

The roles played by a common language and music education in modernization and nation-state building in Asia

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Abstract: Nationalism is a product of the modern era and is closely linked to the development of capitalism. In a highly mobile industrial society that emerged in modern Europe, people needed to communicate via a common vernacular language, and the speakers of said language gradually formed a sense of unity. The vernacular was then adopted by the government as a common written national language, in its attempt to establish official nationalism, and propagated through a newly established education system (Anderson, 2006). In Asian societies, which skipped this process, the creation of nation was not a result of modernization, but was instead a part of modernization from the very beginning. Asian nations had to face a gap between modernization, which required them to imitate Western values and systems, and the formation of a nation, which in the West was based on existing linguistic peculiarities that distinguished certain members of society from others. The primary aim of this paper is to explore how Asian governments from different backgrounds dealt with this gap. In particular, this paper focuses on music education in schools across Japan, Thailand, Singapore and Taiwan, and argues that the availability of a common language, the change in power holders, the populace's identification with the government and the historical timing influenced Asian governments' decisions regarding official nationalism.

Key words: modernization; nationalism; education; music; language.

Received: 20/11/2017

Accepted: 06/03/2018

1. Introduction

Establishing a quick and universal definition of nationalism is a difficult task and all objective definitions have failed (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 9). According to Gellner (1983, p. 1), nationalism is «primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent». Thus, a nation-state in theory is a state where such nationalism has been realized. However, as Hobsbawm (1990, p. 9), who

adopted Gellner's definition for his study points out, the very concept of «nation» is subject to changes and transformations. Hence various studies focus on how nations and nationalism were formed and they have transformed depending on each individual situation. This paper likewise, while tentatively adopting Gellner's definition, focuses on how each Asian society transformed the concept of nation when that concept was first imported from the West.

Despite the general assumption that national identification is «natural, primary and permanent as to precede history» (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 14), various studies point out that nationalism is a product of the modern era and closely linked to the development of capitalism, which transformed the preceding agrarian society into the modern industrial society (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Anderson, 2006).

Gellner (1983) argues it is primarily the state that created the nation. People needed to communicate by a common written language in a highly mobile industrial society and for this purpose, states established school education that could guarantee a certain quality of education and efficiently enable a large number of people to read and write in a common written language. The consequence was the invention of «nation», which shared a feeling of unity through the common language. Basically, accepting Gellner's idea, Hobsbawm (1990) asserts that there were different types of nationalism, one from above and the other from below, and he emphasizes the importance of paying attention to the latter. Anderson (2006) points out that there were three earlier models of nationalism that came to be imitated in the twentieth-century: official nationalism adopted and propagated by the state; popular linguistic nationalism that emerged among the populace in 19th century Europe; and nationalism based on the citizen-republican idea brought into the world by the Americas.

Among Anderson's three models, the first two types of nationalism were the product of modernization in Europe, the first imposed from the top levels of society and the second emerging from the lower levels of society. Industrialization uprooted people from their native places and had them work in urban factories with fellow workers from various places. This required them to communicate in a common vernacular language. Industrialization also accompanied the development of printing and the printed forms of communication. The eventual creation of a written common language based on the vernacular language that distinguished its speakers from others and formed a shared identity. Anderson (2006) explains such «popular-linguistic nationalism» precedes «official nationalism», which is the government's reaction to it. Power holders in agrarian Europe communicated by using a common language, such as Latin, that was different from the vernacular languages spoken by the general public. When popular linguistic-nationalism emerged, the power holders needed to justify their position by adopting the vernacular language as their official language of communication, otherwise they were considered as outsiders to the nation. The vernacular language was then adopted by the government as a common written national language in its attempt to establish official nationalism and propagated through a newly established education system (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 93; Anderson, 2006).

Such nationalist movements intensified in the forty years preceding World War I and quickly spread to the non-western world (Hobsbawm, 1990, pp. 14,104-105).

In the non-western societies that skipped the step by step process towards the formation of nation and just imported the results as a package of finished products, the creation of nation was not a result of modernization, but was included in modernization as an element in their process from the very beginning (Anderson, 2006). Without preceding popular-linguistic nationalism, the governments in Asian societies had to decide what their official nationalism should be. They faced a gap between modernization, which required them to imitate the western values and systems, and the formation of nation, which in the West was based on existing linguistic particularities that distinguished the members of the society from others. Thus, in Asian societies, modernization could not naturally lead to the formation of nation.

The primary concern of this paper is to find out how Asian governments with different backgrounds dealt with the gap between modernization and the formation of nation and how they chose to propagate their official nationalism through a newly established school education system. In its attempt to develop a framework to approach this theme, this paper uses the aforementioned concepts of popular-linguistic nationalism and official nationalism and applies them to its analysis of school music education in selected Asian societies. As Hobsbawm (1990, p. 93) recollects from his childhood as a primary school boy singing the new Austrian national anthem in the mid-1920s, primary school music education has often been expected to play an important role of propagating official nationalism.

Since it is beyond the present author's capability to investigate all cases in Asia, four countries (Japan, Thailand, Singapore and Taiwan), which have different backgrounds regarding their polity and the historical timing of their attempt to form a nation, are selected. Among these four Asian societies, Japan and Thailand experienced the modernization drive in the late 19th century as independent countries, but while the leaders of the modern Japanese government were a completely different set of people from those in the government during the feudal period, in Thailand the same monarchy remained in power and led modernization. Singapore and Taiwan experienced colonization and their modernization process was started by outsiders while they were still under the control of their colonial powers – Britain in the case of the former and Japan for the latter. Their destinies after the end of colonization, however, were quite contrasting. Singapore was forced to become fully independent, while Taiwan became part of the Republic of China and got trapped in the political conflict between two Chinese governments.

