

THE UNSPOKEN PRESSURE OF TRADITION
Representations of East Asian Classical Musicians in
Western Classical Music

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Abstract <p>Articles of East Asian classical musicians have been common in the European classical music magazines since East Asians began increasingly winning international music competitions and pursue international careers somewhere towards the end of the 20th century. The field of Western classical music is becoming more international at a time when fear of the dying of classical music has also reached the headlines in Europe. East Asian musicians work in a complex cultural field where their musicianship is constantly evaluated from different premises.</p> <p>The aim of this study is to see how the East Asian classical musicians and their cultural identities are represented in three European classical music magazines, Crescendo, Gramophone, and Rondo during the years 2002–2011. This is achieved through first analysing the themes, attitudes and actors of the articles by using quantitative content analysis. Discourse analytical framework is used as a main method to illustrate four different representations of East Asian classical musicians – the Invader, the Asian, the Virtuoso, and the Bridge Builder.</p> <p>The East Asian classical musicians are seen as different, yet not exotic. Their difference is brought up in emphasising their nationality and ethnicity in places where this knowledge is not necessary for the context. Further, the East Asian musicians are often seen as bridge builders between Eastern and Western culture. The stereotype of techno-orientalism relating to the virtuosity of the musicians is brought up in discourse but is, at the same time, announced outdated. The general context, the East Asian classical music phenomenon, is described using military and warlike terms. The findings indicate that the story of Western classical music is still seen as inherently Western and that East Asian classical musicians still have work to do in becoming main actors in the story alongside their European and American colleagues.</p>	
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Tiivistelmä <p>Itäaasialaisia klassisia muusikoita käsittelevät artikkelit ovat olleet yleisiä eurooppalaisissa klassisen musiikin lehdissä siitä lähtien kun itäaasialaiset alkoivat yhä suuremmassa määrin voittaa kansainvälisiä musiikkikilpailuita ja luoda kansainvälistä uraa 1900-luvun viimeisinä vuosikymmeninä. Läntinen taidemusiikki on kansainvälistymässä aikana, jolloin pelot klassisen musiikin kuolemasta ovat myös päässeet otsikoihin Euroopassa. Itäaasialaiset muusikot työskentelevät kompleksisella kulttuurien kentällä, jossa heidän muusikkoutensa on jatkuvasti arvostelun alaisena.</p> <p>Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus oli saada selville, miten itäaasialaiset klassiset muusikot ja heidän kulttuurinen identiteetti on representoitu kolmessa eurooppalaisessa klassisen musiikin lehdessä, Crescendossa, Gramophonessa ja Rondossa vuosina 2002–2011. Tämä saavutettiin analysoimalla ensin määrällisesti tutkimusaineiston teemat, asenteet ja toimijat. Päämenetelmänä käytettiin diskurssianalyttistä viitekehystä kuvaamaan neljää itäaasialaisen muusikkouden representaatiota, joita olivat valloittaja-diskurssi, aasialais-diskurssi, virtuoosi-diskurssi ja sillanrakentaja-diskurssi.</p> <p>Itäaasialaiset muusikot nähdään diskursseissa erilaisina muttei kuitenkaan eksoottisina. Tämä erilaisuus tuodaan esiin korostamalla heidän kansalaisuutta ja etnisyyttä paikoissa, joissa tämä tieto ei ole kontekstin kannalta välttämätöntä. Itäaasialaiset muusikot on lisäksi kuvattu sillanrakentajina itämaisen ja länsimaisen kulttuurin välillä. Muusikoiden virtuositeettiin liitetty tekno-orientalismien stereotypia tuodaan usein esiin diskursseissa mutta julistetaan samalla vanhentuneeksi. Itäaasialainen klassisen musiikin ilmiö puolestaan kuvaillaan käyttäen sotilaallista ja sotaisaa sanastoa. Tulokset osoittavat, että läntisen taidemusiikin tarina nähdään edelleen olennaisesti länsimaisena ilmiönä, ja itäaasialaisilla muusikoilla on vielä paljon tehtävää, jotta heistä tulee tämän tarinan pääosan esittäjiä yhdessä eurooppalaisten ja amerikkalaisten kollegoidensa rinnalla.</p>	
Asiasanat Länsimainen klassinen musiikki, Itä Aasi, Representaatiot, Stereotypiat, Kulttuurinen identiteetti, Binaarioppositio, Autenttisuus	
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Figure 1 Piano House in An Hui, China.¹ The Western classical music infrastructure in China and other East Asian countries is developing fast.

¹ http://shanghaiist.com/2007/09/30/piano_house_in_huainan_anhui.php

1 Introduction

1.1 Growing Interest

There is hardly any art professional in the West that would not feel responsible finding out what is going on in Asia (Amberla, 2011, p. 91).

East Asians, that is, Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, and South Koreans, constitute a considerable presence in the worldwide classical music scene in which other non-European groups remain largely invisible (Yoshihara, 2007). Not only are the world's top composers and performers of classical music of Asian descent but so are also the numerous orchestra musicians, music school professors, private violin and piano teachers, and students – not forgetting the East Asian consumers of classical music (Melvin & Cai, 2004).

Amberla (2011) from the *Rondo* magazine states that Asia is the fastest growing economic region in the world and it would be a wonder if Asia as a cultural power would not grow at the same pace. More specifically, to give evidence of the popularity of classical music among East Asians, approximately 40 million Chinese are studying the piano (Chan, 2011; Melvin & Cai, 2004); almost 50 percent of the students at the Juilliard School of Music (Kuusisaari, 2011) and 70–80 percent of the piano students at the Eastman School of Music in the United States are of Asian background (Yoshihara, 2007); 11 of the 49 participants in the 2009 Mirjam Helin International Singing Competition were Korean and three were Chinese. Also the production of equipment, whether pianos, cellos, violins, or compact disk players used in

classical music production is also ever more Asian field of know-how (Kraus, 1989; Melvin & Cai, 2004).

