

Subject to Change:

Nine constructions of the crossover between
Western art and popular musics (1995-2005)

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Abstract

Exchange between musical cultures has always occurred, but in the age of the global music industry, marketing categories have multiplied and often created boundaries between musics. Today the term “crossover” is attached to many of the musical exchanges that occur across these boundaries. One such exchange is represented by the intersection between Western art music string instruments and popular musics. A well-known commercial niche, this particular crossover is often discussed in popular media, but has been examined by relatively few music scholars. By way of addressing this gap, this study considers the crossover between Western art music string instruments and popular musics in the context of extra-musical promotion and critical reception. It examines four artists in the period 1995 to 2005. These four examples are: U.K./Australian string group bond; Australian string group FourPlay; U.K. violinist Nigel Kennedy; and U.K. violinist Vanessa-Mae. It also draws on other relevant cases to illuminate the discussion.

The primary aim of the study is to discover and analyse the complex ways that parties engage, consciously or unconsciously, with the term “crossover”. The inherent complexity of the term is not commonly captured by scholarly musical writing since crossover is often regarded simply as a marketing term. The study begins by establishing the scholarly and popular context of the crossover between the Western art music string tradition and popular forms. Nine constructions or layers of meaning evoked by the term “crossover” are then identified. In the context of each of these nine constructions, the work continues by exploring how the term “crossover” is used in the promotion and critical reception of the examples. It is argued that crossover is constructed as a marketing category, to mark individuality, to provide media shortcuts and signposts, to evoke associations of prestige and of credibility, to increase accessibility, to encourage confrontation and to take part in larger musical debates. This research thus identifies multiple layers of meaning evoked by the term that are “subject to change” and that, in turn, illuminate deeper social and cultural implications of “crossing-over”, ones which no doubt themselves continue to change.

Declaration

This thesis is the original work of Aliese Millington.

It contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available in all forms of media, now or hereafter known.

Aliese Millington

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Chapter One

Introduction

Today, the term “crossover” is attached to a variety of musics and musical activities. It is often used to describe combinations of different genres and styles of music. It is just as frequently applied to exchanges between music, other concepts and objects.¹ Crossover has become accepted and is a prevailing concept in the global music industry from its smallest independent exponents to its mainstream leaders.

This study investigates: “How do various parties engage, consciously or unconsciously, with the term ‘crossover’?” To answer this question, it considers a well-known crossover from the commercial sphere, but one that is rarely encountered in scholarly work—the crossover between Western art music string instruments and popular musics. This research contributes to the study of Western classical music culture from an ethnographic perspective (see Small 1977, 1998, Nettl 1985, 1989) by examining the crossover of Western art and popular musics in terms of the extra-musical promotion and critical reception of four artists in the period 1995 to 2005. These artists are: the U.K./Australian string group *bond*;² the Australian string group *FourPlay String Quartet*;³ U.K. violinist *Vanessa-Mae*;⁴ and U.K. violinist *Nigel Kennedy*.⁵ The study also draws on other relevant cases to illuminate the discussion. The study identifies nine constructions of crossover. Through the examination of the multiple meanings associated with the term “crossover” and the nine constructions, the study explores the deeper social and cultural implications of “crossing-over.” It is shown that in the period 1995-2005, the layers of meaning evoked by the term “crossover” have been “Subject to

¹ A quick search using “google scholar” in August 2007 unearthed examples that included the combination of music and various media such as Puerto Rican music and U.S. film, the combination of music and disciplines such as medicine (e.g. in music therapy) and the combination of popular music and identities such as lesbian. An article by Harper also discusses the “crossover” of race and popular music (Harper 1989).

² The majority of *bond*’s promotional material refers to the group as “*bond*” with a lower case letter b ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007a). This thesis, therefore, also refers to *bond* with a lower case letter b except where direct quotes include the use of an upper case letter b.

³ In this thesis “*FourPlay String Quartet*” are generally referred to as “*FourPlay*” for the sake of succinctness in this text. Peter Hollo of *FourPlay* has explained, however, that “*FourPlay String Quartet*” is the registered business name of the group and helps to distinguish the Australian “*FourPlay*” from an American jazz group of the same name (pers. com. 2007).

⁴ Although *Vanessa-Mae*’s full name is *Vanessa-Mae Vanakorn Nicholson*, she is usually identified by her first name only. This thesis therefore adopts this practice.

⁵ Throughout this thesis the violinist is described as both “*Nigel Kennedy*” and “*Kennedy*,” but preference is given to “*Kennedy*.” As noted in Appendix B, in 1997 *Kennedy* announced his intention to “drop the name *Nigel*, which he’d always hated” (Clarke 2005). By 1999, however, *Kennedy*’s full name began appearing on his CD liner notes and a journalist wrote: “[c]all him anything you want, the smart opinion now has it. I’ve saved the phone message that makes it clear he still refers to himself, at least offstage, as *Nigel Kennedy*. Consequently, it’s hard to see the name “change” as anything but a game he’s playing with the business and with the press...” (Pfaff 2000).

Change.”⁶ Before proceeding further it is appropriate to define the key terms that form the basis of discussion in this study.

Key terms

Crossover

At the outset the term “crossover” is broadly understood to mean the combination of two or more elements, one of which must be music or music-related. Crossover can be found in combinations of styles, in instrumentations, in music with other art forms, in music with non-art forms, in musicians, music and marketing, in music and unusual venues and in many other fusions and exchanges.⁷ The elements which combine do not have to be diametrically opposed but each should originate in different (even if only slightly) genres or cultures.

Musical scholarship and the music industry have used the term “crossover” to describe an artist’s market appeal, particularly when that artist moves from one popularity chart to another (Stilwell 2007) or “...from a niche audience to the mass market...” (Lewis 2002). For example, an artist who is known to usually appear on blues speciality charts “crosses over” to the popular or mainstream through a specific commercially popular song or perhaps through a more carefully orchestrated campaign aimed to increase the artist’s popularity. This is echoed in further comments by Stilwell who describes crossover as an: “...artificial concept, dependent on the sometimes arbitrary and/or non-musical definitions of the charts” (Stilwell 2007). Stilwell’s definitions not only represent the term’s marketing origins, but also hint at the layers of meaning in the term that are examined in this thesis, often discovered in “arbitrary and/or non-musical definitions.” Tom Lewis, international consultant for the record company EMI, suggests that consumers may be one source of such definitions. Lewis discusses the role of consumers in a change to the initial use of the term:

Interestingly, “crossover” used to be an industry term that now seems to have become adopted by consumers (probably because of the proliferation of so-called crossover acts like Bond, Vanessa-Mae, Russell Watson, Andre Rieu, Bocelli etc). (pers. com. 2002)

The implications of such a change, namely, the shift from an industry term to one recognised by consumers, are found in the definition of crossover that is discussed on a website named Answers.com:

⁶ As well as forming part of the title of this thesis, the phrase “Subject to Change” is the title of a 2001 album release by Vanessa-Mae (Vanessa-Mae 2001).

⁷ Examples of the above combinations include classical and pop, solo violin and electric guitar, string quartets and film/visual art and music and science, respectively.

- a. The adaptation of a musical style, as by blending elements of two or more styles or categories, to appeal to a wider audience.
- b. A recording designed to appeal to more than one segment or portion of the listening audience.
- c. One that appeals to a wide or diverse audience. (Answers Corporation 2007)

Clearly, there are insights to be gained from examining different definitions of the term “crossover.” As such examination demonstrates, the current context of crossover is marked by difficulties of defining the term and its scope. Such intricacy is discussed in this thesis as “the labelling debate.” For example, Carl Vine, Artistic Director of Musica Viva,⁸ contributes to this debate, saying: “[c]rossover’ is one of those terribly vague words that increasingly means just about whatever the user wishes it to mean” (pers. com. 2001). Today the artists involved in creating music that attracts the label “crossover” are often the last people to recognise the term. Popular musician Elvis Costello “...refers to it as ‘the dreaded C word,’ and describes the concept as tainted” (Kozinn 2001). He explained to one journalist: “I just say music...Let’s make some music together. It’s easier and less loaded with meaning” (Costello in Kozinn 2001). Costello’s notion of crossover as a “loaded” or “tainted” concept is an indication of the difficulties associated with ascertaining the meaning of the term and identifying criteria for inclusion. It seems that the boundaries between crossover and other genres of music, such as popular, jazz or new age, are so fluid that an argument for inclusion in the crossover culture could be made for any music presented. This does not mean, however, that such an argument would always be successful. It is social or cultural perceptions and usage of the term that causes an artist or musical project to be recognised as crossover. Although the crossover of music from different genres is usually just that, a “crossing over” of musical elements between and within several genres that were once seen as disparate, an argument that links the combination with crossover’s multiple layers of meaning is important when invoking the term “crossover.”

“Crossover” is a convenient term as it describes the combination of musical genres while simultaneously reinforcing the assumptions that those genres can be easily labelled and are enclosed units in the first place. There are rarely cleanly identifiable intersections between genre and genre and even if such “clean” combinations became abundant, it is not so much the intersection itself, but the application of the term “crossover” that is significant. Due to this distinction, musics that are labelled “crossover” by one source may be labelled quite

⁸ Musica Viva was founded in 1945 and describes their work as follows: “Musica Viva Australia is the worlds largest entrepreneur of fine ensemble music, presenting more than 2,500 concerts each year across Australia and around the world to the widest possible range of audiences. Through intimate concert experiences the organisation inspires Australian imagination and creativity” (Musica Viva Australia 2007).

differently by another. An example is the interchangeable use of the labels “popular music,” “world music” and even “new age music” and the conditions of such labelling often require clarification.⁹ Perhaps the demarcation of a crossover music culture suffers from its association with popular music, differentiation of which becomes impossible “partly because the broader historical usages of the word ‘popular’ have given it a semantic richness that resists reduction” (Middleton 2007a).

Difficulties in determining the scope of the term “crossover” are also exacerbated by the proliferation of possible crossovers. As noted, they include a variety of genres and musical and non-musical elements. Within the particular crossover of Western art and popular musics alone, crossovers occur through the combination or exchange of repertoire, through the combination of musical and of traditionally “extra-musical” elements and through the “crossing over” of artists from one musical culture to another.¹⁰

Music industry devices such as marketing and promotional activities also add to the meanings attributed to the term “crossover.” Is marketing an artist’s work as crossover enough to qualify it as such? Or from another perspective, if an artist’s work involves a clear fusion of separate cultural elements, yet is not marketed as crossover, should it necessarily be free of the label?

Today’s proliferation of communication media also affects the identification of the boundaries of the term “crossover” and the contents it labels. Such media can also add to opportunities for genre and culture intersection. Communication media can bring cultural elements from all over the world into living rooms with speed and efficiency that permits leisurely examination and experimentation by viewers. The media also applies the term “crossover” indiscriminately, adding to the lack of consistent criteria and to the innumerable meanings associated with the term. This leads back to the beginning of this section where the categorisation and usually the “lumping together” of a variety of cultural intersections renders these and all future intersections especially significant, often for reasons not anticipated and/or welcomed by the artists involved. The study examines the above themes.

⁹ One such example is the music of the Japanese popular group Pizzicato Five. This music is not usually labelled as “crossover,” even though it draws on elements from many incongruent musical cultures and also on seemingly unrelated popular culture icons (McClure 1998:63). Pizzicato Five’s music is promoted instead as “eclectic” popular music.

¹⁰ Examples of the above crossovers include, respectively, the material used by groups such as the Boston Pops Orchestra (bso.org. 2006-2007), the costuming and staging commonly used by popular music artists incorporated into classical music formats (e.g. in the work of string quartet bond, see The artists’ ways to crossover section below) and albums of popular songs released by Western art musicians (e.g. albums released by Opera singer Andrea Bocelli (Dezzani and Tilli 1999:68).

Due to the myriad of meanings and genres associated with the term “crossover,” this research has focused on one specific intersection, the combination of popular music and Western art music. It is certainly not a new phenomenon, but it is evident in the 20th century in such groups as Electric Light Orchestra and New York Rock and Roll Ensemble. In the 21st century it has even greater representation. One notable example is the inclusion of a solo piano piece by popular songwriter Billy Joel in the program of a classical piano recital – a program that also included Beethoven, Prokofiev, Borodin and Ravel (Child 1999:47).¹¹ Crossover of classical music and popular music today “...accounts for almost all of classical music’s best selling records” (“Cross Over, Beethoven - Newsweek” [1997]).¹² It has become a widely debated and examined cultural phenomenon that elicits a range of responses. For example, Debra Bodra, Executive Director of the New York Philharmonic says; “...I don't think that [crossover] is the way to advance the orchestra...The challenge is to change but remain dedicated to artistic excellence. We must resist things that look politically correct but are just somehow....destructive to the arts” ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). Other more positive responses can also be found, for example, Keith Shadwick of *Gramophone* magazine writes that: “[t]he dynamism inherent in the new hybrid forms may eventually fashion a permanently relocated popular appreciation of classical creativity, and give the back catalogue a well-earned breather” (Shadwick 1997:21). This thesis will investigate responses to and meanings associated with crossover, such as those exemplified by Bodra and Shadwick. It will also examine artists and projects that are labelled “crossover” and are the result of the combination of the Western art music string tradition and popular forms.

Western Art music string instruments

The phrases “Western art music” and “classical music” recur in this thesis. Although the author wishes to acknowledge her preferred term “Western Art music” is a more descriptive and less culturally-loaded phrase than “classical music,” she also recognises that “classical music” is the generally accepted term applied to one of the genres of music examined here. This genre, encompassing the Western European tradition of music, is often associated with aristocracy or ruling classes. Extending from the 6th century to the present day, the tradition is separated into seven periods that reflect societal changes in thought and endeavour. The

¹¹ This performance was given by British-Korean pianist Hyung-Ki Joo at Carnegie Hall in 1999 (Child 1999:47).

¹² Unfortunately, material drawn from the website *The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae* is no longer accessible (apart from the author’s own research copies) and the website (www.vanessamae.com) no longer exists. Much of the material from this website, however, was drawn from outside sources such as EMI promotional material, newspapers and magazines, and may still be traceable by approaching those sources.

Classical period in part is usually understood to fall roughly between the years 1750 and 1827 (Sadie and Latham 1985:218). Although it is only one period in Western art music history, its label and its connotations of excellence have come to stand for the entire tradition of music, encompassing all periods under the generic term “classical” (Hartz and Brown 2007). This thesis explores the construction of the classical genre in terms of implications for the term “crossover.” It takes “classical” to denote approaches to music¹³ from the Western art music genre.

The phrase “Western art music string instruments” used in the context of crossover similarly denotes those stringed instruments associated with Western art music and specifically the chordophones¹⁴ which belong to the “...family of string instruments that includes the [violin], viola and cello” (Boyden and Walls 2007). Boyden and Walls continue that the violin is an important part of the Western art music heritage:

The violin (and violin family)...originated well before the 17th century...and by the early 17th century the reputation and universal use of the violins were such that Praetorius declared (*Syntagma musicum*, ii, 2/1619): ‘since everyone knows about the violin family, it is unnecessary to indicate or write anything further about it’. (Boyden and Walls 2007)

The violin is the main instrument played by two of the primary artist examples for this thesis, Vanessa-Mae and Nigel Kennedy. It is also used in some way by all primary artist examples. The violin family of instruments make up the standard form of string quartet examined in this thesis, including “...two violins, viola and cello... A composition for [these]...string instruments...is widely regarded as the supreme form of chamber music” (Eisen 2007). Two of the primary artist examples, Bond and FourPlay, use the violin family in their versions of the string quartet. An important point is that in this thesis “Western art music string instruments” refers to string instruments only as they are represented in Western art music. It *does not* denote instruments from Western folk, country or associated genres.¹⁵

Finally, it should be noted that it was necessary to identify a particular crossover (e.g. the intersection between Western art music *string instruments* and popular musics) in order to narrow the field of possible crossover examples and to provide points of comparison between

¹³ Such approaches include special attention to aspects of composition and ensemble as well as solo performance.

¹⁴ “Chordophone: General term for musical instruments that produce their sound by setting up vibrations in a stretched string. Chordophones form one of the original four classes of instruments (along with idiophones, membranophones and aerophones) in the hierarchical classification devised by E.M. von Hornbostel and C. Sachs” (Brown and Palmer 2007).

¹⁵ It is important to emphasise that it is only string instruments from the Western art music/classical genre that are the subject of this thesis. String instruments from Western art music and string instruments from other Western music genres are visually very similar and therefore easily confused.

the chosen examples. As discussed below, however, this thesis also presents other relevant examples and historical cases that do not always strictly involve the crossover between Western art music *string instruments* and popular musics. It should be remembered that such examples and cases provide material that is important to the larger task of this thesis, namely, investigating how various parties engage, consciously or unconsciously, with the term “crossover.”

Popular musics

Another significant concept in this thesis is represented by the phrase “popular musics.” The plural is used advisedly in order to encompass the array of different genres represented within the phrase “popular music.” Richard Middleton describes popular music’s meaning as evolving and changing over history and varying from culture to culture “...partly because its boundaries are hazy, with individual pieces or genres moving into or out of the category... and partly because the broader historical usages of the word ‘popular’ have given it a semantic richness that resists reduction” (Middleton 2007a). Middleton’s comments indicate that scholars have found it hard to produce a universal definition of the term. This difficulty has led to a proliferation of broad definitions including Anahid Kassabian’s 1999 entry in *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture*, which defines popular music as “the music that people choose to hear” (1999:117). Kassabian’s broad definition is useful to this thesis. It is echoed in Middleton’s general, but nevertheless valuable, definition of the term:

A term used widely in everyday discourse, generally to refer to types of music that are considered to be of lower value and complexity than art music, and to be readily accessible to large numbers of musically uneducated listeners rather than to an élite...its most common references are to types of music characteristic of ‘modern’ and ‘modernizing’ societies. (Middleton 2007a)

Middleton’s engagement with the concepts of “complex” art music and “lower value” popular music resonate with the high/low debate, an important issue for this study that is introduced below. The terms “accessible” and “elite” are also important in this thesis, as shown in later chapters.

Since definition of the term “popular music” is difficult, it is important for this study to have a model to use in identifying popular musics and popular music elements. Roy Shuker suggests three “...general distinguishing characteristics of popular music genres...” (Shuker 1998:147). These are worthy of extended quotation here because they illuminate important features relevant to this thesis:

Musical characteristics: ...stylistic traits present in the music: their musical characteristics, ‘a code of sonic requirements...a certain sound, which is produced according to conventions of composition, instrumentation and performance...Of particular significance here is the role of technology, which establishes both constraints and possibilities in relation to the nature of performance, and the recording, distribution, and reception of the music...;

Image and associated visual style: ...This includes standard iconography and record cover format; the locale and structure of performances, especially in concert, and the dress, make-up, and hair styles adopted by both the performers and their listeners and fans. Musical and visual stylistic aspects combine in terms of how they operate to produce particular ideological effects, a set of associations which situate the genre within a broader musical constituency...;

Audience: The relationship between fans and their genre preferences is a form of transaction, mediated by the forms of delivery, creating specific cultural forms with sets of expectations... (Shuker 1998:147-148)

Shuker’s general characteristics are exemplified in the artists examined in this study and are particularly useful in identifying popular musical, visual and audience elements within the crossovers examined. Moreover, the combination of characteristics described by Shuker and the other scholars above, have led this study to consider popular musics as a “package.” This package comprises both musical and extramusical aspects in order to expose multiple layers of meaning constructed by crossover in the context of popular music. This theme is carried into an examination of the next key term.

Extra-musical aspects

This thesis focuses on the analysis of the extra-musical aspects of examples, such as marketing, promotional activities, interview quotes and comments, image etc. It is not an extended analytical study of music scores. Rather, it is argued that crossover began as an extra-musical marketing term and exists today as an extra-musical marketing category. The nine constructions of crossover identified in this study represent the extra-musical aspects of the term “crossover,” while basic musical analyses are provided as required to illuminate understanding, most often in the context of genre considerations. Music is central to the thesis discussion. It is, however, the roles of music as social and cultural signifiers, rather than extended score analyses, that are the focus of the study.

Period (1995-2005)

The period 1995 to 2005 is the timeframe for this research as it encompasses the period of important crossover releases and work of the four primary artists under examination. In 1995, Vanessa-Mae released the album *The Violin Player*, which became known as the violinist’s

first crossover release. Nigel Kennedy released his first truly “crossover” album, *Kafka*, in 1996.¹⁶ FourPlay had their initial performances in 1994/1995 and bond began in 1999/2000. While all artists continue to make crossovers at the time of writing (2007), they offer a rich source of material in the period from 1995-2005.

Debate underlying the thesis discussion

The high/low debate

Having examined the definition and scope of key terms, the next section discusses a debate that pervades the thesis.

A second issue arising from this study is captured in the phrase “the high/low debate.” Throughout this study, even in the discussion above, there are several references to “the high versus low debate,” a long-raging discussion that takes a hypothesized conflict between “high” and “low” art as its focus. “High” art is presented as the art of the aristocracy, the elite. Such art is used in the very definition of the term “high,” described in the *Australian Oxford Dictionary* as “4 of exalted, esp. spiritual, quality (...*high art*).” “Low” art is the art of the masses, popular art, pop culture.

Linked to this debate is the suggestion of a tension that exists between creative and commercial endeavours, an idea that creativity cannot truly exist when it serves the purposes of commerce. This tension is described by Peter Goodall in his book *High Culture, Popular Culture: The Long Debate* as the:

...traditional antipathy between culture and industry – or, to put it other ways, between art and business, between creative quality and commercial success – which is one of the fundamentals in the whole culture debate. (Goodall 1995:59)

The values and issues associated with the high versus low debate and the creative versus commercial tension are closely related to the term “crossover.” In this study various constructions of crossover can often be seen to be perpetuating high/low and creative/commercial tensions,¹⁷ and it important to discuss some of the themes of these debates now to lay foundations for the rest of the thesis.

¹⁶ Although crossovers made by Kennedy that precede 1995 are discussed in this thesis (e.g. three of his first releases, Nigel Kennedy Plays Jazz (1984), Bartók: Sonata for Solo Violin/Ellington: Mainly Black (1986), Let Loose (1987)), it will be shown that a significant portion of the violinist’s crossover repertoire, his early on-stage fashion and “punk attitude” occurred after 1995 (Kennedy 1991:21).

¹⁷ It should also be noted that this very study may, in presenting various constructions of crossover, be perceived as reinforcing high/low and creative versus commercial tensions. The study merely intends, however, to

As described above, an alleged conflict over the merits of “high” versus “low” art has long been posited. Goodall writes that:

...from the beginning of the discussion of culture in the eighteenth century, there has been a debate about the relative status and merits of its parts...Culture is the social dimension of art. The moment that culture becomes important as a theme, then it becomes important to discriminate within it: between what is good and what is bad, between what is important in a tradition and what is peripheral. For most of its history, the discourse of culture has been about making choices. (Goodall 1995:xv)

Goodall puts the origin of the high/low question in general cultural debate at the 18th century. This is earlier than the origins of the high/low debate in musical discussion as suggested by Middleton, who writes that although “...some sort of hierarchy of musical cultures [exists in] all socially stratified cultures [and] in most of Europe and the New World distinctions between ‘popular’ and ‘élite’ types of music have a lengthy history” (Middleton 2007b), tension between popular and elite types of music, cannot be automatically assumed. Middleton goes on to point out that “...before about 1800 there is little sense of [distinctions between popular and elite musics] being considered a problem” (Middleton 2007b).

Along with his discussion of the origin of this debate we saw above that Goodall also draws together the high/low debate and the creative/commercial tension. Part of this tension, according to Goodall, is also inspired by differing perceptions on the “...role of the machine in our society and about the nature of art in an industrial society” (Goodall 1995:xv).

Some writers have labelled the high/low debate “The Great Divide,” “the gap,” or even, as suggested by Dettmar and Watt, an “impassable gulf.” For Dettmar and Watt, “...such a gulf...is not only inaccurate, but also exceptionally damaging insofar as it influences matters of canonization and reception” (Dettmar and Watt 1996:3-6) and we shall see echoes of these negative aspects throughout the study.

The dichotomy of high versus low is often the larger debate behind other arguments. For example, classical music critic Paul Festa was invited to take part in a published debate on Lebrecht’s predicted death of classical music¹⁸ that consisted of letters written back and forth between himself and pop music columnist Sarah Vowell. Festa brings up the important point

acknowledge and analyse the existence of these tensions within the constructions. A precedent for this perception can be found in an article by Deborah Wong (2006) titled “Ethnomusicology and Difference.” Wong describes a time in the 1990s in which American universities were “othered” and academia “trashed” in reaction to the perception that universities were propagating the high/low debate. Wong writes: “Edward Rothstein’s infamous column in the *The New Republic* (1991), titled “Roll Over Beethoven: The New Musical Correctness and Its Mistakes,” marked the moment when ethnomusicologists were...sing[ed] out as having demonstrated the pervasiveness and importance of high culture distinctions across the globe” (Wong 2006:261).

¹⁸ This is a construction and use of crossover that will be examined further in Chapter Seven.

that discussion on high versus low culture is extremely problematic due to the difficulty found in trying to define specific cultures¹⁹ within the strictures of “high” or “low.” He also describes comparing rock ‘n’ roll with classical music to making:

...burritos...square off with a five-course meal at a four-star restaurant...why pit them against each other...I recommend eating both, but making sure to know which is which. (Festa 1997)

The comparison of unlike entities is a common and pertinent theme in the classical versus popular music debate. Some commentators take this theme further to suggest that the human race no longer needs to reduce complex musical concepts and projects to an alleged conflict between two styles of music. They argue that perhaps such reduction was never needed. Howard Goodall, after interviewing composer Steve Reich, writes that Reich believes: “Music is returning to its original condition – one in which the division between ‘classical’ and ‘popular’ did not exist” (Reich in Goodall 2002:235). Timothy Taylor writes that:

I think this divide is indeed being crossed today, though not, as so many would have it, so much in the realm of the *production* of forms (though this is happening in some marginal cases, and, indeed, has always happened) as in their (re)presentation, marketing and consumption. (Taylor 2002:103)

Taylor’s comments could be perceived to be about crossover, and indeed, several of the constructions examined in this thesis engage with the high/low and creative versus commercial debates. Any study of the term “crossover” must take account of these tensions, but particularly this study, with its focus on social and cultural implications.

Theoretical framework

The methodology of this study is to use examples of crossover artists and projects to test the existence and application of nine constructions of crossover. This approach acknowledges three main areas of study that include ethnography, Western art music and popular music. Working through literature in these areas and through the promotion and critical reception of the artist examples, it became clear that a model was needed to encompass the use and various layers of meaning of the term “crossover.” Before discussing this model, however, we examine the three areas of literature and particular writings that have shaped the central arguments of this thesis.

The study draws on works of traditional ethnography, including Philip Hayward’s *Music at the Borders: Not Drowning, Waving and their engagement with Papua New Guinean Culture*

¹⁹ Such cultures are sometimes difficult to clearly define in themselves.

(1986-96) (1998). This book provided details on using interviews as source materials and gave a broader understanding of the practicalities of ethnographic work. Also in this area are two essential articles by ethnomusicologist Jocelyn Guilbault, “Beyond the ‘world music’ label: An ethnography of transnational musical practices” (1996) and “Interpreting world music: a challenge in theory and practice” (1997). Although Guilbault herself does not make a link between world music and crossover, many of her theories on how world music is identified and constructed resonate with examples from the crossover genre. Guilbault sees world music as a genre that is constructed rather than being a “natural” musical genre.²⁰ As such it is subject to the agendas, political or otherwise, of music industry participants and academics. Rather than condemning the genre as artificial and not a subject for scholarly study, however, Guilbault writes that world music should be seen as a “...site from which something *begins its presencing...*” (Guilbault 1997:32). Further analysis of Guilbault’s works continues throughout the thesis.

Also providing frameworks for ethnographic work, but in this case and importantly, ethnographic work that examines the Western art music genre, were the writings of Christopher Small (1977, 1998) and Bruno Nettl (1985, 1989).

Continuing with writings from the area of Western art music, this thesis has been influenced by the work of Robert Walser (1992), in particular “Eruptions: Heavy metal appropriations of classical virtuosity.” Walser’s examination of the association of prestige with classical music and the crossover between heavy metal and Western art music is an essential part of the discussion in Chapter Five. Broader examinations of Western art music and its connections to crossover have included Norman Lebrecht’s (1997) book *Who Killed Classical Music?*, Allen Gimbel’s (2001) article “Overview: Music since 1975,” Steve Beresford’s (1998) article “Explorations: Crossing over” and Robert Fink’s (1998) article “Elvis everywhere: Musicology and popular music studies at the twilight of the canon.” Another important article in this area is musicologist Howard Goodall’s “Mary and her little lamb: Thomas Alva Edison and the invention of recorded sound” (2000). This article discusses the idea that the invention of recorded sound has led to what Goodall calls a current “...Age of Convergence...,” where musical boundaries and boxes are being destroyed and re-defined (Goodall 2000:236). Here Goodall introduces the dichotomy of “creative” versus “commercial” crossover (Goodall 2000:235), which has helped to shape this study’s analyses of *how* examples crossover. Goodall mentions two of the artist examples of this study in explaining the dichotomy, saying that:

²⁰ A topic discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

...record companies have paid lip service to the notion of ‘crossover’ music. What they mean, though, is one artist symbolically crossing the floor of the record store to plunder the audience of another artist. Kennedy playing Hendrix, Vanessa-Mae playing Bach with a drum machine...[they] do not mean crossover in the Steve Reich sense, that is, the true collaboration of idea A with style B to create form C. (Goodall 2000:235)

Goodall’s comments alerted this study to the existence of different types and meanings of “crossover” and were therefore extremely influential in the development of this thesis.

Work from the area of popular music study has also been important to this thesis, including the work described above by Shuker (1998) on the general characteristics used to define popular music genres. This study’s focus on popular musics as a “package” of musical and extramusical elements including marketing, industry and global concerns is also informed by the frameworks presented in the literature of this area. These include Richard Middleton and Peter Manuel’s *Grove Encyclopedia Online* article on “Popular Music” (2007), Anahid Kassabian’s 1999 entry for Popular Music in *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture* (1999:117), Middleton’s article “‘Play it again Sam’: Some notes on the productivity of repetition in popular music” (1983) and David Rowe’s book on the complex relationship between rock and politics, *Popular Cultures: Rock Music, Sport and the Politics of Pleasure* (1995). Also vital was Andrew Leyshon *et al*’s (1995) discussion of popular and “global music” in their article “The place of music.” David Brackett’s (2000) interesting analysis of the problem of discussing popular music in academia in the book *Interpreting Popular Music* also influenced this study.

These writings draw from the first three areas mentioned above, namely, ethnography, Western art music and popular music. They inform the fourth area of the framework, namely, the model of constructions of crossover. Through the literature survey and after examining the issues contained in the “labelling debate” above, it became apparent that although the term “crossover” clearly involved multiple layers of meaning, there was no scholarly identification of those layers. This study, therefore, offers a model for the construction of crossover. It defines nine constructions of crossover. These constructions are explored in detail in chapters’ two to seven. They are, namely, crossover as a marketing category, crossover to mark artist individuality, crossover to provide shortcuts and signposts, crossover to evoke associations of prestige, crossover to evoke associations of credibility, crossover to increase accessibility, crossover to confront, crossover and the death of classical music and finally, crossover and the homogenisation of music. Table 1 below outlines each construction. It highlights the range of derivation for each construction, from the comments of industry participants to

scholarly writings. It summarises general characteristics of each construction, including a variety of aspects such as retail spaces devoted to crossover (a characteristic demonstrating crossover's construction as a marketing category) and the media reduction of ideas (a characteristic of the construction of crossover to provide shortcuts and signposts). Finally, the Table recognises various uses of the constructions, noting, for example, the construction of crossover to provoke extreme views on the categorisation of music or the shift of the term "crossover" from an industry marketing term simply describing transition to a standalone marketing category. The rest of the study documents the context in which these constructions occur and therefore the meanings attributed to and the behaviour associated with the term "crossover." While the emphasis is on nine *separate* constructions, it should be noted that all have some degree of overlap, as noted throughout the thesis.

It is also important to note here several terms used in the discussion to describe the relationship of various parties with the nine constructions. As discussed above, the question "How do various parties engage, consciously or unconsciously, with the term 'crossover'?" guides this research. It is the assertion of this study that various parties may not only engage with the nine constructions in a *conscious* manner, for example, when an artist purposely *uses* crossover themes to quickly explain their music through media. They may also engage with constructions in an *unconscious* manner, for example, when a journalist labels an artist "crossover" without the artist's consent, the artist engages with the construction *unconsciously*. A similar distinction must be made between the terms "*use*" or "*apply*" and "*add*," "*contribute*" or "*reinforce*." As described above, the constructions of crossover identified in this study may be *used* or *applied* by various parties in conscious and unconscious ways. The parties, however, may also use and/or *add*, *reinforce* or *contribute* to new layers or perspectives to the constructions. Such addition may again be conscious or unconscious. Examples of the conscious or unconscious use of, or addition to, the nine constructions of crossover may be seen throughout chapters' two to seven and are clarified as necessary.

Table 1: Nine constructions of crossover

Construction	Derivation	Characteristics	Use
<p>1 Crossover as a marketing category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lewis (2002) comment on changing definitions of crossover • Similarities between the “constructed label” of world music (Guilbault 1996) and the “constructed label” of crossover 	<p>Crossover has:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • retail space in stores/online stores charts (e.g. <i>Billboard</i>) • marketing campaigns • fan groups (online) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New usage of the term • No longer simply a process of transition; now constructed as a standalone marketing category
<p>2 Crossover to mark artist individuality</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theme implicit in earlier (non crossover) research, artists claiming individuality because of musical exchange (e.g. Carclew Off the Couch (Carclew Youth Arts Centre 2002) • Similar theme in crossover marketing (The Zephyr Quartet) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artists citing diverse backgrounds • Artists claiming individuality through diversity/crossover 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crossover and diversity linked • Crossover and individuality linked • Individuality additional facet available to market the artist who incorporates diverse influences and activities into music making
<p>3 Crossover to provide media shortcuts and signposts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peter Hollo (FourPlay) comment on necessary media “shortcuts and signposts” (pers. com. 2002a) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media reduction of complex ideas • Themes that encompass simplified forms of complex ideas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To germinate reduced themes; • To promote crossover artists/projects despite discomfort at loss of complexity

Construction	Derivation	Characteristics	Use
<p>4 & 5 Crossover to evoke associations of prestige and credibility</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Idea that by “crossing over” the <i>music</i> of genres, artists/management were also merging meanings, connotations and associations attached to these genres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Variety of sources, e.g. Platt (2005), Howard Who? (2007) etc claiming “prestige” of Western art music Importance of “credibility” in remedying the “manufactured” image of many crossover artists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Associations of prestige/credibility made as a result of crossovers Association of credibility seen as important to counter the manufactured feel that many crossovers suffer from
<p>6 & 7 Crossover to increase accessibility and to encourage confrontation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Artist rhetoric on accessibility Artist/audience rhetoric on confrontation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Artists/projects that speak of the project to introduce new audiences to Western art music and making this music more accessible Artists/projects that use the concepts of “difficulty” or “inaccessibility” Audience responses to artist/project attempts at inaccessibility/acceptability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To make music accessible and to confront Combination to represent crossover artists
<p>8 & 9 Crossover in two larger musical debates</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lebrecht (1997), Teachout (1998) etc association of crossover with the “death of classical music” Crossover in this thesis results from the intersection of popular music and Western art music. Idea that this association might involve crossover in the wider debate on the homogenization of musics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> References to crossover in the “death of classical music” debate, e.g. Vroon (1999), Lebrecht (1997); References to “global musics” and “hybrid musics,” e.g. Leyshon (1995), During (1997) in the “homogenisation of popular musics and the musics with which they come into contact” debate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To ground/provoke extreme views on the categorisation of music

Historical cases of musical exchange and crossover

Crossover is not a new musical activity and is one that continues to flourish and provoke discussion in its current context. When reflecting on historical cases, it is evident that musical exchanges or “crossovers” have been part of music-making and have been studied for centuries. Some examples include the dual “high” and “low” appeal of traditional or folk ballads, carols, rounds and catches from the 11th to the 18th centuries (see, for example, Porter 2007, Bronson 1976, Stevens 2007, Greene 1935, Ballard 1992, Gagey 1968); the combination of Western art music and popular venue for performances of Bach’s 18th century Coffee Cantata (Anderson 1986); the combination of popular jazz and Western art music compositional devices in the “Symphonic Jazz” of the 19th century (see, for example, Collier 2007a, James 1983); in scholarly writings on borrowing, appropriation and difference (see, for example, Kartomi 1981, Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000) and in the 17th century publishing and mass production of ballads and instrumental music (Bradley 1968, Middleton 2007b). Such precursors to crossover and the study of exchange can be found in the discussion of historical cases of musical exchange and crossover in Appendix A. Broadly speaking such examples are captured in the themes of wide appeal, adoption of popular musical elements, scholarship on Western art music and its relationships with “Others” as well as mass production and marketing. As noted above, on occasion these historical cases may not feature the specific intersection of Western art music *string instruments* and popular musics. It is felt, however, that such cases provide material that is important to the larger task of this thesis, namely, investigating how various parties engage, consciously or unconsciously, with the term “crossover.”

Four primary artist examples

This study draws on many examples of crossover artists and projects to demonstrate how the nine constructions work in practical application. As noted, four primary artists have been selected. The selected artists are: U.K./Australian string group bond; Australian string group FourPlay; U.K. violinist Vanessa-Mae and U.K. violinist Nigel Kennedy (see Appendix B for biographies and Plates One to Four below for promotional photographs of each artist). These four were selected on the basis of high profile media coverage of their crossover activities.

NOTE: This plate is included on page 19 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate One

Promotional photograph of bond reproduced from (*Shine* 2002).

From left to right: Eos Chater (second violin), Gay-Yee Westerhoff (cello), Haylie Ecker (first violin) and Tania Davis (viola).

NOTE: This plate is included on page 20 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Two

Promotional photograph of FourPlay String Quartet
reproduced from (FourPlay 2007g)

Top left: Lara Goodridge (violin and vocals), top right: Tim Hollo (viola and vocals), bottom left: Shenton Gregory aka Shenzo Gregorio (viola and vocals) and bottom right: Peter Hollo (cello and vocals).

NOTE: This plate is included on page 21 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Three

Promotional photograph of Vanessa-Mae
reproduced from (Sony BMG Music Entertainment 2007b).

NOTE: This plate is included on page 22 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Four

Promotional photograph of Kennedy reproduced from (“Media: Galerie” [2007]).

Their individual musical activities and styles also represent a range of approaches to the term “crossover” and illuminate intricacies within the term. *bond* and *FourPlay* represent two string groups who work with crossover in different ways. *bond* is an all-female group, manufactured (e.g. created by a management team) and based in the U.K. In contrast, the group *FourPlay* is mixed-gendered, self-created and based in Australia. By comparison, Nigel Kennedy and Vanessa-Mae represent two violinists who have worked with crossover in similar ways, but who have been marketed differently. On the one hand, Nigel Kennedy is male and is widely known and marketed as an artist who explores well-known classical or popular pieces through interpretation, arrangement and program placement although he has written his own works. He is often marketed as a “down-to-earth” classical violinist. Vanessa-Mae, on the other hand, is female and is widely known for composing and collaborating on new works, though she has had success with re-workings of well-known classical or popular pieces. She is often marketed as a pop-star and sex-symbol. Both Vanessa-Mae and Nigel Kennedy have been subject to debates about their technical ability in the face of their populist leanings even though both have been classically trained in addition to receiving accolades for their involvement in more traditional classical recordings or concerts. The four primary artists have crossed over in many different ways throughout their careers, and the next section establishes the way these artists crossover between Western art and popular musics. It does *not* discuss the nine constructions or interpretations of the meaning of the examples. Such detailed analysis is the task of the rest of the study.

The artist’s ways to crossover

To examine how the primary artists cross over, this section identifies aspects of the artist’s work that come from Western art music and popular music genres. Identification of Western art music elements is straightforward for these artists and, as shown below, mainly consists of repertoire, instrumentation and training/background. Detection of elements from popular music genres is more difficult for the reasons seen in above discussions of the definition of popular music. To aid identification of such aspects this section makes use of Shuker’s “...general distinguishing characteristics of popular music genres” (Shuker 1998:147). Shuker’s characteristics fall into three categories that are described in expanded detail above. These categories include musical characteristics, image and associated visual style and audience (Shuker 1998:147-148).

Also important in this analysis is the context of musical exchange. At various points in their careers, all four artists examined here have been defined by their relationships with both

popular and Western art musics. These artists are continually portrayed as working alongside and against these genres. Such relationships are also identified here.

bond

The first crossover involving bond has links to Shuker's category of musical characteristics. bond's instrumentation is that of a traditional string quartet²¹ and all of its members have had extensive training in Western art music (see again Appendix B). The group's press releases describe their initial repertoire as comprising of a mixture of musical styles and genres, including classical, house, trance, salsa and East European folk song ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a) and later repertoire as "...more classically oriented...With it come[s] explorations of other styles, from African and electro beats, hip hop to Latin, and for the first time a sliver of jazz" ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007a). The tracks found on bond's recordings are in accord with these descriptions.

bond use three particular elements from the Western art music genre in their work. The first and most important of these elements is instrumentation. The second element is Western art music repertoire.²² The third element is part of bond's sound, that incorporates Eastern European folk influences in a way reminiscent of the work of composers such as Dvořák or Bartók (Burkholder 2007b). The arrangements found in bond's work could be played independently as Western art music quartet repertoire. According to the U.K.'s Chart Information Network, however, the drum, groove and sound affect accompaniments²³ used by the group and the fact that none of bond's works have been written by "a recognised classical composer"²⁴ puts bond's work "...outside the classical idiom..."(Midapp 2000:25), and into a crossover category.²⁵ This argument is accepted here as showing that bond's work does not belong in a standard classical genre. Also, while many of Shuker's musical characteristics of popular music genres can easily be found in bond's work, its Western art musical characteristics preclude it from fitting into a standard popular music genre. bond's

²¹ As noted in Appendix B, bond often use electric violins (riverrunner 2006 and Johnson 2002).

²² Examples include arrangements of Samuel Barber's *Adagio for Strings* (*Classified* 2004) and Alexander Borodin's *Stranger in Paradise* (renamed *Strange Paradise* by bond) (*Shine* 2002).

²³ Such sound effect accompaniments come out of popular styles and genres, including dance, house, trance, salsa and to an increasing degree, Latin.

²⁴ bond's recordings feature works composed by many different composers, including Croatian composer Tonci Hulijic, American composer/producer Magnus Finnes, and members of the group themselves (e.g. Gay-Yee Westerhoff "Kismet" (*Born* 2000) and Eos Chater "Midnight Garden" (*Classified* 2004)).

²⁵ The U.K. Chart Information Network's classification of bond's music "...outside the classical idiom..." (Midapp 2000:25) resulted in the removal of bond's debut single *Victory* (2000) from the classical popularity/sales chart (Iley 2001:29). This "controversy" generated publicity and interest for bond and is discussed further throughout the thesis.

combination of musical characteristics from both Western art and popular music genres must be examined in the context of crossover.

bond's main ways of crossing over are found in the group's ties to popular music genres and their engagement with Shuker's second category "image and associated style." Such crossovers are found in performances, general promotional activities and marketing. bond's carefully managed image is more that of a "pop group"²⁶ than a string quartet, but a pop group with a difference—as discerned by their use of the Western art music string quartet medium, making this crossover apparent.

Performances by bond involve a number of other crossovers. For example, a string quartet would normally play venues such as concert halls or chamber spaces. Rather, bond perform in venues such as a football stadium for the half-time show of the U.K.'s F.A.(Football Association) Cup (as told by info@bond-music.com) (pers. com. 2002) or the Royal Albert Hall (Iley 2001:29). Image and style strategies also reveal shifts in bond's performances from the normal string quartet, as can be seen in Plate Five (*bond Live at The Royal Albert Hall 2001*), an example that shows bond on stage at the Royal Albert Hall, brandishing their bows and holding their instruments in poses that have been drawn from rock/pop concerts. Also visible here are bond's midriff-revealing white costumes, that while vaguely Mozart-ian in design, are in stark contrast to the black suits and dresses often favoured by string quartets. The rhythm section accompanying bond can be seen in the background. This is in keeping with pop/rock stage design, where accompaniment/rhythm performers are positioned to the back and sides of the stage on small raised platforms that contain them, while the principle performers, usually vocalists, here the four members of bond, are positioned at the front and centre of the stage and are free to move around a large and unrestricted space. This unrestricted movement is achieved by sound engineering technology that allows music to be amplified through a small wireless transmitter attached to the performer's belt or instrument, allowing freedom from microphones or cords. As explained above, the members of the group are also known to use electric violins. Such technology has long been used in popular music genres but rarely in string quartet performance. Similarly, bond uses pop/rock lighting, with spotlights on the four members of bond and different coloured backlights highlighting accompanying musicians. These performance choices may not seem particularly significant

²⁶ "The term pop is often used in an oppositional, even antagonistic sense, to rock music, a dichotomy linked to notions of art and commerce in popular music" (Shuker 1998:225) For example Hill claims: "...Pop makes no bones about being mainstream. It accepts and embraces the requirement to be instantly pleasing and to make a pretty picture of itself" (Hill in Shuker 1998:225-226).

NOTE: This plate is included on page 26 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Five

Still image of bond on stage reproduced from
(*bond Live At The Royal Albert Hall 2001*).

for a group like bond when they are considered simply in the context of their pop group image, but when combined with their Western art music instrumentation and musical training of bond's members, they constitute crossovers.

bond also crossover in their general promotional work, particularly in their public and cross promotional appearances. The string quartet sign autographs for young fans (Leininger-Ogawa pers. com. 2001) and have been dressed in feathers for a photo shoot by Patricia Field, stylist for the American television sitcom, *Sex and the City* (Iley 2001:31). While Western art music string musicians are often used in advertisements for “timeless” products such as watches or cars,²⁷ the “Bond web team” write that bond have been invited to wear and perform in the clothes and shoes of fashionable young designers, make cameo appearances in a James Bond spoof film, *Johnny English* (2003) (pers. com. 2003a and pers. com. 2003b), and be seen as guests at the launch of a James Bond film (PartyKey 2002). These are all crossovers as defined by Lewis, namely, “...the merging of musical and production styles in an attempt to increase the musical appeal...” (pers. com. 2003).

Influencing both performances and promotional activities, it is bond's marketing that most defines them as a crossover group. The press release used to introduce the group to the world stated the group's “vision” as follows:

...there will be no still bow ties or flowing, black dresses, and neither will the performers be sat down in front of reams of sheet music at the mercy of a magisterial conductor. Instead, they will be a breath of complete fresh air – although classical in its instrumental make-up, the quartet will not be constrained by any existing genres or traditions. ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a)

bond is represented as a group bringing together different styles and genres in such press releases and in interviews.²⁸ Promotional material also draws on the high/low debate, suggesting stereotypical images of “high” culture “magisterial conductors” against bond's “breath of...fresh air” in their mix of “high” and “low.”

Shuker's third characteristic identifying popular music genres is that of audience, where “...forms of delivery...” (Shuker 1998:148) are particularly important. The Internet

²⁷ Examples of string musicians advertising watches for the companies Rolex and Raymond Weil can be found in Chapter Five. It is important to note that bond have also advertised Raymond Weil watches during their career ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007b).

²⁸ A point of interest that is discussed in further chapters is the degree to which bond themselves find their crossovers significant as opposed to the marketing rhetoric that surrounds them. While the members of bond are comfortable with describing themselves as a group that makes use of many different influences (*Today (NWS 9) – Featuring bond* 2001), they rarely talk about their music in terms of the great mission that their marketing material expounds.

constitutes one such form of delivery, becoming an open channel for the transaction between bond and their fans. bond are the subject of a colourful official website,²⁹ which features a well-populated fan forum and links to the group's MySpace profile and several fan-made websites. Fans of bond pursue interactions with the group, and on bond's official Japanese website³⁰ the members of the group often write animated journals giving fans details of their various tours and activities. bond's official website also encourages fans to become part of their "street-team" and receive emails which they are then expected to pass on to friends and family through the Internet.

Of course, none of these strategies are noteworthy alone. Popular music groups everywhere use similar devices and methods. It is in the way that bond are represented by their management and in the media, however, that renders their musical, performance, promotional and marketing strategies significant within the concept of crossover. This does not mean that bond is a crossover act merely because its management and marketing teams say so. It is the marketing rhetoric in combination with the group's instrumentation and education, with the music they produce and with the activities in which they engage that involves bond in the concept of crossover.

FourPlay String Quartet

Although bond enjoyed the above-described publicity generated when they were moved from the classical sales chart to the crossover sales chart, they did not make a serious attempt to refute their new classification. FourPlay, however, openly discuss their reluctance to be defined as a crossover group, viola player Tim Hollo commenting that: "...there is no crossover...it really doesn't matter whether you're playing country music on an acoustic guitar or metal, or classical music on a grand piano... it's all about communicating..." (pers. com. 2002). Nevertheless, bond and FourPlay have remarkably similar ways of crossing over and this thesis contends that FourPlay's ways of crossing over, exchanging or "fusing" warrant as much attention as those of bond.

FourPlay engages in many and varied crossovers of Western art music and the first of Shuker's three categories, popular musical characteristics. Each member has a background in Western art music (see again in Appendix B) and the group's instrumentation uses the framework of a traditional Western art music string quartet but adapts it to suit the

²⁹ bond's official website can be found at www.bondmusic.net. Apart from the uploading of pictures and information about new albums to the discography section, this website has not been significantly updated since 2004.

³⁰ This website can be found at www.universal-music.co.jp/classics/bond/index.htm.

arrangements that the group performs and to accommodate individual instrument preferences. This translates to the incorporation of vocals and one violin, one cello and two violas.³¹ It also includes amplification devices that allow for the addition of effects and for the instruments to be heard on stages in large and boisterous venues. The group explain their decision to “...use two violas as opposed to two violins (as a traditional string quartet would use) to produce a thicker, deeper sound” (FourPlay 2007a). This comment demonstrates that this instrumentation came about naturally, shaped by the music and by the musicians who are not interested in “...previously rigid musical compartments and styles...” (Goodall 2000:236), rather than a forced and “...[symbolic] plunder [of] the audience of another artist...” (Goodall 2000:235).

FourPlay also make use of the framework of traditional string quartet arrangements, “...the idea of music as amicable conversation of wit and sentiment...” as identified by Charles Avison in Paul Griffith’s *The String Quartet: A History* (Griffiths 1983:12). Vocal melodies and calls also feature prominently, however, and although this is not especially significant in the popular music industry itself,³² FourPlay’s position as an alternative/independent group rather than a commercial/industry group makes the incorporation of vocal lines noteworthy.³³

One style in particular that FourPlay draw from is electronic music. This resonates with Shuker’s emphasis on the importance of technology in musical genres that are to be defined as popular. Cellist Peter Hollo’s interest in electronic genres such as dub, drum ‘n’ bass and glitch has led to a project titled *Digital Manipulation* (2001), a double CD album of remixes of FourPlay’s works, created by both emerging and established Australian electronic artists. Although Hollo describes his call to “...[w]itness the next stage in [the string quartet’s] evolution” (Hollo 2001) as tongue in cheek (pers. com. 2003), the synthesis of genres surrounding and involving FourPlay are in keeping with Goodall’s (2001) comments above on the creation of new musical forms.

Violinist and vocalist for FourPlay, Lara Goodridge, has commented that “...string quartet[s], in classical terms...played popular music of their time and backwards...so that’s what we think that we’re doing...playing popular music, choosing a repertoire...” (pers. com. 2002).

³¹ This is a departure from the traditional two violins.

³² For example, string arrangements have been used as accompaniment to vocalists such as Donna Summer (“lush, sweeping strings” (Huey 2005)) and rock bands such as Electric Light Orchestra (“[t]hey wanted to create a new band with a string section along with traditional [rock band] instruments” (Artistfacts 2007)).

³³ As noted in Appendix B, FourPlay source and compose repertoire that is influenced by genres that exist outside of the mainstream and that are mainly guitar-driven. Within these genres, string quartet arrangements that incorporate vocal lines as a melodic focus and that are not simply further accompaniment to pieces written for guitar, bass guitar and drum, are rare. Also, the combination of vocal lines with elements of the Western art music string quartet represents another way in which the group crossover.

As innocuous as this seems, FourPlay are doing something more subversive than simply playing “...the popular music of their time.” One could argue that all popular groups play the popular music of their time. FourPlay cross over by playing popular music from non-mainstream genres using instrumentations and arrangements that have been adapted from the Western art music genre.

FourPlay appear in venues such as pubs and clubs that are traditionally the domain of pop and rock genres. The group also have their instruments amplified when they perform in these venues³⁴, crossing popular music genre technology with Western art music instruments. On one level, their performances in these venues can be seen as appropriate and even insignificant. FourPlay are an Australian band first and foremost, and pubs and clubs are the traditional venues for performances by Australian bands. The fact of the group members’ individual backgrounds in Western art music and the group’s instrumentation, however, makes these performances crossovers.

Although FourPlay do not find the concept of crossover especially significant or influential when creating their music, they do make use of the concept in marketing that music. FourPlay, like bond, tap into popular music genres through Shuker’s categorisations of “image and associated visual style” and “audience.” FourPlay’s “marketing crossover,” however, differs from that of bond. Where bond’s music is a direct attempt to create music that, through the marriage of the traditional string quartet and popular forms fills “...an obvious gap in the market...” (Iley 2001:31), FourPlay’s music is created first, with commercial and marketing strategies largely determined post production. It is in marketing their music that the concept of crossover becomes *useful* to FourPlay, while still not *significant* in the way they think about or create music. When writing press releases and biographies for FourPlay, Peter Hollo makes use of phrases that evoke crossover and fusion by including information about FourPlay’s “transform[ation] into an electric string quartet...[by buying] pickups and distortion pedals...” (FourPlay 2007a), quotes on FourPlay’s “...[inspiration] ...the Kronos, Balanescu and Brodsky Quartets’ blurring of the boundaries between classical and rock music...” (FourPlay 2007a) and quotes on FourPlay’s own music as “...More Metallica than Mozart. The first string quartet to have inspired moshing and crowd surfing...” (“Words about FourPlay String Quartet - Quotes” 2007).

FourPlay’s manager, Jordan Verzar, uses similar quotes and imagery when booking gigs for the group. Depending on the customer, Verzar will “...custom tailor...” (pers. com. 2002) the

³⁴ FourPlay’s instruments are, in fact, always amplified when they perform.

biographies that he sends out, in which FourPlay can become “...different things to different people...” (pers. com. 2002). FourPlay often become proponents of crossover, bringing together classical, rock, jazz, gypsy and other genres of music, but such emphasis is varied depending on the market being targeted. Peter Hollo describes tailored biographies, press releases and the quotes included therein as “shortcuts and signposts” (pers. com. 2002a),³⁵ embellishments on FourPlay’s fairly unmeditated (at least in terms of crossover) process of creating music that might just pique interest and attract new fans. Like bond, FourPlay also engage with Shuker’s criteria for participation in a popular music genre through their transactions with their audience. FourPlay have a comprehensive website maintained by Peter Hollo, and when fans try to contact the group through the site they often end up receiving personal replies from Peter Hollo, a “DIY” (Do It Yourself) practice that reflects FourPlay’s position as an independent Australian band but also represents a crossover when placed against FourPlay’s status as a string quartet.

Once again, these activities would not seem particularly significant if they were being carried out by an everyday independent Australian band trying to promote itself. The fact, however, that FourPlay is not “just” an everyday Australian independent band by dint of its use of Western art music instrumentation and the Western art music backgrounds of its members makes FourPlay interesting from the perspective of crossover, and a viable case study for this thesis.

Vanessa-Mae

Vanessa-Mae, at only 25 years-of-age, has already enjoyed a career spanning many years and many changes. In the past, crossover has been explicitly embraced as the focus of that career. More recently, however, crossover is something the violinist claims to actively avoid (Moss 2001). Using four categories for Vanessa-Mae’s music as suggested by a fan, it is possible to track Vanessa-Mae’s musical ways of crossing over, both creative and commercial. These draw on Shuker’s first category of popular music characteristics.

Writer for *The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae* fan website,³⁶ Vpa, classifies Vanessa-Mae’s music into four categories, the first being “...straightforward performances of existing music as the composer wrote it or as music scholars think the composer wrote it...” (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). Between 1988 and 1995, Vanessa-Mae did little in the way of

³⁵ Such “shortcuts and signposts” are the topic of Chapter Four, “Shortcuts and signposts: crossover and media themes.”

³⁶ As mentioned above, material drawn from the website *The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae* is no longer accessible (apart from the author’s own research copies) and the website (www.vanessamae.com) no longer exists.

crossing over, recording and touring three albums of “straightforward” Western art music repertoire (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]).

The second category for Vanessa-Mae’s music as identified by Vpa consists of “...Existing pieces of music but with some interpretation, additions, and changes; for example...a cadenza for a Mozart violin concerto on her first album recorded when she was 12...” (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]).³⁷ Overall, however, the second category of Vanessa-Mae’s music is still familiar in the culture of Western art music violin performances, where interpretation is often expected of artists. Crossovers between Western art music and popular forms are not dominant in this category of Vanessa-Mae’s music.

