求的對象,因而在年輕人新的音樂圈中出現比較 不同的態度與發展過程。

再者,儘管台灣與南韓經由不同的歷史並且各自擁有自己的流行樂發展 過程,這兩者在1970年代流行樂及民歌音樂上卻顯示各方面的共同點。本文試 圖說明其共同點及主要原因,包括威權主義政權下的政治局限,當時在青年概 念上特殊概念化,以及英美流行樂的流入與當地聽眾的內化。

關鍵詞:流行音樂、在地化、民歌、音樂雜誌

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Introduction

Discussing Popular Music in Korea and Taiwan through Magazines

South Korea and Taiwan are geographically not very far apart. They also had important common historical experiences during the last century, including Japanese colonial rule and 'Free World' authoritarian regimes under the Cold-war system. However, their distance in popular music was not always very close.

When people think of musical encounters between Taiwan and South Korea¹ (whether two-way or one-way) what comes to mind would often be the 'Korean Wave' or Hallyu. Hallyu, which summarizes the global popularity and influence of Korean popular culture including music, was introduced in Taiwan and the Chinese-speaking world since the late 1990s. It is still frequently discussed as a case of foreign culture influx in Taiwan; but K-pop² is not a synonym to Korean pop music, and it is rather a specific term referring to certain genres and music industry systems. Moreover, such encounter happened in the late 1990s at the earliest, and the previous history of popular music is relatively unknown to each other.

However, there have been many notable musical similarities or divergences even when there were not direct interconnections. This research is based on the topic of musical trajectories or encounters of Korean and Taiwanese popular music before the Korean wave. In particular, it focuses on the 1970s folk scenes in Korea and Taiwan and analyzes two pop music magazines of the period as the mediators and

¹ Hereafter, for convenience, 'Korea' will be used instead to refer to South Korea. This article does not include North Korea in the range of research, due to the reasons that music in North Korea underwent a rather different and separate history after the division of the Korean peninsula, and also that I currently do not have comprehensive theoretical tools and research materials to include North Korean music.

² Etymologically, it is an abbreviation of 'Korean' pop.

participants of the scenes.

The two magazines, *Monthly Pop Song* (Korea) and *Rock Magazine* (Taiwan) are rich and valuable resources which show how the Korean and Taiwanese audience encountered Anglo-American popular music in the second half of the 20th century and localized it. *Monthly Pop Song* (the Korean title romanized as *Wolganpapsong*), circulated from 1971 to 1987, was a music magazine which introduced overseas popular music to the Korean audience, as well as promoting Korean pop music and connecting between domestic listeners and musicians. On the other hand, Rock Magzine (the Chinese title romanized as *Gunshi*) was playing a similar role in Taiwan in the late 1970s, from 1975 to 1979.

The internet environment has become very commonplace as of now (the year 2018) and we can access music from different parts of the world without difficulty, but in the 1970s, it was not easy to get new information about music from overseas or get access to new music. That was why such pop magazines became primary routes to encounter popular music for music fans in Korea and Taiwan.

"I was always feeling something was missing when I only relied on melodies and rhythms, but now I have found out *Monthly Pop Song*. Did it not become my guiding stars, broadening my limited pop knowledge?" (Readers' page, "Hope it becomes the best pop magazine," Monthly Pop Song 1974.11 p. 140)

"To whom it may concern: I have always been your devoted reader. Your company is the only magazine in Taiwan that reports pop music; I am glad of its birth and growth."

(Letters from You, Rock Magazine 1976.8 p. 6)

Monthly Pop Song and *Rock Magazine* introduced various kinds of Anglo-American music in real time and provided detailed information of the records and musicians. They include multiple ways of intercommunication with the pop audience, and we can find out how the readers felt and thought about the music through the articles and columns. Besides, the magazines do not only passively 'import' Anglo-American music; they also devote quite a few pages to introduce and promote domestic pop musicians and venues, especially those influenced by Anglo-American music. Consequently, they have become important mediators and resources through which we can get information about both Anglo-American and domestic popular music in Korea and Taiwan.

This paper investigates which kinds of overseas popular music were introduced to Korea and Taiwan in the 1970s through which processes, and how they influenced domestic popular music. I aim to examine processes of domestic scene formations under the Anglo-American³ pop influence, especially through analyzing the publications' articles on domestic pop music.

It is notable that new pop genres, differentiated from the previous local

³ 'Overseas' pop music in this research mainly refers to 'Anglo-American' pop music, and I would like to continue using this term throughout the paper. Precisely speaking, foreign music introduced in Korea or Taiwan in the second half of the 20th century included not only Anglo-American pop but also other musical origins, such as Japan (*Teuroteu* and Taiwan's mixed-blood songs) and non-English-speaking Europe (e.g. Translated songs in 1970s Korean folk (Park 2003, 162-166)) to name only a few.

However, English-language pop music from the United Kingdom and the United States had huge worldwide impace in this period, and in particular, 1970s Korean and Taiwanese folk, the main focus of this research, mostly had the musical origin in American folk revival, as I will be discussing throughout the paper. Thus, this paper uses 'Anglo-American' pop when mentioning foreign musical influences in the 1970s folk music, unless counterexamples appear.

popular music, emerged in Taiwan and Korea in the 1970s. New genres called *folk*, featuring acoustic guitars and clean vocalization, were new phenomena which were differentiated from older forms of popular music in Taiwan and Korea. The 'new music' also featured new types of musical venues and new audience. In Korea folk was often transliterated and called as *pokeu* (transliteration of folk), Poksong (folksong) and other similar pronunciations, while on the other hand, the Chinese term *minge* (pronounced min-GUH; translation of 'folk' and literally meaning folksong or song of the people) was used to refer to this new type of Taiwanese popular music. The new musical genres had its musical origins in American folk revival, not in traditional orally transmitted songs of pre-modern Korea and Taiwan. However, the 1970s Korean or Taiwanese folk do not necessarily correspond to the American folk revival in their contents and contexts. This research will investigate how and where this new trend emerged, focusing on the theoretical notion of scenes.

Scene had been one of the most frequently discussed concepts in popular music research in the past few decades. It has often been used not only in the academia but also in journalism and informal conversations of music lovers and therefore has sometimes become a relative loose and inclusive term. However, in an academic sense, the scene is used to denote musical movements or activities "which surround and nourish a cultural preference," or the place which the movements take place in (Straw 2001: 6).

When academics started to talk of scenes, they often compared scenes with the notion of subcultures. Subcultures could be defined as "alternative cultural style, often differentiated from and resistant to the mainstream culture, within the same society. (Bennett & Peterson 2004: 3)" The concept of subculture has frequently been

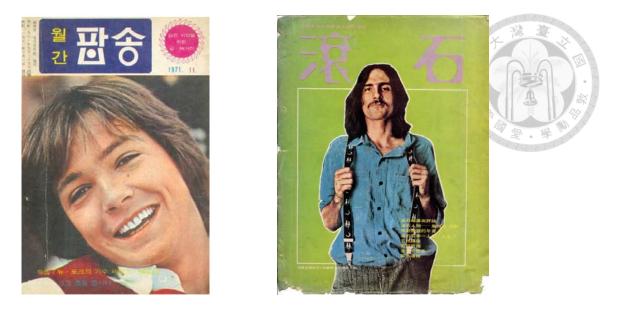
associated with the generation issue of popular culture research because it was often assumed that 'deviant' subcultures emerge among the young generation. In this research I view 1970s Korean and Taiwanese folk as two scenes and not as subcultures. However, I briefly mention the notion of subcultures as well because of the differences of two notions; in many American and European researches of subculture in the mid and late 20th century, rock music has often been noted as the genre of young generation's subculture. However, situations in Taiwan and Korea during the period seem to be somewhat different. New folk music scenes formed among the young Korean and Taiwanese students and the easy-listening pop and folk songs they played are not very appropriate to discuss using the notion of subculture.

On the other hand, this research does not assume that the two situations of Korea and Taiwan were completely the same. Popular music is not an independent movement; naturally, it is not irrelevant to the national and international situations of the time. Consequently, the formation of music scenes in Taiwan and Korea differ both concerning musical contents and in temporal, spatial terms. Such differences will also be examined carefully in the thesis, but I would still like to discuss the two cases together in this paper to highlight several important common features during this period. The thesis will also consider what the possible reasons were for the commonalities, such as the musical center-periphery relationships with America, urbanization of capital cities (Taipei and Seoul), and the emergence of generation gaps. Balancing between commonalities and differences of two different musical trajectories and drawing significant East-Asian and Cold-war contexts from scattered historical facts will be main concerns of this research.

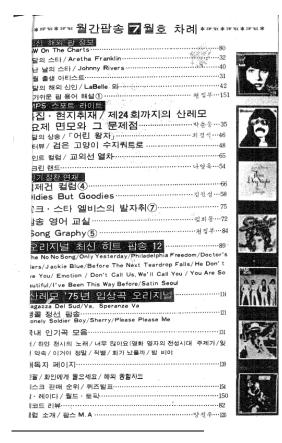
Monthly Pop Song and Rock Magazine

Monthly Pop Song (Wolganpapsong) and Rock Magazine (Gunshi) were pop music magazines which had been the most representative and widely read pop magazines in the 1970s Korea and Taiwan. Korea's Monthly Pop Song began its publication in November 1971 and published the last issue in February 1987. On the other hand, Rock Magazine was published from June 1975 to 1997. Of the long circulation periods, my thesis will mainly cover publications in the 1970s and early 1980s as the object of research. The reason I set a temporal limit is that the 1970s publications had a crucial influence in promoting domestic pop music, and that it was when the magazines focused on domestic folk scenes as they flourished. Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, some changes take place concerning the contents of the publications, as I will discuss in the last (fourth) part of Chapter 3.

These two are not the very first pop music magazines in Korea and Taiwan. For instance, there was a Korean magazine introducing Anglo-American pop music called *Pops Koreana (Papseu Koriana)*, first published in 1967 and lasted one to two years. (An 2004) In Taiwan, there was a more scholarly and formal music magazine called *Music and Acoustics (Yinyue yu Yinxiang)* which mostly covered classical music and audio equipment. These other publications are valuable research materials as well, but *Monthly Pop Song* and *Rock Magazine* became the research object due to their similarity in the period of publication, the fact that they mainly dealt with the Anglo-American pop music (not the previous local popular music which was already familiar to the general Korean and Taiwanese public) and that they became important channels through which local pop music fans could get access to new music and information.



[Figure 1] First issue of *Monthly Pop Song*, published in November 1971, featuring David Cassidy on its cover. (Left)
[Figure 2] First issue of *Rock Magazine*, published in June 1975, featuring James Taylor on the cover. (Right)⁴



⁴ Provided by Dr Ho Tung-hung (何東洪).

[Figure 3] Table of contents in *Monthly Pop Song*, July 1975. Main sections include:

- The latest overseas information Spotlights (special features)
- Regular columns
- Original overseas sheet music hits
- Winners of Sanremo (Italy) music festival 1975
- Korean sheet music hits
- Readers' page

(160 pages in total)



[Figure 4] Table of contents in *Rock*

Magazine, June 1975.

Main sections:

- Reports and reviews
- Exclusive interviews
- Songs and records
- Musical instruments and audio
- Lyrics and sheet music
- You and *Rock* (Readers' favorite songs, readers' letters, Tokyo report)
- Gifts for readers

(80 pages in total; but except this first edition, other later editions had around 100~150 pages each)

Main sections and types of the articles in these magazines can be roughly categorized into 3~4 types. (1) Introducing and critiquing overseas (mostly American or British) pop (2) Critiquing and promoting 'domestic pop,' especially the specific genres that follows Anglo-American trends such as rock and folk (3) Communicating with the readers through readers' letters and QnAs (Wang 2016, 41-2) (4) In addition, there were various advertisements from enterprises and venues related to domestic pop music. I will continue to discuss these articles published in these magazines in Chapter Two.

Below are only a few of the examples showing the significance and

popularity of the magazines.

Monthly Pop Song (Wolganpapsong), Wŏlp'ap in short, was an unrivaled magazine in the early 1980s. There was no internet, newspapers were full of grim news, and the TV was as cheerless as its black-and-white screen. Stories of British and American pop music scene that Monthly Pop Song delivered were novelty themselves. (Munseok 2011) Rock Magazine, first published in 1975, was even called the most important textbook of Western pop music for the generation born in the Sixties. (Wawa 2015)

Previous Studies

Despite their representativeness and rich materials, it is not easy to find any in-depth research about the publications. I could find several Korean articles which briefly discuss *Monthly Pop Song* while giving an overview of the 1970s and 80s (Shin 2015; Kim 2013), but the magazine deserves more attention; it contains many original materials about the influence of Anglo-American popular music, and about how the Korean audience created music under the influence.

In Taiwan, there are quite a few papers, interviews, and books about 'Rock Records (*Gunshi Changpian*),' which is a record label that the founders of *Rock Magazine*, Duan brothers, established in the early 1980s after briefly suspending the circulation of the magazines. (Wang 2015; Tuan 2011) It has been one of the most well-known and significant record labels in the Chinese-speaking world. Although some articles about Taiwan's popular music history mention *Rock Magazine* to some extent (Ho and Chang 2000; Wang 2016) it would also be meaningful to take a closer

look at the actual articles of the magazine.

Concerning the 1970s Korean folk, there are already quite a few significant publications written in depth. Some of them narrate histories of Korean popular music in this period (Lee 2006/2011; Shin 2005a/2005b). Others take focus on the folk boom in the 1970s, focusing on chronological description and individual musicians as well as musical contents (Park 2003; Kim 2015). These earlier researches helped me understand the historical contexts of Korean folk scenes and articles on *Monthly Pop Song*.

Various writings and researches about the 1970s Taiwanese pop and folk exist as well. Non-academic publications such as 'Singing Our Own Songs: Songs of This Generation' series (1979) and 'Folk 40: Let Me Sing Another Su-siang-khi' (2015) contain valuable testimonies and memoirs by the scene participants and important insights on Taiwanese folk. Chang Chao-wei's book (2003) is an influential academic publication on this topic. Ho Tung-hung's thesis (2003) examines both the historical trajectories of Taiwanese pop music from the 1950s and the rise of the 1970s folk.

Before moving on to chapter one, I would like to bring up some points in tendencies of previous discourses and researches that could be further reinforced through this paper.

Discourses on folk, both in Taiwan and Korea, have often emphasized professional (or semi-professional) musicians and their works. However, folk was also a widely popular cultural phenomenon that university students and the general public picked up guitars and participated in the scenes as the audience. Emphasis on professional recordings, musicians, songwriters or on songs is often useful in popular music as well, but I also try to consider folk's 'amateurism' through using the concept

of scenes and including the general audiences and non-professional musicians which could be traced through the magazines.

"The Singer Branch [of Korea Entertainers' Association]⁵ suggests folk singers get membership cards issued, but they keep dodging the questions saying that they are amateurs. I reckon that they want to avoid the taxes." ("Folk Songs Can Survive," *Monthly Pop Song* 1974.11 p. 55) They are often invited by their friends to sing for school parties or concerts. Amid clapping and cheering, they slowly gain self-confidence, and once again after recommendations from friends, they gradually enter these circles. They say that they sing for music, not for money. ("Special Report: Young People Earning Money through Songs," *Rock Magazine* 1975.11 p. 13)

Such testimonies show that folk singers were not always intentionally planning to earn their livings by music and often considered themselves 'amateur' to some extent rather than fully professional, although their music was also commercially circulated and sold to the mainstream audience (Lee 2011, 88). Thus, it is possible to examine the folk 'scenes' which include not only professional works and well-known musicians.

Secondly, despite some notable commonalities regarding the folk scenes in 1970s Korea and Taiwan, there are few researches or discourses that connect the

⁵ Korea Entertainers' Association (Singer Branch) was an interest group organized in 1961 by popular musicians, which played active roles in deciding popular music policies and contents of musical performances and records. It was the only association that represented the opinions of popular musicians in Korea; there were more than a thousand members as of 1970. (Kyunghyang Shinmun 1970)

popular music of Korea and Taiwan of this period.

When Korean and Taiwanese folk music ever cross national borders, they are contrasted with the American modern folk revival, like 'American folk is like this, while Korean/Taiwanese folk is like that.' For example: "Overseas folk songs, whether it is Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, or Joni Mitchell⁶, they are not [Taiwan's] campus folk. Folk songs such as Dylan's were often socially conscious, and they were more complex. By comparison, our campus folk songs were really simple and innocent, and sang about the growth of students on campus." (Sylvia Chang's interview, Taiwan Public Television Service 2011) However, it is also meaningful to discuss popular music history in a more multi-directional and trans-local way especially when 1970s Taiwan and Korea were both under the Cold-war authoritarian regimes and adopting Anglo-American pop.

Research Methods

The research would be mainly based on analysis of the two magazines. Through the paper, I would like to examine closely on the formats, articles, and changes over time shown in the magazines. Both of them were published monthly, although there were special editions (*Monthly Pop Song*'s 1980 'End of year special edition') or occasional skips⁷.

I had to range several places in search of the actual publications, since both magazines have already ceased publication now and they do not officially sell the past editions. However, a large part of the publications are well preserved at public

⁶ Mitchell was a Canadian, but she moved to New York City in 1967 and continued her musical career in the US. (Breese 1998)

⁷ "...You should not cease one edition so suddenly like this." (Letters from You, *Rock Magazine* 1976.6 p. 11)

libraries. *Monthly Pop Song* is mostly available at several Korean libraries such as National Library of Korea and the National Assembly Library⁸. Also, cover pages of all the publications, starting from the first issue of November 1971 until the last issue, are available online⁹. On the other hand, I have the full *Rock Magazine* editions from the 1st (published in June 1975) to the 40th (published in April 1979). I could obtain them at Taiwan's public libraries such as National Central Library in Taipei and National Library of Public Information in Taichung, and also thanks to Professor Ho Tung-hung, including the first issue, which became a rarity now.

Other than examining these firsthand materials it is also helpful to gather related data, such as interviews of people involved in the publications, other music magazines of the same period and related public writings. In this paper, interviews of Johnny Chung-Yu Tuan and his brother Sam Chung-Tan Tuan, founders of *Rock Magazine* (Hou and Xiong 2012; Wang 2002), as well as memoirs of Lee Mun-Se¹⁰ (Lee 2016) had been helpful in understanding the overall circumstances and making processes.