Newspapers and music magazines are accordingly writing about the popularity of classical music in East Asia and the success of the Asian musicians abroad. Media reports have begun pointing to East Asian countries as new superpowers of music, for example “die neue Klassik-Großmacht China” (Kuntze, 2011), and to East Asian descent performers and composers, such as Lang Lang, Nobuyuki Tsuji, Yundi Li, Han-Na Chang, and Muhai Tang, as preserving and revitalising Western classical music in the contemporary period (Wang, 2009). Cinderella stories about Asian musicians on their way to fame outside of their country are communicated through interviews, columns, autobiographies, and music critiques. This boom, “huge phenomenon” (Melvin & Cai, 2004, p. 1), or vigorous and rapid growth of investment, production, and consumption of classical music is especially seen to touch upon China and South Korea but also the rest of East Asia. In this thesis all of this interest is referred to as the East Asian classical music phenomenon.

1.1 Struggles with Identity Recognition

East Asian musicians work in a complex cultural field that combines the cultural realities of one’s nationality, ethnicity, and the cultural realities concerning Western classical music. The complexity of their cultural field makes it difficult to explicitly define or categorise them. Further, in the case of writing about East Asian musicians, discourses of culture may lead us easily and sometimes innocently astray by reducing the foreign Other as culturally

deficient, explains Holliday (2011). Regardless of some of its deficiencies, categorisation is being applied in public discourse, which is harmful in the sense that once categorising the East Asian musician into a fixed category of non-European Other the categorisation makes their belonging to Western classical/art music culture more problematic. Even when there is a growing interest towards prominent East Asian classical musicians in the European media, Western classical music is generally regarded as a part of quintessential white European culture, reminds Yoshihara (2007). Albeit globalisation has enabled the spread of classical music in East Asia, there still seems to be a certain pressure of tradition falling upon East Asian and East Asian descent artists. In some contexts, East Asian artists may not be considered 'authentic' representatives of European classical music. It is traditionally seen that the role of the performer is to communicate the composer's intent (see Thomas, 1998) and that the role of the composer is emphasised over the performer. If the performer succeeds in this, his/her racial or ethnic identity should theoretically be irrelevant (Yoshihara, 2007).

Further, Yang (2007) claims that socio-political factors conspire to maintain Europeanist discourses of classical music that make Asian participation in this cultural practice unnatural or less welcome. Kraus (1989, p. 202) bluntly remarks that "China's struggle for international recognition of musical successes must work against a subtle but pervasive racism". He implies that in China's context it is unavoidable to have such an important role as a musical ambassador without getting an Other label (Kraus, 1989). An example of this kind of cultural prejudice or Othering could be the inability for Western people to remember and place importance on Asian names (Kraus,

1989; Leppänen, 2000) and distinguish the Asian musicians from each other, because “they all look alike” (Kraus, 1989, p. 202; Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994, p. 161; Schlüren, 2008, p. 22). Leppänen (2000) also notices that Asians, the people of the Orient, are not seen as unique individuals but rather as homogeneous groups.

Not all of the East Asian or East Asian descent classical musicians have, however, experienced drama related to their ethnicity in the Western classical music context. After interviewing Asian musicians living in the United States, Yoshihara (2007) concludes that the biggest worry musicians are facing have rather something to do with getting food on the table and being better musicians.

Why is it relevant to research identity representations, then, if these issues do not bother the ones concerned? Here are some justifications from previous research: Yoshihara (2007) found that even though musicians find their musical identity more meaningful than their racial identity, it is their racial identity that shapes other’s perception of their musicianship. Yang (2007) arrived to similar results after surveying Asian and Asian American students at the San Francisco Conservatory.

In line with Yoshihara and Yang, Leppänen (2000) noticed that the identities of the violinists were constructed on the concepts of nationality, ethnicity, race, and gender in the Finnish media. This kind of attention also shows the ambiguous boundaries of race and nation that are typically placed on ideas of musical ownership (Wang, 2009) or in other words cultural appropriation. Yang (2007) reminds that old paradigms of proprietorship may still direct aesthetic judgements and shape the reception of Asian musicians on

the international musical stage. Although Asians have been mastering Western art music for over a century, the essentialist idea of this music, belonging to Europeans by natural right and being only on temporary loan to Asians, remains. Yang (2007) continues that alarmingly many Asian musicians go along believing in their inferior status, which stems from historical power imbalances and the Western classical music's myths of origins. She claims that for both Westerners and Asians it is difficult to get past the idea that Asian performers merely mimic or reproduce Western creative genius (Yang, 2007, see also Yoshihara, 2007).

Consequently, it seems to be worth studying how the authors of music magazines create representations of musicians' musicianship and cultural identity, and then further mediate those representations to the readers. After all, authors of the magazines do not merely write articles – they write stories, with structure, order, viewpoint, and values (Bell, 1998). Media has also the power to shape people's perception and create salience over issues.

The Asian classical music phenomenon serves an interesting starting point for an intercultural communication study that looks upon the ways of representing difference and sameness. There is no doubt that Asian countries have become an important global partner for Europe, also in cultural and artistic sense. It is important to look closely on how people from different backgrounds are being represented and communicated about as the amount of cultural contacts between people is all the time increasing.

1.2 Representations of East Asians Classical Musicians

With the previously mentioned observations in mind, two research questions were formed:

- How are East Asian classical musicians represented in the three European classical music magazines *Rondo*, *Crescendo*, and *Gramophone* during the period of 2002–2011?
- What kind of discourses concerning the cultural identities of East Asian classical musicians emerge from the magazines?

This thesis examines how East Asian musicians, when being performers, teachers, and/or composers of Western classical music, are being represented in social and cultural context and examines which of these representations or discourses are connected in the texts to their musicianship. Yang (2007) points out that the Asian classical musicians (not to mention African, Middle Eastern or South American) have received little attention from scholars, despite the remarkable increase in publications on music, race, and multiculturalism in recent years. There seems to be a research gap for studying representations of international artists outside their native culture especially at a time when East Asian classical musicians have become more famous in Europe and America. None of the previous studies that I have found have focused on representations of East Asian classical musicians made by European music specialists. Moreover, the few related studies found on the field of new musicology and Asian American studies of Leppänen (2000), Yang (2007), Yoshihara (2007), and Wang (2009), to name but a few, are relatively recent which is,

incidentally, a sign of topicality. Examination of East Asian artists or music performance is excluded from this study.