Through the analysis of these four cases, this paper tests the following arguments. First, the absence of popular-linguistic nationalism resulted in contrasting consequences depending on the availability of a common language shared by power holders and the general public. Secondly, whether modernization accompanied the change in power holders and influenced the government's decision on how to effect official nationalism. Thirdly, just as in Europe, how critical the populace's identification with the government influenced their acceptance of official nationalism. Lastly, how relevant the historical timing of the formation of official nationalism was to the government's decision.

2. Modernization, Nation and Music Education in Japan

Under the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate, Japan kept itself virtually closed to the western powers for more than two-hundred years, until opening its doors to the United States by signing Convention of Peace and Amity in 1854. As an independent country, it tried to avoid being colonized and in order to stand on even ground with the western powers, started its modernization process by imitating the West. In 1868, former rank-and-file samurai bureaucrats replaced the Tokugawa family as power holders and started the Meiji Restoration. Thus, the history of feudal Japan ended.

The restoration radically altered the identity of the power-holders, from upper-samurai aristocrats to rank-and-file samurai bureaucrats. The newly established government placed the emperor, who had had no actual political power for hundreds of years, at the top of the political system and used him to transform Japanese culture. The admired manners and ideas of the West were adopted as the new cultural symbols that must be acquired by modern Japanese citizens (Dore, 1976, p. 39). Based on the French system and announced in 1872, the plan for the school education system was intended to propagate the new cultural symbols to the public, as well as to equip Japan with a system that a modern nation-state should surely have.

The need to have a common spoken language for the purpose of communication was soon recognized and the government started to move towards establishing a standardized Japanese language. Before standard Japanese was officially established, however, the guidelines for the subject of primary school «national language» was introduced in 1900 and in 1904, textbooks compiled by the Ministry of Education started to be used nationwide (Shimizu, 2014). The language was based on the dialect spoken by educated people in the Tokyo area. What was fortunate for the government was that the vast majority of the Japanese population already spoke dialects of Japanese and well-educated people could mutually communicate by a common writing system using Chinese characters. Even among people in the lower strata of society, about 40-45 percent of boys and 15 percent of the girls could communicate by using simpler Japanese characters (Dore, 1976, p. 37). Thus, Japan could substitute popular-linguistic nationalism with an already extant language.

Music education was also regarded as an indispensable element of school education in a modern nation-state, because it was among the primary school subjects in the advanced western countries (Naito, 1997, p. 139). With the intention of forming an official nationalism, the subject of singing was included in the very first plan for a modern education system (Yamazumi & Sonobe, 1962; Naito, 1997, p. 137). However, it took some time to prepare for the actual implementation of a music education curriculum: the government had to decide what kind of music should be taught and it was in the 1880s that the subject of singing was finally implemented.

The government's struggle to make modernization compatible with nationalism in music had already started in the 1870s with its attempt to create a piece of music that was equivalent to the national anthems of the West, because the political leaders believed that a national anthem was indispensable to a modern nation-state. The verses were quickly chosen from an old Japanese anthology titled *Kimigayo* [The reign of our sovereign lord], but deciding on a melody was problematic. Naito (1997)

describes the process as follows. By request of the western-style military band of the fief of Satsuma, the first piece was composed in 1871 by John William Fenton, a British music teacher who worked for the British Legation. Despite his wanting to take time to carefully study Japanese music and culture before composing the requested piece, the Satsuma urged him to compose one as soon as possible. Having been composed in haste, this first piece could not be considered a masterpiece and it was not well accepted. The first *Kimigayo* was used for a while, but it wasn't long before a more musically attractive one that could better praise the Japanese emperor's reign was desired. The request for an improved national anthem was made by the Department of the Navy to the Imperial Household's Division of Imperial Court Music and, from the pieces submitted, one composed by an imperial court musician was selected and then harmonized by a German music teacher named Franz Eckert in 1881. This second *Kimigayo*, which is the current national anthem, was considered a successful hybridization of Japanese and western musical cultures.

A search for a refined modern Japanese musical culture to be taught at school was not as successful as the creation of the national anthem. In a quest for music suitable to be propagated as music of modernized Japan in the 1870s, both pre-modernization art music and popular music were rejected because art music was too difficult for children to learn and the verses of popular music were too «vulgar» to be used for educational purposes (Tomoda, 1996, p. 230). Furthermore, it was necessary for modern Japanese musical culture to have some western universality. In 1879, a Ministry of Education official, Isawa Shuji, submitted his opinion on the activation of the subject of singing and he made three suggestions. His first was that modern Japanese music should be created by hybridizing Japanese and western music¹. The second suggestion concerned human resource development in order to realize the creation of a «national music» in the future. The third one was the actual implementation of music education at school, which had been postponed since 1872 (Naito, 1997, p. 138). Curriculum content for the subject of singing was prescribed (Nishijima, 1997) and from 1882 onwards, a number of songbooks targeted at pre-primary, primary and secondary school children were compiled by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry prepared songs called *shoka*, which had western-style tunes coupled with easy and moral verses about the virtue and beauty of Japan and utilized the subject to propagate this new musical culture.

