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Hyeon Ju Lee

April 15, 2012

Nonprofit Organization and the Transmission of Tradition and Cultural Change:
Amateur Korean Percussion Troupes in South Korea

by

Hyeon Ju Lee

Tong Soon Lee
Advisor

Department of Music

Tong Soon Lee
Advisor

Lynn Bertrand
Committee Member

Tracy Yandle
Committee Member

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ABSTRACT

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By Hyeon Ju Lee

In this project, I examine the role of non-profit music organizations in Seoul, South Korea in shaping Korean cultural identities. I focus specifically on amateur Korean traditional percussion groups to explore how their musical and organizational practices contribute to the development of the *samul nori* percussion genre since the late 1970s. Based on the rural, outdoor practices of *nongak*, *samul nori* developed as an urbanized, indoor tradition for the concert-stage. Although its history is relatively recent compared to other “traditional” Korean music, the growth of the music itself reveals a chronological story about Korea within the contemporary period. From the 1980s onwards, many new percussion groups were formed to imitate and build on what that original group, Samul-nori, had done, that is, to revive, transform, and reinvent Korean cultural traditions through percussion music.

My project is a study of amateur, non-profit groups that perform the core repertoire of *samul nori*. These groups do not sustain themselves with income earned through performances. In fact, members of these avocational groups pay to create opportunities to perform. Unlike groups that musically expand tradition with the use of newly-created drums, different instrumentation, and new repertoire, avocational percussion groups focus on being accomplished in core repertoires and transforming the genre within a traditional framework. What are their motivations for performing Korean percussion music the way they do? What are the musical parameters of “tradition” that shape their practices? How does their organizational structure intersect with their musical objectives? Using Korean

percussion music as a case study, I posit that non-profit, amateur music organizations in Korea creates a context in which core values of Korean cultural traditions are expressed and perpetuated through the intersection of musical learning, repertoire choices, and performance, and the structures and processes of the organization.

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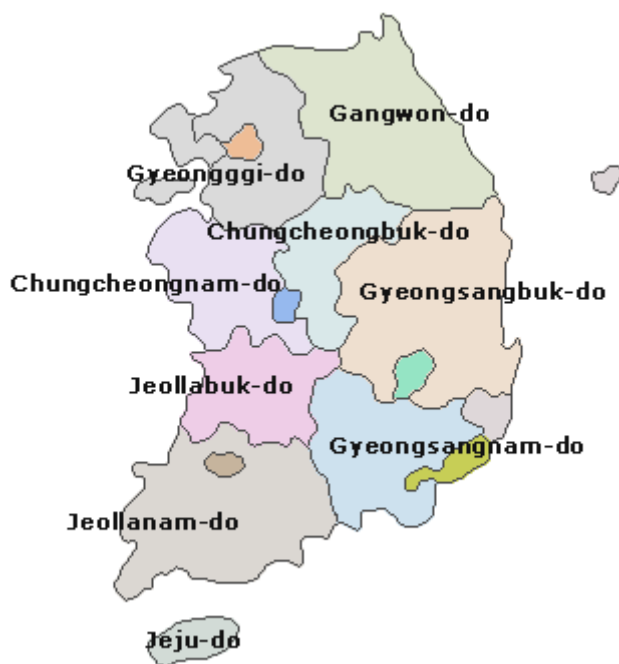
INTRODUCTION

An Ethnomusicological Study of *Samul Nori*

Background

Samul nori is a Korean percussion genre that developed in South Korea. It consists of four instruments: *kkwaenggwari* (small gong), *ching* (large gong), *changgo* (double-headed hourglass drum) and *puk* (drum)¹. *Samul nori* music comprises a set of notated pieces, each of which is based on folk percussion rhythms from different regions of Korea (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Map showing regional boundaries of South Korea



Samul nori derives from *nongak* (farmers' music), a folk percussion genre rooted in the agricultural society of traditional Korea, and includes music, acrobatics, ritual and dance

¹ Since the majority of existing English publications on Korean music use the McCune-Reischauer system of Korean Romanization, I have kept the same Romanization system in the thesis.

performed by itinerant groups known as *Namsadang* (Howard 1983a. and Hesselink 2006). *Samul nori* was developed in February 1978 by a group called Samul-nori with four players playing the four instruments on the concert stage.² During the 1970s, there was a mass movement by Korean scholars and college students to revive Korean traditions, lost during Japanese colonialism and the influx of Western (especially American) political and cultural influences after the Korean War (1950-1953). As a result of massive industrialization and urbanization after the Korean War, the traditional agricultural context in Korea diminished, and with it, the *nongak* tradition declined. The creation of *samul nori* in the late 1970s needs to be understood as part of the broader mass social movements that dominated Korean politics and society at that time (Provine 1998). The popularity of Samul-nori in 1978 resulted in the creation of new musical genre, *samul nori*. With gradual political and social changes by the mid-1980s *samul nori* became less of a political tool and quickly became a popular form of entertainment (Hesslink 2012).

Although its history is relatively recent compared to other “traditional” Korean music, the development of *samul nori* reveals the a chronological story about Korea since the 1970s. In other words, the musical context of *samul nori* illustrates Korean history, identity and the ideology of transmitting cultural traditions. From the 1980s onward, many new percussion groups were formed to imitate and build on what that the original group, Samul-nori , had done in the 1970s; that is, to revive, transform, and reinvent Korean cultural traditions through percussion music. In this thesis, I will focus on amateur, nonprofit groups that perform the core repertoire of *samul nori*, as well as newly-developed pieces based on *changdan* (cyclical rhythmic patterns) characteristic of the older *nongak* style.

² The term “Samul-nori” refers the name of the original group whose popularity created the musical genre known today as *samul nori*. Existing publications on *samul nori* also uses “Samul Nori” or “SamulNori” to refer to the original group.

Amateur *samul nori* groups are organizations formed to advocate *samul nori* music and performance. These groups do not sustain themselves with income earned through performances; in fact, members pay for the opportunities to perform. Amateur groups focus on teaching, learning and performance of the core *samul nori* repertoire composed and notated shortly after the formation of the original group in 1978. They are distinct from professional *samul nori* groups who make a living through their performances and focus on the developing new *changdan*, instrumentation and creating new repertoire.

What are the motivations of amateur groups in practicing the *samul nori* music the way they do? How does their organizational structure intersect with their musical objectives and performance practice? Using Korean percussion music as a case study, I posit that nonprofit, amateur music organizations in Korea create a context in which core values of Korean cultural tradition are expressed and perpetuated through the intersection of musical learning, repertoire choices, and performance, and the structures and processes of the organization.

Research Methodology

Between July and August 2011, I conducted fieldwork in Seoul, South Korea. Through Mr. Lee Yong Tae, who was the Korean percussion instructor in residence at Emory in Spring 2009, I contacted a Korean percussion group known as Heung SaRang (lit. “Fun and Love”) in Seoul.³ This group comprises 12 members who meet every Thursday and Saturday for about three hours per day to practice Korean percussion. Members include both women and men aged between 50 and 60 years old, with varied occupational backgrounds

³ In this thesis, Korean names are written in the traditional order of surname first, followed by given name, according to how they are used in Korea.

(such as, school teachers, homemakers, and small business proprietors). They pay an annual fee to cover the cost of instruction by Mr. Lee, to pay for studio rental and transportation for their performance activities. They often perform in community events, for senior citizens in independent living residences, and the occasional concert. Heung SaRang primarily performs the *samul nori* repertoire, and some members take additional lessons on *sul janggu chum* (drum dance) with Mr. Lee, that features a combination of the indoor, *samul nori* style with outdoor traditional *nongak* performance format.

I joined in the weekly practices and performances of Heung SaRang and this enabled me to learn more about their teaching and learning methods, as well as expand my knowledge of the group's repertoire. Through formal and informal interviews, I gathered information on the motivations of individual members to join or form such kinds of music groups, their interpretation of music, and perceptions of themselves in terms of developing Korean percussion music. My background in business administration also helped me to understand more about the organizational culture and structure. I also took private lessons with Mr. Lee and conducted interviews with him and other instructors in order to obtain their perspectives on the distinctions between amateur groups and professional troupes, such as those supported by the government at the National Gugak Center (formerly known as the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts).

Studying, learning music and assisting Heung SaRang in their performance activities enhanced my understanding and learning of *samul nori* through interacting with musicians, instructors and members of the group. In this way, I am able to understand the core organizational values of Heung SaRang and how their organizational structure and process align with the broader process of cultural revival and transmission in modern Korea.