The structure of the literature review proceeds from general notions of culture and cultural identity towards more country-specific and subculture-specific examination. In the first section, the concepts of culture and cultural identity are defined for this thesis. The second section analyses politics of representations as well as stereotypes and Othering in the realm of Western classical music. The underlying assumption is that this study can be generalised to other intercultural scenarios, not only East Asian and Western classical music scene. In order to understand the context of the East Asian classical music phenomenon, the third section explores the trajectories of cultural exchange among the East Asian and the Western nations; in particular it explores the ways how Western classical music was introduced in East Asia and the reasons why it was integrated into the East Asian societies and has become such a successful phenomenon. The fourth section of the literature review looks at the classical debate about music as a universal language through the principal of musical autonomy and the concept of authenticity. These themes lead to questions on a more philosophical level such as who are considered the rightful heirs or practitioners of the Western classical music tradition.

2 Culture and Small Cultures

Defining the concept of culture sets the frame for how national culture and classical music culture are understood in this thesis. Culture defines a group of people; it binds people to one another and gives them a sense of shared identity (Liu, Vočič, & Gallois, 2011). In other words, culture is something that makes a large group of people unique, that is, different from the other group (Jandt, 2004), which is often an implicit assumption in intercultural communication literature (Piller, 2012). Culture is what navigates people's behaviour (Liu et al., 2011). Some cultural values, customs, traditions, and even attitudes are learned and transmitted from generation to generation, while some elements of culture undergo quick changes.

Communication and culture are inseparable; by sharing thoughts and knowledge one communicates their culture. Every cultural pattern and every act of social behaviour involves communication. Petkova (2005) sees that today cultural communities and cultural identities are strongly influenced by the process of globalisation and ongoing development of the human communication domain that reaches beyond the immediate cultural and geographic borders (see also Liu et al., 2011).

People can also be seen as belonging to a number of small cultures, or groups of significance. These small cultures may be more or less lasting, enduring, and stable and they can change according to their members (Holliday, Hyde, & Kullman, 2010). Stokes (1997) mentions music cultures

and classical music cultures as examples of vast small cultures or subcultures engendering communities or musical scenes that influence to their members identities (see also Leppänen & Moisala, 2003; Folkestad, 2002).

There is hardly any literature concerning the research of the Other that would not quote Said. In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) Said shows how imperialism, colonialism, slavery, and racial oppression can be traced in to the development of the poetry, philosophy, literature – and music. Instead of trying to track the connections between culture and imperialism, this thesis, such as Pennycook's book *English and the Discourses of Colonialism* (1998), intends to show how texts reflect and produce cultural constructs. In this thesis the concept of culture does not refer directly to high culture or some artistic domain but rather to much broader field of the ways in which we make sense of our lives, as in Pennycook's (1998) work.

Interestingly Taylor (2007) has noticed how the use of the concept of culture alters when discussing Western music culture vis-à-vis world music culture.

In the last few years I have seen with increasing frequency the word “cultural” used as an adjective to describe music, as in “cultural music,” “cultural instrument,” and more. [...] Inevitably, this “culture” is not what the West is thought to possess; in fact, the discourses around “world music” almost never refer to the West as the West, or as a “culture” (or complex of various “cultures”). Uses of the culture concept in world music operate under the assumption that whatever it is, the West isn't a culture in the anthropological sense; it is, rather, society or civilization. The term “culture” in the West, when used reflexively at all, usually refers to culture in the opera-house sense – high culture- or various ethnic (sub)cultures (Taylor, 2007, pp. 164-165).

This description gives the impression that the words *culture* and *cultural* are in these cases used when referring to something exotic and unfamiliar rather than

normal or familiar. The irony lies in that the concept of culture in literature is thus used both in describing something that is exotic and non-western but in the high culture sense something highbrow and elitist. Besides, Okely (1996) finds that anthropology as a discipline is fascinated about the dramatic between cultures; anthropologists of exotica may have unintentionally relied on the supposed assumption of difference when observing other cultures even when such difference does not exist. When observing geographically distant places anthropologists may be indifferent to the heterogeneity of their own cultural places (Okely, 1996).

2.1 Culture as a Dialectical Construct

Traditionally, intercultural communication studies, whether comparative or interactional, may have been seen as something that take culture as given, innate, or inborn. Piller (2012) notes that culture is often understood as nation and/or ethnicity. She argues that typical intercultural communication definitions of culture do emphasize the complexity of the term, acknowledge its numerous definitions, and link culture to group membership but fail to operationalise the notion and thus make culture an ubiquitous but a priori assumption (type culture A, B, and C). Louie (2008) criticises cross-cultural value analyses that aim to look for some essential cultural characteristics that often ultimately commend conventional practices such as treasuring family ties, respecting the old, valuing formal education, and honouring hard work – practices that are in fact found in most societies. He argues that no matter how we interpret, for instance modern Chinese culture, the only safe statement we can make about it is that it is vague and forever changing. Chinese culture

transforms quickly as time progresses, and trying to stabilise its essence for preservation will become more difficult. Louie (2008) adds that the essence of *Chineseness* has in fact become an ingredient for new fusions of different cultures.