Chapter Descriptions

The chapters in this thesis aim to examine the formation process of the 1970s domestic folk scenes and their significances, through analyzing the magazines and by addressing the following three issues: history of the development of local scenes in postwar Korea and Taiwan, contents and contexts of *Monthly Pop Song* and *Rock*

⁸ National Library of Korea: July to December issue of 1973, and all issues of 1974-1987.

National Assembly Library: June & July issue of 1976, April & May issue of 1979, All issues of 1982-1985, and January to September issue of 1986

⁹ at Nomadbook (http://www.nomadbook.co.kr/html/mainm.html) and Book St. (www.bookst.co.kr)

¹⁰ Monthly Pop Sond's chief editor and publisher

Magazine, and significances of the folk scenes in the context of the Cold-war East Asia.

Chapter One will be a broad historical overview of how domestic popular music developed each in Korea and Taiwan after the WWII, under the influence of Anglo-American popular music. I aim to highlight that there have been different kinds/genres of popular music that have simultaneously emerged and that some of them were more Anglo-American oriented 'pop' while other genres had older historical roots from the first half of the 20th century. Chapter One will also include discussions on the notion of scenes, to explain why it would be appropriate to view the 1970s Korean and Taiwanese folk as emerging new scenes.

I devote Chapter Two to introductions and analyses of the two publications. By looking at the actual content of the magazines and categorizing them according to their contents and by highlighting people involved in the productions of *Monthly Pop Song* and *Rock Magazine* (editors, writers, and the readers), this research will consider how and why these magazines could be created. In particular, the research focuses on how the magazines contributed to promoting domestic pop and making new musical trends in Korea and Taiwan.

Besides, a portion of Chapter Two will be an examination of the specific history that Korean and Taiwanese folk developed as genres, musical trends and characteristic features of youth culture in the 1970s. By providing a rough overview of what folk music was like in this period and also by examining the specific ways in which magazines take part in scene-makings and promotions of domestic pop, I hope to contribute to give comprehensible analyses of Korean and Taiwanese pop history in the age of folk.

Starting from observations of the previous chapters, Chapter Three will be devoted to considering the particular attributes of domestic folk scenes in Korea and Taiwan. Here, I would like to look back on the historical contexts in which folk could emerge as new musical phenomena of Korean and Taiwanese urban youths, and how folk acquired new contexts different from American modern folk revival. Especially, this paper analyzes the particularities of the folk scenes through excerpts from the magazines, thus investigating the 'constructions' of folk scenes and the role of magazines in the processes.

I will start the chapter by introducing several main issues that had been often discussed concerning '70s Korean and Taiwanese folk. Then this thesis moves on to discuss the main attributes of the folk scenes. I could classify them into three main types: political limitations, specific conceptualizations of youth, and the prevalence and internalization of Anglophone Pop.

First I try to explain how music faced constant political restrictions and moral regulations under authoritarian regimes of Chiang Kai-shek and Park Chung-hee, and how they contributed to shaping the construction of folk scenes. A second common attribute of the '70s Taiwan and Korean folk is the optimistic and innocent attitudes of 'youth.' I examine the specific conceptualizations of youth in this period and that they rose from both socio-political factors and musical characteristics of folk music. The last thing I would like to point out is that the 1970s folk rose out of strong desires of Korean and Taiwanese youths to 'internalize' American and Anglophone pop. Based on Yoshimi Shunya's notion of 'internalization of America' this research argues that domestic folk scenes were attempts of musical localization when Anglophone pop music held dominant positions over local popular music.

Finally, the concluding part of this thesis will briefly summarize the points that this paper had mentioned and consider the significance of '70s folk scenes of Korea and Taiwan in the contemporary perspective. Also, taking the limits and the future developments of this research into account, I conclude this paper with a hope for the further explorations of localization processes of pop in the context of Cold-war East Asia.

[Notes on romanization]

Korean personal names, places and other proper nouns will be romanized according to the Revised Romanization of Korean, and Chinese names and proper nouns will follow the Hanyu Pinyin romanization system. However, when there are already widely accepted and used romanization methods for certain proper nouns other than the two systems, I will adopt the widely used terms; for instance, Taipei will be used instead of Taibei.

Chapter One:

Popular Music Scenes in South Korea and Taiwan

Popular Music and 'Pop': Postwar Popular Music in Korea and Taiwan

'Pop' is the abbreviation for popular music. Therefore, in English, it might be tricky to tell the difference between popular music and pop. However, popular music has been subdivided into different categories in 'peripheries' like the 1970s South Korea and Taiwan according to the extent of localization, where developments of popular music accompanied strong influences of Anglo-American music, and where the domestic popular music could not neglect the 'originality' of Anglo-American pop. New words like *Pap* or *Remen Yinyue* have emerged in the second half of the 20th century to particularly refer to 'Anglo-American pop or its localized, domestic versions' in Korea and Taiwan. This localization issue is the main concern of this paper.

To understand the pop localization of the 1970s Korea and Taiwan, it is necessary to understand what happened before and up to this period. Both the Korean peninsula and Taiwan went through the Japanese colonial period in the early 20th century. The Japanese imperialist government brought down the previous Joseon dynasty and colonized the peninsula from 1910 to 1945. Taiwan was a part of the Qing China but was ceded to Japan in 1895 after Qing lost the first Sino-Japanese war until Japanese troops surrendered after WWII and Taiwan was placed under the governance of the Republic of China.

The defeat of Japan in 1945 marked the end of colonization and before long, Taiwan and the Korean peninsula gained liberation. However, the ensuing Korean War and role of East Asia under the Cold War regime placed South Korea and Taiwan under strong American military and institutional influence. This influence included the cultural sphere, and therefore popular music of South Korea and Taiwan could not be separate from Anglo-American, and particularly American pop. The 1970s, which is the main concern of this paper, is when American pop became direct references for Korean and Taiwanese musicians as will be discussed hereafter.

I have already used the term 'popular music' many times in this paper, but what does it exactly refer to? Many academic discussions have tried to give a precise definition to the vague notion of popular music. 'Popular music' and 'music that is popular' are not the same; if we categorize music based on popularity, Beethoven and Mozart are still very popular around the world. On the other hand, 'pop' songs recorded by a little-known singer would not be very popular although they would be labeled as popular music.

Despite such contradictions, there is a widespread agreement that some types of music can be called popular music while other kinds cannot. This categorization starts with the development of mass media and recording technology since the late 19th century. In many traditional societies people have enjoyed music in limited spaces and time, but afterward, music could be spread over different places and time with the technological progress, translocally and transnationally. Thus, instead of trying to give a precise definition of popular music, this paper covers a particular musical range that is conventionally considered popular music and also tries to give some examples of how the 1970s Korean and Taiwanese public thought of the notion of popular music through the magazines.

Korean and Chinese words referring to popular music are not exactly the

same in their points of emphasis and nuances. The most comprehensive and frequently used Korean word is *Daejungeumak*. *Daejungeumak* refers to the music (*Eumak*) appreciated by the general public or mass (*Daejung*). On the other hand, *Liuxing Yinyue* is most inclusively and frequently used in Taiwan and the Chinese-speaking world to refer to popular music. *Liuxing* (translated as 'in vogue' or 'fashionable') is a word implying not only popularity but also the concept of flow (*liu* means flow in Chinese). However, in this paper, I will mainly use the English word popular music due to the convenience of discussion while also being mindful of the differences in languages.

The colonial Korean peninsula and island of Taiwan first encountered the notion of popular music under Japanese colonization. Popular music of imperial Japan was already a combination of different musical trends and origins, and colonial Korean peninsula (Joseon) and Taiwan once again localized these various musical elements imported through Japan, gradually marginalizing the previous local folk music. Complicated center-periphery relationships or 'imagined geographies' of popular music (Choi 2013, 342) had been established between the West, Japan, and Joseon (the Korean peninsula) as well as Taiwan.

Shin Hyunjoon's book Archeology of Korean Pop 1960, which is a comprehensive detailed study of 1960s Korean popular music, starts with the Shin's explanation concerning why he entitled this book the archeology of Korean 'pop' (or *pap*, following the Korean rendering), not the archeology of Korean 'popular music' (*Daejung Eumak*).

"In my opinion, it was proper to refer to '60s and '70s Korean popular

music as Korean pop, and otherwise the signifier and signified do not correspond. This idea encountered some opposition. Many protested that the word *Han'guk Pap* (Korean Pop) is not in use. However, I still pushed ahead. (...) It was also because I found out a 'pop columnist' referring to the situations of Korean popular music from the late 1960s to the early '70s as the *pop revolution*. It is not very clear whether the word pop in this context means Western (American) pop, modified songs with translated Korean lyrics or fully localized pop music. He would have probably included all of them. (Shin 2005a, 5)

In Shin's definition, 'pop' (*Pap*) is the domestic Korean popular music produced in the national boundary under the Anglo-American pop influence. This conceptualization implies that Korean *Pap* in this period was differentiated or even in conflicts with the mainstream popular music in Korea of this period.

Meanwhile in Taiwan, a new term, *Remen Yinyue*, emerged during the '60s and '70s. It literally means hit/popular (*Remen*) music (*Yinyue*) in Chinese, and designates Anglo-American pop and rock music in general. It should be noted that this *Remen Yinyue* was used as both a similar and different music compared to the general popular music. As will be further explained in the next chapter, the previous mainstream songs (They were often called *Liuxing Gequ*, meaning popular songs/songs in vogue) had more general audiences and were somewhat adult-oriented, while *Remen Yinyue* was often understood as a more novel and teen-oriented kind of popular music.

No matter what names and labels we give to this difference, it is noticeable that there was a sudden influx of Anglo-American music in Korea and Taiwan, and

that to some extent it collided with the previous local popular music. This differentiation of Anglo-American *pop* and local popular music had a particular significance in this period. "Before, Korea (Asia) and pop (America) were two different notions. It is not the same anymore, but back then, 'the Korean culture (national culture?)' and 'pop culture (foreign culture?)' were in conflict relations. If we can say that 'Korean rock' or 'Korean pop' sound quite familiar, it means that 'pop' and 'America' are not considered external to Korea (Asia) anymore and that they have been internalized." (Shin 2005a, 7)

Categorizing Popular Music in South Korea and Taiwan

Here, I would like to 'draw outlines' of the 1970s popular music in Korea and Taiwan and how different kinds of popular music were categorized. These categorizations are related to the context how folk emerged in Korea and Taiwan.

In terms of material conditions, it is not too much to say that Korean popular music started from scratch after 1945. After the end of colonization most Japanese record companies, machines, and other infrastructures were sent back to Japan, and the personnel also returned. Furthermore, due to the outbreak of Korean War a few years later, the popular music industry was placed in a critical situation. Taiwan also had similar problems although it did not experience a 'hot war' after WWII. After the Japanese infrastructures and Japanese administrators went back to the mainland Japan, Taiwan had to reconstruct its own postwar music industry in a harsh environment.

As discussed earlier in the introduction, this research stems from the point of view that despite cultural and historical differences of between Korea and Taiwan, it is significant to discuss the two together concerning 1970s popular music. This

significance comes both from commonalities of the environment that fostered Korean and Taiwanese folk, as well as from the similarities in music and music-making processes. First, I would like to give a brief account concerning the overall environment of the 1970s popular music.

First, we cannot ignore the institutional systems that enabled encounters with Anglo-American music. Concerning the Cold War regime and geopolitical circumstances, South Korea and Taiwan were placed under the American military power especially after the Korean War. The national economy and military forces in Korea and Taiwan depended very heavily on the American troops disposed within their territories, especially during the several decades after the end of colonization. The US military camps fostered many local singers and instrumentalists, who later contributed in providing alternatives to the local mainstream popular songs.

Moreover, there were American radio stations targeted for US soldiers (Called AFKN in Korea and AFNT in Taiwan) and these stations also became the music channels through which the local youngsters could listen to the latest American pop. "Although the American Radio Station [in Taiwan] had broadcasted in English and its main purpose was to serve as the loudspeaker of the American view of world news, its music broadcasts had offered direct information to the educated and urban youngsters." (Ho 2003, 63-64) "Few pop fans in this country do not the experience of tuning in AFKN. Pop fans get carried away listening to AFKN, which broadcasts pop music almost all day. And after domestic stations stop broadcasting around 1 o'clock, it remains as the only radio station." (*Monthly Pop Song* 1973.9 p. 30)

The postwar educational systems of Korea and Taiwan which considered English education crucial were not irrelevant from the prevalence of Anglophone songs. We can easily find from the magazines that listening to overseas pop songs

were often connected with English education.



팝송 (1 톰·존스(1	경어 교실 Fom Jones)의			
「고향의 푸른 잔디」 (Green Green Grass of Home)				
사형수의 심정 노래에 담아 여러분 안녕하셨어요?	*** 담당 : 김 희동 환경과 곡같은 동기를 지니고 있지는 글 은 테니까요.			
사망이 폭막힌 적정한 감옥에서 오직 유는 날만 초조하게 기다리는 이 사형수 대외함을 생각하는 마음은 물시도 있던 것을 인식다. 많은 간축리 제명의 가수들이 다루어 확였던 이 노래를 통·존스가 그의 목록 한 정의으로 멋지게 불러 그의 이름을 전 세계에 알리는 계기를 만들었고 스타 도서 발문을 하는데 전고한 디딤들이 되 없었죠. The old home town looks the Same as I Step down from the train. 이 분장에서 [as」는 시간을 나타내는 부사질을 이끌고 있읍니다.	이런 철태도 바꾸어 놓으면 해석 하기 가 원조, 우리달과 마찬 가지도 문장의 맛을 달리하기 위해 영어에서도 이같이 구 또는 철물 삽입하거나 도치 합니다. 「그리고 거기에는 나의 어머니와 아버 지가 나를 만나기 위해 와 있었다」 Down the road I look there runs mary hair of golden. lips like cherry. Fthere, 는 주어가 아닌데도 항상 문장 같에 나오죠. Phair of golden , 이나 Tips like che- rry, 는 모두 [Mary]를 수식하는 형용사 구 입니다. F권 아레에 금발의 딸기빛 입술의 데 리가 위는것이 보인다.			

[Figure 5] "Pop song English class:" learning English through lyrics of Tom Jones'

song. (Monthly Pop Song, 1975.10, pp. 64-65)

歌曲與唱片		
■ 滾石哲學 本月主題──人生!人生! ■新曲・新歌 ■聽歌學英文──流行歌曲的寶蒙 ■唱片評論	柳中岡 蔡文怡 夏 東	28 33 35 38

[Figure 6] "Learning English through songs – the repository of popular songs (p. 35)" (from *Rock Magazine*, 1975.6, table of contents)

Such influence included several different dimensions. As discussed above, there were domestic circumstances that enabled the encounter of Anglophone music. The necessity for English learning, American radio broadcasts and the physical existence of American troops were shared experiences of Korea and Taiwan during the second half of the 20th century.

On the other hand, it is also necessary to note that Anglophone popular music has exerted very far-reaching influence not only in Korea and Taiwan but also in different parts of the world. Anglo-America music icons such as Elvis Presley and the Beatles were stars in all over the world, including Korea and Taiwan. Thus, the 'baptism' of Anglo-American pop music was a universal phenomenon in this period, as well as being domestic experiences.

It is also possible to say that (Anglo-American) pop became the standard that domestic audiences ought to follow, under the situation that it held the central place in their mindset. Popular music, brought through colonial Japan, already existed in prewar Korea and Taiwan. However, after the liberation, the previous musical trends were gradually marginalized, and the Anglophone way of writing/playing music became the standard grammar for the local musicians. (Choi 2013, 359)

Such process could be called Americanization. We should note, however, that "the authenticity of American values is not the issue here (for there is no single American value system)" as Ho Tung-hong mentions in his research on the Americanization of Taiwanese popular music (Ho 2003, 63). It will not be possible to give a precise definition to 'the original America' and moreover, America in this process was constructed in the imagery or selectively chosen by South Korea or Taiwan as will be discussed later. The focus of this paper is how the local public perceived which kind of representation of America through popular music.

Mainstream popular songs around the '60s and '70s Korea were unique combinations of different musical origins, including Japanese colonial songs, jazz, and American standards. Some songs represented images of more urban and optimistic Korea/Seoul through interpretations of American standards and other

genres of pop music. Meanwhile, *Teuroteu*, largely a continuation of Japanese colonial songs, were still very widely sung among the Korean public, in particular among the less privileged and living in the non-urban environment. "In the 1960s, (American) standards were regarded as new and refined music, and *Teuroteu* became relatively rural and unsophisticated music." (Lee 2011, 55)

These two 1960s musical trends could be best represented by two songs: The Boy in the Yellow Shirt sung by Han Myeongsuk, and A Camellia of a Girl sung by Lee Mi-ja. "Composer Son Seok-u, through Venus Records which he established in the winter of 1960, introduced new grammars of American popular music and departed from *Teuroteu*. The result was the massive hit of the song 'The Boy in the Yellow Shirt' by Han Myeongsuk, and it became the new starting point of American standards trend in Korea." (Kim 2015, 27) On the other hand, Lee Mi-ja and her hit 'A Camelia of a Girl (1962),' using the musical grammars and sentiments of rural women, became one of the best-selling hit of the 1960s, being the first song to sell more than 100 thousand copies in Korea. (Maeil Business Newspaper 1966)

However, other kinds of *pop* have also existed, differentiated from mainstream trends and consisting of more limited audiences and musicians. One of them was rock. The early history of Korean rock music could not be separate from the existence of US military troops in the South Korean territory. Hundreds of US military camps, camp towns (*Gijichon*), and American soldier clubs have formed in different cities of South Korea. These soldier clubs starred show groups (*Syodan*) and rock bands that consisted of Korean musicians who played British or American rock hits. (For details, see Kim 2015, 38-42; Shin 2005a, 44-48; etc.) The existence of U.S. Army bases is known to have exerted a very fundamental influence in the early formation of Korean pop, and thus most researches and writings that deal with Korean

popular music of this period mention their existence and importance. "Western pop music styles performed at music clubs on U.S. Army bases (i.e., the Eighth United States Army) played key roles in training Korean musicians and audiences." (Yoon 2017, 111)

However, we should also be mindful that the music played in U.S. military bases were rather peculiar forms of popular music, relatively separate from the 'mainstream' pop represented by the composer Son Seok-u or singer Lee Mi-ja described above. "Stages on the Eighth United States Army were not necessarily planned only for American soldiers, but basically, it was targeted for the musical tastes of the small number of foreigners staying in Korea temporarily." (Lee 2007, 94) Playing for the American audiences, Korean musicians have tried their best to get closer to the 'original' contemporary Anglophone pop and rock so that they could cater to the needs of US soldiers. They were hired in the US troops through fierce auditions and were paid many times more than the vast majority of Koreans living in poverty.