Literature Review

Existing publications on Korean *nongak* and *samul nori* may be divided into the following categories: (1) individual performers (Howard 1983a, 1983b, Provine 1985); (2) studies on rhythmic development (Provine 1975, 1985; Hesselink 1996, 2001); (3) instruments (Howard 1987); social and musical history (Howard 1990; Provine 1998; Hesselink 2006, 2012). These studies focus on Korean percussion music and musical instruments and how musicians develop *changdan* through their performances. Little emphasis is placed on percussion groups, especially amateur music groups, and the organizational and cultural meanings and values through their musical practices. Studies on avocational music groups have focused on Chinese theatre (Mark 1990; Lee 2007), Chinese instrumental music (Riddle 1978), and Japanese theatre (Johnson 1982).

Studies on nonprofit organizations on which I focused may be divided into following categories: (1) nonprofit organizational culture (Desphande & Webster 1989, Stein 2002, Oju 2009), (2) nonprofit organizational structure (Drucker 1990, Moore, 2000), (3) motivations for joining nonprofit organizations (Mottaz 1985, Mirvis & Hackett 1983) and its roles in society (Smith 1973, Berger & Neuhaus 1996, Kingsley & Gibson 1999).

Studies on the impact of organizations on broader society and culture, literature that I surveyed may be categorized as follows: (1) Chinese Confucianism in painting (Cahill 1964) Islamic patronage in Indian classical music *gharana* (stylistic schools), (2) organizational culture and marketing (Desphande & Webster, 1989) (3) class and cultural practices (Stebbins 1997; Koanantakool 2002).

Although existing studies on Korean percussion music focus more on its music, history, and to a lesser extent, the cultural context, little research has been done to relate the impact of musical organizations on the development of *samul nori*. My thesis will show how nonprofit

amateur music organizations influence the meanings and values of tradition through their organizational goals that shape their organizational identity, as well as the way they think about, and practice *samul nori* in contemporary Korea.

CHAPTER 1

***Samul Nori* Music and the Concept of National Culture**

Historical Background of *Samul Nori* Music

Based on the rural, outdoor practices of *nongak*, *samul nori* developed as an urbanized, indoor tradition for the concert-stage in 1978. *Nongak*, traditionally performed outdoors by farmers at the village, had multiple players for each of the four instruments, performing music with dance formation (Provine 1998, 68). On the other hand, *samul nori* is performed indoors, typically performed only by four players-one for each of the four instruments- on stage.

This western staging of *samul nori* clearly demonstrates the changing social context of Korea in the 1970s (Howard 1991, Hesselink 2012). In response to the loss of Korean traditions during the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), rapid societal and cultural changes after World War 2 and the Korean War and the subsequent industrialization and urbanization processes, *samul nori* became a musical response to revive and transmit traditional values in a modern and western social context.

Since 1982, the original group, Samul-nori, has performed extensively abroad in America, Europe, Australia and Asia, sponsored by the Asia Society in New York (Howard, 1990, 540). Its popularity abroad grew rapidly and it gave about 800 concerts in 1990. While *samul nori* might seem traditional”, it is in fact a modern interpretation of an older expressive form.

Musical Characteristics

Instrumentation

Samul nori literally means “four instruments playing” and those four instruments are *kkwaenggwari* (small gong), *ching* (large gong), *changgo* (double-headed hourglass drum) and *puk* (drum). Unlike the genre of music, *samul nori*, which started in the contemporary period, the instruments have a long history. It is known that the hourglass drum, smaller than the modern *changgo*, was used in the Koryo Period (918-1392) in Korea (Provine 1998, 64). Furthermore, the 1493 treatise, *Akhak Kwebom* (Guide to the Study of Music), shows that these four instruments similar to the *puk*, *kkwaenggwari* and *ching*, indicating that the *samul nori* four instruments have a lengthy history (Provine, 1998, 64).

Using those four instruments is meaningful for *Samul nori* since their initial intent of creating this new genre of percussion music was transmitting tradition. In *samul nori*, *changgo* usually carries the traditional rhythms of music, which are transmitted orally from *nongak*. *Changgo* plays the same role in *samul nori* as well as in *nongak*, providing the main rhythms of music. *Puk* provides a steady rhythm throughout the piece as well as punctuate and articulates the rhythm. *Ching* also emphasizes certain beats and rhythms and it marks the ending. *Kkwaenggwari* usually begins a piece, improvises the main rhythm and signals rhythmic changes. Each instrument has a certain role in playing *samul nori*. Because it is played on traditional instruments, the *samul nori* music itself can carry not only traditional sounds, but also the role and the history of its instruments.

Popular compositions

There are core compositions often played by both professional and amateur percussion groups, namely, *Binari*, *Woodo-kut*, *Youngnam Nongak*, and *Utthari-poongmul* as featured in the album called, *Samulnori: The Legendary Recording by Original Members* in 1983 (Samul-nori 1999). Each piece is about ten minutes long. In Korea, different regions have different musical characteristics, especially different *karak*. This album collects and edits *nongak* rhythms. For example, *Youngnam Nongak* remade *karak* (rhythmic pattern) from the Gyeong Sang province, which is a southeastern province in Korea. *Woodo-kut* remade *karaks* from the Jeolla province, a western province in Korea. *Utthari-poongmul* is based on the upper region of Korea. *Utthari-poongmul* refers to *nongak* that has been transmitted from the Gyeonggi province, the northeast province in South Korea (Chung 2000, 49). The group Samul-nori was able to draw material from different regional sources and develop it as a repertoire. The music itself does not favor one area but rather it brings to gather all regional music in South Korea. In other words, while the traditional *namsadang* troupes that perform *nongak* were regionally different and played specific rhythms from their respective regions, the new *samul nori* music incorporated these diverse regional styles on the same performance context.

This helps *samul nori* to represent a part of national culture: traditional regional rhythms can sustain through modernization of traditional music. People will learn different regional rhythms, recognize them and transmit those rhythms through playing *samul nori* compositions. By making it sustainable in the contemporary period, *samul nori* supports traditional rhythms and music as a national music and culture.

Staging and Presentation

Typically *samul nori* groups sit and perform, which illustrates how the genre adapted to a new style of culture. While *nongak* was performed by dancing and playing music outdoors, *samul nori* seems to be a more western style, the performers seated indoors with theatrical lighting and staging. *Samul nori* ensembles usually play on a stage and the audience sits separately and does not interact with the performers, very western in style. On the other hand, for *nongak*, the audience is more engaged with the performers and music which is shown by dancing together, drinking and shouting encouragements (Provine, 1998,68).

The different styles of staging and presentation show how *samul nori* adapts to new culture and western style in music. Changing the presentation context so that it is aligned with the new western style culture makes it easier for the audience to approach and appreciate traditional music. Since the audience today is more accustomed to the western style of concert, which is being seated while the players perform, they are more comfortable watching the performance, and would not expect in *nongak*. If audience wanted to listen to *nongak*, they would have to go to an open place and interact with the performers. By adapting to a modern performance style and making the music more comfortable for the audience, *samul nori* gradually became a symbol of tradition that it is more compatible with the values of contemporary Korean society.

Learning method

Nongak, also known as *Pungmul*, is a traditional folk genre, a percussion band music and dance genre (Hesselink 2006, 10). *Pungmul* was traditionally taught, conceptualized and appreciated solely by oral means, indicating its method of teaching as oral transmission (ibid., 122). There are also verbal notations or oral mnemonics of *pungmul* to demonstrate rhythms, pacing, and internal structure of strong and weak beats (ibid, 137).

Traditional percussion music has its own methods of both teaching and learning the music that requires long periods of interaction between teachers and learners. Professional *samul nori* groups try to transmit the learning method of traditional percussion music, which is oral transmission. Since the purpose of *samul nori* music is preserving tradition, to these professional groups, the teaching and learning method should be kept in the same way. This will be further elaborated in chapter 2.

Preserving and Transmitting *Samul Nori*

Beginning in 1982, *samul nori* started to be performed abroad, exported to foreign countries through concerts and albums, spreading *samul nori* all over the world. But since then, *samul nori* has built a reputation as contemporary folk music. However, the original group, Samul-nori, who began the export of *samul nori*, objected to this label and insisted on the traditional identity of *samul nori* (Howard 1990, 543). While the group aims to spread and transmit the essence of Korean music, it still cannot avoid the fact that it is contemporary music. The mission of *samul nori* is to preserve old Korean music that has been less prioritized due to westernization. However, it is controversial because *samul nori* actually accepts some part of westernization such as staging and performance context while

continuing to transmit tradition. Perhaps, without changing its performance characteristics to reflect the contemporary society, *samul nori* might not have been as successful. Because it incorporates cultural changes, people are more inclined to listen and learn it than the traditional music, *nongak*.