The third category of Vanessa-Mae’s music as explained by Vpa holds the greatest number of examples of commercial crossover that have been performed by Vanessa-Mae. Sections of “...Existing music or melodies arranged into something completely different...” (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]), such as Vanessa-Mae’s performance of J.S. Bach’s *Toccatà and Fugue in D Minor* (*The Violin Player* 1995), are prime examples of Goodall’s “commercial crossover” (Goodall 2001:235) or Lewis’s “...merging of musical and production styles in an attempt to increase the musical appeal...a marketing-led exercise...” (pers. com. 2003). Vanessa-Mae’s performance of the *Toccatà*, for example, borrows musical characteristics from Western art music and from popular music, including popular music technologies.³⁸ The piece consists of a straightforward rendition of the melodic line as written by J.S. Bach played on an electric violin and accompanied by an arrangement of drums, bass, guitar and synthesizer parts composed to evoke genres including rock, pop, house and dance. The arrangement is used to highlight certain sections of J.S. Bach’s melodic line, creating for the listener a sense of emphasis rather than synthesis between the parts. In contrast to FourPlay, Vanessa-Mae did not start with a compositional idea that was later marketed as the

³⁷ Some crossovers that are not related to Western art music/popular music can be found in this category, such as Vanessa-Mae’s version of “Classical Gas” (*The Violin Player* 1995), a piece originally written in 1967 by Mason Williams for classical guitar. Here the crossover is in instrumentation, but also “Classical Gas” is something of a crossover piece in its own right, written by Williams simply to be played at parties but becoming well-known as a result of William’s involvement on a televised comedy show (Williams 2007). A crossover between Western art and Chinese music can be found in Vanessa-Mae’s interpretation of “The Butterfly Lovers’ Concerto” (*The Classical Album 2 (China Girl)* 1997), the concerto originally written by Chen Gang and He Zhanhao in 1959 (Stock 2007). Vanessa-Mae has been quoted as saying that she engages with this piece because of her Chinese heritage (Vanessa-Mae in Walsh 1998).

³⁸ For example, technology drawn from popular musics can be found in Vanessa-Mae’s occasional use of electric violins, as discussed in Appendix B (Ted Brewer Violins 2007 and Zeta Music 2000).

bringing together of different genres. It was the idea of combining genres that was the impetus and basis for writing music that would allow Vanessa-Mae to target larger audiences.³⁹

Vpa's final category of Vanessa-Mae's music is that of "...completely original pieces..." (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). Until attempting these types of pieces, Vanessa-Mae's only compositional input into her recordings had been through interpretations and cadenzas. Vanessa-Mae was given her first chance to compose violin parts on the album *Subject To Change* (2001) and became involved in arranging and composing further parts while collaborating with various producers and musicians. Vanessa-Mae's approach to these pieces was to create "...the album I wanted to make...all original material..." (Moss 2001). It is difficult to tell, however, whether the music came before the marketing as information on Vanessa-Mae's intentions has come mainly from media reports.⁴⁰ Articles described Vanessa-Mae's latest work as:

...a full-blooded assault on the pop market...she has a clear vision of the limitations of a classical career...[and] what she wants to avoid are those records that fall between the two genres: an up-tempo version of the Four Seasons played against a disco backing track... (Moss 2001)

Whether Vanessa-Mae approaches her new "pop" (Moss 2001) music with a view to creating music for herself or in response to a perceived lack of market interest in crossover and classical music is not particularly clarified by the music itself. On first listening to this "pop" music, it seems that Vanessa-Mae is engaging in new genres and techniques, combining her violin lines with vocal lines, rhythmic accompaniments and electronic filters and sound effects.⁴¹

³⁹ As discussed in Chapter Seven, Mike Batt, producer and arranger of Vanessa-Mae's 1995 release *The Violin Player*, discusses his first meeting with Vanessa-Mae and her management and their interest in targeting larger audiences: "Vanessa was unclear as to what musical direction to take, but the one thing she knew was that she would stop at nothing to become rich and famous! This was clear from the outset. I explained that, coincidentally, I had been about to start composing a violin concerto. Pamela (Vanessa's mum) and the others said that this wasn't really what they had in mind. They wanted full-on pop success. Mel was very much a supporter of, shall we say, my "commercial abilities" in the area of being able to make a great pop record - a facet of me which I cannot deny- and which I am happy to have fun with at any opportunity!" (Batt [2007a])

⁴⁰ This is explained further in the section below on Sources.

⁴¹ On further listening, this thesis questions whether the combination of lyrical and melodic violin lines with a rhythmic accompaniment is anything particularly different from the category three work that Vpa identifies as "existing music or melodies arranged into something completely different..." ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). Although the violin parts do not already exist, and it is Vanessa-Mae writing such parts rather than composers of the Western art music tradition, the category four "completely original" ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]) works by Vanessa-Mae follow a very similar pattern to the category three works described above. This pattern includes a lyrical and romantic violin or vocal melody set against a rhythmic accompaniment that features signature techniques and devices evoking the particular genre that Vanessa-Mae is drawing on. For example, the single from the 2001 LP release, *Subject To Change* is a track called *White Bird*. Vanessa-Mae does play violin in this piece, but chooses to sing the main melody. The track opens with a pizzicato violin motif played against a steady disco beat and an electronic arpeggiation technique that has been used to great effect in popular songs like Madonna's "Beautiful Stranger" (1999). Later pieces on *Subject To Change* (2001) feature

We now turn to a discussion of Vanessa-Mae's crossovers involving the popular music genre characteristics identified by Shuker as "image and associated visual style" and "audience." The marketing and promotion that supported Vanessa-Mae's early classical recordings⁴² was small-scale, the three albums released on an independent French label called Trittico and never made available for wide distribution ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). This low key type of marketing, however, provided the perfect contrast for Vanessa-Mae's first image change in the form of the strategy designed and implemented by Mel Bush to market *The Violin Player* in 1995. As he did with bond, Bush organised a campaign for Vanessa-Mae that included performances drawing influence from the genres of pop and rock (e.g. including elements such as elaborate costuming, lighting, staging and choreography), noteworthy public appearances (e.g. Vanessa-Mae "...stopped traffic in Times Square, and leapt off a specially constructed stage on to the roof of a passing yellow cab" (Walsh 1998)), and carefully constructed press releases (e.g. As described further in Chapter Three, Vanessa-Mae's 1995 release *The Violin Player* featured a photograph of the then 16-year-old violinist in wet white shift⁴³ playing her violin [see Plate Nine]. Responding to criticism of this photograph, Vanessa-Mae commented: "If as a result of this, people see the violin as a fresh, trendy, up-to-date instrument, that's fine with me" (Vanessa-Mae in Levy 1995:1)).

Having discontinued her relationship with Bush, and as she moves away from her previous crossover image, Vanessa-Mae's marketing has featured more popular music influences, for

Vanessa-Mae returning to violin, playing melodic parts that are similar to the parts played on her "...naff crossover record..." (Moss 2001) *The Violin Player* (1995), combined with arrangements of beats and sound effects from genres such as hip hop, r 'n' b and drum 'n' bass. As with the works included on *The Violin Player* (e.g. *Toccata and Fugue in D Minor* mentioned above), the arrangements go no further than this combination – the listener does not receive a sense of synthesis between the violin part and the accompaniment, which could seemingly be isolated and heard as separate units as easily as they are layered over one another in Vanessa-Mae's songs.

The only musical differences between *The Violin Player* (1995) and *Subject To Change* (2001) are the genres from which the accompaniment material is drawn. It would seem that although Vanessa-Mae is quoted as intending to engage in something distinctly separate from her "...naff crossover records..." (Moss 2001) by writing and recording "...the album I wanted to make..." (Moss 2001), she has not quite succeeded in moving away from the formula established in *The Violin Player* (1995). It would also seem that the material on both *The Violin Player* (1995) and *Subject To Change* (2001) falls somewhat short of Goodall's concept of "...the true collaboration of idea A with style B to create form C..." (Goodall 2000:235). Although Vanessa-Mae's work definitely involves the collaboration of an "idea A" (her violin melodies) with a "style B" (e.g. hip hop, drum 'n' bass, etc.), the listener does not always receive a sense of synthesis between these two into a "form C," music that does not sound like the forced and "...symboli[c] plunder" (Goodall 2000:235) of a currently credible popular genre. There are certainly times when Vanessa-Mae's work approaches such a synthesis, and the listener hears the music as a cohesive unit of sound. For the most part, however, the constituent genres are too easily separated out and the listener is alerted to their difference by the very signature techniques and devices that are intended to ease the transition between them.

⁴² These three recordings were *Violin* (1991), *Kids Classics* (1991) and *the Tchaikovsky and Beethoven Violin Concertos* (1991) ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998] and Banaszak 2007).

⁴³ The *Australian Oxford Dictionary* defines "shift" as "4a a woman's straight unwaisted dress. b *archaic* a loose-fitting undergarment."

example, the album cover of *Subject To Change* (2001) features the violinist in a variety of costumes and poses but with a noticeable lack of violin. It could be said that the project of marketing Vanessa-Mae and her music has become more important than the project of combining violin with popular forms. Or perhaps Vanessa-Mae's current marketing team feel that Vanessa-Mae and violin are now synonymous—a photograph of Vanessa-Mae is enough to evoke her instrument.

During her 15-year career Vanessa-Mae continues to be one of the most obvious examples of a crossover musician, displaying both innovative and doubtful ways to bring different genres of music together. Whether she continues to do so or commits herself wholly to the task of creating pop music, she has already created a wealth of information for an analysis of crossover and its various constructions.

Kennedy

Like Vanessa-Mae, Kennedy has had a long career that has included many changes in musical and marketing focus. Kennedy's ways of crossing over can be found in both his musical involvements and his marketing, and this first section deals with his crossovers of musical characteristics. Kennedy mainly performs and records standard (as it was written by the composer) traditional Western art music. The violinist could have followed the path of many classical soloists, immersing himself in the culture in which he had received his training, receiving accolades and work within that culture but being relatively unknown to other musical cultures or to the general public. Kennedy, however became involved with the concept of crossover from an early age, fostering an interest in jazz alongside his classical studies at the Yehudi Menuhin music school, particularly through his collaborations with fellow students and with jazz violinist Stephane Grappelli (Kennedy 1991a:14-15). Unusually for a classical violinist, the first recording in Kennedy's discography is the 1984 release *Nigel Kennedy Plays Jazz*, featuring interpretations of jazz standards and a piece co-written by Stephane Grappelli and Django Reinhardt (Kennedy 1991:145). This was followed by a 1984 recording of the *Elgar Violin Concerto in B minor, Op. 61* and a 1987 release titled *Let Loose*, said to be a "...rock-jazz album...aim[ing] directly at the popular market..." (Kennedy 1991:145-146). In 1986, Kennedy brought the jazz and classical genres closer together, not only within his overall performance repertoire but also on an album release titled *Bartók: Sonata for Solo Violin/Ellington: Mainly Black* (Kennedy 1991:147).

Kennedy's initial recordings showed a willingness to cross over in the performance of different genres, but the violinist did not stop there. Kennedy released an album of his own

compositions in 1996. Titled *Kafka*, the album featured guest performances from musicians from a variety of popular genres, including Jane Siberry,⁴⁴ Brix Smith⁴⁵ and Robert Plant⁴⁶ (Muze Inc 1999). Guest performers such as these coupled with Kennedy's composition and arrangement enabled *Kafka* (1996) to bring together elements from many different musical genres, including jazz, rock and classical.⁴⁷ *Kafka* can be seen as an example of Goodall's "...true collaboration..." (Goodall 2000:235) between musicians and genres. In works resulting from such collaboration, justification for the inclusion of certain elements appears to come from the composer's intention, rather than being wrung from the project of bringing together genres for the sake of reaching new audiences.

Kennedy's next crossover brought his classical technique into contact with the music of one of the most well-respected rock guitarists of all time, Jimi Hendrix. The violinist's 1999 release *The Kennedy Experience* (1999) was "...an album of music inspired by Jimi Hendrix. It is an extended instrumental work in six movements – each movement is a classical interpretation of a Hendrix song" (Coles 1999). It is important to note that the work on *The Kennedy Experience* (1999) was not simply standard recitals of guitar pieces played on the violin. Rather, Kennedy was inspired by Hendrix's work, creating arrangements using an acoustic eight-piece of guitars, cellos, flutes, oboe, bass and, of course, violin ([Guitarist] n.d.). These arrangements are arguably as exciting and imbued with rock aesthetic as the original songs, this being achieved despite very different instrumentation and minimal amplification. Kennedy was adamant that his interpretation of Hendrix's work would not be simply:

...covers; I mean, covers are the enemy of creative music-making as far as I'm concerned. And because of that, I kind of gravitated away from electric violin for this music, because I wanted to have a different angle on it...it was better to come into the acoustic realm and spread out with the musicians, get them playing in a style that they weren't used to and which reflected their identities as players, mine as a composer and Jimi's as a composer...We don't have drums, so it's nice having all the players responsible for the rhythm...with the more classical members it's more notated, but I've got certain figures which I can call up with hand signals, so it doesn't have to be the same every time. ([Guitarist] n.d.)

⁴⁴ Siberry is a Canadian folk artist (Sheeba Records 2002) who changed her name to "Issa" in 2006 (Jane Siberry.com [2007]).

⁴⁵ "Throughout the 1980s, Brix Smith maintained one of the most divergent careers in pop music: she was simultaneously guitarist in the Fall, one of the most deliberately abrasive and confrontational post-punk acts, and the leader of the downright bubblegummy pop band the Adult Net, which maintained a fine line in vintage 1960s cover songs" In 2007 Smith released her first solo record (Mason 2007).

⁴⁶ Plant is the lead singer for seminal U.K. rock band, Led Zeppelin (Crowe [2007]).

⁴⁷ As described in Appendix B, Kennedy is also known to occasionally crossover by using an electric violin (Johnson 2002).

Kennedy has continued to draw motivation from rock music, creating a concerto inspired by the work of rock band The Doors in 2000 (Robson 2002:2). He speaks about approaches to such crossover work in similar terms to those used by Goodall (2000), warning against composers:

...who subscribe to techniques from the past, while trying to make it look as if they're inventing something new...I think it's a good idea for those people who haven't got the sense of rock timing, to leave it out until they've done what they'd probably consider a waste of time, which is hanging out in jazz clubs and playing with the right type of musicians until they've got the experience. Some classical musicians think they can just walk in front of an electric bass, make some money and be passed off as a decent contemporary musician. I think it's absolutely shocking. ([Guitarist] n.d.)

Kennedy's music is an example of Goodall's "creative crossover." It is important to note that this does not necessarily equate to critical acclaim, comments on Kennedy's work including: "...[his] own music was said to be full of insidious, lyrical tunes by those who liked it, but some critics used words like 'bizarrely unpleasant' and 'appalling'" (Clarke 2005). Goodall's concept of "creative crossover," however, does not call for the music to receive popular and critical acclaim, merely that a synthesis be achieved, and this thesis contends that this is the case with Kennedy's work.

As mentioned above, Kennedy also crosses over in his marketing as well as promotion, engaging with Shuker's categorizations of image and associated visual style and audience. We will now turn to a discussion of these aspects. Lewis⁴⁸ believes that:

...comparisons between Kennedy and other so-called crossover acts are possible as they all involve the marriage of classical music and mass marketing techniques. However, whereas some are marketing-led (everything starting from a desire to fill a gap within the market, or predict musical tastes), Nigel starts with his music and his own personality – he's artist led. And despite various musical experiments, he's most famous for playing straight classical music with no modern production techniques. (pers. com. 2002)

From this comment it would seem that for Kennedy, as with FourPlay's experience, crossover becomes significant only once the music has been written and recorded to the satisfaction of the composer and needs to be marketed to gain the attention of various demographics. Even at this stage, according to Kennedy and Lewis (pers. com 2001), not much is done in the way of creating an "image" for the violinist. Much is made in the media, however, about Kennedy's unusual costuming and hair cuts (Bartleby.com 2005), his animated body language during performances that involve a great deal more movement than is usual for a classical violinist

⁴⁸ Tom Lewis was Kennedy's international marketing consultant at EMI Records in 2002.

(Jayarajah 2001), his long-standing obsession with football team Aston Villa (Kennedy 1991:80-90) and his controversial and extremely quotable comments in interviews "...it's my job to get up the noses of the self-appointed wankers of music..." (The Arts Show 2001). If, as Lewis claims, "...this rebellious streak is a genuine manifestation of [Kennedy's] personality, rather than a marketing exercise..." (pers. com. 2002), they and Kennedy's manager, John Stanley, could barely have created a more productive strategy. Certainly, both the record company and Stanley go to great lengths to make use of this "...genuine manifestation..." of a personality that is "...focused on ambitions for the music rather than for himself...[who]...genuinely loves what he does" (Stanley 1991:xiii-xiv).

Of course, the fact that Kennedy is presented as a personality rather than a vessel for the personalities of long-dead composers is in itself a crossover. While it is a common and long-standing practice to present the personalities of popular musicians as the focus of a marketing campaign, it is only in recent years that classical soloists have been given the centre of attention in the promotional material for recordings and concert tours. Kennedy's "rebellious streak" has been pushed to the front of his marketing campaigns for many years, and even now, it is Kennedy's personality that is the focus for EMI's press releases to mark his 25th year of recording with the company, which include quotes such as: "*Nigel Kennedy's Greatest Hits* offers a compelling taste of the violinist's passionate music making and his determination to communicate honestly and personally" (Robson 2002).

Kennedy presents himself in interviews as the poster-boy for Goodall's concept of "...crossover in the Steven Reich sense...the true collaboration of idea A with style B to create form C..." (Goodall 2000:235). His works may not always win the appreciation of critics. His constant assertion, however, that he is a "musician who plays music and not just a certain part of it" ("Nigel Kennedy: Biography" n.d.) and his works, that provide the cohesive integration of elements from a variety of cultures, constitute ways of crossing over that provide information important to this thesis.

Other relevant examples

This thesis examines, in addition to the four primary artists, a number of secondary examples. Inclusion of such examples reveals something of the range of artists and projects that take part in this particular crossover. Noting this, secondary examples are introduced and examined in the study only when relevant to a specific construction. Although not the main focus of this thesis, these secondary examples are part of the aim of this study, introduced as "other relevant cases." Examined individually, these cases often illustrate certain single points of

argument more clearly than the four primary examples who were selected for their overall profile and activities. When taken together they reveal interesting oppositions and comparisons in discussion of the nine constructions. As noted above, on occasion these examples may not feature the specific intersection of Western art music *string instruments* and popular musics but are important to the larger task of this thesis, namely, investigating how various parties engage, consciously or unconsciously, with the term “crossover.”

Method

Sources

Sources for this study fall into four categories. These are scholarly publications, crossover artist biographical and promotional information (often web-based), critical reception (media sources), and information gleaned from fans of crossover projects and artists (often web-based). As will be shown, these sources determine how the term “crossover” is used by various parties and guide ideas on the social and cultural implications of the term. References to the particular crossover between Western art and popular musics found in scholarly writing (such as those outlined in the Theoretical framework section above)⁴⁹ do not necessarily discuss the particular crossover of interest, but still resonate with the themes of this study.

The sources for crossover artist biographical and promotional material included vast quantities of Internet text,⁵⁰ photographs, music videos, fliers, brochures and posters. While some of the primary artist examples proved difficult to interview, as seen below, both Bond and Kennedy were swift in providing promotional materials. Initial surveys of such materials gave rise to many of the constructions of crossover examined in the study.

Critical reception of the examples in this study was the third source category and was collected from newspapers, magazines, television and radio interviews as well as the Internet. It is important to note that there are many layers within critical reception. These range from the truly critical work of recognised reviewers in well-regarded newspapers and magazines such as *Gramophone*⁵¹ or *Billboard*⁵² to reception that draws heavily on press releases

⁴⁹ These include the writings of Christopher Small (1977, 1998), Bruno Nettl (1985, 1989), Robert Walser (1992), Norman Lebrecht (1997), Allen Gimbel (2001), Steve Beresford (1998), Robert Fink (1998), Howard Goodall (2000).

⁵⁰ As noted above, material drawn from some of the promotional websites important to this study is no longer accessible (apart from the author’s own research copies) and the websites in some cases no longer exist. Some material from such websites, however, was drawn from outside sources such as record company promotional material, newspapers and magazines, and may still be traceable by approaching those sources.

⁵¹ *Gramophone* is a U.K. based magazine on the topic of classical music, first published in 1923 (Gramophone 2007). The electronic format of this magazine, *Gramophone Online*, can be found at www.gramophone.co.uk.

provided by management and record companies but does not cite this reliance. It is sometimes questionable whether latter items are actually critical. In this study examples of such items have been found on television chat shows and magazines (e.g. interviewer for Australian television channel NWS 9's *Today* show, Richard Wilkins, directly quotes bond press releases in introducing the group (*Today (NWS 9) – Featuring Bond* 2001), as does men's magazine *FHM (For Him Magazine)* (*FHM* 2002). It is only when the difference between the layers of critical reception becomes important in ascertaining the reasons or agendas behind use of the term "crossover" in this study that the sources of such reception will be highlighted and discussed.

The final source for this study, information gleaned from fans of crossover projects and artists, has been gathered largely from the Internet. Research accessed from web-forums and fan sites has often led to email interviews, which have, in turn, provided excellent data on the use of, and response to, the term "crossover" by audiences. Such responses range from the use of the term to define identity, to philosophical musings on the term's scope.

This study takes a highly interpretive approach to analysing the written and verbal statements as well as observed behaviour found in the sources in order to provide a deeper understanding of how various parties engage, consciously or unconsciously, with the term "crossover." It thus helps to distinguish what various parties "say" from what they "do."

Fieldwork

To gain a more complete view of the term "crossover," fieldwork in the form of interviews with all case studies was initially expected to be an integral part of the data collection for this thesis. Every effort was made to establish contact with stakeholders in the field of crossover music in order to organise interviews on their experience of crossover. These included artists, management groups, journalists, academics and audiences. In some cases, however, access to these people was restricted and many were in fact based overseas or interstate. To overcome this problem, telephone and email interviews were set up with these artists and promotional and journalistic sources of information collated. This approach was intended to provide a detailed understanding of the experience of those involved in crossover. Unfortunately, no interviews with bond, Vanessa-Mae and Nigel Kennedy were possible as a result of changing managements and circumstances. This not only affected the progress of this research, but it

⁵² *Billboard* is a music and entertainment magazine with headquarters in New York and offices worldwide (*Billboard.com* 2007a). It was first published in 1894 and its electronic format, *Billboard.com*, can be found at www.billboard.com.

also required major revision of the method. It was decided that the thesis would analyse sources of promotional material and critical reception with regard to these artists in order to gain an understanding of how these artists and their support staff engaged with the term “crossover.” It was also felt that the personal experiences of artists, when available, would add a further layer of insight. With this in mind, interviews were conducted with FourPlay in Sydney, early 2002. This face-to-face interaction added depth to the fieldwork.

Chapter organisation

Chapters’ Two to Seven examine the nine constructions of crossover, by identifying the construction, its boundaries and scope, followed by an investigation of how various examples engage with the construction.

Specifically, Chapter Two discusses the construction of crossover as a marketing category and the idea that this represents a new layer of meaning for the term. The themes of this chapter continue throughout the other chapters in this study as crossover had its origins in marketing and marketing remains central to the definition of the term.

Chapter Three looks at the notion that crossover is constructed as a mark of artist individuality. It discusses the common need for artists to define themselves as distinctive and interesting and suggests that this construction represents a further marketing facet for the artists involved in crossovers.

Chapter Four examines the use and construction of crossover as media shortcuts and signposts as well as the “necessary” reduction of ideas and information that this can entail. It asks how crossover is constructed as a shorthand way to explain to a lay person what is important about a musical act.

Chapter Five investigates the perception that different genres of music carry well-known associations. For example, in this chapter, classical music is said to be associated with prestige, while popular music is said to have credibility. The chapter asks how crossover is constructed with regard to these associations, and how (or if) crossover can be used as a way of conveying prestige or credibility onto certain musics.

Chapter Six describes two alternate tactics used by artists and promotional teams to attract audiences, namely, the construction of crossover to increase accessibility and the construction of crossover to confront. It focuses on examples of crossover artists who describe a desire to introduce new audiences to Western art music as well as artists and projects that engage with

the themes of difficulty or inaccessibility in order to attract a certain kind of audience member.

Chapter Seven outlines two constructions of crossover in the context of two current musical debates. The first is the role of crossover in the debate on the perceived ‘death or salvation?’ of Western art music. The second is the role of crossover in a debate on the perceived “homogenisation” of musics by popular music genres. It also explores the role of crossover (if any) in exacerbating or averting such homogenisation.

Chapter Eight, the conclusion, reflects on how various parties, unconsciously or consciously, engage with the term “crossover” with respect to the nine constructions of crossover.

Chapter Two

Crossover as a marketing category

This chapter examines the construction of crossover as a marketing category.¹ It seeks to understand how this construction is applied and reinforced in the promotion and critical reception of a range of artist examples.

Identifying the construction and its scope

Before proceeding to examples of the construction, it is first important to discuss how the construction was identified and introduce some of its known characteristics and markers. As noted previously, comments made by Lewis² prompted initial identification of the construction of crossover as a marketing category. Lewis discussed the idea that crossover had once been an industry term used simply to describe the transition of an artist from niche to mainstream market, but suggested that the term's definition had come to include the act of combining musical and production styles in order to attract new audiences and increase appeal (pers. com. 2002). Lewis also commented that the term had been adopted by consumers. These observations were the first indication for the author that the term "crossover" was not only evoking more layers of meaning than those found in general definitions of the term but that it was also being constructed as a marketing category.

Further identification of the construction occurred through an examination of Guilbault's (1996) abovementioned work as well as the discussion of Andrew Goodwin and Joe Gore (1990) on the label, or what Goodwin and Gore refer to as the "promotional label" of "world music," also known as "world beat." Despite their focus on world music the following quotes from these writers resonated strongly with the author's thoughts on crossover as a marketing category. As Guilbault noted:

Other discourses on world music point to the difficulties of defining the new category. Everybody seems to agree that it is not a genre, that there is no clear definition...And yet, as Goodwin and Gore point out, it is constructed as a genre... (Guilbault 1996)

Goodwin and Gore themselves reflected:

The eclecticism inherent in most World Beat music does not...allow us to make an easy case for its coherence...as a musical genre or category...World Beat...or World Music...has been constructed by musicians, critics, and entrepreneurs as a genre in itself, so that it is now a promotional label (like "heavy metal" or "soul") with its own sections in record stores, its own magazines, specialty shops, and labels...festivals...radio and television

¹ This thesis examines nine constructions of crossover and in a sense each of those nine constructions illuminates some aspect of crossover's construction as a marketing category. This chapter, however, focuses on this construction in the greatest detail.

² Tom Lewis was an international consultant for EMI in 2002, as explained above.

programs...and so on. World Beat is now institutionalised within the music and media industries. (Goodwin and Gore 1990:66-67)

Guibault, Goodwin and Gore imply in these statements a distinction between what could be called “real” genres and constructed genres.³ This distinction can be useful when thinking about crossover. Guilbault implicitly poses the question of how world music could be constructed as a genre even while “[e]verybody seems to agree that it is not a genre...” (Guilbault 1996)? In the context of this thesis an answer to the question may be that crossover, like world music, could be defined as a *marketing category* that shares some of the same characteristics with “real” musical genres but otherwise does not appear to be a “real” genre.

Before this point is explored, however, another question arises and must be dealt with here. Although engaging with the definition of “genre” itself is not the aim of this chapter, we must ask what is actually meant by a “real” genre and how is such a genre defined and distinct from constructed genres or marketing categories? It appears that lines are blurred with regard to this distinction. Shuker (1998) for example, defines genre “...basically as a category or type...” (Shuker 1998:145) and quotes Frith (1987) who explains that the customary approach to defining musical genres is “...to follow the distinctions made by the music industry which, in turn, reflect both musical history and marketing categories” (Frith in Shuker 1998:145).⁴ Frith therefore makes a distinction between what might be called a “real” genre and the marketing category that it “follows,” but this is not in itself helpful in defining a “real” genre. It might, then, be instinctively suggested that a “real” genre is in some way more authentic than a constructed genre or marketing category, its roots being traceable to a defining event, perhaps even linked to a scholarly definition separate from commercial concerns and classifications. Such musings, however, are subject to uncertainties when one considers the

³ It is felt that although the term “real” with regard to genre needs double quote marks around it to signal the debate below over whether such genres are not constructed but are, in fact, “real.” It is also felt, however, that the term constructed genre does *not* need double quote marks around it as there is no debate over whether the genres attached to the term are built from a range of the ideas and behaviours of various parties.

⁴ Samson (2007) defines genre as follows: “A class, type or category, sanctioned by convention. Since conventional definitions derive (inductively) from concrete particulars, such as musical works or musical practices, and are therefore subject to change, a genre is probably closer to an ‘ideal type’ (in Max Weber’s sense) than to a Platonic ‘ideal form’. Genres are based on the principle of repetition. They codify past repetitions, and they invite future repetitions. These are two very different functions, highlighting respectively qualities of artworks and qualities of experience, and they have promoted two complementary approaches to the study of genre. The first is properly a branch of poetics, and its students have ranged from Aristotle to present-day exponents of an analytical aesthetic. The second concerns rather the nature of aesthetic experience, and is best understood as an orientating factor in communication. This perspective has been favoured by many recent scholars of literature and music, and reflects a more general tendency to problematize the relation between artworks and their reception” (Samson 2007).

histories of “real” genres such as the blues,⁵ rock ‘n’ roll⁶ or even classical music,⁷ each genre shown to be “constructed” in some way. Instinctively, many would say that these genres represent three of the most “authentic” and “real” musical genres in existence. If the histories of these genres contain evidence of construction, however, how can we distinguish between “constructed” labels or marketing categories like world music and supposed “real” genres?

Despite these difficulties, which present possibilities for further research and clarification beyond the scope of this study, there is still something that instinctively suggests that labels like world music and crossover do not represent “real” genres.⁸ This chapter proposes that, regardless of whatever position on genre one might take, crossover is better defined as a *marketing category* rather than labelled as a genre. This chapter goes further to suggest that the label of crossover is constructed as a marketing category in order to sell musics that benefit from the appearance of being part of a “standard musical genre.”⁹ Crossover’s

⁵ Two stories that are often told in connection with the beginning of the blues show the genre to have at least in part been constructed in order to satisfy commercial concerns. Both stories were originally told by “...one of the [twentieth century’s] most important bandleaders, composers, and musical publishers,” W.C. Handy. Handy explained how in 1903 he saw “...a lean, loose-jointed Negro...plunking a guitar...[a]s he played, he pressed a knife on the strings of [the] guitar...[t]he effect was unforgettable” (Handy in Davis 1995:25). Handy later told a story about a “...local coloured band...” that played a few dances in between Handy’s own band’s sets at a concert in Mississippi. After the local band had played, Handy noted “[a] rain of silver dollars began to fall around the outlandish, stomping feet...there before the boys lay more money than my nine musicians were being paid for the entire engagement. Then I saw the beauty of primitive music. They had the stuff the people wanted. It touched the spot (Handy in Davis 1995:26). Handy, “...a bootstrap entrepreneur savvy enough to know that the creation of personal myth came with the territory...” (Davis 1995:26) went on to write the first blues vocal to be recorded (Weissman 2005:19). He saw the market potential in this music and helped construct the label of “blues” to contain it.

⁶ The term “rock ‘n’ roll” also had some construction with regard to the concerns of commercial categorization. Disc jockey Alan Freed, “...an early and influential advocate of rhythm and blues...began using the term...through him, “rock and roll” became a code word among whites for rhythm and blues...Freed linked the term “rock and roll” to rhythm and blues, so it’s no wonder that...Dave Bartholomew, the mastermind of so many New Orleans rhythm and blues hits, commented that rock and roll was rhythm and blues (Campbell and Brody 1999:80). Bartholomew said, undoubtedly with some bitterness, “We had rhythm and blues for many, many a year, and here come in a couple of white people and they call it rock and roll, and it was rhythm and blues all the time!” (Bartholomew in Campbell and Brody 1999:80). Even while Freed’s contribution to the construction of the genre “rock n roll” may have stemmed from altruistic notions of promoting “black” rhythm and blues to white audiences, it was a construction that engaged the genre with a wider range of commercial applications, as evidenced by Freed’s subsequent success as a “rock n roll” promoter (Campbell and Brody 1999:80).

⁷ “Classical” or Western art music is often described in terms of its construction, for example, by Robert Walser who says that: “classical music is not just ‘great’ music; it is a constructed category that reflects the priorities of a historical moment and that services certain social interests at the expense of others...an ‘invented tradition’...[it] achieves its coherence through its function as the most prestigious musical culture of the twentieth century” (Walser 1992:265).

⁸ This “something instinctive” would make up an important part of further research.

⁹ While artists may use the crossover marketing category to define themselves as insiders to a “standard” crossover marketing category, they may simultaneously use it to define themselves as outsiders to “standard” marketing categories by defining themselves and the larger crossover marketing category as existing outside all music category boundaries, as discussed in Chapter Three.

construction as a marketing category facilitates the selling of music that involves exchange.¹⁰ The examples discussed below reinforce the fact that crossover is no longer simply a retrospectively applied term used to describe a transition process and has become a marketing category available to many types of artist and musical projects.

The phrase “marketing category” is used in this thesis to describe the classification of musics into promotional and saleable categories. The term “marketing” is defined by the *Australian Oxford Dictionary* as “1. the action of business of promoting and selling products, including market research and advertising,” while the term “category” is described as “1. a class or division.” Thus, together they become a division to sell products. By examining some of the numerous retail situations that make use of the marketing category of crossover, some markers of the construction of crossover as a marketing category can be identified. Above, Goodwin and Gore identify several markers that point to the existence of a constructed genre or marketing category, including “record stores...magazines...specialty shops...labels...festivals...radio and television programs...and so on” (Goodwin and Gore 1990:66). Such markers can be found when identifying crossover as a marketing category and include: the sections in music shops that are dedicated to crossover items (All Media Guide 2007); the crossover music sales and popularity charts, for example mainstream media *Billboard Magazine’s* “Classical Crossover Chart” (*Billboard.com* 2007b) and independent media Audiostreet’s “Classical: Crossover” chart (Audiostreet.net 2007); the “crossover campaigns” undertaken by the marketing departments of classical artists;¹¹ and the online communities devoted to classical crossover (Last.fm 2007a).

¹⁰ This and the points made in the paragraph immediately above can also be said for the label world music. The focus of this chapter is, however, crossover, and therefore references to world music will from now on be kept to a minimum to avoid confusion.

¹¹ An example of such a campaign is the 2002 calendar created by John Henry Martin Design and used to promote the national concert season of the Australian Chamber Orchestra (hereafter ACO). Promotional photographs of members of the orchestra are used to render the ACO and its members more accessible to the public. A short quote on their individual experience of the ACO is accompanied by a photograph that uses props to illustrate the quote, often in a humorous manner. One photograph and quote that could perhaps be seen as a meta-comment on such crossover campaigns can be found on page 13 of the calendar and can be seen in Plate Six below. This picture features oboist Anthony Chesterman not only dressed in jeans and a t-shirt, but also wearing a mediaeval-style minstrel’s jacket and cap (with obligatory feather). Chesterman’s quote reads: “We don’t need to dress up to capture the spirit of the music” (Australian Chamber Orchestra 2002:13). Taken at face value, this example could be read as a joke that plays only on the juxtaposition of Chesterman’s comment and his costume. Another reading could be a semi-serious comment on the ACO’s lack of “formal” performance uniform in their promotional photography. A further and more complex reading could be that Chesterman is commenting on “crossover” marketing campaigns as a whole, signalling that although the ACO *itself* is not above engaging in the fun and frivolity of such campaigns, they “...don’t need to dress up to capture the spirit of the music” and ACO *performances* are above the trappings of today’s classical marketing strategies (Australian Chamber Orchestra 2002:13). Through this campaign the ACO have “crossed over” while marketing a pre-existing music or performance that did not attract the crossover label (at least from those involved in its creation) in its un-marketed form. By doing this the ACO constructs crossover as a marketing category.

Having established the scope and identification of the construction of crossover as a marketing category, the remainder of the chapter examines examples and markers specific to the construction's application in the promotion and critical reception of the study's four artists.

bond

As discussed in Chapter One, bond's most significant crossovers occur in its marketing. In crossing over in this way, bond is heavily involved in both using and adding to the construction of crossover as a marketing category. In this section we will examine bond's use of crossover in marketing. Part of bond's marketing involves discussion about whether or not the group actually have a marketing team working for them and whether this marketing team "set up" their crossover identity. In interviews the four members and their manager continually deny that the group and their image were/are manufactured in any way:

They were not, I was told, created and manipulated like Hear'Say.^[12] There was no stylist genius behind their outfits, no Svengali with a vision...Mel Bush shrugs at the notion of classical Spice [Girls]. "I don't mind any comparison that's a reference to a successful artist. But that's never how I saw them. There's no choreography and manipulation process, no dance steps, I don't put any restrictions on any newspaper reporters as to what they can speak to them about. Their look just reflects a general trend. The girls like to dress attractive, and sometimes they like to get noticed." (Iley 2001:29-31)

Bush's comment that he had never thought of bond as the "Classical Spice Girls," however, perhaps implies that he had had *some* image in mind, if not that particular one. Press around the world take it for granted that bond were created to fulfil a marketing vision, casually outlining the "gimmick [of the]...state-of-the-art product" (MusiciansNews.com [2001]) and writing about the mix of "four foxy female classically trained musicians from Australia and Great Britain...concert promoter Mel Bush, and top producers Magnus Finnes, Yoad Nevo and Gareth Cousins [resulting in] ...an ear pleasing mixture of classical tracks made palatable for mass consumption" (Ingle n.d.). The theme of a bond "package" runs throughout press and marketing for bond, the constituent parts of the package presenting as both marketable and un-marketable aspects in equal parts. For example, Mel Bush is often described in hushed tones as "...one of the [U.K.'s] best known, best-connected concert promoters..." (Iley 2001:29), bringing an air of industry credibility to bond through his involvement. In the next

¹² "Hear'Say was a British pop group created in February 2001 from the winners of *Popstars*, an ITV reality TV show based on a New Zealand show of the same name" (Wikipedia 2007a).

NOTE: This plate is included on page 49 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Six

Promotional photograph of oboist Anthony Chesterman reproduced from (Australian Chamber Orchestra 2002).

breath, however, press will denigrate the group's association with Bush as a sign of their subscription to the mainstream music industry's gimmickry and artifice, and to Bush's particular marketing category of crossover. An idea that bond's success so far has been too big *not* to be constructed through some sort of marketing vision has been implicit in the writings of many journalists. This thesis posits below that this marketing vision is one that makes use of, and in turn contributes to, the construction of crossover as a marketing category. As established in the beginning of this chapter, crossover's construction as a marketing category can be identified by several markers, these including the existence of crossover sales/popularity charts, crossover retail sections and crossover online communities (fan groups). Crossover online fan groups often form through personal networks, for example, the group that formed out of the website "Last.fm" (Last.fm 2007b) came together when one "Last.fm" member started a "Classical Crossover" group and other members were informed about the group because their individual listening "profiles" (interests) matched up with the listening profile of the Classical Crossover group. Such groups can become a great source of information and market research for record companies, so much so that it is often in the interest of record companies to mimic the grass roots networking activity of fans and to add to the construction of crossover as a marketing category by creating their own crossover fan groups. bond's record company maintain an e-mailing list and a fan forum through the group's website alongside the fan forums set up by fans on their own websites. An outline of e-mailing list and fan forum activity for bond is now examined to determine how the group's management imitate the grass roots networking activity of fans, thereby making use of and contributing to the construction of crossover as a marketing category.

Initially, interested fans who "contacted bond" by emailing to the address¹³ found on the group's website were added to an e-mailing list that was maintained by the Mel Bush Organisation. In October 2002, fans on this e-mailing list were encouraged by the "Bond web team" to register for "bond Bulletins – the NEW bond mailing list!" (pers. com. 2002a). The new list (run by a company called Fanscape¹⁴) features regular colour updates with news, pictures and links to short video clips of upcoming bond videos or MP3s of new works. According to the "Bond web team," fans who join "bond Bulletins" are also invited to join "the street team" (pers. com. 2002a), a network of fans that: "...help share bond's music and news with [their] friends and others. In return [they]...receive exclusive and advance news, music and updates on bond" (pers. com. 2002a). A questionnaire was part of the registering

¹³ This address was info@bond-music.com (pers. com. 2002).

¹⁴ More information about this company can be found at <http://www.fanscape.biz/history.asp>.

process for both the bond Bulletins and the street team in 2002. It asked for various details including fans' residential locations, musical tastes and age groups. The registering process in 2007 asks for fans residential locations and mobile phone details, including details of their mobile service providers. The mailing list and street team¹⁵ are effective market research tools, garnering a variety of information that helps bond's management segment their market and target specific groups of consumers.

Two currently (2007) operating bond fan forums include the "official" bond fan forum¹⁶ and *Explosive: A Bond Fan Forum*.¹⁷ The "official" bond forum is difficult to navigate, separated only into the categories "All About Bond" and "Everything Else." These two categories contain many requests from fans asking when they will receive new word of bond along with discussion that moves between topics on bond and its members (e.g. "Happy Mother's Day Tania!" (Rhapsodykat 2007)) to miscellaneous topics involving the fans themselves (e.g. "What do you do in your free time?" (neurosurgeon451 2007) *Explosive: A Bond Fan Forum* is easier to navigate and is separated into main categories and sub-categories, including "Introduction" (with sub-categories "Introduce yourself" and "Rules"), "Recording Studio" (with sub-categories "News and Updates," "Bond" and "Media") and "Backstage" (with sub-categories "Open Discussion," "Games," "Fan Art," "Fan Fictions"). As with the bond official forum, the discussion of fans ranges from detailed speculation on bond and its members to diverse topics of conversation (*Explosive: A Bond Fan Forum* 2007).

Fan forums and mailing lists represent crossovers in and of themselves as they combine bond's Western art music string instrumentation and member backgrounds with popular music Internet marketing tools. Although the members of bond are not specifically required to write to the mailing list or appear on the fan forum, there is always a pervading feeling that they *could*, that perhaps Davis or Chater might be reading and hearing the messages their fans put into the public domain.¹⁸ This level of personal engagement is commonly part of the culture of popular music but not as common in the culture of Western art music, although it is becoming more so. Along with constituting crossovers themselves, fan forums and mailing lists that require active participation from fans are also important in establishing bond's involvement with the construction of crossover as a marketing category. "Street team" and

¹⁵ The street team also has further uses as an advertising tool, mentioned below.

¹⁶ This forum can be found at <http://bb02.sov.uk.vvhp.net/bondmusic/YaBB.pl>.

¹⁷ This forum can be found at <http://bondexplosive.proboards39.com/index.cgi>.

¹⁸ Occasionally the members of the group have written to the mailing lists. These messages are never in response to a particular fan inquiry and simply comprise a few paragraphs from the individual members of bond, such as Davis and Chater's 2003 comments on bond's tours of Japan and Seoul, including "We also got some time to laze by the pool, which is a very rare luxury for us" (Chater in Bond Bulletin #7 2003).

mailing list fans receive and discuss promotional rhetoric in extreme detail and often use bond promotional rhetoric as evidence in arguments on the forums. This can lead to the reinforcement of bond marketing rhetoric. By extension, it also perpetuates simplistic analyses of the high/low debate as well as encouraging forum members to discuss genre definition. For example, when discussing the work of another string quartet who “cover” several bond pieces, one forum member writes “Their music sounds far more New Age, tha[n] Classical-Crossover” (born kismet 2007). Such comments and conversations conducted in forums and as a result of mailing list participation add to various constructions of crossover, but most importantly for this chapter, clearly add to the construction of crossover as a marketing category by acknowledging a “Classical Crossover” category and by discussing its boundaries.

bond’s promotional photography, video clips and promotional appearances also make use of the construction of crossover as a marketing category. Promotional photography appears in a variety of places, including magazines, newspapers, posters, websites and on the artwork of compact discs, cassette tapes, digital video discs and video cassettes. One bond fan, Nancy,¹⁹ found that for the DVD *bond Live at The Royal Albert Hall* (2000) (see Plate Seven below), the promotional photography on the “...cover is impressive, is like [bond] are challenging you to listen and not like them” (pers. com 2002). Another example of bond’s promotional photography, seen in Plate Eight below, is the image that was intended to promote bond’s debut LP, *Born* (2001) but was eventually rejected by record company Decca:

...at the photo shoot for Born the [members of bond] appeared to be naked. The record company, Decca, vetoed it as a promotional shot, yet it got out, appearing in the Sun and all over the internet. It even appeared in a Gloucestershire weekly to illustrate an article about foot fetishists (with the girls’ feet somewhat enlarged). Whose idea was it? Bush says: “...It wasn’t my idea, I wanted a first album cover that would be more representative. I hoped it would be around for the next 20 years and I wanted it to have a timeless quality. The one we used with just head shots was much stronger. It was this picture alone that sold out the Albert Hall. I think it must have come from a different faction of the record company, the naked stuff.” (Iley 2001:31-32)

It is important to note here that although bond are naked in the photograph, strategically placed legs and arms cover body parts that would cause the photograph to be censored. bond are still remembered for this photograph today, and if the 1995 photograph of Vanessa-Mae

¹⁹ Fan informants are identified in this thesis by their given names only to ensure anonymity, while music industry and artist informants are identified by their full names.

NOTE: This plate is included on page 53 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Seven

Cover photograph from *bond Live at the Royal Albert Hall* DVD reproduced from (*bond Live At The Royal Albert Hall* 2001).

NOTE: This plate is included on page 54 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Eight

Promotional photograph of bond reproduced from (Iley 2001).

wearing a wet shift, discussed further in Chapter Three, is anything to go by, will be for some time. At least one branch of bond's publicity team continued to use the image after Bush had reported it vetoed.²⁰ Although Bush denied having anything to do with the apparently naked bond photograph in the first place, he cannot deny its selling power. It seems almost too obvious to point out that another Bush-managed crossover artist's (Vanessa-Mae) career started off with controversy over a photograph. These publicity-causing "accidents" seem to occur too often to be called accidents, although everyone associated with them is loathe to call them "marketing."²¹

Both photograph examples add to the construction of crossover as a marketing category. The image of the DVD cover "challenges" and connects to the rhetoric in bond's initial press release, that bond would be "[u]nconstrained by convention" ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a). It features the four members of bond posing with their instruments, but those instruments are not held in the standard "one hand on the neck, one hand supporting the base" pose. Instead Ecker's violin is pointed at the observer as if it were a cross bow, Westerhoff's cello erupts from behind Chater in a phallic manner, Chater appears to be stroking the neck of her violin as it lies casually across her midriff and Davis's viola appears to be attached like some kind of exotic leg jewellery. The members are all dressed in coloured leather pants and Chater is wearing an extremely low cut top. This thesis contends that this picture says to the observer: "We're not your average string quartet," and in doing so, adds to the construction of crossover as a marketing category connotations of what crossover string quartets look like.²²

²⁰ This can be seen in a teasing flier to promote the album *Born* in Japan. The flier shows a clearly naked bond in head and shoulder shots, and looks as if lifting the attached flap will reveal the rest of the group's bodies. When the flap is lifted, however, nothing is revealed, and blocks of text and colour take up the space where the rest of bond's bodies would be (Decca Records 2001).

²¹ An early example of such image shaping suggests some of the ideas that inform the activity. The New York Rock and Roll Ensemble (hereafter NYRRE), a "classical rock" (Goldstein n.d.) group of the early 70s wore suits rather than the modern clothes that they as a "youthful" band might be expected to wear. The group say in their interview that the suits were worn as a joke but go on to imply that the costume came to reinforce their "classical rock" image (Goldstein n.d.), an unintended side effect that enmeshed the group and their music in a marketing category that caused the group's record company to insist upon a "classical rock" song for a promotional single rather than a song more representative of the group which they had written in a straight rock style. This involved the group in raging debates on "classical rock" as a commercial or creative enterprise, and what the label might mean within the walls of the renowned Julliard Music School that some of NYRRE's members had attended. The NYRRE are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

²² It must be noted that this kind of photograph is also an example of what's "normal" in popular music photography. As well as defining what crossover string quartets look like, this photo presents bond as part of normal popular music activities. Caryl Paisner, a member of the crossover group Cello, discusses this kind of crossing over in photography and its response amongst classical and popular audiences. After an "...appearance at New York City's Lincoln Center found the group arrayed in stylish designer outfits" (Levy 1995), Paisner commented: "Classical people look at that and say, 'Oh, how racy... But compared to popular artists, it is nothing. My intent in forming this group was to make classical music more accessible'" (Paisner in Levy 1995).

The second example of promotional photography, the vetoed “naked” album cover further adds to connotations of ‘what a crossover string quartet looks like’ and the subsequent veto and public comments on what is appropriate in promotional photography for crossover groups adds more to the debate. Should a crossover group go even further than their popular music counterparts by appearing completely “naked?”²³ It seems not. Were bond, however, restricted from appearing “naked” because of what is considered appropriate in popular music marketing, in Western art music marketing, or simply because the image was not, as Bush suggested, “timeless?” All of this helps to define what doesn’t “fit” or isn’t appropriate in the marketing category of crossover.

The video clip to promote bond’s first (2000) single, *Victory* (bond “*Victory*” + *EPK* 2001), has several visible layers of meaning and their existence in the one clip connects to and maintains the crossover marketing category. Set in Havana, Cuba, the clip shows bond performing *Victory* to a group of Cubans dancing a Latin American tango in what appears to be a once-extravagant mansion, now in disrepair. This footage is interspersed with images of bond wearing bathing suits and playing their instruments in the shallows of an ocean (again, “not your average string quartet”), and footage of bond driving an open-topped convertible, their hair streaming, being chased by smiling, waving Cuban children. Close ups of each of bond’s members playing are also included, although it is Ecker, first violinist, that receives most of the camera’s attention, a popular music device that involves using the performer that plays the main melody (usually a singer) as the focus, the person in the clip with whom the viewer is expected to engage. The clip could be described in the first instance as one fan, Nancy, described bond’s look: “fun, smart and classy, just like their music” (pers. com. 2002). Other words that spring to mind are “steamy” and “seductive.”²⁴ Cuba’s association with heat and sexuality fuses well with bond’s music and blends even better with the images of the four female members.

Journalist Daniel S. Levy responds to this; “...if an attractive outfit does the trick, who, aside from the terminally stuffy, is going to complain?” (Levy 1995)

²³ A related example is that of cellist and avant-garde performance artist Charlotte Moorman. “Moorman was arrested for her bare-breasted performance of [Nam June] Paik’s *Op[e]ra Sextronique* (1967), written to protest that music, unlike literature and art, had not embraced explicit sexual subjects” (Anderson 2006). Moorman’s nudity did not evoke crossover or extreme popular music photography, instead evoking the avant-garde. This perhaps emphasises Paik’s point and illuminates the issues surrounding bond’s naked photograph. Although since 1967 some musics have embraced lyrics of an explicitly sexual nature, by and large even popular music photography does not regularly feature full-frontal nudity, so it is obvious that Paik and Moorman’s performance would engage with the avant-garde, rather than with crossover or even popular musics.

²⁴ These comments are also in keeping with the interpretation that bond are making use of “normal” popular music photography devices and engaging with contemporary music marketing practices.

A second layer of meaning, however, exists throughout the video. Havana and its dancing citizens can be read as “the Other” to bond’s white traditional classical history. This video clip attempts to draw audiences that are the Other to the Western art string backgrounded bond – and this targeted Other is not only popular music audiences, it is also audiences of different nationalities and ethnicities. The video clip also attempts, however, to draw in white audiences that are interested in the exotic “Other.” Interestingly, classical music has become “Other” to many popular music audiences. The Victory video represents two layers of “Other” for the popular music fan – the “Other” found in Havana and the “Other” of the traditional string quartet, even while it is accompanied by dance beats and dressed in swimwear. bond’s video clip clearly manifests the construction of crossover as a marketing category, showing several types of exchange (e.g. Western art music and popular music, Western art music and Cuba, popular music and Cuba) and several levels of connotation, including white feminine interest in the “exotic” (dark, flexible male dancers, laughing shoeless children); dancing on the political and historical ruins of Cuban culture; and dancing on the ruins of Western art music culture as superseded by bond’s crossover culture. This “othering” also has echoes of themes found in the high/low debate of resistance to hierarchy and the need²⁵ for “high” cultures such as Western art music to engage with “low” cultures, such as popular music and the low socio-economic Cuban culture represented in bond’s video clip.

Media representation is also extremely important in the marketing of bond and one of the biggest areas in which crossover is constructed as a marketing category. Linda Valentine, Decca’s publicity manager, was given a “crossover” campaign brief when asked to work with bond, and “...brought in to mastermind a campaign that would cover the tabloids to the broadsheets and find equal prominence in Dominic Mohan’s Bizarre column in The Sun as in the classical reviews” (Iley 2001:32). Such description reinforces distinctions of “high” and “low” press and suggests that the general public might find a campaign that targets both high and low unusual and by extension may perceive the product promoted by such a campaign as refreshing and equally high/low boundary crossing. To date, bond’s press releases have fed the press a cohesive story about the formation of bond and their activities, while also giving several story “hooks” or themes to base articles around. One theme is that of the controversy surrounding the rejection of bond’s debut single from the U.K.’s Chart Information Network classical chart (Midapp 2000:25),²⁶ bringing with it themes such as bond’s “rebellion” against

²⁵ Such a need could be perceived of in a variety of ways, for example, as altruistic or as patronising.

²⁶ This controversy is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

the classical music institution (“Do you feel that there’s a certain snobbery in the classical music world? And are you attempting to break down the walls...?” (Fish 2001a)); bond’s position as classical music “underdogs” and the idea that bond is “more than a wallop of eye candy” (Ingle n.d.), having talent and credibility as performers as well as good looks. Each of these themes reinforce crossover as a marketing category by showing that an appeal to audiences’ supposed outrage over the “snobbery” in the classical music world can and should be the basis for an entire big-budget marketing campaign. Ultimately, such themes emphasize the tension between creative and commercial and the high/low debate.

FourPlay

As mentioned in Chapter One, FourPlay do not subscribe to crossover strategies in creating their music, but do in their marketing, engaging with the construction of crossover as a marketing category. Marketing is done by FourPlay themselves,²⁷ and activities include distributing posters, giving radio and print press interviews, creating advertisements and maintaining an Internet mailing list. The group also appears at charity events and as guest performers on the albums of other Australian artists. Examining here FourPlay’s engagement with the construction of crossover as a marketing category, the focus is the group’s participation/activities in festivals, their CD artwork and their use of media to promote themselves.

Performances at festivals have been important in marketing FourPlay. Several fans have described their first experience of FourPlay as occurring at a festival, one fan, April, remembering:

...at Woodford 1999-2000 (folk festival that happens [each] new year...in [Queensland]) ...I was walking past a tent that [FourPlay] were playing in and I heard bits of “Grace” so I stopped to listen and was captivated by them. I ended up going to see every other gig they did. (pers. com. 2002)

While it is not unusual for string quartets to play at arts festivals, FourPlay add to and make use of the construction of crossover as a marketing category by appearing at a wide range of festivals, including arts festivals such as the Singapore International Arts festival (2002) or the Karlovy Vary International Film Festival in the Czech Republic (2000) (FourPlay 2002a)

²⁷ According to manager Jordan Verzar (2002), FourPlay have, however, hired a publicist in the past to promote *Digital Manipulation* (2001), an album of remixes that needed to be promoted with sensitivity due to its difference to FourPlay’s usual releases (pers. com. 2002). In 2007 Peter Hollo adds that FourPlay also hired a publicist for three months to promote *Now To The Future* (2006). He writes that this hire “...had mixed success...” and that FourPlay will think carefully about whether they engage publicists to help promote further releases (pers. com. 2007).

and folk, “indie” or alternative music festivals such as the Australian Woodford Folk Festival (2004, 2006) or Falls festival (2006) (FourPlay 2007b). Playing a diverse range of festivals exposes the group to many different audiences and demographics, enabling them to become, as Verzar says: “...different things to different people...” (pers. com. 2002) and adding to the list of performances possible for groups that are involved in exchange.

The application of the construction of crossover as a marketing category in FourPlay’s CD artwork is examined here. The CD artwork for FourPlay’s first three albums²⁸ was designed by Scott Otto Andersen, a friend of Tim Hollo whom Verzar describes as:

...a really good designer ...has done^[29] all of the designs for everything FourPlay’s done, ads, cards, brochures, albums...so basically when...the recording and the mixing process [for an album] is happening Peter and I and everyone is sort of speaking to Scott going this is what it’s sounding like and he’s maybe getting burns of that and listening to it and creating ideas for the artwork...by the time the mastering’s finished...mastering usually takes a day or so...Scott’s pretty much nailed the artwork so then we’ve got everything we need so we take the final mix, the final mastered version and send it off to the manufacturers with Scott’s artwork.. Scott’s usually gone into the manufacturers and overseen the process of the artwork being done... (pers. com. 2002)

Here FourPlay *do not* add to or engage with the construction of crossover as a marketing category. Unlike bond, FourPlay do not use images of themselves on the covers of their recorded works. Instead, they use the covers of their recorded works as an opportunity to showcase the art and design of an outside party. They do not feel the need to represent themselves, their instruments or the fact of their “crossover” as an “indie” (independent) band that uses Western art music instruments on the covers of their albums.

Crossover’s construction as a marketing category is clearly reinforced and used to promote FourPlay in press and media although not always by the group itself. In one gig guide,³⁰ FourPlay are advertised with a number of other acts:

Club Martin Place – Floyd Vincent and the Childbrides perform from 12pm to 2pm. FourPlay (classical) from 5pm to 7pm and Bob Downe from 9pm to 11pm. From 11[pm] to 2am it becomes a nightclub with DJ Scott Pullen. (“Club Martin Place” 2000)

²⁸ FourPlay’s first three albums are *Catgut Ya’ Tongue* (1998), *The Joy Of...* (2000) and *Digital Manipulation* (2001).

²⁹ This comment was made prior to 2006. FourPlay’s 2006 releases, *FourPlay 3” trilogy parts 1-3* and *Now To The Future* feature artwork by Myf Walker (*FourPlay 3” trilogy parts 1-3* (2006) and *Now To The Future* (2006)).

³⁰ A listing of local performances happening in the coming week that is featured in the entertainment sections of most street press magazines and mainstream newspapers.