Rock music in Korea associated with the American army and camp towns represented a certain face of America. On the other hand, folk music began to represent a different one or the 'other' West or the other America with imageries of the urban environment and middle-class university students. "Various genres of pop music, for example, jazz, country, soul, and rock were often regarded as 'entertainments in the American military clubs' and were not free from uncomfortable memories and experiences of the military bases, but folk music was different." (Shin & Sawangchot 2009, 437)

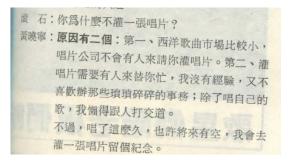
Popular music in Taiwan had multiple sources of origin, just like the

intertwined history of Taiwan. First, Japanese popular music left traces in the early 20th-century Taiwanese music under the colonial rule, and this Japanese flavor still lingered in many postwar Taiwanese records, as we can find in the popularity of so-called 'mixed-blood songs (*Hunxie Gequ*)' in the 1950s and '60s. These were songs that were 'imported' from Japan and had translated Taiwanese (Minnan) lyrics. "Amid the widespread postwar nostalgia for Japan, 'mixed songs' emerged. These songs already gained popularity in Japan, and Taiwanese imported and added lyrics in Minnan (Taiwanese) language." (Lin Liang-Che's interview, Taiwan Public Television Service 2011) On the other hand, songs from Shanghai also became widespread in the postwar Taiwan. Shanghai pop, which blossomed in the mainland in the 1930s and during the WWII, were often called Old Shanghai Songs (*Shanghai Laoge*); however, they were in fact relatively 'new' songs in postwar Taiwan, since the Taiwanese public encountered this music mainly after the retreat of the Nationalist Party (KMT). (Chen 2017)

Soon, Anglo-American pop was also rapidly brought into the postwar Taiwan. As well as in South Korea, many military bases were stationed in different parts of Taiwan especially after the outbreak of Korean War. Many musicians who learned to play Anglo-American pop made stage appearances in these places for American soldiers, as well as playing for the local audience. Edward Yang's 1991 film A Bright Summer Day, which depicts the teenage life of second-generation mainlanders in 1960s Taipei, shows many aspects of the musical life of the urban mainlander/*waishengren* youths. At home, they put up posters of Anglo-American pop and movie stars and listen to pop music through turntables. At restaurants, dessert cafes and concert halls teenagers go to concerts of bands that play foreign pop and rock, especially Elvis Presley, and form bands themselves. Such descriptions coincide

with the memoirs of *Remen Yinyue* musicians who grew up in this period, such as Jin Ju-ling¹¹: "We often ate shaved ice at shaved ice stores then, and there we could listen to Western songs they play. I thought, 'Wow, how strange. Their beats, rhythms, chords and melodies are different from the ones of Chinese pop songs or Peking opera.' That was when I fell in love with Western pop." (Taiwan Public Television Service 2011)

Unfortunately, there are not many recordings that exist now or original songs (not covers) of these musicians. Shin and Ho note that attempts to make recordings of Taiwanese local musicians were not very welcomed by the record companies because they preferred '(Anglo-American) originals' than recordings by local musicians (2009, 95).



[Figure 7] Rock Magazine: "Why would you not record an album?"

Martha Huang (Huang Xiao-ning): "First, the market for Western songs is smaller. Record companies will not ask you to make recordings. Second, I'm not very experienced, and do not like to do trivial things. (...) But since I've sung songs for such a long time, I might make a record and keep it as a keepsake if I have free time."

¹¹ Jin (1937-2014) was a representative *Remen Yinyue* musician of the 1960s and 70s. He was the vocalist and leader of *The Ritmon* (1962-1978), a band that had wide repertoires from the American Top 40 Chart to hard rock and had played in various venues for the local audience and American soldiers. For a more detailed history of *The Ritmon* and other *Remen Yinyue* bands, see Wang, Ho, and Chung (2015). (Chinese)

Huang is a singer-songwriter who stood on many small and big stages, covering Western pop and rock hits. Her interview shows that her musical career was mostly through live stages and that if she ever makes a recording, it would be her 'keepsake.' The interview might be an answer to why not many *Remen Yinyue* recordings were made. In fact, recordings were also regarded as mere keepsakes to Korean rock bands of the '60s and 70s (often called 'group sound') (Shin 2005a, 304) but it seems that there are fewer records of Remen Yinyue compared to the 1970s Korean urban rock scenes which left quite a few cover/original recordings and songs (Shin & Ho 2009, 94). Another possible reason is that the number of American troops was smaller than that of S. Korea and decreased significantly since the early 1970s for the establishment of PRC-US diplomatic ties (Lin 2012, 70), thus largely changing musical environments and job opportunities for the musicians.

In such musical environments, Anglo-American pop and rock emerged as new musical trends for urban youths. Mainstream popular songs (songs in Mandarin or Taiwanese/Hoklo) did not necessarily target for a specific generation (Chang Meng-Jui, interview) but were often considered relatively old and adult-oriented compared to the new and fashionable Anglo-American pop. Many young locals were listening to Anglo-American pop/rock through various media and 'campus folk,' the primary concern of this research. It was a unique local pop genre which emerged amid such Anglo-American cultural influences.

Next, I will discuss the reasons I use the notion of scenes and what it means to think of scenes in discussing this 1970s folk music.

Folk Music as Scenes

One of the most common ways to talk about popular music is to follow the major names. We often accumulate knowledge about a particular genre and time through the names of well-known pop stars and musicians, along with the names of their major songs and albums. This is helpful when one wants to have the sketchy outline, but it is not very useful when one wants to understand the context of a specific genre comprehensively.

In the case of 1970s Korean and Taiwanese folk, there were many nationwide stars and canonized songs as well. However, in many instances, there were no clear boundaries between amateurs and professionals, since even the best-known musicians were daytime college students and many of them were not considering music as their lifetime occupation. (Tai Zhaomei, interview) It was in contrast with the previous Korean and Taiwanese adult-oriented pop music circle, where singers, composers, and instrumentalists went through certain career-making steps and worked as professionals. Thus in this research, I am using the notion of scenes rather than certain songs and artists.

Since the mid and late 1960s there were already many Korean radio programs which specialized in introducing Anglo-American pop music, and many teenagers and young adults, especially those living in cities, could listen to these programs without much difficulty. The private (non-governmental) TV broadcasting station, Dong-A, opened in 1964 as well, but few programs specialized in pop music due to the limited number of channels and broadcasting hours. Also, TV sets were quite expensive to many Koreans at least around the 1960s and even when a family had one, in most cases it belonged to the adults and parents. Therefore, radios became the primary medium through which the young generation encountered music.

Accordingly, the young generation (typically high school and college students) started to find places where they could listen to the familiar Anglo-American pop and exchange their musical taste. Some of them started to play such music themselves and acquaint with other musicians.

One well-known example of such places was C'est Si Bon (The French word meaning 'It's so good,' which is still a familiar name to the Korean public. C'est Si Bon was a record listening room and music hall in Jongno, the center of Seoul, which existed from the early 1950s until 1969. Since the mid-1960s it becomes the representative place of 'folk scenes' because of regular performances by studentmusicians and other related events held here. Many amateur young musicians who often performed and hung out here became nationwide stars in a few years, appearing in TV and radio shows and recording hit songs.

After C'est Si Bon went out of business due to financial issues, another place named House of Tree Frogs became the center of 'youth culture.' It was originally a cultural space that Seoul YWCA (Young Womens' Christian Association) opened for young musicians and students, and soon becomes the gathering space of semi-amateur folk singers and hundreds of audience. The place only lasted around one year, but many teenagers and young adults who hung out here gained national recognition not long ago, including musicians Kim Min-ki and Yang Hee-eun. (Choi 2013)

These are only a part of examples of various musical venues and sites, but it is noticeable that most venues were located very closely (in other words, in walking distances) to each other. They were mostly located in the 'downtown' of Seoul (Shin 2013, 608; Lee 2014, 115) near Jongno and Myeongdong.

Main repertoires in these venues were Anglo-American mainstream pop and

the American modern folk revival. In Korea, such music was commonly called *pokeu*, a Korean transliteration of folk. It does not mean that the music completely corresponds to the Anglo-American notion of modern folk, but even when the musicians sang 'mainstream pop' repertoires, the semi-amateur musicians sang in simple manners with acoustic guitar accompaniments. Thus it is possible to think of *pokeu* as a new local genre due to such patterns of performance, rather than strictly applying the original Anglo-American genre categorizations of the songs performed.

Radio broadcast programs also became major channels through which Taiwanese youths could encounter Western pop. "There were many radio channels, but I listened to only one of them. Songs from other channels were not intriguing or stimulating at all. In those days I thought, 'When could music in Taiwan be like the songs from American Forces Network (AFN)?' That was the first time I had my own opinions about music." ¹² (Taiwan Public Television Service 2011) After the establishment of AFN in Taiwan (1957) many local broadcasts followed up with their own programs that exclusively play and introduce Western/Anglo-American pop. "In a special report about Taiwan's *Remen yinyue* scene from 1956 to 1968, it was estimated that in Taipei city in 1968 (Lo et al. 1968), there were 17 programs weekly on American popular music (the American Radio Station and other cities' programs were not included)." (Shin & Ho 2009, 98)

There were various musical venues in Taiwan, mostly in Taipei and especially since the early 1970s for the teenagers and young adults who grew up in such pop environments. One of the most well-known gathering spaces among the urban youth

¹² The interviewee was Lee Shou-Chuan (1955-) who started his musical career as a musician and producer in the age of 1970s Campus Folk.

was a café and small concert venue called Idea House. It was located in the eastern center of Taipei (the current *Dongqu*) and opened in 1973. Here, the young generation was acquainted with each other and held small musical events. Semi-amateurs who soon became the leading roles in Taiwan's 'Modern Folksong movement' frequently visited Idea House with guitars in their hands.

Scarecrow Restaurant was another famous example of such a venue. It was just next to the campus of National Taiwan University, at the Roosevelt Rd. and run for several years after it opened in 1975. Besides holding cultural and musical events such as regular concerts of traditional musician Chen Da, Scarecrow Restaurant was mostly a place where young musicians (Ara-Kimbo and TC Yang, to name only a few) performed Anglo-American pop and folk as well as their original songs influenced by the Western pop. The fact that this place stood right next to the university also shows who the main audience was.

Such places served as small cafés or restaurants, and the restaurants were called *Xicanting* which means 'Western' cafeteria. Considering drinking coffees and eating Western food was thought as a foreign-style culture in the 1970s Taiwan, it was not surprising that Western pop or related local pop was performed here. Most of these *Xicantings* and cafes were situated in certain 'downtown' areas of Taipei: Zhongshan North Rd., which had been the avenue representing foreign (Japanese or American) culture since the Japanese colonial period, near universities or in Dongqu, the then-newly developed urban area in Taipei. (Ma et al. 2015)

Why were the young generations of Korea and Taiwan in need of such places? It is because they were not satisfied with the local mainstream pop and wanted to listen to and sing the music they liked. We can conceptualize this musical culture as

youth culture through such alternative nature and the generation issue.

There are many ways to think of youth culture, and one of them is the notion of subculture. In Hebdige's classic research on subculture, which is based on the Barthes' theory on signs, subculture challenges the hegemony through 'different symbols' than the social majority. (1979, 17) In this point of view, culture refers not only to intentional artworks but also various symbols which can imply certain significance. A subculture has a resistant nature, which is revealed not through obvious political slogans but implicative 'styles.' (Ibid.)

However, folk in Korea and Taiwan were in different contexts than the resistant nature of subculture theory, although they were also recognized as youth culture. The 'folk' to some extent was opposed to the mainstream pop of the same period, but the direction of the criticism was more focused on enjoying better or more refined music. For instance, advocates of Taiwan campus folk called the contemporary adult-oriented pop music as 'decadent music (*Mimizhiyin*).' This expression was used by the youths as well as the authoritative older generation, who had critical views on 'vulgar' pop music. "The essence of folk songs is in their simpleness, and through this, they can counteract the 'decadent' music." (Yu 1978) The Korean urban youth likewise had contempt or antipathy toward *Teuroteu*. "Folk singers who sing in the Cosmos Hall (a.k.a. Heaven of Youth) sometimes would parody and mock the *Ppongijak* of the older generation. Then the audience shouted for joy and encore. It was a kind of mockery." (Shin 2005a, 275)

Moreover, the contexts in which the subculture discussion emerged were related to class issues of postwar Britain. However, the youth cultures in postwar Korea and Taiwan were in different situations other than class struggle. They did not occur homogeneously for everyone; when folk scenes emerged, they were enjoyed

mostly by a small number of youths who lived in the urbanest parts of the countries such as Korea and Taiwan, and most of the musicians were students in prestigious universities.

For these reasons, this research is based on the notion of scenes when talking of 1970s folk in Taiwan and Korea. "A musical scene, in contrast, is that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist..." (Straw 1991, 373) The scene is the concept which does not preassume resistance toward the mainstream culture in contrast to subculture. Therefore it could be vaguer, but on the other hand, it can explain a wider range of phenomena.

Meanwhile, compared to musical communities, scene is a notion that focuses more on the dynamic nature of musical activities. As Ho Tung-hong put in his research on the history of Taiwanese popular music, also considering scenes as the basic components of the pop music history: "The discourse of musical community tends to treat local identities - in geographical and generic senses - as stabilized over time (...) However, the rise of musical scenes (e.g., in the 80s' alternative rock and dance scenes) tended 'to disrupt such continuities, to cosmopolitanize and relativize them.'" (Ho 2003, 43-44) The 1970s folk scenes were new phenomena which emerged during the differentiation of previous nationwide pop music communities, and they were also based on specific sites of the urban environment.

Folk scenes were notable scene movements in the early history of postwar popular music in Korea and Taiwan, and moreover, they were one of the first scenes that had generation issues. Before Korean *pokeu* and Taiwan's *minge* got wide nationwide recognition, the mainstream popular music was not intentionally focusing on the generation of the audience and musicians. In addition, we can find out that *Monthly Pop Song* and *Rock Magazine* contributed to a large extent in creating and

expanding the scenes. The next chapter will be devoted to their relationships to the magazines, while also discussing the specific development of the scenes.

Chapter Two:

Monthly Pop Song and Rock Magazine

Outline

Monthly Pop Song, since its first publication in November 1971, had been one of the major media through which Korean teenagers and young adults encountered Anglo-American pop music. For a long time it was a very long-lasting and the most influential pop magazine in South Korea, before *Eumaksegye (Music World*), its competitor, appeared in 1984. "I am very fortunate to have your magazine, which is unrivaled. A magazine seemed to release some editions, but they were more like summarized versions of past issues of *Monthly Pop Song*. However, they released a combination edition last month, possibly due to the financial circumstances, and the next issue did not even come out." (Readers' page, 1974.11, p. 141) Apart from some momentary attempts to make magazines resembling *Monthly Pop Song*, it was the only pop music publication regularly circulated in Korea in the 1970s.

The chief editor, Lee Mun-se, has worked in the magazine industry long before he created *Monthly Pop Song*, and he had knowledge in Korean popular music as can be seen in his earlier, short-lived 1960s magazine *Gayo Life* (*Gayosaenghwal*).¹³ "In this period, I had worked on a magazine called *Gayo Life* for around five years, and I could see how things turn out in the entertainment industry as clear as glass." (Lee, 1975.11, p. 56) So it is not surprising that he became the first

¹³ Kayo (also romanized as Gayo) is a term that refers to domestic Korean popular music. "The term K-Pop (*K-p'ap*) has rarely been used by Koreans in the past. The prevalent term to designate domestically produced pop music in Korean language is *han'guk kayo* (Korean popular song), *taejung kayo* (mass popular song), or simply *kayo* (popular song)." (Fuhr 2016, 59)

chief editor and the representative of *Monthly Pop Song*. The magazine discontinued after 1987 due to financial difficulties, but Lee continues his career making other kinds of publications. (Choi 2016)

"Circulation of *Monthly Pop Song* started from 3,000, but 6 to 8 hundred items returned to us every issue. We went to bookstores and listened to students. They said that *Monthly Pop Song* had too few scores and too many talks (...) After when we started to obtain various kinds of pop information through channels from America, Italy, and Hawaii, readers of *Monthly Pop Song* rose sharply." (Lee Mun-se, 1975.11, p. 56) Seven years after its first issue, the circulation reaches 30,000 according to one editor.

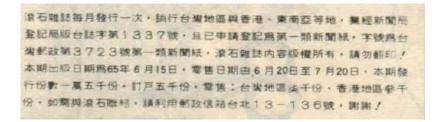
*초창기의 5천여 독자가 지금은 3만 여명으로 급증한 가운데 창간 7주년을 기념하게 되었다. 더욱 반가운 일은 해 외에 나아가 있는 교포 독자들이 상당 수에 달하고 있다는 사실이다. 이 달에도 많은 해외 화제 기사와 함 께 특별 기념 부록으로 화제작 「토요일 밤의 열정」 주제가를 특선, 독자 기호 를 살리도록 했다. 〈신〉 184

[Figure 8] "We commemorate our 7th anniversary this month, and 5,000 readers in our beginning stages increased to 30,000 by now. We are even gladder that a considerable number of our readers (overseas Koreans) subscribe to the magazine from abroad." (*Monthly Pop Song*, Editors' notes, 1978.11, p. 184)

Lee explains how he started to make the magazine in his congratulatory remarks for the 5th anniversary of the magazine in 1975: "There was no well-informed pop magazine back then. There were only unauthorized and inaccurate song scores published by some score publishers (...) I liked the idea of helping people understand the chaotic pop music situation in Korea and communicating with the innocent youths." (1975.11, p. 56)

The founder of *Rock Magazine*, Sam Chung-Tan Tuan and Johnny Chung-Yu Tuan were students in their 20s when they first created the publication in 1975. They noticed that there were no magazines in Taiwan that introduce Western pop, and furthermore, local folk music (campus folk) was very popular in Taiwan by then, so they decided to make one. (Wang 2002) However, they accumulated a lot of debt after a few years later and ceased the publication in 1980. They changed their company's name to Rock Publishing Co., and then to Rock Records, which became one of the leading record labels in Taiwan afterward. "*Rock Magazine* already had considerable influence in Taiwan by then, so we decided to continue using the name for the record label." (Zhang 2005)

On one page in June 1976 issue has stated the circulation of the publication in small letters:



[Figure 9] "*Rock Magazine* is published once every month, and our sales areas are Taiwan, Hong Kong and Southeast Asia."