Samul nori also at times does not limit itself to percussion music, but it also reinvents and combines with other musical genres. For instance, in the 1980s, Cho Yong Pil, a famous ballad singer, used *samul nori* in his music. Moreover, Kim Duk Soo, a member of the original Samul-nori group, interacted with Korean rap artist, Seo Tae Ji, playing percussion band music for 30 seconds and then interrupting with rap sections (Howard 2006, 65). Furthermore, *samul nori* meets jazz in 1980s. *Samul nori* does not change its rhythmic pattern or instrumentations; it remains the same while jazz players build upon percussion sounds. This is comparable to the way *samul nori* was invented, which involved reinventing traditional music and creating it into a new musical genre. The combination of *samul nori* and Korean pop music reveals a connection between traditional and contemporary music, which, in some ways, is similar to the purpose of the original Samul-nori group in creating *samul nori*, that is, to revive traditions in contemporary Korea. *Samul nori* not only spreads as percussion music, but it also conveys and disseminates the process of innovation of the music. As a result, *samul nori* is a symbol of constructing a new national culture by reinventing traditional culture and creating a new genre and culture.

One can argue that *samul nori* is fusion music; but I would say it is a reinvented folk music, that is, modern music built on tradition. *Samul nori* uses only Korean musical elements in different performance contexts while other Korean fusion music focuses on western musical elements. That is the reason why *samul nori* is distinct from other types of

traditional fusion music and traditional music. It still has Korean elements but it changes its performance aesthetic so that it is suitable to the modern audience and connects them to both the between tradition and modern.

Samul nori's influence in the contemporary music shows how *samul nori* is valued and by public. *Samul nori* is not only popular overseas as a Korean percussion music, but also seen as a distinct Korean cultural icon. The music is not only limited to the professional players. The relatively small number of instruments, all of which are rather inexpensive and also easy to carry around, makes *samul nori* an attractive hobby to pick up. Hence, amateur musicians also began to form their own groups to perform *samul nori*.

The *karak* played in *samul nori*, does not require that amateurs study music theory extensively, thus making it relatively easy to learn the rhythmic patterns. This musical characteristic of *samul nori* and its cultural aim to revive and preserve traditional music make amateurs more interested and motivated to learn *samul nori*. By learning music, they are able to not only acquire the knowledge and skills of traditional percussion music, but also experience a musical expression of connecting the past and present.

CHAPTER 2

Amateur Nonprofit Music Organizations

Introduction

According to the Korea Foundation, it is estimated that there are 300 professional music organizations and 1700 amateur music organizations (Hyun 2008). In this chapter, I will discuss the organizational characteristics of amateur music organizations (with some references to the professionals), with a focus on Korean percussion groups. Specifically, I will examine profit and nonprofit organizations at the structural level and amateur and professional organizations at the musical level. I will compare the different categories of music organizations to gain a better understanding of amateur nonprofit organizations, based on both the literature review and my field research.

Music Organizations

Profit music organizations are those that aim to make a profit through various musical activities such as concerts, albums and performances, whereas nonprofit music organizations do not divide profits among members but instead, any money earned is put back into the organizations and paid to the shareholders (Simpson 2006, 42). Nonprofit includes many organizations serving public purposes such as organizations in health, human services, arts and culture, foundations and fund raising, and advocacy (Ott 2001, 9). The size of each organization is different and influenced by many factors such as geography, population, economy and public policies. Nonprofits are usually supported by contributions, donations and voluntary time (ibid.).

Profit and nonprofit music organizations may comprise amateur or professional musicians. Using the profit-nonprofit and amateur-professional perspective, Figure 2 shows four different types of organizations: profit professional, nonprofit professional, profit amateur and nonprofit amateur organizations.

Figure 2. Profit-Nonprofit and Amateur-Professional Music Organizations

	Professional musicians	Amateur musicians
Profit	Profit Professionals	Profit Amateurs
Nonprofit	Nonprofit Professionals	Nonprofit Amateurs

Organization of Professional Musicians

Profit music organizations seek to maximize their profits and satisfy shareholders through musical activities. Therefore professionals participating in profit organizations are aligned with the profit maximizing goal. Figure 2 shows that there are two different organizations at the musician level; profit professional and nonprofit professional organizations. While the objective of profit professional organizations is to maximize profit, nonprofit professional organizations are more interested in pursuing musical activities and salary as a way of sustaining the organization and for its members to make a living. In this view, both professionals participating in profit and nonprofits are motivated by extrinsic factors, such as profits and salary.

Nonprofit professional organizations pay a salary to their players and staffs but they do not share any profits. The National Gugak Center in Seoul is an example of such a nonprofit organization because it is an organization funded by grants from Korean

government and donations. Professional musicians in the National Gugak Center make a living by performing for the Center, but they are not concerned about how much profit the organization generates.⁴

Amateur Music Organizations

In this thesis, amateur musicians are defined as people who have other primary jobs and people who are voluntarily and willing to “pay” to participate in organizations (see also Levenson 1957, Lee 2009). Figure 2 shows that there are also profit amateur organizations, which have a profit maximizing goal. On the other hand, there are nonprofit amateur organizations that are solely voluntary and funded only by the membership fee collected—this is the structure of Heung SaRang, which I will describe in Chapter 3. Usually members do not get paid, but in fact they themselves pay a certain fee in order to participate in the activities of the organization. In other words, members are not full-time musicians who can earn their living through music performance. They have other, usually full time jobs and they participate in the organization in order to play music as leisure.

Since profit professional organizations have a strong organizational goal to maximize profits, they are therefore structurally different from nonprofit amateur organizations. This structural distinction is manifested in the teaching, learning, and performance practices of each of these organizations. Despite the fact that both professional and amateur music organizations promote music, there are some boundaries that make these organizations distinct from each other. Figure 3 lists the general characteristics of both professional and amateur organizations.

⁴ See www.gugak.go.kr for an overview of the National Gugak Center.

Characteristics of Professional and Amateur Samul Nori Organizations

Figure 3. Characteristics of Amateur and Professional Organizations

	Professional	Amateur
Purpose	Occupation	Leisure, personal development
Motivation	Extrinsic and Intrinsic	Intrinsic
Size	Small	Small to large
Learning method	Oral transmission	Notation

Purpose of Joining Organizations

A general characteristic of amateur organizations is that these ensembles perform music for avocational purposes whereas professional groups perform music as a vocation. Therefore, the purpose of joining the organizations is also different. Members of professional groups do it as an occupation to make a living. By belonging to a professional group, they can generate regular income from sponsorship or from their performances. On the other hand, members of an amateur group join the organization for leisure and personal development. The major distinction is that in professional organizations, members join to earn income and pursue their career paths, whereas members join amateur organizations for non-monetary driven values. Elizabeth Peterson notes that:

As a group, folk arts private nonprofit organizations display great variation as well . . . Some, for example, seek to foster intercultural understanding by introducing traditional artists and cultures to a broad public and place a greater emphasis on artistic presentation while others strive to work more closely with particular communities developing programs or services in cooperation *with* communities and *for* communities (emphasis in original; Peterson 1996: 60).

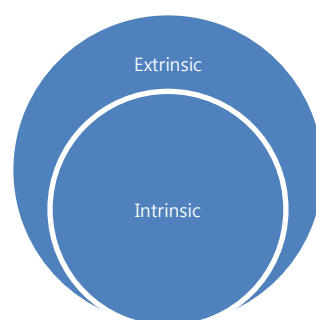
The purpose of performing in nonprofit organizations, especially for amateurs, is not just for leisure or “self-cultivation” (cf. Levenson 1957), but also for raising cultural awareness in the public as well as developing a collaborative relationship with the greater community. Peterson states that nonprofit music organizations share certain goals: to promote traditional culture, to build a relationship with the community, to foster appreciation for cultural heritage, and to provide information and assistance to the community and other organizations (Peterson 1996, 60). In short, unlike professional profit or nonprofit organizations, which have as their goal to maximize profits or maintain salary, the goal of nonprofit organizations is associated with leisure, personal development, tradition and community building.

Motivation to Participate in the Organization

One of the principal goals of a successful organization is motivation. Motivation refers to a process that controls performers’ behaviors in terms of keeping them involved in the organization. It is inevitable that professionals and amateurs have motivations that are not totally opposite. In fact both professional and amateur groups share one kind of motivation— intrinsic motivation. Both groups have intrinsic motivation, which refers to motivation driven by interests, pleasure in the task and the intangible values gained from participating in the activities. Professional groups are motivated by advancement of their career, recognition as a musician and responsibility as a musician to disseminate a particular kind of music. It is necessary to say that both groups have intrinsic motivation, but different types of intrinsic motivation. Amateur groups are more motivated by learning, growth, opportunity, self-fulfillment and achievement.