Kubota (2012) continues to criticise studies in the field of intercultural communication that focus on perceived cultural differences (e.g. E. Hall 1976) and culture dimension models (e.g., Hofstede 1997) that to him resemble the colonial representations of the Other (Kubota, 2012). Chen (Starosta & Chen, 2010) is of the same opinion and regrets that the study of intercultural communication still continues to be seen through difference while similarity remains unnoticed. He takes the example of yin and yang, two opposites but complementary forces, which lead the way in “finding the similarities within the differences and recognizing the two sides of a coin through a meaningful dialogue” (Starosta & Chen, 2010, p. 130). Ting-Toomey and Chung (2012), however, defend value studies in asserting that intercultural misunderstandings may accumulate if the appropriate cultural values are not attached to explain intercultural situations. They counter that value dimensions explain average tendencies of two cultures and are useful in acting as a critical first step toward better understanding of potential cultural differences and similarities (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012).

In this thesis, a non-essentialist (Holliday, 2011; Holliday et al., 2010) and postmodern view of culture (Kubota, 2012) is being used, like in many current works in (critical) intercultural communication studies (Holliday, 2011). The essentialist view of culture sees culture as some physical place with evenly spread traits, as something associated with a country and language

(Holliday, 2011). According to Kubota (2012), the postmodern view focuses on the diverse, dynamic, and diasporic nature of culture instead of fixed cultural differences. Following Kubota, Moon (2010) stresses that instead of thinking culture as an unproblematically shared and relatively stable reality, culture is in fact a space of competing realities embedded in power relations. Starosta and Chen (2010) advice that instead of emphasising difference, differences should be treated as means rather than ends of intercultural communication. Culture may be perceived as dialectical: some of our behaviour depends of our individual characteristics and some behaviour reflects cultural influences, suggests Martin and Nakayama (2010). The dialectical approach can be referred to as *both/and thinking*, meaning that culture holds two contradictory ideas at the same time.

2.2 The Complexity of Cultural Identity

According to theories of identity, a person has multiple identities and some of these identities may be more important or have different functions than others at different times. For instance, the East Asian classical musicians interviewed by Yoshihara (2007) talk about their musical identities as mechanisms to sustain confidence and sense of self at the times of crossing cultures.

Individuals do create their own identity, but not merely under conditions of their own choosing. According to Alcoff and Mendieta (2003) identities are both imposed and self-made, produced through the interaction of names and social roles cast on us by dominant narratives together with the particular choices in how to interpret and resist them as well as how to relate them to the real historical experiences. Cultural identity refers to those social identities that

cover aspects of emotional significance that we attach to our sense of belonging to a larger cultural group such as ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, and national cultures (Hall, 1996a; Liu, Vočič, & Gallois, 2011; Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012).

Rüsen (2004) explains that by making difference between yourself and the other is a way to know who you are and what your identity is constructed of. Hence, according to the theories of difference and identity, the people who are representing the Other are usually the ones who are making sense of their own identity by placing themselves into a category – a category of oneself; in-group; we – and reflecting the world – the category of the other; out-group; they – from this category of security and familiarity. Taylor (2007) argues that binary oppositions are by far the most significant means by which modern Western bourgeois subjects made, and continue to make, conceptions of racial, ethnic, and cultural difference. He states that nowadays it is by difference that modern Western people can know who they are (Taylor, 2007). A discourse representing the relationship between western and non-western societies from a Eurocentric point of view is called the discourse of the West and the Rest in this thesis. According to Hall (1996b) things that are much differentiated are represented as something homogeneous, such as the West in this discourse. Similarly, the Rest, though different among themselves, are represented as the same in the sense that they are all different from the West (Hall, 1996b). Grossberg (1996), however, counters that theories of identity are challenged and emphasis is put on other things over the logics of difference and otherness, individuality and temporality.

Returning to the concept of cultural identity, Moon (2010) asserts that it still tends to be manifested as national identity. Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart (2009) define national identities as special forms of social identities that are constructed and reconstructed discursively. With the concept they refer to a cluster of similar conceptions and perceptual schemata, of similar emotional dispositions and attitudes, and of similar behavioural conventions the bearers of this national identity more or less share and have internalised through socialisation, that is, education, politics, the media, et cetera (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009; see also Matsumoto, 2002). To Folkestad (2002) nationality is like cement that makes different regions stay together despite their cultural and ethnic differences. Ting-Toomey and Chung (2012) say that national identity relates to one's legal status in relation to a nation and cultural identity, on the other hand, to the sentiments of connection to one's larger culture. Either way, nation and national identity may be part of cultural identity but according to Matsumoto (2002) there are other things crossing national boundaries that form one's cultural identity, such as education, religion, profession, community, family, ancestry, skin colour, language, discourse, class, skills, activities, region, friends, food, dress, and political attitudes.

Several scholars defend the idea of the existence of multiple identities. Said (1993) writes that new connections made across borders challenge the essentially static notion of identity that has been the core of cultural thought during the age of imperialism. In accordance with Said, Holliday (2011) suggests that being part of one cultural reality – a psychological entity that carries broad cultural meaning to the individual –

does not close off membership or ownership of another. Petkova (2005) agrees that nowadays most individuals belong to a number of social and cultural communities, such that their cultural identity represents a symbiosis or a compound of several cultural loyalties. In some cases, these allegiances may be even opposing and rival identities relating to quite different communities. Prashad (2001) argues that a single ethnocentric cultural identity cannot define any person of any race or ethnicity since culture is a process with no identifiable origin (Prashad, 2001).

Holliday (2011, p. 41) sums that “[...] the complexity of personal cultural realities, which transcend boundaries is sometimes in creative conflict with the external cultural structures of nation”. Similarly, Yoshihara (2007) states that the public representation of the artist and the artist’s self-image may sometimes be in serious conflict with each other. She found in her studies that being a musician was a more meaningful category of identity to the Asian musicians than their racial or ethnic identity. The artists used musician as a primary category of identity and often saw race as a category less relevant to their everyday lives (Yoshihara, 2007). Holliday et al. (2010) observe that what people say about their cultural identity should be read as the image they wish to present at a certain time, and this they consider natural as culture is a shifting reality anyway and not something packaged in a stereotypical personality (Holliday et al., 2010).