"Publication date is June 15, 1965, and our sales period is June 20 to July 20. Our circulations: 15,000. Subscribers: 5,000. Sales: 7,000 in Taiwan, 3,000 in Hong Kong." (1976.6, p. 14)

It is also notable that these magazines were sold not only in Taiwan but also to the overseas Chinese and other Chinese-speaking places. Like *Monthly Pop Song* became a source of information to overseas Koreans, *Rock* seems to have been one to different parts of the Chinese-speaking world.

Editors, Writers, and Readership



People participating in the magazines were often journalists and those making careers related to popular music. Specific organizations or the full list of employees are not listed on *Monthly Pop Song*, but we can find the names of the reporters occasionally, as well as several outside columnists who regularly published their articles.



[Figure 10] Names of chairman, representative,printer, and chief editor are listed.(*Monthly Pop Song*, 1976.6, p. 180)

Many central figures that have been leading roles in introducing the overseas pop to the local audience and in promoting pop musicians have worked in the publications. Just to name a few, Na Yeonguk and Jeon Yeonghyok, famous DJs and columnists who became the bible of pop music manias in the 1980s and 1990s, have worked as chief editors of *Monthly Pop Song*. The magazine also sometimes wrote articles about the editors or their introductions.



[Figure 11] An interview with Na Yeounguk, the then-chief editor, about his previous DJ career, his views on Korean pop industry and the localization of pop in Korea. The photo on page 188 is a roundtable talk of Na and radio pop DJs. (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1980.11, p. 181, 188)

Furthermore, the magazine also hired foreign correspondents and got new sheet music or overseas news from them. "This month, we could get 14 new original pop scores and publish. We got these new scores through foreign correspondents; we will continue to keep up with the latest trends in the future."

(Editors' notes, Monthly Pop Song, 1976.6, p. 180)

The organization and list of employees are listed in each issue of *Rock* Magazine.

滾石雜誌

中華民國64年4月17日 創刊號出版 發行人:段鍾沂 社 長:段鍾泗 親編輯:張曉杉 執行編輯: 張建康・崔可銓・周維倫 音樂主筆:陳爲國・林秋香 音響主筆:邱研一・陳裕光 電影主筆:莫凝溢・張毅 **癸**工編輯: 周維倫 · 盧曉麗 攝影編輯:周耀爵・段海偉 特約插臺:楊立德 · 張正成 編輯顧問: 周麟・掃羅・卓執中・呉曉白 ・

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習明悪

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蔡振泰 **企劃部經理**: 楊立德 優行部:李美寛・范銘宗 廣告部副理:彭國華・段海偉 市場發展部經理:莊建平 印刷所: 山水彩色印刷事業有限公司承印 [Figure 12] The organization and list of employees.

27 people had been employed by December 1977 including the Duan brothers, not counting outside columnists. On the list, we can find some well-known names such as Trix Tsui (Cui Ke-quan), a guitarist of the *Remen Yinyue* band Rock City Band, and Kh Peng, who later created UFO Records (a later representative Taiwanese record label).

With regards to the readership, we can find out that the two publications were targeted for the 'pop' enthusiasts and especially the young generation.

Monthly Pop Song was a magazine for those who listened to Western pop and were in need of information and knowledge of overseas pop, and especially for the young generation. The representative and first chief editor, Lee Mun-Se, tells how he came to make the magazine by saying: "Songs that *ppongjjak* singers sang, the songs that cannot sound sadder and more mellow even if the parents of the singers just passed away, and bar hostesses could grasp a couple of wrinkled bills singing such songs... I noticed that the youths were sick and tired of these songs." (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1975.11, p. 56) The mainstream local songs were considered as too emotional and vulgar, and many youths were not in favor of such music.

"I'm a big fan of your magazine. On the first day of each month, I used to

visit a nearby bookstore and bought *Monthly Pop Song*, for which I had been waiting for the whole month." (Readers' page, 1973.8, p. 156) "In this season, young people run to the sea and to the mountains, holding guitars in their hands. I feel proud every time I see *Monthly Pop Song* in their hands." (Editors' notes, 1973.8, p. 158)

Since Anglo-American pop (in contrast to *ppongjjak*) was the music of the youths, avid fans of the magazine were mostly young people in their teenage or early twenties as well.

세계의 젊은이와'월간팝송'	그렇다. 모은 세계 젊은이의 언어인 것 이다. 모든 젊은이들의 감정을 ^{대변} 할 수 있는 단 하나의 언어인 지시고
임 정 선 젊음을 만끽할 수 있는 유일한 방법이 바로 쾁에 파묻하는 것이다. 특히 한국의	어른들은 우리를 보고 이렇게 얘기한다. 되먹지 않았다고- 젊은것들이 외국 노위 나 흥얼거리고 다닌다고-주체것이 사
젊은이들에게 있어서는 더욱 그러리라 믿 는다.	고- 천만에 / 우린 세계의 언어를 쓰고 있 는 것 뿐이다. 팝은 의국의 것이 아니다. 우리들의 것이다. 우리 젊은이들 만의 것 이다. 동양이전 서양이전, 후진국이너 주 진국이던 선진국이던 우리에게는 상관이
	없다. 우리는 꼭같이 젊으니까_

[Figure 13] "The only way to enjoy youth, in particular for Korean youths, is to immerse yourself in pop. Adults frown upon us, say that we only sing foreign songs and are not independent enough... No! We are just using the global language. Pop is not foreign; it is ours. It belongs to only us, the youths."

("Youths of the world and '*Monthly Pop Song*" a reader's letter from Readers' page, 1974.11, p. 142)

The magazine was also valuable to DJs and columnists, who introduced Western pop to the domestic audience through other means such as radio programs. "Full-time DJs had to try hard to maintain the level of professionalism. During that time, *Monthly Pop Song*, a pop music magazine, was the must-read for DJs." (Oh 2012)



Rock Magazine was targeted for young pop manias in Taiwan as well, and they also had the generation issue. In their first issue, stating their goals for the new publication writes: "Who needs *Rock Magazine*? The fashionable, progressive, passionate, active youths - who follow dreams, optimism, and adventures, who love music and audios, are sensitive and love to acquire new knowledge, who wear jeans¹⁴ - must all read *Rock Magazine*!" (1975.6, inner cover page) The front cover page of the same issue also states that it is "a magazine that the youths have prepared for the youths."



[Figure 14] "Who needs *Rock Magazine*?" (Inner cover page, 1975.6)

¹⁴ Jeans were symbols of new Western youth culture in the 1970s Taiwan, as well as in Korea.

Translation of Anglo-American Popular Music

These magazines introduced the latest trends of Anglo-American pop, delivered gossips about pop and rock stars, and made lists of new recommendable albums.



[Figure 15] "Special report 1: A miracle of 5 million records, Peter Frampton!" A report on the explosive popularity of the British rock musician. (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1977.4, p. 42) (Left)

[Figure 16] "Overseas news" delivering news of Rough Diamond (mistyped as Love Diamond), Frank Zappa's UK stage, and Angel's Japan concert.

(Rock Magazine, 1977.10, p. 10) (Right)

They also published their own analyses and critiques on overseas musicians,

albums, and musical genres, selectively introducing new artists and records.



[Figure 17] "A work that let us know the true worth of Eric Burdon... He is particularly popular in Korea" (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1977.1, p. 106)[Figure 18] "Music trends of '77 – 1. Widespread of women's' makeup by men" (*Rock*

Magazine, 1977.3, p. 22)

While many of their articles were original, they sometimes also referred to overseas music magazines. "To richly adorn our magazine, we had a correspondent in the US and got musical scores of songs ranking top 20 on the Billboard chart as soon as possible. I read 5 or 6 pop magazines. From Japan we bought slide films of live performances, paying twenty thousand yen for a cut, and we used the photos in our magazine." (Lee 2016, 30) *Rock Magazine* also included monthly Billboard charts in every issue and sometimes made use of foreign pop magazines as well.



[Figure 19] "Overseas popularity poll of the first half of '76! Voting results from fans, published in the world's leading magazine Creem¹⁵" (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1976.10, p. 36)

[Figure 20] Weekly Billboard Hot 100 chart (Rock Magazine, 1978.3, p. 84)

Through the journals, more people could encounter Anglo-American popular music. For instance, after readers got new information on pop stars and music, they could buy records (although many records circulated both in Taiwan and Korea were cheaper pirate records produced locally) or request the songs to DJs of radio programs. They could also try singing and playing guitar with the sheet music included in the magazines.

¹⁵ Creem was a monthly *Rock Magazine* in America, circulated from 1969 to 1989.

DARADE OF GONG HEIG La da da da da da H I T La da da da da La da da da me and Bobby da da HOT STUFF da ME AND BOBBY McGEE Good en for La da da da me and Bobb Bobby McGer (on CBS Intro- A coal mines LOVING HER WAS EASIER Kentucky sted flat To the Cal and sun, ro: C-F-(Bobby shared the secrets F*7 my soul, Headin for the en the me Feelin arly E7 olden on C the skie lin' right b to ev'rything I done Bobby thumbed a diesel dow th the feelin' of the 10 0 00 00 before Ev'ry ight she kept me fror it 'rained, of an eagle when us all away to New the cold. Then somewhere near Salinas Lookin' for the home I hope E she'll find, world a ik my harpoon ity red bandana lay dyin', lin' as the :::: 0.000000 was blowin' sad while A7 D Bobby sang the blues And I'll trade all m ing in the shade B rows for a single ; h them windshield wipers appin' time, and of he Holding Bobby's body J John 10 . . . elappin' hands, E7 nally sang a veiled song A-A7 c driver knew. B-B7 of the E Freedom's just an ple and the places that for back_ nothin' left to man just another word thin left is all she left hin' me that yes is somethin' that I C B-B7 for me nothin' left to lose: in' ain't worth nothin' A-A7 t it's free. cought of tryin', E Feeling good was easy, of tom Bobby sang the blues and the Got od was easy, ney, love and time we at if that was good enough Bobby sang the blues ad to spend. in' her was elin' good was good enough Good enough for me and stuff. ba - by hot ything I'll ever do as Bobby McGer 166

[Figure 21] Sheet music (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1978.8, p. 166)[Figure 22] Lyrics and chords (*Rock Magazine*, 1978.3, p. 112)

From these, we can see that the process of cultural translation, which the magazines 'translate' the Anglo-American pop to the local audience, took place. "Cultural translation is an action which creates meanings according to the 'context,' considering the cultural significance embodied in the language, behavioral patterns and value systems of others. (...) Therefore, cultural translation can make the relationship between two cultural agents equal, and is also able to solidify the hierarchy between the two." (Kim 2005, 48)

In the basic sense the two publications served as 'carriers to deliver another culture,' (Ibid. 62) the process of cultural 'translation' was also taking place. The two magazines were bearing the local taste and needs of the local audience in mind and reorganized the significance of Anglo-American pop and folk to the domestic readers.

Development of Korean and Taiwanese Folk



The Beijing News: "Did the magazine only cover American rock? Back then, there must have already been a big trend for Taiwan's folk movement."

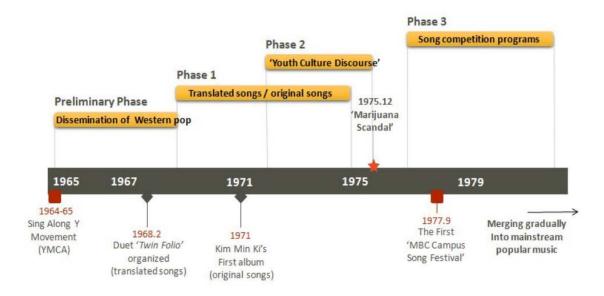
Johnny Chung-Yu Tuan: "Right. The folk movement started in 1976. This cultural movement exerted great influence not only in Taiwan but even in the whole Chinese-speaking world. (...) In the later periods of *Rock Magazine*¹⁶, we gave a good deal of space to local Taiwanese singers such as Chyi Yu, Zheng Yi, and Wooden Guitar. I also had the idea of setting up a record label during this time." (Zhang 2005)

The interview above shows *Rock Magazine*'s constant attention and connection to the development of domestic pop scenes. The first chief editor of *Monthly Pop Song*, Park Sangyun, also seems to have had interests in developing domestic pop and audience. "When I was working as the chief editor, I hoped to establish cultural centers for Korean folk and rock artists through the magazine." (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1973. 11 p. 27)

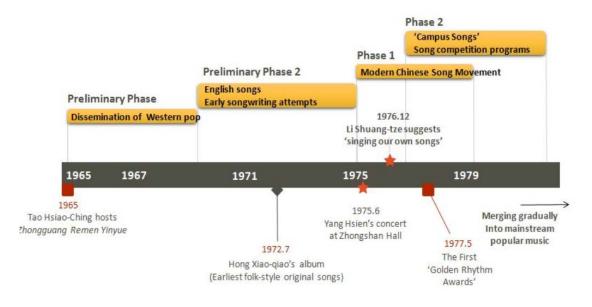
Before further examining the two publications, it would be helpful to look at the process that this genre called folk has locally developed each in Korea and Taiwan. In the first chapter when discussing the notion of scenes, I have already talked about

¹⁶ Here 'the later periods' refer to the late 1970s, just before the establishment of Rock Records.

how the new scenes started to appear in their early stages. The following would be a rough explanation of how Taiwan's *minge* and Korean *pokeu* became the music of the times or the music of a generation. The graphs below are my understandings and simplications of the timeline of 1970s Korean and Taiwanese folk.



[Figure 23] Chronology of Korean folk



[Figure 24] Chronology of Taiwanese folk

Korean folk emerged in small music venues such as C'est Si Bon and House

of Tree Frogs, years after the culture of 'singing along' and acoustic guitars were introduced by Christian organizations such as YMCA. Folk got nationwide recognition in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A male folk duet called Twin Folio formed in 1968, and many Koreans recall the group as the first widely popular folk act. They sang not only in small venues but were also broadcast in national media, and were surrounded by many fans although they were active only briefly. Most songs they released were actually 'translated' songs, cover versions of overseas pop or folk hits with new Korean lyrics. It was not only Twin Folio; these 'translations' were prevalent practices for Korean folk singers back then, especially in the earlier stages of Korean folk. Musically, they sang with fair and easy-listening voices on top of acoustic guitar accompaniments.

Before long, this new music gains big popularity and folk music becomes one distinctive feature of Korean 'youth culture.' In the early and mid-1970s, not only music but also literature and films, along with other kinds of cultural symbols and movements started to represent an alternative culture for the young generation. There was a saying that 'jeans, draft beer and acoustic guitars' are three symbols of youth. (Kyunghyang Shinmun 1974) People also started to argue what this social phenomenon would mean on newspapers and roundtable talks. Some folk musicians began to make musically more dynamic songs combining folk, rock and other genres of Western-style popular music.

However, the so-called marijuana crackdown in 1975 led to a temporary halt to this atmosphere. This refers to an incident when the government suddenly arrested a large number of musicians, actors and those working in the entertainment industry on charges of smoking marijuana. Many of the musicians were those who were particularly popular among the youth. Some were sentenced to jail, and more

experienced difficulties in their musical careers after being restricted from performing and releasing albums, while newspapers were continuously reporting these 'marijuana entertainers.' Folk scene and venues, along with the rock scene which was simultaneously developing in the urban areas and its venues (they were often called 'Gogo clubs'), had similar difficulties.



*평소 월간팝송 애독자 여러분과 지면 을 통하여 또는 방송 TV 등에서 자주 대하면 많은 가수들이 대마초 흡연자로 지복되어 구속을 당하고 말았다. 죄의 경중을 가리기에 앞서 영하의 기 온속에 외부와의 대화가 단절된 곳에 감 추어진 그들의 전강이 심히 염려 스럽기 만 하다. 하루속히 석방되어 새로운 이미지의 얼굴들이 되어 주기를 간망할 따름이다. (영) [Figure 25]

"Many singers, whom our readers would have often met through our magazines or broadcasting and TV, are under arrest now after being blamed as marijuana smokers.

Before weighing the gravity of their crimes, I am worried about their health, who must be locked up in isolated places under sub-zero temperatures. I only hope they are released as soon as possible and make new comebacks."

(Editors' notes from Monthly Pop Song, 1976.2, p. 160)

This incident is now considered by many Koreans as a means of political oppression. However, the majority of the musicians involved did not show apparent political inclinations. In fact, the political opponents of Park Chung-hee regime and student movements were often opposed to this idea of youth culture, calling the folk and rock trends merely pleasure-seeking and overlooking the current political problems of the society. The authoritative regime oppressed these anti-government organizations as well, but the opposition power was also against the 'seemingly apolitical' folk culture.

The crackdown does not mean that the history of the genre stopped all of a sudden, but afterward, it relatively failed to make new changes or trends as a social phenomenon or come out with fresh masterpieces. A few years later, in the late 1970s, folk was once again in the spotlight for a short time due to the sudden popularity of 'college song competitions' such as MBC Campus Music Festival. There were some amateur or semi-amateur college students who sang folk-style songs in these competitions, but in fact, the musical trends were already changing, along with changes of the Anglo-American pop. The mainstream youth pop goes under 'reorganization' with rock, dance and disco music in its center.

In Taiwan, musicians and the audience who played acoustic guitar pop and wrote their own songs appeared in the early 1970s. Hong Xiao-qiao has hosted the TV program Golden Melody Awards¹⁷ in the CTC channel, which had just opened, from the early 1970s. In this program, the viewers, mostly in their teenage or 20s, wrote songs in the Western pop style and sent them to the program. Hong has played herself some songs among them and released an original album herself. Meanwhile, some musicians continuously performed in venues mainly associated with students and the young generation, such as Ara-Kimbo.