According to Naito (1997), these songbooks can be divided into three groups depending on how they were created and whether individual composers were credited for the works they contributed exclusively for the songbooks. The first series of songbooks including Yochien Shoka-shu [Songbook for Kindergarten], Shogaku Shoka-shu [Songbook for Primary School] and Chuto Shoka-shu [Songbook for Secondary Education] were published between 1882 and 1890. In these songbooks,

¹ The concept of western music is not static, due to various cultural interactions. In this context, it means the western art music and folk music that were introduced into Japan in the late 19th century. H. Ishii (2006, pp. 15, 34) gives a label of western conventional music to 18-19th century western art music and distinguishes it from traditional Japanese music based on sonic factors such as timbre, pitch, noise, structure and reverberation. According to Katsura (1991, p. 2045), despite the diversity of European folk music it can still be considered as one category because of its distinguishable features.

western songs with either translated or newly created Japanese verses that were suitable for educational purposes were used. Then between 1896 and 1901, a second series of songbooks including *Yonen Shoka* [*Songs for Pre-primary Children*], *Chugaku Shoka* [*Songs for Secondary School*], *Chirikyoiku Tetsudo Shoka-shu* [*Songbook for Railway Songs in Geography Education*] were published. For these, the Ministry of Education itself started producing the singing materials, which were western-style songs written by Japanese composers and whose names were credited. In the third series published between 1910 and 1912, *Jinjo Shogaku Shoka* [*Songbook for Normal Primary School*] and *Jinjo Shogaku Dokuhon Shoka* [*Songbook for Normal Primary School Reading*] also included songs that were composed by Japanese composers and their nature remained the same as that of the previous series. However, since they were considered to be works by the Ministry of Education, the composers were kept anonymous. Naito argues that this anonymity was a bad strategy in terms of human resource development for the purpose of creating modern and refined Japanese musical culture, because it hurt the composers' professional development.

Thus, among Isawa's three suggestions, the original goal of the first one (creating a hybrid of western and Japanese musical cultures) basically resulted in western-style music with Japanese verses about the virtue and beauty of Japan. His second suggestion about human resource development for modern Japanese musical culture also did not become a reality, because not giving credit to the composers hurt their possibilities of furthering their careers, as explained above. Only did his third suggestion about the actual implementation of the subject of singing bear fruit and modern musical culture started to be propagated through school education as official nationalism.

The subject of singing became a compulsory element of the curriculum in the early twentieth century (Uehara, 1988, pp. 218-220). Considering the facts that the primary school enrollment rate was already as high as 81 percent and 98 percent in 1890 and 1900 respectively (Dore, 1976, p. 40), and that the subject of singing was a compulsory subject for all primary school children, music education was indeed an effective device to transmit official nationalism at a time when other media such as radio and television hardly existed. When the western-style popular songs emerged from the romantic dramas of the western-style theatrical arts in the 1910s, they were excluded from teaching materials at school as decadent, since verses were considered crucial for developing a refined culture and children's love for their country (Nishijima, 1997). The legacy of this rejection of popular music remained in the state's policy for school music education in Japan for a long time.

When World War II ended in 1945, music education was in a neglected state because war-time education had merely been propaganda for the war and had hardly any artistic value. Music education for the sake of creating refined cultural norms was attempted again, and the western classics were adopted as the ultimate goal of Japanese school music education (Moroi, 1956). This principle is reflected in the large number of western classical pieces in post-war music textbooks (Ishii, 2004; Ishii, 2006). Especially towards the end of lower secondary education, which is the end of compulsory education, this number became overwhelming. For primary school education, easier Western-style songs such as western folksongs were preferred as

introductory materials preceding the learning of western art music. The western-style educational songs that had been prepared by the Ministry of Education before the war were avoided while Japan was under US occupation, but they gradually reappeared in textbooks once the occupation was over.

When the value of cultural diversity was internationally recognized in the 1950s, the Ministry of Education started to emphasize the value of Japan's unique musical culture (Ministry of Education, Japan, 1959; Ministry of Education, Japan, 1970) and the number of pre-modernization pieces increased in textbooks (Ishii, 2004; Ishii, 2006). However, since this was a reaction to the recognition of the value of diverse musical cultures by western academia, particularly non-western cultures, it did not mean that Japan diverted from teaching Western musical culture. Indeed, the mainstream of school music education remained western-style music (Ministry of Education, Japan, 1970). A difference from the previous decade was that learning western-style art music no longer meant learning the western classics as the ultimate goal, but the acquisition of a universal musical grammar through any of the western-style art music, including educational songs written by Japanese composers before and after World War II. The enthusiasm to use pre-modernization pieces waned by the late 1970s, but the western classical pieces did not come back as the dominant element in the teaching materials. That position was taken by Japanese-made western-style art music. After a century's efforts, such music had become so deeply rooted in Japanese musical culture that it was natural for Japanese teachers to teach it in classrooms. In contrast, pre-modernization music had become unfamiliar music and was no longer welcomed in classrooms during the 1960s and 70s. The situation remains more or less the same in contemporary school music education except for a gradual increase in the number of Japanese and western pops and rock music in textbooks. The pieces are carefully selected based on their verses, which quite often celebrate lives and give encouragement to the youth.

The discussion so far indicates that during the late 19th century, the Japanese government's dilemma between modernization and nationalism in music education was solved by the separation of the sound, which was based on the western musical grammar, and Japanese verses about the beauty and virtue of Japan. For the government, who replaced the power-holders of the previous regime, it was rather easy as well as reasonable to make a decision to give up pre-modernization musical culture for the sake of the cultural modernization of the nation. It depended on the common written language to develop nationalism while giving up tunes, the value of which had not yet been recognized by the western powers. This decision on official nationalism in music education remains basically the same until present, except for the limited introduction of pre-modernization Japanese music and commercial-based western-style popular songs as an element of musical diversity.