The boundary that separates the amateurs groups from the professional ones is extrinsic motivation, which refers to extrinsic factors such as rewards, rules, incentives and salaries. Usually these are monetary and tangible. Professional groups are very sensitive about extrinsic motivation since they need to make a living. Figure 4 shows the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations and how a profit organization needs to manage and balance these two things to keep their employees motivated. If extrinsic motivation does not outweigh intrinsic motivation, in other words, if the monetary motivation is not greater than their musical motivation, the organization cannot succeed since the main reason the performers stay in the group is a financial one. Despite their passion and intrinsic values, without rewards or monetary incentives, performers and staff will leave the organization. Therefore it is very important for the organization to utilize both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations (Mottaz 1985, 368).

Figure 4. Two Types of Motivations in Profit Organizations



On the other hand, the amateur organization does not have any monetary or extrinsic motivations. In fact, they pay to join and participate in the group. In this case, their intrinsic motivation outweighs any extrinsic motivation, showing their interest and eagerness to perform *samul nori*, in the case Heung SaRang, for instance. In fact, Mirvis P.H., & Hackett,

E.J suggest that nonprofit organizations emphasize intrinsic motivations that include challenge, variety and satisfaction (Mirvis and Hackett 1983). This intrinsic motivation is what drives nonprofit music organizations and this is why they can survive without any monetary incentives. In short, amateur Korean percussion groups aim to support Korean percussion music through education, practice and performance without any monetary rewards in Korean society.

Size of Organizations

There is a difference in the size of organizations because the number of performers varies according to the types of organization. Professional *samul nori* groups generally have between four and seven members, though only four would perform *samul nori* at any one time. The original Samul-nori, and its subsequent offshoots led by one of the original members, Kim Duk Soo, are examples of such professional groups. Figure 5 shows the original members of the 1978 Samul-nori group and Figure 6 shows one of these offshoots, known as Hanullim, with Kim Duk Soo, performing at Harvard University, Cambridge during their US tours on November 11, 2011. The photos clearly show the relatively small size of a professional *samul nori* group.

Figure 5. Original Samul-nori Group in 1978



Photo from Hanullim's facebook < <http://www.facebook.com/SamulnoriHanullim>>

Figure 6. Samul-nori Hanullim & Kim Duk Soo at Harvard University in 2011



Photo from Hanullim's facebook < <http://www.facebook.com/SamulnoriHanullim>>

The size of an amateur group varies. Amateurs are often able to devote enough time in order to participate for a whole year, and the number of performers in these groups usually varies. They may be small but they are often relatively larger than professional groups. Since a professional group is focused on a musical performing core, performers are selected through auditions. On the other hand, amateur groups cannot survive without many members because the organizations need a certain amount of money to sustain them. Furthermore, because they need a certain number of members to run the organization, their rehearsals and performances consist of all members since each member is important to the organization's operations. Therefore, it is necessary for an amateur organization to have more performers than for-profit organizations.

Learning Methods

Learning methods of *samul nori* are also different based on the types of organizations. Professional groups usually have a comprehensive knowledge and background of Korean traditional music and are very familiar with traditional rhythms, songs and music that are related to *samul nori*. As a result, professional groups can learn music through oral transmission, without notations. However, amateur groups are more dependent on notation than oral transmission. Because amateur members rarely have any professional musical background, it is very difficult for them to understand all rhythms simply through oral transmission. When I first went to Heung SaRang's rehearsals, Mr. Lee did not provide any music scores to me to learn the new music, assuming that I had considerable musical knowledge since I am a music major and have participated in the Emory Samul Nori Ensemble. Mr. Lee said:

Professionals do not depend on the scores. They learn by listening to the rhythms and listening to the others. However, amateurs feel insecure not having scores. Without notes, they are more shy and afraid to play loud, losing confidence. Therefore, amateurs usually start learning with scores and then getting used to the songs through oral transmission (translated from Korean by the author; personal communication, August 4, 2011).

Indeed, this method of learning from scores and through oral transmission reflects the original purpose and characteristics of *samul nori*. As Kim Duk Soo notes, *samul nori* keeps its traditional identity but creates and reinterprets culture to adapt to the current situation (Kim 2008).

Although it is preferable to learn through oral transmission, which encourages listening and cooperation, amateur groups have adapted to a new learning method of combining the traditional method with their own methods effectively. Different learning methods combined with distinctive music making processes for professional and amateur groups result in different styles of *samul nori*. Because professionals are more inclined to learn from oral transmission, they are comfortable improvising music while they practice and perform. On the other hand, amateurs learn from notation of traditional music and through practice they strive to play a piece as written. Therefore, improvisation is one of the frameworks that can distinguish professionals from amateurs. What aspect of the *samul nori* tradition is transmitted? For professional groups, every time they play, it is theoretically different because they improvise music from the written notation. In this case, tradition is defined in terms of transmission methodology. For amateurs, every time a piece is played, it is, by and large, the same, because they learned it from notation and follow the notation strictly. Tradition, in the amateur context, is defined in terms of what was created and notation in the 1970s and 1980s. This will be elaborated upon in Chapter 4.

The different characteristics in Figure 3 are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the boundaries that divide the groups sometimes can be overlapped. For instance, the motivation for participating in the organization and performing *samul nori* are similar in both groups. Both are motivated to perform for intrinsic factors. What makes an amateur group distinct from a professional group is that amateur groups perform for truly secular entertainment whereas professional groups have greater extrinsic motivation.

Organizational Structure

Structure theorists suggest that organizations focus on the primary purpose that will accomplish their goals. (Stein 2002, 31) Goals are achieved through the chosen organizational culture, authority and the structure of organizations. Profit and nonprofit organizations differ in their organizational goals. According to Moore, profit organizations try to maximize profits and shareholders' equity whereas nonprofit organizations seek to "achieve the social mission." (Moore 2000, 189) Furthermore, Mirvis and Hackett (1983, 3) posit that profit organizations consider profit as the measure of success while nonprofit organizations' missions are not necessarily correlated with profits. Because of this critical difference, profit, they have a different organizational structure. Since compensations for employees in profit organizations are usually related to the company's revenue, employees themselves are very motivated to maximize profits and satisfy shareholders.

On the other hand, nonprofit organizations are more concerned with social mission. Therefore, profit organizations are usually structured according to shareholders' intents and satisfaction through monetary compensations and stock options. Nonprofits are more focused on the society and less concerned with monetary values; therefore, the organizations prioritize

as number one the social mission and are structured according to this goal. Because of this different structure underlined with different goals, each has a distinctive organizational culture.

Organizational Culture

The organizational culture of a group goes beyond structure and focuses on its system, beliefs, values and assumptions (Stein 2002, 33). Organizational culture is defined as a set of shared assumptions and values that help understandings about organizational functioning and operating (Desphande & Webster 1989, 5). Organizational culture is important since it influences how organizational decisions are made and how organizational performance is attained (Oju 2009). Culture drives the structure and atmosphere of organizations, thus influencing recruiting, the decision making process and eventually the achievement of the goal of the organization. Therefore it is necessary to look at how its organizational culture can impact different entities and organizations. Profit and nonprofit organizations each have their own distinct culture.

Culture in profit organizations is driven by profits and monetary values. Their decision-making process is based on future profitability and shareholders' needs. On the other hand, the culture of nonprofit organizations is influenced by communities and social mission.

Figure 7. Organizational Culture in Profit and Nonprofit Music Organizations

	Profit Music Organization	Nonprofit Music Organization
Evaluation	Sales, profits and monetary	Social mission
Management	Success and problems	Community, commitment and behaviors

Figure 7 illustrates cultural differences with regard to profit and nonprofit organizations. There is a disparity between how members are evaluated and how they receive rewards. As the profit sector is more concerned with the sales and profits, such as how much revenue was generated from ticketing, concerts and albums, revenue is one of the important evaluating factors. On the other hand, there is no monetary goal for nonprofits. Therefore nonprofits are usually evaluated on how they interact and influence the community through music.

Management usually pays attentions to the successes and the problems of the organizations. For profit organizations, they are more concerned about sales and revenues; therefore, their decision-making process is based on investors, shareholders and the executives. Nonprofits are concerned about their goals, community and social mission so they are more group-based in decision-making to generate a common consensus of goals and mission. One of the key organizational goals of Heung SaRang, for example, was to help the community through charity events.

Because of their unique culture and values, nonprofit amateur organizations are supported by the Korean government, which actually encourages the presence of these amateur organizations. In 2011, the city of Gongju held a *Samul nori* World Festival from October 21st to October 23rd. The annual festival started in 1989 and grew quickly; receiving

an award from the Korean president. The total rewards for this festival was about \$40,000. The festival was divided into two parts; general competition and amateur competition. The general competition part was also subdivided into four different categories: elementary schools students, middle to high school students, adults, and foreigners. The amateur competition part is divided into students and adults including university students. On the festival website (<http://www.samulfestival.co.kr/>) one of requirements of this amateur competition was that the participants had to be purely amateur *samul nori* groups: professional musicians could participate only in the general competition. The Korean government defines professional and amateur organizations as mutually exclusive and distinguishes them differently. This clearly shows that the Korean government segments the organizations at the musician level, between amateur groups and professionals as well as appreciates their individual organizational values and contribution to *samul nori* and to Korean cultural development at large.