This emerging trend becomes a 'movement' after a college student and musician Yang Hsien starts what he calls Chinese modern folk. He had a concert in Zhongshan Hall, Taipei and presented music of which the lyrics were borrowed from the renowned poet Yu Kwang-Chung in 1975. This monumental concert became the

¹⁷ The current Golden Melody Awards, a representative awards program in Taiwan and the Chinese-speaking world, has the same name with this 1970s program, but they are two separate programs.

talk of the town and many cultural figures, as well as the media, were interested in Yang's idea of Chinese modern folk. Yang Hsien's music had elements of both the Western guitar pop and art songs, using the vocal music and slow accompaniments in an antique style. This combination shows Yang's, and many youths' general antipathy towards the 'vulgarity' of the mainstream popular music or the 'decadent songs.' Yang labeled his songs Chinese modern folk from the idea that he wanted to make his music 'folk' but at the same time, the music that fits into modern Chinese history and culture.



[Figure 26] 'Concert of modern folk music' Poster of Yang Hsien's influential 1975 Zhongshan Hall concert. (Xiao, Tao and Yang 2015, 25)

Many youths showed interests in such attempts, and Western guitar pop and folk were already very widespread among the youths, so folk emerged in the mainstream media both as the latest trend and as a cultural movement. There were different aspects regarding this music; people who emphasized the music as a musical movement called it by names like '(Chinese) modern folk,' and when the music was regarded as the latest mainstream pop genre it was often called 'campus folk.' (The name 'campus folk' shows who the audience and musicians were as well. Most musicians who just appeared in the media and musical venues were students from prestigious universities.) It is notable that these folk musicians in college campuses often had distanced themselves from mainstream popular music. "There are many dirty little secrets in the entertainment business. But folk singers like me were not a part of that world, and we still had a consciousness that we are student-musicians." (Tai Zhaomei, interview)

Chang Chao-wei was one of the people who first paid attention to Taiwan's folk as a research topic, and his book (2003) categorizes Taiwanese folk in three types.

(1) Chinese modern folk represented by Yang Hsien. It often aimed at highclass aesthetics and alternative popular music, and this type of folk relatively corresponded to then-government's cultural policies. However, because the students were already familiar with the Western pop and were not associating themselves with Chinese/Taiwanese traditional music, the musical results showed more resemblance to songs from American modern folk revival and Western guitar pop, although there were occasional 'Chinese' elements in the melody or lyrics.

(2) China Tide Front folk¹⁸, which is differentiated by its leftist and underground approach. However, the musicians were constantly faced with political restrictions, and at the same time, it was before the age of opposition parties and movements (of the 1980s), and the idea of political opposition was not/could not be very widespread among the general audience.

(3) Campus folk: mostly apolitical; it went hand-in-hand with the development of the mainstream recording industry and TV media. These songs were

¹⁸ China Tide (1978-81) was a political journal and group of people of leftist and antigovernment nature. Li Shuangtze (1949-77), a well-known young folk musician, often wrote articles here and shared leftist and Taiwan nativist views. The journal closes down in 1981 due to KMT government's ban.

often composed with acoustic guitar accompaniments and simple melodies. They often adopted carefree and easygoing attitudes and showed nostalgia towards nature and childhood (this is also associated with the unique aesthetics of folk music).

Folk music in Taiwan shows a new possibility of mainstream Mandarin Chinese pop, along with the development of the record industry and the media. However, due to various factors such as the introduction of disco music and changing political situations in Taiwan, this *minge* movement gradually declines.

Role of Pop Magazines in Making New Scenes

This thesis takes notice of the fact that the two magazines also play significant roles in the development and expansion of nationwide folk scenes. Here I will be examining the actual ways through which they contributed to the scenes by citing specific examples of the publications, while also considering their motives for engaging in such efforts.

There were various articles, advertisements, and events published in the magazines. *Rock Magazine* and *Monthly Pop Song* shared many features, such as:

(1) They delivered not only overseas news but news on domestic 'pop' scenes – domestic popular music associated with the latest Anglo-American trends. Every month, there were reports and interviews of folk musicians, music venues, and future small-scale concerts. Musicians and the listeners could be informed of new information. In particular, those living in cities (mainly Seoul and Taipei) could visit the actual places, too.



장 우, 〈사랑의 길〉 발표 발라드 계열의 노매로 우리에게 잘 알 려진 장 우군이 최근 새로운 꼭 〈사랑의 김〉을 내 놓았다. 중전 작곡가 김우백씨 의 곡인 이 노래는 협성 프로덕선(대표 서현석)이 사운을 결고 제작한 야심작 이기도 하다.

캔들에게 한동안 코코 장이란 예명으 로 알려졌던 장 우군은 이미 〈지금은 떠 나도〉 〈가시나요〉 〈잇었던 마음〉 〈사 정 합니까〉 〈받마다 밥마다/ Time and Time〉등의 많은 레퍼토리를 갖고 있는 더 이번에 발표한 〈사랑의 길〉에서는 가 일종 원숙한 장법을 보여주고 있다. 「--이번 노래처럼 가수와 작곡자가

호흡이 일체된 경우도 없었던 것 같 습니다. 새로운 이미지를 부각시키는 일에 자신도 있고요……」 흌·스타를 향한 집념에 기대하는 바

고다. 장 우군의 집 주소. (서울 용산구 서부이촌동 296 한강 아 타트 C 등 621호) 본지에 팝 스타 스토리)를 연재하였고, 현재 '명곡의 전당」을 집필하고 있는 김 기호군이 1월17일 군에서 제대, 대망의 꿈인 디체이로서의 발돋음을 하게 되었 단다.

부산이 고향인 김군은 당분간 휴식을 가진 다음 선배들의 가르침을 따르겠다 고 한다.

부성린 아나, 다시 부산국으로

기둑고 부산 방송에서 마산 문화 TV 로 자리를 옮겼던 부성민 아나가 얼마건 좋해의 부산국으로 를, 백 하였다. 옛 지려로 돌아온 그는 과거 부산 팬 들에게 인기를 보였던 탑송 프로를 다시 부찰시켜 보고 싶은 심정이라고—.

레코드 가게 차려

가수겸 디제이로 활약하고 있는 박인 희양이 신문로 서울 고교 맞은 편에다 『박인희의 집」이란 상호를 내질고, 레코 p. 171)



• Newscaster Bu Seongmin

returns to Busan

• (Park In-hee) starts a record

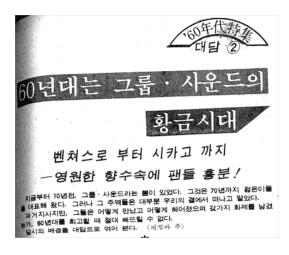
store

(Monthly Pop Song, 1978.3,

的唱片挿播,跟兩位負責欲舞的 支援,才可有所作為!因此而有 18 波麗民謠中心 Disco Dancer ,相信去漫的年 這個協會的歸組。 調整節目 輕朋友都是有口皆碑的。 新添設備的波麗民謠中心, 他們將定期辦一些小型的作 花費不到 800 元一對的消費 為了配合全套Kenwood 音響和 品發表會,一方面提供新人出頭 額,就可陶醉在 Soul、Disco、 Altec 劇院之聲喇叭,節目有所 的 浅 @; 一方 面 讓 老 手 推 陳 就 新 Hustle 這些類型的音樂中,不 , 以資激勵!同時還會出版一些 調整。 喜歡吹跳麵的朋友,純欣賞音樂 目前全天播放從 50 年代到 歌詞、歌譜,並做專題演講加以 的話, 華國茶舞仍然是個好去處 最新排行榜的歌曲。週一到週日 介紹。這個協會不排斥外來的東 ,時間是每日下午8:00 -5:30 晚上7:00~8:00由甫自美國德 西·也接納時下流行歌曲好的部 州歸來的小黑介紹西部鄉村音樂 份,目前仍在為正名的事大傷腳 ⑦民謠歌手的小天地 筋,讀者有好的意見,不妨直接 ,8:00~9:00最佳搭檔「周鮮 -雨果 寄到陶曉清的節目中,因為"中 +阿波羅崔| 擔任演出,陳家隆 國現代民歌協會"並不是個最妥 的简目则排在週六、日下午4:00 切的名稱!? ~ 5:30 ,此外還有王經典的鋼 琴演奏等。 20『中國現代民歌』 暑假期間波麗民謠中心有符 唱片即將出版 合年輕朋友消費能力的平價餐飲 ,據負責人周麟表示,如果你來 這張由洪健全基金會製作的 西門町逛街、看電影,不妨上波 唱片,由六位中國現代民歌手擔 麗大樓二樓坐坐,喝杯香醇的鯰 任灌唱,他們是胡德夫、吳統雄 布狄倫咖啡,享受一下親切的服 、吴楚楚、韓正皓、朱介英及陳 屏·平均每人有兩首自己的作品 務及高雅的音樂氣氛! 。 目前工作的焦點正集中於編 當你經過兩果的時候,可能 ●書籍、唱片、音響 .曲部份,他們請到了翟黑山、陳 會聯想到古典音樂的播放、柔和 揚爲這些歌曲撰寫套譜並做最後 迷人的燈光、跟刀叉輕輕的碰觸 19『民歌協會』有待正名 的修改;女聲部份可能請楊祖 聲。 在若干曲子,像朱介英的"紙船 一群對"民歌運動"深具期 其實並不全然如此、雨果已 "、吴統雄的"偶然"中穿挿演 銘的工作者・在佳佳音樂中心和 經是個民謠歌手 略集的小天世;

[Figure 28] Domestic pop news section: (17) A new gathering place of folk singers – *Yuguo* (18) Bolero Folk Center makes changes to its programs (19) Anticipations for 'Folk Association' (20) 'Chinese modern folk' record release expected soon (*Rock Magazine*, 1977.9, p. 32)

(2) They were not only 'observers;' they frequently held roundtable talks, symposiums, group interviews inviting musicians and the people concerned. They provided the opportunities to talk about the genre of folk and the current state of the popular music in Korea and Taiwan.



[Figure 29] "Special talks on the '60s: The 1960s was the golden age of (Korean) group sounds. From Ventures to Chicago – Excitement of the fans in eternal nostalgia! Here we present our roundtable talk on what happened in the period."

(Monthly Pop Song, 1977.5, p. 67)

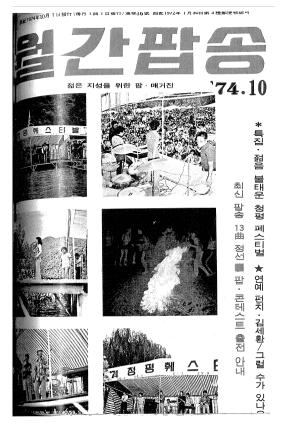


[Figure 30] "Going up one more floor: 'Chinese modern folk' symposium"

"Announcing 'the future directions of Chinese modern folk' as the main theme, we

invited around 20 people – poets, music critics, music scholars, composers, singers and radio hosts..." (*Rock Magazine*, 1977.9 pp. 46-7)

Concerts and musical events held by the magazines were crucial both for the musicians and audience. Cheongpyeong festival, which was one of the first folk music festivals in Korea, was held annually by *Monthly Pop Song* from 1971 until 1975 (when the marijuana crackdown took place.)¹⁹ *Rock Magazine* also held monthly folk concerts.



performed on the stage." (p. 160)

[Figure 31-1]

Front cover of *Monthly Pop Song* (October 1974), featuring photographs taken from Cheongpyeong festival.

On the editors' notes: "We featured '74 Cheongpyeong festival, hosted by *Monthly Pop Song*. Most of the time our cover models are foreign singers, but this time we made a special attempt.

This event drew a total of 80,000 audiences and more than 100 singers

¹⁹ In 1976 the festival changed its name to '*Cheongpyeong* Summer Festival' and music was subsequently given less importance.



[Figure 31-2] Feature story on Cheongpyeong festival (1974.10)



[Figure 32] "Folk week' organized by Rock Magazine this week" (1976.5, p. 36)

(3) The magazines both had readers' letters sections. Readers sent questions, which the magazines answered, along with their personal reviews of the previous issue; questions included inquiries about pop knowledge and recommendable music. Some pop enthusiasts also sent their personal opinions and music criticism on musicians or songs.

저는 새해부터 오리지널·레코드를 수 집하려 하는데, 현재 시내에서 팔고 있 는 가격이 너무 비싼 것 같아요.그래서 좀 더 좋고 싼 디스크를 쉽게 구할 수 있는 방법을 알고자 해요. (서울 영등포구 구로 2 동 716의 1 이 용석) 많은 독자들이 이러한 문의를 해 오시 지만, 현재의 실정으로 보아 거의 불가 능하다고 밖에 다른 말을 할 수가 없군 요. 물론 재력만 풍부하다면야 방법이 [Figure 33] "Q: I plan to collect some original records, but I think the prices are too high in the downtown. I'd like to ask how I can get better and cheaper records." (from Yeongdeungpo-gu, Seoul)

"A: Lots of readers make such inquiries, but..." (Monthly Pop Song, 1977.3, p. 155)

[Figure 34] "Is *Remen Yinyue* being discriminated against?"

"I really cannot take it anymore, please allow me speak up for *Remen Yinyue*! The long-awaited American Music Awards was on air today, but the 'cut' of Government Information Office broke my heart into pieces..."

(Readers' letter from Rock Magazine, 1978.7, p. 9)

(4) On the magazines, there were acoustic guitar lesson articles (often written by young domestic folk musicians) and sheet music. This provided opportunities for the young readers to get closer to the 'guitar pop' since one of the major paths that the audience encountered Anglo-American pop was through learning acoustic guitars, as well as songbooks and scores.



[Figure 35] Baek Sunjin²⁰ guitar class (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1973.10, p. 29)
[Figure 36] Guitar lesson – Accompaniment skills for folk guitars (*Rock Magazine*, 1976.5, p. 85)

(5) There were quite a number of advertisements; some were related to pop music scenes while others were not. In particular, a large part of the ads was promoting the venues associated with the music, such as music instrument shops, concert venues, and record stores. They were one of the ways that these 'scenes' could promote themselves and gather people. (Those not directly related to music often

²⁰ Baek (1949~) is a musician who is best-known as the 1970s Korean folk duet April and May.

targeted for the young generation as well, with words such as 'students' must-have.')



[Figure 37] "Here are the dreams and romance of youth!" Advertisement of Jigu Records and overseas records they imported/licensed (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1977.3, back cover)

[Figure 38] "Wawagu Restaurant – folk center. Ximending – the best place for the youths to spend their free time" Advertisement of a folk music venue and Western restaurant (*Xicanting*) located in Ximending, the 1970s typical gathering place of young people in Taipei²¹. (*Rock Magazine*, 1977.3, p. 67)

(6) The magazines had occasional pen-pal sections, which could build connections between readers. Readers wrote their names, ages, genders, addresses and their interests and musical tastes so that they could meet new friends. Musicians also

²¹ Even now Ximending is a very popular area, but I have an impression that it has since lost its uniqueness as a 'pop music center.'

looked for new group mates here. These letters could sometimes lead to the musical

careers of future musicians, and, many young pop enthusiasts shared their musical

tastes and looked for new friends, sending dozens of pen pal letters every month.

외로운 마음이 갑자기 밀려들 때 인간은 미지의 벗을 그리워 함 He Said 나다. 같은 취향을 원하는 분들은 펜 벗을 많이 이용 하십시오. 흘 She Sai 룡한 보람을 만끽함은 시간의 흐름을 즐겁게 할 것입니다.

 * 유병화: 대구시 동구 신천동 5구
 * 안지원: 강원도 삼척로 근덕변 교

 169의 4, 53년생, 방송을 좋아하는 소
 가리 오리동 2번 309, 대학 2년생, 문

 내물과 사연을.....
 * 김용국: 충남 보령군 청소면 성연

 보 511번지, 58년생, 방을 즐기는 여고
 * 문정아: 중구 목성동 24의 23, 56

 내명 감비 11번지, 58년생, 방을 즐기는 여고
 * 김용식: 도봉구 상계 1 등 1008번지

 * 지병문: 춘남 후성국 관점을 구자
 오토 2 바 (모배체제), 마으 소 포로 고

 2통 3반 〈문제철택〉 마음 속 푸른 꿈 * 전병문: 충남 홍성군 광천읍 구장 을 교환 할 분과. 대 285번지, 59년생, 마음을 나눌 수 있 * 이재헌: 서대문구 응암동 252의 104 는 여고생과 대화를 호 19통 2 반, 56년생, 학생, 우울한 분 * 김건욱: 충남 대전시 효동 258 의 과. 5, 고 2, 음악을 즐기시는 분과. 이미구 스키퍼 -Wing Edward Tsui 男,20。喜愛單車,結他,電影。 男,16。喜愛:露營,籃球。 1119 Geranium House 10/F 208, 2/F, Block II, Tai Wo Ma Tau Wai Est.,Kln. Hau, Tsuen Wan. ⊖Ariel Lee 🛛 Vivian ⊖ 女,16。喜愛電影,音樂。 女,16。喜愛電影,音樂。 6G/F Chun Wing St.,Tai 你意边 Kok Tsui,Kln. 這次在滾石徵友專欄裏刋登的 St. H.K. 都是香港和九龍地區的朋友。 @ 鄮悟娟 @ Albert 女,16。喜愛旅行,唱歌。 男, 。喜愛露營,遠足,聽歌 由香港的"晉樂—週"提供。 185,5/F,Reclamation St -49 O Long Village Sai Kung 今年—月裏"音樂—週"的主 N.T. reet, Yaumati,Kln. 編Sam Jor 曾來台灣。我們 交換了很多意見和想法, 微友 了 Tommy Chan 也是其中之一。目前採取交換 男,16。喜愛單車, 籃球。 **⑤**周佩英 女,17。喜愛交友,結他,攝影 8 Foo Kwai Street 810 Pe-澳門沙梨頭海邊街 37 號三樓。 的方式。假如本地的朋友有興 ony House West Block Kln., 🛛 Duncan Lai 趣,請利用"徵友印花"寄來 H.K. 男,19。 本社,我們將轉寄到香港去! Revina House 8 Kwei Chow Edward Bernard Chan 男,15。喜愛結他,音樂,單車。 Street, Kowloon. 男,15。喜愛Elton John。 105 Pau Cheung St., G / F 新界元朗牛潭尾發利商店轉。 Kln. Jimmy Catherine 女、15。喜愛:音樂,派對。 男,15,喜愛旅行,單車。 1/F A-6 12 Wan Hon Street 219 Tsat Tze Mui Road 8/F Kwun Tong. North Point, Hong Kong.