3 The West and the Rest

This thesis rests on Hall's (1996b) assumption that ideas of East and West as cultural constructs have never been free of myth and fantasy and even to this day are not based on geographic location. Yet, often these concepts are employed too easily in politics of Othering (Holliday, 2011) and need to be examined in order to tackle their simplistic assumption about difference (Hall, 1996b). An attempt on defining the concepts of East and West is made because these concepts are used throughout this thesis yet, at the same time their constructive and complex nature is questioned. Researching representations of East Asian classical musicians also means that these concepts of East and West, Asian and Western, et cetera, will presumably emerge in these representations.

3.1 Imagined West and Its Musical Heritage

The word *West* is often used to denote Europe and North America. Ferguson (2011) asks what about Russia or the Christian orthodox countries of Europe that are defined out of Western realm in Huntington's (2002) *The Clash of Civilizations*. In terms of technical science, Japan could also be seen as part of the West but as Hall (1999) notes, often in the mental maps of people Japan is situated as far as it is possible. These ideas already denote lack of cartographical proof, and in Okely's (1996) words the West seems to refer to a shifting spatial and cultural category that as such is uninformative. Sakai (2000) justly asks whether or not the West is one of the most effective and

affective cultural imaginaries of today. This would mean that the West is a historical, imaginary construction or discourse, just as Anderson's imagined communities, Delanty's invented Europe or Said's Orient. Further, Ferguson (2011) asks could an Asian society change western if it would adopt western norms in business and fashion, as Japan has done since the Meiji period and as the rest of the Asia seems to be doing at the moment. In what extent is the absorption of western ways seen as mere modernisation, westernisation, and globalisation without cultural depth (Ferguson, 2011)?

Even though European identity, not to mention western identity, is generally seen as another political and cultural construct, Petkova (2005) argues that a common European identity does, nevertheless, exist although it is not equivalent to the states of the European Union. She sees that in these mutual relations of interdependence and of social and cultural borrowings a common European cultural heritage can be recognised. Petkova claims that all Europeans share to some extent a sense of having something in common such as the knowledge and the aesthetic delight of the works of Homer, Shakespeare and Andersen (Petkova, 2005). One might ask whether also Beethoven, Chopin, and Debussy are something that the Europeans or western people have in common.

Contemplating the concept of the West leads us to the East–West dichotomy that follows similar patterns as the theories of difference and identity referred to earlier in this thesis (see Rösen, 2004; Taylor, 2007). In Hall's (1996b; 1999) view, the idea of the West can be seen to work in the following ways: First, the societies can be seen to be classified in two binary categories western and non-western in representation. Second, the West is a

group of images and as a discourse it condenses various features to one image or a group of images. It represents in verbal and visual ways an image of how different societies, cultures, nations, and places are. Images produce new images and connotation chains, such as western – urban – developed or non-western – non-industrial – rural – agriculture – underdeveloped. Thirdly, the West produces a model of comparison and evaluation. It shows how different something is from the West and how it is evaluated (western – developed – good – desirable or non-western – underdeveloped – bad – undesirable). It produces certain kind of knowledge about a subject and certain attitudes towards it (Hall, 1996b; 1999).

Following this play on words, the term Western classical music is by default Othering; the term western categorises the music to something that is not non-western, that is, western. The term creates the image of classical music to be western and only western, and the qualities that are attached to what is western and classical for example, inventive, intellectual, and elitist versus imitative, irrational, and popular. It also enables comparison with Western classical music and the rest of the music, whatever that is, and the possibility for evaluation.

Moreover, Western art music by itself, seeing it as a historical and discursive construct, has been closely tied to the logic and ideology of Othering since the mid-eighteenth century at the latest, claims Kramer (1996). The knowledge we use for thinking, analysing, socialising, and educating has been largely developed within the racial and cultural tradition of European modernist white civilisation, among the influential philosophers, scientists and educators that all have been white males, argues Scheurich (1997). This certain

white European male category has been kept at the centre of global representations (Dyer, 1997), also in the field of classical music. Traditionally, Western classical music is made into a discipline that includes and excludes. By canonising the Western musical program of classical music good music has been dissociated from the less good. Tastes are socially constructed and according to Bohlman (1992) they are under the power of those who have the canonical authority – often the Western editors, publishers, printers, archivists, librarians, critics, curriculum designers, et cetera.

In musical sense, the prevailing of tonality (the system of specific functional harmony) among composers of Western art music in the early eighteenth century and the rise of opera are considered to be salient characteristics of Western art music that, according to Taylor (2007), solidify European conceptions of selfhood against non-western Others particularly after the rise of European colonialism. Stokes (1997) explains that music is socially meaningful mostly because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places and the boundaries separating them. Opera and tonality were inventions that could distinguish the Western art music from the rest.

3.2 Illusory Asia and the Shadow of Orientalism

If the concept of the West evokes a myriad of meanings and connotations, the concept of Asia or East is neither unitarily determinable. Sakai (2000) begins his article *'You Asians': On the historical role of the West and Asia Binary* by stating that although the population inhabiting the area called Asia is called the Asians, it is not self-evident that “the people thus called Asians are able to gather themselves together and build some solidarity among themselves

through the act of their self-representation or auto-representation by enunciating not only we, but we Asians” (p. 790). Similar things could be said about a common Western solidarity.

In the West and the Rest thinking, western countries have historically ignored the differences among diverse Asian peoples as well as the difference between Asian nationals and overseas Asians. The Japanese, the Chinese, and the Korean seem to mix in popular culture and media, and this mix or *Pan-Asian-ness* is sometimes even used as a marketing tool, especially outside of Asia. However, as a result of Yoshihara’s (2007) studies concerning prominent East Asian descent musicians, a look upon them already showed great variety not only in their nationality but also in their upbringing, cultural identity, and respective relationship to Asia and the rest of the world. Although they all have Asian ancestry, the meaning of their *Asian-ness* varied greatly (Yoshihara, 2007).