FourPlay are the only group given any genre description in a list of other names that are either well known or assumed to speak for themselves. From this, a potential customer might read the classical label as a gimmick or as a special event concert. April, FourPlay fan, describes the group's instrumentation as a draw card "...because they don't have the usual band set up ... it attracts people's attention, and they want to know why a string quartet is playing in such a venue, and...they are always impressed!" (pers. com. 2002) This comment, however, relates to the experience of seeing FourPlay in live performance. In print, the attraction of a juxtaposition between a popular music venue such as Club Martin Place and a group described only as "classical" may not be as strong. For FourPlay gigs in popular venues the usual marketing procedure is to have feature articles in known street press coupled with listings in gig guides. This gives the reader a chance to find out more about the group and their more integrated approach to crossover, rather than the stark label applied in the case above.

FourPlay use the construction of crossover as a marketing category when it helps them to appeal to an audience larger than the one they could achieve by simply marketing themselves as an "indie" or "alternative" band. The members of the group, however, do not always believe that their music can *really* be explained in terms of crossover, and so it may be suggested that the group only *use* the marketing category rather than add to it. By making use of the marketing category, however, FourPlay become associated with it, and that association adds to the construction of crossover as a marketing category by representing "alternative" and "indie" ways to crossover.³¹

³¹ Another example of this kind of relationship with the construction of crossover as a marketing category is found in violinist Eric Gorfain who joined forces with Vitamin Records, a company that had identified a gap in the market for crossover work perceived as having depth and credibility. This American company (not to be confused with the Australian company of the same name that distributes FourPlay's releases) acknowledged and aided the construction of crossover as a marketing category in seeing indie and alternative music genres as a goldmine of works to be interpreted by string quartets, and advertised through the Internet for musician/arrangers to take the project on (ThenItMustBeTrue 2001). Gorfain answered the call and started work on various "tribute" albums of string quartet arrangements, interpreting the work of many of the indie rock genres' greatest exponents, including The Cure, Radiohead, Bjork and Nine Inch Nails. In his work with Vitamin, Gorfain has also written arrangements of the work of more mainstream artists, such as Led Zeppelin and Alanis Morissette, but always these artists have had a certain credibility outside of the mainstream. Although Vitamin Record's motivation in producing string tributes is quite definitely market driven, the artist Vitamin has engaged, Gorfain, has been crossing over as a musician for years. For Gorfain, the music he creates comes first and constructing it as part of the crossover marketing category is something that happens later, facilitated by Vitamin Records and neatly aided by Gorfain's crossover background. Vitamin Records, however, have had market demand and a crossover campaign as agenda items since before Gorfain was even employed. The work that Vitamin and Gorfain produce both uses, reinforces and brings new perspectives to (e.g. by making crossovers of 'independent' popular genres and Western art music string instruments) the construction of crossover as a marketing category.

Vanessa-Mae

As one of the pioneers of crossover, Vanessa-Mae provides some of the earliest examples in this thesis of the construction of crossover as a marketing category and its application. Her marketing strategies and their use of the construction of crossover as a marketing category have changed throughout her career. This is due to changes in the violinist's management and due to changes in her musical style, e.g. her 2001 move from crossover to popular music, as described above. These shifts can themselves be seen as examples of the design and development of the Vanessa-Mae product, although they are always framed in terms of Vanessa Mae's desire to change herself for her own reasons, rather than adapt for the fans or in accordance with marketing strategies.

Vanessa-Mae's first engagement with the construction of crossover as a marketing category came with the contract the violinist signed with record company EMI "whereby it was agreed that she should record for both the company's classical and rock/pop divisions" ("Articles/Interviews: Livewire" [1997]) and with her subsequent introduction of the "techno-acoustic fusion" concept, the concept underpinning her first crossover release, *The Violin Player* (1995). Interestingly, in comments in the liner notes of the CD and in interviews given to promote this release, Vanessa-Mae tries to distance herself and her music from a crossover marketing category, actively avoiding the construction:

I have been asked if this is a 'pop' album or whether it is a statement about what constitutes new style classical music. I don't believe that there is an answer or even the need for such a question...what I like, I will want to play. I have no wish to compartmentalise music (Vanessa-Mae 1994).

Despite the violinist distancing herself from an implied crossover category, the abundance of marketing rhetoric about the EMI contract and repetition of the marketing phrase "techno-acoustic fusion"³² was still interpreted by many members of the press as Vanessa-Mae's construction of crossover as a marketing category. Such press dismissed the subtlety of the phrase "techno-acoustic fusion" that never actually mentions the combination of classical and pop music and blithely commented on Vanessa-Mae's "...classical-tinged techno-pop..." ("Articles/Interviews: U.S.A. Today: Pop Violinist Vanessa-Mae Bows in U.S.A." 1995), her

³² The "techno-acoustic fusion" concept came about when Vanessa-Mae initially started working with Mel Bush and Mike Batt on her first crossover album, *The Violin Player* (1995). Although media and promotion often took the term to mean "classical-pop fusion," Vanessa-Mae herself said: "I wanted to do a much more pop, contemporary-style album; so the Violin Techno-Acoustic Fusion Concept, as I call it, came about. It's basically what I call 'alternative violin music.' But it's nothing more complicated than all the kinds of musical styles that I've already loved throughout my life" (Vanessa-Mae in "Articles/Interviews: A Conversation with the 'Red Hot' Violinist" 1995).

“...mix of pop classics and classical pop...” (“Articles/Interviews: Vanessa Storm” n.d.) and her “...cross-over CD...” (Hayes 1996). This media misinterpretation was noted by Roger Lewis, managing director of Premier³³ who was involved with the release of Vanessa-Mae’s 1995 album. He complained that:

What the classical press³⁴ doesn’t seem to want to take on board is that the record was never aimed at the classical market anyway. It’s a rock album, played on an electric violin, and it was always presented like that. (Lewis in Hayes 1996)

This is a fascinating example of the construction of crossover as a marketing category and of the misinterpretation of an artist’s engagement with the high/low debate. Although Vanessa-Mae, her management and her record company claim that they did not intend to market the album *The Violin Player* (1995) as part of a crossover category, meaning by extension that they did not intend to engage with the construction, they have inadvertently made use of *and* reinforced construction. By using language and marketing rhetoric that constantly re-stated Vanessa-Mae’s “...enjoyment of both classical and pop music...” ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team] 1997a) and by striking the “...crossover [EMI deal] ...unprecedented in British recording history” (“Articles/Interviews: Livewire” [1997]). Vanessa-Mae, her management and her record company put the idea that the combination of classical and pop might be a marketing category in and of itself into the minds of journalists and classical music commentators, setting off a chain of use and reinforcement of the construction of crossover as a marketing category.

Further examples of the application of the construction of crossover as a marketing category may be seen in Vanessa-Mae’s use of media in promotion. Some of the “careful work” done to promote Vanessa-Mae as both positive role model and trendy contemporary for younger audiences is carried out through the press and media. Vanessa-Mae is often described as extremely articulate but somewhat impersonal in interviews and articles, and many journalists express difficulty in deciding whether they have been sorely manipulated by the violinist or if it is they themselves who have been overly harsh in trying to expose “the real Vanessa-Mae.” One interviewer was convinced that his portrayal of Vanessa-Mae as a cleverly marketed

³³ Premier is described as “...the group which...emerged from EMI’s latest restructuring in control of a dozen different labels covering everything from classical music to rock via country and western” while Lewis is portrayed as “...demonised in large areas of the classical music press as the man who is ruining EMI’s credibility in this department” (Hayes 1996).

³⁴ The quotes used above were taken from popular press, so it appears that the “non-crossover” presentation of *The Violin Player* (1995) was misinterpreted by more audiences than Roger Lewis realised.

puppet was correct, until he was caught off guard by one of the violinist's most effective media strategies – that of knowing/remembering something about her interviewer:

When I ask her if she thinks the teenybop audience is an important part of her public, and she says, “Yes I do think so. You’ve a daughter of 10, who plays the violin? That’s a big part of my audience, definitely,” and I realise she’s right and that I’ve been stuffy and censorious and got her wrong, and that Vanessa-Mae is actually the very model of a modern, transoceanic, musically adventurous, culturally eclectic little diva who wants to be all things to all musiclovers – well, you have to doff your hat to her. If only she didn’t talk as if everything she does and says was scripted, blueprinted, storyboarded and filed away in some record company database, four or five years ago. (Walsh 1998)

Throughout Vanessa-Mae’s press campaigns there are countless examples of both male and female journalists trying to catch the artist out, wanting to expose her as acting out a role designated by her management and record company: “‘Yes,’” says this pretty, sweet-faced, gentle-voiced, charming little automaton. ‘I like touring, I like making records’” (Vanessa-Mae in Lacey 1996).

This is an example of the use of the construction of crossover as a marketing category working against the artist, rather than promoting them through the angle intended. It also implies a “high” cultural perception of classical musicians versus the “low” cultural perception of crossover musicians, or at least, crossover musicians who are perceived to have been manufactured. Classical musicians are taken seriously in interviews, their views on music respected and considered valid. Even popular musicians, to some degree, are accepted for the musical path they have chosen and questioned accordingly. Vanessa-Mae, as a young female crossover musician, is assumed by many journalists to be manufactured and exploited. The constant reiteration of the central message—Vanessa-Mae’s desire to bring different kinds of music to different people—seems so constructed that journalists often mention feeling that there is something slightly phoney or vacuous about the person with whom they are presented in interviews. From 2000 onward one could almost hear a sigh of relief from the press and a new marketing strategy dropping into place as Vanessa-Mae sacked her mother, Pamela Nicholson, and her manager, Mel Bush:

Best selling violinist Vanessa-Mae reveals that she sacked her manager mum to break free of her domineering influence. (“Vanessa Mae - How I broke free of the gilded cage my mother kept me in” 2001)

Violinist Vanessa-Mae has fired her manager a year after sacking her mother from the same job. The classical glamour girl refuses to give promoter Mel Bush any cash and could now face an expensive court battle. (“Vanessa sacks second manager in 12 months” [2007])

It is telling that Vanessa-Mae's interviews and articles since then have attempted to sever ties with "...the naff³⁵] crossover records that the Miss Wet T-shirt pictures were promoting" (Moss 2001).³⁶ Crossover as Vanessa-Mae used to do it, "...taking Bach or Vivaldi and laying it against contemporary production..." (Moss 2001) no longer works for the violinist in either the musical or marketing sense. Although she is still crossing over, combining the violin and various popular music styles, she believes that she is taking a more original approach by writing new violin lines that are intended to interact with (as opposed to simply layering over) contemporary production. Regardless of whether this succeeds musically,³⁷ Vanessa-Mae's marketing has changed to reflect her new popular music leanings. Just one example is the promotional photography on album covers featuring the violinist in a variety of fashionable clothes and poses without her violin.³⁸ The construction of crossover as a marketing category has been used to promote Vanessa-Mae's work as the bringing together of cultures. It gained record sales and young fans for the artist but not a high degree of credibility or longevity.

The next artist we investigate has gained respect as a musician and sustained a career for 25 years. This section discusses how this artist's situation differs from Vanessa-Mae's, even while the two violinists have both used the marketing category of crossover in similar ways.

Kennedy

Like Vanessa-Mae, Kennedy is often represented by the construction of crossover as a marketing category. Also comparable to Vanessa-Mae's experience is the particular way in which Kennedy's use of the construction is misinterpreted. Similar to Vanessa-Mae's reluctance to "compartmentalize" music, Kennedy often stresses in interviews that "...the problem is the division of music...[for example] the Beatles are *classical* music because they're *classic*" (*Nigel Kennedy – Vivaldi: The Four Seasons* 1990, my italics). Kennedy also expounds the view that musical categories are limiting and that a musician shouldn't need to classify themselves as a performer of only one certain type of music, which is reminiscent of the high/low debate and Reich's vision, discussed above, of music's return "...to its original

³⁵ "Naff" is defined by the *Australian Oxford Dictionary* as "1 unfashionable; socially awkward. 2 worthless, rubbishy."

³⁶ The photograph that Moss alludes to is discussed in Chapters One and Three and shown in Plate Nine.

³⁷ For the author's comments on the above, see the Vanessa-Mae section in "The artists' ways to crossover," Chapter One.

³⁸ This kind of crossover at the level of image is also gaining popularity amongst those marketing "standard" classical musicians. Three out of six "Classical: New instrumental" releases featured on the Amazon internet store in August 2007 made use of close up photos of the performer dressed in contemporary fashions and without their instruments (*Amazon.com* 2007). One example is pianist Simone Dinnerstein's 2007 release *JS Bach Goldberg Variations*, that features a close up photo of the young and attractive Dinnerstein's face. Dinnerstein wears a leather jacket and appears to be leaning against a corrugated iron fence (making use of 'trendy' industrial props) (*JS Bach Goldberg Variations* 2007).

condition – one in which the division between ‘classical’ and ‘popular’ did not exist” (Reich in Goodall 2000:235). Although Kennedy’s comments do not specifically rail against the “new style classical music” or crossover that Vanessa-Mae identifies, they imply that categories of any kind, classical, crossover or popular, would not interest Kennedy.

Despite Kennedy’s active avoidance of the construction of crossover as a marketing category the violinist is still connected with the construction and examples of this engagement and repetition of the high/low debate can be found in marketing and media. For example, the marketing blurb describing Kennedy’s autobiography describes the author as “...one man struggling to find a musical niche and in fact ending up creating his very own...the classical world is still reeling from his fresh attitudes” (Kennedy 1991: dust cover). Although the musical niche described is not identified as crossover, the extra language detailing the combination of Kennedy’s fresh attitudes and the classical world engage with the construction of crossover as a marketing category. Further examples include BBC Radio 4’s description of Kennedy’s album of Jimi Hendrix covers (*The Kennedy Experience* 1999) as part of a tradition of “rock, classical crossover projects” (Coles 1999) and the meta-comment made by a *Digital Violin* website writer on the whole situation of Kennedy’s engagement with the construction of crossover as a marketing category, saying “The press regularly refers to Kennedy as some sort of punk violinist. This is fuelled by Kennedy’s sometimes uncompromising appearance on stage and in public” (Heaney [2002]). This writer identifies press use and reinforcement of the construction of crossover as a marketing category (e.g. “punk violinist”) in representing Kennedy and goes further, suggesting that it is not so much Kennedy’s actual musical exploits that “fuel” the construction but instead extra-musical aspects such as visual appearance and stage/public persona.

Examples of Kennedy’s application and reinforcement of the construction of crossover as a marketing category echo the interesting examples found on Vanessa-Mae. Although a careful reading of Kennedy’s personal comments reveals that the violinist does *not* see a need for the construction of a crossover marketing category or the need for his work to be connected with such a marketing category, the language of his marketing and press rhetoric has been subtly misinterpreted by some press commentators, and this has led to Kennedy’s involvement in and reinforcement of the very construction that he wished to avoid.

Another example of Kennedy’s engagement with the construction of crossover as a marketing category is again very similar to the experience of Vanessa-Mae. Kennedy, like Vanessa-Mae, struggles with the perceived sincerity of his public and on stage persona, and this is in large

part due to his engagement with the construction of crossover as a marketing category in presenting himself as an artist interested in both classical and popular musics.

Kennedy continually strives to convince the public that his public and onstage persona is not purposefully constructed and often details his inner struggle with the idea of being marketed: “It is not a matter of opportunism, of calculated images; it’s simply how I’ve always felt” (Kennedy 1991:51). Kennedy is often criticised for the same sin as Vanessa-Mae, that of having an on-stage persona that has been created and that hides the “real” person within:

One possible interpretation of the evidence, the body of which includes his forthright, just-pals interview department, is that Kennedy is a simple kind of guy who’s never wanted to do anything other than play the music he loves—whatever that may be—and not have the purity of his artistic intentions sullied by the oils of commerce. The other, of course, is that he is one of the most cunningly self-promoting artists on today’s concert scene, a one-man musical circus. (Pfaff 2000)

Some critics have even suggested that Kennedy has gone so far as to affect “...a trashy ‘estuary’ accent...” (Clarke 2005) to which the violinist has responded:

Because of the architecture of the home I was born in and the accent of my parents, I [am] expected to speak and behave in a certain manner...Obviously like anyone else I am partly the product of my surroundings, but these have been schools here and in New York, jazz cellars and nightclubs, soccer stadiums and concert platforms, so why should I be expected to try and mirror behavioural patterns I only witnessed for the first few years of my life? (Kennedy 1991:60)

Both of these comments contribute to the construction of crossover as a marketing category. While discussing Kennedy’s activities and comments as marketing or real persona traits they bring in the theme of the diversely influenced, or crossover, musician, as discussed in Chapter Three. Kennedy’s management responds to such speculation on the validity of Kennedy’s persona scornfully:

Until now the inevitable critics grinding on about him changing his ‘image’ to sell more records have been quite simply an irritant. I’ve neither seen nor recommended any changes since the pre-Vivaldi months when we joined forces. (Stanley in Kennedy 1991:xii)

Similar to the discussion on Vanessa-Mae above, Kennedy’s seemingly well-rehearsed representation as a diverse and multi-influenced artist causes some press to question whether the artist really does enjoy performing different types of music, or if some aspect of

Kennedy's multi-faceted public and on stage persona is in some way manufactured.³⁹ Unlike Vanessa-Mae, however, Kennedy is primarily a classical musician, meaning, he performs mainly standard classical repertoire with crossover projects on the side. His engagement with the construction of crossover as a marketing category is one that makes use of the conventions and preconceptions surrounding the playing of several different styles of music and gains him a popular audience, but his actual performance activity is clearly rooted in the classical music world. Kennedy argues that one can't "fake" a solo classical performance, "...the raw truth is I've been playing, been learning, for thirty years and modern attitudes alone will never make up for this vital education" (Kennedy 1991:63), and this would seem to be a reasonable assertion.⁴⁰ Kennedy's successes in the classical arena, however, give him leeway to experiment through musical crossover projects.

The construction of crossover as a marketing category has catapulted Kennedy's name far beyond the reach of the standard solo classical violinist's marketing campaign. Reports of Kennedy mouthing off about "the establishment" of classical music, his punk costuming and his love of Aston Villa are a publicist's dream. As a composer of crossover music, Kennedy has not been very successful in the view of his critics ("His own music [*Kafka*] was said to be full of insidious, lyrical tunes by those who liked it, but some critics used the words 'bizarrely unpleasant' and 'appalling'" (Clarke 2005)). The violinist has been "forgiven," however, for crossover marketing and crossover projects because of his prestige in the "straight" classical music world and because of his clear commitment to "high" culture, despite dabbling with "low." Vanessa-Mae is marketed in a very similar way to Kennedy, with the same message of wanting to bring different types of music to different people and emphasis on extra-musical aspects such as costuming. Her profile, however, as a "straight classical musician" has not developed to the same degree as Kennedy's and as it is crossover *music* that Vanessa-Mae's marketing asks the consumer to judge her on, she is not taken seriously. Kennedy's main occupation is that of solo classical violinist, while the musical crossover projects he undertakes are thought of as side projects. Even though Kennedy has actively tried to avoid engagement with the construction of crossover as a marketing category it has been a useful marketing tool and the artist's marketing rhetoric has reinforced the construction by adding to press themes on musical exchange.

³⁹ It is of course possible that Kennedy's public and on-stage performer is the same as his private persona and not manipulated at all. It is equally possible that Kennedy's public person is manufactured through the efforts of the artist and his management. This chapter does not seek to uncover the truth of these possibilities, instead examining the responses to Kennedy's persona(s) by media and audiences.

⁴⁰ This reasonable assertion also connects Kennedy to the tension between the creative, his musical skills gained through years of practice, and the commercial, the marketing that concentrates on his "modern attitudes."

Conclusion

This chapter has found that the four artists have all engaged with and reinforced the construction of crossover as a marketing category. Moreover, all four artists have used and added to the growing list of markers that define crossover as a marketing category, particularly in their use of marketing strategies that are based on crossover themes as well as in their involvement with media representation that assumes a link with crossover. This engagement has occurred regardless of whether or not artists and marketing departments initially meant to make or use the concept of “crossover.” A suggestion emerges that such marketing aggravates the tension between creative and commercial by perpetuating simplistic versions of the high/low debate and associating these simplifications with musics that may not otherwise be part of the debate, for example, the music of Bond and Vanessa-Mae. The construction of crossover as a marketing category represents a new layer of meaning in the definition of the term “crossover.” While the term “crossover” initially described only a transition process, that is, the movement of an artist from a niche to a mainstream genre, it now also denotes a marketing category of its own. Artists currently use this marketing category and its connotations in order to market their work to gain mainstream exposure.

From its beginnings as a marketing term, “crossover” has grown to connect with further constructions and add other layers of meaning. The next chapter examines another area of growth, the construction of crossover to mark individuality.

Chapter Three

Crossover: constructing individuality?

The music industry's creation of categories to aid the marketing and selling of music has resulted in the mass creation of music that is constructed towards inclusion in a set of standard categories. This does not mean that the music sold through these categories adheres to any particular characteristics that denote standard musics or that music sold in standard categories is without a variety of influences and elements. It is also not intended to suggest that musical exchange and creation is confined to the categories set up by the music industry. The ubiquity of standard categories such as pop, blues or country does, however, give artists and the general public the impression that exchange between musical styles is rare. Therefore, when describing the processes of their musical creation, many artists claim that the musical fusions and crossovers in which they engage make their music highly distinctive in a world of musical sameness.

A related idea suggests that while some crossover marketing strategies are “put on top” of an artist's work and the artist may not actually agree with the marketing rhetoric used to sell their own music, marketing rhetoric that involves the idea that crossover represents and results in musical individuality is often embraced and reinforced by artists. Claims which insist that a diverse musical background has led to an artist's current individual musical activity often ring true with an artist's self-image and connects deeply to their own musical listening histories. This personal representation of a “diversity in, individuality out” marketing strategy has become common in the music industry. These now, in turn, come with their own restricted set of ways to describe creative output, represented by phrases such as “existing outside of all genres,” “straddling several genres” or by fitting loosely into ready-made “diverse” meta-genres like “crossover” or “world.” In fact, this thesis itself contributes to the perceived significance of crossovers and fusions, crediting artists as producing crossover when perhaps the artist had not previously thought of their work in that way.

This chapter examines the idea that diverse musical exchanges and fusions carried out by artists are not only *interesting* in their own right,¹ but also that marketing *and* artists often position their crossovers as *significant* in an industry of set categories. Musician David Chesworth has said that “...rock press is full of articles that perpetuate the myths of individuality and originality” (Chesworth in Cox 1982:31).² This chapter examines the way that artists and their marketing teams perpetuate the myth that their individuality and

¹ For example, the unusual mix achieved by South Australian artists EmC Quintet who bring together jazz and classical training with folk/pop aesthetics and venues.

² The author was alerted to Chesworth's important comment through Philip Hayward's *Music at the Borders* (1998).

originality is a result of their diverse influences and crossovers. We first examine the identification of this construction and some of its boundaries. The chapter provides examples of how the four primary artists and other cases use and contribute to the construction of crossover to mark artist individuality while delivering their music.

Identifying the construction and its scope

Throughout this study there are many references to Nigel Kennedy's insistence on his individuality and on his inability to be classified into "...little boxes..." (Kennedy 1991:59). The discovery of Kennedy's comments caused the author to reflect upon one of the findings of her earlier research on South Australian popular music, and this consideration led to the identification of the construction of crossover to mark individuality.

This discussion also links to the tension between the creative and commercial aspects of musical activities, where artists felt that the creativity required to make their music could not be appropriately represented by the commercial marketing categories available. One such example was found in promotional brochures for an annual youth event held in Adelaide, South Australia, called Off The Couch (Carclew Youth Arts 2007). The brochures advertising the 2002 event featured short biographies of the artists and groups involved. Eleven of the sixty groups profiled used the concept of musical exchange to describe their music, using language that suggested that such exchange afforded their music individuality and difference. For example, the group Liquid Blue explained their music as "A unique, eclectic blend of heavy alternative rock and softer harmonies," while the band :CUR:'s music is "Heavy riff-driven intensity, defying all musical boundaries." Solo artist Shade distinguished himself from other acoustic performers by mentioning his "...vast range of songs and influences" while D.J. Universal Dust played "Smooth deep house that combines many adverse [sic] genres including Tech-House & Groove Funk/Electro" (Carclew Youth Arts Centre 2002:2-7). All artists found it difficult to describe their music within traditional industry categories of music and turned to concepts of hybridity and exchange. The difficulties found in describing their music caused some to infer that their music was at the very least individual, at most, unique. The idea of individuality through diverse musical influences and activity appeared to be so prevalent in the vocabulary of artists that one even chose parody to market himself against the idea. The biography for then solo artist No Through Road in the 2002 Off The Couch brochure read "Simple folk-pop that doesn't try to push any boundaries. File under Sad-core" (Carclew Youth Arts Centre 2002:5). In a similar manner to the artists who claimed that their music could not be categorised, No Through Road had designated an uncommon

and hybrid genre (“Sad-core”) to encourage listeners to better understand his work. His biography also acknowledged, however, the currency that the concept of musical exchange (including the ideas of diversity and of pushing/breaking boundaries) has among artists trying to promote themselves. In a later interview No Through Road explained that this acknowledgment was intended, saying:

...it was definitely a conscious parody of something that annoys me greatly when musicians are asked what they sound like...constantly saying they can't be put in a box and that they don't fit into any particular genre of music. 99% of bands are very easy to box and I think should learn how to put themselves into these boxes so that people know what they are gonna hear, when I hear people say they are undefinable [sic] I immediately conclude that they are rubbish. So whenever I'm asked the question of what I sound like I like to give a very easy to follow description. And I wish others did too. (pers. com. 2007)

When this research began, the author found that the idea of a relationship between musical exchange and individuality also had currency amongst artists involved in crossover projects and that this relationship was used in marketing such artists. One of the strongest examples of this came from research into the Zephyr Quartet (hereafter Zephyr).³ In the liner notes to their debut CD (*Zephyr* 2000), Zephyr (like the artists above) find difficulty in the task of describing their music within familiar classifications: “...the music can not be categorised. No label would really describe it. But all of it uses the string quartet medium, all of it is completely original...” (*Zephyr* 2000).

Zephyr themselves do not implicitly make the link between their diversity of musical activities and their individuality – instead it is made for them. In an article to promote Zephyr's debut CD Sheila Bryce, at that time publicist for the Helpmann Academy,⁴ writes:

Zephyr prides itself on being a string quartet with a difference. ...What they play can't be labelled as classical, popular, jazz or electronic...As one reviewer said of the quartet: “Zephyr has established itself as a contemporary string quartet with an edge. These girls have rhythm and are breaking new ground...” ...The quartet is certainly diverse. (Bryce 2002:12)

The relationship between individuality and diversity is thus reinforced in this example. Zephyr is described as a “string quartet with a difference.” That difference is encapsulated in

³ The Zephyr Quartet are not one of the four artists of primary interest to this thesis but are still of great relevance due to their crossover activities. They have provided significant insights into the overall study thanks to their close proximity and therefore accessibility to this author.

⁴ A South Australian organisation that gives support to arts projects, Zephyr's work included (The Helpmann Academy 2007).

the variety of musical influences and styles performed by the quartet, implicitly suggested in the description of the difficulty of finding only *one* label to describe what the group play.⁵

The common themes found in the examples above warranted examination in this thesis. These themes were therefore brought together under the label “the construction of crossover to mark artist individuality.” Before proceeding to explore its application in the four artist examples, however, two important issues arising from the labelling of this construction need to be mentioned.

The first issue concerns the scope and use of the term “diversity.” As the reader may notice, although the relationship between diversity and individuality is to be examined in this chapter, it is only the term “individuality” that appears in the label of “the construction of crossover as a mark of artist individuality.” In this chapter the term “diversity” is inextricably linked and is at times interchangeable with the term “crossover.” This fact is worthy of closer discussion.

As outlined in Chapter One this study uses the term “crossover” to mean the combining of two or more elements, one of which must be music or music-related. The elements which combine do not necessarily have to be hugely different from each other, but each should be recognised as coming from different, even if only slightly different, genres or cultures. Crossover and crossover music occurs, according to this thesis, in an artist or project where there is a diversity or variety of musical or music-related elements. This is not to say that the mere existence of diversity is enough to create crossover, but instead that crossover occurs when diverse elements are brought together by an artist or project. The elements that are the focus of this thesis are Western art music string instruments and popular musics. These elements, although unlike in nature or qualities, are brought together by artists and musical endeavours and such diversity becomes recognisable and significant within the concept of crossover and part of the construction of crossover as a mark of individuality. Before artists are examined for their application or reinforcement of the construction of crossover as a mark of artist individuality, their own comments and marketing rhetoric on the diversity in their backgrounds are examined in order to provide a greater sense of the link between diversity and crossover.

The second issue arising from the label for this construction is the scope of the term “individuality” itself. In the examples cited above the term “individuality” has already been

⁵ Similar examples of marketing rhetoric and artist comments that made use of the relationship between diversity and individuality were found in research into the four primary artists of interest to this thesis, as shown below.

equated with the term “difference” and this equation continues throughout the remainder of the discussion.

When taking these issues into account, two tasks are clearly necessary. The first task is to examine the link between diversity and crossover for the four primary artists in this study. The second task is to examine the construction of crossover as a mark of individuality as applied and reinforced by these artists. The following section executes these tasks in relation to the work of bond.

bond

bond’s first violinist, Haylie Ecker, speaks of the “broad-range” of musical tastes in bond (Iley 2001:31) while in an early interview viola player Tania Davis explains that most of her CD collection is made up of classical music apart from “...a small pop collection which I usually listen to when I’m cleaning the flat.” (Davis in Fish 2001b).⁶ Little, however, is said about the musical backgrounds that have brought Ecker and Davis to crossover. It is the backgrounds of Gay-Yee Westerhoff and Eos Chater that are the more varied of the group, both having experience playing as session musicians⁷ for a range of popular artists (Westerhoff - Primal Scream, the Spice Girls, Sting, Bryan Adams and Barry Manilow; Chater - The Divine Comedy, Cocteau Twins, and Julian Cope) ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a).⁸

One way to interpret the difference in the presented backgrounds⁹ of the members of bond is that they are appropriate to the story of the group’s formation. In this story, after years of working as a session musician for popular artists, Westerhoff wanted to be a front person. She knew Chater through session work and the two of them, along with Mel Bush, encouraged Ecker and Davis—who up to this point were relatively inexperienced in popular music performance—to join the group and, in doing so, introduced them to a new world of diverse musical influences. Here, Westerhoff and Chater are examples of the tried but true marketing line “early diverse influences produce diverse music making musicians” while the rest of bond (Ecker and Davis) represent a new and exciting marketing line – “musicians with

⁶ Unfortunately, the website on which this interview appears is no longer accessible (apart from the author’s own research copy) as the website (<http://bond.anomalistic.net/amuznet2>) no longer exists.

⁷ This includes on-stage work.

⁸ This material was drawn from bond’s initial website ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a) that has since been replaced with a new website ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007a). The material related to this reference is also included on the new website.

⁹ That is, Westerhoff and Chater are presented with diverse backgrounds, but little is said of Ecker and Davis’s experiences.

diverse interests can introduce formerly “standard” classical musicians to a world of musical variety.”¹⁰ This interpretation is augmented by footage of bond’s debut live performance at London’s Royal Albert Hall (*bond Live At The Royal Albert Hall* 2001). Westerhoff and Chater appear suited to the role of the popular music performer, comfortably standing to play their instruments,¹¹ at ease in their somewhat revealing costumes, competently and gracefully executing choreographed and non-choreographed¹² movements, articulately introducing songs and conversing with the audience and exuding an air of “cool” unconcernedness that conveys a sense that they are “old hands” in this kind of performance. Ecker and Davis, on the other hand, appear *practiced* but not comfortable or “cool.” Ecker gives an engaging performance and is obviously enjoying herself immensely. Unlike Westerhoff and Chater, however, Ecker is too excited to exude a quiet “cool” as she pushes back a loose costume strap, is often short of breath and, by the end of the first song, perspiring profusely. This is perhaps normal for the role of front person that Ecker’s status as first violin has garnered, but such excitement is usually planned for and focused into an intense performance, something that Ecker has mastered since bond’s debut concert.¹³ Davis is also articulate in introducing songs and appears to be enjoying the concert, but her movements are stiff and she adjusts her costume often, appearing self-conscious. One could argue that Ecker and Davis’s relatively “standard” backgrounds, receiving little influence from sources other than their classical training puts them at a disadvantage in bond when compared to their pop-experienced counterparts. From this, however, one could also argue that Ecker and Davis have become more comfortable as popular music performers as they have gained a diversity of musical, performance and promotional experiences.

A different perspective on the importance of the musical backgrounds of the members of bond was suggested by Peter Hollo of FourPlay. Hollo knows Ecker and Davis well from his days in the Australian Youth Orchestra. When asked whether he thought it was something in his background that made him pursue a way of creating string music independently of record companies or mainstream musical styles as opposed to the backgrounds of Ecker and Davis, who had opted for mainstream work, he said:

¹⁰ Such a marketing line also engages with the high/low debate, musicians with experience of “low” musical cultures sharing their knowledge with the supposedly cloistered musicians of “high” musical cultures.

¹¹ This even includes Westerhoff, who plays a cello. Westerhoff is in fact able to use the cello as a centre of gravity around which to base movement (see below).

¹² Non-choreographed movements include ‘free’ or ‘ad-libbed’ physical signs of Westerhoff and Chater’s immersion in and enjoyment of the music.

¹³ One example includes Ecker’s poised part in bond’s performance at the Miss Universe Pageant in Panama, June 3 2003 (Pageant News Bureau 2003).

...[the bond] idea was thought up by the manager of bond ...it's almost like pop stars or something, so, basically ...the backgrounds of the four musicians in bond doesn't really make a difference... (pers. com. 2002a)

Hollo suggested that all of the members of bond would have interesting musical backgrounds and mentioned being particularly intrigued by the background of Westerhoff as she had worked with a variety of electronic artists. Hollo also believed, however, that the musical backgrounds of the members of bond, interesting or not, are not particularly relevant to the task of making music as part of a “manufactured” musical group. Hollo’s comment is on the difference between the manufactured formation of bond and the independent formation of FourPlay and suggests a connection to the tension between creative and commercial, highlighting the difference between the background that is useful to the musician who actively creates music and the irrelevance of this background to the musician who simply performs music dictated by commercial interests. A subtly different point, but one that is important to this discussion, is that while it is true that the “interesting” and diverse or non-diverse backgrounds of individual members of bond may not have significantly influenced the beginnings of bond itself, with a structure and vision for the group laid out by Bush early on,¹⁴ one cannot say that the backgrounds of the individual members are irrelevant to the task of making crossover, even when that crossover is manufactured. It might be argued that “manufactured pop” performers are required only to project a pre-determined image, but one could also argue that performers need a variety of experience and skill in order to do so.

The second task of this section, the examination of bond’s engagement with the relationship between diversity and individuality, begins with a discussion of bond’s first single release. bond’s initial entry into the U.K. classical charts for the single *Victory* (bond 2000) was marred by controversy after it was subsequently removed by the Chart Information Network (Iley 2001:29), who explained that the single “was not composed by a recognized classical composer and it had dance beats that put it outside the classical idiom” (Middap 2000). This gave bond their first opportunity to use crossover to signal their individuality. bond were singled out against other crossover projects when they were removed from the charts, Davis pointing out that:

When you look at...the...content of the classical charts of the moment, you’ve got soundtracks from movies, and (Luciano) Pavarotti is singing with U2...We laughed at it because it was a bit hypocritical. But in a way it was a really

¹⁴ With the exception of Westerhoff, who, according to bond’s biography, approached Bush looking for “something more” in her career (Iley 2001:31).

positive thing, because it was our break, and people went and bought the CD to decide for themselves. (Davis in Nekesa 2001:2)

bond's particular type of crossover was banned from the classical charts while other types were allowed to stay, suggesting that bond's crossover was somehow different to that of U2 and Pavarotti's crossover or other crossovers on movie soundtracks released at the same time. This allowed bond to engage with the construction of crossover as a stamp of individuality, their *particular* crossover marked as more controversial and unusual when compared with other crossovers. The entire episode of bond's removal from the classical chart also reinforced the construction of crossover as a stamp of individuality by portraying crossover as something unconventional and provocative, a square peg that would not fit in available marketing categories. The truth is that bond's music easily and obviously fits into the marketing category of "classical crossover," and later bond recordings went straight into that chart. The incident itself is not as significant as it was made out to be. bond's marketing team, however, seized on it " ...like manna from heaven" (Iley 2001:29). This incident clearly demonstrates the way that crossing over represents artists as individual.

bond's crossover is also used and constructed as a stamp of individuality by the group's fans. While all fans interviewed list a diverse range of personal musical interests, one fan, Taylor, goes on to discuss the importance of bond's musical individuality in defining her own personality, saying: "I love bands that create entirely new styles, and it's very important to me, because as a unique person, I want unique music to reflect my personality" (pers. com. 2002). This fan listens to bond even though her "typical teenager" friends don't like the group (pers. com. 2002). bond gives this fan the opportunity to distance herself from the "typical teenager" and describe herself as a unique and open-minded individual with many different tastes. By doing so, the fan engages with the construction of crossover as a stamp of her own individuality. Moreover, by presenting her engagement with the construction to her friends and to this study she, in turn, also strengthens and adds to the construction itself.

FourPlay

The first task of this section is to examine the link between diversity and crossover in the backgrounds and current activities of FourPlay. Such diversity is easily found, as all of the members of FourPlay have a variety of music and music related activities in their backgrounds. Peter (cello and vocals) and Tim Hollo (viola and vocals), founding members of FourPlay, were both members of the Australian Youth Orchestra and were brought up in Australia but Peter Hollo describes their family background as Jewish (though non-practicing

for some generations), Hungarian and Russian, “Very much [a] classical background, although plenty of jazz around the house...We’re all interested in the Eastern European Connection” (pers. com. 2007), and this background still influences the Hollos’ musical creation today. As they grew older, both engaged in different musical experiences and interests, such as musical theatre (Tim) and electronic music (Peter). Lara Goodridge (violin and vocals) and Shenton Gregory (viola and vocals) also have backgrounds in performing and creating different styles of music. Goodridge’s family background is Russian Jewish¹⁵ and she had classical training in violin during her school years, becoming a singer in a band during university. Eventually she was invited to play violin and sing in popular bands and jazz quartets, where she learnt to improvise, and Peter Hollo describes Goodridge’s personal music taste as “...open to all sorts of styles...folky...singer-songwriter...Joni Mitchell is pretty representative...but she’s the one who actually owns Strokes albums...and White Stripes, Yeah Yeah Yeahs and suchlike” (pers. com. 2007). These experiences led Goodridge to FourPlay, her knowledge of singing, violin and improvisation contributing at least in some part to the invitation to join the group. Gregory too has conservatorium training and met the other members of FourPlay while playing fiddle in Monsieur Camembert, an Australian Gypsy/Klezmer group (Monsieur Camembert 2007). Peter Hollo lists some of Gregory’s performance interests, including “...swing jazz...flamenco, other folk styles and indeed country. Plus he’s a big fan of cock rock...” (pers. com. 2007). Gregory also undertakes a staggering array of music and music related activities, “perform[ing] as a multi-instrumentalist/composer/arranger/music director/actor in all manner of professional productions nationally and overseas” (FourPlay 2007c). One of Gregory’s creations, Shenzo’s Electric Stunt Orchestra, “[Features] musicians hung from wires, playing upside-down and literally flying around the venue” (FourPlay 2007c).

Peter Hollo believes that the diverse musical backgrounds of the members of FourPlay are the very foundation of the group, they are “...a fairly prominent part of what makes us what we are...” (pers. com. 2002a). The theme of diversity in the backgrounds and in the current activities of the members of FourPlay is important to Peter Hollo and he identifies it as the basis of the group and also as something that the group had struggled with:

... If we wanted to be just a rock band I think we’d have a huge amount of trouble coming up with that and just sustaining that... we just all have so many different musical outlets and interests it can possibly be hard when you’re

¹⁵ Peter Hollo points out an interesting connection between Goodridge and the Hollos is that Goodridge’s parents and the Hollos’ mother were all born in Harbin, China (pers. com. 2007).

trying to put together a really killer album...that's kind of our dilemma...with the last album...which I thought was a really fantastic album but unfortunately it was either just too diverse or too something...diversity is probably a real advantage and a disadvantage in a way... (pers. com. 2002a)

Here Peter Hollo links the extremely diverse interests of the individual members of FourPlay to the diversity of music-making and activities of the band itself, suggesting that embracing diversity as part of FourPlay's core characteristics is not just an ideological act, but a practical one. The individual members of FourPlay might be tempted to concentrate more heavily on one of their outside musical outlets if FourPlay itself did not make experimentation with a variety of projects and musics a priority. A "straight" rock band format would cause stagnation and be too difficult for FourPlay to sustain. As Peter Hollo says, "...the band is the members of the band and what they do..." (pers. com. 2002a). The members of FourPlay have participated in and are currently involved in a wide range of musical activities, as demonstrated above, and it is such activities that make up the band that is FourPlay.

This point is carried into a consideration of FourPlay's application and use of the construction of crossover as a mark of artist individuality. As discussed in Chapter One, FourPlay only consciously make use of the concept of crossover in their marketing. In the main, the rest of the group's musical activities and exchanges are dictated simply by personal affinity or interest. This carries across into FourPlay's ideas of their individuality. FourPlay think of themselves as a group that has an individual approach to music-making. Rather than pointing to diverse musical influences as the cause of their individuality, however, FourPlay believe that the important point is that they are *active* in including a variety of influences in their music. Responding to a question about how FourPlay's incorporation of diverse musical elements into their work differed from that of bond and Vanessa-Mae,¹⁶ Peter Hollo commented that:

FourPlay really don't...well sometimes we do sit down and say "...what are we going to do next, and what's going to be good for us" ...and if we were playing at WOMAD, we'd play a different set of material, almost completely different to what we'd play at Livid or Big Day Out...so, we do sit and think a bit about where we're going to go, but what we do...just comes out of what FourPlay is, and is not some sort of pre-formulated thing... (pers. com. 2002a)

Hollo links FourPlay's individuality to their independence from pre-formulated and managed music-making rather than to the range of musical influences used by the group. FourPlay, bond and Vanessa-Mae all use a variety of influences in their music. Peter Hollo believes, however, that the members of FourPlay play a greater role in choosing and incorporating

¹⁶ bond and Vanessa-Mae represent artists who had a manager, notably in this case, Mel Bush.

diverse influences in their music than the members of Bond and Vanessa-Mae. If FourPlay's individuality is attached to their use of diverse influences at all it is because of the group's independence and self-direction in choosing those influences – not the diversity of the influences themselves. While diverse influences might be enough to claim individuality in marketing some of the artists mentioned in this chapter, FourPlay believe that an extra layer of activity is required to establish individuality. As Peter Hollo says of FourPlay above: "...the band is the members of the band and what they do..." (pers. com. 2002a). In the same way, the influences in FourPlay's music reflect the band and their musical interests. Thus the direct compositional input of the actual performers of, or the "face" of, the crossover (as opposed to an outside composer or managerial direction) constitutes another facet to the construction of crossover to mark individuality. As seen in earlier examples, such compositional authenticity is not actually needed to market artists as individual because of their diverse influences. Peter Hollo's point is, however, important and highlights aspects of the tension between creative musicking versus commercial performance. If an artist does not actually have creative input into the crossovers they perform it does not seem useful to claim that such crossovers render the artists themselves "individual," except perhaps in their performance choices.

In the above example FourPlay construct their individuality as a result of their independence rather than their diverse influences. The following example not only shows FourPlay's reluctance to link diversity itself with individuality, but also demonstrates the way in which FourPlay and their fans construct the group's particular crossover as diverse. When asked what he thought was important about FourPlay and why he liked the group, a fan named Crayg responded: "[t]heir eclecticity [sic] (not electricity) and their on stage presentation" (pers. com. 2002). Here the fan recognises FourPlay's eclecticism as something that made the group stand out and appeal to him. FourPlay fans also list a variety of musical activities and diverse musical interests, as Crayg in particular explained:

I try and get to gigs that I really have to go – George, Darren Hanlon and Fourplay [sic] are at the top of the priorities list; my CD collection spans an extreme variety of styles and artists (almost 300 CD's); I play electric guitar when I get time and I am studying Audio Engineering at college. (pers. com. 2002)

These comments show Crayg's interest in musical variety in his own activities (electric guitar, audio engineering) and in the music to which he listens ("an extreme variety of styles and artists") (pers. com. 2002). Most importantly, he identifies FourPlay's eclectic approach as the first and foremost reason that he is a fan of the group and why he thinks the group is

important. From this alone we cannot infer that the fan also thinks that FourPlay's "eclecticity" makes the group individual, but it does provide an example of FourPlay's construction of their crossover as diverse. When this fan was interviewed in 2002, FourPlay referred to themselves in promotional material as "FourPlay, Eclectic Electric String Quartet" (FourPlay 2002a).¹⁷ The fan shows awareness of this phrase and quotes it wholly while answering a question other than the one mentioned above. One can infer, then, that the fan has FourPlay's marketing phrase in mind when he speaks of FourPlay's 'eclecticity' as a characteristic that is important to him. This is an example of FourPlay's construction of their crossover as diverse (although not as a stamp of individuality because of this) and clearly shows the assimilation of this construction by a fan.

Vanessa-Mae

When looking at diversity and individuality in the life and career of Vanessa-Mae it becomes apparent that Vanessa-Mae's individuality as a person and performer is not only a very important theme of the violinist's marketing campaigns, but it is also an important theme for Vanessa-Mae herself. The press/fan booklet released to promote the "Storm on" World Tour (1997) discusses Vanessa-Mae's eclectic background and its effect on her life:

Born in Singapore, and raised in London, Vanessa-Mae has mixed Thai/Chinese parentage and British nationality. A very cosmopolitan education and well-travelled childhood has helped her ascend into her high-profile and prodigiously successful international career with enviable ease. ([EMI 2001])

Nationality, diversity and their effect on music are often part of Vanessa-Mae's interviews and marketing rhetoric. For example, the violinist often talks about wanting to expand her knowledge of her roots by exploring Chinese music, introducing influences and elements from Chinese culture into her works:

I have a sort of fascination growing up as a Western Chinese girl, if you know what I mean, and pursuing my Chinese roots. I think since my grandfather died when I was 15, I felt that my one ...real link to the Chinese past had gone missing and I wanted to pursue that further on this album [China Girl (1997)]... (Vanessa-Mae in MacCree and Gibson 1997).

The pursuit of Chinese roots was a common theme found in interviews with Vanessa-Mae during the promotion of *The Classical Album 2 (China Girl)* (1997), providing a strong marketing and media "hook" precisely because it was also a personal theme for the artist.

¹⁷ This promotional material was found on FourPlay's website in 2002 (FourPlay 2002). FourPlay continue to refer to themselves as "the eclectic electric string quartet" on their current website (FourPlay 2007a).

Vanessa-Mae uses the variety in her background to define her musical boundaries and her character and to explain her creativity:

...why should I be pigeonholed into playing a certain kind of music or behaving in a certain way, just because that's what members of the cultural cognoscenti expect of violinists? It goes against my background and upbringing. ...I've always loved jazz, folk, the best of pop and rock just as much as classical. If you come to our house you are just as likely to hear The Beatles, Michael Jackson, Bob Marley and the Bee Gees on the turntable as Mozart or Bruckner. I was determined to find a way to explore this side of my character as well. (Vanessa-Mae in "Articles/Interviews" [1997])

I was a normal child, attended normal schools and came in contact with all kinds of music. All styles have an appeal to me. As an eight-year-old child I could listen to reggae or dance to disco music and after that study Bach for two hours. ...To grow up without having to miss anything is the foundation of my creativity. (Vanessa-Mae In *Bake* 1997)

Like FourPlay, Vanessa-Mae identifies the musical diversity in her life, her "grow[ing] up without having to miss anything" as the "foundation of her creativity" (Vanessa-Mae In *Bake* 1997). The creativity she speaks of has led to crossover. Vanessa-Mae is one of the main exponents of the crossover between Western art music string instruments and popular music. This is not only because she has been creating this kind of crossover for over a decade or that she was one of the first mainstream musicians to give the label wide exposure. It is also because in everything that comprises the "Vanessa-Mae" who the public sees, her music, her interviews, her appearances, etc., Vanessa-Mae is constructed as an amalgam of diverse elements. Her upbringing, as it is told to the press, is filled with a variety of musical styles.¹⁸ Her music and performances combine not only her classical and popular influences, but also influences from the countries and cultures that make up her audiences.¹⁹ Her image is many-faceted, to some "...weirdly incongruent...part compliant bar-girl, part posh private school prefect, part girl next door..." (Johnson 1998). Vanessa-Mae is an extremely strong example of the link between crossover and diversity.

Vanessa-Mae was involved with crossover long before the concept became well known and widely used, and this is an important point to consider as we begin an examination of the violinist's application and use of the construction of crossover as a mark of artist

¹⁸ Interestingly, it is not described as filled with the actual practice of a variety of musical styles, simply as filled with listening to and interest in those styles.

¹⁹ For example, shortly before Vanessa-Mae toured Africa to promote the album *Storm* (1997/1998) the violinist appeared on New York television program, *The View* (ABC TV). A viewer described Vanessa-Mae's performance of Scottish ballad "I'm A-Doun For Lack O' Johnnie" on the show, describing the violinist as "...joined by her mother on keyboard, a bass player, a drummer and two female dancers dressed in *African-styled outfits*" (Gomez 1997, my italics).

individuality. Perhaps, as a “pioneer,”²⁰ Vanessa-Mae wouldn’t have needed any controversy to make her stand out. As described in Chapter One, her management team did not test this theory, however, releasing the controversial image of sixteen-year-old wearing a wet and near sea-through white shift in the sea to introduce Vanessa-Mae to the world. At first this image (seen in Plate Nine below) threatened Vanessa-Mae’s representation as an individual, with several writers commenting on the apparent exploitation of a very young woman not strong enough to forge her own image or to resist the image being created for her.²¹ These commentators tried to discuss the perceived manipulation in interviews with Vanessa-Mae, but were met by an impenetrable wall of prepared answers given by the poised and media-savvy violinist. When quizzed on her feelings about the wet shift photograph, Vanessa-Mae made comments such as:

I was amazed by the way some people found the poster so sexy...I was happy with what happened then. Everything I do designates a time in my life. All the time I'm changing as an artist and as a person. (Vanessa-Mae in Lacey 1996)

In the face of Vanessa-Mae’s reassurances that she had not been exploited, eventually most media started to use the image of Vanessa-Mae that she and Mel Bush had worked hard to construct by continually presenting the image of “well-rounded artist,” for example, in media interviews:

All through my life I have been trained as a classical violinist, but at the same time, as I was a five-year-old growing up in a very cosmopolitan world...I love Whitney Houston, Michael Jackson - all these different kinds of artists, so because I grew up with so much freedom in my musical life, I think that's why at the moment I have so much freedom in my musical career. (Vanessa-Mae in Trudgeon 1998)

Vanessa-Mae was so good at presenting the image of a free spirited genre-crossing individual who could successfully play a number of different roles that the violinist’s ability to handle media was sometimes the subject of meta-commentary by journalists (see Chapter Two).²²

Even after separating from her former management and “naïf crossover records” (Moss 2001), Vanessa-Mae continued to make use of the concept of crossover to claim individuality.

²⁰ Vanessa-Mae is a “pioneer” in that, although there had been many crossover violinists before her (Scarlet Riveria etc.), she was the first to get widespread recognition from the mainstream.

²¹ Such writers included Levy, D.S. 1995, Rolfsen, T. 1995, Hayes, M. 1996, Boam, E. 1996.

²² As discussed in Chapter Two this image was not necessarily accepted by all who interviewed the violinist and many journalists commented on their goal of trying to get to the “real” Vanessa-Mae. Nonetheless, Vanessa-Mae’s construction of an individual who played a diverse range of music was propagated by many journalists and by her fans.

NOTE: This plate is included on page 84 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Nine

Cover artwork photograph of Vanessa-Mae reproduced from (*The Violin Player* 1995).

The violinist did not, however, simply use her usual construction of individuality resulting from an interest in a variety of musical influences. Instead, she added the idea that her own compositional input was more important in signalling individuality than a wide range of musical influences by other composers or creators.

Even after separating from her former management and “naïf crossover records” (Moss 2001), Vanessa-Mae continued to make use of the concept of crossover to claim individuality. The violinist did not, however, simply use her usual construction of individuality resulting from an interest in a variety of musical influences. Instead, she added the idea that her own compositional input was more important in signalling individuality than a wide range of musical influences by other composers or creators. This interesting addition to her construction of crossover as a stamp of individuality echoes the comments made by Peter Hollo and FourPlay above, namely, the notion that diverse influences do not ground individuality unless it results from the direct compositional input of the actual performers of the crossover. According to Vanessa-Mae this new facet of the construction was highlighted by her freedom from managerial influences:

My mother...was very supportive of my doing the fusion albums in the mid-'90s but this album wasn't any more about taking other people's tunes and transcribing them. I need to go down a much more original route. (Vanessa-Mae in Moss 2001)

Vanessa-Mae claims in the article from which the above quote was taken that her current work is more individual and incorporates a wider variety of influences than her “techno-acoustic fusion” ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team] 1997a). With comments like these, the violinist shows an awareness of her own past and present work in terms of pieces that “transcrib[e] other people’s tunes” as opposed to “original” pieces. This is something like Goodall’s (2000) notions (discussed in Chapter One) of two different kinds of crossover, the creative and the commercial. According to one writer, Vanessa-Mae has “Her artistic eyes...now fixed firmly on emulating Madonna rather than Jascha Heifetz” (Moss 2001). Madonna is an interesting choice of model, and not one that should be regarded lightly. Over the years Madonna has changed her public persona so many times that re-invention has become one of her trademarks, a stamp of individuality (Whiteley 2000:137). To portray Vanessa-Mae as aspiring to be like Madonna is to construct the violinist’s individuality in terms of change, re-invention and diversity.

Kennedy

Here we examine the links between diversity, crossover and individuality in the background and current activities of Kennedy, the final artist to be examined in this chapter. Kennedy is presented as an artist with diverse influences and experiences, although his primary career as a “standard” classical artist prevents him from being represented as an amalgam to the same degree as Vanessa-Mae. Kennedy’s career success is an example of the benefits of intense exposure to and immersion in a musical world or genre. His earliest memories are inextricably linked with music as it was being taught, allowing for early assimilation of musical concepts:

One of the main routines of family life I had to get used to was both my Mum and Granny taking on a lot of piano teaching....I used to get...placed in silent suspension while someone or other struggled to make an impression on maybe a piece of Chopin...Quite often I would simply sit silently under the piano during the session...The music itself kind of pervaded my brain and my consciousness would just go with it. (Kennedy 1991:2)

Just as Vanessa-Mae attributes her early exposure to a range of musics to her current creativity, Kennedy’s attributes his early exposure to Western art music to his deep understanding of Western art music structures and conventions. This deep understanding did not coincide with complete musical identification, however, and a recurrent theme throughout Kennedy’s biography *Always Playing* (1991) is the violinist’s lifelong search for a musical place that he “fits” or feels at home in. Manager John Stanley mentions “...the nestling up to differing musical worlds in the hope of finding a secure home; the search to belong somewhere, to be liked...” (Stanley in Kennedy 1991:xii). This theme opens out into Kennedy’s opinion that his need to think for himself and follow his own paths led to his development as a musician:

I guess something like 80 per cent of what I was formally taught at my schools, particularly at the Menuhin, I reacted to badly, but that reaction led me to trying my own alternatives and it is always such a buzz when you see your thinking work out...What was really exciting was that communicating my musical feelings rather than the School’s appeared to please everyone, including me. (Kennedy 1991:5-13)

Kennedy continues to argue for the benefit of “trying [one’s] own alternatives,” discussing the progress of his interests in other types of music (e.g. jazz) and activities (e.g. sports) as fundamental to his progress not only an artist that produces diverse works, but also as an artist that is highly successful in a “standard” genre (e.g. as a classical concert violinist):

...between the newly inflamed passion for creative jazz work and my already declared commitment to Aston Villa soccer team,²³ it might seem a miracle my classical output did not suffer. In fact I was living proof that a broad range of experiences (as opposed to specialisation) can benefit a musician because at that time my improvement was probably the fastest out of all the students at the school... (Kennedy 1991:15)

For Kennedy, immersion in a range of activities (musical or otherwise) about which he was passionate had a beneficial effect on his standard classical career progress. His positive comments on a “broad range” rather than “specialisation” of musical activities perhaps point to the “broad range” fostering flexibility. Kennedy, like most of the musicians mentioned above, has a background filled with a variety of musical experiences and influences. Such experiences and influences have given these artists the ability to work flexibly in a variety of genres and styles and on many different musical projects, many of which have been crossover projects.

Kennedy asserts his individuality from the very beginning of *Always Playing* (1991), explaining that the reason that he had accepted the offer to write the autobiography was because he would have the freedom to express himself as an individual (Kennedy 1991:xix). This presents a good juncture to begin an examination of the construction of crossover to mark artist individuality in the work of the violinist.

Kennedy writes of his fight to maintain his individuality throughout his career in the face of record company calls for change:

One of the main reasons I was so confident with John [Stanley] was that right from the beginning, when I knew the record company were saying to John, ‘If you get involved clean him up’, he was not affected. I’m sure I must have presented him with many dilemmas being as I am, but after looking at both sides of the fence he felt the changes needed to come from within the industry, not me. He’s never asked me to change a thing about myself, but he’s called on huge sections of our industry, the media, and the public to change – and somehow it’s happened. (Kennedy 1991:41)

Here Kennedy constructs his crossover activities as a mark and a cause of his individuality. His forays into different musical styles, his onstage costuming and presence and the image he

²³ Kennedy is a long-term and passionate supporter of the English professional football team Aston Villa. The team is based in Birmingham (Hylands 2007). Indeed, several of Kennedy’s crossovers of image can be found in his onstage and interview references to his support of the Aston Villa team. One example of this included a performance with the Philharmonia Orchestra that Kennedy describes as “...an audition to perform at the Festival Hall with their main conductor, Riccardo Muti... That concert and the resultant exposure brought me to... a number of concert opportunities. (The fact that I pulled out a Villa scarf in the first tutti of the Mendelssohn – to make sure my debut was memorable! – didn’t particularly endear me to Riccardo: maybe he supports Juventus or something!)” (Kennedy 1991:21).

presents to the media all represent crossovers that his record company felt needed “cleaning up” for easier consumption. In describing this issue Kennedy highlights the tension between his creative but “messy” characteristics and his record company’s commercial concerns. In Kennedy’s representation above, however, his manager, “called for change.” He allowed the violinist to continue to construct his crossovers as unconventional as well as individual, unhindered by the expectations of the industry, media and public.