3. Modernization, Nation and Music Education in Thailand

Another independent country in 19th century Asia was Thailand, which was then known as Siam and under the reign of the Chakri Dynasty since 1782. Like Japan it had also been virtually closed to the West and its modernization process started almost at the same time as Japan's. Due to pressure from western powers,

the government opened the country to the West by signing the Bowring Treaty with Britain in 1855. Being located between British colonies such as Burma and Malaysia and French colonies in Indochina, King Rama IV had already recognized the necessity to modernize the country in order to avoid colonization by either Britain or France. Actual modernization started when King Rama V Chulalongkorn (r. 1868-1910), whose reign overlaps with the time of Japan's Meiji Restoration. His style of defending his country from western expansionism, however, was quite different from that of Japan. After his visit to the western colonies in Southeast Asia for the purpose of «selecting what may be safe models» (Battey, 1974, quoted in Anderson, 2006, p. 100), he adopted the colonial model, which meant «rationalizing and centralizing royal government, eliminating traditional semi-autonomous tributary statelets, and promoting economic development somewhat along colonial lines» (Anderson, 2006, pp. 99-100). He imported Chinese laborers and created a working class society outside Thai society (Anderson, 2006, p. 100).

Just as the leaders of modern Japan, the Thai monarchs during the modernization period also recognized the necessity of establishing a common language. There were a number of minority groups that spoke different languages, including diverse dialects of the Thai language group, but Thailand has hardly had a dispute over the language issue and «Written Standard Thai lacks apparent competition» (Diller, 1997, pp. 74-75). The speakers of the diverse dialects of Thai, who formed the vast majority of the population of the country, could still communicate through Central Thai. Among the diverse dialects, it was the Thai spoken by the king that was selected as the language of official nationalism (Diller, 1997, pp. 84-85). King Chulalongkorn was offended by the published texts of missionaries in «lower Thai», the speech of commoners, so he prescribed the written language based on his «higher Thai», and set precedents for future language policy (Diller, 1997, p. 85). By imposing the common language and Buddhism on people in its territory in the last ten years of the 19th century, the government changed the concept of a Thai word *chart* from «one's birthplace and racial and ethnic identity» to «a nation that was loyal to the king» (Phongpaichit & Baker, 2006, pp. 326-329).

The modern education system was also planned during King Chulalongkorn's reign. For King Chulalongkorn, who introduced various modernization strategies, education became a key element within the process of modernization. It was expected on one hand to forge homogeneity and identity at the national level through the creation of a common culture, and on the other hand to produce the social elite to perpetuate the new social order (Michel, 2010, p. 12). These two functions of education are quite similar to those of education in Japan, but the Thai government's decision on how to promote them was different from that of Japan.

Unlike Japan where, from the beginning, people of any background were encouraged to climb up the social ladder through educational achievement, Thailand chose to separate education for the elite from education for commoners at the beginning of its modernization process. In order to fulfill the urgent need to develop a modern administration system and a national defense system, a school was founded in the Royal Palace compound in 1871 for the purpose of educating princes and sons of the nobles to become modern bureaucrats. In order to produce military officers, a military school was established in 1887 (Ministry of Education,

Thailand, 1976, p. 11; Phongpaichit & Baker, 2006, p. 331). Prince Damrong was entrusted by the king with organizing government schools for the general public in 1884, but the development of primary school education to propagate official nationalism came about later than Japan's, due to a lack of funding (Ministry of Education, Thailand, 1976).

King Chulalongkorn's son, King Rama IV Vajirawudh (r. 1910-1925), altered his father's policy by modeling himself on the «self-naturalizing dynasts of Europe», who adopted new identifications in order to include themselves in the emerging nation, and presented himself as «the first nationalist» of his country (Anderson, 2006, p. 100). He tried to create a Thai nation by targeting his nationalism to the Chinese that had immigrated during the previous reign, establishing the written form of Thai, and by promoting compulsory primary education (Anderson, 2006, p. 100; Diller, 1997, p. 85). According to Anderson (2006), this was a typical act of official nationalism because the king himself had both Thai and Chinese blood and needed to protect his position by identifying himself with the Thai majority.

However, even after the proclamation of the Compulsory Primary Education Act in 1921, the growth of the primary school enrollment rate remained slow because of the public's poor understanding of the modern educational system and the shortage of schools, as well as a lack of funding (Notsu, 2005, p. 58; Phongpaichit & Baker, 2006, pp. 327, 331; Michel, 2010, pp. 3-6). It was only in the 1940s, under the rule of the constitutional government, that the written system was simplified for the purpose of expanding its use to commoners. Finally, in the 1960s, mass education became a political objective and the enrollment rate started to rise rapidly, but universal primary education for almost all was only attained in the early 1980s (Diller, 1997, p. 88; Michel, 2010, pp. 3-25). Thus, school education could not function as an effective tool to modernize Thai culture and by the time schooling became universal, influential media such as radio and TV had already become available.

A possible explanation for the delay in developing universal primary education is that on one hand, it was the same ruling class people such as the members of the royal family and the nobles who led modernization in Thailand. They also did not want the drastic social change that Japan's new leaders did by introducing meritocracy. On the other hand, the populace did not find the new school system attractive because even after modernization was started by the government, Thailand basically remained an agrarian society.

In addition to the slow development of universal primary education, the attempt to utilize school music education as a tool for cultural modernization hardly existed. The period between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the golden age of Thai classical music, when kings and princes cherished and protected it by supporting the musicians (Maryprasith, 1999, p. 49). Therefore, unlike the leaders of the modern Japanese government, who did not pay much attention to preserving musical culture of the former samurai aristocrats, the leaders of modern Thailand had an emotional attachment to the pre-modernization Thai classical music that they had cherished in the court.