[Figure 39] "MPS²² Penpal"²³ (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1976.6, p. 170)

²² Monthly Pop Song

²³ Since many stated their ages here, I could count the numbers and ages of the people who sent the pen pal letters in this June 1976 issue. The total number was 71, and among them 49 stated their ages. Their ages ranged from 18 to 27 and except for the oldest person, most of them were 18 to 24. (The ages here are calculated in the Korean system, which is typically one year older than the system used in Taiwan and America.) I did not make a survey of their gender because of its accuracy; some of them did not

[Figure 40] Pen pal section "Let's become friends"

In this issue, the editors intentionally selected Hong Kong readers (instead of Taiwan) after discussing with a columnist from Hong Kong. It seems to be an attempt to facilitate communications between Hong Kong readers as well as encounters of Hong Kong and Taiwan readers (they write that they could help Taiwanese readers send pen pal letters to Hong Kong). (*Rock Magazine*, 1977.9, p.77)

(7) Both magazines organized pop music communities which their regular readers could join: *Monthly Pop Song* included advertisements in their books, asking readers to join the pop music society "which is open to all boys and girls who love pop, regardless of their levels of education." (1973.9, p. 149)

The second second	
유직 동인회 회원 모집	팝·뮤직 동인회 입회 원서
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	회원 번호 본격
(하는 순도가 만드로 도 요 아래 요령으로 회원을 모집 ************************************	주 <u>소</u>
1898 씨 지 않은 참여를 바랍니다. 제 지 및 가입 요령 다리에 제한없이 팝·뮤직을 다리에 제한없이 팝·뮤직을	· 경정 남·여 생년월일 19 년 월 일
23 기간: 주시 ,,, 날의 구분: .3 개월분 패릭 6 개월분 1,200원,	
비하지: 국제 사서함 4451 월 는 비중사법·뮤직 동인회 앞 선 11 비당 기간의 회비를 입회	성명 및 동·반카지 기입하십시오.
448 함께 소액환으로 우송 배울위한 행사 및 특전 액회원에게는 회원증 발급의 여러월 월간탑송 1부 증정 10% 빌보드 차트 증정	상기인은 월간팤송사가 추관하는 컵·뮤직 동인회 취지에 적극 호응 하며 이에 회비동봉 회원 가입을- 신청합니다. 신청 구분(해당- 기간에 ○표) 3개월 6 백원, 6개 월 1천2 백원, 12개월 2천 2 백원
^{빌에 원색} 카렌타 증정 ^{3 어동} 참가(수시)	월 1~1~2 박편, 12개월 2 전 2 백원 19 년 월 일
^{84 즉} 감상을 위한 디스크· ^{카이트}	신청인 인
^{바 비스} 티벌(지방 도시 포함) ^{13 월 ·} 아티스트들과의 '등 ^{3 966} 회동 개최	국제사서함 4451 월간팝송사 팝·뮤직
াত গাঁহা	동인회 귀하 149

[Figure 41] "Membership applications of pop music society"

"Monthly Pop Song, which distributes pop music in healthy and beneficial ways, recruits members as below on floods of requests from pop lovers.

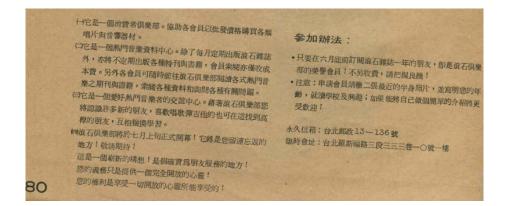
Other than issuing membership cards, we present our members one issue of *Monthly Pop Song* every month, weekly Billboard charts, opportunities to enter singing contests, new discs and concerts, pop

festivals including those held in provincial cities, opportunities to meet popular pop

clarify, and some Korean names could be relatively gender-neutral.

artists, and so on." (Monthly Pop Song, 1973.9, p. 149)

Rock Magazine tried to organize a pop community called Rolling Stone Club. It was basically a consumers' club, which monthly sent the magazines to its subscribers, but the editors also tried to make it "a pop music resource center" and "community center of pop enthusiasts." (1975.6, p. 80)



[Figure 42] Advertisement for 'Rolling Stone Club'

1. It is a consumer club. We help our members purchase records and audio equipment for wholesale price.

2. It is a pop music resource center. We provide our members different kinds of publications and books, as well as regular issues of *Rock Magazine*. We offer discounts for our members. In addition, members can come to Rolling Stone Cub any time to read all kinds of pop-related publications and books, find different kinds of materials, or ask any related questions.

3. It is a community center of pop enthusiasts. Through Rolling Stone Club you can get acquainted with lots of new friends, play guitars if you like singing, and find friends with whom you can learn new things.

Temporary address: 1st floor No.10, Lane 333, Sec. 3, Roosevelt Rd., Taipei.²⁴ (*Rock Magazine*, 1975.6, p. 80)

What I have introduced so far are only some of the diverse writings and articles included in the publications. I could get the impressions that the magazines were very devoted to what they wanted to do. Then, what were their motives for introducing pop and getting involved in domestic music scenes?

"Cliff Richard's performance was canceled because of the long-hair crackdown²⁵, and domestically we had few opportunities to meet popular artists. I launched the operation to promote the magazine and blossom folk songs with our employees. We invited regular readers of *Monthly Pop Song* and held national tours. We visited each city, Daegu, Busan, Gwangju and more, monthly and held live stages. Singers releasing new songs like Seo Yoo-seok, Yang Hee-eun, Shagreen participated in our concerts without hesitation, and we were packed out wherever we went. We inserted invitation tickets to *Monthly Pop Song* and the magazine was

²⁴ This address was different from the address of the magazine company, which was located at Zhongxiao East Rd. (a new Eastern city center of Taipei) during this time. Rolling Stone club's address, in Roosevelt Rd., was just across National Taiwan University. There were many folk venues and cafes in these places, as seen from the advertisements in *Rock Magazine*. What's more, this area (typically called *Gongguan*) is still a central place for Taipei indie music and many indie venues are located here.

²⁵ Cliff Richard's second Korean concert was canceled by the Korean government in 1972 because he had 'long hair.' Men's long hair was socially and legally prohibited in the 1970s Korea. This is also concerned with his first Korean concert in 1969. Thousands of teenage girls who showed up at the concert hall were crazy about the foreign star, but the adults and the media interpreted such enthusiasm as a sign of juvenile delinquency and were not happy about his another concert in Korea. It is a famous (notorious) incident which showed the generation conflicts as well as then-government's authoritative policies.

sold out every issue." (Lee 2016, 30)

"Starting from examining purely Western stuff, we try to find a spirit both modern and Chinese..." (*Rock Magazine*, 1976.8 p.15)

"There have been clear changes in folk performances in the recent two or three years, but this is not enough to awaken everyone. We need more such and more people to do this work! So we visited Sony Taiwan which sponsored the event this time. (...) We invited the host Cora Tao (Tao Hsiao-Ching) and Professor Yu Kwang-Chung and folk singers who took part in the concert to hold a discussion roundtable; the contents will be published in our 22nd issue." (*Rock Magazine* 1977.8 p. 11)

The editors were quite passionate about the local development of pop music. Folk scenes and musicians both in Korea and Taiwan initially started in the late '60s and the early '70s as singing foreign songs, but musicians started to present their own materials and the genre of folk started to have own Korean/Taiwanese contexts in a few years. 'Localization' of pop and folk took place along with the attentions and efforts of these people. (It is also not very difficult to imagine how their involvements and promotions of domestic scenes also helped magazine sales.)

In the next chapter, this paper will discuss the current significance of these scenes, how we should understand the 1970s folk and what we can talk about these phenomena now in the trans-local and global context.

Chapter Three:

Issues and Legacies of the 1970s Folk Scenes

Issues and Debates of Korean and Taiwanese Modern Folk Scenes

In the previous chapter, I have discussed how folk music and its scenes developed in the 1970s Korea and Taiwan, and how the pop magazines were associated. Next, I would like to continue the discussion to look back on their legacies in Korea and Taiwan, as well as its trans-local and international contexts.

The 1970s folk boom raised various questions in the Korean and Taiwanese society. One of them was "how can this be folk music?"

The English term 'folk' has had different kinds of meanings. Especially when it comes to music, it refers to both the traditional community music appreciated by the general public before the advent of popular music, and to modern folk as a genre of popular music (Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and so on). In the American context, there are strong connections between the two, and thus the 1950s-60s American folk was dubbed modern folk 'revival.' "The folk music revival (...) often employing folk song structures and traditional instrumentation, but nonetheless new, married the traditional idea of the folk song to the modern idea of commercial popular music." (Mitchell 2007, 1)

However, this could cause confusion in Korean and Taiwanese contexts because the 1970s folk music in Korea and Taiwan was unrelated to the traditional community music in the societies. It was originally an adaptation of Anglo-American folk as a popular music genre, and traditional Korean and Chinese/Taiwanese folk songs were not what inspired folk as a popular music genre. Thus, musicians and the audience, as well as intellectuals and the media, started to debate what the word 'folk music' meant in Korean/Taiwanese contexts. Simultaneously, there were efforts to make the music sound closer to traditional Korean/Taiwanese music to incorporate 'foreign' American modern folk and 'national' community folk music. In Taiwan, the efforts were presented as the 'Chinese modern folk' movement mentioned in chapter two (Yang Hsien, for instance). Many young folk musicians tried to incorporate something Chinese/Taiwanese to create 'Chinese/Taiwanese' folk rather than completely foreign songs. Such attempts were not as prevalent in Korea as the case of Chinese modern folk, but some musicians were concerned about this issue as can be seen from the short-lived folk project The Submarine with A Sparrow Aboard (*Chamsaereul Taeun Jamsuham*). Their album, released in 1979, tried to bring elements of Korean traditional music and the modern folk together.

Especially in Taiwan, this issue of musical identity was deeply related to the national/international political situations of the period. International isolation started deepening in the 1970s Republic of China, as can be seen from losing its UN seat (1971) and America's severance of diplomatic ties (1979). Questions of national consciousness and identity issues were very prevalent 'zeitgeists' in Taiwan, and it is not unnatural that folk music started to raise such issues concerning the word folk. There were opinions that the music was not Chinese/Taiwanese and was merely an imitation of foreign trends, while others advocated the attempts of Chinese modern folk for its contemporary and eclectic significance. "Somebody had said, 'Modern folk? Frankly speaking, it is playing guitars and singing Western songs in Chinese language.'" (Liu 1977)

The Republic of Korea was under not in the same situations internationally,

but still, there were questions which asked if this 'folk' is our 'folk.' The questions were often presented in the form of people criticizing the new youth culture for only imitating the latest overseas trend. (Han 1974)

Advocates of folk in Taiwan have often emphasized the music's contribution to Taiwan's (Mandarin) popular music industry, and this is quite true, as can be seen from *Rock Magazine*'s association with the development of local music scenes. Those who were semi-amateur student-musicians of the 1970s debuted in the mainstream media and became leading pop figures of the 1980s, as well as arrangers, instrumentalists, and those working in the record industry. The development of folk also contributed significantly to the localization of Anglo-American pop.

Johnny Chung-Yu Tuan: "In fact, before Synco Records²⁶ the major audience of standard Chinese (Mandarin) songs was the blue-collar labor class. Students did not really listen to Mandarin pop; instead, they listened to Western songs. After the campus folk movement, Synco's folk award program Golden Melody Awards (*Jinyunjiang*) tried to pioneer a new market for Mandarin pop, and Rock Records could look further thanks to those ahead of us." (Wang 2002)

Besides, the spirit of 'singing our own songs' which represented the needs of the times was also one of the reasons to highly evaluate 1970s Taiwan folk; it is considered as a very original and significant archetype of identity issues in Taiwanese popular music. The slogan was musically presented in different forms, but here I

²⁶ A well-known record label that have released representative campus folk records

would like to delay the discussion to the next part where I will be discussing political limitations.

On the other hand, some 1970s criticisms on the idea of Chinese modern folk have to do with the 'Chinese' element in this folk. When the Chinese modern folk began to receive the public attention after Yang Hsien's 1975 concert there were heated discussions concerning the view toward this new music; in contrast to its advocates, some thought that the music was not really associated with the local folk music ('folk' in the sense of the traditional community music here) but basically was the modern American folk with occasional Chinese elements. "American folk songs, no matter how modernized and urbanized, tried to find a way of reviving the musical traditions of their own. However, why do our 'modern folk' songs resemble modern American folk this much?" (Han 1979)

A later criticism brings up the question of political attitudes of the musicians. As early as the late 1970s and especially after the lift of the martial law, there have been political and cultural movements to rediscover the roots of Taiwan, differentiated from forced outer identities such as the China identity. There have been unfavorable opinions toward the 1970s folk due to its (alleged) distance with the root-discovering nativist movements. However, I would like to continue this discussion in the next part which discusses politics with more details.

In the 1970s when folk music just emerged as a new social and musical phenomenon, there were many unfavorable views toward the music as well. Some criticized the musicians and audience for only imitating the surface of a foreign culture: "Western (American) youth culture, which spread like wildfire in the 1960s,

was a unique phenomenon and history, and there was definitely an ethical essence in it. (...) But I think our youth culture and its symbols such as acoustic guitars, blue jeans, gogo dance and draft beer merely imitate the exterior look of Western(American) youth culture, throwing its contents away." (Han 1974) In moralistic views of the older social elites, the youth culture could also represent that students (who ought to study hard and be the national elites) were not hardworking and diligent enough. (Kim 1974)

Meanwhile, the popular appeal of youth culture and music were also problematic to the underground student activists which opposed to the Park regime. The democratic and nationalistic student movement of the 1970s argued that "College students and the youths should oppose to power as the representative of nation-*minjok* and the mass-*minjung*. (...) College culture should foster *minjung* and *minjok* culture." (Lee 2017, 116) The mainstream folk and pop songs were mere foreign trends, and not resistant enough in the eyes of student activists. A large grey area existed between these strong opinions as well, but such contrasting views have grown into the socalled 'youth culture debate' until the 1975 crackdown.

Until now, I have summarized some past and present thoughts upon the folk as a genre. The relationship of folk and national identity, contrasting views on folk as youth culture, and the politics of the music – the issues overlapped or diverged according to the domestic situations of the period.

Political Restriction and Limitations on Scene-making

Here I would like to consider some factors that played decisive roles in constructing the genres, and discuss what the attitudes or roles of the magazines were in these factors. This thesis understands the three major factors that decided the development of 1970s Korean and Taiwanese folk as political limitations, specific conceptualizations of the 'youth' notion and the rapid influx of Anglo-American pop.

In the atmosphere of political oppression, popular music often shows various patterns of political behaviors and processes of negotiation which cannot be only thought of the dichotomy of resistance and conformity. However, it is also necessary to add that the musical negotiations were quite limited and "operated in unique ways" (Shin and Lee 2017, 6) under authoritarian regimes in Korea and Taiwan during this period. Compared with other mainstream musicians, many Korean and Taiwanese folk musicians could have more autonomy in songwriting and performances due to their amateurish attitudes. However, they were constantly aware of the political atmosphere as well.

A representative 1970s Korean singer-songwriter, Kim Min-ki, releases his first album in 1971 as a university student. His early works such as A Child Blooming A Flower (*Kkot Piuneun Ai*) showed concerns for the future of the nation and critical attitudes toward the society. They soon became the targets of the Park Chung-hee regime; Kim had been arrested by the police in school for teaching other students protest songs, and could not officially release his albums before the 1987 democratization. For a long time until the 1990s he had been a 'hidden' legend in Korean folk and protest music history. (Kim 1986)

The government's control regulated not only Kim but popular music in general. Particularly after the introduction of the Recording Law in 1967 which enabled pre-production censorship, government examiners decided whether a musician could release a song or an album through their subjective and political decisions.

Taiwan under the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) was under a very

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long martial law (1949-1987), and the censorship of popular music was a common practice like that of other social spheres. Below is an excerpt from Tai Zhaomei (May Tai)'s interview. Tai is a well-known folk singer active in the late '70s and early '80s.

Interviewer: "What do you think would be the unique features of the campus folk?"

Tai: "We had to think of censorship when writing songs. If there is something in the lyrics or music that they did not like, songs were sent back. ("Have you also gone through such experiences?") No. But I was always thinking of all those things when writing songs."

It is not that Tai's 'campus folk'²⁷ songs had any associations with the KMT regime or any sensitive social issues, even after the lift of the martial law. Her music has been about youth, innocent love and friendships. But still, her musical creation was very much affected by Taiwan's pre-production censorship of the period. Seemingly apolitical songs, including the folk music, were often banned and sent back due to various reasons.

Politics were not the main areas of concern for *Monthly Pop Song* and *Rock Magazine*. However, they could not be totally independent of it when popular music got the government's attention. From Lee Mun-se's retrospection, the magazine also seems to have experienced constant censorship, especially after the October Restoration in 1972 when Park Chung-hee dissolved the National Assembly and proclaimed martial law.

²⁷ Following Chao-Wei's categorization introduced earlier

"The October Restoration was proclaimed. It was declared that every regular publication (newspapers, magazines) would be decided whether it is qualified for publication after examination of the censorship committee in Seoul City Hall. All the photos in *Monthly Pop Song* including the cover photo were crossed out because of the reason that the singers' long hair. (...) For a long time, *Monthly Pop Song* had to edit all the photos of foreign musicians so that their hair would not be too long." (Lee 2016, 32)

Political journals were frequently banned in Taiwan before the lift of the martial law in 1987, so *Rock Magazine* could not be free from such atmosphere as well.