There are more events celebrating both amateur and professional *samul nori* musicians from the regional governments. These events specifically separate the amateur and professional to make a fair competition in favor of amateurs. Although amateurs cannot directly compare to the professionals, their values are not underestimated by the public or professionals. Kim Duk Soo was reported as being “stunned” by how amateurs devote their time in *samul nori* and produce profound musical performances (Hyun 2008, 1). Hence, even if amateurs may not be as proficient as the professionals in terms of artistry, their performances are good enough to attract attention and praise from professional musicians, particularly in terms of their altruistic attitudes toward the common good.

Conclusion

The amateur nonprofit *samul nori* organization plays a role in *samul nori* events as well as in contemporary Korea. The Korean government sponsors festivals that include the amateurs and appears to appreciate and acknowledge their organizational values and musicianship. Despite the fact that both professionals and amateurs try to transmit the essence of *samul nori*, amateurs have their own motivations to learn and play *samul nori*. Furthermore, amateurs have very different organizational goals, which are transmitting tradition and helping the community.

CHAPTER 3

Heung SaRang—An Amateur and Nonprofit *Samul Nori* Organization

***Samul Nori* Performance**

Heung SaRang usually performs in small-scale settings about once a month in schools, community centers and senior living housing developments. On July 16, 2011, I was able to participate in their community service in the senior living house in Seoul (see Figure 8 and 9). Heung SaRang prepared this gift for the seniors at their own expense, even though the organization did not get paid by the senior living house. In fact, the ensemble donated about \$200 for senior housing from its own funds. Their community commitment is very strong, shown by their willingness to donate and perform without any monetary incentives.

The stage was relatively small, but the size of the stage did not really matter. No matter how small or big it is, the members were fully committed, but at the same time they were also somewhat nervous. Prior to the concerts, performers prepared a little gift of snacks for the seniors. Because their budget is tight, Heung SaRang members pay an additional fee, on top of the usual membership fees, when they perform for this type of event. On Saturday, July 16, performers gathered at 11:00a.m. They prepared gifts, costumes and instruments and loaded these into separate cars. The senior-living house was located about an hour from their practice room. They practiced and settled down before the concert, which began at 2:00 p.m. There were about 40 seniors who attended the concert. One Heung SaRang member served as the Master of Ceremony and there was also a singer in the group who performed for the seniors. The main piece of the concert was *Youngnam Nongak*, one of the core *samul nori* pieces performed, notated, and published in the tradition set by the original group, Samul-nori. The concert lasted for about an hour. They cleaned up the space and reloaded the instruments.

I assumed everything was finished but in fact it was their time to celebrate the performance with their own ritual. At about 5 p.m. they came back to their practice room with food and alcohol.

One of distinct cultural aspects of Heung SaRang is that they like to celebrate their performance and sometimes even their practice. They refer to it as a cultural aspect called *EumJu GaMoo*, which stands for “drinking, alcohol, singing and dancing.” This is a very famous saying that represents four activities that Koreans generally like. This culture makes Heung SaRang more united since they can enjoy these four activities together while playing and practicing music. Indeed, by performing in small spaces, Heung SaRang not only achieves its musical performance aesthetic, but also establishes bonding and cooperation within the group.

Figure 8. Members of Heung SaRang distributing gifts for the seniors at the concert



Photo taken by Hyeon Ju Lee

Figure 9. Heung SaRang's performance at a community service event



Photo taken by Hyeon Ju Lee

Structure of Heung SaRang

This organization first started with five members who had previously known each other and had practiced together for almost three years at the National Gugak Center. They and their instructor then started to bring their own friends to the regular practices, thus gradually enlarging the group. The organizational structure of Heung SaRang is similar to the structure of the nonprofit organizations described earlier. It is structured according to their goal, social mission and personal development. Members pay a certain fee to participate in the organization voluntarily, showing their willingness to pay to achieve the social mission and spend their time as they desire.

Community Commitment

In order to achieve the organizational goal, Heung SaRang tries to show its commitment to the community through charity events and concerts. The organization even

donates money from their own pocket to help community organizations such as senior-living housing, as I describe above. The organization is very structured in the sense that all 12 members try to achieve the organizational goal even by sacrificing their time and money. One of the male members participating in the performance for the senior housing event on July 16 said:

This kind of event reminds me of my parents who passed away. I feel the seniors are like my parents. I am willing to help them as much as I can if I can make them happy through gifts and music. By the musical talent that I have acquired through this organization, I am proud that I am contributing something to society (translated from Korean by the author; personal communication, July 16, 2011)

Their community service goes beyond volunteer service; it extends from personal conviction, and involves a strong sense of gratification and social identity. It reminds members of their past and identity through participating in community events. Because of this valued benefit, the organization is willing to perform without any compensation and even make a donation to senior housing. Their intrinsic motivation toward community commitment results in a unique organizational culture. Heung SaRang members repeatedly informed me that “amateur” and “charitable” are the words that express their organizational goal, roles, and identity.

Organization

Budgeting and Administration

When running an organization, whether it is profit or nonprofit, it is important to examine how they maintain the organization. When it comes to nonprofit, we need to look more closely at how they sustain themselves. Although many nonprofits survive through grants and donations, this is not the case with Heung SaRang, which operates completely on

money given by its members. Each member pays KRW 70,000 (equivalent to US\$62) per month. With 12 members; therefore, their monthly budget is approximately \$720. Compared to any government sponsored *samul nori* programs (e.g. National Gugak Center's programs) where the participants usually pay about \$20, the members' willingness to pay and participate in Heung SaRang is relatively high, presenting a unique value for participating in the organization.

Figure 10. Monthly Budget and Expense Statement of Heung SaRang

	Amount in dollars
Budget	\$ 720.00
Rent	(580.00)
Instructor fee	(80.00)
Electricity/Water	(40.00)
Miscellaneous	(20.00)
Balance	0

Figure 10 lists the budget and expenses of the organization. The statement can vary from time to time depending upon the amount of donation members make. Sometimes they have extra money from renting the studio to other organizations but most of that excess money is used for activity fees, general operational expenses, food, and donations to the community. As the organization does not have any government grants, it uses most of their budget (about 80%) for studio rental (Figure 11 is a picture of their studio).

Figure 11 Studio of Heung SaRang



Photo taken by Hyeon Ju Lee

The studio is located in the basement of a building near the National Gugak Center, which is about 900 sq. ft. with a kitchen. Here I would like to briefly mention that Heung SaRang intentionally built a kitchen into the studio because they consider eating and drinking as integral parts of organizational culture, which I will discuss later.

Compared to the rental expenses, the instructor fee is relatively small. The instructor, Mr. Lee, teaches four hours per week or about 16 hours per month. This puts the lesson fee per hour at approximately \$5. This is obviously low considering that Mr. Lee is a professor at the Seoul Institute of the Arts and would earn more if he taught in private lesson or at other institutions. When I asked Mr. Lee for his reasons for teaching at Heung SaRang despite the low compensation, he said that it was because he was very passionate about learning *samul nori* and community services, and he knows that the organization is solely run through its own fees. His willingness to teach overrules any monetary motivations.

Mr. Lee used to teach at the National Gugak Center with some of the members of Heung SaRang. Although he no longer teaches at the Center, he still teaches at Heung SaRang. He said that because the Heung SaRang ensemble is very motivated to improve the community and he wishes to help them achieve their goals. Therefore, it is clear that even the instructor, a professional musician, is aligned with the intrinsic motivation of Heung SaRang, an amateur music organization. In this case, the instructor is motivated to teach music and also to encourage them to achieve the goal of the organization. Because of their shared goals, the bonding among instructor and members is very strong.