The etymology of the word *Asia* is uncertain, but according to Sakai (2000) the word was invented by Europeans in order to distinguish Europe from its Eastern others and to constitute itself into a distinguishable unity. Yet, as we saw, there is neither guarantee of the Europe’s assumed unity that is inherently unstable and constantly changing. Hence, according to Sakai (2000), there is not a principle that would identify either Europe’s or Asia’s internal unity, except that it points to a certain group of regions and peoples that have been objectified by and subjugated to the West, which makes the term *Asia* negative and something opposed to the West from the beginning.

East-West dichotomy is the classic but contested cultural divide that gave rise to Orientalism (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009), which is also the

name for Edward Said's most famous work (2003). *Orientalism* analyses primarily nineteenth-century European writings of the Orient, the Arabo-Islamic world in this case, by using discourse analysis. Said (2003) explains that Orientalism is kind of like an archive of information from classical knowledge of the philosophers, religious and biblical sources, and mythology to traveller's tales. These archives maintained certain ideas and imposed certain stereotypes on the Orientals. Today, despite modern science and information technology access, these archives still exist, stories are still told and images maintained, for instance, by the same editors, publishers, printers, archivists, librarians, critics, and curriculum designers mentioned earlier. The discourse of the West and the Rest, for instance, is still alive and well in the modern world and can be traced from language, theoretical models and hidden assumptions of modern sociology itself, claims Hall (1996a). Said's Orientalism can, however, be criticised for instance of delineating the Orient as a holistic and exotic unit that is a coherent entity solely through its otherness to the West (Litvack, 2007) or for speaking of a unified western discourse at a specific historical moment let alone across centuries of historical change (Porter, 1994).

Returning to Sakai (2000), he sees that today, Asia is not necessarily subjugated to the domination of the West. Most of the Asian countries are, at least in theory, independent of their former colonisers. He also acknowledges that such terms as the West the Asia cannot be abolished overnight and that they are social realities even if they are of imaginary kind (Sakai, 2000). Hall (1999) agrees that it is almost impossible to avoid useful concepts such as the West or western, but it should be remembered that they

represent rather complex ideas and do not signal any simple, let alone one single meaning.

In many social contexts, however, people fail to qualify either as Westerners or as Asians as was seen in the results of Yoshihara's (2007) study. We come across more and more instances that may appear to be oxymorons: a Chinese or an East Asian with superb taste in classical European music, and so on. If there is not an inherent quality that shows a person either as Westerner or Asian why should the above-mentioned example be an oxymoron, asks Sakai and answers that it is only an oxymoron, if we are prejudiced or predetermined to think in that way. It is, thus, essential to avoid shaping Asia in a mirror image of the West and rather treat the category Asia as a consequence of constantly altering socioeconomic conditions (Sakai, 2000). From dialectical, non-essential perspective it is not determined who "really" is or is not a member of a cultural community – the tension over how those boundaries are drawn is rather highlighted (Martin & Nakayama, 2010).

3.3 Stereotypes as a Strategy of Discourse

The terms Asian and Western will probably raise connotations in the minds of their hearers and the qualities and characteristics attached to these group membership categorisations are considered as stereotypes (Oakes et al.; Schneider, 2004). Representation, like meaning, is never fixed. Stereotype, on the other hand, is often seen as a fixed general image or a collection of attributes believed to define or characterise the members of a social group. In addition to inflexibility, Pickering (2001) claims that stereotypes are often considered inaccurate because of the way they portray a social group or

category as homogeneous, such as in the discourse of West and the Rest. Stereotyping is, in fact, also a strategy of discourse (Bhabha, 1983). In stereotyping, certain behaviour, character or propensity is taken out of context and attributed to everyone associated with a particular group making stereotypes work as blanket generalisations (Pickering, 2001).

Stereotyping can be seen as a barrier for intercultural communication (Jandt, 2004). First, stereotypes may rise above individual characteristics or certain contextual matters and work as a filter that allows in information that is consistent with information already held by the individual. (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2007). Some stereotypes, when reinforced might become self-fulfilling prophecies meaning that people tend to see behaviour that confirms their expectations (Stephan & Stephan, 2002). Second, stereotypes hamper successful communication because they are oversimplified, overgeneralised, and often exaggerated; they are based on half-truths, distortions, and often on untrue premises (Samovar et al., 2007). When fixed, stereotypes may also be outdated. They can be based on old preserved notions that arise due to limited knowledge and/or culture contact (Prasso, 2006). Stereotyping may, for instance, deny the destabilising consequences of modernity and change in the modern world of ambivalence and transitoriness (Pickering, 2001). Pickering (2001) argues that the evaluative ordering, which stereotyping produces, always occurs at a cost to those who are stereotyped, because they are fixed into marginal position or subordinate status and judged accordingly, despite the inaccuracies that are involved in the stereotype given to them.

Pennycook (1998, p. 180) claims that Asia is constantly described as “catching up with the West”. Just as Said recognises stereotypes on the Arab world, Pennycook finds them in broad range of writings on China. He claims that there are a series of dominant discourses on China, which into the present day construct China in a very particular way dichotomising and essentialising to create a stereotyped vision denying any lived experience of Chinese people. The characteristics of a stereotype and a paradox may produce a discourse, a binary opposition, that constitutes China as underdeveloped, backward, dull, tradition-bound, ruled by a tyrannous Communist government, yet on the other hand exotic, mysterious, and paradoxical (Pennycook, 1998; see also Bhabha, 1983). Celli (2011) observes that aspects often recurring in the representations of contemporary Chinese society are the military culture and the martial arts culture of ancient Chinese society that have been present already in the globally well-known ancient writings of Sun Tzu and the like. Moeran (1996), on the other hand, notes that over the years the Japanese have been portrayed as childlike individuals. These representations are both embraced and rejected, difference is both eternal and temporary, and it is the paradox that gives the discourses its resilience (Pennycook, 1998; Bhabha, 1983).