The censorship system did not only focus on 'political inclinations' of the music. There was heavy censorship toward anti-government groups as well, but even when the musicians or the musical results did not suggest evident political views, they were always under surveillance regarding their ethics or morals. "Channeled as an extra-curricular activity, *Je-min Yin-yue*²⁸ performances were held as summer events in the public venues under surveillance by policemen and civil servants. The performers were warned about excessive amplification, about ending at the proper time, and about performance style and clothes (confirmed by several informants)." (Ho 2003, 76) As the 'long hair censorship' of *Monthly Pop Song* suggests, Park Chung-hee regime employed very similar policies.

Following Corrigan and Sayer (1985), Ho Tung-hung defines censorship in Taiwan's martial law era as 'moral regulation.' Corrigan and Sayer's central idea is that moral regulation happens simultaneously with state formation, in order to

²⁸ Another romanization method of *Remen Yinyue*

normalize and naturalize a particular moral ethos. (4) As well as evident repression towards political dissidents, both Korean and Taiwanese authoritarian regimes also tried to regulate the morals of pop music and performances.

Cold-war authoritarian regimes in Taiwan and South Korea had intimate relationships with the US, and American popular culture arrived Taiwan and Korea amid the close ties as can be seen from the American Army base shows. However, the authoritarian regimes only allowed some parts of the foreign-mostly Americanculture very selectively, and did not welcome what did not correspond to the domestic policies of the regime. Both Park Chung-hee and Chiang Kai-shek regimes paid constant attention to the domestic popular culture and music so that American liberal ethics would not interrupt the moralistic views of the regimes or become potentially rebellious subcultures.

Ho Tung-hong recalls that in the late 1960s Taiwan, large billboards written 'we do not welcome foreigners with hippie hairstyles to the Republic of China' stood in the airports. (Ho 2003, 75) In Korea, hundreds of foreign pop songs including the American folk were banned from album releases after the 1972 October Restoration. To mention only a few examples, Blowin' in the Wind (Bob Dylan) and We Shall Overcome (John Baez) were banned due to their 'anti-war' ideologies, Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds (the Beatles) because of its possible implication of narcotics, etc. Besides music, men's long hair and women's short skirts were prohibited on the street.

Thus, it is a half-truth that popular music in postwar Korea and Taiwan underwent rapid Americanization; processes of Americanization were influenced and modified under various domestic factors as well, including domestic political situations.

How did folk musicians respond to such political restrictions? Some

musicians were more politically motivated others kept a distance from sensitive issues, and that some of the music relatively corresponded to the government's regulations and ethics (intentional or not) while others adopted more defiant attitudes.

The authoritarian regime in Korea targeted both politically motivated folk and 'rebellious' folk which violated the moral regulations of the regime. Youth culture in the early and mid-1970s had already become a social phenomenon, but folk singers who had directly or indirectly showed their political inclinations or seemed not compliant enough were often frequently from appearing on media or releasing albums. This oppression eventually led to the marijuana crackdown, which made musicians turn to making other kinds of commercial music (for advertisements, etc.) or leave the country.

However, there were some aspects of the folk music which relatively did not offend the authorities, especially compared to other kinds of Western-derived music, such as rock. Rock music's dynamic bodily movements and 'wild' nature were closer to eroticism and violence, while folk, enjoyed by prestigious university students and musically calmer, could be considered 'healthier.' (Shin & Sawangchot 2009, 437) 'Rock scenes' in Korea were typically thought as different from folk scenes, although in reality musicians sometimes overlapped or collaborated since rock and folk were both the music of the young generation. We can also say that rock sometimes represented a more violent side of the American influence (e.g., the U.S. troops) while folk represented a cleaner version of the West and America.

What's more, after the October Restoration *Teuroteu* was also considered 'unhealthy' due to its vulgarity and Japanese flavor (*Waesaek*) and was often censored or banned from broadcasting. Compared to rock or *Teuroteu*, folk music the early 1970s in Korea were "beneficiaries of the October Restoration" at least in its

beginning. (Shin 2005b, 121-2) This 'healthier' side of folk, musically clean and pure and associated with college students, was not particularly ostracized.

However, situations changed when various kinds of 'youth' pop, as well as lifestyles and films, incorporated into explosive youth culture and began to raise edged social issues and differentiate themselves from authoritative morals. Park Chung-hee's 1975 marijuana crackdown can be understood as an attempt to preventing the 1970s youth culture and music from being too explosive and threatening to the regime. It was also due to the regime's political situation when more and more university students were protesting against the government, and when the young public was getting somewhat sick of the prolonged dictatorship (started in 1961).

Moral regulations and political oppression in the martial law era Taiwan had many similarities with the 1970s South Korea. Under the KMT regime, censorship and bans were commonplace for musicians regarding both political inclinations and moral attitudes. Another thing that shaped the unique history of Taiwan's folk music was the international politics of the 1970s.

Unlike the Korean folk, one of the major slogans of Taiwanese folk was 'Singing our own songs (*Chang Ziji de Ge*)' which was associated with national identity issues of Taiwan amid the insecurity of international status of the Republic of China (ROC).

There have been different and coexisting identity issues in Taiwan because of the island's complex history. To roughly summarize the ethnic (*Zuqun*) issues in Taiwan, there were mainlanders (*Waishengren*) who followed the KMT government when it retreated to Taiwan in the late 1940s and their sons and daughters. On the

other hand native Han Chinese (Hoklo and Hakka, or *Benshengren*) had been living for generations in the land. Besides, there are Taiwan aboriginals, who mainly resided in the mountain areas after Benshengren arrived in Taiwan hundreds of years ago. These intertwined ethnic identities left possibilities that different kinds of 'our own songs' could be musically presented, but before the lift of the martial law, it was not very easy to express 'alternative' identities other than those that the KMT government promoted.

Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement, which emerged in 1966, was a government-controlled movement in opposition to the Cultural Revolution of the communist party in the mainland China. It aimed to enhance and preserve Chinese history and culture in Taiwan, which had to be claimed as the rightful heir of China. However, the unique history of Taiwan was not very much considered in this 'cultural renaissance' which continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Meanwhile, Hoklo/Hakka languages and culture were excluded and banned from the public sphere, making them marginalized into the private sphere and the rural areas - not to mention the aboriginals.

National conditions, namely losing Taiwan's UN seat and America's severance of diplomatic ties also caused pro-state patriotism in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. This is contrasted with the current anti-Chinese nationalism of Taiwan of the recent decades; the patriotism and nationalism during the age of folk were toward the state, the Republic of China. To some extent, Chinese modern folk as a movement emerged in reaction to these national conditions.²⁹

The development of 'singing our own songs' movement could not be free

²⁹ "I would say that the main reason of the emergence of 1970s Campus Folk was the America's severance of diplomatic ties. Suddenly, students started to have patriotic sentiments and think of singing our songs..." (Lee 2012)

from such political environments as well. There were multiple contexts that musical contents that corresponded to the government policies (like the idea of 'cultural China' in the Chinese Cultural Renaissance movement) or encouraged patriotism were easier to be promoted, such as Yang Hsien who sang of longing the mainland China. On the personal level, Yang was a young second-generation Waishengren who could not visit the mainland China although he had always heard it was his homeland, and his songs showed complicated feelings concerning Cold-war China.³⁰

However, it is also true that such cultural movements were relatively closer to the idea of 'cultural China' of the government, and this kind of China view was the only ideology that could be freely expressed in the public sphere. The connection of folk music to the 1970s patriotism is represented in the 1981 Taiwan film The Land of the Brave (*Long De Chuanren*). *Long De Chuanren* was originally a song composed by the folk singer-songwriter Hou Dejian in 1978, who was then a student-musician. Under patriotic sentiments caused by the severance of diplomatic ties with the US, this song becomes a nationwide hit.

In this film named after the song, middle-class elite college students resent over America and participate in anti-American, pro-ROC protests. They think that they should contribute to the national cultural power amid such crisis and go to the countryside, teaching rural students the song *Long de Chuanren*. In the free time, they sing along the innocent and cheerful campus folk songs.³¹

Meanwhile, smallest hints of political opposition were censored and banned, such as the *Qingcaodi* concert that the folk musician TC Yang organized in 1978. With around four thousand people it was the first ever large-scale outdoor music

³⁰ For instance, listen to his song Nostalgia, of which the lyrics are from the poet Yu Kwang-chung.

³¹ See the film trailer here: https://youtu.be/O64OXeC64yw

festival in Taiwan's popular music history; the authorities have always associated large-scale outdoor events with potential political power and were very reluctant to authorize them. Under such restrictions, the concert was held as a 'charity' concert for orphans and political motivations were vague in the concert itself. However, along with the fact that Yang has resigned from a TV music program declining to play 'healthy songs (*Jinghua Gequ*)' promoted the government she was continuously under observations after organizing the event.

In addition, anti-government opposition power was relatively smaller and mostly prohibited from appearing in the public sphere. The idea of political resistance formed a consensus in Taiwan's later musical movements and had influenced Taiwan's popular music to a large extent, especially after around the lift of the martial law. However, until the age of folk, the idea lacked political power and the public territory.

Thus folk scenes of Korea and Taiwan had to be 'clean' without potential resistant elements. This shapes how Korean and Taiwanese folk trends develop. Also, another youth culture, rock, was under more extensive and meticulous censorship due to the music's relevance to 'delinquency.'

I would also like to suggest that Taiwan was generally under a very harsh and exhaustive control even compared to South Korea of the same period. An evident example would be the *Qingcaodi* concert; on the other hand, the 1970s Korea has had various outdoor large-scale musical events such as Cheongpyeong. Folk musicians had some public sphere to directly or indirectly express their anti-government and anti-moralistic views including the college campuses, where intense student demonstrations demanding democratization and unification took place regularly. In Korea, top-down oppression and political resistance have often coexisted in the

modern history like two cogwheels engaging with each other, and the opposition power existed in the 1970s as well despite frequent political or moral oppressions like the marijuana crackdown. Whereas in Taiwan, where the martial law has continued for several decades, there seems to have been fewer spaces for the opposition and for presenting a different ideology than what the authorities would promote.

So far, I have explained that limited political circumstances and different and contradictory reactions of folk music have existed both in Taiwan and South Korea, while the specific conditions of political restrictions differed. Under the authoritarian regimes, development of folk as a genre took quite different paths compared to the modern folk in America.

Specific Conceptualizations of 'Youth'

Girl, why are you crying? Did something go wrong?Girl, why are you sighing? Are you feeling blue?When you're young you need not sigh so easily; it's the age of joy, you need not cry so soon.

Let's go outside and see the clouds, throwing away the sadness.

- Chen Ming-shao, Let Us See the Clouds (1979)



[Figure 43] 'Healthy youths' and campus folk musicians (themselves) singing 'Let Us See the Clouds' merrily. It is a scene from the 1981 Taiwan semi-musical film The Land of the Brave (*Long De Chuanren*). (Courtesy of Taiwan Film Institute)

Another thing that shaped the 1970s Taiwanese and Korean folk was the unique conceptualizations of 'youth' during this period and the folk as a genre, which corresponded to such conceptualizations.

Some musicians were concerned about the future of the nation (e.g., Kim Min-ki and TC Yang) or edgy young creators who challenged the strict morals of the regimes. However, I would say that they were placed in slightly different contexts compared to the 'mainstream' folk, which often appeared on TV and radios and were introduced as the examples of 'youth culture' by the mass media. Innocent, pure, and optimistic views about youth and life were often represented through mainstream folk songs. They converged in a specific conceptualization of youth.

Such optimism and innocence of youth derive from the social status of college students in Korea and Taiwan to some extent. In Korea and Taiwan, folk was often represented as the music of students, and especially the college students. University students differ from the overall 'young generation. Considering that the percentages of university students were much smaller than now, these are unique phenomena. The numbers of college students were rapidly increasing, but compared to the whole population, they were still small numbers of social elites in the 1970s.

Similarities in the status of college students in the '70s South Korea and Taiwan are associated with the national education policies. Both Chiang Kai-shek and Park Chung-hee regime have prioritized economic development under state control and education was emphasized as the means of fostering the leading figures for

economic growth. Compulsory educations were applied and many new educational institutions and universities were built. Besides, as the baby-boomer generations in Taiwan and Korea entered university the numbers of university students were increasing. These circumstances earned the students "grounds which made them recognized as a particular generation, group or even class, and opportunities for group consensus" (Lee 2005, 18) but they were still recognized as small numbers of elites.

Economies of Taiwan and South Korea were improving quickly as newly developing countries under American assistance, and export-oriented policies, and urban elites were generally guaranteed with considerable social status and good occupations. They were relatively less hindered by economic troubles especially unless they came from the countryside and self-supported themselves. Rosy and optimistic descriptions of youth and everyday life which were seen in many mainstream folk songs were not irrelevant to such socio-economic situations.

Another way to explain this notion of youth is that the aesthetics of folk as a genre met with the circumstances of urban college students. Folk had different aesthetics compared to pop and dance music which acknowledged their inevitable artificiality. (Shin 1997, 15) Korean and Taiwanese folk often followed such aesthetics and sang of nature, everyday life and pure and innocent love, and it contributed to how folk became the music of college students.

The place I want to live is a small thatched cottage

What I want to eat is a roasted corn

Folks, do not blame me for being a simple person

- April and May, A Simple Person (1972)³²

³² It's a 'translated' song of Butchie's Tune by Lovin' Spoonful (1966) with new Korean

Another thing that I would like to point out is that folk music's optimism toward youth was also associated with social classes and regional issues. When mainstream folk songs represented the purity and innocence of their youths, the youth described were often centered on the daily lives of the urban middle-class who lived in environments which enabled easier access to foreign music and local folk scenes. As can be seen from the magazines (their advertisements of domestic music venues), most of them were in the central areas of Seoul and Taipei. Also, many prestigious universities, as well as new ones, were in the capitals, thus making the urban college students form a social group. (Lee 2005, 17)

Lee Back-cheon, a music critic and pop columnist associated with Korean folk, tells a girl's story he heard at the music café C'est Si Bon. At the café, he noticed there was a teenage girl always visiting the place and attending concerts, and one day she just disappeared. Later he could hear from her friend that the girl was 'sold to a bar in the countryside' and said that she would not be able to visit C'est Si Bon or such music cafés anymore. (Lee 2014, 82) Class issues rarely directly appear in the '70s mainstream folk hits, but this memoir shows that class and regional issues were somewhat 'veiled.'

Meanwhile in Taiwan, such disparities were also presented as the gap between *Waishengren* (mainlanders) and *Benshengren* (native Han Chinese in Taiwan) as a part of the historical and ethnic $(Zuqun/Shengji)^{33}$ issues of the island. Some point out that a large part of the urban audience and many campus folk singers were

lyrics.

³³ Zuqun refers to various ethnic or sub-ethnic groups, and *Shengji* issue refers to the relationship between *Waishengren* and *Benshengren*.

often the second-generation *Waishengren* who were upper-middle-class students of the most prestigious universities.³⁴ This phenomenon is noted not only in Taiwan's folk music but also in the 1960s *Remen Yinyue* scene; Ho and Chang (2000) points out that the fact that most *Remen Yinyue* musicians were *Waishengren* could be related to the political or economic disparities between *Waishengren* and *Benshengren* concerning learning Western instruments or getting in touch with new musical resources as cultural capitals. It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss sensitive *Zuqun/Shengji* issues in detail, but I mention this to show that the class issues of folk music could also be combined with different national histories.

Prevalence and Internalization of Anglo-American Pop

The existence of magazines such as *Monthly Pop Song* and *Rock Magazine* shows the prevalence of Anglo-American pop during this period. For a considerable time of circulation, they were the only regular and registered magazines focusing on popular music, and the popular music in these two publications was mostly overseas Anglophone pop. Local music was introduced to a meaningful amount as seen earlier, but it was discussed as long as they followed the musical grammars and genres of Anglophone pop. (Simply speaking, Lee Mi-ja and Teresa Teng were not their matters of concern.)

Of course, young people in Korea and Taiwan listen to the latest pop hits of the US like people in many other parts of the world, and they follow related pop news through the Internet. However, at the same time, current Taiwan and Korea have highly developed local popular music and have also exported the music to other

³⁴ It is rather difficult to find academic materials directly discussing these issues (possibly due to their sensitive natures), but lots of non-official discussions bring up *Shengji* issue when talking of Taiwan's Campus Folk.

countries in the recent few decades. The situations are very different compared to the 1970s when Anglo-American music was almost the only standard that had to keep up.

In the Japanese researcher Yoshimi Shunya's paper (2003) he explains how post-war Japan have 'internalized' American culture as the model of modernity (Ibid., 445) and that such internalization could be applied to describe Taiwan and South Korea as well. According to Yoshimi, various cultural spheres in Japan have adopted American culture as the model that they have to follow. In mainland Japan America, which was originally the symbol of military 'violence' after Japan's defeat of WWII, gradually became the object of 'desire' after most American military facilities became invisible in the urban areas (Ibid. 443). (But Okinawa, where multiple American military bases have stood in the city and have been the central issue of political conflicts, had a different history.)

For Taiwan and South Korea, where American military bases have stood right in the city center after the WWII and have directly received American assistance from food to the military facilities, America was not only a faraway object of desire. However, it is still able to adopt Yoshimi's basic idea of internalization concerning the American culture in postwar Taiwan and South Korea.

Following Fenella Carnell's study of the Christian Phillippines (Carnell 1999), Yoshimi explains the process of cultural internalization. Internalizing American culture is associated with the imitation of 'America' as an imagined 'other.' This is an issue of people's desires, but the desire does not only mean utilizing some features of the American culture in their lives; "The imitation of 'America' becomes a means of self-transformation ... This cultural practice of self-transformation is now an integral part of the culture" (Yoshimi 2003, 446)

Somewhat comparably to the influence that American colonialism left on the

Bicol region of the Phillippines, Korean and Taiwanese youths of the 1970s were undergoing 'musical self-transformations' from the previous popular music to the new American modern folk. The musical results and the contexts of folk as musical genres did not always coincide with the American modern folk, but many youths of the generations imagined American pop as the model that they should follow, instead of the 'old-fashioned and vulgar' *Teuroteu* as well as old Mandarin/Taiwanese pop. Musically, folk and Western pop in general represented a new musical modernity for the new urban youths.