Kennedy continually bundles together the themes of freedom, individuality and crossover, often suggesting that without crossing over or “breaking loose” into diverse activities and styles he wouldn’t have become the successful performer he is today:

Initially, music gave me a way to express my feelings when most of my other emotions were numb. The musical institutions then tried to limit my field of vision, and yet, whenever I did break loose, the audience enjoyed the freedom as much as me. (Kennedy 1997:51)

This construction of crossover as part of an uncompromisingly individual approach has been impressed upon Kennedy fans and reviewers alike. One reviewer²⁴ writes that although he thinks that most crossover is fuelled by “...vanity or greed [rather] than musicality...” (Baumel 2000), Kennedy is *different* because he “...demonstrates that he has the chops to take on the sprawling hypergenres of progressive fusion music (rock/jazz/world/classical...)” (Baumel 2000). The *Another String* website, created about Kennedy by some of his fans, uses quotes that ground Kennedy’s need to have the *freedom* to play whenever and whatever he likes (*Another String* [2007a]). Fans on an Internet chat site discuss the violinist as “...half crazy but he can play the violin so one gets tears in the eyes...” (Milthers 2002).²⁵ The construct of the mad musician, strange and often difficult to deal with as a person but communicative and erudite through music, is well-known in both music scholarship and popular fiction.²⁶ Kennedy’s diverse quirks of behaviour are not only forgiven by fans and by

²⁴ Considering the material other than this review on the website, the reviewer also appears to be a fan.

²⁵ Unfortunately, the transcript of the internet chat on which this comment appears is no longer accessible (apart from the author’s own research copy). The online community that hosted the particular chat (ezboard), however, is still functioning at <http://www.ezboard.com/> (as of August 2007).

²⁶ For example, a New York times writer comments that: “The mad artist, a type typified by poor Schumann, is not quite as pervasive a figure in popular mythology as the mad scientist, but no less a novelist than Thomas Mann thought highly enough of the stereotype to immortalize it in his “Doctor Faustus.” ...And why not? Don’t all readers of musical biographies know that many famous composers have been borderline psychopaths, if not certifiably insane? Haven’t generations of music-appreciation writers led us to suspect that there is a mysterious connection between mental abnormality and musical creativity? Who, in fact, would deny that people such as Beethoven and Mahler were pathologically ill and, therefore, creatively fruitful? (Henahan 1986). Another example can be found in the work of psychologist Judith Schlesinger: “...I hate the noxious myth that creativity and mental “illness” are necessarily linked. Being a devoted fan of people with talent, as well as a psychologist, I’ve been fighting the “mad creative” myth on various battlefields for about 20 years” (Schlesinger 2003).

some reviewers, they are actively part of what attracts these people to the violinist, what constructs him as a stand-out and individual performer.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the way that artists link diversity and crossover to apply and reinforce the construction of crossover as a mark of artist individuality. This type of construction is not regarded as wrong or manipulative. Rather, individuality is seen as one more marketing tool. Whereas the artists or projects who combined musical elements and styles may have once caused difficulties for marketing departments, categories such as crossover represent a way for artists who use diverse influences in their music to be defined, when useful, as insiders to a “standard” crossover marketing category, becoming part of the categorisation system so necessary for consumers to find and buy music. The added benefit to such artists is, however, that such artists and projects may also use crossover to be marketed as “existing outside boundaries,” paradoxically gaining credibility by existing outside the system of standard categories. Crossover may not be a completely accurate descriptor for these artists and projects, but it is often satisfactory as a signpost. This is most prevalent in media use of crossover, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Shortcuts and signposts: crossover and media themes

As has been shown, the term “crossover” evokes many layers of meaning that are constructed through the promotion and critical reception of crossover artists and projects. The media is one of the most important sources of such promotion and critical reception. It both constructs and reinforces many “shortcuts and signposts,” simplified themes that render explanations of crossover artists and projects easily understandable to audiences. First, we discuss the identification of the construction and examine its scope. This chapter then focuses on two of these shortcuts and signposts, exploring their circulation in the careers of the four artist examples. The two shortcuts are “establishment upset” and “image over skill.” These two were the most frequently recurring in initial research and not covered in discussion elsewhere.¹

Identifying the construction and examining its scope

As noted, the construction of crossover to provide media short cuts and signposts was identified during discussion with Peter Hollo. His comments suggested a need for the simplification of some information about the group:

Author: Some of the quotes that [you’ve taken from media in promoting FourPlay] seem to be the ones that might provoke the most reaction, the “blurring of the boundaries” type ones and the “spitting in the eye of classical romanticism.” Are you using those on purpose?

Peter Hollo: I don’t mind using that... there was one...when I think we got referred to as baroque grunge or something and I wouldn’t use that because I think it’s just a...fairly meaningless...and stupid thing...I don’t mind the Rolling Stone one [spitting in the eye...] because it sort of conveys a bit of passion and...an idea of...how different we are, I guess...a lot of people still come up to us and tell us how great it is to hear classical music when we really don’t play classical music at all (laughing)...but that’s cool...

Author: So you’re okay with maybe sign posting a bit just for people to...

Peter Hollo: I think you’ve got to, a bit, and...it’s never going to be completely accurate or completely comprehensive to do that sort of thing but people are eventually going to come along and hear our music or buy our CDs and that’s probably the best way to...discover what we’re about...I don’t think there’s any way of just putting it onto paper and conveying what it’s like to be at a FourPlay gig...so we’ve got to use these sorts of...shortcuts and signposts... (pers. com. 2002a)

FourPlay allows the media to describe its music by using constructions of crossover, permitting and sometimes even making use of the media’s tendency to highlight conflict

¹ Other media shortcuts and signposts identified by this research include “Classical versus pop”; “crossover and the other” and “commerce versus art.” These are covered implicitly within other discussions throughout the study.

between Western art music and popular music in discussions of the group. Although FourPlay may not subscribe to the provocative views of their “crossover” music making presented by the media or even believe in the relevance of crossover to its work, the group tolerate and even use some of the media’s simplification of their complex array of musical practices to their own advantage, realising that it is the best way to ensure wide exposure.

Two terms recur in the discussion below, and it is useful to clarify them before proceeding further. The first term is “media.” *The Australian Oxford Dictionary* defines “media” as “the main means of mass communication (esp. newspapers and broadcasting) regarded collectively.” This thesis adopts this definition, but chooses not to separate that which is “regarded collectively” to particularly indicate, for example, popular or classical media or different countries of origin of media.² The other term is “shortcuts and signposts.” As suggested above, when used together or interchangeably with other terms such as “shorthand,” the term “shortcuts and signposts” provides for the media an immediate and simple way to explain a complex concept. The term easily evokes ideas without having to fully elucidate the individual merits of specific facts, stories or artists.³

The simplification or reduction of ideas is typical of the way the media, as a form of mass communication, spreads very clear, simple and focused messages. Recurring references to such simplification had been evident in the research process and the above discussion with Hollo suggested a name for the construction. Media workers aim to find the “hook” or the story in any batch of information to be presented to the general public. Marketers who have become “media-savvy” know that if they can give an instantly obvious perspective on the product or “hook” they are trying to sell, they will often gain not only media attention, but also be able to focus that attention on the precise information they want communicated to the public. This often means omitting what might seem like vital details in favour of a larger perspective,⁴ thereby in fact reducing the message.⁵ It is another point of tension between

² This can be seen in the example above where Kennedy discusses the British media in particular. It should also be acknowledged that media items often provide the majority of information on artists and groups, including those that are the focus of this study.

³ This chapter neither argues that the media are alone in this activity nor does it label such simplification inappropriate.

⁴ Author Marianne Fredriksson discusses journalism as “learn[ing] to express complicated matters in a simple way, [by] generalising and using examples” (Fredriksson 1998:159).

⁵ Both fictional and academic literature note that the simplification of ideas is an extremely effective way to communicate a message and is not confined to the media. This discussion, however, is often accompanied by a warning that such simplification constitutes the ‘dumbing down’ of the message and its subject. Moreover the complexity may never be reinstated and in fact, it may be forgotten and replaced by the simplified version. Aldous Huxley (1952) writes: “...there cannot be effective oratory without over-simplification. But you cannot

creative expression and commercial concerns, where commercial concerns of fast communication and easily digestible “soundbites” override the creativity of expression and ideas that may be contained in a more complex message.

Examples of the reduction of complex ideas can also be found in early music industry instances. Lebrecht (1997) discusses the agent/manager Arthur Judson⁶ as such an authoritative figure that many in the music industry adopted his tightly controlled and simplified shortcuts and signposts signifying American music. Composer/critic Virgil Thomson, however, did not adopt Judson’s themes, causing consternation for Judson:

So efficiently had Judson regimented American music that the range of ideas he received was as homespun as any Time reader’s and he was caught unprepared by the perfumed iconoclasm of composer-critic Virgil Thomson. (Lebrecht 1997:119)

Judson found it easier to deal in “homespun” ideas on American music as they were more familiar and quickly acceptable to audiences. Complicated “perfumed iconoclasm” were infinitely more difficult to present to the public, much harder to simplify and use as shortcuts and signposts.

Another example of the simplification of complex ideas in the world of music is found in Anne-Marie Gallagher’s discussion of Caribana and calypso musics:

over-simplify without distorting the facts. Even when he is doing his best to tell the truth, the successful orator is ipso facto a liar. And most successful orators, it is hardly necessary to add, are not even trying to tell the truth; they are trying to evoke sympathy for their friends and antipathy for their opponents” (Huxley 1952:25). This is discussed by some writers as having wide sociological ramifications, including the rise to power of people or forces simply because their voices are the loudest and their message is the most clearly comprehensible, not necessarily because their ideas have been shown to originate in logic. Quoted in an article by K.C. Arceneaux, former advertising executive Gerry Mander writes: “...when people cannot distinguish with certainty the natural from the interpreted, or the artificial from the organic, then all theories of the ideal organization of life become equal. None of them can be understood as any more or any less connected to planetary truth. And so the person or forces capable of speaking most loudly or most forcefully, or with some apparent logic, even if it is unrooted logic – can become convincing within the void of understanding” (Mander in Arceneaux 1992:123). Arceneaux adds to the discussion of what he calls the “...compartmentalized components of modern culture...” (Arceneaux 1992:115), believing that in the process of simplifying a message to be broadcast to millions through the television, the message itself becomes warped and dichotomised: “In a culture which increasingly compartmentalizes kinds of knowledge and thereby limits its accessibility, television has become a clearing house for knowledge in its most abbreviated, mythical, forms” (Arceneaux 1992:120). Separating knowledge into discrete categories that have few possible relationships is, according to Arceneaux, a feature of Western culture (Arceneaux 1992:114).

⁶ Arthur Leon Judson was an artists' manager who also managed the New York Philharmonic and Philadelphia Orchestra. He was born in...Ohio [in]1881 and died in...New York [in] 1975 (Wikipedia 2007b). Judson was well-known for his monopoly over two-thirds of America’s musical artists and conductors through his role of president of the Columbia Concerts Corporation. Judson, known “...for his knowledge of music and judgment on musicians of quality...” influenced many decisions of great importance to the American music industry from 1915 to the late 1940s (Wikipedia 2007b).

[T]he types of reductionist practices that the [Toronto, Canada] mainstream press uses in its representations of Caribana and calypso music are, in effect, a barricade to any deeper meaning or understanding of it. The history and identities of the people who make it and for whom it is – in their own words – a way of life are largely prevented from reaching Toronto’s dominant culture which relies principally on what the papers say to shape their view of the local Caribbean community. (Gallaughner in Guilbault 1996)

Gallaughner explicitly states what Lebrecht implies, that simplification in representing types of music actually prevents the possibility of any deep understanding the music, its messages or its artists. Similarly, according to Guilbault (1996), reductionist media and other representations of artists and projects that are classified as part of the “world music” label are constructed in order to:

...produce...a sense of space articulated as bounded territories...a sense of culture as homogeneous and belonging to particular locales...a sense of race in terms of fixed biological and musical characteristics...and... a sense that all those participating into this phenomenon are all disadvantaged people, economically, socially, or otherwise... (Guilbault 1996)

The label “world music” allows the reduction of worldwide musical activity to a simplified set of unrepresentative statements. This chapter examines parallels in the concept of crossover, exploring how the media and other parties use crossover as an anchor for the simplification of musical ideas and debates.

A final example of the simplification of complex ideas by media in the world of music is provided by Kennedy. Kennedy discusses the media’s shortcutting in the expanded quote below, by explaining not only *his* musical output, but culture in general, showing how he acknowledges and tolerates such shortcutting in a way similar to that of FourPlay:

One of the more significant allies and one which has substantially helped the direct connection between music and the audience has been the media. I’m not so stupid as to suppose that their aims are purely cultural, and so the apparent emergence of myself with Vivaldi’s *Four Seasons*, and then Pavarotti with Puccini’s ‘Nessun Dorma’, did provide newsworthy platforms for features. What has happened subsequently is that many publications and programmes have discovered that the public has more than a passing curiosity about the subject, and that it’s actually quite good business to favour the topic. After all, classical music has the sort of classy touch both editors and advertisers like...The occasional suggestions that I simply bought the gear [smoking jacket and waistcoat rather than a formal outfit] and had the haircut to become noticeable, a punk-style fiddler, doesn’t really trouble me. I know how it all happened, and the audience has never done anything but support me. It’s just a shorthand that newspapers more interested in mass appeal than culture feel they need to use...One day it will dawn that you don’t have to be an addict to

want to hear, read, or see culture. Until then I guess we all have to put up with the ‘media in the middle’ between us displaying all those weird messages they think will make it palatable. (Kennedy 1991:47-51)

Kennedy does not suggest here that he makes use of media simplifications in his own promotion.⁷ He does, however, allow and even applaud, the role of media simplifications in forging a direct connection between himself and his audience. In the latter part of the quote, however, it is clear that Kennedy does not feel that “shorthand” such as “punk-style fiddler” is really necessary to describe his music, expressing the hope that eventually such shortcuts will be avoided by the media.

Kennedy also makes a distinction, in other comments, between two types of British media, the “serious...inevitably small but authoritative media” (Kennedy 1991:52-54) and the “tabloids...the more popular media” (Kennedy 1991:52-54). He sees differences in the way that these two “media factions” (Kennedy 1991:55) represent his work,⁸ but still finds that at some point, both reduce his message until it becomes a simple and reiterated theme that fits within a larger media debate. This simplification does not bother Kennedy in the short term because any publicity gives his music exposure, but he is aware of it and in the long term would like to see it disappear.

As noted above, two particular media shortcuts and signposts are examined in this section for their engagement with the construction of crossover. Examination of these shortcuts, namely, “establishment upset” and “image over skill,” focuses on three of the four primary artist examples for this thesis as they are deemed most interesting with regards to this construction.

Establishment upset

Embedded within the concept of crossover is the idea that a conflict exists between the creators and audiences of classical music and the creators and audiences of popular music. This simplification is encapsulated in the media theme that crossover artists create their music through the desire to disrupt a perceived classical music “establishment,” a theme that is thoroughly ensconced in the high/low debate. Examples of the construction of crossover through this shortcut and signpost abound in media representation of the group bond.

⁷ Media simplifications are definitely made use of by Kennedy’s marketing department though they are not spoken of here.

⁸ For example, Kennedy explains that the “serious” media “has conspicuously concentrated not on the success of classical sales, but on ringing warning bells to the destruction of the traditional fabric of that culture” (Kennedy 1991:52), while “...the more popular media...was...more honest...a fair amount of punk fiddler stuff and lots about Villa, and my girlfriend, Brixie, but it was never left at just that alone...” (Kennedy 1991:53).

bond

One of the first articles to introduce Australian audiences to bond used a headline that positioned the group as the underdogs in a battle against the classical hierarchy. The headline, “Music for the masses ‘not classical’” (Middap 2000) was informed by Ecker’s comment that “[i]n a modern world it is disappointing that the classical elite cannot embrace change” (Ecker in Middap 2000). Journalist Christine Middap builds upon the theme of the crossover group fighting an inflexible classical elite, using words and phrases such as: “...string quartet headed by two *Australians* has been *banned* from the United Kingdom’s classical music charts for being too pop” and “Ecker...*hit back* at the decision” (Middap 2000, my italics). Middap’s article calls to Australian patriotism and does it in two ways. Firstly, she writes that two Australians lead the string quartet. This allows her readers to make the assumption that bond is an Australian project. Secondly, the information and quotes included in the article and its overall tone subtly suggest the tyranny of the United Kingdom’s “...classical elite” (Ecker in Middap 2000) over the Australian underdogs, and in fact, over all who would include themselves in the “masses” for whom bond make music. Australians will pledge support for other Australians, but if the other Australians are underdogs, and underdogs that are being oppressed by the United Kingdom (with all the attendant connotations of colonialism), justification for their support becomes vastly amplified. Middap’s article has many points of identification for its audience and heavily relies on and reinforces the construction of crossover using the signpost of establishment upset. In using this signpost, it also engages strongly with the high/low debate.

Articles like Middap’s solidified the notion of bond’s battle with “the establishment” early on in their career, creating such a simple, clear and strong message for the group that it has featured in articles on and interviews with bond ever since. One example is an interview shown on the Australian Nine Network’s *Today* show and conducted by mainstream music journalist Richard Wilkins in February 2001. Wilkins’ introductory remarks used and reinforced the construct of bond’s “fight” with “the classical establishment,” containing phrases such as “...turning the classical world on its ear...they don’t look the way they sound...their mission is to shake and stir...not considered classical enough for the purists...” (*Today (NWS 9) – Featuring Bond* 2001). These comments are amplifications on the theme of establishment upset as instigated by bond’s initial press release which ensured that the media had a simple, clear and exciting hook around which to base articles and interviews. Long before the previously discussed controversy in which the Chart Information Network removed

bond's debut single from the classical chart, the theme of bond's conflict with the establishment had been planted in the press release through phrases such as: "...bond's mission is universal. Unconstrained by convention...the reinvention of the classical string quartet...neither will the performers be sat down...at the mercy of a magisterial conductor" ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a).⁹ When the single was removed from the chart Decca publicist Linda Valentine seized on it "...like manna from heaven..." (Valentine in Iley 2001:29) and used the incident to add weight to and further define the hook that had been associated with bond from the beginning, that the group wanted to upset the establishment. The removal of bond's single from the U.K. classical chart was so effective at garnering publicity that even the members of bond themselves wondered if perhaps it was a publicity stunt, Westerhoff commenting in one article: "We got so much press out of it I was sure it was something the record company had invented" (Westerhoff in Iley 2001:32). This quote was followed quickly by "Another record-company publicist, Becky Ram, [who] says that was definitely not the case" (Iley 2001:32). This kind of frank and open discussion of publicity and promotion is also a marketing strategy, an anti-marketing marketing that provides credibility to what the interviewee says by playing on the logic that if it *were* a publicity stunt, why would it be discussed so transparently?

The theme of bond's "mission" to shake the establishment has become so insidious in articles and interviews the members of the group find themselves trying to remedy simplistic notions and give their music and project further complexity and depth.¹⁰ In the interview discussed above Wilkins not so much asks as states: "...you wanted to...fly in the face of the purists, yeah?" (*Today (NWS 9) – Featuring Bond*. 2001). The members of bond attempt to redress this extreme view and remove themselves from the high/low debate, explaining that they hadn't set out to ruffle feathers, that they just create the music they want to create without thinking too much about the implications, even going so far as to say that their music shouldn't even have been compared to classical music in the first place (*Today (Channel Nine) – Featuring Bond*. 2001). In another interview Davis is asked "How have your classical music teachers reacted to the direction you've taken your classical training?" She answers carefully: "...I think too often people can get a narrow mindset, but you usually find it's the

⁹ Given that it is not standard practice for a classical string quartet to have a conductor, this is an interesting comment that perhaps denotes the depth of classical knowledge that is expected from the audience for this press release.

¹⁰ This is in stark contrast to early interviews such as those above, in which Ecker happily reinforced the construction of their crossover to "upset the establishment" by her comments in the Middap article, discussed above (Ecker in Middap 2000).

musicians who are the most generous, who think of the music as for everybody and not just for an elite...” (Fish 2001b). Such a comment suggests that bond’s classical teachers and peers had not inspired the need for conflict. It also suggests that Davis at least wishes to remedy any idea that such teachers or peers had challenged bond at all. This kind of backtracking, however, seems to go unnoticed amongst the media workers who interview bond, and the group are constantly faced with leading questions that are constructed to give the reader the powerful hook of bond’s conflict with the classical hierarchy well before the performer is invited to respond, by which time the hook is all that’s remembered. Disparity between bond’s marketing rhetoric and the member’s personal comments does not appear to present a problem, however. By making these kinds of “subversive” statements against their own marketing hook the members of bond come away with an aura of credibility. bond are able to point to countless examples of the media, or even their marketing team, pushing for the extreme simplification of the issues surrounding their music. The group are then able to wash their hands of such marketing gimmickry, suggesting that they were simply interested in making music all along. Nevertheless, bond’s promotion and media representation provides many examples of the use and reinforcement of the construction of crossover through the shortcut of establishment upset.

Kennedy

Kennedy is another artist whose work is often reported by the media in the simplified terms of his fight against a perceived classical “establishment.” This formula is especially useful to those media workers who are not fluent in the discourse of Western art music as it is a familiar theme that can be seen in many different genres of music, for example, the high/low debate as discussed above. The theme of battle with the establishment is also prevalent in many different areas of life. One obvious example that springs to mind is David versus Goliath. A journalist writing for the magazine *Guitarist* used the theme of conflict with a perceived authority to link Kennedy and guitarist Jimi Hendrix, writing:

Outrageous, anti-establishment, yet a stunning musician whose style you can recognise in an instant. It’s a description that fits both Hendrix and violinist Nigel Kennedy equally well. And it’s perhaps this kindred spirit that’s tempted the brilliant fiddler away from the classical repertoire and into producing an album of Jimi’s material. ([Guitarist] n.d.)

The journalist asks a broad range of questions and works hard to present complexity and detail in, for example, his queries on Kennedy’s arrangements on Hendrix’s work and on

Kennedy's thoughts on the guitar as an instrument. The journalist still finds it necessary, however, to invoke the formula of a "strict classical establishment" versus rock music and the "looseness" of its exponents, asking "When you did the concerts where you mixed Bartók and Hendrix pieces, how did the more snooty elements of the crowd take it?" ([Guitarist] n.d.) Kennedy responds in a similar way to the members of bond above, trying to inject some intricacy into what has been reduced to a familiar dichotomy, saying "Well, there was a bit of that, but the Hendrix stuff is actually much more accessible than the Bartók...I think a lot of the audience found the Hendrix something of a reprieve..."(Kennedy in [Guitarist] n.d.). This quote also appears to represent the journalist using the theme of conflict to "test" Kennedy out, trying to trick Kennedy into denouncing classical musicians as a bunch of "snooty" snobs. When the straight form of this question doesn't produce the expected answer, the journalist tries a different tack, asking, "So how do you view Hendrix as a technician? Surely not in the same league as Yehudi Menuhin?" ([Guitarist] n.d.) This question appears to be constructed to force Kennedy either into defending Hendrix's technique over Menuhin's against the "snobs" who would say otherwise, or into revealing himself as a "snob" that does not truly think Hendrix's technique was very good, and is perhaps only playing the popularity game in recording an album of Hendrix's material. There is little room for Kennedy to answer with any complexity when faced with a choice of two pre-connoted answers, but he manages to take a line down the middle by talking purely about technique and avoiding possible associations, saying, "...I'd say he was. I think he had as good a technique as any of the classical virtuosos that I've heard in my time...I think his technique was good enough to go where his ears told him. And his ears were...huge ears" (Kennedy in [Guitarist] n.d.).

Despite working to avoid connection with the signpost of establishment upset in the above interview, Kennedy has in other interviews and articles occasionally made use of the signpost. In one chapter of his autobiography (*Always Playing* 1991) titled *Lasting Value*, he writes about two experiences, the first being a series of *Four Seasons* concerts in which:

...we tried to redraw the guidelines for presentation: we became involved in subtle sound reinforcement to lift and equalise the dynamic levels very slightly without detracting from the natural sounds emanating from the concert platform; we introduced a rock 'n' roll lighting crew and rig... (Kennedy 1991:68-69)

The second experience Kennedy discusses is that of an outdoor concert he gave at the Crystal Palace Athletics Stadium.¹¹ In describing both of these experiences Kennedy writes that:

...the whole exercise of trying to push the restrictive barrier away from classical music placed me in a very vulnerable position. Even the slightest miscalculation would give those we were upsetting justified grounds to get vocal. (Kennedy 1991:71)

Kennedy's description of "those we were upsetting" (Kennedy 1991:71) included portions of the media that he calls the "serious...inevitably small but authoritative media" (Kennedy 1991:52-54), a group which he perceives as part of "the establishment." Describing his sorrow at the inclement weather and various problems that occurred during the Crystal Palace concert, Kennedy highlights the behaviour of a member of this "establishment" media:

The press reports were kind and sympathetic – barring the one inevitable newspaper which had fielded a rather uncommunicative lady who always stood slightly apart from the rest of the media gang and, indeed, visibly smirked at what she clearly felt were the inane questions of the general press. She held her notepad up close to her chin, like she was defending precious answers to an examination or maybe they were state secrets. Towards the end the other journalists were making jokes at her expense, and so she requested special passes in order to cruise with the general public. Needless to say, hers was the biggest spread – hunting out the disillusioned and rain-drenched at the perimeter gates...The irony, missed by the troubled readers, was that that

¹¹ Another example of such Western art music concerts crossing over can be found in the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra's (hereafter ASO) 2002 outdoor special event concert, the *Holden Christmas Symphony in the Serengeti*. As the name suggests, this concert had corporate sponsorship from the automotive company Holden. As well as facilitating the crossover with corporate sponsorship this concert gave the ASO the opportunity to crossover in venue, being held in Adelaide's Monarto Zoological Park (Monarto), an open-plain zoo that is home to many large "game" animals, including a white rhinoceros, a cheetah, and "the largest giraffe herd in Australia" (Holden 2002). One of Monarto's large paddocks became the site for a portable sound shell and stage. The outer edge of the paddock was a group of trailers conducting food sales, the concert being punctuated by a stream of customers moving back and forth between picnic blankets and the array of fast foods available. The concert featured minor celebrities as guest presenters and animal-themed music had been programmed, combining the work of classical composers (e.g. Rossini's "Thieving Magpie Overture" (1817) or Grainger's "Shepherd's Hey" (1908-13)) with arrangements of popular songs (e.g. Mancini's "Baby Elephant Walk" (1962) or George David Weiss's "The Lion Sleeps Tonight" (1961)) (Holden 2002). No stone had been left unturned in the task of pleasing the audience, and by and large the *Symphony in the Serengeti* could be said to have been successful in this aim. The danger of the outside venue and the flexibility of the crossover concert became apparent, however, when inclement weather threatened Santa Claus' spectacular finale entrance. Concert organisers cool-headedly instructed MCs and the ASO to reverse the order of the last few songs, to allow at least Santa Claus' appearance before members of the audience gave up trying to restrain their umbrellas from blowing inside out and left.

It is difficult to interpret such special event concerts. The *Symphony in the Serengeti* had no sense of the tongue in cheek about it (as opposed to other special event concerts given by the ASO), it was marketed and run as a concert for family entertainment, implementing such a thorough integration of popular music concert icons (e.g. outdoor venue, fast-food trailers) and techniques that, without the inclusion of the orchestra and the programming, the concert could have been labelled a 'straight' popular concert and warranted no significance within the concept of crossover.

particular newspaper had publicly sponsored and launched an identically-sized classical concert three weeks after ours...” (Kennedy 1991:73-74)

Kennedy’s comments imply that this “establishment” newspaper had been upset by the close proximity of Kennedy’s concert to their own, choosing to retaliate by sending “...a rather uncommunicative lady...” to Kennedy’s concert. This lady “...smirked...” her way through the event and then published a negative report—scoring a small victory in the battle between Kennedy and the establishment.

Media simplification has both helped and hindered Kennedy throughout his career, and his comments in interviews show that he is more than aware of this. His awareness gives him the ability to use such simplifications such as the construction of crossover through the signpost of establishment upset when needed, giving the press uncomplicated and usually controversial sound bites around which to build interesting stories with extremely clear messages. It also gives him the wisdom to respond to such simplification when he feels that he is being misrepresented and needs to add a layer of complication. In fact, Kennedy is even able to engage in reductions and simplifications of his own, for example, his breaking down of the media into two camps, the “serious” and the “popular,” which also engages the violinist with the high/low debate. Kennedy has been working on his message for many years, constantly reiterating that he wants to play the music that he likes to play in an unrestricted and unconventional way, and that he wants to share that music with people who may not previously have heard such music. He has been able to stick to this message throughout the years and this achievement highlights the violinist’s good working relationship with the media and those that comment on him and his career. Kennedy, like bond, is a prime example of an artist that uses and contributes to the construction of crossover through shortcuts and signposts such as that of establishment upset.

Image over skill

The signpost through which crossover is constructed identified in this section is labelled “image over skill.”¹² This signpost contributes to the construction of crossover and reinforces

¹² An example that can perhaps be considered a precedent for the image over skill signpost is found in the story of conductor Arturo Toscanini. One commentator writes: “[p]erhaps no conductor of the 20th Century has been as misunderstood as Arturo Toscanini, as evidenced by the critical backlash with which he was assailed in the years after his death. That criticism was partly in reaction to the equally unbalanced adulation heaped upon him during his lifetime” (Drake 2005). Joseph Horowitz, author of *Understanding Toscanini* (1987), extends his study of Toscanini’s life to an argument on the social history of American Concert life. This argument has echoes of both the image over skill signpost and the high/low debate. Horowitz writes: “[t]he story of Toscanini in America, as I have told it, is absorbed by the story of an expanding audience whose manipulable needs and

the dichotomy between high (Western art music skill) and low (popular image) and the tension between musical creativity and commercial representation. Western art music critics often declaim crossover artists and projects as being more concerned with marketing an image than with pursuing musical skill. One famed example of the use and reinforcing of this signpost is that of "...British composer and classical luminary Julian Lloyd Webber giv[ing] a speech decrying the state of classical music, saying that concert halls could not be filled unless there were "semi-naked bimbo" violinists..." ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). suggesting that a violinist who would sport a "semi-naked" image would also have to be a "bimbo" and, one would assume, lacking in musical skill or the drive to attain such skill. Not all music journalists, however, have backgrounds in musicology or music criticism that equip them to write about musical performance or skill in a meaningful way. In the absence of such musical expertise, as we will see, such journalists make use of a colloquial version of the signpost, discussing the relationship between marketing image and musical skill in a broad way. What follows are examples of the signpost of image versus skill in the promotional and critical reception of several artists and discussion of how this signpost has been used to construct crossover.

bond

The signpost of image over skill is often used in constructing the group bond and their crossover activities. As suggested above, non-musicologist writers may only invoke this signpost in a superficial way (e.g. focusing on image more than skill) when discussing bond and this can be seen in examples below. These first examples are of such writers discussing the relationship between bond's image and their musical skill in a positive light, as Cyndi Ingle writes:

With bond listeners get more than a wallop of eye candy, although the press materials certainly play on the...attractiveness...However, unlike the fickle fame that physical beauty can bring an artist, the bond members have skills which should transcend the ravages of time. (Ingle n.d.)

This use of the signpost constructs bond's crossover by focusing on bond's combination of the classical, for example, "skills which should transcend the ravages of time" (Ingle n.d.), with pop music "attractiveness." Ingle is aware that the cynical public often sees artists who

aspirations increasingly pre-empted the needs and aspirations of art...Democratizing high culture is an enterprise buoyed by good thoughts and deeds. Equally apparent is the risk of a diluted, commercialized high culture that elevates no one" (Horowitz 1987:439-440).

are owned by large record companies as simply being “eye candy” (Ingle n.d.) who have little skill and even less input into the creative process. Her use of the signpost of image over skill draws on this knowledge by claiming bond supersede the other “eye candy” artists, that they are a new “supergroup” that synthesise proven technical ability, identified by the phrase “...classically trained musicians...” (Ingle n.d.) and an eye pleasing image. bond’s own marketing department, in the form of former manager, Mel Bush, has also used the signpost of image versus skill in a similar way to that of Ingle. Bush was paraphrased as saying “...while the group’s attractiveness may get them noticed, it’s their talent that keeps people’s attention...” (Bush in Moody 2001). Further examples of the use of this signpost to construct bond and their crossover strike a balance between the well-known fact of the group’s classical training and their marketing image, Chrissy Iley writing that bond are “...serious musicians, desperate to avoid being labelled bubble-gum classicists. So is it for their music or their midriff that bond will be remembered?” (Iley 2001:29). Writers such as Iley use the signpost of image over skill to discuss bond as serious musicians who have a degree of control over the music that they perform and over their image.

Other uses of the image over skill signpost for bond are, however, not as flattering. They represent the group as having little control over their image and the music they perform, this lack of control responsible for rendering their musical skill unimportant. One such example acknowledges the members of bond as being conservatorium trained, but believes that the group’s music:

...has little to do with classical music. It’s a gimmick, fusing a string quartet of four frivolous femmes, spicy girls who all want to be “Posh,” with dance beats....Sex sells, and Bond’s success seems assured. ...just don’t expect it to be art. (MusiciansNews.com [2001])

For this writer, bond’s image and the gimmickry of their project has overridden the conservatorium training of the members. The theme of image over skill is still being used to construct bond and their crossover, however, with phrases such as “conservatory-trained” and “sex sells” providing readers with shortcuts through which to understand the crossover being discussed. The use of this signpost is possible because it is tacitly understood by readers, its presence in this article further reinforcing such understanding.

Vanessa-Mae

Webber's "...semi-naked bimbo..." comment above has generally been agreed to be a thinly veiled attack on Vanessa-Mae ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). Vanessa-Mae is frequently portrayed within the simplified framework of image over skill. The violinist herself has even inflated this signpost in responding to one critic whom she had perceived as using it while reviewing one of her early concerts. Rick Jones, music critic of the *London Evening Standard* had discussed the piecemeal effect produced when Vanessa-Mae had to use last-minute freelance backing performers after her official backing orchestra became unavailable,¹³ saying "They should have cancelled . . . rather than carry on with what limped on like a three-legged dog" (Jones in "Bad review prompts unclassical wobbly, The Guardian: Articles" n.d.). Jones did *not* actually question Vanessa-Mae's musical skills, even commenting that the violinist: "...is prodigiously talented, of course..." (Jones in "Bad review prompts unclassical wobbly, The Guardian: Articles" n.d.) Jones *did*, however, invoke the theme of image over skill in relation to Vanessa-Mae by criticising her management and her marketing hype, suggesting lack of skill in management's concert organization ("The review...was in fact more critical of Mr Bush than of his protégée. It said he should have cancelled the performance" ("Bad review prompts unclassical wobbly, The Guardian: Articles" n.d.) and highlighting perceived over-emphasis of Vanessa-Mae's marketing rhetoric ("...a tongue-in-cheek reference to the much-quoted fact she shares a birthday with the Italian maestro Paganini. 'Paganini's birthday, my foot. Show us the birth certificate'" ("Bad review prompts unclassical wobbly, The Guardian: Articles" n.d.). Despite some slight invocation, Jones' engagement with the signpost of image over skill in relation to Vanessa-Mae can be said to be negligible in this case. The violinist and Mel Bush, however, saw more of the image over skill theme than they appreciated and further highlighted the signpost by hitting back at Jones:

Outraged, [Vanessa-Mae] spent £6,000 agreeing to Jones's request [to "show us the birth certificate"] and publishing her birth certificate...in the newspaper. She also printed a 30-line curriculum vitae, outlining her career from child prodigy to best-selling star and including superlative comments from various sources. Then she got personal. "Your turn, Mr Jones," she wrote. "What are your professional credentials? Are you a musician? Have you any experience of playing 'live'? Are you rated as a musician? If so, who by?" ("Bad review prompts unclassical wobbly, The Guardian: Articles" n.d.)

¹³ This was because the British Employment Department, after receiving a complaint from the Musicians' Union, had refused to give work permits to members of the Bratislava Radio Symphony who were due to perform with Vanessa-Mae ("Bad review prompts unclassical wobbly, The Guardian: Articles" n.d.).

After the release of the newspaper one writer commented that such a public display was an overreaction and suggested the violinist “could not take a joke” (“Bad review prompts unclassical wobbly, The Guardian: Articles” n.d.). Bush responded to this by saying that Vanessa-Mae was simply correcting the insinuation that she was lying about her birth certificate (“Bad review prompts unclassical wobbly, The Guardian: Articles” n.d.). Both of these things taken together spark the idea that Vanessa-Mae’s very public response was perhaps a publicity stunt. What is clear, however, is that Vanessa-Mae’s newspaper article made full use of and vastly strengthened the signpost of image over skill in constructing Vanessa-Mae’s crossover performances. Although Vanessa-Mae was *defending* her skills in the article, her vitriolic response at what was perceived to be an attack on her skills sparked by her marketing image simply reinforced and highlighted the theme as something that the violinist was aware of and easily affected by. This can be seen in other comments from Vanessa-Mae, such as her assertion that: “I am not a model, I am a violinist” (Vanessa-Mae in Ai 1997).

One journalist suggests, however, that although the theme of image over skill is often used, it is not really useful in representing the “truth” of Vanessa-Mae:

The critics will shake their heads about her technical deficiencies, the music snobs will bitch about her attempts at pop-classical “fusion,” the tabloids will go “Phwoaarr!” at her flimsy silk dress and the crowds in the Square will love every bold, hair-tossing minute of it. Trying to establish how good Vanessa-Mae is at playing the violin has long seemed less important than assessing her role as a meretricious moneyspinner... (Walsh 1998)

Walsh’s comments acknowledge the potential for the image over skill signpost to hold meaning for various sectors and audiences of the popular and serious press. His comments also, however, suggest that such a signpost is not particularly interesting when examining Vanessa-Mae, despite its potential for making her crossover activities easily accessible and understandable to a variety of audiences.

Kennedy

Like Vanessa-Mae, Kennedy’s abilities as a violinist are often questioned by the media’s Western art music and more populist sectors. Populist journalists often describe Kennedy and bond in similar ways, saying that Kennedy has obvious musical skills that can be distinguished from his marketing image. For example, one writer makes this distinction in outlining Kennedy’s background: “The young virtuoso gained wide attention for his superb technique and tone and his spontaneously adventurous playing style. Kennedy also became

known (and often criticised) for his rock star-like stage persona – spiky hair, eccentric clothing, and jewelry” (Bartleby.com 2005). This journalist engages with the signpost image over skill by using both sides of the signpost in explaining Kennedy. It is an engagement that constructs crossover in marketing terms, acknowledging Kennedy’s musical skill as something pre-existing to which the crossover represented by the violinist’s “rock star-like stage persona” has been added.

Not all journalism represents Kennedy as a credible balance of musical skill and marketing image, however. The violinist comments in his autobiography that:

Over the past eighteen months there have been critics who’ve suggested that I’m just using classical music as a ticket to notoriety, which obviously doesn’t sit well when you’ve been immersed in nothing but music virtually from birth, and you then have writers gaining notoriety by writing about you. (Kennedy 1991:17-18)

This quote encapsulates some of the ideas that may have been behind Vanessa-Mae’s retort to critic Jones as described above. It is clear that both Kennedy and Vanessa-Mae have spent countless hours training and refining their skill on the violin. If they had not, they would simply be unable to perform in the way and at the concerts that they do. Despite this seemingly obvious fact, criticism proposing that a performer’s musical skill is overrated by hype and marketing becomes easily attached to artists, taking no account of the years of training that the performer has undertaken. This seems to be at the very least unfair, and it is not surprising that artists such as Kennedy and Vanessa-Mae take the time to respond to such criticism¹⁴. Kennedy also, whether deliberately¹⁴ or not, engages with the signpost of image versus skill by often discussing his thoughts on musical technique in interviews, for example commenting that “If you’re playing within your capability, what’s the point? ...If you’re not pushing your own technique to its own limits with the risk that it might just crumble at any moment, then you’re not really doing your job” (Kenney in Wright 1999). To the general reader such discussion evokes the idea that Kennedy feels it is important to discuss matters of musical technique as well as skill in interviews and therefore that such matters are part of the violinist’s life. This further constructs Kennedy as a violinist who simply loves to play music and who is more concerned with his own musical skills than with the marketing image that is applied to him. Adding to this is media representation suggesting that Kennedy has come

¹⁴ Criticism that an artist is made up of image rather than skill is often leveled at popular music artists. This too seems unfair when one considers the difficulty of some of the singing and dancing undertaken by these artists (live and recorded), particularly when they are also under pressure to act as celebrities. When the skill involved is that of performing as a concert violinist such criticism seems even more unfair – performance as a concert violinist is difficult to “fake.”

under fire from Western art music colleagues for affecting his classical performance technique while performing in jazz clubs:

...Kennedy cried off for treatment of a recurrent neck complaint that had prevented him from learning the piece in time. [Conductor Simon] Rattle apparently took umbrage. "He's cross with me for playing in a club when I should have been playing the concerto," ...Doing jazz, Kennedy demonstrates, he holds the fiddle to the front of his chin, rather than at the troublesome side...he grumbles... "I'm not going to defend myself to him." (Lebrecht 2001a)

This is an interesting example of the use of the image over skill signpost in constructing crossover. An interpretation of this may result in the idea that Kennedy's crossover involvement, shown in this thesis to be inextricably intertwined with marketing image, has affected his Western art music skill. Related to this, a reader could construe the above as Kennedy behaving in an unprofessional manner with regards to the image over skill signpost—although Kennedy might wish to sustain his jazz involvement and image by playing in clubs, he possibly should not put this in jeopardy by allowing such jazz involvement to be seen as affecting his Western art music performances. Both of these interpretations reinforce the high versus low dichotomy inherent in the image over skill signpost by positioning jazz, something "outside" Kennedy's main performance focus, as image, and by positioning image as low culture in opposition to Kennedy's Western art music pursuits.

Kennedy himself argues that his jazz involvement does not affect his Western art music skills and is affronted that Simon Rattle had not "believed in [him]" (Kennedy in Lebrecht 2001a) and his ability to handle both styles of performance. In this article Kennedy appears belligerent and engages thoroughly with the image over skill signpost, railing against the British Western art music "scene...There is a kind of blasé, laissez-faire attitude, a jobsworth attitude, where they are satisfied with being second-rate. They have forgotten what a first-rate result is" (Kennedy in Lebrecht 2001a). As above, Kennedy is represented as an artist interested in high technical standard, providing an antidote to suggestions that his image overrides his skill in other media articles. The incident involving Simon Rattle and Kennedy's dual jazz and Western art involvements highlights the idea that the skills used in jazz/popular musics are different to skills used in Western art music, and this very idea gives another perspective on the image over skill signpost. Popular music journalists can be found engaging with the image over skill signpost by wondering whether Kennedy has the skills required to

play popular music styles, or whether he simply makes use of the crossover image. For example, as discussed in Chapter Three but revisited in the context of this chapter, are the comments of one writer who exclaims that:

Kennedy demonstrates that he has the chops to take on the sprawling hypergenre of progressive fusion music...Usually when classical music icons make such bold forays, it seems to have more to do with vanity or greed than musicality... (Baumel 2000)

This is the reverse of the above example—whereas Western art music colleagues were worried about the effect of Kennedy’s jazz involvement, this popular music writer is worried about the effect of Kennedy’s Western art music training on his popular music skills.¹⁵

Kennedy uses and contributes to the signpost of image over skill by openly discussing the signpost as something that annoys him. As we saw above, Vanessa-Mae also engages with the signpost in this way. Unlike Vanessa-Mae, however, Kennedy has a long and well-recognised Western art music career behind him and makes constant reference to issues of performance technique and skill. These together tie in with Kennedy’s “what you see is what you get” image and provide an overwhelmingly positive spin – that Kennedy is a violinist with great Western art music skill that just happens to make use of a marketing image - which counteracts any negative representations of the image over skill signpost that might arise.

Conclusion

Signposts and shortcuts have allowed quick and easy communication of some layers of meaning associated with the term “crossover.” This chapter concluded with a discussion of Kennedy, who hopes that some day shortcuts and signposts will not be employed to explain the music, art and literature of “the classical world” (Kennedy 1991:46) to the public. Kennedy suggests that such shortcuts and signposts are not even required now. Perhaps this is wishful thinking on Kennedy’s part. The 21st century world is one in which people believe they are too busy to read information that is not presented in dot points or summarised as succinctly as possible. Advances in technology have overloaded the information supply so that many find it hard to know which arguments to embrace—the argument that takes the least time to understand often seems an excellent place to start. Media shortcuts and signposts provide such an approach. As consumers become more aware of the machinations of the music industry, for example, by watching reality television shows involving music and the

¹⁵ This issue will be discussed further in Chapter Five which focuses on prestige and credibility in crossover.

music industry, they are increasingly aware that large companies have unequal distributions of power, control and wealth. Media must find more sophisticated ways to spread the messages of those artists who are obviously backed by such large companies and canny management teams. This does not mean that the messages themselves must get more complex. Instead, media writers must interpret the messages differently for the public and adjust the signposts, taking into account the broader knowledge the public have gained. Perhaps, as some claim, this focus on quick and clear presentation has resulted in the loss of some subtlety in human communication. If this is true, however, it is a loss that has made way for an increasing volume of communication in which shortcuts play an important role. This chapter has examined simplified shortcuts and signposts that have offered ways to access the increased volume of communication about crossover and its surrounding layers of meaning and association. The next chapter examines two of these associations.

Chapter Five

Evoking Associations: Crossover, prestige and credibility

This chapter examines the way that “prestige” and “credibility” are associated with Western art and popular musics and how, in turn, these associations become attached to crossover projects. It investigates how crossover is constructed with regard to these associations.

Identifying the construction and its scope

Early stages of research highlighted how the artists, managers and record companies that created crossover music were not simply combining the actual *music* of the Western art and popular music genres. Rather, it seemed that they were also merging, intentionally or not, the myriad of meanings, connotations and associations attached to these genres. One of the most obvious examples of an association attached to the Western art music genre was found in the idea prevalent in the high/low debate, that an interest in Western art music could somehow show that a person was refined and sophisticated. This idea is often represented by the term “prestige” and is expounded, to give but a few examples, in marketing rhetoric (“Royalty Free Classical Music brings prestige and class to a project or environment” [2b Royalty Free 2007]); in personal opinion (“There’s nothing worse than someone enjoying music for the prestige rather than just enjoying the way it sounds. That’s how classical music should be heard...” [Howard Who? 2007]); inferred from the work of music critics (“Lebrecht successfully shows that the big stars of classical music are nothing but a clique of self-serving scumbags whose sole purpose is to enhance their own power, prestige and personal fortune” [Pawlett 2007]); in the actual work of music critics (“The sorts of value popular appropriators find in classical music can be grouped around these topics: semiotics...prestige...The prestige of classical music encompasses both its constructed aura of transcendent profundity and its affiliation with powerful social groups” [Walser 1992:265]) and in journalistic articles (“Classical music in America, we are frequently told, is in its death throes: its orchestras bled dry by expensive guest soloists and greedy musicians’ unions, its media presence shrinking, its prestige diminished...pop music, rock and rap increasingly challenged classical music’s prestige...” [Platt 2005]). Such emphasis on the term “prestige” encouraged the author to consider a construction of crossover that took into account its association with Western art musics. Even though the meanings and connotations attached to the term “prestige” can be used to describe issues of reputation and status as pertinent to both Western art musics *and* popular musics, the association of prestige with Western art music was more common in the examples examined for this research. On the other hand, the association of “credibility” seemed more prevalent in examples and therefore more appropriate for discussions involving popular musics and issues of reputation and status. This does not mean to suggest Western art

musics do not make use of the association credibility. The chapter recognises that both Western art and popular musics make use of the associations of both prestige and credibility and examples of all of these uses may be seen throughout the examples below. The majority of these examples, however, feature the association of prestige with Western art music and credibility with popular music, causing discussion to be focused on these specific pairings. The following explores the use and appropriateness of these terms with regards to Western art music, popular music and the crossovers between the two cultures in order to define boundaries or shared constructs in crossover.

This chapter highlights that the terms “prestige” and “credibility” are closely related but have some important distinctions. The *Australian Oxford Dictionary* defines “prestige” as: “1. respect, reputation, or influence derived from achievements, power, associations, etc.,” while it defines “credibility” as: “the condition of being credible or believable. 2. reputation, status.” While both terms denote reputation and status, prestige is conferred through achievements and power, while credibility is gained through plausibility. As this chapter establishes, there are subtle differences between prestige and credibility, even when both are recognised as associating similar qualities of status and reputation. These subtle differences are useful in describing the association of status and reputation with Western art and popular musics and are made obvious when examined in the context of these musical genres.

In Western art music prestige is conferred through the accrual of achievements, power, etc. Building and receiving these accomplishments takes time and is often related to the inheritance of long-held positions at the top of hierarchical structures. Longevity, timelessness and hierarchy are closely associated with prestige. These are also characteristics upon which the Western art music tradition was founded and has been maintained. Western art music has gained its association of prestige through carefully constructed and long-held values that concern the retention of power and position, even though it is a relatively “new” construct, as explained by popular music scholar Robert Walser:

The prestige of classical music encompasses both its constructed aura of transcendent profundity and its affiliation with powerful social groups. Although the potency of its aura and the usefulness of its class status depend upon the widespread assumption that classical music is somehow timeless and universal, we know that ‘classical music’ is a relatively recent cultural construct...[created through]...the process of elevation and ‘sacralisation’...begun midway through the nineteenth century, whereby European composed music was wrenched away from a variety of popular contexts and made to serve the social agenda of a powerful minority of Americans. (Walser 1992:265)

Popular musics, on the other hand, are defined by their ephemeral nature. The fleeting moments in which popular musics and their denizens are able to impress audiences call for immediacy and accessibility. As writer Nik Cohn¹ comments in a book on pop fashion, “Pop introduced the idea of the moment being all that counted. Not heritage” (Cohn in Sims 1999:17). Popular musics need to be quickly and convincingly believable as popular musics, as possessing any number of necessary but often unpredictable characteristics², “...invest[ments] of ideological significance by many of [popular musics’] consumers” (Shuker 1998:228). Popular musics need to be seen as *credible* with respect to this myriad of variable criteria before they will be afforded status or acceptance under the moniker of “popular.”³ An important point to examine here, however, is the fact that many readers will have difficulty with the notion of “credible” popular musics. The association of credibility may seem to be misplaced when one thinks of the vast culture of “manufactured” popular music performers who have little to no control over the music that they perform and how that music will be promoted; although this has something of the tension between creative and commercial about it, which denies the credibility, and perhaps by extension the creativity of performers, because of their commercial choices. Nevertheless, the idea that music that is created and sold in such a cynical manner could gain associations of plausibility or credibility seems counterintuitive. This argument, however, shows precisely why the association of credibility is attached to popular musics. As Shuker writes, “[a]t the heart of the majority of various forms of popular music is a fundamental tension between the essential creativity of the act of ‘making music’ and the commercial nature of the bulk of its production and dissemination” (Shuker 1998:228). This fundamental tension can be examined in discussion of any popular music artist and whether the answer to “creative or commercial?” appears obvious or not, the focus of the discussion itself is intrinsically linked with the artist and/or the musical project’s credibility. The association of credibility with popular music is an essential and extremely interesting attachment that will be further investigated in this chapter.

An important point to examine with regards to the association of credibility involves the perception of divisions within the term, the idea that there are different “degrees” of credibility that an artist can aim for or achieve. There appears to be many different ways in

¹ Nik Cohn wrote the 1977 film *Saturday Night Fever* (Sims 1999:17).

² Shuker’s work on popular music genres suggests some characteristics by which a popular music genre can be defined. These include musical characteristics (“...a certain sound, which is produced according to conventions of composition, instrumentation and performance...signific[ant] here is the role of technology...”); stylistic attributes (“essentially non-musical...notably image and its associated visual style”) and primary audience (Shuker 1998:147-148).

³ This point will be clearly demonstrated in the discussion of the New York Rock and Roll Ensemble below.

which credibility can be established in popular music and these ways can often be contradictory, including the credibility gained by making an artistic statement, the credibility gained by appearing sincere in artistic expression or the credibility gained by having a professional level of competence (for example, the competence expected of session musicians) to name just a few. The ways of establishing credibility can differ between genres of music or they can even differ within one genre of music. For example, within mainstream popular music exists the type of credibility that an artist establishes by espousing ideals of musical integrity and appearing to make their own decisions, separate from the decisions of management and record companies. Another example is the type of credibility that an artist gains by being popular worldwide, the simple fact of their massive promotional campaigns granting a type of “credibility” as a popular artist, as we shall see in discussion of Vanessa-Mae below.⁴ The “types” of credibility posited here are clearly insufficient and the distinction of further types (although not an exhaustive list) will continue throughout the chapter. Moreover, it is also important to note that the following discussion also highlights the relationship between creative and commercial concerns and various types of credibility.

Finally, it is significant that the pairing of the association of prestige with Western art musics and of credibility with popular musics is by no means the *only* available dichotomous pairing, simply the most obvious pairing to come out of the research for this study.⁵ As noted above but re-emphasised here, there are many associations of credibility for artists and projects within the Western art music culture, just some examples including the credibility gained by artists who are considered to have produced work true to the composer’s intention or who are known to have reached or surpassed an expected level of performance technique. There are also many examples of prestige being associated with popular musics, seen, for example, in the existence of renowned popular music awards ceremonies such as the Grammy Awards (The Recording Academy 2007) or in the knighting of popular musicians. For the purposes of the following discussion, however, Western art music is most often constructed in terms of bringing prestige, timelessness, achievement to the crossovers and fusions with which it is involved, while the same is true for popular musics and credibility, believability, plausibility.

⁴ Artists of this second type may still gain credibility of the first type after some years in the industry. For example, the story of popular music artist Kylie Minogue is often told in terms of her growth from a young, inexperienced popstar who had no real control over her career to her arrival as a credible international artist: “[w]ith 19 hit songs between 1987 and 1991 she became Australia’s biggest ever pop success in the U.K....She had established her credibility as an enduring international performer and put paid to her critics” (Powerhouse Museum 2007).

⁵ This also perhaps suggests the author’s postmodern tendency to dichotomy and pairing.

The following discussion is structured differently from that of previous chapters. In this case, rather than introducing examples of the four primary artists here, the author felt that it would be most effective to draw from wider research on the crossover between Western art and popular musics in order to cover a range of opinions from each of the genres involved. Examples from the primary artists and their application or reinforcement of the construction will follow the initial broader discussion.

Walser discusses the fusion of Western art or “classical” music and the popular music genre known as “heavy metal”⁶ in the article quoted above and titled “Eruptions: Heavy metal appropriations of classical virtuosity” (1992). He also discusses the various associations which each genre brings to the fusion, describing “...a merger of what are generally regarded as the most and least prestigious musical discourses of our time” (Walser 1992:264). Walser believes that in studying musical fusions, musicologists often portray encounters between Western art and other musics as “...‘natural’ expansions of musical resources...” (Walser 1992:264), the obvious extension of the Western art musician’s interpretive and creative efforts. Walser comments further, however, that “...such explanations merely reiterate, covertly, a characteristically Western faith in progress, expansion and colonisation” (Walser 1992:264).

He encourages musicologists instead to examine *why* fusions of specific musical genres occur at particular historic moments and to explore the power relations that are inevitably part of musical fusions. The fusion between heavy metal and classical music is, according to Walser, an extremely successful one that does not appear to have been forced or created through careless lip service to a crossover ideal. According to Walser, the creators of such fusions show such “...instrumental virtuosity, theoretical self-consciousness and studious devotion to the works of the classical canon...that their work could be valorised in the more ‘legitimate’ terms of classical excellence” (Walser 1992:264).

Walser finds the high quality of this fusion useful in examining musical significance, in asking *why* classical music has been appropriated and what effect its attendant associations have on the reception of the fusion created. He also takes care to explain his definition of “classical music,” believing that “...what we know today as ‘classical music’ is less a useful label for a historical tradition than for a genre of twentieth-century music” (Walser 1992:265), describing a “process of ‘sacralisation’” as the gathering together of a variety of musical

⁶ “Heavy metal” is defined by Walser in *Grove Music Online* as “A term used since the early 1970s to designate a subgenre of hard rock music” (Walser 2007).

cultures, genres and activities and combining them under one banner to promote "...a singular 'moral order' repudiating the plurality of cultural life" (Walser 1992:265). He writes that:

Musical works which were created for courts, churches, public concerts, salons of connoisseurs, and which had modelled and enacted the social relationships important to those specific audiences, have become a set of interchangeable great pieces. All the vast range of meanings produced by these disparate musics are reduced to singularity in the present. (Walser 1991:265)

Prestige, Walser thinks, plays an important, if not the most important, role in holding these disparate musics together. For Walser, "The hodgepodge of the classical canon – aristocratic and bourgeois music; academic, sacred and secular; music for public concerts, private soirees and dancing – achieves its coherence through its function as the most prestigious musical culture of the twentieth century" (Walser 1992:265). From the outside it may seem it is the classical canon that generates prestige, but according to Walser it is in fact prestige that holds the canon together and gives it a purpose and a united front.