Moreover, it is not always the Western authors imposing stories or making orientalist remarks of East Asians. Hung (2009) researched the media image of the internationally famous pianist Lang Lang and realised that Lang Lang (and the marketing team behind him) used orientalist stereotypes as a marketing tool. By stressing cultural values (e.g., performing with his father and showing filial piety), demonstrating cultural artefacts (wearing traditional clothing in concerts) or emphasising the ancient character of Chinese music (by

blurring the lines between the concepts of traditional music and modern Chinese art music) Lang Lang makes himself exotic in the eyes of Western classical music audience (Hung, 2009). Orientalist stereotypes sell records but might, on the other hand, leave the audience and critics sceptical about the true sincerity of the marketing.

From another angle, Oakes et al. (1994) argue that given that groups are real, not to represent them would be inaccurate. It is no more wrong to categorise people as groups than it is to categorise them as individuals. In other words, the group is irreducible to the individual. The group is as real as the individual, and it is the group attributes that are represented in stereotypes. Hence, Oakes et al. (1994) claim that in some contexts it is extremely appropriate to perceive and interact with people in terms of their group membership. As an example, the reception, increased popularity, and practicing of Western classical music in East Asian countries seems to be following somewhat similar patterns (see Melvin & Cai, 2004) and it is useful to refer to the members of this group as East Asian classical musicians.

Hence, it must be remembered not to interpret Othering in places where it does not apply. The dichotomy between the idealised self and the demonised foreign Other will most evidently indicate Othering (Holliday, 2011). The critique of stereotyping touches also upon the question of what is held to be natural or normal, what is accepted as legitimate and right (Pickering, 2001) or even genuine or authentic. An assumption of a typical or normal East Asian classical musician is a paradox by itself.

4 Western Classical Music in East Asia

Illuminating the historical context of Western classical music's arrival and development in East Asia will explain some of the premises of East Asian classical musicians in classical music world and consequently their prominence in the media nowadays. Second, it gives a glimpse of the cultural and ideological dimension of the West's expansion that might still today impact the cultural and artistic relationships of assumed Eastern nations and Western nations. Third, Everett and Lau (2004) claim that postcolonial analyses still sometimes refer to non-western components as the Other that are situated outside the Western cultural and musical core, without actually acknowledging the histories of Western music in the Eastern historical or musical experience. They see that this polarity continues to mystify the East and colour the critical reception of Asian musicians today, which is disseminated and amplified by the media.

Even though Western classical music is a relatively new phenomenon in East Asia, due to socio-historical transformations among other things, it is not that Western classical music is unknown or unpopular in East Asia. The last and present generations in China, Japan and Korea have had Western classical music play a crucial role in the music education curriculums (e.g., Everett & Lau, 2004; Herd, 2008; Hwang, 2009; Yoshihara, 2007), which is not the case in many European countries. In Korean everyday language the term music (ŭmak 음악) has even become to equal classical music while

traditional Korean music refers to music played with traditional Korean instruments (Hwang, 2009). Through adoption and eventually absorption Classical music seems to have delivered its legitimate place as part of East Asian music culture.

4.1 Symbols of Modernity

Originally, Western music is said to have spread to the rest of the world as Europe's power grew as a consequence of capitalism and industrialisation (Kraus, 1989). Western imperialism, the pursuit of western-style modernity by the Asian states and the values and images connected to Western classical music were the cause of the development of western-style music in East Asia (Yang, 2007; Yoshihara, 2007). Western art music was imported into China, Japan, and Korea through three key institutions that were the military, churches, and schools in the mid-nineteenth century, to China few centuries earlier (Lee, 1990; Melvin & Cai, 2004; Yoshihara, 2007).

“Where there is power, there is resistance [...]”, writes Foucault (1990, p. 95). During the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976) musicians were banned from practicing both national music and Western music and were instead set on labour camps to work. For some authors those were “fruitless years” for Chinese music (see Li, 1990, p. 198) and on top of the uncontrollable crisis and horrors of the Cultural Revolution a life work of one artist generation was being destroyed (Melvin & Cai, 2004). Kraus (1989), however, argues that the Cultural Revolution, beneath its tenacious opposition to individual works of European art, pushed Western music's roots ever deeper into Chinese society. After the censorship ended huge amount of young

composers and musicians entered the Central Conservatory of Peking to resume their musical studies (Everett, 2004).

Same strategy of using Western art music as a symbol of modernity and middle-class status has been implemented both in Japan after the World War II and in South Korea after the Korean War (1950–1953) (Everett & Lau, 2004; Hwang, 2009). In Japan, the Second World War faded pre-war musicians' opportunities and almost a complete ban of foreign music was launched, excluding some German music (Herd, 2008). Already by the 1950s, Japan had its own artists' agency and foreign artists were again visiting the country (Hewitt, 2006). At the same time, after the economic growth, Western classical music got a major start also in South Korea (Kuusisaari, 2006) although, Hwang (2009) states that classical music has not been able to ride the waves of success of the so called Korean Wave of popular culture. The piano, in particular, became a middle-class emblem symbolising modernity and class since through domestic mass production, of for instance the Japanese Yamaha and Kawai pianos, the acquisition of piano became possible for the middle-class workers (Yoshihara, 2007).

4.2 Cultural Exchanges

It is claimed that the history of Western music in Asia is not merely imperialist or unidirectional one from the West to the East. Rather, it involves multi-layered flows of people from different cultures, institutions, ideas, and creative genius from one culture to another (Yoshihara, 2007; Cooks, 2010). Nederveen Pieterse (2009) explains that cultural hybridisation is a sort of a mixing of difference since it refers to the mixing of Asian, African, American, and

European cultures. Yet, he sees that the very process of hybridisation shows difference to be relative and takes a dialectical approach towards culture; looking at it from another perspective the relationship of cultures can also be described in terms of affirmation of similarity – or transcultural compatibility. Influence from both sides is recognised, accepted, and cherished and made into a global *mélange* (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009).