While protecting their court musical culture, the members of the royal family attempted to integrate Thai music and western music on a rather limited scale. For example, just like Japan in the 1870s, the Thai government recognized the need

to have a piece of music that was equivalent to the national anthems of western countries. During King Chulalongkorn's reign, the royal anthem was created and it functioned as the national anthem until a new national anthem was created in the 1930s. The composer is not known, but it is clear that the piece was created with the intention of integrating the features of both Thai and western music. Another example of such integration was the creation of musical dramas by Prince Narathip, who got the inspiration from the western opera (Maryprasith, 1999, p. 61). Such musical dramas became popular in the 1920s and songs from these shows were published and sold (Maryprasith, 1999, p. 63).

The western influence on Thai musical culture thus started from the court and then spread to the general public, but the government hardly used music for promoting official nationalism. When the subject of singing was introduced in the school curriculum in 1921, its status was that of an optional subject (Ministry of Education, Thailand, 1976, p. 43). Westernization of people's musical culture was left in the hands of the public and the influence could be found in the transformation of traditional folksongs as well as the creation of screen music.

The golden age of Thai classical music ended with the coup d'état by young elites and the establishment of constitutional rule in 1932. In the early 1930s, the national anthem was composed in a westernized-style by Phra Chen Duriyanga who had a German father and was promoting western music through movies (Akagi, 2009, p. 133; Maekawa, 2009, p. 82; Maryprasith, 1999). During this period, western-style music was composed to accompany the patriotic poems that King Vajiravudh wrote for the purpose of propagating official nationalism during his reign (Bangchud, 2012). Phibunsongkram, who took office in 1938, saw Thai classical music as an indicator of backwardness and forced musicians to perform Thai classical music on western instruments (Maryprasith, 1999). The Department of Public Relations modernized Thai classical music by adding western harmonies and tuning to music performed on either western or modified Thai instruments and called this type of music «applied Thai music». The government also approved the development of western-style Thai popular music and its radio station played applied Thai music and Thai popular songs instead of Thai classical music (Maryprasith, 1999, pp. 52-64). Phibunsongkram's government also invented dance music called *ram wong*, with the intention of promoting something like western ballroom dancing, but in a distinctive Thai style (Wright Jr., 1991, p. 103).

This modernization policy ended with the termination of the Phibunsongkram government in 1957 and subsequent governments have adopted a contrasting policy of strengthening Thai identity through traditional cultures (Maryprasith, 1999, p. 53). Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat launched educational reform in 1959 and emphasized Thai language, Thai national culture based on «*chart*», Buddhism, and the king and tried to promote this national identity (Notsu, 2005, pp. 61-65). After a century since King Chulalongkorn had tried to build Thailand as a nation-state, school education finally started to function as a tool to promote official nationalism. This policy was reflected in the 1960 curriculum and in the subject of music, which was a compulsory subject for primary and secondary education, emphasis was placed on teaching traditional Thai culture (Ministry of Education, Thailand, 1976, pp. 135-153). Western-style music was also banned on radio. However, the western-style popular

music that had already penetrated into popular musical culture continued to develop through live performances, especially for the US soldiers staying in Thailand during the Vietnam War (Maryprasith, 1999).

The emphasis on traditional culture was further strengthened in the 1978 curriculum revision and has remained the same until present (Murata, 2009, p. 104; Ministry of Education, Thailand, 2008; Pitiyanuwat & Anantrasirichai, 2002). However, in terms of the curriculum contents, Thai classical music is not the only type of music to be taught. The Thai National Curriculum since 1978 always includes all main types of music available in Thai society such as Thai classical music, Thai pops (western-style), Thai folk (partly westernized) as well as western music theory and styles (Maryprasith, 1999). Since the late King Bhumibol (r. 1946-2016) was a jazz musician, his works were also taught in order to help students develop a national identity.

Maryprasith's empirical research on secondary school music education in the Bangkok area provides some insight about the kinds of music that was actually taught in classrooms. According to the students' experiences between 1985 and 1993, the most frequently taught music was Thai classical music (57%), followed by Thai popular music (21%), western popular music (13%), Thai country popular music (5%) and lastly western classical music (1%). From teachers' experiences in 1997, Thai popular music was the most commonly used, followed by Thai classical, Thai country popular, western popular and western classical music (Maryprasith, 1999, p. 149). Thai popular music and Thai country popular music are in the western style and pieces with moral verses such as the Mother's Day Song tend to be used for educational purposes. The results of this research indicate that while the western-style music in Japanese school education tends to be art music-oriented, that in Thai school education tends to be more popular music-oriented. Indeed, little attention to western classical music in Thai school music education makes a striking contrast to Japanese school music education.

To summarize, because of the continuous rule by kings and nobles, who did not want a drastic social change, Thai official nationalism primarily functioned to secure the position and culture of these people from the beginning of modernization in the late 19th century until the early 1930s. Thai language and Buddhism were adopted by the government as official nationalism to unite people, but music was not included in it. In contrast, official nationalism during the constitutional rule by commoner leaders, who did not have emotional attachment to the previous regime, resembled that of Japan during the Meiji Restoration. The government used music to westernize the culture of the general public through radio, but school education could not fully function for this purpose due to the low school enrollment rate. This sixty-year-delay in the government's attempt to westernize musical culture enabled Thai classical music to return as an element of official nationalism in the 1960s, when the government started utilizing school education. The change in the world trend from western supremacy to the celebration of cultural diversity also provided a favorable environment for the government to make this decision. At the same time, because of this delay, the government missed the opportunity to control the musical culture of the populace, which largely inclined toward western popular music, rather than western art music.