Walser draws on the work of Christopher Small (1980) to describe this united front as being achieved by the need for sustaining a single objective, to defend:

...the social relationships and ideologies that underpin the modern industrial state. Cultural hierarchy is used to legitimate social hierarchy, and to marginalise the voices of all musicians who stand outside of the canon...classical music is not just 'great' music; it is a constructed category that reflects the priorities of a historical moment and that services certain social interests at the expense of others...an 'invented tradition'...[it] achieves its coherence through its function as the most prestigious musical culture of the twentieth century. (Walser 1992:265)⁷

Having discussed in great detail the disparity involved in classical music and the construction needed for it to occupy the place it does, Walser continues, by saying that this construction is well-established and strong enough to be "...negotiated; it has been both a bulwark of class privilege and a means whereby other social barriers could be overcome" (Walser 1992:265). Walser discusses the progressive or "art rock" of the late 1960s as being one of the most significant areas of this negotiation, describing the project of these fusions as:

...the mission of raising the artistic level of rock. In such art rock, classical references and quotations were intended to be recognised as such, the function

⁷ This description of classical music's construction echoes the descriptions of the construction of crossover music as seen throughout this thesis. Perhaps one day crossover will be as strong and cohesive a construction as classical music. For example, Chapter Three's discussion of artists claiming "individuality" as a result of their crossover activities may point to a time in the future when artists could claim prestige and/or credibility purely through association with crossover. In fact, some of the analyses of artists claiming "individuality" through their crossover activities could be interpreted also as claims for prestige and credibility solely for being eclectic and "all-encompassing."

was, in large measure, to invoke classical music, and to confer some of its prestigious status, its seriousness. (Walser 1992:266)

Crossover is in the realm of this type of negotiation, and indeed, some examples of art rock can be seen as crossovers. Here Walser provides an example of the construction of crossover with regard to the association of prestige.

To continue our exploration we now look at a debate that encompasses both the associations of prestige and credibility. It is felt that illumination of the association of credibility with popular music is greatly assisted by close pairing with discussions of the association of prestige in the crossover context.

Around 1969, three Julliard School of Music-trained musicians teamed up with two self-trained young musicians to form the New York Rock and Roll Ensemble (hereafter NYRRE). The group performed with “normal” rock group instrumentation, featuring drums, bass, guitar, vocals and keyboard but with the twist of incorporating some “classical” instrumentation (English horn, French horn and oboe) along with Western art music techniques and musical devices in their work.⁸ A discussion about this group featuring Western art and popular music critics was initiated and recorded, an interview with two of the Julliard School of Music-trained NYRRE members its starting point.⁹ The interviewer, Richard Goldstein, perpetuates the high/low debate in showing great interest in finding out about possible conflict between the musicians’ “classical” lives and their “rock” lives, particularly at the Julliard School of Music. Goldstein asks: “Was there a ‘Julliard underground’ of people who dug rock?” One of the musicians laughs and responds “...not really...there were a few people who...didn’t like the idea of walking around the halls singing...” (NYRRE in Goldstein n.d.). Goldstein laughs and asks “Did they sing harmonies under the stairwells?” The musician jokes “...no, that was outside across the street” (NYRRE in Goldstein n.d.). This exchange seems innocent enough and no “Julliard vendetta” against rock music has been established, even though there is perhaps an undercurrent of teasing some Julliard students for being a bit quiet and not musically spontaneous. To music critic

⁸ According to the NYRRE’s 2007 MySpace site, the band members include: “Clifton Nivison (vocals, guitar, percussion), Dorian Rudnytsky (vocals, cello, bass, piano, trumpet, french horn), Michael Kamen (vocals, oboe, keyboards, synthesizer, english horn), Marty Fulterman [aka Mark Snow] (oboe, drums), Brian Corrigan (guitar, vocals, 1967-71) and Hank DeVito (pedal steel guitar, 1971-72) (New York Rock & Roll Ensemble 2007). On the taped debate (thought to have been recorded in the early 1970s), Brian Corrigan is mentioned as a member while Hank DeVito is not.

⁹ These two musicians were introduced on the tape as Mike Kamen and Marty Fulterman. It is difficult to tell the difference between the two musician’s voices in the taped conversation. Their comments here, therefore, are simply credited to the NYRRE.

Allen Rich,¹⁰ however, this exchange is a red flag, and he takes the NYRRE member's comments to suggest that they think of Julliard as a "...squaresville uptown out of which they've [the NYRRE] somehow miraculously emerged..." (Rich in Goldstein n.d.). Rich perceives these comments as an attack on the popular music savvy or credibility of Julliard students, feeling the need to defend Julliard, saying: "I don't know what corridors they walked up and down, but there are some pretty cool people up there, people who work in the instrumental department, people in the composition department who know a little bit about what's going on in the world" (Rich in Goldstein n.d.).

Rich uses this starting point to discuss what he thinks of the NYRRE's attempt to fuse Western art and popular musics, suggesting that they fail to produce what he would deem a believable or credible rock sound of their own: "...nice kids playing other people's rock style," and that they fail to produce Western art music that has any technical accuracy or produces any feelings of power and prestige in him as a listener:

... nice kids playing a few things they've learnt about Bach, not very well I must say, when they play the Bach straight it's a very rhythmically stiff kind of old fashioned kind of 'collegium musicium' kind of Bach. (Rich in Goldstein n.d.)

Of the fusion itself Rich says:

I don't think it fares very well as anything...it's a sort of nice, slick collage of imitation styles...and I ultimately end up thinking of a thing like this as 'so what'. It's not good Bach, it's very imitation rock...look, these guys are into something, they're into a good success formula, they're making it big...they're going to make a lot of records, I imagine Brandenburg¹¹ is going to be the next big intellectual thing, but as far as I'm concerned they're on the surface of it. (Rich in Goldstein n.d.)

The intentions of the members of the NYRRE themselves have perhaps been slightly misinterpreted by Rich. Although Rich has picked up on Goldstein's invocation of the high/low debate and the interview's faint teasing of the Julliard musicians who didn't like singing in the halls, he has paid no attention to the parts of the interview in which NYRRE members state that:

...it started...as a joke...and we didn't want to get terribly intellectual about rock...then people started throwing 'classical rock' labels on us...'art rock', 'Bach rock'...we put on tails to perform with, cause it seemed funny to do.

¹⁰ Described as a "music critic for the New York Magazine" on the debate's panel of participants, Rich identifies himself as a musicologist during the debate (Goldstein n.d.).

¹¹ "Brandenburg" is discussed on the tape as the NYRRE's first single release (Goldstein n.d.)

Goldstein: What was the effect of that on your audience?[¹²]

Well, we were safe for them...they could accept us at their parties...they saw something [and said] ‘we could use some of that young blood in our scene.’
(NYRRE in Goldstein n.d.)

This highlights the point that crossover artists are often surprised by and do not expect the associations attached to their work, but that once they recognise an association, they or their promotional team are able to use it and work out ways to exploit it. The NYRRE recognised that they could parody the prestige of Western art music by wearing dress suits at their performances, but they could only pull this parody off safely and effectively because they and their audiences were safe in the knowledge that the prestige of Julliard training was still in place. They had also gained credibility by having two self-trained musicians in their group and by being able to play in a recognised rock style. While Rich found their rock style too imitative of other rock acts, NYRRE suggested that their audiences found them imitative enough to be plausible and credible as a rock act with the prestigious twist of having musicians steeped in Western art music knowledge at the helm.

An important point, however, is that this is NYRRE’s experience of audiences that Goldstein describes as “New York’s musical elite” (Goldstein n.d.). It is not made explicit in this comment that the “musical elite” are Western art music aficionados, but it is implied in the NYRRE member’s discussion of this audience’s love of “young blood” (NYRRE in Goldstein n.d.). A more interesting question not adequately pursued in the interview would be how younger audiences responded to the music of NYRRE. An attempt is made by Goldstein to discuss the small-town college audiences that the NYRRE had been playing to as well as the “musical elite” (Goldstein n.d.). Goldstein mentions the scorn many rock bands of the time felt over playing to college audiences, saying that these audiences were known to soak up any music that came through their town “like a sponge” (Goldstein n.d) and perhaps, being starved for any kind of music, did not have the critical perspective to be able to differentiate between the rock acts they experienced. The members of the NYRRE concede that perhaps it is more gratifying for a rock act to put on a concert in a larger town so that they are better able to gauge their audience-pulling power and audience response, but the topic is then left and the subject changed. It is highly likely that had the NYRRE been exposed to non-small-town audiences, their brand of “imitative” rock would have been met with the same scorn attributed to it by Rich. The music is “clunky” but yet extremely reminiscent of groups such as the

¹² Goldstein at an earlier juncture has described NYRRE’s audience as “New York’s musical elite” and asked for NYRRE’s comments on “musically literate” people becoming interested in rock music (implying that the music of NYRRE is included in the rock music in which musically literate people are becoming interested) (Goldstein n.d.).

Doors and Procul Harum. Perhaps representative of the non-small-town music fan's attitude is popular music critic Ellen Willis'¹³ comments:

My first reaction is really rage...they're taking my music which they know absolutely nothing about, have no real feeling for or understanding...just sort of picked up certain crude points about what rock is supposed to be... (Willis in Goldstein n.d.).

Also, Rich's assertion that the Bach parts within the music are stiff and stilted is certainly borne out when one listens to the NYRRE pieces that come with the taped debate (NYRRE in Goldstein n.d.).¹⁴

The debate over the NYRRE's music and intentions grounds discussion not only in the exploitation of associations of prestige and credibility in music making, but also in music scholarship. Rich feels his scholarship to be under attack from the NYRRE's offhand assertion that they didn't want to get "too intellectual" about rock and "...the whole trend of everybody deciding that they have to 'get with' what's happening" (NYRRE in Goldstein n.d.). Rich retorts:

...they create something with a kind of patina of intellectualism...then they go on to say that people...come into an intellectual approach to rock for all the wrong reasons, that we try to get with it and we try to get into the scene. I'm interested in rock because as a music critic I'm trying to keep abreast of the times that I live in. I'm bored silly by what's going on with most of the so-called serious avant-garde people, the post serialist type of thing, most of the contemporary concerts I go to are pretty formula written stuff. Along comes something like Sergeant Pepper and a few later things, Jefferson Airplane...a number of contemporary groups, who really seem to be doing something which is a long way from what I used to think of as popular music...and which is eclectic...full of ideas that are really ideas of our own time, this is over and above the social plays of rock...but which has a kind of musical depth and a musical solidity which attract me as a musicologist, as a music critic, as someone who is interested in the creative experience and doesn't care much about categories. (Rich in Goldstein n.d.)

On the other hand, Willis is adamant that rock music cannot be properly analysed without its social aspect, and denies the credibility of scholars who would try such an analysis:

...this is the mistake a lot of people who "discovered" it later make...they isolate it as music and lyrics and analyse it as a thing in itself...when actually rock is a kind of total performance... (Willis in Goldstein n.d.)

¹³ Ellen Willis is described as a "rock critic for the New Yorker" (Goldstein n.d.).

¹⁴ Unfortunately, apart from the single "Brandenberg", the NYRRE pieces included on the tape are not named during the debate or cited.

The Bach Rock debate highlights the importance of prestige and credibility as associations in crossover projects. Artists, fans and music scholars find these associations important for different reasons. Perhaps they represent another “hook” with which to sell music, a way to associate prestige or credibility with oneself personally or to give prestige and credibility to their scholarship. Especially with these last two, people can become quite defensive in establishing or protecting their auras of prestige and credibility and well they should. An association of prestige or credibility gives so much more validation for creating, listening to or studying a piece of music than simply saying “I wanted to.” Such associations are also important in informing and defending positions in the high/low debate.

Now that we have explored some of the issues surrounding the association of prestige and credibility with crossover projects, it is appropriate to return to the primary four artists and examine examples of their application of the construction of crossover with regard to associations of prestige and credibility.

bond

bond’s promotional team strive to associate prestige and credibility with the group and their work. An example can be found in the initial press release for the group, some of which became the liner notes for bond’s debut album *born* (2000). The press release and liner notes appear to chase the association of prestige almost to the detriment of the group’s popular credibility, granting Western art music training a category all of its own in “Impressive Musical Pedigree” ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000b), where the members’ various musical courses and university qualifications are detailed, while relegating popular music activities to “bond Trivia” ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000b), a strong reinforcement of the prestige of “high” Western art music over “low” popular cultural activities.¹⁵ Some of the popular activities include performances with well-known popular acts such as Bryan Adams and Primal Scream. Labelling such performances as “trivia” seems an insult to such credibility wielding popular/indie bands¹⁶ and to the idea of performing popular music

¹⁵ Admittedly, this prioritisation of Western art music “training” over popular music “trivia” may have simply been a convenient way to cleanly categorise the varied information found in the member’s backgrounds - while Chater and Westerhoff have lists of popular music activities and popular acts that they’ve performed within their ‘trivia’ sections, Ecker can only say that she “loves surfing” and Davis’ “trivia” is that her “name means ‘strength of ten’ in Russian” ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000b). It is feasible to assume that Ecker and Davis don’t have any popular activities to describe so rather than have unbalanced information in profiles (e.g. all profiles give the same information about the members, such as name, birthplace, superhero (e.g. person they admire) etc.), popular music activities are described as “trivia.”

¹⁶ Both of these bands are well-known and can be said to have credibility as popular musicians. Adams is described as a “Canadian icon” and has been releasing well-received albums for over 20 years (Bryan Adams.com 2007), while in 2007 Primal Scream were “...honoured with the ‘Godlike Genius’ award...” by

altogether. The very foundation of bond has always been described as the fulfilment of Westerhoff's dream to be a front person after having been in the backing band for so long (Iley 2001:31). This would suggest the need to establish the credibility of bond's popular approach to and experience of music-making rather than establishing the group's "Impressive Musical Pedigree." bond's marketing history, however, whether gimmickry or not, is littered with attempts to attach Western art music prestige to the group. The very uproar over the controversy which catapulted bond to fame, namely, their removal from the classical music chart, hinged upon the assumption that the group and their management felt that they should be allowed to be part of the classical chart and the classical world and share its prestigious associations. This use of the construction of crossover with regard to the association of prestige also strengthens the construction and the position of "high" culture in the high/low debate, reinforcing the idea that Western art music prestige is still considered important, even to those who appear to have cast off other Western art music associations in making crossover musics.

Examples of bond's pursuit of the association of credibility need to be couched in terms of the discussion above which highlights the importance of the creative and the commercial in designating the kinds of credibility that an artist can aim for or achieve. Much of the work that bond and their promotional team do in establishing the group's popular credibility is in fact "damage control," that is, trying to counteract bond's appearance as commercially oriented and manufactured, created from a manager's vision rather than from the organic symbiosis of four friends who enjoy making music. Although bond's promotional work in this respect never hides the fact that former manager, Mel Bush, had a large role to play in setting up the group, it attempts to inject large doses of credibility into this story by reiterating that it was Westerhoff who first came to Bush with the dream of being a front person instead of a session musician.¹⁷ The members of bond themselves also do much to establish their credibility as "real people" who are not manipulated puppets. This has clearly been successful with one journalist who, impressed by her first meeting with the group, reported that:

These girls could not be more stable, more normal or friendly...I feared a nightmare of frighteningly hip, Geri-Halliwell-stomached babes. Instead...I found myself drawn into a charisma vortex of sometimes exuberant, sometimes

influential British popular music magazine NME (New Musical Express) in recognition of a "career that has spanned three decades and seen the band confidently and continually evolve their sound" (IPC Media 2007).

¹⁷ This work to establish credibility is contradicted by the story of bond's formation as told by Mike Batt, producer of bond's single *Victory* (2000). Batt writes that "[t]his quartet was created after Mike told Mel Bush...that the two of them ought to find four beautiful, talented musicians (not necessarily GIRLS - that would be sexist,- but as long as they looked good in a bikini, wore perfume, and had long hair it wouldn't matter what sex they were). They also had to be terrific musicians, of course" (Batt [2007b]).

thoughtful, smart girls who occasionally get carried away with their own jokes.
(Iley 2001: 31-32)

Journalists continue to be impressed by meeting the “real” people behind manufactured crossover acts such as bond and acts continue to aim to be associated with credibility. These facts demonstrate that the construction of crossover with regard to credibility is still useful and continues to be reinforced. While many of the public are aware of the machinations of the popular music industry, hearing previously-supposed “puppet” artists speak for themselves can, in the eyes of the public, diminish the role of industry manipulation in the artist’s work and augment the perception of their artistic credibility.

bond have the added bonus of being able to claim artistic credibility because each member of the group has written pieces that have been performed and recorded by the group. bond do not make much of this detail in promotional material, however, and one wonders if this is because such compositions represent a double-edged sword for the group. Although the individual members of bond have all been clearly credited as the main writers of certain pieces that the group perform,¹⁸ they are often credited as having written in collaboration with the other composers who write music for bond to perform.¹⁹ Perhaps bond’s management feel that the role of bond’s individual members as composers is overshadowed by the collaborative aspect and that it would be too complicated to represent easily²⁰ in order to construct popular credibility for the group, or perhaps they feel the pieces themselves do not musically help to construct popular credibility for the group.²¹

¹⁸ For example, Westerhoff is credited as having written “Kismet” (*born* 2000), Chater “Midnight Garden” (*Classified* 2004), Davis “Señorita” (*Classified* 2004) and Ecker “Dream Star” (*Classified* 2004) to name but a few.

¹⁹ For example, “Midnight Garden,” a piece on bond’s *Classified* (2004) album, is credited as having been written by Eos Chater, M. Glover & R. Kerr. M.Glover is credited as a composer a further four times and as an arranger a further three times on the album, while R. Kerr is credited as a composer a further three times and as an arranger a further two times ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2004).

²⁰ The above is suggested as “too complicated” in the sense that managers might feel that emphasis would be placed upon the collaborative aspect and discussion of bond may come to focus on issues of authenticity rather than on the members of the group themselves. At the moment bond occupy that happy position of many popular music stars, where no one denies that the group has composers writing work for them and in fact, members of the public may *expect* that the group simply perform work written for them. Introducing the theme of bond as performers *and* composers may unnecessarily confuse those members of the public who have already accepted the group as non-composing “pop stars.” It also perhaps suggests adherence to the Western art music separation of composer and performer.

²¹ One additional explanation is that bond’s management are more interested in constructing Western art music prestige for the group and therefore only require the group to be represented as a string quartet performing the pieces put in front of them. Thus, bond’s individual member compositions do not contribute ideologically or musically to the task of establishing Western art music prestige, and therefore the fact of these compositions is not often used in marketing the group.

Along with attempts to establish their credibility in the face of the fundamental tension between creative and commercial concerns, bond also make expected²² efforts to gain associations of popular credibility through their visual representation (cover artwork, promotional photography, costuming²³ etc), as illustrated in previous chapters.

FourPlay

Where bond and their management can be said to be striving for associations of Western art music prestige, FourPlay can be said to be striving for associations of popular credibility.²⁴ The difference, however, is that bond's management hope to use the association of Western art music prestige to increase bond's selling power, whereas FourPlay only aim for associations of popular credibility in order to satisfy their own personal integrity by choosing repertoire and activities that appeal to individual members. This personal integrity can be perceived in FourPlay's struggles to market their diverse musical choices. It is also observable in their reluctance to be bound by the gimmick repertoire that was a staple of the group's initial performances. Such repertoire was cast aside as FourPlay became a serious musical project and had begun to receive associations of credibility.²⁵

It should be noted, however, that FourPlay have also earned associations of Western art music prestige, but it is the kind of Western art music prestige that almost (and interestingly) evokes a kind of credibility. These associations are often attached to artists who compose and perform repertoire in the Western art music "new music" subgenre, as suggested in the quote below by comparisons between FourPlay and "new music" artists such as Philip Glass and the Kronos string quartet.²⁶

²² Such attempts being expected in the sense that promotional photography and visual cues are extremely important devices in popular music marketing, as examined in previous chapters.

²³ One such attempt at popular credibility including a photography shoot that featured the members of bond dressed by well-known stylist Patricia Fields, who had also worked on trend setting popular culture television show *Sex and the City* (Iley 2001:31).

²⁴ At least one layer of meaning for the association of popular music credibility, however, contains the idea that artists can't *strive* for credibility and that the very act of "trying too hard" is not in keeping with the association.

²⁵ For example, Tim Hollo's desire to move away from "...songs that we've been playing for seven years..." and that "...signif[y] who we were when we started out..." (pers. com. 2002), is echoed by the other members of the group, Veren Grigorov saying: "...lately, Peter ...won't do Metallica anymore. Simply because it's...lost the essence of it,...it's too cheap...it started off as a joke, the band started off as a, 'oh we're going to enter this competition and have a laugh', but now it's become this...there's actual depth, people actually, genuinely get moved, touched by some of this stuff. And it's become more serious..." (pers. com. 2002). This discussion is taken from and expanded in Appendix B.

²⁶ The Kronos Quartet (hereafter Kronos) is an example of a crossover project that successfully gains associations of both prestige and credibility. Kronos was started in 1973 after violinist (Kronos members are not designated as first or second violinists) and founder David Harrington heard a string quartet perform a George Crumb composition titled "Black Angels" (1970) that was written as a response to the Vietnam War (Herd 2001). From then on Kronos began commissioning new string quartets by composers from all over the globe and of many different age groups.

There are parallels with the taut propulsion of Philip Glass's music and with the ultra modern and sometimes quixotic Kronos Quartet. They spit in the eye of classical romanticism, chainsawing into these songs and then throwing them together in new shapes. (Rolling Stone in FourPlay 2007d)

FourPlay, however, are more a popular music group than they are a "new music" ensemble, and rarely play avant garde or new music works even while, for the journalist above, their performance of some of their works may evoke this genre in their "parallels" with Glass and Kronos. Instead, it is popular music credibility that FourPlay are most often associated with and for FourPlay much of this credibility is earned through the group's perceived personal musical integrity (as discussed above) and their independence. Indeed, a large part of FourPlay's marketing concentrates on their achievements as an independent group: "FourPlay are by far the most consistently charting, self distributing band in Australia...and that's pretty special" (Clark in FourPlay 2002b).

FourPlay, like Kronos, are able to make clever use of associations of prestige and credibility precisely because the group does not really concentrate on gaining any specific associations to start with. The individual members of FourPlay simply play music that interests them and fulfils their sense of personal musical integrity.

In March 2005 Kronos performed two shows in Adelaide (South Australia), one at the world music festival known as WOMAD and the other as the opening act of Musica Viva's 2005 concert series. The differences between these two events already speaks much about Kronos' acceptance in different musical spheres, and more can be said about this acceptance and its attendant associations of prestige and credibility. Kronos's engagement with the "new music" genre provides an example of the kind of Western art music prestige that is described above that evokes a kind of credibility. They are described by Carl Vine (Musica Viva's Artistic Director) as "...the most innovative string quartet on the planet" (Vine 2005:6). Within Western art music's "new music" sphere, Kronos have worked with "...many of the world's most foremost composers [including the]... 'Father of Minimalism' Terry Riley...Philip Glass...[and] Steve Reich..." (Vine 2005:7). Kronos is often the honoured guest of prestigious Western art music concert series' all over the world, and despite its clear accessibility in its other musical activities (as we shall see below), Western art music concert organisers still describe an opportunity to talk directly with the members of the quartet about their performance as "extraordinary" (Vine 2005:6).

On the credibility side, Kronos can often be found conversing with fans over the Internet or as they sign CDs for them after their popular/world music experiences (Herd 2001) (here, "popular" and "world" musics are put together as a category of music-making as their opportunities for audience participation/reception are often similar). It's not "extraordinary" for a popular/world music fan to be able to tell Kronos members that they enjoyed the show, whether that be after the show through an organised situation or during the show through a shouted compliment or wolf whistle. As the author observed at the 2005 WOMAD performance, Kronos were introduced by newsreader Indira Naidoo as once having spiky and gel-filled hair. When Kronos took the stage they were greeted with an audience member's shout of "Where's the gel?" followed by another shout of "Where's the hair?." As well as being able to 'mix it up' with rowdy fans, Kronos plays a vast array of popular/world music festivals and venues, records with as many popular/world music groups as they do Western art music 'new music' exponents and is well known for their work recording film soundtracks, many of these reaching mainstream audiences (*Requiem for a Dream* (2000), *21 Grams* (2003), *Heat* (1995)) (Vine 2005:8). Kronos occupy a happy space where everybody likes them. The Western art music world recognises and respects their commitment to the continuation and expansion of the string quartet form, and the popular/world music world not only enjoys their musical performances and choices but finds them "credible."

This comment raises two points. Firstly, the varied musics that interest the members of FourPlay and the medium that the group use (string quartet) to perform this music are extremely accessible and happily accepted in many spheres. Such accessible music performed by a string quartet is not too loud for inclusion at art festivals and corporately-funded events. FourPlay also have repertoire that is appropriate in Western art music venues and repertoire that can be amplified to appropriate levels for big rock festivals and stadiums. String quartet arrangements of any genre of music are rarely very abrasive or offensive (unless intended to be), and even the credibility-invoking “indie” music that FourPlay often performs touches older and mainstream audiences in its string quartet format, where it may be considered obscure or inaccessible in its original form. FourPlay’s crossovers engage the group with associations of credibility and prestige; the group can use or disregard these associations as they see fit.

Secondly, in performing music that interests the individual members of the group FourPlay have their musical hearts on their sleeves. Audiences who know and love the music that FourPlay choose to perform are drawn to the group because they are plausible and believable as kindred musical spirits and are therefore able to tap into popular music credibility. As FourPlay move into the performance of more original music they still gain credibility for taking their independent and individual stance, and they still have a background of credibility-invoking “indie” genre repertoire that they can employ to draw audiences in initially.

FourPlay’s multifaceted approach to presenting and making music means that they can gain, make use of and contribute to associations of prestige and credibility without being trapped by them.

Vanessa-Mae

At the beginning of her career Vanessa-Mae claimed associations of prestige through her Western art music achievements. As shown in Appendix A, by the age of 13 years she had recorded three Western art music albums; becoming the youngest student ever to be accepted into the Royal College of Music in London and starting her international touring life as part of the celebrated London Mozart Players ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998] and (Bush n.d.)).

With the release of her 1995 “techno-acoustic-fusion” (Vanessa-Mae 1994) album *The Violin Player*, Vanessa-Mae also became associated with the type of mainstream popular music credibility discussed above, featuring in popular music charts and gaining approval from

popular music “gatekeepers,” e.g. media personalities. From one perspective this kind of credibility can simply be described as marketing hype. Many members of the general public, however, do not appear to be cynical of the concept of hype. For this audience, the obvious nature of Vanessa-Mae’s massive promotional campaign granted the violinist credibility as a popular artist, meaning, Vanessa-Mae became plausible as a popular musician for this audience because the selling of Vanessa-Mae as a popular musician worked. If this kind of credibility did not impress audiences, however, Vanessa-Mae was also able to claim credibility because she was clearly an artist who could play an instrument to a high level of technical ability. As we saw in the image over skill signpost discussed in Chapter Four, popular music artists are often portrayed as lacking technical abilities. This accusation could not easily be levelled at Vanessa-Mae, which gave her an edge in establishing herself as a credible musician in the face of the creative versus commercial debate that surrounds popular musicians.

Since the success of *The Violin Player* (1995), however, Vanessa-Mae has been struggling to retain the associations of prestige and credibility that came with her early exploits. With the release of *The Violin Player* (1995) she lost the respect, acceptance and prestige of many in the Western art music world and has not appeared to regain this prestige or try to make use of it in her marketing rhetoric.²⁷ As for her credibility, also discussed in Chapter Two, even at the height of her popular music fame Vanessa-Mae struggled with accusations that she was fake, phoney and manipulated by her management and mother (Lacey 1996). As we saw above, a large part of the struggle to gain associations of credibility for manufactured crossover artists like Bond and Vanessa-Mae involves assuring media and public that there is no façade, that the artists are “real” people who simply love making fusion music. Vanessa-Mae found this task extremely difficult and the situation did not improve with the violinist’s 2001 assertion that she was abandoning fusion projects and starting to co-write her own music, something that she hadn’t attempted before. The albums resulting from this new direction barely raised a mention in the mainstream media. It now appears that while Vanessa-Mae still has enough of the mainstream credibility discussed above, as an artist able to raise media interest when she releases something new, the only time the violinist is mentioned with any sense of credibility²⁸ is when she is mentioned as the forerunner for the

²⁷ Therefore, this discussion concentrates on Vanessa-Mae’s associations of credibility.

²⁸ This is as of 2007, the time of writing.

work that bond are doing, the “pioneer” who has credibility simply by being involved with crossover for a long time.²⁹

Something needs to be said, then, about how credibility is earned by different artists. Why is it that artists like FourPlay or Kronos can pick and choose the music they play and gain credibility, but when Vanessa-Mae throws off the shackles of her “naff crossover records” (Moss 2001) and releases the first music she has ever written herself, it barely raises a mention on her fan website, let alone in the larger popular music world? Perhaps the answer lies in Vanessa-Mae’s music itself. While it can be celebrated as her own creative output, it is still formulaic and “clunky,” sounding like the musical manifestation of Willis’s comment on artists who have “just sort of picked up certain crude points about what [pop] is supposed to be...” (Willis in Goldstein n.d.). It is pleasant listening with all the notes and key changes in the right places, but perhaps this is the problem. There is no sense of excitement or creativity in such music, the only thing that makes it stand out is that a violin plays the line the lead vocal would usually take, and to the author, this removes a vital element.³⁰ Or perhaps Vanessa-Mae is presenting her new music at the wrong end of the popular music spectrum. She is trying to sell music to the mainstream of popular music appreciation, which is a mainstream that has not quite forgotten the “naff” work that Vanessa-Mae has created in the past. Vanessa-Mae’s latest music, while sounding researched, does not appear to be in synch with the popular music of the day. Perhaps if Vanessa-Mae researched the very experimental ends of the genres in which she is currently writing, she may find a credibility that would eventually propel her assault on the mainstream. Without mainstream success, however, without any credibility to buoy her, it is difficult for even the fickle mainstream of music appreciation to accept her.

²⁹ In 2007 Vanessa-Mae had been involved with crossover for 12 years.

³⁰ This connects to literature on the importance of the human voice as a point of engagement for music listeners such as Sean Cubitt’s 1984 article “‘Maybellene’: Meaning and the Listening Subject.” Cubitt writes that: [i]t is the voice which typically, if not in every case, provides the level of the song which engages our desire most directly...[i]t is also, typically, the most prominent identity in the song: though the instrumentation may change, and the melody lead us in unexpected directions, the voice is a constant, a personality – or rather, its signifier, since it represents a personality for us” (Cubitt 1984:211). The author of this thesis is not at all suggesting that music that does not involve the human voice does not have the power to engage the listener. Instead, the author is arguing that Vanessa-Mae’s seeming use of the lead violin as a replacement for the human voice is alienating to the listener who notices the replacement of violin for voice and does not find that the violin adequately “represents a personality” for them.

Kennedy

Although the focus of this chapter has been to discuss the association of prestige with Western art music and credibility with popular music, the introduction of this chapter does acknowledge that prestige can also be associated with popular music and credibility with Western art music. This important point is highlighted by Kennedy, who is an interesting example of an artist who is most closely connected with the Western art music genre but is also vocal about the importance of gaining and retaining artistic credibility. As suggested in the discussion of Vanessa-Mae above, the very fact that an artist has reached the high level of technical ability that grants them access to the position of concert violinist is perhaps enough to confer credibility. This again raises the question of whether there are different types of credibility. For the popular music industry, perhaps the fact that a performer has mastered the technical aspects of violin performance is enough to convince audiences of their musical talent.³¹ For the Western art music industry, however, the standard of performance ability required in order to gain credibility as a concert violinist is different from that required in the popular music industry, and Kennedy, as a crossover musician, is subject to the “credibility criteria” of the various musical genres he straddles. Kennedy’s crossovers clearly affect the way that prestige and credibility is associated with the artist and his music, and these associations in turn affect Kennedy’s marketing and career.

For example, as discussed in Chapter Four, the weighing of Kennedy’s image against his skill is often the site of associations of prestige and credibility for the violinist. Relating to the high/low debate and the creative/commercial tension, Kennedy’s popular image affects the way he is perceived as a serious Western art music performer. Kennedy himself discusses this in his autobiography:

...it would take a particularly dumb ‘serious’ writer to dismiss my artistic credibility simply because of my popularity... only about two have been stupid enough to do that, and I would like to thank everyone else who supported me when I particularly needed it and didn’t then change their opinion of me just because I had a bestseller. Reassuringly, all my musical colleagues say I’m playing much better than when I won all those ‘serious’ awards and my intention is to carry on that artistic improvement at the same time as communicating with larger numbers of people. (Kennedy 1991:59)

Such comments emphasise Kennedy’s approach to playing music without thought to borders or categories (“...the problem is the division of music...” (*Nigel Kennedy – Vivaldi: The*

³¹ A further layer of interpretation here, however, is that perhaps such musical talent is not appropriate for the performance of popular music, and so the concert violinist loses plausibility as a popular musician (despite the fact that they hold the credibility conferred from their technical abilities).

Four Seasons 1990)). For Kennedy, like Kronos and FourPlay, it is important simply to have artistic credibility in all that he does; he does not feel the need to establish such credibility for different genres of music.

To further examine associations of artistic credibility with Kennedy and his work, his credibility in the Western art music world appears to be established to the point that he has been granted acceptance – he is allowed to perform and his work is open to serious criticism and analysis. His artistic credibility in the mainstream popular music world runs hot and cold, his original work already described in Chapter One by critics as “...‘bizarrely unpleasant’ and ‘appalling’” (Lebrecht 2001a), while his popular recordings of classical works such as *Vivaldi - The Four Seasons* (1989) are known and loved by audiences around the world. Kennedy’s popular credibility has been established in a similar way to that of Kronos and FourPlay, as an artist who forges his own path. The violinist is certainly aware of the idea that having a vastly popular career can taint an artist in the eyes of certain critics, but says that:

Playing safe and hiding within the classical traditions is a much bigger gamble for me because within that route is almost certain death to the spirit. I’d much rather challenge the sleepy system, and at least feel alive and be able to play with conviction: that’s what makes it work on stage...My *Seasons* record has now gone into the Guinness Book of Records for spending over a year at No. 1—indeed, this very year I’ve seen my records in the unique position of 1, 2 and 3, respectively...it was a high risk at the time – the risk being whether we could pass the music through the machine and reach the larger crowds. Playing good music itself is never a risk. (Kennedy 1991:41)

While Kennedy himself may strive more for associations of credibility than prestige, examples of the mere suggestion of the violinist being used to evoke prestige can be found, and the following example shows this along with Kennedy’s evocation of associations of credibility. Watchmaker Raymond Weil³² released a 2002 campaign to advertise a watch called *Parsifal*, and one advertisement within this campaign features an unknown violinist³³ who strikingly resembles Kennedy³⁴ (Raymond Weil 2002). As demonstrated in Plate Ten below, three colour photographs show the violinist at various points in a passionate performance, engaging with associations of Kennedy’s impassioned performances with Western art music prestige. The violinist wears a plain black turtle-necked jumper, has spiky, almost Mohawk style hair and a small but carefully sculpted beard and moustache. The caption and accompanying text read “...celebrate the moment. Parsifal with Diamonds...”

³² Raymond Weil is a Swiss company that describes its philosophy as “Aestheticism, Creativity, Watch-making, Independence” (Raymond Weil 2007).

³³ This could possibly have been an actor portraying a violinist.

³⁴ Whether this was intended by the Raymond Weil company or not is unknown as the company did not respond to correspondence from the author.

NOTE: This plate is included on page 131 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Ten

Advertisement for Raymond Weil watches
reproduced from (Raymond Weil 2002).

(Raymond Weil 2002). Many layers of interpretation are available here. As noted in Chapter One, Raymond Weil has used crossover quartet bond in various advertisements. One wonders whether the resemblance between the unknown violinist in this advertisement and crossover violinist Kennedy is simply a coincidence. Even if it is simply a coincidence and the violinist is not intended to look like Kennedy, he is portrayed as subscribing to Kennedy's disinterest in wearing tuxedos or suits while performing, connecting to Kennedy's associations of credibility.³⁵

Another layer of interpretation comes from the naming of the watch *Parsifal*. As many would know, *Parsifal* is an Opera by German composer Wagner, an Opera that, apart from featuring violins in the orchestration, does not have anything particularly to do with the featured picture of the Kennedy-resembling violinist. Perhaps also Raymond Weil is playing on consumers' knowledge of Wagner's controversial personal life, aiming to add a further edge to the marketing of the watch. Is Raymond Weil targeting consumers who know a little about classical music, perhaps even enough to know that *Parsifal* is not directly related to violin playing, but who are more interested in the weight of classical prestige that the name gives it? Perhaps Raymond Weil feels that the consumer is just interested in Western art music conferred prestige and does not really care about differing representations of Western art music in the advertising (e.g. bond, Kennedy, Opera, Wagner, crossover)? Or perhaps by drawing on the associations of these various elements (e.g. credibility and prestige from crossover musicians, prestige/credibility from Wagner/Wagner's unconventional history) Raymond Weil is deliberately positioning its product to gain both associations of prestige and credibility.³⁶

³⁵ Though another interpretation of the violinist's black turtle-neck jumper could simply be that he's not performing, that he's playing for himself or practicing and wearing whatever he normally wears during the day.

³⁶ Here we find another example of this kind of marketing that uses prestige and credibility as associated with crossover. The well-known Switzerland-based company Rolex released a range of watches through a campaign named *Perpetual Spirit* in 2002. One of the magazine advertisements for this campaign (appearing, for example, in women's magazine *Marie Claire* 78 (February):9) can be seen in Plate Eleven below. This advertisement featured celebrated Western art musicians Emanuel Ax (piano) and Yo-Yo Ma (cello). Yo-Yo Ma is also known for several projects that could be labelled crossover (Rolex 2002). Photographed in black and white, the two tuxedo-wearing musicians are shown sitting on a large white-painted metal staff surrounded by large white-painted metal musical notes (a crochet and two quavers). Ax is posed as if sitting on a high stool, but the seat of the stool is made up of the "B" line of the staff. He has his arms crossed and his head up and appears all at once to be proud, gruff, intelligent and maybe a little too important to be involved in the photo shoot, but playful enough to be there in the first place. Ma, on the other hand, is posed as the "wacky" member of the duo, seated almost cross-legged on the 'G' line of the staff with his arms wide open and the middle fingers and thumbs of each hand joined as if about to meditate in the lotus position. Both musicians wear Rolex watches though these are not the focus of the photograph. The caption and accompanying text of the advertisement read:

From the first notes, it's obvious why they've become so big... Yo-Yo Ma and Emanuel Ax, great friends who share the joy of making music and the thrill of communicating it. Two wonderful artists with one perpetual obsession – to make the cello and piano come together as one perfect sound. (Rolex 2002)

Conclusions

This chapter has explored the construction of crossover with regards to associations of prestige and credibility. Examples of artists and marketing teams who strive to use and reinforce both associations can be found. Despite this, the chapter contends that credibility is most useful in marketing crossover artists and projects. This raises two points. Firstly, for artists like FourPlay, Kennedy and Kronos, the desire to have the artistic freedom to perform music from a variety of genres is tied up with the association of artistic credibility. The association of prestige is not particularly useful (even though it is occasionally used) in marketing these artists and could in fact have a negative effect, appearing to represent the artists as “superior” to some of the very audiences with whom the artists wish to engage. Secondly, crossover artists and projects in general often have a ‘manufactured’ feel about them, largely due to the bringing together of what appear to be disparate elements (musical and otherwise). To counteract this “manufactured” aspect, it is important for crossover artists and projects to be plausible and believable. Crossover artists and projects must therefore work to establish credibility as appropriate to the “credibility criteria” of the particular audience to which they are presented. The association of prestige with its attendant criteria of achievement and power is not often easily achieved for the crossover artist or project, but much can be done to establish an appropriate level of credibility. Once gained, artistic credibility counteracts accusations of fakery or gimmickry, injecting the kind of believability and plausibility that causes audiences to engage with (buy and “buy”) the music and the artist making it. This need to attract audiences to crossover artists and projects is the subject of the following chapter.

There are many interpretations that could be made with respect to associations of prestige and credibility in this advertisement, and as Rolex have explained to the author they cannot talk about their marketing techniques, their intentions can only be examined from the outside (Killy 2003). Is Rolex trying to tap into the prestige associated with Western art musicians but also trying to retain an edge of credibility by posing them in an unusual setting and situation? Although Ax and Ma are known for making “standard” Western art music together, has Rolex chosen this duo in particular because they’d like to make use of any “cred” associations Ma’s diverse crossover projects might bring? Is this why Ma is posed so openly (even frivolously) when compared to Ax’s dignified crossed-arm pose? Do the two represent the different personalities available to the Rolex wearer? Is Rolex bringing together Western art music’s prestige through the struggle for accuracy and perfection and popular (not even “popular music,” simply “popular” in the broader sense of the word) marketing techniques using large props, amusing poses and the credibility gained from being playful and “big” enough to be able to do these things without compromising one’s prestigious image? Is this the watch for the man who is both powerful and accessible?

NOTE: This plate is included on page 134 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Plate Eleven

Advertisement for Rolex Watches
reproduced from (Rolex 2002).

Chapter Six

Attracting audiences: alternate constructions of crossover

In this chapter two constructions of crossover are examined that at first glance appear to be vastly different. On a broader level, however, these two constructions are both used in working towards the goal of attracting audiences to crossover music. The first is labeled “the construction of crossover to increase accessibility.” It encapsulates arguably the most prevalent impetus that crossover artists cite when explaining their music and its inspirations, namely, the aim to introduce new audiences to Western art music and to make this music more accessible. The second construction is labeled “the construction of crossover to confront.” It emphasises concepts that almost directly oppose those of the first construction, namely, notions of “difficulty” or “inaccessibility,” to attract audiences.

This chapter explores the application of each of these two constructions to crossover artists and projects and considers a range of fan responses to each application. It argues that although the two constructions are based on very different perspectives on the role and purpose of art, both are applicable to marketing crossover. The construction of crossover to increase accessibility will be examined first, followed by the construction of crossover to confront.

Identifying the construction and its scope

The desire to make music, and particularly Western art music, relevant to new audiences is commonly mentioned as a driving force for many crossover artists and projects. Examples of artists discussing this aspiration are featured below where such artists speak of creating a common ground for the uninitiated to experience Western art music at an accessible level before (hopefully) moving to the “harder stuff.” Some crossover artists perceive, and even object to, an impassable gulf between Western art and popular music. Such artists suggest that this gap is long overdue to be bridged. These suggestions connect to the high/low debate and notions of the need to extract “high” culture from its “ivory tower” and facilitate its mass consumption. Comments on these issues are represented in this thesis by the phrase “the construction of crossover to increase accessibility” and this section defines the boundaries of the construction. Interestingly, the task of audience education or making music accessible to the popular culture industry can be more lucrative than solely working in the field of Western art music performance. Artists who are able to reach out to a popular music audience become part of the mainstream music industry where everything occurs on a larger scale and where cross-promotional opportunities abound. It is perhaps this fact that has encouraged many Western art (and some popular) music industry individuals and institutions to also pick up the project of bringing new audiences to Western art music. The concept of making this music

relevant has thus become deeply entrenched in both the commercial and creative ideologies within the discourse of crossover. Of interest to our broader discussion, the project of audience education, while aiming to smooth over the differences between “high” and “low” musics, also reinforces those differences and perpetuates simplistic notions, such as the idea that these genres are “pure” or “authentic” in some way, or other ideas that are part of the high/low debate.

Previous chapters in this thesis have cited many examples of audiences that have been encouraged to change their musical behaviours and expectations through crossover music. First-time classical music audiences have been targeted in particular. Why, however, are new musical converts to crossover and eventually classical music needed, and by who? A brief summation of the need for new audiences as given by Norman Lebrecht details how the Western art music industry (that Lebrecht labels “the classical music industry”), with its long tradition of support through royal, aristocratic or government patronage, has slowly had funds removed.¹ He writes that: “When orchestras and opera houses extended the begging bowl, they were told to make themselves more popular and – buzzword – accessible” (Lebrecht 1997:19). This led to a variety of classical music industry attempts at “accessibility” that were, according to Lebrecht, disastrous:

EMI, once the proud carrier of Furtwangler and Beecham recordings, blew its promotions budget on a pubescent violinist, Vanessa-Mae, who played rocked-up Bach and paraded in a see-through swimsuit. Sony Classical plastered a dread-locked would-be conductor, Bobby McFerrin, on Manhattan bus shelters and buses...These were not the sort of reactions normally expected from a thoughtful, cultured industry that had weathered a century of storms without sacrificing its highbrow image. (Lebrecht 1997:14)

Lebrecht believes that classical music industry attempts to become accessible have damaged the integrity of the musical genre and its proud history, and writes that “...classical music [is] an art held hostage by business interests” (Lebrecht 1997:14). Lebrecht’s condemnation of the current Western art music industry suggests that his antidote would be to section off the genre from crossover and from any attempts to reach out to the mainstream popular music audience, becoming a marginal genre and only accepting new fans who sought out the rarefied musical form, turning away those who would try to see it within other contexts, musical or otherwise.

Other writers come at the problem of classical music’s lack of funds and new audience interest from a different direction altogether, questioning whether classical music is becoming

¹ In Lebrecht’s description the “who” affected by such removal of funds is the Western art music industry as a whole, and Lebrecht gives the specific examples of orchestras, opera houses and record companies.

too difficult or highbrow for audiences to stomach, one author writing that “What has been labelled ‘innovative’ is, in fact, moving music toward a more intellectual expression rather than ‘advancing’ the art” (Baska 1999:65). Although Lebrecht and Baska both see the advancement of classical music on shaky ground for vastly different reasons, they both speak of a genre of music that is becoming irrelevant to the mainstream music industry through its current projects and directions. More of this debate, often labeled “the death of classical music,” is discussed in Chapter Seven. It is introduced in this chapter because the rhetoric surrounding this debate also informs attempts to make “irrelevant” Western art music relevant again, regardless of whether such rhetoric has any factual basis or not. Such attempts are the focus of this chapter.

Just as Negus (1999) noted that in popular music “...the most successful bands knew exactly what genres they were playing, recognized its musical and social boundaries and understood what their audience wanted to hear, see and be told” (Negus 1999:6), crossover artists and their promotional teams have understood that to attract and hold an audience one must engage the audience. To do this one must make the music accessible. This chapter now turns to the project of making music relevant as undertaken by the case studies and directly explores of the relevance of crossover music in the lives of several fans.

bond

bond’s marketing rhetoric has used and contributed to the construction of crossover to increase accessibility from the very beginning of the group’s career, although as we have seen in previous chapters, it was to be found more in the rhetoric than present in the member’s minds. In one of bond’s very first biographies, Davis is quoted as saying “bond will appeal to people who would normally be intimidated by a classical concert” (Davis in [Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a), drawing on the high/low debate. When Davis was asked whether bond is hoping to introduce young audiences to “...the classical form...” she stated:

Yes. Actually, that was something that I don’t think any of us thought of really, until we start[ed] giving concerts. Initially in our rehearsal period, we just concentrated on getting the music together, but since we’ve been promoting and doing concerts, we’ve found a lot of kids have written in to us, and certainly at CD signings they come up to us with violin cases and say, “I’ve just taken up the violin because of you and I want to be like you.” ...And what’s even nicer are the kids about 12 or 13 who write in and say “I’d given up and now I’m starting again.” (Davis in Fish 2001b)

Some journalists also applied the construction of making music relevant through crossover early in bond’s career, by questioning whether it was a clever marketing tactic or a noble artist

initiative, while most included a line about audience education somewhere in their articles, even if tongue-in-cheek. For example:

They reveal they don't have a stylist...can balance glitter on the face and cleavage with a brain...and believe they can take some credit for opening up classical music to a new audience...Eos [says] "We had a woman in an HMV in the U.K. say that they've had people who've never been in the classical section of the store before, [buying our CD] then buying strictly classical things after thinking 'what's that all about then'." (Zuel 2001)

This third-hand information appears to show that bond's mission to educate audiences gained results. It is useful, however, to seek first hand information through the responses of three bond fans. These fans, are all young females and were sourced through their involvement in bond's interactive website forums. The first fan, known as Nancy,² describes bond's impact in her home of Puerto Rico as successful because of the Latin rhythms that are part of bond's music. She sees bond's appeal as wide:

I entered Sears Brand Central store, and all [these] people are gathered in front of a TV, old and young, even the kids, everybody staring at [these] four girls! ... it appeals to everybody... I can only imagine what a bond concert would be here, when we dance and sign to any tune...it will be a real party. They'll need no dancers on stage because they will have plenty in the hall. (pers. com. 2002)

Nancy also finds bond engaging because the group is relevant to previous experiences of Western art music that she had and because the group fits in with and strengthens certain values that she holds:

It was my piano teacher that first introduce[d] me to classical, she could have perfectly be[en] a bond player, she was very young and real pretty, and I thought, well if she likes it even though she plays rock 'n' roll, there must be something good about it, she first introduced me to Beethoven and I was hooked... I think it is great that young, smart and beautiful woman are playing classical instruments and send the message to young people that you can play the violin, viola or cello and still be cool and not be consider[d] a geek. (pers. com. 2002)

For Nancy, finding role models who provide an alternative to the stereotypical and high/low debate representations of women who enjoy and perform Western art music is important because they represent an identity that Nancy herself can emulate. Crossover is central in this example, because it is the crossover aspects of bond and Nancy's piano teacher (e.g. liking

² Nancy and other fans named below consented to answer questions about their interests in bond and for their comments to be included in this thesis.

Western art music along with rock ‘n’ roll) that lift them out of the “geek” classification and make them relevant to Nancy.³

Such role models are also significant for another bond fan known as Taylor, although Taylor is more interested in feeling “cultured” than “cool” through her bond listening activities:

When I listen to them, I feel cultured and relaxed, which is really hard to do in my town [in North Carolina]. When I listen to them, I’m either online, reading a Harry Potter fan fiction, or just laying around. (pers. com. 2002)

Taylor’s use of the word “cultured” shows an appreciation of the high cultural aspect of bond’s work. She also, however, relates to bond’s music because it appeals to her sense of individuality, as discussed in chapter four as one of the main uses and constructions of crossover. She writes that: “I love bands that create entirely new styles, and it’s very important to me, because as a unique person, I want unique music to reflect my personality” (pers. com. 2002). She finds that bond satisfies a need for music “with a little substance,” believing that “[p]eople need to open up their minds...[w]hat kind of song is I’m A Slave 4 U, for example?” (pers. com. 2002).⁴ This is supported by her description of the way in which she listens to a bond CD: “[w]ith most other CDs, I just [dance] around and sing along, but with bond (and my other classical CDs) I don’t. It’s the wrong kind of music” (pers. com. 2002). Taylor, like Nancy, also has an opinion about bond’s appeal and about the possible

³ Another example of an attractive young female who provides an alternative model for the performance of Western art music is Italian singer Filippa Giordano, who sings operatic arias with a voice trained for popular music. Giordano says that she chose to be trained as a popular singer at thirteen rather than taking up traditional singing tuition because:

...[it] was much more natural and understandable and the sound of the voices was...true...pop singers for me were much more interesting – not the music, because opera music was something that I really loved and was really important to me. (Giordano in McMenemy 2002:3)

This love led to Giordano’s career of “classical reinvention” (McMenemy 2002:3) which has included the release of four albums to date and performances at the Prince’s Trust Gala dinner (at Prince Charles’ request) and the 2001 Academy Awards. Giordano explains that she wants to make this music relevant to popular music listening and to new audiences, not because she sees it as the pinnacle of human musical expression, but because she sees it as her music, her cultural heritage:

...this music really belongs to me and I couldn’t do anything wrong. What I am doing is just trying to find a new point of view, a new key, to help this music remain alive during these next centuries, because the youngest generations, for example, they need to know that it’s not that far and that difficult...(Giordano in McMenemy 2002:3)

Giordano provides an alternative role model for young singers interested in both popular and Western art music genres, and her message has an interesting twist. It is unusual for an artist to claim operatic music as “theirs,” and by doing this Giordano connects with the construction of crossover to make music relevant, shows her own connection with the music she is performing and hopefully inspires a similar connection between her work and her audience.

⁴ The song “I’m a Slave 4 U” is a pop song performed by Britney Spears on the album *Britney* (2001). Some of its lyrics include “I really wanna dance, tonight with you...I really wanna do what you want me to” (*Britney* 2001). It appears that Taylor is referring to the vacuousness of such sentiments and musical content as being ‘without substance’ when compared to the music of bond.

markets and demographics at which bond might be aimed.⁵ Taylor believes that the different venues and countries in which bond performs should have different effects on their performance because: "...different cultures want different things, and they have to adapt..." (pers. com. 2002). She also thinks about how bond's image appeals to different genders, saying:

...when I first saw their album cover, I thought that the women were really pretty, and I could see how that would get a guy to look at it. But I think that it all comes down to the music. I mean, what kind of beer chugging guy would go for a very classy girl? I think this has made people disrespect them more, but it shouldn't. (pers. com. 2002)

Taylor shows an awareness of the crossover of visual popular music aspects with "classy" Western art music in bond's work and even comments on target markets that she does not think would find personal relevance in bond's music or marketing, making use of and contributing to the construction of crossover to make music relevant.

The third bond fan, Cherish, also comments on bond's relevance to her life, saying that she does not feel that bond's music requires her to choose only quiet contemplation or vigorous physical activity while listening. Instead it can be both; "I usually lay back on my bed and listen to their album. Or dance around the house to it" (pers. com. 2002). Cherish is, however, reminded of a very contemplative subject when she listens to bond's music, saying that she associates "...the Sept 11th tragedy..." (pers. com. 2002) with the albums that she has. Although Cherish does not elaborate, possibly the album *born* (2000) would contain the most relevant associations with the September 11th (2001) bombing of New York's World Trade Centre as it was the only bond album that had been released by that time, but Cherish may also associate later bond albums with thoughts or remembrances of the 2001 event. Three fans relate to bond's music in specific ways and through activities that, one imagines, neither the members of bond nor their marketing team could have imagined or predicted, the September 11 example case in particular. bond and their marketing team did, however, think of the more general connection that these fans would make to bond's music. Since the release of their earliest promotional materials the group have always promoted Western art music performance as "cool and not geeky" through their use of conventional popular music image marketing devices. As seen in Chapter Five, bond have also emphasised the prestige and high cultural aspects of their Western art music elements, working to make their fans feel "cultured" and "classy" but not to the detriment of their low cultural appeal. bond's position

⁵ It should be noted that Taylor was prompted to share her opinion on this particular topic because of the author's questions.

as a crossover group has allowed for these dual levels of accessibility and engagement with fans.

FourPlay

While FourPlay's initial biographies and promotional website material did not overtly stress making music accessible, the group is clearly interested in fostering its relevance to its fans and their "grass-roots" approach to building relationships with fans can be seen in the examples below.

FourPlay's music also, however, accompanies many more spaces and situations that are personally relevant to fans than the group may realize. One fan, April, writes that:

...there is a particular part in Corrosion that I nearly always feel tears welling in my eyes when I hear it, and I always laugh in *On the Road Again*, as at one gig Peter dedicated it to my friend Tess, who he dared to boot scoot to, so she did, she got up on stage and boot scooted for the entire song, it was great. (pers. com. 2002)

Also like bond, FourPlay realise that they cannot control these real life personal associations, but that they can set up the initial engagement with their music and make it relevant for their audience in more general ways. Both groups use the Internet heavily for this purpose, creating mailing lists and sending out chatty "newsletters" at least once a month to keep fans updated on the group's progress. FourPlay, however, achieve a more directly personal relationship with their fans because of their smaller fan base and because it is actually one of the group's members (Peter Hollo) who manages the mailing list and website and who writes the newsletters. bond's mailing list is clearly managed by people other than the members of the group themselves, and although various devices are employed to give the impression that bond members are acutely aware of and interested in their mailing list,⁶ it cannot compete with the level of intimacy found on the FourPlay mailing list.⁷ FourPlay also have friends across Australia who were once fans, and emails are sent to these people, pre-show dinners set up and free tickets provided. These people may then bring more friends to the show, but even if they only talk enthusiastically to someone else about the show, this makes it more personally relevant than simply reading about it in an advertisement. Hollo also encourages

⁶ For example, as noted in Chapter Two every so often a "message from the girls" is sent with the "Bond web team" mailouts. These messages consist of a personal paragraph or two on the group's current activities written by the members of bond themselves (e.g. Davis and Chater's 2003 comments on bond's tours of Japan and Seoul (Davis and Chater in pers. com. 2003b)).

⁷ For example, Peter Hollo tailors the list so that only fans in Sydney will get information about Sydney gigs, only fans in Adelaide will hear about Adelaide gigs and so on. Hollo specifically refers to his dislike of "...spamming the whole of Australia with news about a Sydney gig..." in one email to the FourPlay mailing list (pers. com. 2002b).

people to reply to his emails with suggestions and comments, giving fans a voice within the FourPlay world and a direct link to the members of the group.⁸ Fans who agreed to be interviewed for this study expressed interest in this aspect of being able to provide direct responses to the group. These fans also gave examples how the group and their music are relevant in their lives. For example, April stated that FourPlay fit in with her desire to protect her hearing at concerts:

I really enjoy Fourplay gigs not only because of the music, but also usually it isn't so stupidly loud, and you can still hear afterwards, and also because they all really enjoy the music, and they interact with each other on stage and have a good time, they aren't all nervous. (pers. com. 2002)

April is also aware of the theme of audience education in FourPlay performances and is perhaps more aware of or interested in the construction of making music relevant than the group themselves. She says: “[t]hey seem to find the perfect balance bringing “traditional” instruments into modern music” (pers. com. 2002). Many of April’s responses also reveal that she regards the band as good friends, particularly Peter Hollo. She also cites her initial interest in the group as one of visual attraction when passing the Hollo brothers as they performed at a festival and being reminded of a person she wanted to have a relationship with, and taking her friendship with the group from there.

Another fan, Crayg, is not so impressed by the easy access he has to the members of the group. Crayg is a fan of underground and independent Australian groups and solo performers such as George and Darron Hanlon, and is well used to being able to email these performers and have direct communication with them. When asked if he thought he had a personal relationship with anyone in FourPlay, however, he responded: “I have emailed Peter a couple of times. But anyone can do that, so I’d have to say no” (pers. com. 2002). He still thinks, however, that: “Meeting them would be a bit of a thrill. Find out their backgrounds and, being a studying audio engineer, ask[ing] them about their recordings” (pers. com. 2002).