Ethnic Makeup, Age, Gender and Occupation

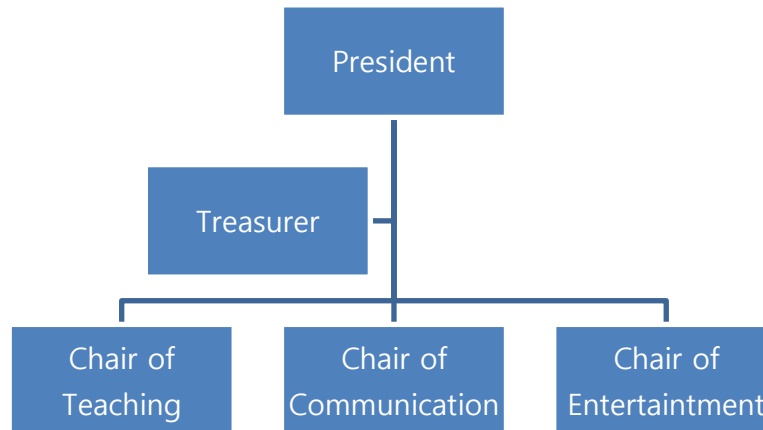
In addition, I believe ethnicity is another factor that makes this organization very strong. The organization consists of all Korean members living in Seoul. The same ethnicity encourages kinship, locality and bonding. Since they speak the same language and they live close to each other, the members can gather easily and quickly. This certainly influences their level of cooperation when playing music and managing the organization. The majority of the members are middle aged and most of them are in their 50s. The reason that the average age is relatively high is due to financial and social reasons. Young people are less likely to devote their time and money to participate in nonprofit organizations, relative to middle aged people who have much more ability to allocate their time and financial sources. The organization is not evenly mixed in terms of gender, however. The male to female ratio is 3:8 which tells us that the organization is a highly female-dominated organization (see Riddle 1983, 249). Primary occupations include school teachers, technicians and small business owners.

Hierarchy of Organization

Heung SaRang is organized hierarchically as shown in Figure 12. It is important to look at their hierarchy in order to understand the entire organization and their culture as well. First, the president is a middle-aged female who was one of the founding members. The president, treasurer, and other chairs are all founding members who have more experience than the other members. The president organizes events, concerts and the overall administrative aspects. The treasurer manages how money is spent. Usually the president authorizes the expenditures directly and the treasurer discusses whether it is affordable or not. In addition, the treasurer is responsible for ensuring that the organization has enough funds to run and to carry out their operations.

The chair of teaching is responsible for educating newer members. He helps members learn the different aspects of the overall range of *samul nori*, including music, position, movements and other details. The chair of communication makes connections with communities and helps organize events. The chair of entertainment is responsible for organizing events for entertainment and their culture of *EumJoo GaMoo*. Those five members are relatively more senior, not in terms of age, but more of experience, than others in the group, suggesting that the hierarchy is according to organizational experience. The president is not elected through a voting system. The founding members appoint one of them to be a president and there is no term for the presidency. Therefore, the president will remain until she decides to abdicate in favor of another. This hierarchy of organization influences the organizational culture and overall the organizational process as well.

Figure 12. Organizational Chart of Heung SaRang



Organizational Culture

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, the unique organizational structure of nonprofit organizations influences the organizational culture of the ensemble. Besides that culture, Heung SaRang features another distinct cultural aspect as well—the organization is very hierarchical according to the years of experience, and to a certain extent, the age of members. The president and chairs do not necessarily discuss with the other members about the decisions they make. In one instance, there was a disagreement when the president donated money without permission from the other members. This happened when they had a senior housing concert on July 16, 2011. On the way back to the studio after their concert, the president announced that she had made a donation to the senior housing of about \$200. The other members were not happy with the president's decision, though they rarely rebel or reject the president's opinion. Despite this hierarchy, the organization runs very well because they generally trust each other and share the common goal of learning and making

music, and helping the community through charity events.

The First Concert

On December 11, 2011, Heung SaRang held its very first concert at the Korea Cultural House in South Korea. It was held on Sunday at 4:00 p.m., in consideration of the fact that members have other occupations during weekdays. Heung SaRang invited about 200 people to this concert—no tickets were sold and the concert was by invitation only. Since they had to pay for renting the place, the costumes and equipment necessary for the concert, the members had to pay extra fees for the concert, in addition to their annual membership. Through personal communication, I was repeatedly informed of the motivation to organize this concert: this was due to their belief that they had to contribute back to society in terms of transmission of tradition and culture. Since they are generally middle-aged, Heung SaRang members feel that they have already benefited from society and it is their time to give something back to society.

The concert featured eight songs and also guests from other nonprofit amateur Korean traditional music groups. Heung SaRang does not have any sponsorship or donations from these organizations. The concert was presented solely through their own expense without any help from others, which shows their willingness to enhance the altruistic values of their organization through music making. They had been preparing for this concert since the summer of 2011, which demonstrated their individual and organizational devotion. This first concert was substantially different from their small performances, representing their possibility to explore new possibilities in terms of performance contexts, which may then have implications on the way they teach and learn in the near future.

CHAPTER 4

Amateur *Samul Nori* Music Organization and Transmission of Music,

Tradition and Culture

In this chapter, I will discuss the manner in which amateur *samul nori* organizations transmit the music, tradition and culture of Korea, and their role in modern Korean society. First of all, I will examine their role in the transmission of Korean percussion music. Then, I explore how their organizational culture and structure reflects and incorporates Korean tradition, as well as the way the organizations shape their identity through strict adherence to the various aspects of *samul nori* culture.

Transmission of Music

Musical Knowledge

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, *samul nori* music features different regional *karaks* and some pieces mixed several *karaks* from different regions. To the extent that *samul nori* developed from traditional music (*nongak*) and uses traditional musical rhythms, it certainly plays a role in the transmission of Korean percussion music. But how do amateurs transmit music in contrast to the professionals?

In order to examine their different styles in transmitting music, I will compare each group's performance of *Youngnam Nongak*, one of the most well-known pieces in the *samul nori* repertoire. It features the rhythms called "Gil-Goonak" from the Youngnam

(Gyeongsang) province in South Korea (see Figure 1).

Figure 13. Comparison of Performances of “Gil-Goonak”

Introduction on *kkwaenggwari*:

Amateur	○		○		○		●	○
Notation	○		○		○		●	○
Professional	○		○		○		◐	○

Figure 13 shows the difference in the performance of the opening *kkwaenggwari* line of “Gil-Goonak” by amateurs and professionals. The top row shows how *kkwanggwari* is played by amateurs, the second row is taken from a written and published notation, and the third row shows how professionals play this part. The shaded area represents the section played differently from professional musicians. Note that the amateur plays as written in the notation whereas the professional, in this case the original Samul-nori group, plays differently by damping the instrument slightly less than the amateurs, thereby producing a subtle, yet significant “click” sound on the *kkwanggwari*.⁵ Indeed, the manipulation of different varieties of sounds from the *changgo* and especially the *kkwanggwari*, is one way to showcase stylized improvisation in *samul nori* performance.

⁵ My transcription of the professional playing is based on the *Youngnam Nongak* recording by Samul-Nori (1999). Transcription of amateur playing is based on my field recording on July 16, 2011.

Figure 14 Main *Karak* on *kkwaenggwari*

Amateur	○	○ .	○	○	○ .	○	○ .	○ .	○
	○ .	○ .	○	○ .	○ .	○	○ .	○ .	○
	○	○ .	○ .	○	○	○ .	○ .	○ .	○
	○		○		○				
Notation	○	○ .	○	○	○ .	○	○ .	○ .	○
	○ .	○ .	○	○ .	○ .	○	○ .	○ .	○
	○	○ .	○ .	○	○	○ .	○ .	○ .	○
	○		○		○				
Professional	○	○ .	○	○	○ .	○	○ .	○ .	○ .
	○ .	○ .	○ .	○ .	○ .	○ .	○ .	○ .	○ .
	○ .	○ .	○ .	○	○	○ .	○ .	○ .	○
	○		○		○				

The main *karak* is also played differently by the professional group. While amateurs continue to play as written in notations, professionals do not follow what is on the page. The shaded area represents how professional musicians improvise and play differently from amateurs and written notation. As with the opening line, the professionals play with different damped (small shaded dot) and slightly open (small unshaded dot) sounds on the *kkwanggwari* to produce a different layer of rhythmic complexity. This *karak* is repeated throughout the piece but it changes slightly every repetition, indicating that they perform a significant element of improvisation.

Figure 15. Main *Karak* on *Ching*

Amateur	○		○		○
	○		○		○
	○				
	○				
	○		○		○
Notation	○		○		○
	○		○		○
	○				
	○				
	○		○		○
Professional	○				○
			○		
	○				
	○				
	○				

Figure 15 shows that the professional group also improvises on the large gong, *ching*.⁶ While amateurs follow written notations, professional negate certain beats to emphasize them. In *samul nori* music, the hour-glass drum, *changgo*, is usually the focus of virtuosic display, whereas the *ching* is used primarily to mark the rhythmic phrases. Under

⁶ For this transcription of the *ching* part, I listened to many recordings of the original group, Samul-nori, and made an “aggregate” version of their playing.

the hands of professionals, however, even a relatively basic phrase patterns may be treated in stylized ways to display subtle changes.