4. Modernization, Nation and Music Education in Singapore

In Japan and Thailand, the government could take advantage of an existing language to substitute for popular-linguistic nationalism. However, such a situation was not always available for other Asian countries. Modernization in Singapore started as a British colony in the 19th century without popular-linguistic nationalism or a language that could be used to promote it. After it became a British colony in 1824, it developed as a port for trading. Laborers from China and India immigrated to the colony, and eventually the Chinese population outnumbered the native Malays. Singapore was given self-governance in 1959, and then became independent of Britain by joining other former British colonies to form Malaysia in 1963. However, due to political conflicts between the Malay dominated government and the People's Action Party of Singapore, it was expelled from Malaysia in 1965. Thus, it became an independent state as a byproduct of Malay nationalism in Malaysia. Political leaders were mainly Peninsular Chinese, who were born and grew up in British Malaya and had education in English, but most of the inhabitants were workers from China, Malaysia and India, who identified themselves with their native countries and spoke diverse dialects of the languages of those countries. Therefore, «Singapore nationalism as such did not exist» (Velayutham, 2007, p. 10). In addition to the absence of a national identity, it was also believed that Singapore's territory was too small to survive as a state. Thus, the Singaporean government faced a double task of forming a common national identity and developing Singapore's economy in order to maintain its statehood.

In order to develop a national identity among its inhabitants, the government concentrated on its economic development until the 1970s, hoping that «Singaporeans» would emerge by enabling people to feel proud of their prosperity (Velayutham, 2007). At the same time, equality among ethnic groups, which had been a critical issue since independence, was a priority. For example, since 1956, when Singapore was still preparing for the self-governance, the government's strategy had been the equal treatment of English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil as official languages, with English as the main medium of instruction and Malay as the national language (Gopinathan, 2013, p. 70; Gopinathan & Mardiana, 2013, p. 18). When Singapore became independent, there were schools with these four language streams, where either English, Chinese, Malay or Tamil was used as the medium of instruction.

The national anthem was also established to raise national identity. Before Singapore attained self-governance in 1959, the British national anthem was Singapore's national anthem. The current national anthem, *Majulah Singapura*, which was originally composed as the official song of the City Council of Singapore in 1958, was selected as the national anthem of the self-governing state in 1959 because it was considered that its patriotic verses in Malay could be easily understood and would appeal to all in the multi-racial society where not many people spoke English at that time (Sim, 2014).

By 1966, universal free primary education had been virtually accomplished, and parents could choose the language medium in which their children were educated. In the same year, the policy of bilingualism, learning English and a mother tongue, became compulsory for all students (Kwong, Peck & Chin, 1997). The policy reflected

the government's belief that «proficiency in the English language and in one's mother tongue would help not only to widen one's employment prospects, but also help break communication and racial barriers, thus contributing to a more harmonious and better integrated Singapore society....and that the imparting of moral values and cultural traditions is best done in the student's own mother tongue» (Kwong, Peck & Chin, 1997, p. 11).

This policy influenced all aspects of education including music (Chong, 1991, p. 50). Music was introduced into the curriculum as an outer-core/optional subject in 1964, and general music at primary school became compulsory by the end of the 1960s and it was expected to play a role to promote mutual respect between different ethnic communities. Towards this end, teachers were also encouraged to teach Malay, Chinese, Indian and English music in addition to the national anthem. However, teachers tended to avoid unfamiliar songs and music teaching in the classroom was predominated by western music and English songs in particular (Chong, 1991, pp. 47-48).

Formal general music education started in the 1930s and was based on British music education and Singaporean people's musical culture had already been quite westernized by the time Singapore became an independent country. In the 1970s, the government started to worry about Singaporeans becoming too westernized and Asian values started to be emphasized. In the area of music, two songbooks *Sing and Enjoy* with songs written by Singaporeans with verses in three languages were prepared by the government for lower primary children «unhealthy» popular products from the West, such as rock music, was also voiced in 1974 (Kong, 1999, pp. 8-9). National songs were introduced for the purpose of strengthening national cohesion, music syllabi were developed and a recommended song list of Malay, Chinese, Tamil, and English songs was added, but even after the introduction of the syllabi, teachers basically taught songs they were familiar with (Chong, 1991, pp. 47-48, 55-57).

In the early 1980s, a backward-looking traditional Asian identity of the Chinese, Malay, and Indian was pursued, but since the strategy accompanied the risk of segmenting Singaporeans, it was changed later to a forward-looking new Asian identity that emphasized a strong connection with the cultural traditions of Asia while engaging with modernity (Brown, 2000, pp. 101-102; Velayutham, 2007, p. 11). Official nationalism promoted Singaporeans as Asian and modern. In music education, when the Active Approach to Music Making program based on the Kodaly method was launched in 1982, the main interest of the government was still to use music education for furthering respects for the cultural traits of the four language streams, the concept of nation building and the teaching of civics. Then by the late 1980s, its role to develop children's creativity was also recognized (Chong, 1991, pp. 110-111). The Sing Singapore Festival was started in 1984 and its songbook was published in 1988. However, according to Chong's analysis, despite the emphasis on music making and four language streams in music syllabi, the conception of music education itself was based on western models and even for Chinese, Malay, or Tamil songs, the music was almost entirely tonal. Furthermore, teachers still tended to teach familiar songs due to the lack of proper training to conduct the Active approach to Music Making program (Chong, 1991, p. 121).