Crayg’s engagement with FourPlay’s music is a very personal one, so much so that he likes to go to their concerts alone so that he can fully concentrate on the music. He describes his general arrangements for seeing a FourPlay concert as follows:

⁸ This contrasts with the bond approach, which can often feel like “spam,” an email without a human face not really considering that the reader in Australia will probably not be able to attend the current shows in Cardiff, Wales. Even though it can be interesting to read about concerts in far off places it does not necessarily foster a sense of significance for the reader.

I get tickets as soon as possible. I'd usually drive there trying to avoid listening to their CD in the car. I think it spoils it a bit. I usually go by myself. I sit/stand watching them in absolute awe, almost crying, from the gorgeousness of the sounds. At the end, I might wait a bit for encores etc. Then I will head home listening to the CD to recall moments from the gig. (pers. com. 2002)

Listening to a FourPlay CD is also a contemplative experience for Crayg:

The first time I listen it has to be with no distractions. Even if I have to wait a while. But, even now, I try to be as isolated as possible to get the best listening experience... There is so much going on in a FourPlay album, you really need to listen and not just hear it. (pers. com. 2002)

Another FourPlay fan, Lisa, finds that in contrast to Crayg, she can listen to a FourPlay recording “whenever,” and while listening she likes to do “A range of things..... cleaning, studying, hanging out, driving...” (pers. com. 2002). She, like April, speaks of her personal relationship with the group⁹ and is also highly interested in the audience education angle that she perceives in FourPlay’s music, musing that it is probably her own involvement in classical music¹⁰ that makes such audience education important to her:

[I like] the fact that they are classically trained musicians who are making a great contribution to the arts. I am a classically trained violinist too, so I can appreciate their backgrounds... I think the fact that Fourplay are an electric string quartet sets them apart from other groups. It’s not everyday that you see that, whereas your garden variety mediocre pub bands are everywhere. (pers. com. 2002)

Lisa connects with the construction of crossover to make music relevant when discussing FourPlay on two levels. First of all, she points out the general audience education aspect of FourPlay’s contribution to making music relevant to new audiences by being Western art trained musicians making a crossover contribution to the arts through their use of the electric string quartet medium. Secondly, she adds to the construction the idea that FourPlay might make the pub venue more relevant for audience members such as herself who appreciates Western art music training and does not relate to what she describes as “mediocre pub bands” (pers. com. 2002).

While the construction of *crossover* to make music relevant has been applied and contributed to FourPlay’s work, it is their “grass roots” approach that has had the most impact on the group’s relevance to their fans. The high degree of personal relevance FourPlay have to their audience reflects their position as an independent Australian band who have built up their

⁹ Lisa has regular email correspondence with Peter Hollo.

¹⁰ Lisa writes: “I’m a violinist. I am a former member of the Queensland Youth Symphony Orchestra, and I am currently in a string quartet. I am also a violin teacher” (pers. com. 2002).

following through a “grass roots” campaign of word of mouth, independent street press articles and advertisements, mailing lists managed by members of the group themselves and personal relationships with their fans. FourPlay often cross the boundary between fan and performer to become friends with the people who are listening to their music.

Vanessa-Mae

Throughout her early career, Vanessa-Mae was one of the main proponents of the theme of audience education in the crossover discourse. She was particularly vocal in the high/low debate, focusing on the idea that classical music can exist alongside popular music. Although the violinist spoke less about this idea after her 2001 commitment to make standard pop music, she still makes comments about her love of classical music and interest in continuing to perform within the genre.¹¹

It has, unfortunately, not been possible to organise interviews with the fans of Vanessa-Mae. Thankfully, some of the violinist’s fans have used the Internet to publish thoughts on her appeal. From these thoughts we can infer something of the violinist’s use of the construction of crossover to increase accessibility. One fan, known only as Vpa, describes Vanessa Mae’s fan base as follows:

Vanessa-Mae is very unique among classical performers in that she has a huge following among teenagers, even down to 10 or 11 years old, although many older, traditional classical-music listeners (like myself) also like her music. (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998])

Vpa also discusses Vanessa-Mae’s appeal in the international music market, identifying strategies employed by EMI (Vanessa-Mae’s record company at the time) to promote Vanessa-Mae as an international artist that would sell well in the markets of many different countries. Vpa theorises that:

Few artists have so much geographic diversity in their followings as Vanessa-Mae does...Probably the geographic diversity is because of several reasons...Instrumental music can have a broader international appeal than vocal music, because people who don’t know English (or whatever language the vocals are in) don’t miss anything...Local culture elements are put into the concerts: such as use of local music or influences...Her background as a Singapore-born, mixed Chinese/Thai race, British citizen. (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998])

¹¹ Vanessa-Mae still makes such comments, even while bringing popular audiences with her to these performances is no longer appears to be part of her manifesto.

The strategies posited by Vpa take a global look at Vanessa-Mae's accessibility and constitute several interesting points. It is sometimes argued¹² that the human voice is a significant point of engagement for audiences. Vpa's comment engages with such arguments by suggesting that language also has an important bearing on audience engagement and implies that Vanessa-Mae's instrumental music provides a point of engagement precisely because it side-steps the language barrier. This and Vpa's other comments on Vanessa-Mae's background and use of local elements all present connections with the construction of crossover to increase accessibility.

Other themes found in arguments made in previous chapters are revisited in the context of accessibility here. Media often find Vanessa-Mae impersonal and repetitive of "the message" that she has been trained to disseminate in interviews. An important part of this message in the early stages of Vanessa-Mae's career was the desire to educate audiences, thus enabling them to appreciate both classical music and popular musics, suggesting that audiences ignore the barriers constructed between the genres by the high/low debate. This message was found in comments such as:

I have no wish to compart-mentalise [sic] music...I would add an observation for the cynics who did not believe that it is possible to want to or succeed in sharing my life with both classical and pop. A generous heart has room for many things...I hope that I can...share my enjoyment of both classical and pop with everyone around the world. (Vanessa-Mae in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team] 1997a)

The violinist also discusses wanting to show audiences that the violin itself "...is an instrument that is trendy and capable of anything..." and a constant theme throughout her press statements is that if only audiences could experience different cultures of music, they'd be able to appreciate them:

I'm quite happy to continue developing my parallel classical and pop career; if nothing else to keep annoying certain critics!...They are a minority who claim to know what they like. But the fact is they only like what they know - and what they know is a very small percentage of the music that is out there. (Vanessa-Mae in "Articles/Interviews: Livewire" [1997])

As seen in previous chapters, however, in 2001 Vanessa-Mae announced that she was moving away from crossover and had severed her professional relationship with her mother who had managed her career from its beginning. The violinist then made comments that echoed those found in the "death of classical music" debate. One interviewer has noted that Vanessa-Mae "...sees classical music as having little contemporary relevance..." (Moss 2001):

¹² For example, in Sean Cubitt's (1984) article discussed in Chapter Five.

We have to understand that classical music doesn't have the impact of popular music; it was written for a different time and that time has passed. We are trying to cling on to it – and I'm one of those people trying to cling on to it, but not to the extent that I believe it could be the pop music of its day. It has had its day as the pop music of its day but that doesn't mean I won't do it (Vanessa-Mae in Moss 2001).

More of this kind of comment will be discussed in Chapter Seven. In terms of the current chapter, this comment appears to signal that from 2001 Vanessa-Mae ceased active engagement with the construction of crossover to further increase accessibility. Despite her belief that Western art music is no longer viable as something to be championed as the “pop music of its day,” however, the violinist continues to engage with the construction in a lesser way, by stating that she will continue to play music of this genre. Her self-confessed love of the genre adds to the accessibility of Western art music, sending the message that even though Vanessa-Mae professes to only be interested in making popular music in her commercial life, she will continue to “cling on” to Western art music as a private interest.

Kennedy

As seen in previous chapters Kennedy has long been interested in the project of bringing audiences to what he sees as “good” music rather than separating it into various categories. Kennedy's definition of good music covers wide ground and is personally subjective:

I think classical music's got something to offer to anyone who wants something more to listen to than Clayderman or Jason Donovan...the problem is the division of music...the Beatles are classical music because they're classic. (*Nigel Kennedy – Vivaldi: The Four Seasons* 1990)

Kennedy is also a proponent of the idea that introducing people to accessible forms of classical music first might encourage them to move to more complex ones later in their listening careers. This notion has echoes of the high/low debate, the “high” represented by “complex” musics and the “low” by the “accessible.” It also adds to the construction of crossover on ways to increase accessibility:

...people who enjoy my music maybe can enjoy getting into slightly more refined stuff, slightly more difficult stuff. Maybe Five Hundred Seasons by Vivaldi could satisfy some people's desire, but I do not only play things as accessible as Vivaldi, there are some things in life you have to put some time into to get more out of it...I've been pushed into situations by professional people around me, where I had to think “either...or,” ...I thought: Why do you have to do either...or...? I can do both, and if people want to listen to either thing, they can. (Kennedy in Van de Wiel and Halls 1997)

Kennedy's idea of his audience seems to be wide, including everyone who wants to listen to his version of good music, regardless of their age, interests or gender. From this perspective, the construction of crossover to make music relevant is useful because it is Kennedy's "crossovers" into different styles of music that increase his accessibility to various audiences. His record company (EMI), however, first thinks about engagement with fans at an even more general level than that of engagement with fans through crossover. EMI needs to be specific about choosing the right target market at which to aim Kennedy's work, sometimes changing the target in response to different market pressures and to Kennedy's activities:

...we try to ensure that the right music is presented in the most attractive manner possible for the right target market at the right time, and that the target market are aware of the music's availability and feel sufficiently motivated to buy it... His biggest target market is probably 40+ ABC1^[13] female bias. (Lewis 2002)

This is borne out by examining the people who run *Another String*, Kennedy's unofficial website, a team initially including two women of the forty-plus age-group and now including one of these women and her husband. Through conducting interviews and reading the comments of these women, it becomes clear that Kennedy and his music forms a large part of these women's lives. This is made especially relevant by their involvement in *Another String*. It is important for the creators of and contributors to this website to see their work as important¹⁴ and as a way to gain closer engagement with Kennedy himself. Kennedy and his management make sure that fan Ine, one of the founding members of *Another String*, is invited backstage at concerts, to various interviews and to reception parties several times a year (pers. com. 2001). Such experiences strengthen the personal link between Kennedy and an important fan. Ine can be considered a "gatekeeper" for Kennedy, someone who passes the excitement of her personal engagement with the man and his music on to a wider group of fans.¹⁵

From the comments of other fans who are not as close to Kennedy as Ine, it is clear that the effort Kennedy and his management put into such personal engagement is reaping rewards.

¹³ "Terms like 'ABC1' as a definition of consumer types, are often used to describe a profile of users or target customers. Demographical and social grade definitions enable the classification and measurement of people of different social grade and income and earnings levels, for market research, targeting, social commentary, lifestyle statistics, and statistical research and analysis...A [denotes]...upper middle class... higher managerial, administrative or professional...B [denotes]... middle class... intermediate managerial, administrative or professional...C1 [denotes]...lower middle class... supervisory or clerical, junior managerial, administrative or professional" (Chapman 2007).

¹⁴ The work of these women on the website was highlighted as particularly important when Kennedy offered to acknowledge *Another String* as his "official" website. Ine explains: "Nigel considers our site as the official one. He demands full cooperation from his management. He offered us official status once, but we refused. We want it to keep it ours, and not work for Nigel and do it the way he wants" (pers. com. 2001).

¹⁵ The wider group of fans reached by Ine are the readers of the *Another String* website.

One fan, Elsie, a female aged 75 (in 2001) and living in Nova Scotia, Canada, writes: “The internet is extremely important to me. The sites I most often visit are: Another String; nigelkennedy.de; emimusic.de; nkennedygroup.yahoo; search engines, e.g. Google” (pers. com. 2001). Elsie has found a deep engagement with Kennedy and his music by keeping up a dedicated interest in recordings, interviews, books and Internet sites that feature Kennedy, and writes that even though “I have met him on two occasions, ...I felt that I knew him personally even before that” (pers. com. 2001). She is particularly eloquent in describing how Kennedy’s performances provide a point of engagement for her, describing one concert as follows:

The concert was different from any other concerts I have attended both in Nigel's approach to the audience and in the energy level and intensity of the music-making. Nigel's relaxed, humorous approach makes one feel as if he regards the audience as personal friends...it draws us into the music he plays and makes us feel as if he is playing for us because he loves to do it. The music is totally involving and sounds fresh and new even when it's an old warhorse like *The Four Seasons*. (pers. com. 2001)

Elsie also connects with and adds a new layer to the construction of crossover to make music relevant, describing the “backwards” musical education she is gaining by listening to Kennedy’s different projects, being a predominantly classical music listener that is learning to appreciate other genres:

With *The Kennedy Experience* [1999], *Kafka* [1996], the *Doors Concerto* [2000] I pick out certain tracks and listen to them one at a time rather than playing the whole CD. This is because this type of music is still a little foreign to me...there are tracks that I respond to and others that I don't...I'm trying to learn to appreciate them, since I have no background in listening to music of this kind... I think [Kennedy’s work] may point the way to the development of a kind of contemporary music that would speak to us in a way that most contemporary music fails to do. (pers. com. 2001)

Elsie’s disappointment in the “failure” of “most contemporary music” shows an engagement with the high/low debate, suggesting that although popular musics or “low” cultures have failed to speak to her so far, Kennedy, an artist who has a background in Western art music or “high” cultures, may be able to provide translation.

Kennedy, like FourPlay, engages with many of his fans at a personal level, for some becoming an actual physical presence in their lives. Kennedy is also able to contact fans on an almost one-on-one personal level when he is unable to meet them in person, providing them

with CDs, interviews, live performances and Internet messages to keep his music central in their lives.¹⁶

Discussion thus far focuses on two Kennedy fans who have actually met the violinist. Kennedy also achieves a personal engagement, however, with fans who have never met him. His general stage persona is that of an artist who fully “gives himself” to the public. This can be seen in his performances, where the violinist is obviously engrossed, swaying and almost dancing along to the music he’s playing. It can also be seen in his press statements and interviews, presenting as frank, open and always honest about how he feels about music, or indeed about any topic put in front of him. Kennedy’s “artist-led” engagement with his fans and the way he puts his personality¹⁷ into his promotion has made his music personally relevant to his fans and in their lives. Kennedy’s character and values “match up” with the disposition and principles that his fans admire, such as the pursuit of “accessible” Western art *music*. His constant reference to the desire for freedom to perform as he wants and his disinterest in being “pigeon holed” are themes that his fans are familiar with, some wishing to defend him when they feel the violinist has been misunderstood. Elsie writes:

I think that the media usually get it wrong! They focus on things which have nothing to do with Nigel the Musician, which is the only thing on which they have the right to comment. For the most part, they don't understand Nigel or what he is doing. Equally, they never catch on to the fact that he is frequently sending them up! (pers. com. 2001)

The construction of crossover to make music relevant is thus an important theme in Kennedy’s own comments and in his promotional material and this has been adopted and reinforced by the fans examined in this chapter.

Identifying the construction and its scope

The second construction that this chapter examines is labeled “the construction of crossover to confront.” It is found in examples of crossover artists and projects that use the concepts of “difficulty” or “inaccessibility” to attract audiences and market themselves. These concepts may be used in marketing crossover projects and artists to attract a certain kind of audience member, someone who places himself or herself outside the mainstream whether in musical appreciation or other areas of life. It seems an obvious point that audiences often perceive

¹⁶ In contrast to FourPlay, for example, Kennedy as a solo performer can put more of “himself” into promotional material so that fans paying close attention to this material feel almost as if they “know” Kennedy personally without ever having met him. FourPlay, as a group of four that promotes the group rather than the individual members, have less opportunity to put “themselves” into promotional music, instead relying on fans that they do not know personally to make a personal connection with their music and artwork.

¹⁷ This could either be Kennedy’s own personality or a constructed personality.

crossover projects as confronting in their own right,¹⁸ even if this is beyond the creator's intention. It is not as obvious to consider, however, that an audience member might enjoy pieces of music or subscribe to a musical act's ideologies precisely *because* the music or ideology makes him/her angry, uncomfortable, offended or challenged, or even because the music or ideology confronts *other* people. This section examines these ideas. It also investigates the notion that crossover music might be appreciated in some small way because it is expected to confront the "elitists" that have long been regarded as the stereotypical audience for Western art music.¹⁹ Surprising as it may seem, there are many ways and reasons to confront audiences through music. Many of these, as shown in the examples below, are particular to the crossover musician or project. Although this introduction is brief, its themes will be expanded throughout the following discussion.

bond

Some crossover artists and projects confront simply because they represent the combination of two cultures that have strongly defined boundaries, an infringement on the lines drawn between "high" and "low," rather than because there is any specific intention by the creators to affront audiences. It is the crossing of genre boundaries by bond that confronts audiences, rather than any inaccessibility in the concepts, complexity or execution of the music itself. Of course, this kind of confrontation should not be dismissed as unimportant. In fact, it is this kind of affront that causes the kind of publicity that bond's 2001 publicist Linda Valentine called "...manna from heaven" (Valentine in Iley 2001:29).

¹⁸ This point also reinforces the gap between the audiences of "high" and "low" musics, portraying each as unappreciative of crossover projects simply because of the boundary-crossing aspects of such projects.

¹⁹ In an interview with Costa Pilavachi, president of the Decca Music Group, Matthew Westwood details Decca's change of direction, attempting to "...tempt new audiences with pop sweeteners" (Westwood 2004) in its 75th anniversary year (2004):

...there are string quartets with techno beats and prima donnas rubbing shoulders with pop teens. New recordings by top-rank artists – symphonies, concertos and complete operas – are becoming few and far between." (Westwood 2004)

Westwood writes that: "The traditional classics audience regards [crossover] as dumbing down and sees it as the decline of the classical recording industry..." (Westwood 2004). Pilavachi, however, is not worried if offence is taken by the traditional classics audience, giving frank answers on his company's goals:

...Pilavachi...says it's time for the "serious classical muzoids" to get a grip. "I always have to remind them that we're not a cultural institution," he says. "We're a business" (Pilavachi in Westwood 2004).

Pilavachi's open way of discussing Decca's business strategies may seem fairly straightforward as the words of a man charged with making money in the large sphere of the entertainment industry. Perhaps, however, another interpretation is available. What if Pilavachi, in his frank way of explaining Decca's "...cross over from art to entertainment..." (Westwood 2004), is not just reaching out to new audiences, but reaching out to new audiences by being seen to be challenging and offending old audiences? By seeming not to care about and alienating the "...serious classical muzoids..." by allowing "...crossover acts [to] appear to be a greater priority than serious music..." (Westwood 2004), is Pilavachi pandering to what he sees as the desire of new audiences, to see an old and "elitist" guard fall?

This kind of publicity is not new to bond, as discussed in earlier chapters. When bond's previous manager Mel Bush was involved, it was often unclear whether controversy causing incidents had been deliberately set up or whether they were bona fide accidents that turned out to be publicity producing. It seems that Bush knew well the attention that the construction of crossover to confront could attract and so used it in promoting his acts.

One particular example already discussed in Chapter Two is the "naked" cover photograph of bond's first album—or what *was* to be the cover photograph, but was later replaced by simple head shots that suggested nakedness. This photography seemed to issue a challenge to the music buying public—could or would you buy classical musicians who posed like "Playboy" models? Offence had also been caused: "It was alienating to women, who wouldn't want to buy the album...you can write a porn novel only after you've got literary success" (Iley 2001:32). Perhaps, however, the confrontation was manipulated well by bond's management. For example, it may have been alienating in the first place for women, and presumably some men, to buy something from the classical racks of the CD store²⁰ when they were used to buying from the pop/rock sections. Also, CDs in the pop/rock sections often feature female musicians in costumes of near-nudity.²¹ Perhaps bond's experimentation with extreme examples of "pop" cover art²² reassured consumers that in some ways at least, bond complied with mainstream marketing devices. Perhaps bond's extreme version of popular music marketing served to balance consumer concerns at having to venture into the classical section of the shop to buy bond's music. Or maybe the initial cover image shows, as Valentine suggests, bond "...breaking so many rules that they got off on the idea of breaking one more rule" (Iley 2001:32). As we have seen in fan interviews above and below, by "breaking the rules" the group made themselves attractive to those young women who themselves want to break the rules of their age group by engaging with classical music, but who nevertheless want to feel empowered and "hip" for doing it. Of course, it should not be forgotten that this image also made bond attractive to hordes of males (both young and old) through the Internet and the tabloids. Despite possible negative responses, bond continued to play upon this aspect of their image by subsequently wearing mock-bondage gear and striking pseudo-lesbian poses in *For Him Magazine* (FHM) (FHM 2002). These images could also be said to be alienating

²⁰ bond are continually found in the classical CD section of stores, even after their dismissal from the classical chart.

²¹ For example, Beyonce Knowles' debut album *Dangerously in love* (2003) showed the singer wearing nothing on the upper half of her body but a shirt made from strings of strategically placed diamonds (*Dangerously in love* 2003). Such CDs, however, rarely (if ever) feature full-nudity.

²² Such experimentation, while not actually released as cover art, was made available to the public by the media and through the internet.

women, but perhaps they provide a link between the girl who wants to buy the crossover music and her boyfriend/brother who approves of the packaging.²³ The attraction of the forbidden could also be said to be at work here for young music listeners who identify with the thrill of having to traverse a difficult road so that they may listen to their chosen music. In the same way that a “Warning: Explicit Lyrics” sticker might attract listeners who admire the illicit, bond’s extreme use of sex to sell might attract young women subconsciously trying to subvert feminist ideals or simply subscribing to the idea of buying the music of “bad” girls within the “safe” framework of a string quartet.

While such sexuality is confronting to some, Nancy had a different sort of response to bond’s challenge through their artwork, as touched on briefly in Chapter Two. The fan refers to a photograph that was used for the first bond DVD cover²⁴ which features the group posed with Westerhoff sitting on the floor, Chater leaning on Westerhoff and Davis and Ecker standing above them, Ecker holding her violin as if it was a crossbow, pointing it forward and scowling at the camera. Nancy comments: “I really like the artwork...[it] is like they are challenging you to listen and not like them” (pers. com. 2002). Taylor summed up her feelings for the application of the construction of crossover to confront to bond when asked whether her friends were also fans of bond: “No, but I have introduced them to bond. Being the ‘typical teenager,’ they didn’t like it” (pers. com. 2002). As discussed in Chapter Three but revisited in the context of this chapter, Taylor is proud of her position as an a typical teenager. She has taken up the challenge of liking something in opposition to her peer group and is proud of her dedication to bond partly because of this.

This represents another way that bond makes use of the construction of crossover to confront, by positioning themselves as “outsiders.” Of course, bond poses similar challenges and offences to those provided by the standard pop band, including issues of feminist responses to exploitation. In a sense, however, they have license to go even further with the use of shock tactics, because their marketing campaign is based around the crossing of boundaries and blurring of categories, even while their music is not. Their use of the construction of crossover to confront reinforces their representation as “outsiders,” and this helps bond engage with many fans who feel that they themselves are outsiders in their own peer groups. bond use and add to the construction of crossover to confront by accomplishing this “outsider” status while still making use of some of the most mainstream and conservative

²³ For example, the author of this thesis found that after bond’s appearance at the Miss Universe Pageant (Pageant News Bureau 2003) her 25-year-old brother took a sudden and dedicated interest in her research.

²⁴ bond Live at the Royal Albert Hall

marketing devices available that aim to show bond conforming to various characteristics of the “popular.”

FourPlay

Over the years FourPlay have confronted in terms of their instrumentation, their choice of venues for performance and their repertoire. It has often been the aspects of crossover in the group’s work that have engaged them with the construction of crossover to confront.

FourPlay are also able to make use of the construction of crossover to confront in order to represent as outsiders. In this way they connect with fans who feel that they too are outsiders. An example noted above is Lisa, who described her excitement at being able to attend FourPlay concerts that she called something other than “...garden variety mediocre pub bands...” (pers. com. 2002).²⁵ In pop/rock venues FourPlay can be seen as confronting audiences by appearing with instruments and arrangements that demand slightly more foreground attention than that required by the average rock band. For example, if you conduct very loud conversations with your friends at a FourPlay concert, it is likely that everyone else in the area will hear you, but FourPlay are amplified sufficiently so that you can keep up a normal level of conversation without feeling awkward. This kind of confrontation was constructed by FourPlay in early website materials and interviews, including brief mentions of wanting to “...wake up the scene (which was and probably is dominated by uninventive grunge pop)...” (FourPlay 2002a) by the band themselves and several quotes included from print press which talk about “...something vastly different to the current musical landscape, which is refreshing” (Nielsen in FourPlay 2002c). Such comments, however, can be perceived as either confrontation or even as connected to a desire to educate the alternative and underground music listening audiences in Australia about other ways of making music.²⁶

FourPlay started by challenging pop music fans to listen to their favourite pieces re-worked as string quartets, for example, by removing the drums and fast guitars that often make them exciting in the first place and replacing them with a harmonic complexity and texture. As FourPlay have grown they have started challenging these pop music listeners to grow too, opening their ears to different cultures of music (e.g. jazz [*Cry Me A River*, Arthur Hamilton (*Now To The Future* 2006)], klezmer [*Meshugganah*, Peter Hollo (*The Joy Of...* 2000)]) and different levels of complexity (e.g. their music theatre/installation work with composer Max

²⁵ This also shows a connection between crossover to offend and challenge and crossover to make music relevant. The crossover that makes music relevant to some challenges and even offends others.

²⁶ For example, with a string quartet rather than a three piece drums, bass and guitar group.

Lyandvert in *Close Your Little Eyes* (Rogala-Koczorowski 2003)).²⁷ For Western art music oriented audiences they have challenged by taking the pinnacle of the classical composing medium, the string quartet, and changed important aspects, namely, standing instead of sitting to play; using amplification; swaying and dancing slightly to the music and occasionally having a singer in their midst. The group themselves, however, do not find this significant and in pointing it out this thesis could be accused of perpetuating the high/low debate.

FourPlay have often been quoted in this thesis saying that they simply play the music that they want to play and rarely intend to connect with particular agendas or manifestos. This attitude in itself is somewhat confrontational. The examples mentioned above all stem from FourPlay's commitment to performing music when, where and how the group wants to. While we can clearly see FourPlay's engagement with the construction of crossover to confront, we can also see that such construction is not necessarily intended.

Vanessa-Mae

Vanessa-Mae has accomplished her fair share of confrontation simply for being a crossover artist who blurs boundaries and a high profile advocate of erasing distinctions between “high” and “low” cultures. Cellist Julian Lloyd Weber showed the offence he had taken to Vanessa-Mae by railing against “semi-naked bimbo” violinists”²⁸ ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]) and Debra Bodra, Executive Director of the New York Philharmonic commented that she did not think Vanessa-Mae's brand of crossover “is the way to advance the orchestra...We must resist things that look politically correct but are just somehow...destructive to the arts” ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). Nevertheless, as noted with bond, controversy and dislike are not always problems for the crossover artists and can often be used to create publicity and generate interest. A problem arises for the crossover artist seeking publicity, however, when there is a complete lack of offence taken and no challenge accepted. For example Veron Grigorov (pers. com. 2002), former viola for FourPlay, commented that it was only when Western art music figures perceived that Vanessa-Mae was asserting credibility within both the Western art and popular music genres that debate arose. Vanessa-Mae herself, however, has always been very clear about when she

²⁷ Peter Hollo of FourPlay points out that: “We play...a show like Max Lyandvert's...but we've done things like that before. It's not part of the actual FourPlay thing really, in a sense...[work] by other composers will never find its way into a FourPlay set or onto a FourPlay album” (pers. com. 2003). The group do, however, advertise their participation in such performances and it becomes part of the identity that FourPlay present to their audiences.

²⁸ The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team write: “[a]lthough Vanessa-Mae was not specifically mentioned by name...nobody has any doubts of whom Julian Lloyd Weber was referring to” ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]).

is making fusion, Western art or popular music. If commentators were to categorise Vanessa-Mae's music as a kind of popular music, rather than an attempt to revolutionise Western art music performance, they would be less likely to find the violinist controversial.

This does not mean that Vanessa-Mae is unfamiliar with the discourse of challenge or the idea of confronting one's ears with new musical concepts. She often talks about wanting her audiences to be "open-minded," and she gives herself this task also:

I think I'm pretty open to most kinds of music. If there's something I don't like initially or a style of music, I ask myself "Why" and try to learn from it, or try to understand it, but if it's good music, but badly performed or played, then I can't stand that. (Vanessa-Mae in Swerdler 1998)

Comments in earlier chapters indicate many of Vanessa-Mae's statements should probably be viewed as part of her performance persona and that very few interviewers are able to discern her "real" personality. The above could be seen as part of an act or perhaps something that has appeared to be an act, upheld for over a decade, may actually be Vanessa-Mae's "real" personality. While the above is contentious as a "real persona" or "stage persona" comment on challenge in music, the following statement from Vanessa-Mae's "Storm on" World Tour program certainly reflects the stage persona. It engages strongly with the construction of crossover to confront and suggests that Vanessa-Mae's concert to promote the album *Storm* (1997) will frighten timid audiences:

What can I say about the music tonight other than, it's a "Storm"! A natural phenomenon. Frightened? Hide from it. If not, enjoy! I know you are not frightened. You are here. So, Let's "Storm"... ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team] 1997b)

Vanessa-Mae and her music are prime examples of the very basic way a construction of crossover can be used to confront, even while the above discussion has highlighted situations where even the basic confrontation found in border crossings could not be said to have been provocative. The violinist's crossover musical endeavours themselves initially raised eyebrows and attracted vitriol from people like Julian Lloyd Weber. From this it is clear that emphasising her crossover aspects has allowed Vanessa-Mae to provoke publicity. As highlighted by Grigorov, however, it is *only* when Vanessa-Mae emphasises these aspects, when her marketing focuses on the boundary crossing in her music, that she engages with the construction of crossover to confront. For the most part, the violinist makes careful distinctions between the types of musics that she performs. When these distinctions are recognised, Vanessa-Mae clearly avoids the clashing of cultures that so offends those that would call her "bimbo."

Kennedy

As seen throughout this thesis, Kennedy has built his whole stage persona around confrontation. There are three layers of this construction for the violinist. The first layer is the basic form of the construction, that Kennedy challenges simply by making crossover music and crossing boundaries, in the first instance the boundary that encompasses Western art music. Kennedy has often been quoted as delighting in using crossover to affront the "...self appointed wankers of music..." (Kennedy in *The Arts Show: Interview with Nigel Kennedy* 2001) and challenges audiences and critics through his disinterest in the categorisation of music, like Vanessa-Mae, engaging provocatively with the high/low debate in the public realm. This indifference extends to a second layer of confrontation in the categorisation of popular musics; it is not only the Western art music boundary that Kennedy challenges. Examples from earlier in this chapter and in previous chapters show the way that the violinist also confronts his more popularly inclined audiences to open their minds to a wider range of music by listening to his crossover projects. While it is unnecessary to reiterate those details, it is clear that Kennedy prides himself on being what he calls an "old-fashioned" musician, someone who does not believe in giving the audience what they want and expresses the hope that his performances of more accessible pieces in the Western art music canon might spark audience interest in more difficult pieces (*Southbank Show – Nigel Kennedy* 2001). This is another interesting example of the similarities between the construction of crossover to increase accessibility and the construction of crossover to confront. The aspect of audience education that is found in the first construction can also be interpreted as part of the second, whereby the audience is challenged and perhaps offended, but is ultimately educated about a different genre of music.

A third layer of Kennedy's engagement with the construction of crossover to confront is reminiscent of the first layer discussed and is found in the violinist's representation as an outsider, constantly commenting on his need to be free from boxes and classifications. The violinist makes use of the construction in order to present as "down to earth" and without the airs a stereotypical Western art musician might be expected to have,²⁹ commenting on his pleasure at challenging and "upset[ting] the boat" (*The Arts Show: Interview with Nigel Kennedy* 2001) in his search for artistic freedom.

²⁹ Such stereotypical views both fuel and are informed by the high/low debate.

Conclusions

Regardless of genre, the first and most important step in selling music or an artist is to make the music and the artists who create it accessible to a specific audience. As shown in this chapter, this task is approached by different artists and their management groups in different ways. Some opt for more general points of engagement that make use of certain strengths or unique features, such as bond's use of image and sex to appeal to several target markets at once. Others make a direct engagement between their personality, whether real or constructed, and the personalities of those in their target market, as demonstrated by Kennedy and to some extent FourPlay. This project of "making music accessible" is not restricted to the examples of crossover artists cited here. Indeed, such a project can be adopted by any artist wanting to expand their audience. As we have seen, however, the theme of "audience education," or of "bridging the gap" between classical and popular music is readily available to crossover artists who wish to increase their accessibility in certain target markets. In fact, access to this theme often widens the potential target markets for these artists. Accessibility is one of the most important features of any music that is popular in the mass market. In taking on the "noble" cause of educating audiences to appreciate different genres of music, crossover artists work to make standard forms of different genres more accessible by changing both the music itself and by using promotion and marketing to affect audience expectations and behaviors. This makes boundary-crossing, "gap bridging" and crossover relevant and necessary themes in the musical lives of their audiences. This chapter shows once more that some crossover projects are created with a "music-first" intention and have the crossover label applied to them later in marketing or in descriptions of the music, while others are made "market-first," where *the* music is created to fit a particular marketing plan. In the task of increasing the accessibility of music, "music-first" crossover projects are often the ones that succeed in creating a personal link with their audiences, while projects that are "market-first" appeal to their audiences through more universal and general lifestyle reasons.

From the second half of this chapter it is clear that *all* crossover projects engage with the construction of crossover to confront because they tamper with the boundaries of well-known musical genres and are provocative examples of discussion for the high/low debate. By virtue of their musical claims to both Western art and popular musics they will always create a minor shock or stir, no matter how great the degree of their crossover is or what the final project is actually like. Some projects, however, take the idea of confrontation further. It is usually "music-first" projects like FourPlay which manage to challenge and offend the artistic

sensibilities, often initially because of their basic Western art/popular musics boundary-crossing, but as time passes the boundary crossing nature of such projects is less perceived as cause for confrontation. At that point “music-first” artists may use their status as established musicians to expose fans to a wider variety of artistic endeavour, allowing other sources of challenge to arise in their work and becoming known separately from their crossover beginnings. Over time such projects supersede their boundary crossing offence and challenge and become recognized art projects in their own right. For “market-first” projects, however, provocation through boundary crossing is rarely resolved and further shock tactics are continually used to increase interest in the musical product.

Consideration of the two halves of this chapter leads to the following conclusion. Some crossover projects exploit resources to produce mainstream, commercially viable and artistically conservative popular musics. Others use resources that can be exploited to create intellectually complex and confrontational art musics. Such alternate strategies, namely, to increase accessibility and to confront, work towards the same goal of attracting audiences. It is often a combination of these seemingly disparate strategies that makes the crossover project most attractive to audiences and most applicable to a wide range of target markets.

As well as presenting a provocative example for discussion as part of the high/low debate, crossover stimulates discussion in two musical debates. The two debates are the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter Seven

Death and homogenisation: crossover and two musical debates

This chapter examines the construction of crossover in the context of two larger musical debates. The first of these debates is over what some call the “death of classical^[1] music”; commentators on this debate often suggest crossover as either executioner or saviour of the Western art music genre. The second debate is on the homogenisation of popular musics and the musics with which they come into contact. In this debate, hybrid genres such as crossover often provide material for discussion. This chapter examines these two debates in turn. While it draws on examples of the group of primary artists, this chapter will differ from previous chapters by introducing a greater number of examples and material featuring other artists and projects in order to show the depth and breadth of engagement with the two debates. The chapter thus investigates the role and use of crossover as constructed by the various contributors to these two debates and concludes that marketing rhetoric and “popular common-sense” (Middleton 1983:235) generalisations are often the impetus for the various constructions of crossover such as those applied by the four primary artist examples.

Identifying the construction and its scope

The construction of crossover as part of the debate over “the death of classical music” was first identified through the arguments of several commentators on classical music and its future. These writers asked whether the genre as a whole had in fact “died” and ceased to be relevant, discussing crossover projects as “last ditch” attempts to revive a failing genre of music that was losing its fan base to old age and failing to attract new audiences despite employing a range of new marketing techniques. An important part of this debate has been the perceived role of crossover in either widening or bridging “the gap” between classical and popular music, both recurrent themes in the high/low debate. Those involved in the debate on the death of classical music, and indeed in the high/low debate, have found arguments for either proposition. For example, Norman Lebrecht’s 1997 book, *Who Killed Classical Music?*, bluntly describes the death of the musical genre at the hands of the industry that had taken it over, seeing the roots of the demise planted as far back as Bach and his Coffee Cantata.² Other authors, while not exactly joining Lebrecht in writing obituaries for the genre, describe situations of paucity in classical concert attendance and in classical recording. Terry Teachout laments the classical concert:

¹ The author prefers to use the term “Western art music” rather than the term “classical,” but as much of the work informing this chapter makes use of the term “classical” the two terms will be used interchangeably in this chapter.

² Bach’s Coffee Cantata is discussed in Appendix A.

The loyal concert subscribers of the 60s and 70s are fast approaching retirement age, and younger listeners are so far failing to replace them in sufficiently large numbers...ticket sales for traditional concert programs are declining... (Teachout 2001)³

Russell Platt touches on the circumstance of the classical concert while listing a number of markers of demise:

Classical music in America, we are frequently told, is in its death throes: its orchestras bled dry by expensive guest soloists and greedy musicians unions, its media presence shrinking, its prestige diminished, its educational role ignored, its big record labels dying out or merging into faceless corporate entities. We seem to have too many well-trained musicians in need of work, too many good composers going without commissions, too many concerts to offer an already satiated public. (Platt 2005)

A reviewer for the *American Record Guide* explicitly includes crossover in this debate, expressing his disgust with the major record companies and with a public that lets these companies dictate what they listen to and are able to buy:

What has happened to the big classical labels? To put it briefly, they are churning out garbage in the hopes of making a bundle in “crossover” sales; they have essentially given up on real classical music. I’m not being an alarmist...We know that the classical selection in most record stores is abysmal. The public seems to accept that. (Vroon 1999:66-67)

This brief introduction serves to outline the debate, but more depth is found in the following examination of the debate and its relationship with crossover.

Examples of the construction

Writers discussing a dark future for the Western art music genre posit different reasons for the decline. These reasons can be generally classified into two related themes which are examined here. The first and most common theme is that the Western art music genre was never meant to participate in the mainstream of the music industry and that it should never have been forced to compete as a large commercial genre.⁴ As shown in Chapter Two, Walser argues that the Western art music genre was constructed, and from his comments, it could be argued, constructed to occupy a mainstream position:

³ A recent article on the U.K.’s Classic FM website, however, proclaims that “[n]ew figures...show that more younger people are listening to Classic FM than ever before...Classic FM has...seen a surge in the number of children listening to the station, with 474,000 youngsters under the age of fifteen now tuning in each week – an increase of 52% on the previous quarter” (Gcap Media PLC 2007).

⁴ It is important to note that Western art music has always been subject to competition, though not necessarily commercial, from other musical genres.

...classical music is not just 'great' music; it is a constructed category that reflects the priorities of a historical moment and that services certain social interests at the expense of others...an 'invented tradition'...[it] achieves its coherence through its function as the most prestigious musical culture of the twentieth century. (Walser 1992:265)

Some believe, however, that the Western art music genre should instead have been constructed as a "boutique" genre, serviced by independent labels and competing in independent markets. This theme draws on the tension between creative and commercial approaches and criticises big business for "taking over" the Western art music genre and expecting it to be profitable in the mainstream. Lebrecht writes that the task of marketing and selling the genre has been handed to popular music and sports stars promoters and agents in a bid to make classical music "commercially viable" on the open market. It continues, nevertheless, to run at a loss. Lebrecht believes that this situation should never have been allowed to arise, that Western art music should always be funded by government as an important cultural resource (Lebrecht 1997:16-25).

Justin Davidson agrees with Lebrecht's call for classical music to be removed from mainstream competition and believes that a reduction in recorded material would revive the musicality of the genre and shift the focus back to live performance:

Why should an art form that needs some fiscal coddling in its native habitat be expected to thrive in the tundra of the free market? This misplaced emphasis on profits has warped the relationship between music and medium. One benefit of a depleted recording industry is that we can once again start treating CDs as by-products rather than products, imperfect documents of live events rather than simulacrum of performances that never actually took place. (Davidson in Lebrecht 2001b)

This version of the art/creativity versus commerce debate shows many Western art music aficionados to be philosophical about the place of classical music in the larger music industry and not at all concerned about the decline in the interest in classical music from mainstream record companies or audiences. Instead, they embrace the change, feeling that if the pressure to be the genre that represents the pinnacle of human music making is lifted, the production of classical music will be left to people who will concentrate on the creative rather than the commercial aspects of the genre, perhaps separating the "high" and the "low" for good. As Allen Gimbel wrote in an overview of 20th century art music, "...serious musical activity has [in the last quarter] had to operate in a larger culture that is for the most part inherently opposed to it" (Gimbel 2001). From this framework one could argue that if classical music did not have to compete as part of the mainstream and "turn a profit" it would become a very

different, and many suggest, better, arena of musicking. It appears, however, that the mainstream industry is not quite finished with the Western art music genre and can still see ways it can generate profit, as we shall see in the discussion of the next theme.

These commentators blame the pressure placed on Western art music to compete in the mainstream music industry for tearing the genre apart and believe that separation from the larger industry and culture will be the genre's salvation. Another set of observers, however, believe such separation would cause the genre to weaken and suffer decline. It is these observers who insist on the need for the classical music genre to "increase accessibility" in order to draw in new audiences and it is often these observers who suggest and initiate crossover projects. As more attempts to "resuscitate" the classical genre are created, however, many projects appear to do more harm than good, as shown in the example below. Even though such attempts may have been imagined through the benign intentions of people who simply love classical music and want to share it with the rest of the world, some cynical parts of the mainstream see no use for classical music any more and are now using its demise as a marketing angle.

Rather than finding the widening gap between Western art music and the mainstream industry a reason to abandon experimentation with the Western art music genre, the mainstream music and entertainment industries now use the gap and the high/low debate and play upon the "inherent opposition" cited by Gimbel in the quote above. A 2005 television program called *Rock School* pits an ageing "rock god" against a class of "classically trained" English school children and waits for much-anticipated sparks to fly (*Gene Simmons' Rock School* 2005).⁵ The show is broadcast in a reality television documentary format and is based on the premise that Gene Simmons, bass player of renowned heavy rock band Kiss (U.S.A.), must "[i]n just six weeks...transform a class of classically trained thirteen year-olds into guitar-strumming, head banging rock gods" (MTV Networks 2007a). After the show was advertised as featuring footage of "...classical geeks [becoming] rock freaks..." (*Advertisement for Gene Simmons' Rock School* 2006), and the narrator described a class of "...musical prodigies..." (*Gene Simmons' Rock School: Episode One* 2005), the author of this thesis was disappointed to find in the first episode that the students from Christ's Hospital⁶ could not all necessarily be

⁵ VH1.com's 2005 television program *Rock School* (*Gene Simmons' Rock School* 2005) is not to be confused with the 2003 film *School of Rock* (Linklater 2003) or the 2005 documentary *Rock School* (Argott 2005). Interestingly, while neither the film nor the documentary specifically play on the high/low debate in terms of *classical* versus *popular* music, they both play on the debate in terms of the juxtaposition of "low culture rock" as a serious subject for "high culture" school curricula.

⁶ "An 11-18 charitable boarding school for children from all backgrounds, Horsham, West Sussex." The school accepted its first students in 1552 (Christ's Hospital 2007).

described as “classical geeks” or musical prodigies, only three introduced on the show as having taken classical music studies to any significant level,⁷ some of the others showing beginner levels on a range of instruments and many in the class labelling themselves as musicians in other genres, for example, as gospel singers.⁸ This paucity of representation of the Western art music genre does not cause Simmons or the creators of *Rock School* to balk or change their marketing statements. They carry on as if they are scientifically measuring the battle between classical and rock music. Moreover, Simmons is heard to say after viewing the student’s first efforts at playing drums and guitars:

I thought there [would be] a sort of rudimentary knowledge...because they play violin...how to go around a fret board...that is not the case. Nobody can even pluck the strings well enough to stay in time...forget about doing a complex riff...I am very concerned. I’m not sure there’s a band here. (Simmons in *Gene Simmons’ Rock School: Episode One* 2005)

Simmons’ speech on his fears for the future of his Rock School band is cleverly inserted early in the show, adding a query about whether the task is actually possible, which will build into tension that will sustain viewers to the final episode. It also plays on the gap between Western art music and popular music and the high/low debate, allowing popular music fans to feel empowered by the failure of the “classically trained musical prodigies” to be able to play good honest rock music and allowing such fans to share Simmons’ gravity and shock, wondering what classical music training means in the “real” practice of music.

The highlighting of flaws in the perceived “elitists,” the hard and unflinching proponents of the Western art music genre, comes from the high/low debate and is a very powerful and oft-used tactic by those who use the Western art music genre in mainstream entertainment. Even the artists who claim to simply want to share classical music with the world need to criticise the gap and those “elitists” who would maintain it. This is where the two themes in this

⁷ The achievements of students mentioned in the first episode included attainment grade 6 in both piano and viola and grade 8 in violin, membership of the National Children’s Orchestra (playing orchestral percussion) and the attainment of a musical scholarship to the school for french horn (*Gene Simmons’ Rock School: Episode One* 2005). This list of achievements is expanded on the show’s website, where three more students are shown to have significant Western art music involvement (e.g. in the school’s choirs, Symphony Orchestra, Chamber Orchestra or Marching Band). This website features only 10 students, however, while episodes of the show often appeared to feature more than 10 students (MTV Networks 2007b). Although all of the above achievements are certainly noteworthy, the link between such accomplishment and the labels “musical prodigies” or “classical geeks” is not well-established in the show.

⁸ A report from Wikipedia may provide further insights into the *Rock School* show. The report describes some of the reactions made by students of Christ’s Hospital after the first series of Rock School aired, suggesting that the company that created the show, RDF Media: “...specifically overlooked pupils who auditioned that were already in rock bands, in favour of those who fitted better fitted the Stereotype of Boarding school pupils. As a result the program does not give an accurate portrayal of pupils at the school. The program repeatedly claims that pupils at the school have no interest in Rock music, going as far as suggesting that pupils actively hate it. Many pupils consider this to be a lie given the annual rock concert and talent shows, as well as weekly discos and the large amounts of pupils in bands of their own, with some going on to be signed by major labels (Wikipedia 2007c).

section converge. Exponents of a “pure” Western art music that is not made to be commercially viable in the mainstream entertainment industry require most ties to that industry to be completely severed. By contrast, exponents of a “new” Western art music that involves crossover and mainstream entertainment industry aspects “need” the spectre of the frowning “elitists” to make their work seem interesting through its illicit, forbidden and controversial nature, but in truth have severed their ties with what is defined as Western art music and are actually making a form of popular music. A death of sorts has occurred, but is more a re-categorisation, a separation, than a death. Western art music in its “pure” form continues, and elsewhere in the industry a “pop/alternate” classical music has arisen, and the name given to this music is crossover. As Davidson writes:

I believe that the ills of [the classical] industry are largely a consequence of the uneasy marriage between two different economic models: the non-profit world of performance and the bottom-line doctrines of large corporations. It’s not that art shouldn’t sell. I’m not so snobbish as to hold that financial success is in inverse proportion to artistic merit. Music and mammon can coexist, but they will always have different agendas, unless classical musicians agree to recast themselves as entertainers...or corporations give up on capitalism. (Davidson in Lebrecht 2001b)

The four artist examples for this thesis have all at some level agreed to “recast themselves as entertainers” and an important part of this recasting is their engagements, however slight, with the various constructions of crossover. All, however, at some time have indicated that the term “crossover” does not accurately describe their music making. FourPlay have sought to avoid the term “crossover,” viola player Tim Hollo even commenting in Chapter One that “...there is no crossover... it really doesn’t matter whether you’re playing country music on an acoustic guitar or metal, or classical music on a grand piano... it’s all about communicating” (pers. com. 2002). bond, Vanessa-Mae and Nigel Kennedy, as seen in previous chapters, have all, at different times, also made statements about their music being “just music” or a mix of different styles (e.g. not “just” Western art music) and expressed an unwillingness to be tied to a particular category. Vanessa-Mae once commented “I don’t differentiate between pop music and classical music. For me, there’s only one division – really good music that you like and bad music that you don’t like” (“Articles/Interviews: A-Magazine.Com’s fiddler on the roof: Vanessa-Mae is violin’s queen of cool” n.d.), a sentiment closely echoed by Nigel Kennedy’s insistence that “...the problem is the division of music...the Beatles are classical music because they’re classic...” (*Nigel Kennedy – Vivaldi: The Four Seasons* 1990) and bond’s explanation that “From the beginning, [we were] never meant to be a strictly classical quartet...largely...we wanted to incorporate a lot of different

styles...” (Chater in Moody 2001). All of the artist examples (FourPlay included) have indicated that they believe that too much attention is paid to the maintenance of genre boundaries.

Such attention to the lines drawn around the Western art music genre appears to be at the heart of the “death of classical music” debate. While “recasting” oneself as an entertainer or engaging with crossover might ostensibly suggest a belief in the irrelevance of the Western art music genre, it is possible to undertake crossover activities without believing that crossover has any impact on the state of the Western art music genre. Problems arise when Western art music and crossover are unceremoniously lumped together or when crossover is claimed to be a legitimate part or extension of classical music. These problems, however, appear to affect marketing and promotion more than actual musicking. The role of crossover in the debate on the death of classical music appears to be to provoke extreme argument on the future direction of Western art music. Despite this, the very artists who engage with crossover, by and large, are unconcerned about the maintenance of musical boundaries or about the supposed death of certain genres. The following section examines construction of crossover in the context of a second wider musical debate.

Identifying the construction and its scope

The second debate takes popular music culture as its starting point. This mainstream musical culture dominates world markets and is a global phenomenon. It is precisely popular music culture’s position as a “global phenomenon” that is considered in the following discussion of crossover’s engagement with these arguments.

For many years within the anecdotes and generalisations of music listeners the idea that popular music is homogenous has existed, in other words, that all popular musical output fits the same musical framework and generally “all sounds the same.” Richard Middleton comments on: “...‘popular common-sense’ definitions, and criticisms, of the music. ‘It’s monotonous’; ‘it’s all the same’; ‘it’s predictable’” (Middleton 1983:235). A quick search of the Internet shows that such opinions are abundant. For example, on a site featuring original writing an article challenges “The ‘that music all sounds the same’ fallacy,” commenting that “Invariably at some point during a discussion of music, a person will level this charge against whatever genre he or she happens not to like” (enth 2001). In another case, on a blog about music in Chicago and Boston a video is introduced as featuring “Rob Paravonian, a comedian/musician, [who] has a song that pokes fun at music. He...displays how much popular music all sounds the same” (Under The Rotunda 2007). Another example is found in

a forum discussion “On the Sameness of Popular Music,” where one participant writes “[o]f course [p]opular music all sounds the same, that’s why it’s popular, it’s easy to listen to and doesn’t exercise any brain cells...” (Pleiades. 2004).

The origins of this idea can perhaps be found in Theodor Adorno’s (2002) seminal work on the “standardization” of popular music⁹ in which he questions the very listening ability of fans of popular music and describes the music itself as homogenised:

One may go so far as to suggest that most listeners of popular music do not understand music as a language in itself. If they did it would be vastly difficult to explain how they could tolerate the incessant supply of largely undifferentiated material. (Adorno 2002:460)

The notion of a homogenised popular music is often extended to the argument that popular musics that are introduced into traditional or marginal musical cultures will have a homogenizing effect on the music of those cultures, superseding and overriding traditional musicking and causing all future musical output by the culture to become uniform. Ethnomusicologist Charles Keil engages with this argument, fearing: “...the universalizing, the globalisation of culture and the trend towards a single civilization...” (Keil 1994:177-178). Manuel gives an extended explanation of such issues:

Global interactions have led ethnologists and others to voice fears about the homogenisation, and especially the westernization, of world music...It is clear that by the end of the 20th century Western pop music's global penetration has indeed been vast. Throughout the world, it has been abetted by the quest of powerful multinationals for mass markets, the extension of Western-dominated mass media to all regions and peoples and the widespread association of Western popular culture with modernity and fashion. In many countries, from Indonesia to South Africa, Western-style pop has provided an imported solution to the problem of finding a musical idiom with pan-regional, pan-ethnic appeal. Influenced by these and other factors, entire cultures have forsaken indigenous music traditions in favour of Western-style idioms. (Manuel 2007)¹⁰

Although both Keil and Manuel speak specifically of the homogenising effect of Western musics on non-Western cultures, this chapter extends this argument, examining possible homogenising effects of Western popular musics on Western art musics. The argument on homogenisation leads to the identification of the construction of crossover discussed in this section. Crossover in this thesis results from the intersection of popular and Western art

⁹ In discussing repetition in popular musics Middleton also portrays Adorno as a source for notions of popular music’s “sameness,” writing that “...such reactions have probably filtered down from the discussions of mass culture theorists. From this point of view, repetition (within a song) can be assimilated to the same category as what Adorno termed standardisation (as between songs)” (Middleton 1983:235).

¹⁰ Other examples of this argument can be found in Rowe (1995:52) and in Robinson et al. (1991:261).

musics. This chapter asks whether the popular music elements and the connotations of hybridity and exchange that are part of crossover projects, place crossover into the wider debate on the homogenisation of musics and, by extension, involve crossover in the relationship between globalisation and music. It also asks whether popular musical elements, in their use or in the desire to use them, have a homogenising effect on Western art music elements when they are combined in crossover projects, specifically amongst the work of the four artists chosen as examples for this thesis.

It is prudent here to further examine issues that surround the debate over the homogenisation of popular music and its connection with globalisation. Ted C. Lewellen provides a “bare-bones” definition of the term “globalisation” from an anthropological perspective:

Contemporary globalisation is the increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas and people brought about by the sophisticated technology of communications and travel and by the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism, and it is the local and regional adaptations to and resistances against these flows. (Lewellen 2002:7)

Lewellen’s definition of globalisation is useful to this chapter as it encompasses the concepts of the “flow of...*culture*” and “local adaptations to and resistances against these flows,” especially with respect to the four primary artists for this thesis (below). Also important is the work of Andrew Leyshon et al (1995), who make a link between “...the globalized music industry...” and the homogenisation of popular music, commenting in the following extended quote that this industry:

...might be seen as confirming Adorno’s worst predictions of commodified and commercialized culture, with differences flattened into global uniformity as a bad new western pop universal supercedes Adorno’s good classical version...A ‘global music’ has emerged which sells across national and international cultural boundaries. Artists such as Madonna, Michael Jackson, U2 and the Rolling Stones may be products of Anglo-American culture but are, in another sense, almost placeless, their product endlessly circulating the globe via world tours or electronic media. (Leyshon et al 1995:428)

Similarities to Leyshon et al’s “placeless global music” can be found in Simon During’s writings on “the global popular” (During 1997:808). During’s work provides a link between globalisation and hybrid genres such as crossover, commenting that:

In another mode of cultural globalisation, a self-conscious commitment to the global can provide an impetus and marketing platform for new cross-culturally hybridized genres, particularly “world music.” (During 1997:810)

During's portrayal of some hybridised genres as being the result of a "self-conscious commitment to the global" has faint reverberations in common with the Stilwell's definition of crossover as an "artificial concept" (Stilwell 2007). Noting this, and further examining During's comment above, the question "does crossover represent a 'self-conscious commitment to the global' with regards to the four primary artist examples for this thesis?" is posited in the artist examples below.

Before examining artist examples, however, there is more to say on the argument over popular music homogenisation and its link with globalisation. Although it is often and readily discussed as part of debates on globalisation, the argument that posits mass homogenisation through popular music is generally refuted by anthropologists and ethnologists. One example is a refutation that is part of the extended version of the definition of globalisation already cited:

My definition emphasizes...not just globalisation but also regionalization and localization. (One "-zation" it significantly does not mention is homogenisation.) (Lewellen 2002:7)

In some of its early manifestations, globalisation was held to be coterminous with homogenisation...this viewpoint is flatly incorrect. Ethnography after ethnography has revealed fragmentation and differentiation – increasing ethnicities, nationalisms, retribalisms, and the like...It is perhaps appropriate to introduce here a simple and obvious principle...*Some do; some don't*. A great many *individuals* are indeed being absorbed into a sort of globalized, mostly Western culture and so are some groups of people. By and large, specific cultures are inevitably transformed by changes in technology, mobility, and more porous and malleable boundaries, but rather than being absorbed by some global culture, *they* do most of the absorbing. (Lewellen 2002:52-53)

Other authors have similar arguments about how individuals absorb and respond to global culture. Roland Robertson (1992) for example discusses the work of Piotr Sztompka in arguing that the maintenance of local identity in the face of persistent global influences is not surprising or unusual:

Sztompka insists that "what really becomes baffling and problematic is the preservation of enclaves of uniqueness amid growing homogeneity and uniformity...The emphasis shifts to the alternative type of comparative inquiry: seeking uniqueness among the uniformities, rather than uniformity among variety"...Sztompka...fails to recognize that globalisation involves the simultaneity of the universal and the particular. (Robertson 1992:172)

During believes that traditional expectations of globalisation taking the form of a Western hegemony of universals and ideals will be thwarted, and that the actual movement of globalisation is currently taking the form of show business and popular culture (During

1997:815). He seeks to deny the globalisation-as-homogenisation thesis, instead suggesting that:

...convergences in leisure consumption across many communities do not entail convergences in, for instance, familial relations or religious practices – at that level there is little evidence for a large global homogenisation of culture thesis (During 1997:815).