From the transcription and analysis above, it is clear that amateur *samul nori* groups learn and perform the tradition by adhering to the notation, while professionals tend to improvise. Using the original 1978 group, Samul-nori, as an example, I suggest that one reason for the focus on improvisation is the group's direct lineage from *nongak*, a tradition where the primary learning method is oral transmission. Professional *samul nori* groups, such as Samul-nori, consider oral teaching, learning and delivery as a defining feature of *nongak* and a focal point of what professional groups do, which results in the improvisatory nature of their performances (see Nettl 1986). In addition to their intent of keeping the oral transmission, the small size of the group—one musician per instrument—also enables them to improvise music more effectively.

On the other hand, amateurs are limited when it comes to improvisation. The size of amateur organizations is usually larger than professional organizations, providing less freedom for improvisation. Moreover, amateurs rarely have any background in *samul nori* or indeed, any kind of Korean music, which make them less confident about improvising. They therefore rely entirely on music notation.

To understand the tendency of amateurs to rely on written music, I would like to examine a statement by the ethnomusicologist, Bruno Nettl:

In some of the societies in which improvisation has played a major role, that of the composed piece has increased. To some degree these influences do not involve merely stylistic change, but also the introduction of major musical values of the West - the concept of harmony, of rhythmic control through meter, and of composition as the most significant kind of music-making (Bruno 1986, 360).

In Chapter 1, I detailed the fact that traditional Korean percussion music involves an improvisatory teaching and learning style. While the notation of the core *samul nori* repertoire may be understood as an influence of Western values, professional *samul nori* groups have maintained the mode of oral transmission derived from traditional *nongak* and have made improvisation a significant part of their performance. Furthermore, their organizational goals of either maximizing profit or maintaining salary necessarily demand that they continue to explore different musical modes of expressions to satisfy the demands of the audience. In this way, “tradition” for the professionals is found in the mode of performance that may be traced back to the *nongak* musical context in traditional Korea, evoking a kind of nostalgia. Amateur *samul nori* groups, on the other hand, adopt the “Western-influenced” notation as a whole, and focus on learning and performing core *samul nori* pieces as they are written (by the professionals). “Tradition,” to the amateurs therefore lies in the faithful performance of notation music produced in the 1970s and 1980s.

Traditional instruments

I discussed in Chapter 1 the meaning of *samul nori*, which is playing with four instruments, *kkwaenggwari*, *ching*, *changgo* and *puk*. Those four instruments are the key elements of *samul nori*. Despite the fact that *samul nori* itself is not “traditional,” in that it was created as recently as the 1970s, those four traditional instruments help the music to sound “traditional.” Without those four instruments, even the name *samul nori* could not be sustained. Therefore, preserving the use of these four instruments is important for the concept of “tradition” in *samul nori* music itself.

Amateur *samul nori* organizations help to sustain the production and economy of these four instruments. Usually amateurs have their own instruments, perhaps not all four of them, but at least the *changgo*. Since there are many amateur *samul nori* music organizations, their demand for those instruments have had an influence on the market. The president of the Heung SaRang has an ongoing relationship with instrument sellers through the group's consistent purchases of those four instruments. The amateurs' demand for those instruments certainly helps the traditional instrument-making and retail market. In addition to the demand, amateurs will not change or add other types of instruments to this genre because they are trying to reproduce what is in the written notation. Since the four instruments are the core of *samul nori*, their contribution to the traditional instrument market and their efforts to preserve those four instruments in music certainly help keep these four instruments and their values sustainable.

Transmission of Tradition: Confucian Ideology

In Chapter 2, I discussed organizational culture as a set of shared values and beliefs that define an organization. The organizational culture of amateur *samul nori* organizations is based on Confucian ideology. Confucian ideology is still perpetuated in Korean culture by traditional thoughts, customs and behaviors and remains as a fundamental precept, shaping cultural aspects of the organization. Therefore, Confucian ideology has had an enormous influence and impact on Korean society throughout history and it is important to examine how Confucian ideology shapes amateur *samul nori* organizations (see for example, Shen and Shun 2008).

The amateurs might not be aware that Confucianism is perpetuated in their organization. As

James Cahill states:

The neglect and distortion of the role of Confucianism in the arts probably results in part from an extension into aesthetics of the unfortunately widespread view of Confucian tradition as “inherently reactionary and sterile...in the political and social sphere.”(Cahill 1964, 77)

Confucian ideology is naturally inherent through tradition and custom, and members of society and members of the organizations might have difficulty separating themselves from such embedded traditions.

Confucianism in Amateur Samul Nori Organizations

In this section, I will discuss the principles that characterize Confucianism and its impact on performing *samul nori* for amateur organizations. Confucius developed a philosophical system known as Confucianism and expressed on appreciation for music of the ancients and also regarded music as “the embodiment of perfect beauty and perfect goodness” (Taylor 1986, 20). Confucius preferred music associated with the traditions of antiquity (ibid., 20). The appreciation of music is perpetuated in the Confucian ideology. In this way, performing *samul nori*, which is based on traditional music, can be appreciated because it values tradition.

Another Confucian ideology that relates to art is that a person who “attends to the spiritual things and not to his livelihood” has a superior status to a person who does not (Lin 1966, 191). Despite the fact that both amateurs and professionals play music based on

tradition, amateurs have a more superior status than professionals because they perform for leisure while professionals play for a living.

Confucianism is also known as the philosophy of “ren,” which can be translated in many ways—love, altruism, charity, compassion and humanity (Bell 2008, 177). The social altruism associated with amateur organization could be considered part of Confucian ideology. Therefore, amateur organizations can fulfill the Confucian ideologies of social altruism, leisure and appreciation of traditional music through performing *samul nori*.

Commenting on amateur Chinese music organizations, Tong Soon Lee notes that:

The Confucian emphasis on education and the importance of art for the purpose of refining the mind and soul is manifested in the structures and practices of the amateur opera organization. Such organizations are seen to exemplify the ideal Confucian literati: they exemplify education as a central premise of their organization membership and engage in the practice of Chinese music and opera as a leisurely and edifying pursuit. (Lee 2002)

The main purpose of amateurs joining the organizations is edification. Amateurs pay to learn and practice music and use their skills to achieve social altruism. Therefore, the four Confucian ideologies that I described above [1) appreciation of traditional music, 2) spiritual enlightenment, 3) social altruism, 4) emphasis on education characterize and impact amateur *samul nori* organizations. In addition, amateur organizations perpetuate Confucianism and transmit it to other generations. Amateurs carry this tradition without awareness or acknowledgement because it is rooted in their background and are almost naturally inherited and transmitted. Amateur organizations can fulfill their purposes of joining the organizations and also help transmit the tradition of Confucianism and make it sustainable through their performance and demonstration to future generations.

Confucianism in Organizational Culture: Hierarchy

As I described in Chapter 3, using Heung SaRang as a case study, the hierarchy system influences the organizational culture and the harmony of the organization. Confucianism is actually embedded into organizations and they cannot separate it because Korean society itself is rooted in Confucian ideologies. Scholars have viewed hierarchy as a necessary ideology to attain harmony, which is an important value in Confucianism (Tan 2003, 98). Furthermore, the Confucian ideal property suggests the observance of rights, not individual rights as individual rights come from social positions (Zhao 2007, 184). In this view, hierarchy in the amateur organizations is imbedded in the societal context, and they need such hierarchy to achieve harmony for the organizations.

Since amateurs are only motivated by intrinsic factors, that is, they are not motivated by money, achieving common societal goals is important to the organization. In order to achieve those goals, harmony is necessary. Thus organizational hierarchy is something they simply cannot avoid. The Confucian hierarchy not only permeates amateur organizations from culture, history and society, but also the organization itself needs this hierarchical system. In this way, amateur organizations not only transmit the tradition of Confucianism but also bring a synergy of harmony through shaping their culture and structure to be aligned with traditional ideologies.

Samul Nori, Nonprofit and Amateur Music Organization

At the beginning of my thesis, I discussed the four different types of organizations: profit professional, nonprofit professional, profit amateur and nonprofit amateur organizations. Profit and nonprofits are distinguished by their purpose, whether the

organization is profit-maximizing or not. Professional and amateurs can also be distinguished by their purposes. Members of professional organizations join to earn income and pursue their career whereas members of amateur organizations join for non-monetary reasons, such as pursuing leisure, achievement of a goal, identity and transmitting culture. Amateurs are indeed nonprofit music organizations with distinct purposes.

The amateur *samul nori* organizations have pivotal roles in Korean society. Members of these amateur organizations are there voluntarily and willing to pay to learn Korean percussion music and try to give something back to society through performance in charity and community events. This shows that participation in musical activities and concerts are not just limited to professionals. Amateurs are part of the performance stream and try to be as traditional as possible by following standard notations to keep the tradition of *samul nori* alive. Not only do they transmit Korean percussion music but they also transmit a traditional philosophy, namely, Confucianism. Amateur organizations fulfill some aspects of Confucianism and by doing this they try to keep the values of Confucian ideologies within the society. Since society has been changing so quickly from an economic boom in Korea, keeping traditional values is especially important for future generations. In order to keep the tradition of *samul nori*, the amateur organizations also shape their identity as organizations that are responsible for learning music and disseminating it to the public through charitable activities and their concerts.