National Day songs also reflect Singapore's complicated identity that can never be separated from western musical culture. For example, the early National Day songs in the mid-1980s were written by a Canadian composer and later, National Day songs by local musicians were also western-style popular songs. These National Day songs have patriotic verses in English accompanied by translations into other Singaporean languages, but so-called Singlish, a common vernacular language that developed from English, was rejected by the government as a vulgar form of English.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the government recognized the economic potential of the arts in the 1990s, primarily meaning the development of the entertainment industry. Singapore began to host performances by famous western musicians and western musicals to attract Asian tourists (Kong, 1999, p. 15). This emphasis on state economy became even stronger after the Asian financial market crash of 1997. The government realized that Singapore needed to embrace the world as its hinterland and national identity shifted from Asian and modern to globalized and cosmopolitan (Velayutham, 2007, p. 11). Such policy was reflected in the music curricula and textbooks of the 2000s. For example, in a primary school music textbook published in 2004, a whole chapter of Book 6 was on performing arts and songs from the western musical and opera traditions were introduced (Leong, 2004). In other textbooks published in the 2000s, western pops and rock music, as well as musicals and operas were included in the books for sixth graders (Stead & Dairianathan, 2016; Zhu, Zhang, Zhang & Chen, 2009).

In 1997, National Education was introduced in order to develop «the right instincts in young Singaporeans to bond as one nation, or maintain the will to survive and prosper in an uncertain world...beyond the founder generation» (Lee, 1997 quoted in Sim, 2013, p. 70). Together with the emphasis on Singapore's vulnerability and success, meritocracy and multiracialism were subscribed as key values (Ministry of Education, Singapore, 1997 quoted in Tang, 2013, p. 37). However, as the aforementioned examples of National Day songs and the promotion of the arts indicate, cosmopolitan identity is no longer bound to backward-looking traditions, but is more focused on Singapore's future economic development by taking advantage of its heritage in modern British culture and the English language. Brown (2000, p. 106) argues that whether globalization undermines the strength of the nation-state depends on the state's capacities for ideological management, rather than simply on its strategies of economic management. National Education is obviously the government's strategy for the former purpose when it needs to encourage Singaporeans to become global and cosmopolitan.

As discussed above, Singapore had no common language, meaning that popular-linguistic nationalism was not an option for them when the country became independent. In order to survive economically, Singapore chose English as its common written language. Thus, Singapore's choice of a common written language was not that of a common national language, but a common global language. While imposing it on the linguistically diverse population, the government also recognized the country's other three main languages. This multilingualism enabled the government to include diverse ethnic groups, including itself, into one society and to promote the idea of collective survival as their official nationalism. In terms of music, Singapore was under the strong influence of British culture and there was

no choice but to adopt the western musical culture as the main element of its school music education, along with the legacy of the musical cultures of the three main ethnic groups. Singaporean music in official nationalism included western tunes and patriotic verses in more than just one of its official languages.

5. Modernization, Nation and Music Education in Taiwan

While Singapore was forced to become a state without a nation, Taiwan's relationship with the concept of state has been – and remains – ambiguous because of the decades-long conflict between the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party over the representation of one China. The island, which was originally settled by the speakers of Austronesian languages, had an influx of Fuklo and Hakka speaking Chinese from the southern part of China from the 17th century onward. It became a Qing territory in 1683, but since the Qing adopted a *laissez-faire* policy, its modernization didn't really start until Taiwan was ceded to Japan as a result of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 (Chang, 1995) and the fifty years of Japanese rule overlaps with its modernization. The Taiwanese people, who had not developed any unified identity by then, sporadically resisted the Japanese army at first (Asano, 2010; Chou, 2007), but once Japanese rule was established, they were educated as Japanese and learned the Japanese language as their common language (Asano, 2010).

Prior to colonization by Japan, there were some forms of primary, secondary, and specialized schools in Taiwan, but there was no formal education system (Chou & Ching, 2012, p. 24). In the early stage of colonization, Japanese schools were built in order to spread the Japanese language through primary education. In 1919, a formal education system was established, which was gradually extended to secondary and higher education, and in 1928, Taipei Imperial University was established (Chou & Ching, 2012, p. 24).

The official nationalism established by the Japanese colonial government was implemented through the formal education system regardless of Taiwanese linguistic identities. In primary school music education, Japanese official nationalism in music, which was western-style music with moralistic Japanese verses, was propagated. For this purpose, the western-style pieces used in Japanese schools were taught with some additional singing materials about local festivals and landscapes in primary schools in Taiwan (Liou, 2005). By the time six-year compulsory education was instituted in 1943, the primary school enrollment rate of Taiwanese children reached 71.3 percent (Chou & Ching, 2012, p. 24). The introduction of western musical culture through Japanese official nationalism influenced Taiwanese musical culture and local composers, who learned western music through Japanese education and created western-style Taiwanese popular songs began to emerge.

In 1945, Taiwan was returned to the Republic of China under the control of the Chinese Nationalist Party government led by Chiang Kai-shek. Thus, the end of colonization merely meant the change of external rulers. After an anti-government uprising in 1947, martial law was introduced in Taiwan and the gap between the government and Taiwanese people became obvious. Two years later, Chiang Kai-shek lost his political struggle against the Chinese Communist Party and fled to

Taiwan with more than one million of his followers. Taiwan became his stronghold for regaining the mainland, and developing an identity in the Taiwanese people as being part of the Republic of China became a critical issue for the Nationalist Party. The nature of the Nationalist Party's nation-state building was basically the repression of Taiwanese nationalism and school education was utilized to the fullest extent for this purpose.