Leyshon et al directly confront Adorno's prediction that mass produced popular music would lead to commercialised and commodified culture, saying in the quote above that at a superficial glance one might think that the prediction had come to pass (Leyshon et al 1995:428). Leyshon et al go on, however, to discuss the work of Roy Shuker, who says that to consider popular music "...a mass of passive recipients..." does not correspond with the current literature and results of studies on audience behaviour (Shuker 1994:22, 2001:17-18). Leyshon et al then move on to a discussion of subversion in alternative music cultures, beginning with the statement that: "[t]he audience for popular music is not uniform but characterized by fragmentation..." (Leyshon et al 1995:428). Even within mainstream popular music musical styles and sounds differ greatly. A quick survey of the top 10 songs of the mainstream musical charts shows a range of different genres represented, from R'n'B (rhythm and blues) to electronic dance to rock. When one considers the myriad of reception models that audiences use when experiencing and interpreting this music, it is difficult to see the effect of homogenisation. Further discussion from Manuel offsets the dire situation of homogenisation and Westernisation he presents above:

...tendencies towards homogenisation and westernization are substantially counterbalanced by trends toward diversification and creative hybridity, however. The advent of cassettes promoted the emergence of a wide variety of regional popular genres, a few of which, such as Sundanese *jaipongan*, do not exhibit any Western stylistic influence. As global communications networks spread, cross-fertilizations between genres (e.g. Korean rap, Indo-Caribbean chutney-soca) enrich and diversify the world music scene, and the sheer amount of commercial popular music available in the late 20th century shows simultaneous trends toward homogenisation and diversification. (Manuel 2007)

The above authors argue that globalisation has not always, or necessarily, led to homogenisation and has even in some cases allowed many musical styles to be consumed and produced in extremely individualised ways. The following section discusses such individual responses to globalisation through crossover.

Examples of the construction

Crossover, as a genre of musical exchange, falls within Lewellen's definition of globalisation (Lewellen 2002:7). Like world music, with its associations of hybridity, exchange or synthesis, crossover appears to be the perfect "poster genre"¹¹ to represent the themes of exchange inherent in globalisation. Looking at crossover in this light, the artist examples for this thesis are involved with the process of globalisation by making music that draws together different world cultures and connects them across global boundaries, facilitated by technology and travel. Each artist, however, also forms highly individual responses to the processes of globalisation and to the question of their "self-conscious commitment to the global." We now turn to these responses, at the same time considering the broader question of whether the use or the desire to use popular music and extramusical elements homogenises Western art music elements in the crossovers of the four artists. On occasion in this discussion artists are paired for closer comparison in order to provide greater depth to the analyses.

FourPlay

Beginning in the extremely local setting of a one-off gig for a friend's birthday party, FourPlay have long been involved in creating a strong local profile for themselves. They are known to their local audience as a Sydney/Australian band that embrace the Australian multicultural ethic and, as previously discussed, are available to fans on a local and personal level. This is, however, in line with the activity undertaken by most independent Australian bands, who work first to build a local following before expanding into other Australian states and (sometimes) other countries. Other than these "localising" activities FourPlay do not strongly reinforce their local Sydney/Australian identity in presenting themselves globally, other than to state the fact of their Sydney/Australian origins on their website and in biographies.

The group are successful in making what Lewellen labels "local adaptations" to different global influences or "translating" the global and making it part of their identity. In this case, FourPlay draw on the global work of international acts such as the Kronos and Balanescu quartets and popular music artists such as Metallica and Jeff Buckley. FourPlay have also engaged with the processes of globalisation that encourage the flow of their music to other countries through travel and technology. From an early point in their career, the group planned for international expansion and undertook this through international touring (e.g.

¹¹ Or, perfect "poster *constructed* genre."

Europe, Singapore) (FourPlay 2002a) and representation, a task perhaps made easier because of their “global” crossover music, containing elements familiar enough to make festival and venue booking agents feel sufficiently comfortable to book them¹² and elements different enough to excite and interest at the same time, such as standing to perform string quartet performances of well-known popular pieces. FourPlay also show a commitment to the global distribution of their music by maintaining a carefully managed website (FourPlay 2007a). This website includes an online store that allows the group to sell their music both physically and digitally all over the world (FourPlay 2007k). Despite the global application of their music, however, FourPlay are not making the kind of placeless “global music” that Leyshon et al identifies. It is argued that FourPlay’s interest in making music that is personally important and interesting to the members of the group, even at the risk of making their music inaccessible to a wider range of audience, precludes the group from falling under Leyshon et al’s “global music” label.

Turning to reflect on the question of whether the popular music elements in FourPlay’s crossovers homogenise the Western art music elements one needs to recall which Western art music elements are used by FourPlay, as outlined in Chapter One. The most obvious elements are instrumentation and training, and it is clear that FourPlay make individualised use of these elements. FourPlay’s instrumentation is that of violin, two violas, cello and vocals. As well as perhaps marking the group as contemporary within Western art music, this change from traditional string quartet instrumentation could be said to facilitate the incorporation of popular musical elements and repertoire, the extra viola providing additional bass texture and the vocals providing an obvious link between the popular music conventions of lead and back-up singers. These changes, however, *facilitate* FourPlay’s use of popular music elements but clearly neither *homogenise* FourPlay’s musical output¹³ nor homogenise the Western art music or popular music elements that FourPlay use. The other Western art music element is training. The addition of training by individual members in a wide variety of styles and genres has ensured individualised, rather than homogenised, musical outputs by the group.

The argument of individualisation over homogenisation in the work of FourPlay is maintained in the answer to the question of whether FourPlay’s crossovers represent a “self-conscious commitment to the global.” At one level the answer is a resounding “no.” As we have seen throughout this thesis, FourPlay prides itself on performing the music that it wants to perform

¹² For example their Eastern European influences and Western art music string instrumentation.

¹³ Although there are other string quartets in Australia undertaking similar activities to that of FourPlay (e.g. The Zephyr Quartet), it is ludicrous to suggest that the musical output and performance of these groups have been homogenised. There are simply too many practical, let alone musical, differences between the groups.

without giving pre-thought to the marketability or other connotations of that music. In fact, Peter Hollo explains that the very essence of the group is the fact that it makes room for the musical choices of individual members, and in a direct answer to the question “does FourPlay have a ‘self-conscious commitment to the global’,” Peter Hollo says:

To be honest, as I tend to say when asked questions about our reasons for doing this or that, there's no self-conscious commitment to anything, no manifestos...We just want to make music...we like, using the instruments we play, and don't see any reason why not. I realise that's a bit disingenuous, because obviously we have a commitment to making all our music out of just our string instruments and effects pedals, plus voices. I guess this is just something we do because it makes a sort of sense - it would seem to “defeat the purpose” to start adding other instruments, even though there's no purpose to defeat, as such...but as far as I can tell, the answer is simply “No, I don't think so.” (pers. com. 2007)

Can it be said, however, that those individual choices are always completely free of self-conscious thoughts of the global? FourPlay’s individual members may not have a self-conscious commitment to *market* their music to a global audience, but perhaps they could have a self-conscious desire to connect to the global in the wider sense, simply to add their own music and interpretation to the flow of ideas and culture.

It is now appropriate to turn to Vanessa-Mae and bond, who are to be considered together in the next section in view of their similar responses to the global.

bond and Vanessa-Mae

Both bond and Vanessa-Mae (in her techno-acoustic fusion manifestation) were essentially created in the same locality, Bournemouth in the U.K. This is where the offices of Mel Bush were situated when he put both acts on the path of their crossover careers. Building a strong local profile was never particularly important to either bond or Vanessa-Mae as Bush and their other management teams had always envisioned them as, and worked towards making them, global phenomena. Both bond and Vanessa-Mae have composers who write works for them or collaborate on the pieces that the individual members of the group themselves write. This ensures that the music created by Vanessa-Mae and bond can easily be made to fit in with whatever the aims of their management and marketing teams are. This chapter contends that “cultural globalisation” is one of those aims. Both bond and Vanessa-Mae can be seen as making examples of the “placeless” music that Leyshon et al discuss, with “[a]udiences and markets...constituted for cultural production on global scale. A ‘global music’...which sells across national and international cultural boundaries...” (Leyshon et al 1995:428). Indeed,

there are similarities between the prominent characteristics of the music of bond and Vanessa-Mae,¹⁴ both featuring grooves influenced by the 20th century electronic club dance genre layered with string quartet arrangements in the case of bond, or solo string melodies in the case of Vanessa-Mae. The music can be described as light and inoffensive and makes use of 20th century club dance genre devices that were originally derived from the disco genre, such as “...regular bass drum accents on every beat, frequent use of orchestral instruments and synthesizers...” (Brackett 2007).¹⁵ The two acts have also both had work written and produced for them by Mike Batt, who readily discusses how he was involved in plans for the global dominance of these artists. For example, Batt describes how at his first meeting with Vanessa-Mae he mentioned that he:

...had been about to start composing a violin concerto. Pamela [Nicholson] ...and the others said that this wasn't really what they had in mind. They wanted full-on pop success. Mel [Bush] was very much a supporter of, shall we say, my “commercial abilities” in the area of being able to make a great pop record...I even ordered a sample disc of African and other ethnic sounds from which I took some chanting Africans to use in [J.S. Bach's] Toccata and Fugue [in D minor]! (Batt [2007a])

These descriptions perhaps suggest that the Western art music elements of string quartet arrangements and solo melodies used by these two groups, are homogenised by their contact with popular music and by the desire to create music that appeals to popular music audiences. There is certainly a sense of uniformity in the sound of bond and Vanessa-Mae pieces, the similarities in their use of layering and in the type of dance music that they layer against.¹⁶ As seen in arguments above, however, audience reception of musics must also be considered in any discussion of homogenisation. Such examination of these two artists underpins the following.

bond and Vanessa-Mae work towards “cultural globalisation” in their promotional activities. bond’s half Australian, quarter Welsh and quarter Asian-British membership has been emphasised in different globalisation exercises as deemed necessary (e.g. the naming of bond as an “Australian” quartet in Middap’s newspaper article “Australians’ Quartet Just Too Popular” (2000)), as has Vanessa-Mae’s “cosmopolitan” upbringing, background and

¹⁴ Specifically, the music of Vanessa-Mae’s crossover recordings, which include *The Violin Player* (1995), *The Alternative Classical Record* (1996), *Storm* (1997), *Subject to Change* (2001), *The Best of Vanessa-Mae* (2002), *The Ultimate Vanessa-Mae* (2003), *Choreography* (2004), *Vanessa-Mae* (2006) and *Vanessa-Mae: The Platinum Collection* (2007).

¹⁵ The *Grove Encyclopaedia Online* definition of 20th century club dance music describes dance music’s beginnings in the genre of disco (Peel 2007). The characteristics of disco can be found in the work of Vanessa-Mae and bond today.

¹⁶ This is of course exacerbated when the two acts have used the same composer/producer, e.g. Mike Batt.

commitment to the adaptation of “local and regional” elements in her shows. These and a theory on the “broad international appeal” of Vanessa-Mae’s instrumental music “...because people who don’t know English (or whatever language the vocals are in) don’t miss anything...” were suggested by Vpa in Chapter Six (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). bond and Vanessa-Mae¹⁷ are examples of acts for whom During’s “...self-conscious commitment to the global” has provided “...an impetus and marketing platform...” for their crossover activities, their commercial cultural production aimed simultaneously at several large national markets.

Within Vanessa-Mae and bond’s cultural globalisation attempts through crossover music, however, there exists the faint sense of “corniness” that comes with such “placeless global” music. Called such things as “naff crossover” (Moss 2001), this music is adept at breaking across global barriers because of its easy listening quality, but as During in his quote on “cultural globalisation” goes on to say, “...new cross-culturally hybridized genres...are not genuinely popular in many, if any, local markets” (During 1997:810). While Japan might embrace bond with a fervour that encourages the group to go back to the country often, the group’s home markets of England and Australia appear to need massive hyping in the local media to raise even a polite interest, as opposed to the ‘genuine’ fan support that many acts in the popular music genre are afforded. Adorno touches on the topic in discussing why musics with large marketing and promotion budgets enjoy an initial upsurge of interest and support from fans, only to die out as the budget is spent:

...likes that have been enforced upon listeners provoke revenge the moment the pressure is relaxed. [Listeners] compensate for their “guilt” in having condoned the worthless by making fun of it... (Adorno 2002:463)

Vanessa-Mae and bond do, however, also have legions of very active and passionate fans, and the highly individualised ways in which those fans respond to these artists and their music (as we have seen in previous chapters), mean that although similarities can be found in the globalising activities of Vanessa-Mae and bond, their music cannot truly be said to be homogenised. These two groups, their crossovers and their globalising activities add to the argument that globalisation should not be automatically equated with homogenisation.

¹⁷ bond and Vanessa-Mae’s management and marketing teams are particularly part of this example.

Kennedy and Vanessa-Mae

Unlike Vanessa-Mae, bond and FourPlay, Kennedy presents a stronger local profile to global audiences, this identity tied to his birthplace of Sussex and his love of the local football team, Aston Villa. Such is the obvious importance of this profile to Kennedy's marketing that it has even been questioned by media. For example, as described in Chapter Two it was once suggested that Kennedy had manufactured his accent and by extension a working class upbringing, to endear himself to fans (Kennedy 1991:60). Even though Kennedy has resided in Poland since 2003 his initial local profile is still a very important part of his marketing brand, and his oft-quoted love of local football team Aston Villa shows the violinist's interpretation of his local identity for the global context. Kennedy's globally known local identity is an important factor in his fame as a performer of standard Western art music, a music that has very strong historical identity that traditionally values composers above performers, although this is changing. In order to gain fame as a performer of Western art music, one must present an extremely strong profile and develop an identity with which audiences become familiar.

Kennedy, like Vanessa-Mae, has been involved in crossover projects in his career,¹⁸ but these are outnumbered by his work as a standard Western art music performer. Although Kennedy's management put effort into marketing Kennedy to as wide an audience as possible, his choice of performance genre (when he performs Western art music) cannot be expected to readily absorb or participate in the "flow of culture" necessary for cultural globalisation. Even his crossover elements of image and marketing are taken from the Western popular music sphere, therefore not representing a "global" exchange.

Kennedy does, however, interact with globalisation in making "local and regional...resistance against these flows," describing an incident involving his American booking agent who commented to Kennedy's manager that:

...Nigel did an encore the night I heard him, and two encores the following evening. With major orchestras in the United States, this is a practice that is severely frowned upon. While the audience enjoyed it, the administration did not take kindly to it. I think this is something you should discuss with Nigel especially with New York coming soon. It will be a huge mistake in New York. (American booking agent in Kennedy 1991:102)

¹⁸ Specifically speaking here of the Kafka recording and the Jimi Hendrix work – not speaking now of his "image" or "marketing" crossover exploits such as clothes, love of football etc.

In his autobiography Kennedy uses this incident to further reinforce the high/low debate, but also connects this specific experience to his own perception of a global issue for Western art music, retorting:

I was thoroughly mistaken – I should not have been directing my skills towards a lowly audience...Is it any wonder classical music has been kept in the dark ages? ...this obstinate elitism within its fraternity...Maybe I am a punk...if not being ready to simply toe the establishment line qualifies me, then maybe so...hope we continue to stretch the barrier until it snaps. (Kennedy 1991:102)

Another example of Kennedy's engagement with Lewellen's definition of "globalisation" can perhaps be found in the violinist's crossover release, *Kafka* (1996). While, however, one could suggest Kennedy is making a "self-conscious commitment to the global" by combining "typically British classical refinement and lyricism one minute, to winsome, sentimental Gypsy jazz, *a la Msr* [sic]. Grappeli the next, to reedy microtonally-inflected mid-Eastern wailing, and on to explosive full-metal jacket" (Baumel 2000), Kennedy's comments on the intention behind his musical choices imply otherwise. Kennedy constantly reiterates the importance he places on "...simply choosing the composer or music that you love..." (Kennedy 1991:13). This is reminiscent of FourPlay, who explain that in simply playing the music that they want to play, they make no self-conscious commitments to anything, including the global. The fact that it has not been possible to find examples of Kennedy commenting on a commitment to anything other than playing the music he wants to play perhaps suggests that Kennedy did not make the hybrid music featured on *Kafka* out of During's "self-conscious commitment to the global" (During 1997:810).

Kennedy's interest in performing and recording a variety of genres and styles also helps to answer questions about his use, or desire to use, popular music elements and whether this has a homogenising effect on the Western art music elements that he uses. As noted above, Kennedy mainly performs and records Western art music but uses popular music devices in promoting and marketing his work. Such promotion might engage him with the world of popular music, but his musical output is still based in the Western art music culture. Perhaps one could argue that using popular music marketing would require Kennedy to perform a homogenised set of "popular" Western art music works, but since his initial success with "popular" works, such as *Vivaldi - The Four Seasons* (1989), Kennedy has developed other projects and continues to diversify, performing the work of a range of composers (e.g. Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Bach, Vaughan-Williams) with a range of groups and ensembles such

as Polish folk group Kroke, The Kennedy Experience octet, orchestras or instrumental ensembles (*Another String* [2007b]).

Although hybrid genres like world music and crossover are interesting cases in the debate on homogenisation of music through globalisation, the crossovers that we have examined do not play a particularly significant role in the debate. The debate on homogenisation is largely concerned with popular music. In this chapter the desire to engage with popular music or popular music itself has not been seen to conclusively homogenise any of the Western art music or other cultural elements, musical or extra-musical, that it combines with in crossover projects. With respect to crossover, popular music appears to play its typical role in the debate on homogenisation, and continues to have the potential to create homogenisation and/or fragmentation depending on differing global situations.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the construction of crossover in two musical debates. In the first of these we saw that crossover's role in the debate on the death of classical music, and perhaps even the debate itself, is diffused when commentators refuse to recognise the marketing categories and rhetoric that reinforce various constructions of crossover. In the second debate we saw that the idea that "all music sounds the same" is not only an outmoded idea when one considers individualised responses to making and hearing music, but also that Western art music in crossover projects cannot be clearly seen as homogenised by the popular music with which it comes into contact. From both discussions emerges the idea that "... 'popular common-sense' definitions, and criticisms..." (Middleton 1983:235) and marketing rhetoric, provokes and perpetuates extreme views on what crossover "does" to the musical contact between its projects and other genres. Moreover, it suggests that often, when such "popular common-sense" and marketing rhetoric is stripped away, the musicians who are making exchanges in their music are largely unconcerned with such provocative views, simply making the music they want to hear.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

This study provides a snapshot of the crossover between Western art music string instruments and popular musics in an important developmental ten-year period from 1995 to 2005. From a broader perspective, this research takes the term “crossover” and examines its complexity, drawing out notions and behaviours that surround and impact upon Western art music, popular musics and musical exchange. In early research for this study it became clear that although the term “crossover” was commonly used in the commercial realm and had many historical cases, little had been written about it by music scholars. Early research also showed that the term’s application had greater complexity across musical genres. These factors suggested the need for a broader examination of the term’s cultural and social uses.

The study began by establishing the larger context of crossover and highlighted the difficulties in defining the crossover between Western art music and popular music. It was clear that, while this particular crossover is not a *new* phenomenon, the term is constructed and used in new ways to further various agendas. Nine particular constructions of the term were identified and then examined for their occurrence in the promotion and critical reception of four artists. These artists, U.K./Australian string group bond, Australian string group FourPlay String Quartet, U.K. violinist Vanessa-Mae and U.K. violinist Nigel Kennedy, were selected as representative of a range of approaches to the phenomenon of crossover music. From the examination of these artists and other relevant examples, the following conclusions may be drawn.

Crossover’s construction as a marketing category represents a new usage for the term. Its initial use by music industry and marketing workers captured the transition on popularity and sales charts of a musical act or artist from a niche genre to a mainstream genre. By 2005, specifically with respect to the four artist examples, we see, however, that crossover is no longer simply part of a process of transition; it is now constructed as a marketing category in its own right. A feature of such construction is that marketers still make use of a lingering resistance to exchange, on the one hand using and “playing up” the tension between high and low culture while on the other hand sanctioning it through the creation of crossover charts and retail opportunities. Despite such marketing games, however, the creation of such categories gives artists who make music that involves exchange, the option to take part in a “standard” marketing category. In doing so, it makes an artist’s music visible to the buying public by acknowledging their fusion activities. A broader implication is that artists and promotional teams can now purposefully construct their image and their projects from the outset for inclusion in the crossover marketing category, rather than starting out as a musician in an

established genre and at some point (whether intended or not) “crossing over” to a mainstream genre. At a more practical level this suggests the opportunity for music educators and students to embrace further popular music (including popular music industry) studies as part of music curricula and to explore musics that involve exchange with career opportunities in mind.

Beyond this is the idea that although the construction of crossover as a marketing category provides a standard classification for artists who work with musical exchange, inclusion in the category does not necessarily homogenise all the types of exchange it represents. In fact, when linked with diversity, crossover can be used as a way to signal the individuality of an artist. Moreover, artists who make use of this “standard” category are able to make use of it differently in various situations. For example, they can use it to define themselves as insiders to a “standard” crossover marketing category, as seen in Chapter Two, while simultaneously using it to define themselves as outsiders by defining themselves and the larger crossover marketing category as existing outside all music category boundaries, as found in Chapter Three. Such artists gain many advantages from their ability to involve the same musical work in different relationships with music industry categorisation systems. One wonders, however, if the construction of crossover as a marketing category develops further, whether it will erode the connotation of individuality, of “existing outside all boundaries.” If crossover continues to be constructed as the “standard” marketing category for music that involves exchange, will artists still be able to claim their crossovers as particularly significant?

Music industry categorisation systems and its participants thus use the term “crossover” to signal layers of associated meaning. Crossover is also used by the media for this purpose, namely, to provide shortcuts and signposts to quickly circulate specific philosophical or culturally embedded messages about artists and projects that involve exchange. This study has provided examples of artists expressing their discomfort at the loss of complexity that such reductionist media shortcuts and signposts can entail. The study has, however, also shown that even artists who express such reluctance occasionally feel the need to engage with media shortcuts and signposts as an efficient way to promote themselves.

The constructions of crossover as shortcuts and signposts and as a marketing category both represent larger frameworks. These frameworks convey a myriad of meanings, associations and connotations attached to the term “crossover.” As discussed above, one connotation holds that crossover can signal individuality for certain artists. Two further layers of meaning, labelled “establishment upset” and “image over skill,” are described as media signposts. Such

media signposts are designed to efficiently disseminate themes. The first theme, namely, “establishment upset,” posits a conflict between the creators and audiences of Western art music and those of popular musics. The second theme, namely, “image over skill,” suggests that crossover artists are more interested in developing their image than their musical skill. This study shows that both themes are commonly used in media representations of crossover and have varying degrees of value for the artists who are thus portrayed. Indeed, it is shown that such simplistic themes can sometimes impose a barrier to the deeper understanding of artists and their projects. It suggests that the reinforcement of simplistic messages with regards to crossover will always lead to the reinforcement of certain aspects of the high/low debate, including the portrayal of Western art musicians as elitist snobs looking down on popular musics from ivory towers. This theme continues to pervade popular media despite the many examples, several of which have been highlighted in this study, of Western art musicians who simply do not care about divisions between musics. As time passes, will crossover’s continued construction as a marketing category reveal a host of Western art musicians who enjoy popular musics? It seems more likely that simplified messages about the offence that crossovers cause Western music “elitists,” whether imagined or otherwise, will continue to become embedded in the rhetoric surrounding the term “crossover.”

Two more associations examined were prestige and credibility. This study argues that through crossover, some artists and promotional teams hope to gain the prestige that is commonly associated with Western art music or the credibility commonly associated with popular musics. The thesis further argues that although it may be tempting for artists and management to strive for associations of prestige, the association of credibility is more important in countering the manufactured feel from which many crossovers suffer. Placing this argument in a broader context, one could ask whether the associations of prestige with Western art music and credibility with popular musics will continue to be significant as the crossover marketing category grows? Perhaps those elements of Western art and popular musics that are involved in crossovers will lose their associations of prestige and credibility as they become known for common inclusion in the constructed genre of crossover.

The importance of associations and the occasional need to counter their effects relate to the final two themes in this study, namely, the constructions of crossover to make music accessible and to confront. It was found that artists and management teams consciously and unconsciously made use of these constructions. It was also found that, although they might seem very different, a combination of these themes was often used in representing crossover artists. Once again, in imagining the future of crossover, one may suggest that the association

of confrontation would be lost, should crossover become a commonly known and accepted musical style. Another side-effect might be that crossover would develop its own tradition, its own exponents and standards, perhaps one day also casting aside broader associations of making Western art or popular musics relevant to new audiences in favour of becoming a more specialised genre. At the time of writing in August 2007 such things do not seem likely and simply represent speculation. The term “crossover” and its definition continue to foreground exchange and combination. While exchange and combination constitute the fundamental characteristics of the term, those interested in or creating crossover will continue to suggest reasons for their importance, such as increasing accessibility or confrontation, at least for the foreseeable future.

With these attendant associations and themes in mind, the final chapter of this study took a step back and looked at crossover as part of two broader musical debates, one on the “death of classical music” and one on the “homogenisation of popular musics and the musics with which they come into contact.” Crossover plays a provocative role in these two debates, acting as fuel for various notions of what “pure” musical genres might constitute and reinforcing the importance of boundaries between musical categories when marketing music. Such musical categories and their boundaries are at the heart of this research. An examination of crossover is interesting in its own right, simply because such study has rarely been undertaken. It is also useful, however, for shedding light on the way that music is sectioned and categorised by the participants who engage with the term, in ways that both advantage and disadvantage various parties.

Although new insights into crossover have been uncovered here, further research into the term needs to be undertaken. While this study has examined the broader usage, for the most part available in media and commercial discourses, there is an obvious need for the creation of an expanded scholarly discourse on the term “crossover.” Such a discourse could further illuminate the general use of the term, while shedding light on the specific crossover that encompasses Western art and popular musics. Indeed, there is much still to be examined in that particular crossover, especially beyond 1995-2005. This study has examined the combination of Western art music *string instruments* and popular musics, but in recent years there has been increasing numbers of examples of crossovers between the Western art and popular music genres, particularly in the combination of Western art vocal musics and

popular musics.¹ Another related area for development is one raised briefly in Chapter Two, namely, the increasing number of artists who source repertoire strictly from the Western art music genre, but make use of popular music marketing devices (e.g. photography and image).

Research in this area could also make use of theoretical models from related disciplines to bring new perspectives on crossover beyond the broad social, cultural and ideological perspectives examined in this study. These might include a detailed musicological analysis of common musical characteristics of crossovers; analyses from the marketing and cultural studies disciplines to further illuminate the tensions between creative and commercial uses of the term crossover or analyses from ethnomusicology to examine issues of transculturation and globalisation with regard to crossovers.

A final and important opportunity for further research that arises from this study is highlighted in Chapter Two, with the questions “what is actually meant by a “‘real’ genre” and “how is such a genre defined and distinct from ‘constructed’ genres or marketing categories”? Are intrinsically experienced “real” genres simply an illusion? Are there any truly chthonic genres? In the same way that marketing categories are constructed in order to help consumers easily access different musics from the myriad available, are *all* musical genres subject to some construction that defines them in opposition to other genres and helps them stand out in some way, even if not for the reason of making them more accessible to consumers? Further research could examine these questions and investigate the layers found in musical category labels, for example, the idea that the one musical label can be attached to several different types of music in several different ways.

Stepping back, we can reflect on how this study has approached and explored the term “crossover” and the particular intersection of Western art music and popular musics in the period 1995 to 2005. Even in this ten-year period, definitions of the term “crossover” have been in non-evolutionary flux, truly, “subject to change.” This research has identified layers of meaning evoked by the term as well as their changing and shifting natures. These varying layers of meaning, have, in turn, illuminated the deeper social and cultural implications of “crossing-over,” ones which no doubt themselves will continue to be subject to change.

¹ The Billboard “Top Classical Crossover Albums Chart” issued for 11th August, 2007, included releases by several vocal artists including Josh Groban, Andrea Bocelli, Il Divo, Juanita Bynum and Jonathan Butler (*Billboard.com* 2007b).

Appendix A

Historical cases of musical exchange and crossover

As discussed in Chapter One, the definition of various musical exchanges as examples of “crossover” is a difficult task marked by ambiguity and much of this task lies beyond the scope of this study. The following examination of historical cases of musical exchange and crossover therefore covers selected examples of musical combinations and of the scholarly work that examines them in order to establish principles of the ways music has been shared and exchanged. It groups examples into the themes of wide appeal, adoption of popular musical elements, scholarship on Western art music and its relationships with “Others” and mass production and marketing.

Wide appeal

As established in Chapter One, “crossover” is often discussed in terms of its appeal to a wide range of audiences. Cases of such appeal can be found as early as the 11th century. For example, the folk or traditional “ballad” has long been suggested as an influence on popular song (from early forms to those of today) (Porter 2007) and it was also appreciated by the aristocracy of the time, Bertrand Bronson quoting Sir Thomas Browne as saying: “...even that vulgar and Taverne Musicke, which makes one man merry, and another mad, strikes in mee a deepe fit of devotion...” (Bronson 1976:xxxiv).

Further examples of the varied appeal of musics can be found from the 13th to 15th centuries when the “English carol” was a courtly or popular dance-song favoured by the aristocracy, by the religious and by the lower classes (Stevens 2007). Analyses of the lyrical material in these songs have revealed many different topics (e.g. instructions for dance steps and sung accompaniments [in courtly dance songs] and texts of stories [in non-courtly popular carols]). Moreover, Richard Greene explains that the main difficulty in defining the term “carol” comes from its possible application to “...lyrics differing widely in date, form, and spirit” (Greene 1935:xiii). It is the “spirit” of the lyrics that is interesting with respect to crossover. Moreover, whilst discussing several different definitions of the carol, Greene notes:

...Pulver states that [“carol”] has meant variously a song with text connected with the Nativity, a part of a miracle play, a jovial drinking song, and a dance like the German Reigen or the French branle. (Greene 1935:xiv)

In his examination of how an individual carol can at once be religious, secular and popular, Greene (1935) discusses a distinction between art that is “...‘popular by origin’...” and art that is “...‘popular by destination’” (Greene 1935:cx). Believing the carol to be an example of art that is “popular by destination,” he writes that:

The popular quality of such material is not dependent upon the circumstances of its composition; whether of unknown date and authorship, or preserved in the author's signed and dated holograph, it is popular if its appeal is to such an audience...this universality of appeal...reflects the traditional relaxation of social distinctions... (Greene 1935:cx)

Greene's discussion of the "universality of appeal" as a signal of the "relaxation of social distinctions" is an important early case of the discussion of the high/low debate that is featured throughout this thesis. This theme of overcoming social distinctions is carried through to the 16th century, which, according to Imogen Holst, was characterised by an adventurous spirit that affected composers, artists and poets alike (Holst 1972:59). Holst, along with Louis B. Wright, discusses the work of Shakespeare (1564-1616) and his "everyman" appeal:

Of all the writers in the world, William Shakespeare has had the most universal recognition and acceptance...had extraordinary insight that enabled him to recreate for the stage characters that seemed to live and breathe as actual human beings recognisable by the audience... (Wright 1964:229-233)

The work of Shakespeare is not misplaced in a passage about the music of the 16th century as music is an integral part of Shakespeare's work and his easy appropriation of many different styles of music can be considered a historical case of crossover. Although the quotes in this passage describe musical activities and attitudes of the Elizabethan period, they could just as easily be describing some of the activities and attitudes of those artists creating today's crossover. As discussed in this study, Tim Hollo of FourPlay comments that to some, "[music is] all about communicating..." (pers. com. 2002) and many elements can be included in the musical mix in order to achieve the desired artistic outcome. Such musical variety and compositional freedom is also discussed as a feature of Shakespeare's use of music. R.D. Welch suggests that:

...every instance of Shakespeare's use of musical allusion...is squarely rooted in the popular musical practices of his time. He takes here, as with other subjects, what the current, popular practice and superstition of his age provided him...But of music professionalism there is not a trace. (Welch 1922:511)¹

¹ Music professionalism in the time of Shakespeare is also discussed by Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, who, after hearing Percy A. Scholes' paper on "The Purpose Behind Shakespeare's Use of Music" commented that:

Shakespeare... [was] ...the embodiment of the extraordinary attitude of the people of that time towards music. It was one of the most musical times that this blessed country has ever enjoyed...Everybody was expected to do something in music. It was not a professional time. They were all expected to be able to read at sight and sing madrigals; they were all playing the viol, the oboe, or the harpsichord...And the fact that people then lived so much with music made it possible for him to use music and musical references with tremendous enhancement of what he had to express in his plays. (Sir C. Hubert H. Parry in Scholes 1916:11)

Shakespeare's easy use of music without a thought to the restrictions of convention is also attributed to Elizabethan composer William Byrd (1543-1623). Holst (1972) describes Byrd as another proponent of the Elizabethan interest in cultural referencing and for combining the old with the new:

...in their music they could write an *In Nomine* on a solemn medieval chant while feeling free to combine its slow notes with their latest devices in agile cross-rhythms. They were true explorers, but they were not tempted to try and revolutionise the music of their time. (Holst 1972:61)²

Byrd can also be seen as an ancestor of today's crossover artists in his lack of interest in musicological criticism, instead busying himself with commercial pursuits:

Byrd and the other 'rare artists' were never troubled by any thoughts of writing for posterity: they were far too busy writing pavans and madrigals and fantasias for the amateur dancers and singers and players who were actually asking for their music. Nor were they troubled by trying to please the critics...protesting against... 'petty people who examine every work minutely, solely to pick as many flaws as possible.' (Holst 1972:62)

Whilst Byrd and his contemporaries were known for drawing on a multiplicity of influences, 17th century English composer Henry Purcell (1659-1695) was known for a multiplicity of appeal in that his music appealed to many different types of audiences. Purcell's biographer Denis Arundell writes that "Purcell left no branch of music untouched" (Arundell 1927:111). The composer impressed a variety of audiences, including dramatic audiences (with his operas and theatre pieces), church congregations (with his anthems and services), court audiences, musicians, society enthusiasts and "...the innumerable drinkers of London" (with his rounds and catches) (Arundell 1927:111).

Rounds, catches and ballads were indeed very popular in the 17th century, particularly those with a bawdy turn of lyric. This popularity was not only found amongst the "innumerable drinkers of London." Although catches were a song style mostly practiced in taverns, "The ballad...was known in a wider variety of social settings...[and] the genre became so popular at all levels of literate society that, by the end of the 17th century, ballads were collected by connoisseurs of popular culture and published in anthologies" (Ballard 1992:1).

The appreciation of ballads continued in the 18th century and a new dramatic form known as "Ballad Opera" "...took London by storm during several years when the fashion demanded that old plays be revamped and new ones adorned with popular...tunes" (Gagey 1968:3).³

² Perhaps, however, these writers *did* want to revolutionise their time but didn't succeed. Holst (1972) writes with the benefit of hindsight.

³ Perhaps the most well-known example of Ballad Opera is that of *The Beggar's Opera*, written by John Gay (Kidson 1922, Gagey 1968).

Ballad Opera can be seen as yet another case of the kind of crossover that is achieved by a variety of appeal, appearing in London playhouses, at fairs, with strolling companies and in provincial theatres. “Its tunes...found equal favour in the kitchen and in the ladies’ drawing room” (Gagey 1968:3). Ballad Opera used popular tunes to capitalise on the effect (“pleasure...surprise”) created when new lyrics were set to familiar music. Gagey also suggests that “...it might...allow opportunity for parody” (Gagey 1968:5). This feature of Ballad Opera has similarities with the construction of crossover described in Chapter Five,⁴ that of combining the elements of various musical genres and cultures and making use⁵ of the connotations associated with those genres and cultures.⁶

Adoption of popular elements

The theme of the adoption of popular elements, examined here, has similarities to the theme of wide appeal. It is less clear, however, that the examples below had the wide appeal of the examples above and so they are discussed in this separate section. An example of the theme of the adoption of popular elements can be found in Bach’s 18th century Coffee⁷ and Peasant Cantatas.⁸ The Coffee Cantata, for example, was written to be performed by a group of Bach’s students⁹ in a coffee-house, involving at least one historical case of the crossover between Western art music and popular performance venue, and perhaps another crossover of “high” and “low” inspiration. “High” and “low” cultures are also brought together in the Peasant Cantata,¹⁰ where:

...Bach depicts bourgeois, rustic and aristocratic manners in a masterly fashion; not, for instance, his use of the famous seventeenth-century melody *La Follia* as a sarabande suited to portray the noble qualities of von Dieskau...At the other end of the social scale is [a] robust mazurka characterizing the everyday values of the country-folk. (Anderson 1986:8)

⁴ This chapter is titled “Evoking associations: crossover, prestige and credibility.”

⁵ Such use is made inadvertently or intentionally.

⁶ A further and perhaps more frivolous link between Ballad Opera and precedents for crossover is the idea that lower class female actors performing in Ballad Operas might get the opportunity to ‘cross over’ into a higher class by impressing Lords and Dukes with their performances, and through this, receiving proposals of marriage (Kidson 1922, Gagey 1968). One particular example of this is the story of Lavinia Fenton “...taken off the stage by the Duke of Bolton...her faithful admirer...She bore him two children and after the death of the Duke’s wife in 1751 became the Duchess of Bolton...No fewer than five [actors] married into the nobility” (Gagey 1968:37-38).

⁷ This was “...composed sometime between 1732 and 1734” (Anderson 1986:5).

⁸ This work was first performed in 1742 (Anderson 1986:6).

⁹ Bach directed a *Collegia Musica* founded by Telemann during the early eighteenth century and it was students from this *Collegium* that performed the Coffee Cantata (Anderson 1986:5).

¹⁰ The Peasant Cantata “...was written and performed in 1742 as an act of homage to Carl Heinrich von Dieskau on his becoming “Lord of the Manor.” The libretto, supplied by Picander, deals with the rejoicing of the villagers and their congratulations and good wishes to the new laird and his wife. Many folk-melodies are introduced, and most of the numbers are based on merry country dance-tunes” (Diack in Bach 1923:3).

A 19th century example of the adoption of popular musical elements alongside Western art musical elements is “symphonic jazz,” a term coined in 1918 “...partly in connection with attempts...to fuse jazz with classical forms” (Harrison 2007). Symphonic jazz is an excellent example of the combination of high/low cultures that is of interest for this thesis. In 1914, Ferde Grofé, a pianist who had “...received a thorough education in classical music...” (Collier 2007a), alongside a practical popular music education, performing in “...dance halls, theatres and brothels...” (Collier 2007a) began performing with a drummer and dance band leader, Art Hickman. In writing music for Hickman’s band,¹¹ Grofé experimented with different ways of writing dance music. Up until that time jazz ensembles did not have musical scores written specifically for them, simply playing the melody of a popular song over and over “...with little variation...” to provide music for dancing (Collier 2007a). Grofé realised that:

...a band using written arrangements incorporating devices drawn from symphonic music, such as counterpoint and harmonized choirs of instruments, could play a more interesting kind of dance music. (Collier 2007a)

Performing Grofé’s arrangements, Hickman’s dance band was well-received and by about 1918 Grofé was “poached” as an arranger and pianist for the dance orchestra of Paul Whiteman, “...another musician with a classical training and an interest in jazz...[who had]...never [learnt] to play jazz himself, but...had a discerning ear. More importantly, he had a talent for self-promotion” (Collier 2007a). Whiteman’s marketing skills gained his orchestra high-exposure performance opportunities and a lucrative recording contract with the record company Victor. One of the recordings made under this contract, *Three o’Clock in the Morning* (Robledo 1922), sold three and a half million copies. Following this success:

Whiteman named his new music “symphonic jazz” and proclaimed himself “King of Jazz.” He became one of the most influential figures in 20th-century popular music, and, inevitably, other bandleaders around the world began to imitate him; by about 1923 the word jazz, in the popular mind, meant the symphonic jazz of Whiteman and his followers. (Collier 2007a)

Symphonic jazz however, like many “crossover” projects, was not without its critics. Burnett James, a biographer of French composer Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), writes of Ravel’s interest in symphonic jazz¹² and goes on to describe a widespread distaste for this type of music, describing it as:

¹¹ It is *thought* that Grofé wrote for Hickman’s dance band but this is not verified (Collier 2007a).

¹² Composer George Gershwin was also known as an exponent of symphonic jazz and Ravel was said to be interested in Gershwin’s musical ideas (James 1983:101-102).

...both pretentious and simplistic...While it...predated much of the best true jazz that found its way onto records in the early 1920s and so crossed the Atlantic in a positive and influential way, it is also true that in the larger context it retarded the appreciation of superior music...Whiteman...may have done much to popularize jazz, or a diluted form of jazz, but he did little to create anything genuine or original...The trouble with 'symphonic' jazz is that it is a deliberate attempt to mix oil and water. (James 1983:101-102)

Another example of the adoption of popular musical elements may not necessarily be seen as the adoption of popular musical elements without the application of Shuker's general characteristics used to define popular music genres. Shuker identifies as particularly significant "...the role of technology, which establishes both constraints and possibilities in relation to the nature of performance, and the recording, distribution, and reception of the music..." (Shuker 1998:147). Shuker's comments on the importance of technology resonate with the work of composers of the 1940s and 1950s who began experimenting with combinations of compositional techniques and technology. Such work, however, can also, and importantly, be seen as an historical case of the inclusion of technology in popular musics and may in fact have influenced or informed Shuker's identifying characteristics of popular musics in the first place. In 1948 Pierre Schaeffer created *Musique concrète*, a compositional technique in which:

...sound materials could be taken from pre-existing recordings (including instrumental and vocal music) and recordings made specially, whether of the environment or with instruments and objects in front of a studio microphone. These source sounds might then be subjected to treatments before being combined in a structure... (Emmerson and Smalley 2007)

Musique concrète and the electro-acoustic musical culture and experimentation that followed became the precursor for electronic music as we know it today, and for the style of composition known as sampling. These compositional techniques and the ideas of those who founded them (e.g. musical collage, the separation of the abstract properties of sounds from their pre-existing meanings and narratives) have informed many of today's crossover projects (Emmerson and Smalley 2007).

Scholarship on Western art music and its relationships with "Others"

As established, this thesis focuses specifically on the combination of Western art music string instruments and popular musics. It is important to note that study of this kind of exchange is but a small part of the vast body of research that discusses Western art music and "Other" musics. Such research and its examples must be acknowledged as cases that influence this

thesis's examination of crossover. This section briefly outlines three areas of inquiry into the relationship between Western art music and "Others." It is not intended to be an exhaustive list. Rather, it aims to highlight work that particularly resonates with the subject of this thesis.

The first area is the field of scholarship on the topic of "borrowing." The device known as "borrowing" has been identified in works of medieval monophony, providing evidence for the long history of musical exchange. This device is said to continue today. "Borrowing" is discussed by Peter Burkholder (2007a) in the following:

Many musical compositions incorporate material from one or more earlier works. The procedures and significance of borrowing vary between repertoires and over time. (Burkholder 2007a)

Of particular significance to this study is the borrowing of elements from one genre (e.g. "low," exotic or popular genres) to incorporate into another (e.g. the "high" Western art music genre). This can be seen in pieces created by Mozart in the 18th century. For example, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782), which was influenced by Turkish and Janissary music, is a case of "composers expressing Turkish subjects in their music without actually copying Turkish music itself" (Pirker 2007). Such historical cases of crossover can subsequently be found in the work of composers such as Beethoven¹³ (19th century), Vaughn-Williams and Bartók (20th century) who employed (in varying degrees) quotations of folk and popular songs. Often these quotations were made in the name of nationalism:

Folksongs and other national melodies were frequently used by 19th-century composers, in accord with the Romantic interest in common folk, regional characteristics and the exotic, and with nationalist movements in culture and politics. Composers from Beethoven to Brahms, Tchaikovsky and d'Indy wrote settings for folksongs; those active at the end of the century concentrated on songs of their own nation, while Beethoven, like Haydn, specialized in British and Irish songs. Liszt wrote keyboard works on Hungarian, French, English, German, Czech, Polish, Russian and other national themes. ...Such use of folk melodies in themes lent a national or exotic flavour to the music, depending on whether one was borrowing music of one's own people or that of another. (Burkholder 2007b)

Such intertextuality was also found in the work of several Russian composers¹⁴ who also had interests in nationalism, along with interests in exoticism and historicism. One might expect

¹³ Beethoven's 6th symphony features impressionistic rendering of peasant dance forms; "... 'Allegro – Peasants' Festival' ... is said to be an intentional caricature of a band of village musicians whom Beethoven used to hear in the country; and the irregular halting rhythm in the bassoon shows how drunk or drowsy the player was..." (Grove 1896:213-215).

¹⁴ Including Alexandrov (with his Red Army Choir that performed "...true Russian folk songs") (Moisenco 1949:43) and Myaskovsky (who wrote mass songs for the Red Army Choir and dedicated to the Red Air Fleet) (Moisenco 1949:154-159).

that the growing interest in such trends might lead to a glut of similar-sounding works.

Burkholder, however, writes that:

...borrowing itself became a method for achieving individuality; by infusing folksongs or other national or exotic elements into their music, or by invoking music of past centuries through quotation or use of characteristic procedures within a modern style, composers were able to set their music apart from the contemporary mainstream and find a niche in the new marketplace for music. (Burkholder 2007b)

20th century composers continued this interest in the exotic, national and historical, using a variety of influences in their works, including Ravel, whose piece *Tzigane* (1924) features gypsy musical influences (James 1983:105), Debussy, who drew on elements of French Troubadour and Asian musics (Fulcher 2001:225) and Ketelby, who was known for his use of Persian, Egyptian and Chinese musics (Gammond 1977:1-7).¹⁵ The borrowings of these and countless other composers constitute historical cases for many of the crossover projects that this thesis examines, as does the scholarship in this area. The importance of this scholarship is discussed by Burkholder in the following extended quote:

[A] survey of borrowing in the Western musical tradition from the Middle Ages to the present shows that the use of existing pieces in new works is both more varied and more pervasive than has usually been acknowledged...Approaches to influence, borrowing, allusion and intertextuality in the parallel fields of art history and literary criticism are bringing fresh insights to the study of borrowing in music and to the relationships between the arts. The expansion of research is making it possible for the first time to see all the uses of existing music, from contrafactum, organum and cantus firmus to collage, jazz contrafacts and digital sampling, as aspects of a single field that crosses historical periods and research specializations. (Burkholder 2007c)

As Burkholder notes of borrowing, the historical context of crossover is "...both more varied and more pervasive than has usually been acknowledged." Further cases of musical exchange and its study can be found in the second area of inquiry, the examination of the terminology of exchange.

Margaret Kartomi, in her 1981 article "The processes and results of musical culture contact: A discussion of terminology and concepts," writes that as of 1981, apart from a few "...recent exceptions, Western writers on music have tended to disapprove of musics of mixed Western and non-Western descent..." (Kartomi 1981:227). Kartomi suggests that such dissatisfaction

¹⁵ Chinese music influenced many composers, so much so that the term "chinoiserie" was used to describe music that was influenced by Chinese musics, taken from the term the *Australian Oxford Dictionary* defines as: "...the imitation of Chinese motifs and techniques in painting and in decorating furniture."

stems from perceptions that such musics lacked “authenticity” and represented colonialist activities and attitudes. She continues by commenting that while “blatantly discriminatory statements” (Kartomi 1981:228) about the results of musical exchange were decreasing in 1981, it is still important to examine the terms often used to describe musical combinations, as many could “...be criticized for possessing some pejorative implications” (Kartomi 1981:229). Kartomi’s article suggests that those who write about music should be wary of terminology that implies “...negative attitudes to illicit breeding and interracial liaisons” or “...a preoccupation with the union of the disparate parent elements, thus distracting attention away from the unique musical product. Where “borrowing ends, creative musical exchange begins” (Kartomi 1981:229). She goes on to recommend less culturally-loaded terminology to describe the processes and results of musical exchanges. Kartomi’s work has influenced the examination of terminology and its use in this study of crossover.

The third area of inquiry takes up and expands Kartomi’s challenge to writers on music and thoroughly examines the relationship between Western music and other musics from a variety of perspectives, positive and negative, rather than “...dismissing them as objects unworthy of attention” (Kartomi 1981:227). An excellent example of such research is found in the book *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music* (2000), edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh. “Focused primarily on the twentieth century, it examines the ways in which art musics have drawn upon, or repudiated, popular, non-Western and, ethnic musics” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:2). This collection demonstrates how various disciplines approach the examination of difference and exchange, and Born and Hesmondhalgh write that “...together [music disciplines] ...offer a comparative sense of analytical possibilities” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:3). The scholarship of these disciplines suggest a variety of “route[s] into” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:12) *Western Music and its Others* that can also be seen as cases of the study of musical exchange. The first of these is postcolonial analysis, used to examine “...connections between culture, race and empire...” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:3). “A second route into this book stems from consideration of musical modernism and postmodernism, and their contrasting relations with other musics” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:12). A warning that is particularly pertinent to this study of crossover concludes the discussion of postmodern considerations:

It is in the postmodern “resolution” of issues of appropriation into unproblematic notions of crossover and pluralism in both art and popular musics that we find the dominant expression today of the idea that cross-cultural empathy and its attendant aesthetic “reconciliation” equalizes musics

of formerly unequal status and power, and erases erstwhile differences of legitimacy (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:21).

Although this study does not directly engage with postmodern considerations, it heeds this warning and examines “problematic” notions of crossover. It also acknowledges postmodernism as an area of thought and scholarship highly connected with the study of exchange.

Another scholarly case of the study of musical exchange within this third area of inquiry is labelled by Born and Hesmondhalgh as “Othering, Hybridity, and Fusion in Transnational Popular Musics.” As with postmodernism, this thesis does not directly engage with issues of othering, hybridity and fusion. Such issues do, however, have an impact on the arguments and reflections on crossover found in this thesis, particularly those in Chapter Seven.

This section has provided an outline of several research areas that examine musical exchange. It is clear that the examples, methods and ideas contained in such research work can be seen as important cases for this study of crossover.

Mass production and marketing

The final theme covering possible historical cases of musical exchange and crossover is that of mass production and marketing. If the widespread appeal of bawdy ballads amongst “high” and “low” social spheres is one historical case of crossover, then the increased interest in publishing and mass producing these ballads is another.¹⁶ In the introduction to a compilation titled *Sixty Ribald Songs from Pills to Purge Melancholy*, S.A.J. Bradley identifies the mid-point of the 17th century as the start of a “...new age of English music, both serious and popular...,” an age when the production of printed sheet music vastly increased and began to be influenced by a public that was now able to “...[express] its taste...” by buying the printed versions of the songs they liked most (Bradley 1968:9). Middleton suggests that the beginning of this new age and the increased emphasis on mass production is also the beginning of the tension between “high” and “low:”

It was the growth of social mobility, the increasing effects of capitalist social relations and the appearance of commercialized leisure activities that led to anxiety about the culture of the people. This process can be dated to the 17th and 18th centuries...the beginnings of the modern ‘problem’ of popular music. (Middleton 2007b)

¹⁶ A precedent even closer to our modern day “commercial” crossovers than those discussed thus far.

By the 18th century instrumental pieces were also printed and sold alongside ballads, and the practice of writing music specifically “...aimed at the domestic market...” was common (Middleton 2007b). This led to the creation of the first compilations of “folk” music and the popular tunes found in these compilations travelled far and wide with the Town bands and “commercially organized groups” (Middleton 2007b) that performed them.¹⁷

According to Middleton, the 19th century can be viewed as a period in which “...prevailing norms are simplified for a mass market” (Middleton 2007b), a time when musical activities and institutions such as popular concerts and amateur choral groups were “...part of consciously pursued attempts to tie the lower classes into the norms (aesthetic and behavioural) of bourgeois society” (Middleton 2007b). The popular music traditions of Europe and the United States were being shaped by fusion and synthesis, while the “secret” to popular song writing was identified by some as finding the most “catchy” melodic ideas and presenting them in the most accessible way.¹⁸

The 20th century offers similar cases of mass production and marketing. As Tin Pan Alley brought about the beginnings of American popular music’s “rise...to global dominance” (Middleton 2007c), exchanges between popular music and a vast variety of influences increased,¹⁹ and to varying degrees popular music began to influence different aspects of culture (musical and otherwise) as never before. The 20th century beginnings of jazz are also described in terms of exchange, fusion and synthesis, while not necessarily between “high” and “low” cultures, and attributed to a mix of different cultures, including Creole, mainstream African-American and white Sicilian American (Collier 2007b).

The examples provided offer insights into historical cases of the crossover between Western art and popular musics. They provide some of the historical background for such exchange and the study of exchange in general. Many of the patterns and constructions found here are reviewed and developed once more in the period of this study, 1995 to 2005. This development is examined throughout the thesis

¹⁷ These groups and bands sometimes took the songs to the “Pleasure Gardens” of London: ...where people could play at being in the country...Gardens which had been enjoyed informally became places of formal entertainment...the proprietors of the Gardens had tried to supply their patrons with most forms of entertainment then fashionable...concerts, miniature operas.... (Sands 1987:1-6)

¹⁸ This is a precedent for the kinds of crossovers found in Chapter Six, “Attracting audiences: alternate constructions of crossover”

¹⁹ Such influences come from “high” culture and otherwise.

Appendix B

Biographies of the four primary artists

The following section provides background information on the four primary artists examined by this study. Although some biographical information on the artists is included in specific examples throughout the thesis, the material below collects such information from a variety of sources into comprehensive biographies, providing a detailed narrative for such specific examples.

bond

Touted as: "...classical music's answer to the Spice Girls..." (Middap 2000), bond uses traditional Western European string quartet instrumentation of two violins, a viola and a cello.¹ The all-female group is made up of two Australians, Haylie Ecker (first violin) and Tania Davis (viola), and two Britons, Eos Chater (second violin) and Gay-Yee Westerhoff (cello), and all members were born in either 1975 or 1977 ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a).

Haylie Ecker was born in 1977 in Perth, Western Australia. Before becoming first violinist for bond, Ecker graduated with a first class honours degree in music and a postgraduate degree in Advanced Solo Studies from the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007a). She conducts a classical performance career alongside her work with the group ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a).

bond's second violinist, Eos Chater, was also born in 1977. Her birthplace is Cardiff in Wales and she holds a degree from the Royal College of Music in London. Chater's career to date has taken place primarily in the popular music sphere, including work with: "...The Divine Comedy, Cocteau Twins, and Julian Cope, and [she] has appeared in videos with Gabrielle and Mark Knopfler." Chater is usually credited as simply "Eos" on CDs and in interviews ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a).²

The other Australian in the group, Tania Davis, was born in 1977 and hails from Sydney. Davis graduated with first class honours in the degree of Bachelor of Music from the Sydney Conservatorium, and also holds a Postgraduate Diploma in Performance from the Guildhall School of Music and Drama ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a). In an interview Davis relates that she started learning piano and violin between 1981-82, but moved to viola as a teenager to fill positions in chamber music ensembles and in orchestras (Fish 2001b).

¹ The group are often shown with electric violins in promotional photography and have used instruments from the "Electric/Silent Violin" range made by Yamaha (riverrunner 2006) and instruments made by Violectra (riverrunner 2006 and Johnson 2002).

² "Eos" will, however, be referred to as Chater in this thesis.

Finally, bond's cellist, Gay-Yee Westerhoff, was born in 1975 in Hull, United Kingdom. Westerhoff gained her musical training from the Trinity College of Music in London. Like Chater, Westerhoff has worked primarily with popular acts, such as Primal Scream, the Spice Girls, Sting, Bryan Adams and Barry Manilow. She is also a bass guitar player ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2000a).

Although bond often insist that they are not a manufactured group that were brought together through an entertainment agent's vision, neither can they claim that the group was created out of the causal meeting of four friends. As journalist Christine Iley writes: "There was a certain amount of construction work" (Iley 2001:31).

The story of bond's origins is found in press releases and re-told in hyperbolic fashion in magazine and newspaper articles.³ It recounts how cellist Westerhoff had been playing as guest/session musician with popular groups and artists for many years and was interested in "something more" (Iley 2001:31). It is not clear whether Westerhoff approached well-known concert promoter and manager Mel Bush with her thoughts, or whether Bush contacted Westerhoff about "...an enormous demand for the right kind of classical act...properly exploited" (Iley 2001:31). Whatever the case, once Bush and Westerhoff had met, the construction of a group to deliver these ideas began with Bush as manager. Westerhoff and Chater "...had worked together doing a lot of folk-pop and session music in London..." (Fish 2001b) and both had met Ecker: "through a friend" (Fish 2001b). Whether this friend was Bush is not mentioned. It is, however, conceivable that Ecker, Chater and Westerhoff could have met without Bush's intervention, considering their geographical proximity while studying and working with music in London. The fourth member to join the group, Davis, was introduced by Ecker, the pair having met through their initial studies in Australia⁴ (Iley 2001:31). Davis was not the initial choice for violist, however little is said about bond's relationship with the first choice, a girl who "...just didn't fit" (Iley 2001:31).

Once the member line-up had been finalised and the group had met and agreed to form a quartet, Bush put up "...not only his enthusiasm, but 600,000 of his own pounds..." (Iley 2001:29-31) and negotiated the signing of a five-album deal with classical record label Decca (Westerhoff in Fish 2001a). This leads us to a discussion of bond's discography and repertoire.

³ See Chapter One for more information on the author's difficulty in extracting information directly from bond's management team.

⁴ It is interesting to note that members of the group FourPlay, Peter and Tim Hollo have mentioned that they also know Ecker and Davis through their involvement in the Australian Youth Orchestra (pers. com. 2002).

As of 2005 bond had released five albums on the Decca label, often repackaged for release in different countries. These were titled *born* (2000), *Shine* (2002), *Remixed*⁵ (2003), *Classified* (2004) and *Explosive* (2005) (a ‘best of’ compilation).⁶ Various special editions of and singles from each of these albums have been released by the group, as well as an (2000 & 2001) EP titled *Viva/Wintersun!* bond have also had recordings included on the soundtracks of two films (*Johnny English* (2003) and *XXX: State of the Union* (2005)) and have released two CDs to promote the brands Raymond Weil⁷ and Marshall Field.⁸

bond’s repertoire consists of a mix of original works written for the group by composers, original works written by members of the group itself and bond’s own arrangements (usually in collaboration with other composers) of well known classical and popular pieces.⁹ These three categories are examined below.

Composers that regularly write material for the group include Tonci Hulijic¹⁰, Magnus Fiennes¹¹ and Martin Glover¹². The works that Hulijic and Finnes contributed to *Born* were described by bond’s management as influenced by classical, house, trance, salsa, East European folk and other musics, while the works contributed by all three composers were described management as including influences from Irish, Middle Eastern, Spanish and Hungarian musics.