Implications of *Samul Nori* Culture

Two Different Meanings of Traditions

The ways professional and amateur musicians learn and play *samul nori* is a paradox.

Professional musicians try to transmit the traditional mode of learning, which is oral transmission, while they also try to transmit the traditional mode of performance, improvisation. This is ironic since the purpose of playing *samul nori* is the preserving and transmitting of tradition, but each time they play, they improvise and “change” the music, which theoretically is different from the music of the 1970s and 1980s.

On the other hand, amateur musicians adapt a new mode of learning, which is based on the written notation. By doing this, they lock into a specific period during which *samul nori* was notation, which is the 1970s and 1980s. Thus they have an “unchanged” version of *samul nori* music, unlike professional musicians who play different *samul nori* music each time.

While amateurs rely heavily on the written notation, the instructor, Mr. Lee, did not even open the notation and neither did he use the written notation in teaching amateurs. If amateurs could not follow what it is written, the instructor tried to teach orally, since the way for professional to learn music is through oral transmission. Sometimes, Mr. Lee played the same section of music differently. This was natural for him since his performance style is improvisatory as a professional. However, there was no one who raised any questions about the differences. But rather, the amateurs still follow what it is written and were not concerned about the difference versions played by the instructor. This clearly shows that amateurs rely heavily on the written notation whereas the professionals still keep the traditional method of learning and presentation.

When I asked a member of Heung SaRang why they did not follow what the instructor played but rather to look the written notation, one of the members said:

If I follow what Mr. Lee plays, I have to memorize the pattern he plays exactly but I

am afraid that I will forget it in the next session. Also, if I play differently from what it is written, it might sound awkward and I do not want to make any trouble. I would rather play what it is written and demonstrate *samul nori* music. (translated from Korean by author; personal communication, August 4, 2011).

In addition, Mr. Lee said during an interview that he understands their method of learning. By being an instructor in amateur organizations, not in professional organizations, he has different expectations of amateurs and understands their own way of making music. This was interesting since Mr. Lee is not only just an instructor, but he is also a professional musician who understands the amateur's ways of learning and practicing music. This shows that professional musicians respect the difference between professional and amateurs and recognize the different styles of music making.

Amateur and professional organizations express a different meaning of tradition. For professionals, tradition is the mode of learning orally and using improvisatory styles that stem from the traditional percussion genre, *nongak*. Their first priority is to transmit this traditional learning method. However, amateurs interpret tradition as traditional *samul nori* music of the 1970s. Both professional and amateur musicians say that they transmit *samul nori* music culture but it really comes to what kind of culture that they try to transmit. For the professional, the *samul nori* culture implies the way of learning percussion music, oral transmission, and the way of performing music, improvisation. For amateurs, *samul nori* culture means what it was played in the 1970s originally. Amateurs and professionals' different meanings and interpretation of tradition result in different styles of *samul nori* music, thus providing different ways to transmit *samul nori* culture. Therefore, the way they learn and perform *samul nori* tells who they are and their identity.

Transmission of Samul Nori Culture

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, *samul nori* has a culture of connecting the past and the present. The original group, Samul-nori, connected traditional percussion music and a new performance style, thus reinventing the traditional music. Amateurs in nonprofit organizations follow this culture of connecting the past and the present. They bring traditional instruments and solid *samul nori karaks* to the present context, community events and concerts. Furthermore, they reinvent the traditional method of learning and learn it by their own method in order to preserve the original *samul nori* music in 1970s. By doing this, amateurs transmit *samul nori* culture. Furthermore, their new learning method shows that they transmit the reinventing and renovating tradition and create it a new style in order to preserve the tradition in contemporary period. By carrying on this way, amateurs can become a model of a nonprofit *samul nori* organization that not only brings 1970s *samul nori* music to the community (connecting the past and present) but also transmits *samul nori*'s culture of reinventing the process of tradition in society.

CONCLUSION

Samul nori culture transmits the Korean percussion tradition at the same time as it shapes its identity to the societal and cultural changes in contemporary Korea. Through the preservation of traditional percussion music and adaptation to societal changes, this music develops a new Korean identity suitable for new generations. Music is not only a powerful symbol representing ethnic identity, but it is also an intangible symbol that people can preserve their identity through music (Yamplosky 2001, 179). His view on the “intangible symbol” can be applied to *samul nori* amateurs since they can retain their traditional identity by playing traditional instruments and also shape their contemporary identity to reflect cultural changes by reinventing the ways to learn traditional percussion music.

Samul nori has been valued by both professionals and amateurs. The popularity of *samul nori* is growing abroad and this encourages professionals to expand their stages to other countries. Amateurs are intrinsically motivated to form organizations to pursue their common goals. A prime example of this is seen in Heung SaRang’s organizational structure and culture. This ensemble was formed to promote the members’ personal development through music, as well as promote community involvement through charity events. The fact that they are willing to sacrifice their extra time and money to learn music makes them very different from professionals. Because of this distinct organizational structure and culture, nonprofit amateur organizations shape their identity differently from other types of music organizations.

Amateur *samul nori* organizations develop and expand different characteristics of *samul nori* within the dimensions of traditional percussion music. Although they use

traditional instruments and similar musical compositions in their performance, the resulting music is quite different from that of professional groups. Because they have developed a new learning method by combining oral transmission and composed music, they are more accustomed to play a composition as written. As a result, amateurs play as traditionally as possible by following the written notation and without improvisation. By adapting to this new learning method, they shape their identity to transmit traditional rhythms and the musical content of *samul nori*.

Furthermore, amateurs not only preserve traditional music, but they also retain a traditional philosophy of Korean society. Confucian ideologies have governed and influenced Korean society throughout history. Amateurs fulfill some Confucian ideologies from the past through appreciation of traditional music, spiritual enlightenment, social altruism and emphasis on education. The emphasis on education and social altruism are their organizational goals, which eventually influence the organizational structure and culture as well. Moreover, one of important characteristics of Confucianism, hierarchy, is shown in the ethnographic evidence. The organization is organized hierarchically and most decisions are made by executives. By maintaining the hierarchical system through their music organizations, amateurs function as preserves of Confucian ideology. Through these forms, members are educated not only in *samul nori* music but also the historical philosophy, social hierarchies, social altruism, aesthetics and behaviors of *samul nori*.

Prior to this study, I believed that *samul nori* music itself transmitted Korean identity through Korean percussion music; however, it is actually musicians who develop *samul nori* and shape their identity that transmit tradition. In the end, it is people who create music and culture. Amateur *samul nori* music organizations build a social identity that differentiates

between professional organizations and music organizations that preserve tradition. Through concerts and charity events, the amateur music organizations become socially respected and recognized by the public and they convey a message of transmitting tradition. While fulfilling their goals to help the community through musical events, amateurs also construct their social identity through adapting to cultural changes in order to transmit tradition.

GLOSSARY

Binari: one of the popular compositions for *samul nori*

Changdan: cyclical rhythmic patterns

changgo: a double-headed hourglass drum

ching: one of the main instruments of *samul nori*, which is a large gong

Confucianism: a Chinese ethical and philosophical system developed from Chinese philosopher Confucius, which strongly influenced Korea as well.

EumJu GaMoo: a famous saying which represents four activities, drinking, alcohol, singing and dancing.

Extrinsic motivation: motivations derived by monetary rewards such as salary

Karak: tune or melody of Korean traditional music

Gyeong Sang Province: one of the Korean provinces located in southeast

Intrinsic motivation: motivations derived by nonmonetary rewards such as personal development, achievement and accountability

Jeolla Province: one of the Korean provinces located in the southwest

kkwaenggwari: one of the main instruments of *samul nori*, which is a small gong

Namsadang: Korean itinerant troupe performing arts such as acrobatics, dances and singing

National Gugak Center: organization established in 1951, sponsored by government to preserve and promote Korean traditional music

nongak: Korean traditional folk genre including music, acrobatics, ritual and dance.

puk: one of the main instruments of *samul nori*, which is a drum that is played horizontally

Pungmul,: Korean traditional folk genres

Samul-nori: a group which developed and performed *samul nori* first in 1978.

Samul nori: a Korean percussion genre which developed in 1978 in Korea based on traditional percussion music called *nongak*,

Sul janggu chum: Korean drum dance

Utthari-poongmul: one of the popular compositions for *samul nori*

Woodo-kut: one of the popular compositions for *samul nori*

Youngnam Nongak: one of the popular compositions for *samul nori*

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