The contents of school education, including music education, were tightly controlled. The language of instruction at school was Mandarin, which was not the mother tongue of the local Taiwanese people. The history and culture they learned were those of the Chinese continent and textbooks were compiled by the government. Nationalistic songs such as the national anthem, the national flag raising song and songs to praise the founders of the Nationalist Party repeatedly appeared on the first few pages of every music textbook, while anything to do with the colonial past was removed. Modern/westernized and traditional pieces of the Chinese continent were introduced, but the pieces composed in China under the Communist rule were avoided. Taiwanese pieces were added as an example of provincial musical culture, but the verses were in Mandarin.

After martial law was lifted in 1987, Taiwanese-born Li Teng-hui became the president of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1988 and promoted Taiwanization of Education in the 1990s. Subjects and educational contents to raise students' awareness of Taiwanese history, language, and culture were added to the national curriculum and private companies started publishing textbooks (Yamazaki, 2009). In music education policy, it was required that more than half of the singing materials in textbooks had to be Chinese musical pieces in order to avoid too much westernization (Ministry of Education, Taiwan, 1993). The consequence was a dramatic reduction of materials related to the continent and an increase in the number of modern pieces composed by Taiwanese composers. It was rather reasonable to have this consequence because «China» for the government was not the People's Republic of China, but was the Republic of China, whose geographic territory in reality was limited to Taiwan. Therefore, in order to increase the number of Chinese pieces, contemporary ones were added and works by Taiwanese composers were chosen. Despite the fact that Mandarin had already become the first language of most of the Taiwanese people, local songs in local languages that included those of ethnic minorities were adopted in addition to the western-style songs in Mandarin composed by Taiwanese composers. The number of songs that imposed official nationalism of the Republic of China decreased significantly, while songs composed by Taiwanese composers during Japanese rule were added. Japanese songs were also revived as foreign songs.

The emphasis on Taiwan remained in the curriculum announced in 2000 after a thorough revision of the primary and lower secondary school curricula to integrate them as a nine-year curriculum. In this process, the subject of music was integrated into the subject of arts and humanities. While continuing the respectful attitudes towards Taiwan's musical culture in the past from the period of Taiwanization, this subject emphasizes that children become creators of Taiwan's future musical culture.

In order to avoid conflicts with the continent, the national identity of Taiwan as a state cannot be asserted aloud, but Taiwanese people, including the second and

third generation post-war immigrants, are developing a clear idea about Taiwanese identity (Wu, 2015). Official nationalism imposed by the external rulers was not accepted by local people and overtly rejected in the 1990s. Whether their backward-looking national identities have been confirmed, or Mandarin become the common written language for all, the Taiwanese government has started propagating a forward-looking identity in official nationalism, so that people of Taiwan can be united regardless of their different past experiences.

6. Conclusion

By analyzing official nationalism as revealed in school music education, this paper has discussed how four selected Asian societies tried to deal with the gap between modernization and the formation of a nation, despite the absence of popular-linguistic nationalism. The number of cases investigated in this paper is rather limited and the argument proposed has been basically tested against literature. In order to pursue the potential for making generalizations based on this argument, a larger number of case studies, and empirical data on actual people's identification with the nation are indispensable. These limitations having been stated, this paper draws the following conclusion.

Japan and Thailand could depend on an existent common language to unite their people as a nation, but in order to modernize musical culture of the whole nation, Japan chose to promote western-style tunes with Japanese verses. The Thai monarchy hardly paid any attention to commoners' culture and protected Thai classical court music. The westernization of musical culture, which resembled that of Japan, was promoted in official nationalism during constitutional rule in the 1930s, but the respect for Thai classical music was adopted in official nationalism in the 1960s. This was at a time when the post-war government recovered the monarch's authority as part of official nationalism and started expanding its public education in earnest. In contemporary school education, both Thai classical music and westernized popular music with nationalistic verses are taught as Thai music.

In Singapore and Taiwan, the nature of a common language was quite different. The languages imposed by past external rulers, namely English in Singapore and Japanese and Mandarin in Taiwan, were useful for economic purposes, but could not become a language with which the whole nation could identify. After decades, most Singaporeans speak and write English and virtually all Taiwanese speak and write Mandarin as their first language. Most of the songs in music textbooks are western-style pieces with verses in these languages. However, these common written languages have not yet been considered sufficient for official nationalism. Singapore still keeps songs in Mandarin, Malay and Tamil so that it can distinguish itself from other countries and can assert the very coexistence of these languages as Singaporean-ness. Taiwan has adopted songs in Fuklo, Hakka and other minority languages in textbooks, so that it can distinguish itself from mainland China. Thus, Singapore and Taiwan seem to have separated the two functions of popular-linguistic nationalism: one to fulfill industrial needs and the other to unite people by distinguishing them from others. Both of the two functions were fulfilled by a common written language in Japan, Thailand and European countries, but in Singapore and

Taiwan, English and Mandarin respectively fulfill the first function, while diverse local languages fulfill the latter.

This separation of the two functions has strong implications to the relationship between nation-state and globalization. In the contemporary world, a common national language can no longer function sufficiently to fulfill the role of a common written language for economic purposes. Indeed, in countries such as Japan and Thailand, which used to be comfortable with their common national language, their youth are now encouraged to learn English.

In the era of modernization, the nation-state was generated in response to the need for industrialization in Europe and then spread throughout the world. In the era of globalization, the emerging economic demand may alter the current state. If, as in Brown's (2000) words, globalization undermines the strength of the nation-state depends on the state's capacities for ideological management, it is likely that official nationalism will put more emphasis on local particularities, while demanding its nation to acquire a global common language. Since music education is a tool for propagating official nationalism, it will surely play a role in either promoting globalization or preserving local particularities, or both, depending on what official nationalism state shall choose.

7. References

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