Throughout their recordings bond’s repertoire has increasingly included work written by members of the group, such as “Bella Donna” (Chater), featured on bond’s 2000/2001 EP (extended play) release, *Viva!/Wintersun* (2000/2001). Other examples of works written by bond members are featured on the album *Shine* (2002) and include “Sahara” (Ecker) and

⁵ A compilation of remixes of bond’s previous works, and although it could not be said to be an album of bond’s own works, it is still considered to be a “bond album” and part of the group’s listed discography.

⁶ bond’s “best of” compilation featured a variety of tracks gathered from the studio albums *born* (2000), *Shine* (2002) and *Classified* (2004) and three tracks “previously unreleased internationally” ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007b). Packaged with the *Explosive* (2005) CD was a DVD featuring “three music videos, a photo gallery, [a list of] their complete discography, and all the tracks on Dolby Digital 5.1 Surround Sound or 48kHg/16 bit PCM Stereo” ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007b).

⁷ The Raymond Weil brand represents watches. bond released this album in 2001 to promote Raymond Weil’s “Othello” watch (Wikipedia 2007d).

⁸ The Marshall Field brand represented a department store based in Chicago, Illinois until 2005, when the store was bought and renamed Macy’s (Macys.com 2007). The album released by bond in 2003 to promote Marshall Field’s was titled *Fab’s Field Mix* (Wikipedia 2007e).

⁹ This last category of repertoire is not featured on the album *born* (2000). It begins to become a used category for the group on the albums *Shine* (2002) and *Classified* (2004).

¹⁰ Hulijic is a Croatian composer. As well as working with bond, Hulijic has also composed for fellow Croatian and crossover artist Maksim. Hulijic is also credited with having introduced Maksim to Mel Bush ([Maksim] 2007).

¹¹ American Magnus Finnes is famed for working with the popular group All Saints and was also one of the producers for the album *Born* (Iley 2001:31).

¹² Martin Glover (African-born producer and musician who often uses the name “Youth.” Glover has worked with many bands and artists, including Vanessa-Mae (Moss 2001), The Verve and Guns n’ Roses (Wikipedia 2007f).

“Ride” (Chater). bond’s 2004 release, *Classified*, featured several songs written by bond members in collaboration with other writers, including; “Midnight Garden” (Chater, M. Glover and R. Kerr), “Lullaby” (bond, M. Glover and R. Kerr), “Hungarian” (bond, M. Glover and Pete Lazonby), “I’ll Fly Away” (Westerhoff), “Dream Star” (Ecker, M.Glover and R. Kerr) and “Senorita” (Davis, M.Glover and R. Kerr).

Shine (2002) and *Classified* (2004) also expand bond’s repertoire beyond that of *Born*, featuring several of bond’s own arrangements (occasionally featuring beats) of well known classical and popular pieces, including Samuel Barber’s *Adagio for Strings* (1936) (*Classified* 2004), Alexander Borodin’s (1870) *Stranger in Paradise* (renamed *Strange Paradise* by bond) and Led Zeppelin’s *Kashmir* (1975) (*Shine* 2002). bond often collaborate on these arrangements with the composers and producers listed above.

bond promote their recordings through live performance and a variety of media and cross-promotional appearances. We will now turn to a discussion of the *general* types of these events rather than an exhaustive list of each individual activity.

Leading up to the release of their first album, *born* (2000), bond undertook an intensive rehearsal period, preparing a live stage show that included popular music elements such as dance, light shows, amplification and elaborate costuming. This live show was launched in September 2001 at a sold out concert held in the well-known Royal Albert Hall in London. As Iley writes, the barest of introductions was needed to sustain public interest in the group. “At that point they were hardly Radio 1 stalwarts. Nobody had heard them play; they were just excited by the possibility that they could and would, and looked liked utter babes” (Iley 2001:29). The sell-out of bond’s first show at such a prestigious venue is an oft-mentioned achievement by the members of the group and by Bush. bond’s first video/DVD release features the concert in its entirety (*bond Live At Royal Albert Hall* 2001).

As explained by the “Bond web team,” the Royal Albert Hall concert signalled the beginning of a series of concerts and tours around the world to introduce bond and promote *born*. Similar promotional concert tours have been undertaken by the group for each successive album release, particularly throughout Asia. Japan is often described as one of bond’s biggest markets (pers. com. 2002b and pers. com. 2003c).

The group also use media to promote their work, making TV appearances on Good Morning America, CNN, FOX News and NBC and having magazine articles on them included in *Stuff*, *Seventeen*, and *Maxim* ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007b), to name a few. bond also have a noticeable, if not particularly active, Internet presence, with an official website run by bond

management featuring a well-populated fan forum and links to the group's MySpace profile ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007b) and several fan-made websites ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007a).¹³

Cross-promotional appearances have also occupied bond, for example, performing at the opening of the Australian Rugby League season (2001) (*Today (Channel Nine) – Featuring Bond* 2001), at the “Ice Party” to celebrate the premiere of James Bond film *Die Another Day* (2002) (PartyKey 2002) and at the 2003 Miss Universe Pageant (Pageant News Bureau 2003). The group have also lent their profile to and gained publicity from various advertising campaigns for companies such as Raymond Weil (timepieces), Clairol (hair care products) ([Decca Music Group Limited] 2007b), Daiichi Kosho (karaoke equipment) and Marshall Fields (department store chain) (Wikipedia 2007g).

bond's future is currently a closed book. In 2006 and early 2007 (e.g. time of writing) bond's promotional channels have been quiet and the group have not released any new recordings or DVDs. Management have not yet replied to information enquiries from the author, and bond's devoted group of Internet fans have also had no news about the groups activities, one fan writing to bond management on the bond official forum: “I was wondering, when will we hear about bond again? I mean, the official site hasn't had any news about bond for over a year. I would really like to know when the new album is set to release” (Justin 2006). A short response to this was posted on September 23rd, 2006 reading; “The band has just come to the end of a sabbatical; any future plans will be posted on the [official] site. Best wishes The bond Team” (The bond Team in Justin 2006). For the purposes of this thesis, the information gathered on bond up until 2005 is sufficient. Further information on the group can be gathered, as suggested by “The bond Team,” from bond's official website.

FourPlay String Quartet

Australian group FourPlay call themselves the “Eclectic String Quartet” and use the unusual instrumentation of one violin, one cello and two violas (FourPlay 2007a). The group also includes vocal lines in their work, and all members of the group perform vocal parts at different times.¹⁴ FourPlay's current line-up includes four Australians, founding brothers Peter and Tim Hollo (cello and viola respectively), Lara Goodridge (violin) and Shenton

¹³ bond's official website can be found at <http://www.bondmusic.net>. This website has not been updated since 2004.

¹⁴ Lara Goodridge performs the bulk of vocal work.

Gregory (viola) (FourPlay 2007g). According to Peter Hollo, the birth years of the members range between 1971 and 1976 (pers. com. 2007).

Playing cello from the age of eight, Peter Hollo received his LMusA on cello in 1994 and was lead cellist and sectional tutor in the SBS Youth Orchestra for many years. Hollo played in the Australian Youth Orchestra (1995-1996) as well as in the Camerata of the AYO in 1996. He has been a session cellist for a wide variety of acts, just a few of these including Australian band Bluebottle Kiss, Australian singer Deborah Conway and Indigenous Australian Jimmy Little. Hollo also creates and DJs electronic music in a style he calls “glitch'n'bass” under the name Raven, and “...hosts a 3-hour show on Sydney's FBi Radio called Utility Fog, which explores ‘postfolkrocktronica’.” This is a term Hollo has “...created to cover music from post-rock to experimental electronica, especially music on the cusp between digital and acoustic” (FourPlay 2007h). Peter Hollo is also active on the Internet, creating and maintaining the FourPlay website and running his own weblog on topics he finds interesting (pers. com. 2002a).

Tim Hollo began playing violin at six years old, and writes that his “...major achievements in classical music include winning the Charles Mackerras Music scholarship to Sydney Grammar School, being awarded AMusA on violin in 1991, being appointed principal viola and sectional tutor of the SBS Youth Orchestra from 1996 to 1998, and being selected for membership of the Australian Youth Orchestra (1994-1996)” (FourPlay 2007i). Like Peter Hollo, Tim has performed as a session musician for a range of acts, some including Australian singer Max Sharam, The Klezmer Extravaganza Orchestra and the Sydney Theatre Company. Tim Hollo is a dedicated environmentalist¹⁵ and is also involved in Musical Directing for theatre (FourPlay 2007i).

Lara Goodridge began playing violin when she was three and a half and studied music through the Sydney Conservatorium Junior School, the Sydney Conservatorium High School and in the Sydney Youth Orchestra. “...[Goodridge] has performed in folk pop duo Joy & Lara and chamber pop group Peccadillo” (FourPlay 2007j) and she is also a popular session musician, contributing vocals and violin to a range of acts, including “[Australian] pop group The Whitlams...Australian country singer James Blundell... [and] ...[Australian] electro pop producer Josh Abrahams” (FourPlay 2007j). Goodridge also does session work for film and theatre, holds “...a masters in French, a bachelor degree in Russian, French and Spanish and a

¹⁵“Tim’s impetus led to FourPlay’s efforts to reduce our environment impact, in particular investing in renewable energy and energy efficiency through www.climatefriendly.com to offset the greenhouse emissions of Now to the Future” (FourPlay 2007i).

diploma of languages in Yiddish...” (FourPlay 2007j) and founded Craving Records, which encourages the talents of emerging female performers (FourPlay 2007j).

Shenton Gregory (stage name Shenzo Gregorio) holds BMus and AMus A degrees and plays an array of instruments and roles, “perform[ing] as a multi-instrumentalist/composer/arranger/music director/actor in all manner of professional productions nationally and overseas” (FourPlay 2007c). One of his creations, Shenzo's Electric Stunt Orchestra, “[features] musicians hung from wires, playing upside-down and literally flying around the venue” (FourPlay 2007c). Gregory has also been a session musician for many musicians, two including American singer Natalie Cole and “Bermuda's top percussionist Keith Caisey” (FourPlay 2007c).

FourPlay’s initial line-up consisted of four friends who met during their time in the Australian Youth Orchestra, including FourPlay’s founding brothers Peter and Tim Hollo, Philippa Allan and Chris Emerson. The four performed in various formats, one of these including what Tim Hollo called a “classical string quartet” (pers. com. 2002). One of the first concert opportunities for this group was in 1994 at a friend’s 21st birthday party, and this led to more performances in front of acquaintances: “Inspired by the Kronos, Balanescu and Brodsky Quartets’ blurring of the boundaries between classical and rock music, we began playing rock covers for friends” (FourPlay 2007a). FourPlay started transcribing popular works and performing them in the 15-minute interval of a law revue with which Tim Hollo was involved. The next year the group entered the University of New South Wales band competition:

In early 1995 we bought pickups, and transformed ourselves into an electric string quartet. Entering the UNSW band competition as a bit of a joke to wake up the scene (which was and probably is dominated by uninventive grunge-pop), we surprised everyone, including ourselves, by winning the competition. (FourPlay 2002a)

FourPlay went on to win further heats of the band competition, although they did not win the final for the whole of New South Wales. They did, however, perform in front of several influential members of the Sydney music scene. According to Tim Hollo (pers. com. 2002), one such person was Tim Hall, lead vocalist with prominent early ‘90s rock band The Strange. Hall was able to secure FourPlay concerts with The Strange and other significant artists of the time. He also gained FourPlay further live experience by booking the group for concerts at events such as the Byron Bay Music Festival.

In 1996 Philippa Allan, FourPlay's original violinist and Tim Hollo's partner at that time (pers. com. 2002), left the group to pursue a career with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Peter Hollo had met violinist and singer Lara Goodridge (pers. com. 2002a) through a pop group called Peccadillo in which they both performed, and invited her to join FourPlay. At first Goodridge (pers. com. 2002) was reluctant to do so, as she was not confident in her own expertise as a violinist. She did, however, go along to a FourPlay gig to see what the group was like, and remembers that "...they just blew my mind, and I was just laughing and I just thought that it was so good ...so I ...learnt the stuff and the rest is history!" As explained by Tim Hollo (pers. com. 2002), the line up of FourPlay at this time consisted of Peter Hollo on cello and vocals, Tim Hollo and Chris Emerson on violas and vocals¹⁶ and Lara Goodridge on violin and vocals.

During 1997-98 FourPlay enlisted the advice of friend and booking agent Jordan Verzar (pers. com. 2002) in distributing and promoting their first CD, *Catgut Ya' Tongue?* (1998). It soon became apparent that Verzar's involvement in the group was more than that of simply a booking agent, and so Verzar became co-manager of the group along with Peter Hollo in 1998.

Roughly two years later, viola player Chris Emerson left the group to travel, and FourPlay head-hunted viola player Veren Grigorov (pers. com. 2002). Bulgarian born and educated in both European and Australian music schools, Grigorov was also eager to join the group. He said: "...when I first got asked to join the band I hadn't seen the band before ... and I automatically imagined them sitting down, ... and when I saw the band and they were actually standing in one line, I was going 'oh my...', I personally like to stand, I play better when I stand, I think it came out of that rock 'n' roll band approach, which has basically been the whole idea of the band, to take it away from that classical bit, being a rock 'n' roll band but with violins..." (pers. com. 2002).

In mid-2004 Grigorov left the group and was replaced by Shenton Gregory, "bringing his spectacular soloing skills and a fresh enthusiasm to complete the current line-up" (FourPlay 2007a). FourPlay's members at time of writing (September 2007) are Peter Hollo on cello and vocals, Tim Hollo on viola and vocals, Shenton Gregory on viola and vocals and Lara Goodridge on violin and vocals. We now turn to a discussion of FourPlay's discography and repertoire.

¹⁶ This is a change from the traditional string quartet that is discussed in Chapter One.

Throughout their line-up changes, FourPlay have released three studio albums, one remix album and a series of three 3" CD singles, all with consistently clever titles. Studio albums are *Catgut Ya' Tongue?* (1998),¹⁷ *The Joy Of...* (2000),¹⁸ and *Now To The Future* (2006). Their remix album was titled *Digital Manipulation* (2001)¹⁹ and their three singles are collectively known as *FourPlay 3" trilogy parts 1-3* (2006), while their individual parts are titled *FourPlay String Quartet Part 1* (2006), *FourPlay String Quartet Part 2* (2006) and *FourPlay String Quartet Part 3* (2006).²⁰

As explained by Tim Hollo, FourPlay's initial repertoire (played by the original four members of FourPlay) included "traditional string quartet" pieces by composers such as Mozart, Bach and sometimes Shostakovich (pers. com. 2002). After its transformation into an "electric string quartet" FourPlay started playing contemporary classical music and writing originals, as well as and arranging and covering popular songs by bands and artists who were close to FourPlay's member's hearts and important to their experience of the culture in which they live. As Goodridge puts it: "...a string quartet, in classical terms...played popular music of their time and backwards... so that's what we think that we're doing" (pers. com. 2002). Playing the popular music of their time enabled FourPlay to gain the attention of the ABC's youth-driven radio network, Triple J, which in turn gave the group invaluable exposure through airplay. FourPlay's choice of songs to perform initially meshed well with Triple J's own play lists, being sourced from marginal musical genres such as the vaguely defined "alternative" and "indie." This gradually shifted, however, as Triple J moved its play lists away from these genres, and as FourPlay's musical tastes and activities changed. Examples of artists that FourPlay have covered include American hip-hop group The Beastie Boys, American singer-songwriter Jeff Buckley, now-defunct Australian pop group The Clouds and, most (in)famously, American heavy rock band Metallica (FourPlay 2007e).

While covered or interpreted songs had been significant parts of FourPlay's repertoire, original songs became increasingly important. Peter Hollo (pers. com. 2002a) wanted to see the group "invert the ratio" that had seen (for example) FourPlay's album *The Joy Of...*

¹⁷ This included Chris Emerson on viola/vocals.

¹⁸ This included Veren Grigorov on viola/vocals.

¹⁹ *Digital Manipulation* (2001) does not feature new work by FourPlay. Instead, it is a double album of remixes of FourPlay's original pieces that can be found on the previous two albums. These remixes have been created by a mixture of Australian electronic artists, ranging from those more prominent to some still emerging. *Digital Manipulation* (2001) is recognised by FourPlay as "Peter's project," and part of Peter Hollo's involvement included the contribution of a remix under the name "Raven" (pers. com. 2002). While the project does reflect Peter Hollo's interest in electronic music, all members of FourPlay expressed in interviews that they were interested in and pleased with the results (pers. com. 2002a).

²⁰ "FourPlay's series of 3" CD singles came out mainly as promotion for the new album (*Now To The Future* 2006)" (FourPlay 2007e).

(2000) consist of only four original songs out of the album's 13. Tim Hollo's desire to move away from "songs that we've been playing for seven years" and that "signif[y] who we were when we started out" (pers. com. 2002) was echoed by the other members of the group, Grigorov saying: "...lately, Peter ...won't do Metallica anymore. Simply because it's...lost the essence of it,...it's too cheap...it started off as a joke, the band started off as a, 'oh we're going to enter this competition and have a laugh,' but now it's become this...there's actual depth, people actually, genuinely get moved, touched by some of this stuff. And it's become more serious..." (pers. com. 2002). It is in this spirit that FourPlay approached their search for the new repertoire that eventually made its way on to the releases *FourPlay 3" trilogy parts 1-3* (2006) and *Now To The Future* (2006). Of the nine tracks featured on *FourPlay 3" trilogy parts 1-3* (2006), four tracks are originals by FourPlay members, one is a remix of one of those original tracks and the remaining four consist of covers—two of artists that are currently popular on Triple J,²¹ one from bluesman Robert Johnson²² and "Miserlou...Traditional Greek, popularised by Dick Dale & his Del-Tones" (*FourPlay 3" trilogy parts 1-3* 2006 and FourPlay 2007e). Of the 13 tracks that make up the album *Now To The Future* (2006), eight are originals by FourPlay members (four credited to all four members, four credited to individual members) and of the remaining five cover tracks two are by artists currently played on Triple J²³ and three by jazz²⁴ composers (FourPlay 2007e). FourPlay's repertoire in 2007 consists mainly of original compositions and a few covers of popular songs sourced from a variety of sources, certainly achieving an "inversion of the ratio" that made up their initial repertoire. FourPlay themselves write that they are a "...dynamic band...constantly adding music to their repertoire..." (FourPlay 2007f) and encourage those interested to keep track of their current song lists by visiting the "Song list" section of their website (FourPlay 2007f).

We now turn to a general discussion of FourPlay's live performances, media and promotional activities. Live performance is an important and central activity for FourPlay. One important factor that distinguishes FourPlay from the traditional classical string quartet is the variety of venues in which the group performs. According to Verzar, the group have played regularly at

²¹ Pieces by artists currently played on Triple J are "You Can Put Your Shoes Under My Bed," Paul Kelly and "Reptilia," Julian Casablancas/The Strokes (*FourPlay 3" trilogy parts 1-3* 2006).

²² The group started performing this song, "Drunken Hearted Man Blues" (*FourPlay 3" trilogy parts 1-3* 2006 and FourPlay 2007e) in response to an invitation to be part of the Australian Blues Project on digital radio station *DIG*. This project encourages Australian bands and musicians to record "interpretations of the blues cannon" to be played on the station (Matchett 2006).

²³ Pieces by artists currently played on Triple J are "2+2=5," Radiohead and "Reptilia," Julian Casablancas/The Strokes (*Now To The Future* 2006).

²⁴ Pieces by jazz composers are: "Cry Me A River," Arthur Hamilton; "Goodbye Pork Pie Hat (Theme for Lester Young)," Charles Mingus and "All Blues," Miles Davis (*Now To The Future* 2006).

pubs and clubs around Sydney such as the Metro, the Harbourside Brasserie and the Globe²⁵ (pers. com. 2002). FourPlay have also performed in theatres, arts spaces and schools. In 2002 the group played in Rod Laver Arena in Melbourne, a stadium space often used for tennis tournaments and mainstream pop concerts. FourPlay's role on this occasion was as supporting act to Irish band The Corrs, playing to some 15,000 people each night. As well as supporting international acts, FourPlay have supported many Australian artists, including Savage Garden and George (pers. com. 2002). Supporting roles aside, however, Verzar describes FourPlay as having their own large fan following and as headlining many of their own gigs. They have played many festivals, both locally (for example, the Byron Bay Music Festival), and internationally (for example, the Singapore International Arts Festival). FourPlay have also toured Europe twice (pers. com. 2002) and (FourPlay 2002a).

Securing media coverage to promote live shows, tours and releases is vital for FourPlay, and the group have appeared on: "...all of the television formatted shows in Australia and most radio..." (FourPlay 2002a). They have also been the subject of articles in many Australian magazines and newspapers, including the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Rolling Stone* and *Rave* (FourPlay 2002c).²⁶ FourPlay's members also work as session musicians, recording strings for groups across Australia, and as individuals they are involved in a variety of musical endeavours, which could in some cases be considered "cross-promotional." The group also have a well-maintained²⁷ website and they keep track of and document their sizeable Internet presence on the press page of this website, as noted above. In 2003 the FourPlay e-mailing list was made state-specific, in order to target fans with information relevant to their geographical location (Hollo 2002).

According to Peter Hollo, FourPlay are currently (March 2007) promoting *Now To The Future* (2006) and the *FourPlay 3" trilogy parts 1-3* (2006) by performing around Australia and in their home state of New South Wales (pers. com. 2007).

²⁵ Peter Hollo later explained that unfortunately both the Globe and the Harbourside Brasserie are now closed (pers. com. 2007).

²⁶ For a more comprehensive list of FourPlay press and mentions, see <http://www.fourplay.com.au/press.php>.

²⁷ This website is maintained by Peter Hollo, who designed the original website in 1998/99 and assisted with the re-design of the site in 2003 (pers. com. 2003).

Vanessa-Mae

Vanessa-Mae Vanakorn Nicholson²⁸ may forever be associated with the image in Plate Nine, a promotional photograph of Vanessa-Mae in the ocean, holding her white electric violin and wearing a soaked and translucent white shift (*The Violin Player* 1995). Vanessa-Mae's long and varied career, however, contains more of interest than this photograph alone would suggest. It was taken in 1995, six years into Vanessa-Mae's career, by which time she and her management had made significant changes to the music she was playing and to her overall image. Over a decade has passed since the wet shift picture was released to the world, and Vanessa-Mae's music and image have continued to evolve.

Born in 1978 to a Chinese mother and a Thai father, Vanessa-Mae was a resident of Singapore until she was four years old and her biological parents divorced. In 1982 Vanessa-Mae's mother, Pamela Nicholson, married her second husband, Englishman Graham Nicholson, and the new family moved to London where Vanessa-Mae became a British citizen ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]).

Pamela Nicholson, a semi-professional pianist and lawyer,²⁹ introduced her daughter to music early, taking Vanessa-Mae to her first piano lesson at three years. At five years Vanessa-Mae changed instruments and began taking lessons on the violin. In interviews Vanessa-Mae speaks of her musical upbringing as supported by her parents but ultimately driven by her own interest, saying: "My parents said, 'We haven't pushed you in this direction, but now you've chosen it, you must take it as seriously as your father³⁰ going off to work every morning and earning money every day as a lawyer'" (Walsh 1998).

For Vanessa-Mae, taking her music seriously meant spending periods of time away from the Francis Holland School for Girls in London in order to study violin and Mandarin Chinese with Professor Lin Yao Ji of the Central Conservatory of China in Beijing ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). At 11 years of age she became the youngest student ever accepted by the Royal College of Music in London and worked with Professor Felix Andreivsky. Vanessa-Mae finished her studies at the Royal College at age 14 (1992) and during her three years at that institution gave a debut concert with the Philharmonia Orchestra (1988), recorded a debut album (*Violin* 1991), and completed her first international tour with the

²⁸ As noted above, in this thesis the violinist is known only as Vanessa-Mae. Although Vanessa-Mae's full name is Vanessa-Mae Vanakorn Nicholson, she is usually identified by her first name only. All of her achievements, including those prior to her crossover work, have been accomplished under this name.

²⁹ In later years Pamela Nicholson acted as her daughter's co-manager and accompanied Vanessa-Mae on recordings and in concert (Walsh 1998).

³⁰ Vanessa-Mae's step-father, Graham Nicholson, is a lawyer (Walsh 1998).

London Mozart Players (1990) ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). In the years leading up to her first major image change (1995), Vanessa-Mae also recorded two more “standard” classical albums.³¹

Vanessa-Mae was encouraged by her early successes, saying to one journalist: “As soon as I had this first round of concerts and recordings under my belt, I knew that the big time beckoned. Besides, I was also secretly harbouring some other serious musical ambitions...” (Vanessa-Mae in “Articles/Interviews: Livewire” [1997]). According to Vanessa-Mae, these ambitions centered on a desire to bring together the different genres of music that the violinist enjoyed, including jazz, folk, pop, rock and classical. Until this time, Pamela Nicholson had been handling the management of her daughter’s career. With Vanessa-Mae’s secret ambitions in mind, Nicholson now “...sought a more rounded representation and management than she would receive from the average strait-laced classical impresario” (Webster n.d.).

The manager Nicholson found was Mel Bush, who went on to represent her as mentioned above. In 1994/95 Bush, Nicholson and Vanessa-Mae designed “...a careful but concerted strategy for success, consisting of a number of fusion albums to go alongside her classical output, and a series of appearances at rock and pop festivals to build an entirely new group of fans” (“Articles/Interviews: Livewire” [1997]).³² This included Bush’s negotiation of a deal for the then thirteen year old with record company EMI that allowed Vanessa-Mae to record albums “...for both the company’s classical and rock/pop divisions” (“Articles/Interviews: Livewire” [1997]).³³

In 1999, “just before [her] 21st birthday” (Grice 2000:1), Vanessa-Mae “...severed her professional relationship with her Chinese mother, Pamela...” (Moss 2001). The suggested catalyst for the division was Vanessa-Mae’s work on a new album titled *Subject to Change* (2001). According to Vanessa-Mae: “It wasn’t so much a falling-out as an organic separation...My mother...was very supportive of my doing the fusion albums in the mid-‘90s but this album wasn’t any more about taking other people’s tunes and transcribing them. I needed to go down a much more original route” (Vanessa-Mae in Moss 2001:2).

One year later, Vanessa-Mae severed her relationship with manager Mel Bush. The violinist’s spokesperson told the *Mirror*: “Mel worked for her for seven years, so it is natural that people will move on after that length of time. The split didn’t arise out of anything in particular, it

³¹ See discography further on in this section.

³² These activities often featured Vanessa-Mae’s crossover from acoustic to electric violin. Vanessa-Mae has used, for example, electric violins made by the companies Ted Brewer (Ted Brewer 2007) and Zeta (Zeta Music 2000).

³³ See the discography further on in this section for a full list of Vanessa-Mae’s recordings.

was just a decision that Vanessa took” (“Vanessa sacks second manager in 12 months” [2007]). After this (January-February 2001), Vanessa-Mae spent a short time with a new manager named David Ogden, “...but the collaboration never went off quite well” (Ebens 2007a). Since then, except for a short period in 2002 when it was suggested by Vanessa-Mae’s most well-informed fans that the violinist had changed her management to an agency known as Big Life,³⁴ Vanessa-Mae has been represented by Fretless, the small management company that the violinist started herself. In the beginning (2000/2001), Fretless consisted of “...a modest staff of four: her manager, Mel Bush; a make-up girl called Lucy; a PR; and an all-purpose path-smoother called Aaron” (Grice 2000:1). This “modest staff of four” saw further changes, however, even after Mel Bush left the group. According to Giles Holland, personal assistant to Vanessa-Mae, LeMarquer “no longer works for Vanessa-Mae” (pers. com. 2002). In March 2007 the violinist continues to be represented by Fretless (Sony BMG Music Entertainment 2007a), but fans and Vanessa-Mae’s record company³⁵ complain that Fretless are not particularly communicative:

What really annoys me is the lack of communication between Vanessa-Mae, her staff, and Sony. When [I] sent Sony [an] email asking if they could keep us informed on up and coming events, do you know what their reply was? Sorry but Vanessa-Mae and her team do not tell us anything but we would be grateful if you hear anything would you let us know so we can put it up on the site!!! (Arioch 2005)

Another fan suggests that perhaps the lack of information about Vanessa-Mae from Fretless is intentional:

I think Vanessa-Mae is quite satisfied with her present situation and the level of her [commercial] success. She doesn't want to expand it further [because] it would mean more concerts and a longer time from home: she had that from 1996-2000 already. Obviously, she wants to spend more time and effort into her private life. (Ebens 2005)

2002 was also the year that an album titled *The Best of Vanessa-Mae* was released and the violinist undertook promotional and touring activities. Natasha King, Vanessa-Mae’s international marketing consultant at EMI, explained that *The Best of Vanessa-Mae* (2002) was the last album to be released under Vanessa-Mae’s original contract with EMI, and that “...she is not contracted for any new recordings at this point in time” (pers. com. 2002). After the release of *The Best of Vanessa-Mae* (2002) the violinist began releasing albums on the

³⁴ According to Kennedy’s manager for a short time, Alix Graham, this agency also claimed management of Kennedy after his 1992 break with manager John Stanley (pers. com. 2001). As told by Andrew Croot (also involved with Kennedy’s management), Kennedy left Big Life and returned to Stanley again a decade later, at the end of 2002 (pers. com. 2002).

³⁵ Vanessa-Mae had by this time changed record companies, from EMI to Sony Classics (Ebens 2007b).

Sony Classical label (Ebens 2007b), and did so until 2006 when the companies Sony Music and Bertelsmann Music Group (BMG) merged. Discussion on Vanessa-Mae's place in this merger is continued below ("EU competition boss allows Sony, BMG to merge" 2004).

This is a good juncture to discuss Vanessa-Mae's discography and repertoire, which consist of both straight classical and crossover recordings.³⁶ Straight classical releases include *Violin* (1991), *Kids Classics* (1991) and the *Tchaikovsky and Beethoven Violin Concertos* (1991),³⁷ *The Classical Album 1* (1996), *The Classical Album 2 (China Girl)* (1997)³⁸, *The Original Four Seasons and the Devil's Trill Sonata (The Classical Album 3)* (1998), and *The Classical Collection Part 1* (2000). Vanessa-Mae's crossover and 'best of'³⁹ recordings include *The Violin Player* (1995), *The Alternative Classical Record* (1996)⁴⁰, *Storm* (1997)⁴¹, *Subject to Change* (2001), *The Best of Vanessa-Mae* (2002), *The Ultimate Vanessa-Mae* (2003), *Choreography* (2004), *Vanessa-Mae* (2006)⁴² and *Vanessa-Mae: The Platinum Collection*⁴³ (2007). Vanessa-Mae has also released single versions, special editions and DVD/video packages of all of her major crossover album releases and has been a special guest/session musician on several albums, including Janet Jackson's *The Velvet Rope* (1997), George

³⁶ There is no single source or complete listing available for the discography and repertoire of Vanessa-Mae. The following have therefore been drawn from a variety of sources including Vanessa-Mae's most comprehensive fan websites (Banaszak 2007 and [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1997]).

³⁷ These first three recordings were released on a small French label called Trittico, and did not receive wide distribution. One fan/biographer of Vanessa-Mae writes that: "The first three albums, on the tiny Trittico label, before she was a pop star, must have had limited sales even by classical music standards... Presumably the lack of distribution in recent years has been because of dissatisfaction with the production quality of the early albums" ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1997]).

³⁸ This album featured a work created by Vanessa-Mae and Pamela Nicholson in response to Vanessa-Mae's invitation to perform at the 1997 re-unification ceremony in which Hong Kong was handed back to China by the British government. This work was titled "Happy Valley – The 1997 Re-unification Overture," and featured "...a cast of over 300 musicians, drummers and dancers" ([EMI 2001]). The work was also used as the theme for television coverage of the event ([EMI 2001]).

³⁹ "Best of" recordings are included in this category as these recordings consist of a mix of Vanessa-Mae's straight classical and crossover work.

⁴⁰ This was a "mini-album" comprised of remix tracks and covers of popular songs ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1997] and [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]).

⁴¹ This was the first album on which Vanessa-Mae sang, most notably on one of the singles for the album, a track titled *I Feel Love*, which was a hit in 1977 for disco performer Donna Summer (Bessman 1998:16). Although *Storm* (1997) was given wide distribution and a heavy touring and promotional schedule was organised, it did not reach the levels of sales or popularity that *The Violin Player* (1995) had. One fan/biographer has described *Storm* (1997) as "...a heavily commercial album that took clear aim at the mass-market mainstream of pop music – and missed" ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team] 1997a).

⁴² A "...compilation released by Disky Communications Europe [under] license from EMI" ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1997]).

⁴³ A "...3cd box with Vanessa-Mae's blockbuster success albums *The Violin Player*, *The Classical Album 1* and *Storm* released by EMI Classics..." ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1997]).

Martin's *In My Life*⁴⁴ (1998), DJ Sakin and Friends' *Walk On Fire* (1999), Takuro/Vanessa-Mae's *Flow of Soul Vol. II* (2002) and Prince's *Xpectation* (2003).⁴⁵

Vanessa-Mae's repertoire over the years has been described by a fan/biographer known only as Vpa.⁴⁶ Vpa has created an insightful and balanced analysis of Vanessa-Mae's work, and suggests the following four categories:

1. Straightforward performances of existing music as the composer wrote it or as the music scholars think the composer wrote it; for example much of the music in Classical Album 1;
2. Existing pieces of music but with some interpretation, additions, and changes; for example...a cadenza for a Mozart violin concerto on her first album;
3. Existing music or melodies arranged into something completely different. This is the biggest category of Vanessa-Mae's work...[Vanessa-Mae talks about this work in an article by Stephen Moss, saying; "...my two fusion albums were familiar material – taking Bach or Vivaldi and laying it against contemporary production..." (Moss 2001:1).]
4. Completely original pieces, sometimes very different from any music ever done before... (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]).⁴⁷

Vanessa-Mae's career has also included countless live performances, media appearances and promotional activities, and only a few illustrative examples will be given here. To promote her various albums, Vanessa-Mae has embarked upon several world tours with concerts featuring amplification, elaborate costumes, dance routines, pop/rock lighting effects and publicity stunts such as "...when she stopped traffic in Times Square, and leapt off a specially constructed stage on to the roof of a passing yellow cab" (Walsh 1998). Over the years Vanessa-Mae has received many awards from the music industry that acknowledge her sales figures, and as well as being oft interviewed for print, television and radio media the violinist was included in People Magazine's 1996 list of the 50 Most Beautiful People in the World ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]). She has also been invited to play for a number of important events, one example being a performance given for Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth and 26 heads of state at Buckingham Palace (*Arts on Saturday: Vanessa-Mae – "Storm on" World Tour 2001*).

⁴⁴ This is a compilation album of seminal pop group The Beatles songs arranged by Beatles producer George Martin for currently popular (1998) musicians to perform. Vanessa-Mae plays the song *Because* ([The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1997]).

⁴⁵ This album is a "download only" album. For example, see <<http://www.3121.com>> or <http://www.housequake.com/view.php?s=&pg=discography_xpectation>.

⁴⁶ This repertoire is also discussed in Chapter One.

⁴⁷ It is important to note that Vpa is a fan and that his comment that Vanessa-Mae's original pieces are "...sometimes very different from any music ever done before..." (Vpa in [The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae Team 1998]) is subjective.

During the height of her career Vanessa-Mae had a well-maintained Internet presence, with several fan sites presenting a more detailed picture of the violinist than her own record company did. These sites have become less active over the years, for example, *The Red Hot Vanessa-Mae* (<http://www.vanessamae.com>) no longer exists and the official Sony BMG Entertainment Masterworks Vanessa-Mae page (<http://www.vanessa-mae.com>) is rarely updated. A new group of fans have moved in to remedy this, however, with the website *Four Seasons of Vanessa-Mae* (<http://www.vanessamae.org>) updated almost daily in 2007. The enthusiasm of these fans, however, is not fuelled by any specific new information on the violinist, the website stating that “We currently have no information on how to contact Vanessa-Mae...We are in no way, associated with Vanessa-Mae or her management whatsoever” (*Four Seasons of Vanessa-Mae* 2005a and *Four Seasons of Vanessa-Mae* 2005b). This dearth of Internet information on the violinist can also be seen in the discussion on Fretless above.

Each year since the year 2000 (Ebens 2007c), a group of Vanessa-Mae’s dedicated fans have organised a special birthday present for the violinist (Ebens 2007c). With the present they send a set of questions for Vanessa-Mae to answer, and the response to the 28th birthday list of questions in 2006 comprises the most current (as of March 2007) news on the violinist’s future plans. Vanessa-Mae and her management are presently in negotiations with record companies – although the violinist had been releasing work on the Sony Classical label, a 2004 merger between labels Sony Music and Bertelsmann Music Group (BMG) has meant that the label releasing Vanessa-Mae’s next album is yet to be decided.⁴⁸ Work has started on this album, and Vanessa-Mae has said that she will “...take a more classical and orchestral approach with inspiration from the great ballet and opera themes. [The album] will not be released before next Autumn [2007]” (Ebens 2006). The violinist will undertake a world tour to promote the album when it is released, and is working on an autobiography.

Kennedy

As with “classical spice girls” bond, the mainstream press have given Nigel Kennedy a sensationalist nickname that has influenced the way many people see the solo violinist. This nickname, “...the bad boy of classical music...” (Lebrecht 2001a), has been applied constantly to Kennedy throughout a career that has spanned more than 25 years. Nicknames and real names abound for Kennedy, who has, as discussed in Chapter One, preferred to be

⁴⁸ At the moment, Vanessa-Mae’s official website (Sony BMG Music Entertainment 2007a) and the Sony BMG Entertainment Masterworks database (Sony BMG Music Entertainment 2007c) both indicate that the violinist is part of the Sony BMG Entertainment Masterworks label.

known only as “Kennedy” since 1997 when he “...dropp[ed] Nigel, which he’d always hated” (Clarke 2005). Two years on from that, however, his full name began appearing on the liner notes to his CDs and one journalist wrote:

Call him anything you want, the smart opinion now has it. I’ve saved the phone message that makes it clear he still refers to himself, at least offstage, as *Nigel Kennedy*. Consequently, it’s hard to see the name “change” as anything but a game he’s playing with the business and with the press...[t]hat said, at least it’s a game...[a]s he wrote in the liner notes to ...*Kreisler* [1998], his second EMI CD after his comeback, “I have been accused of gross arrogance when dropping my first name by some who think only having one name is seemingly (to the petty and mean-minded) comparing myself to the other one-namers... What hasn’t been noticed is my unprecedented humility when dropping the prefix *Dr.!*” (Pfaff 2000)

Whether simply Kennedy or Nigel Kennedy, the British violinist was born in Hove, Sussex. His childhood was spent with his mother and grandmother in the rented top floor of “...this extremely British period house...a really proper home in one of those very English squares...” (Kennedy 1991:2). Kennedy’s father had left before it was discovered that his mother was pregnant.

Having a mother and a grandmother who were both piano teachers, Kennedy was exposed to music at an early age. In his autobiography, *Always Playing*, Kennedy writes that while sitting under the piano during lessons:

The music itself kind of pervaded my brain...very early on I’d started to hit a few piano notes myself, and as I was showing interest, Mum started teaching me for fifteen minutes each morning before I went off to school...it seemed the natural thing to do in our household (Kennedy 1991:2).

After a year or so of these lessons, Kennedy’s mother found a local violin teacher to teach her child the basics of the instrument (Kennedy 1991:5). By the age of six (1962), Kennedy’s musical proficiency and his mother’s initiative had yielded “both a place and scholarship at Arundel School near Brighton...” (Kennedy 1991:8), but before he took up this position, Kennedy’s mother felt her son should try “...something rather more challenging” (Kennedy 1991:8).

Something more challenging came in the form of an audition for the recently established Yehudi Menuhin music school, founded and run by the virtuoso violinist himself. Kennedy performed on piano as well as violin and took aural tests for the examiners, earning himself a place as the then youngest member of the Menuhin school. As the school’s fees were expensive, this was made possible by the fact that “[Menuhin], the legendary violinist...personally paid the young Kennedy’s fees throughout his education at the

school...” (Robson 2002:1). Kennedy writes: “Menuhin ‘invented’ a scholarship in memory of his parents, and he granted it to me” (Kennedy 1991:9).

During his 10-year stay at the Menuhin school, Kennedy spent many hours in practice, developed his technique and gained knowledge from some of the top violin teachers in Britain, all of this with a focus on classical music. He also began his forays into the world of jazz at the Menuhin school, staying up late at night to listen to “...jazz works on a portable radio in bed” (Kennedy 1991:14). This late night listening led Kennedy to play jazz with a few of his school mates, and when jazz violinist Stephane Grapelli came to visit the school, Kennedy was invited to perform on stage with him (Kennedy 1991:14-15).

Kennedy credits his interest in jazz for catching the attention of the British Broadcasting Corporation, who produced a documentary on the violinist titled *Coming Along Nicely*, which followed Kennedy in his studies at the Menuhin school from the age of 14 to his debut concert in 1977. Kennedy writes that:

...the BBC television interest also stemmed in part from jazz: Paddy Foy from the TV series *Gala Performance* had heard me playing at the School and invited me to appear in the show...Backstage I’d made quite a point of wanting to be away by ten – not because I had to be back at school, but because Dizzy Gillespie was performing in London. This appeared to intrigue them, and so it all started (Kennedy 1991: 15).

Jazz did more than simply spark mainstream media interest in Kennedy. The violinist remembers being torn between performing jazz concerts and classical concerts, and this conflict came to dominate his early life (Kennedy 1991:21).

In 1972 (aged 16 years) Kennedy finished his studies at the Menuhin school and attended the Tanglewood summer music school in the United States (Kennedy 1991:15). From there he traveled directly to New York, to begin his studies at the Julliard School of Music. Kennedy remembers the move to the school as exacerbating his inner turmoil: “Not only did that move place me in a much more rigid classical teaching environment, ...it also took me right to the very doorstep of the thriving New York jazz fraternity” (Kennedy 1991:15).

It was at Julliard, however, that Kennedy was able to study with the respected violin teacher Dorothy DeLay (Robson 2002:1). They worked together for three years at Julliard, until Kennedy decided that he should leave the school, believing that “...if I’d elected to stay and live in the States I would have almost certainly given up classical performing and emerged with some kind of group” (Kennedy 1991:20).

Kennedy found that his time at Julliard had been marked by an over-emphasis on the music industry, the managers and the networks needed to get bookings for concerts (Kennedy 1991:18-19). When he got back to Britain, however, his own network of contacts in the music industry became very useful. Kennedy's studies at Julliard had been sponsored, and although the name of the sponsor has never been released, Kennedy acknowledges that the sponsor was "associated in some way with the Philharmonia Orchestra, and I gained an audition to perform at the Festival Hall with their main conductor Riccardo Muti (Kennedy 1991:21).

This concert took place in 1977, and the next year Kennedy's network of contacts was to help him again, as he was offered a contract with record label EMI. Lewis writes that:

[Kennedy] would have been signed as a result of recommendations that emerge through the network of music schools, artist managers, concert promoters and record company executives. In addition, EMI had a long-standing arrangement with Yehudi Menuhin (pers. com. 2002).

The first recording Kennedy made for the company was for one of its subsidiary labels, Eminence, which, according to Lewis, "...offered the chance for up and coming classical musicians to make their first recordings - Nigel recorded the Elgar Violin concerto, won a Brit Award (presented by Sir George Solti) and a Gramophone Award, and his recording career was born" (pers. com. 2002). The output of this career is listed in the discography section below.

In 1989, Kennedy approached EMI with concerns about his place in the company, feeling that he was "...a bit of an anomaly, being musically suitable for [the classical department's] attentions and yet favoured by larger media way outside of their spectrum of experience" (Kennedy 1991:32). After many negotiations that took into account Kennedy's interest in both contemporary and classical music, Kennedy came under the management of John Stanley, who had previously represented pop group The Bay City Rollers (Clarke 2005).

At the end of 1992, Kennedy disappeared from public view. Various accounts of Kennedy's decision to stop performing were given, from rumours of his "retire[ment] from classical performance...owing to a combination of artistic stagnation and a painful neck condition which required surgery" (Muze Inc. 1999), to reports quoting Kennedy as saying "It has bugged the shit out of me for a long time that the subscription concerts I do are mainly for rich, upper-class people" (Clarke 2005). This tumultuous time also saw the severance of the relationship with manager John Stanley (Clarke 2005). Following this, Kennedy was represented by Alix Graham through an agency known as Big Life (pers. com. 2001). From this point (1992) onwards Kennedy took a five-year break from professional performance,

returning to the stage in 1997, since then touring major venues in countries throughout the world (*Another String* [2007c]) and releasing many recordings (see discography below).

Kennedy's management changed again at the end of 2002, December marking the signing of a new contract between Kennedy and former manager John Stanley, according to Andrew Croot (pers. com. 2002) who was then involved with Kennedy's management team. Poland became important to Kennedy's life in 2003 following his appointment as artistic director of the Polish Chamber Orchestra "a role Kennedy's teacher and mentor, the late Lord Menuhin, once held" (Robson 2002:3), and his marriage to girlfriend Agnieszka, with whom he has one son (Sark). According to Lewis (pers. com. 2002), Kennedy's role as a father may have affected his title of "...bad boy of classical music..." (Lebrecht 2001a), with the media "...starting to profile the contrast of his image and his responsibility." From 2003 to time of writing (March 2007) Kennedy has continued to perform and record works from the classical, jazz, blues and rock genres.

We now turn to a discussion of Kennedy's discography and repertoire.⁴⁹ As with Vanessa-Mae, Kennedy's recorded output has been separated into straight classical and crossover recordings. Standard classical recordings include *Nigel Kennedy Plays Salut d'Amour & Other Elgar Favourites* (1984), *Elgar Violin Concerto in B minor, Op. 61* (1984), *Tchaikovsky - Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 35/Chausson - Poème for Violin and Orchestra* (1986), *William Walton Viola Concerto/Violin Concerto* (1987), *Bruch: Violin Concerto No.1 in G minor. Op. 26/Schubert: Rondo in A for violin and strings/Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto in E minor, Op. 64* (1988), *Sibelius Violin Concerto / Symphony No.5* (1988), *Vivaldi - The Four Seasons* (1989),⁵⁰ *Brahms - Violin Concerto in D op. 77* (1991), *Just Listen: Sibelius: Violinkonzert - Tchaikovsky: Violinkonzert* (1992), *Ludwig van Beethoven: Violin Concerto/J.S. Bach: Preludio from Partita No. 3/J.S. Bach: Allegro Assai from Sonata No. 3* (1993), *Edward Elgar - Violin Concerto in B minor op. 61*⁵¹/*Ralph Vaughan Williams - The Lark Ascending* (1997), *Kreisler* (1998), *Duos For Violin & Cello* (2000),⁵² *Kennedy*

⁴⁹ There is no complete listing of Kennedy's discography and repertoire available. The following details have been drawn from a variety of sources including Kennedy's two most active and official websites (*Nigel Kennedy* [2007] and (*Another String* [2007a]).

⁵⁰ This recording, accompanied by the English Chamber Orchestra. "...earned a place in the *Guinness Book of Records* as the best-selling classical work of all time. Over 2 million copies have been sold and the album remained top of the U.K. classical charts for an amazing six months" (Robson 2002). These figures caused "Some critics [to suggest] this was enough to make him 'the first classical music pop star'" (Muze Inc. 1999).

⁵¹ A repeat recording of this concerto, this time with conductor Sir Simon Rattle and the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra (Robson 2002).

⁵² With accompaniment on cello from Lynn Harrell, featuring pieces by Bach, Ravel, Handel and Kodály (*Duos For Violin & Cello* 2000).

Plays Bach (2000),⁵³ *Nigel Kennedy - Greatest Hits* (2002),⁵⁴ *Vivaldi - Nigel Kennedy* (2003),⁵⁵ *Vivaldi II - Nigel Kennedy* (2004), *Walton Violin and Viola Concertos; Vaughn Williams: The Lark Ascending* (2004), *Legend: Beethoven & Bruch* (2005),⁵⁶ *Inner Thoughts* (2006)⁵⁷ and *The Platinum Collection – Nigel Kennedy* (2007). Kennedy has also released two DVDs of live performances, *Nigel Kennedy Plays Bach* (2006) and *Kennedy Vivaldi live á La Citadelle* (2006).

Kennedy's "crossovers" are more in terms of his extramusical behaviors and marketing,⁵⁸ however, recordings that can be said to fit into the concept of crossover include *Nigel Kennedy Plays Jazz* (1984), *Bartók: Sonata for Solo Violin/Ellington: Mainly Black* (1986), *Let Loose* (1987b), *Kafka* (1996),⁵⁹ *The Kennedy Experience* (1999),⁶⁰ *Classic Kennedy* (1999),⁶¹ *Riders On The Storm: The Doors Concerto* (2000),⁶² *East Meets East* (2003)⁶³ and *Bluenote Sessions - Nigel Kennedy* (2006).

Kennedy's repertoire can be described as a mix of standard interpretations of classical works, interpretations of works from jazz, rock and world genres and original compositions influenced by all of these genres. Although he is often described as a classical violinist, Kennedy comments "...I've always viewed myself as a musician who plays music and not just a certain part of it" ("*Nigel Kennedy: Biography*" n.d.).

Kennedy's 25-year career has also included many concerts, tours, promotional activities and media appearances and as there are so many examples of these only a general overview will

⁵³ Recorded with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (Robson 2002).

⁵⁴ 2002 marked 25 years in anniversary of Kennedy's debut performance in London. In response EMI brought out a double CD set titled *Kennedy's Greatest Hits*, featuring some of the violinist's acclaimed interpretations, some original works and two previously unreleased performances of Bach's works (Robson 2002).

⁵⁵ "...[T]his recording marks the beginning of a multi-disc collaboration between Nigel Kennedy and members of the Berlin Philharmonic – 'The Vivaldi Project' - to explore both the familiar and unfamiliar masterpieces of the great Venetian composer" ([EMI] 2003).

⁵⁶ This CD comes with bonus DVD (*Legend: Beethoven & Bruch* 2005).

⁵⁷ This featured pieces by Bruch, Bach, Brahms, Mendelsson-Bartholdy, Vivaldi and Elgar (*Inner Thoughts* 2006).

⁵⁸ A crossover that should also be noted is Kennedy's occasional use of electric violins, for example, instruments made by the company Violectra (Johnson 2006).

⁵⁹ *Kafka* was an album of Kennedy's own compositions, and featured guest performances by Jane Siberry, Brix Smith (former girlfriend of Kennedy) and Stephen Duffy. This album brought together elements from many different musical genres, including jazz, rock and classical (Lebrecht 2001a).

⁶⁰ "...an album of music inspired by Jimi Hendrix. It is an extended instrumental work in six movements – each movement is a classical interpretation of a Hendrix song" (Coles 1999).

⁶¹ A disc of short works performed with the English Chamber Orchestra (Robson 2002), this album includes one popular work by singer/songwriter Joni Mitchell and one work by Kennedy himself.

⁶² Arranged and conducted by Jaz Coleman and performed by Kennedy and the Prague Symphony Orchestra (Winston 2002).

⁶³ Recorded under the name Nigel Kennedy and The Kroke Band. "...*Kroke* [are] a trio of Polish musicians based in Krakow...[their album with Kennedy consists of]...works influenced by Klezmer, Arabic and gypsy music..." (Robson 2002).

be given here. Examples of his busy concert schedule can be found in his performances already listed for 2007. At time of writing it was only three months into the year, but Kennedy had already been booked to perform in Luxembourg, Germany, Hungary, France, United Kingdom, Japan, Holland, Switzerland and Ireland. These performances were a mix of appearances as a soloist with the symphony orchestras of various cities, festival appearances and jazz club appearances (*Another String* [2007c]). Kennedy's recitals have featured work inspired by Hendrix (2001) (Jayarajah 2001), and he is often credited with presenting diverse and challenging programs, such as the 1997 "Structures not Strictures" series that featured "...Hendrix pieces presented in alternating juxtaposition with four movements from Bartók and Bach" ([The Kennedy Experience] 2003). It is not, however, only in programming that Kennedy concerts stand out. "Kennedy also became known (and often criticized) for his rock star-like stage *persona* – spiky hair, eccentric clothing, and jewellery" (Bartleby.com 2005). The violinist's on-stage body language and antics are also noticed, one reviewer commenting "This performance was made unusual with Kennedy's typical foot stomping – Tap Dogs style - and swapping low fives with concertmaster Jacques Israelievitch (Jayarajah 2001).

Examples of Kennedy's extroverted actions, clothing, football fanaticism and speech can be found both on and off stage. Kennedy is often quoted in the media (print, television and radio), as giving sensational "sound-bites," for example, claiming that his job is to "...get up the noses of the self-appointed wankers of music...to upset the boat, 'cause it's an unreasonable boat going in the wrong direction" (*The Arts Show: Interview with Nigel Kennedy* 2001).

Although a Google search on Kennedy will yield many results featuring links to interviews the violinist has given, links to stories written about his antics or links to places his music can be bought online, Kennedy is really only represented by a small handful of sites dedicated solely to him. Kennedy's record company, EMI, only feature the artist as part of their general database of artists ([EMI Classics] 2007), and of the violinist's two major fan sites, one lists itself as "The (un)official Nigel Kennedy Fanclub" (*Another String* [2007a]) and the other is written entirely in German (*Nigel Kennedy* [2007]), (and therefore may be inaccessible to Kennedy's "home" base of fans in the U.K.). These websites are, however, active and up to date, and Ine explains that at one point the creators of *Another String: The (un)official Nigel Kennedy Fanclub* were given the opportunity to be the "official" site:

...ours is called unofficial (that's because we don't work for Nigel, it's ours), but it's as official as it can get. Nigel considers our site as the official one. He demands full cooperation from his management. He offered us official status

Appendix B: *Biographies of the four primary artists*

once, but we refused. We want it to keep it ours, and not work for Nigel and do it the way he wants. (pers. com. 2001)

Kennedy's future continues to feature major concert tours and recordings, with more of an emphasis on the jazz side of his career. During his time in Poland he has formed The Nigel Kennedy Quintet and through this he began work recording with a Blue Note band, allowing him to "...juggle his jazz commitments with classical repertoire...honing his technique between gigs with Bach..." (Shave 2006). The violinist recently explained in an interview that: "As a musician you can be whatever you want. It just comes down to how stubborn you're willing to be...but now that I've officially entered the world of jazz, I intend to remain here" (Kennedy in Shave 2006).

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ERRATA

Location	Currently reads	Should read
Chapter 1, p12, paragraph 2	(Reich in Goodall 2002:235)	(Reich in Goodall 2000 :235)
Chapter 3, p83, paragraph 1	...sea-through white shift in the sea to introduce Vanessa-Mae to the world.	... see -through white shift in the sea to introduce Vanessa-Mae to the world.
Chapter 4, p106, paragraph 2	Not all journalism represents Kennedy as a credible balance of musical skill and marketing image, however.	Not all journalists represent Kennedy as a credible balance of musical skill and marketing image, however.
Chapter 5, p112, paragraph 2	This chapter highlights that the terms “prestige” and “credibility” are closely related by have some important distinctions.	This chapter highlights that the terms “prestige” and “credibility” are closely related, but have some important distinctions.
Chapter 5, p113, paragraph 1	The association of credibility may seem to be misplaced when one thinks of the vast culture of “manufactured” popular music performers who have little to no control over the music that they perform and how that music will be promoted; although this has something of the tension between creative and commercial about it, which denies the credibility, and perhaps by extension the creativity of performers, because of their commercial choices.	The association of credibility may seem to be misplaced when one thinks of the vast culture of “manufactured” popular music performers who have little to no control over the music that they perform and how that music will be promoted. This has something of the tension between creative and commercial about it, which denies the credibility, and perhaps by extension the creativity of performers, because of their commercial choices.
Chapter 7, p173/4, paragraph 3	As we have seen throughout this thesis, FourPlay prides itself on performing the music that it wants to perform without giving pre-thought to the marketability or other connotations of that music.	As we have seen throughout this thesis, FourPlay claims that it prides itself on performing the music that it wants to perform without giving thought to the marketability or other connotations of that music.
Chapter 7, p177, paragraph 1	Unlike Vanessa-Mae, bond and FourPlay, Kennedy presents a stronger local profile to global audiences, this identity tied to his birthplace of Sussex and his love of the local football team, Aston Villa. Such is the obvious importance of this profile to Kennedy’s marketing that it has even been questioned by media. For example, as described in Chapter Two it was once suggested that Kennedy had manufactured his accent and by extension a working class upbringing, to endear himself to fans (Kennedy 1991:60). Even though Kennedy has resided in Poland since 2003 his initial local profile is still a very important part of his marketing brand, and his oft-quoted love of local football team Aston Villa shows the violinist’s interpretation of his local identity for the global context.	Unlike Vanessa-Mae, bond and FourPlay, Kennedy presents a stronger “local” profile to global audiences, this identity tied to his birthplace of Sussex and his love of his chosen “local” ³⁰⁰ football team, Aston Villa. Such is the obvious importance of this profile to Kennedy’s marketing that it has even been questioned by media. For example, as described in Chapter Two it was once suggested that Kennedy had manufactured his accent and by extension a working class upbringing, to endear himself to fans (Kennedy 1991:60). Even though Kennedy has resided in Poland since 2003 his initial local profile is still a very important part of his marketing brand, and his oft-quoted love of local football team Aston Villa shows the violinist’s interpretation of his chosen local identity for the global context.
References	Baksa, Robert. 1999. “Critical convictions: has Western music become too intellectual?” <i>American Record Guide</i> 62 (6): 64-67.	Baska , Robert. 1999. “Critical convictions: has Western music become too intellectual?” <i>American Record Guide</i> 62 (6): 64-67. This reference should also be moved further down in the alphabetical reference list (between Bartók and Batt).

³⁰⁰ Although Kennedy was not born in Birmingham, the local area associated with the Aston Villa football team, the team can be considered part of a chosen “local” identity for the violinist.