Pai Ching-Jui's film Love in a Cabin (1972) portrays the musical life of younger people. The film is about a young male student and a female reporter who is several years older than the student. Because of their age disparity, the guy's father disapproves of the relationship and this pressurizes the couple. In one scene the couple hangs out in the woman's house, where she lives alone because 'she prefers being independent.' She invites the guy and plays her favorite Western pop record. It is not a mere coincidence that all the album jackets displayed in her house are Western and American pop/rock music, not the mainstream hit songs in Mandarin or Taiwanese. For urban and middle-class younger people Western pop songs would have created a unique sense which they did not feel in conventional popular songs, and these Western songs would have been an alternative choice for these people, just like the heroine of this film.

"Youths and teenagers already started to open their ears to foreign pop music, and naturally one begins to compare it with *Teuroteu*. We gain sensibilities when we listen to music, don't we? I do not mean to look down upon *Teuroteu* singers, but acoustic guitar singers back then did

think that the musical qualities of *Teuroteu* were lower." (Suh Soo-Nam, interview)

"I don't know why, but I really had no interest in popular music of that period. I mean, songs from Stardust³⁵, those Mandarin popular songs. When my mom played the program, I would always fall asleep. I was also least concerned with Taiwanese Opera³⁶. I listened to Western popular music, songs from France, Italy, and American pop songs. Bob Dylan was not my favorite; I liked Janis Ian best." (Tai ZhaoMei, interview)

Coming back to the subculture theories, the postwar England lower-class youths have shown deviant subcultural behaviors through cultural symbols and signifiers, challenging the dominant ideology and hegemony. However South Korea and Taiwan in the 1960s and 70s present very different phenomena; Anglo-American pop was introduced as a 'high-class' model culture, and the youths started to adopt new genres such as folk in opposition to the 'vulgarity' of previous local popular music. Such phenomena are quite peculiar to this period when Anglo-American music was rapidly introduced and became the object of cultural internalization.

We might also be able to compare these situations with the current state of

³⁵ Stardust/*Qunxinghui* (1962-77) was a legendary Taiwanese TV program that represented the mainstream 'Mandarin pop' of the 1960s and 70s. The most popular stars of the period appeared on stage and sang their hits. It was the first TV music program in Taiwan, and in the 1960s it had very high viewer ratings.

³⁶ Taiwanese Opera/Kua-á-hì is a local traditional drama/opera of Taiwan. In the 2nd half of the 20th century, it was aired on television as well and became a popular pastime of the elderly and housewives.

pop music in South Korea and Taiwan. As discussed above, South Korean and Taiwanese popular music have each developed a rich history and market of local/national popular music in the recent decades. Since the 1980s, Taiwan became the hub of popular music in Chinese-speaking regions and Southeast Asia, with influential labels such as Rock Records, Crystal Records (*Shuijing Changpian*) and Magic Stone Records (*Moyan Changpian*). On the other hand, South Korea has developed idol group industry after the 1990s and the so-called K-pop as we now know. Local/national popular music in Korea and Taiwan has come a long way during the past several decades, and these changes are also traceable through the two magazines.

Rock Magazine ceased publication for the first time in 1979 due to financial issues, but a few years later it was reborn as the magazine belonging to the Rock Records. Backed by the record label, the newly circulated *Rock Magazine* gradually became the magazine that covered Chinese (Taiwanese and other Chinese-speaking regions) mainstream popular music. In particular, they often promoted the musicians who belonged to the label Rock Records. Although it still maintained the same name, the contents were quite different from the initial 1970s *Rock Magazine* which primarily focused on introducing new Western pop music, while also covering Anglo-American pop-influenced domestic music to a lesser extent.

In the mid-1980s, the contents of *Monthly Pop Song* also happen to show changes; since the mid-1980s Korean pop stars start to appear on the cover pages and main articles of each issue. In the 1970s and the early 1980s, most cover pages and main materials were concerning American pop, folk, or rock stars. Finally, it changes the title in 1987 to *Wolgan Gayo* meaning Monthly 'Korean' Pop. (As discussed earlier, *Gayo/Kayo* is a Korean term referring to domestic Korean pop, in contrast to

Anglo-American pop.) "It was very suggestive that *Monthly Pop Song*, a representative popular music magazine of the 1970s and the 1980s, changed its title to *Wolgan Gayo* in 1987. In other words, we could say that until the mid-1980s overseas pop music was exercising more dominant power in the music market and discourses in Korea compared to Korean pop." (Kim 2012)

These two changes might be the evidence that shows the circumstances in which the local and national pop gradually challenges the influence of Anglo-American pop since the mid-1980s.

Conclusion:

A Synchronic View of East Asian, Cold-war Popular Music

Thinking of the 1970s Korean and Taiwanese folk music in 2017, I have a perspective that the two phenomena have emerged independently but still with notable similarities. This connective and synchronic view became the motive of my writing which focused on their possible similarities and the possible reasons.

In the thesis, I examined the history of popular music in Taiwan and Korea in the second half of the 20th century. This paper described how popular music developed in Korea and Taiwan under the American influence, and how the genre of folk emerged and became a new youth culture amid the widespread popularity of Anglo-American pop. In particular, I focused on two pop music magazines of the 1970s Korea and Taiwan, to see the genre and scene formations of folk and to look into how the scene participants thought of the music and scenes.

Let me conclude the story of the folk by examining some instances which show how folk music is now remembered in contemporary Korea and Taiwan. In recent decades, folk songs have often been the source of nostalgia for the older generations of Korea and Taiwan who grew up listening to the music. So-called '7080 cafés' in Korea, which are music bars playing old Anglo-American pop as well as Korean folk songs of the 1970s and 80s, have now been typical gathering places for the fifties and sixties.

A few years ago, the music hall C'est Si Bon and the 1970s folk songs were suddenly 'rediscovered' by the Korean mainstream media. The media discovers that the musicians, now in their sixties and seventies, are still capable of good

performances and talks, and the public, especially those who grew up listening to folk, feels the nostalgia remembering the bygone popularity of the music.

I could notice similar nostalgia and generation issues at Taiwan's current campus folk concerts where the 1970s/80s sang their old folk hits on stage and where thousands of middle-aged people took gathered to listen to the songs and sing along.



[Figure 44] Posters of a 2015 Korean film C'est Si Bon, named after the music hall. It tells the story of real and fictitious student-musicians who regularly played at this club in the late '60s and early '70s. On the poster is written "In those days we sang of love," recalling nostalgic and romantic memories of this period.





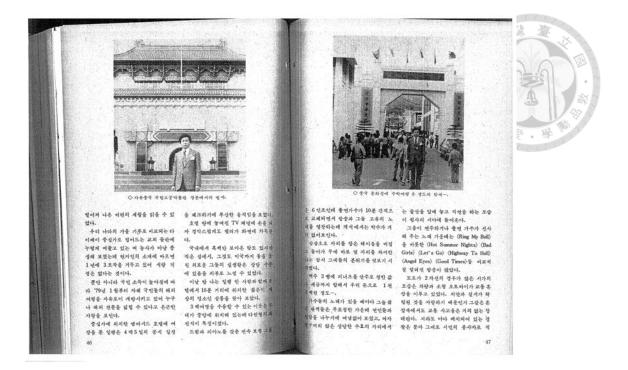
[Figure 45] A folk concert named 'Folk 40' held in Taipei's big concert hall, Taipei Arena, on June 6th, 2015. It was organized to commemorate the 40th anniversary of campus folk in Taiwan (setting Yang Hsien's 1975 Zhongshan hall concert as its starting point) and starred many famous folk musicians of the 1970s. More than 10 thousands of people attended the concert, many of whom were in their middle ages. (Courtesy of the author)

It is not uncommon that past pop hits become recollections of those who grew up listening to them, but in the case of folk, there are impressions that the music had already become something from a bygone age and been romanticized. Would these tendencies be associated to traces of conservatism and moralization of the music, as shown in magazines where editors, musicians, and the audience often tried to represent folk music and musicians in moral and healthy ways and tried to distance themselves from 'delinquency?'

Another thing to briefly mention here is the question of whether there were mutual musical interactions of the folk musicians between Taiwan and Korea. This question is also related to the fact that I am covering the two countries together in this paper: as far as I know right now, Taiwanese campus folk and Korean folk were basically two separate phenomena, and it is hard to find evidence that they knew what happened in the other country.

Lee Mun-se, then-publisher of *Monthly Pop Song*, travels several countries in East and Southeast Asia including Taiwan to meet with magazine publishers of each country and writes his travel notes in the magazine in 1980. Lee, who was much impressed by the living standards, diligence and public order of 'Free China,' visited a music hall where Taiwanese youths go. "The six-member vocal group with a piano player and a drummer changed the singer every ten minutes and sang both Western pop songs and their own music. (...) When the singer was singing, the youths were busy talking to their lovers, and they were not reacting a lot to the singer. Many repertoires of the group or the singers were well-known pop songs including Ring My Bell, Hot Summer Nights, Highway To Hell, and Angel Eyes." (1980.3 pp. 46-7)





[Figure 46] "Songs know no boundaries! Youths' worlds in 6 Southeast Asian countries" (*Monthly Pop Song*, 1980.3, pp. 44-47)

Lee took interests in the musical life of the young generation in Taipei and other Asian cities, but this kind of description is actually closer to observations of a first-time visitor. In the following travel note of Japan published in the next issue, Lee visits the head office of Music Life (Japanese magazine introducing Western pop and rock) and discusses with the Japanese editors regarding the situations of Anglo-American pop music in Korea. "I could listen to many stories and learned a lot when I visited the office of Music Life magazine, which is also known to many pop fans in Korea. (...) When I told them I was a regular reader of several publications from Music Life, they immediately checked my card and gave me warm welcomes. I was accompanied by the general editor, and they wanted to know current situations of pop music in Korea. I could make requests to them concerning the provisions of related materials and concerts of overseas artists in Korea." (1980.4, pp. 186-7) In

comparison, it is a pity that he does not mention *Rock Magazine*, other music magazines, or specific Taiwanese musicians when he visited Taipei to discuss regular publications with the magazine association in Taiwan. Such first-time visitor's impressions continue in other Asian countries/regions (The Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Hong Kong) he visited. It seems that Lee and *Monthly Pop Song* did feel curious about the youth culture and music in different Asia countries, but that they did not know situations (other than Japan) in depth.

However, there were still notable common points between Korean and Taiwanese youth cultures, as seen in the story below: here, a program director of the 1980s Taiwanese television music contest Campus Town (*Daxuecheng*) tells how he got the idea of the program in the early eighties. The story does not necessarily coincide with 1970s folk music or the circulation periods of the two magazines discussed here, but it might still be possible to briefly mention to show the encounters of different youth cultures.

"How did I start working on the program Campus Town?" It is still fresh in Mr. Shih Yung-kuei's memory. During the time period TTV was twinned with MBC [a Korean TV station], and once when visiting MBC, a personnel told me that they are building a new TV studio set in the suburbs. Mr. Shih gladly visited the TV set. (...) While watching the dynamic performances of these young people, a new idea suddenly burst upon Shih; "We [Taiwan] also have college students. It must be also possible for us to make a program targeted at college students. They need to study, but I will also let them exhibit their musical talents!" (Ding 2012, 38)

Apart from Anglo-American music and relatively rare introductions of European pop, *Rock Magazine* seems to have delivered news and the latest trends from Japan through a columnist residing in Japan. Other than that it seems there is little information on other parts of the world.



[Figure 47] Tokyo report – Young people in Tokyo (*Rock Magazine*, 1976.6 pp. 38-9) This article introduces disco clubs in Tokyo and compares them with those in Taipei.

However, as seen in the commonalities of the Korean and Taiwanese magazines, there are some points that could be discussed and examined together concerning youth cultures, folk music and new scenes. What's more, I think such comparisons could extend to other parts of Cold-war Asia if appropriate standards of comparisons are provided; for example, the Indonesian music magazine, circulated from 1967 to 1986. The magazine was the main source of information concerning Western music trends for Indonesian youth in the 1970s, which easily reminds me of *Monthly Pop Song* and *Rock Magazine*. There is also the generation issue appearing in *Aktuil* as well: "*Aktuil*, as described on the magazine's credits page (p.137) was a magazine for youth as well as those who are young at heart." (Weintraub 2008, 65)

This thesis was built on the view that there should and could be more mutual understanding of each other's pop history, between Taiwan and Korea and between different parts of the world. Concerning the contemporary Asian pop music, it might be possible to say that there are more opportunities of inter-Asian musical connections, mentioning large-scale global flows are occasionally taking place (most recently Kpop and the preceding boom of J-pop and Cantopop) as well as small-scale musical communication of underground musicians. In comparison, in the earlier history of popular music in Taiwan and Korea seem to have had fewer opportunities to take interests in other kinds of local popular music in the midst of the rapid influx of Anglophone pop compared to now.

During the research, I wished to establish elaborate and comprehensive theoretical views that could be useful in thinking of various relationships of popular music in different parts of the world, especially concerning the Cold-war era and authoritarian regimes. However due to my current limitations of the knowledge and study I mostly tried to look closely at the cases of the 1970s South Korea and Taiwan here.

A possible limitation of this research is the delicacy or carefulness of dealing with different countries and different music. Actually, in many cases a single musician releases different kinds of music over time, possibilities of different genre interpretations exist in a single song, and more importantly, the two cases of Taiwan and Korea have many differences. Despite my efforts to understand the musical and

historical differences, it was always possible that I made wrong categorizations or overlooked the disparities between Taiwanese and Korean folk.

This research deals with two case studies and focuses on specific time and spaces. However, I hope it could be one small step for the future research on the history of Asian national/local popular music and their interrelationships, processes of musical negotiations and resistance, and how the aesthetics of different pop genres meet each society and nation.

Non-English Names and Terms

Non-English Names and Terms				
Gunshi (Rock Magazine)滾石		Chinese Musicians' Association 中華音		
Wolganpapsong (Monthly Pop Song)		樂人交流協會		
	월간팝송	Chyi Yu	齊豫	
		Cora Tao (Tao Hsiao-Ch	ing) 陶曉清	
April and May	사월과 오월	Crystal Records	水晶唱片	
Ara-Kimbo	胡德夫	Daejungeumak	대중음악	
A Camellia of a Girl	동백 아가씨	Decadent Music/Mimizh	iiyin 靡靡之音	
A Child Blooming A Flower 꽃 피우는		Eumaksaegye	음악세계	
0101		Folk 40	民歌 40	
A Simple Person 욕심없는 마음		Gayosaenghwal	가요생활	
Baek Sunjin	백순진	Gogo club	고고클럽	
Benshengren	本省人	Golden Melody Awards	金曲獎	
Bolero Folk Center	波麗民謠中心	Hallyu	한류	
Bu Seongmin	부성민	Han Myeongsuk	한명숙	
Campus folk	校園民歌	Healthy songs (Jinghua	Gequ)	
Campus Town	大學城	淨化歌曲		
Camp Towns (Gijichon)	기지촌	Hong Xiao-qiao	洪小喬	
C'est Si Bon	쎄시봉	Hou Dejian	侯德健	
Chen Da	陳達	House of Tree Frogs 청개구리의 집		
Chen Ming-shao	陳明韶	Idea House 艾迪亞	民謠西餐廳	
Cheongpyeong festival	청평 페스티벌	Jang U	장우	
China Tide	夏潮	Jeon Yeonghyok	전영혁	
China Tide Front Folk 淡江-夏潮路線		Jin Ju-ling	金祖齡	
Chinese Cultural Renaissance		Johnny Chung-Yu Tuan	段鍾沂	
Movement 中國文化復興運動		Kh Peng	彭國華	
Chinese modern folk	中國現代民歌	Kim Min-ki	김민기	

Korea Entertainers' Association (Singer		Park In-hee	박인희
Branch) 한국연예협회 가수분과		Park Sangyun	박상윤
Lee Baek-cheon	이백천	Pokeu	至王 3 麻
Lee Mi-ja	이미자	Pokeusong	포크송
Lee Mun-Se	이문세	Ppongjjak	뽕짝
Lee Shou-Chuan	李壽全	Qingcaodi concert 青草	包地歌謠慈善演
Let Us See the Clouds	讓我們看雲去	唱會	
Li Shuangtze	李雙澤	Remen Yinyue	熱門音樂
Liuxing Gequ	流行歌曲	The Ritmon	雷蒙(樂團)
Liuxing Yinyue	流行音樂	Rolling Stone Club	滾石俱樂部
Long de Chuanren	龍的傳人	Rock City Band	外交樂團
Martha Huang (Huang Xiao-ning) 黃曉		Rock Records	滾石唱片
寧		Rock Publishing Co.	
MBC Campus Music Festival		滾石有聲出版社有限公司	
MBC 대학가요제		Sam Chung-Tan Tuan	段鍾潭
Minge	民歌	Scarecrow Restaurant	稻草人西餐廳
Minjok	민족	Seo Yoo-seok	서유석
Minjung	민중	Shagreen	쉐그린
Mixed-blood Songs (Hunxie Gequ) 混		Shanghai Old Songs	上海老歌
血歌曲		Shengji	省籍
Moyan Changpian	魔岩唱片	Shih Yung-kuei	石永貴
Na Yeonguk	나영욱	Show groups (Syodan)	쇼단
Nostalgia (Song)	鄉愁	Singing Our Own Songs	s (Chang Ziji de
The October Restoration 10 월 유신		Ge) 唱自己的歌	
Рар	팝	Son Seok-u	손석우
Papseu Koriana	팝스	Submarine with A Sparrow Aboard	
코리아나		참새를 태운 잠수함	

Stardust	群星會			
Synco Records	新格唱片			
Tai Zhaomei	邰肇玫			
Taiwanese Opera	歌仔戲			
TC Yang	楊祖珺			
Teuroteu	트로트			
The Boy in the Yellow Shirt 노오란				
샤쓰의 사나이				
Today Pictorial	今天(畫報)			
Trix Tsui (Cui Ke-quan)	崔可銓			
TTV	台視			
Twin Folio	트윈폴리오			
UFO Records	飛碟唱片			
Venus Records	뷔너스레코드			
Waesaek	왜색			
Waishengren	外省人			
Wawagu (Xicanting)	娃娃谷			
Wooden Guitar	木吉他合唱團			
Xicanting	西餐廳			
Ximending	西門町			
Yang Hsien	楊弦			
Yinyue yu Yinxiang	音樂與音響			
Yuguo	雨果			
Yu Kwang-Chung	余光中			
Zheng Yi	鄭怡			
Zuqun	族群			



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