After World War II as a result of growth in institutional resources, technological advances, and educational reform the political and social situation in East Asia was finally open to cultural exchange. This meant that Asian musicians had a better chance to pursue their musical education in West, while Western musicians and composers travelled to various parts of Asia. This reverse flow of Asian musicians, musical instruments, and instruction methods from Asia to the West began in the 1960s (Everett & Lau, 2004).

Herd (2008) explains that, for instance in the 1960s in Japan, foreign institutions funded international projects involving music and art and provided extraordinary opportunities for Japanese to study and work abroad, among them the composer Seiji Ozawa who had already established his reputation worldwide (Herd, 2008; see also Everett Y. U., 2004). In addition to instruments and musicians, also methods of music instruction, such as the Suzuki Method, was imported from Japan to America in the 1960s.

In the case of twentieth century art music, Everett (2004) uses the term cross-fertilisation and transculturation² that is taking place between the Western nations and East Asia. He claims that on the one hand it is true that the processes of modernisation and Westernisation have indeed altered the

² Cooks (2010, p. 119) defines transculturation in terms of complicated set of relationships where constant contacts are so strong that they dilute the boundaries of national cultures.

pragmatic and aesthetic domains of for instance music making within Japan, China and Korea. On the other hand, it is important to remember that East Asian cultures have inspired Western nations' aesthetic consciousness and led to expansions of topics and genres in art music in the course of the twentieth century. Nederveen Pieterse (2009) agrees Europe to be the recipient of cultural influences from the Orient, and sees the hegemony of the West to be a relatively recent phenomenon dating from the 19th century and possibly from industrialisation. In this context it is noteworthy to remind, that much of the heydays of classical music from the middle of the 19th century until 20th century were during the age of imperialism and Western hegemony (Ferguson, 2011).

For example, the trend of conscious adaptation of non-western musical and aesthetic influences into Western classical music began from mid-nineteenth century onwards. East Asian inspiration can be traced back to composers such as Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), Puccini (1858–1924), and Debussy (1862–1918) – who all borrowed musical forms from outside their own cultures and manipulated them to such an extent that it usually requires a significant amount of expertise to find the borrowed material (Taylor, 2007; Everett, 2004) and yet belong to the category of Western music (Li, 1990; Locke, 2000). Everett (2004) argues that as the repertory of art music has moved beyond the Orientalist and exotic paradigms of cultural appropriation, these things should be taken into account also in the collective discourses and subjective interpretations. In texts, contemporary music of cross-cultural synthesis, as Everett and Lau (2004) mark it, is often set under the titles of East-meets-West, East-West Confection and Asian explosion.

Some scholars, however, question the depth and sincerity of the strategies of assimilating Western classical music into East Asian culture and emphasise the importance of long-term creative input. Chou (2004) believes that no creativity was left in Asia in the 1950s and that many Asian cultures existed as if in a void. Although the end of the cold war and the Asian economic bloom in the 1980s brought an end to the desperate situation a shadow of the past still glooms around the corner. Even when all of Asia is again alive with creativity having a myriad of gifted artists as well as scholars and scientists making contributions to all realms of culture not only in Asia, but also in the West, Chou (2004) regrets that these artists have inevitably come under the influence of Western trends and fashions because they lack a solid foundation in their own cultural legacies. He offers the advice of the ancient sages who believed that the source of creativity is to be found in one's heritage; to revitalise the legacy of a culture thus requires responding to stimuli coming from both within and outside the culture (Chou, 2004). When cultural legacies are vibrant again, imitation will give way to assimilation, and creativity will once again be the source of cultural renewal. Only then, the fruitfulness of these revived cultures will be ready to interact with Western cultures, leading to a genuinely global new era (Chou, 2004).

Herd (2008), on the other hand, counters that at least the Japanese artists have succeeded in the assimilation process. According to her the process whereby a fundamentally alien art form was transformed from rote imitation to original styles that have found acceptance in the international music world illustrates the resiliency and endurance of Japanese culture (Herd, 2008). The Koreans and Chinese quickly followed the Japanese musicians into the

international music scene (Yoshihara, 2007). Young East Asian musicians entering and winning international music competitions, however, became criticised as shallow. Sometimes, competitions, for all their shortcomings, were seen as the only way a non-western musician could gain respect, by beating Westerners in their own musical games (Kraus, 1989).

Those East Asian classical musicians relocating across cultures in order to study or work will challenge the very basis of their cultural beings, states Kim (2001). They might face significant adaptive pressures from their new cultural and/or subcultural milieu while displaying mixed cultural traits (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009). An example of a subcultural milieu of East Asian classical musicians' could be, for example, the new classical music study, performing, or working environment. When adapting to the new subculture East Asian musicians might face the social pressure of belonging to the tradition of Western classical music. This unspoken pressure of tradition defines what Western classical music and its musicians should and should not be like and this is manifested in discourse.

5 Music and Representation

The representation of music and musicians is closely interconnected and thus important for the research question concerning the representations of East Asian classical musicians in the European media. Even if music cannot articulate feelings nor sensations explicitly it can be communicated about in various different ways; musical sound is mediated by notations, by technological and visual forms, by practices and through performances, by social institutions and socioeconomic arrangements, by language, such as in lyrics and narratives, theoretical research and critical reviews, advertisements and other discourses, and by conceptual and knowledge systems (Born & Hesmondhalg, 2000; Everett, 2004). An example of music's ability to represent is Richard Wagner's music dramas that became, for many, an embodiment of a sense of *German-ness* that represented the new, united nation (Bayly, 2004). This sense of *nation-ness* in music has to do with everything that is related to and communicated about the music – both explicitly and implicitly. This means, that also the musician, performing this music, will face expectations of how the music should sound like. Whether music represents the culture around it or manages to transcend the everyday life has been under discussion since the 19th century.

5.1 The Other-Worldly Value of Art

The aims of the European composers of the Classic period (1750–1820) were high. They attempted to create something above and beyond national styles,

something of worldwide validity, a universal language of music in which all peoples, without distinction, and all levels of society too, could take part – language of humanity (Blume, 1972). The *autonomy principle* or as Taylor (2007) explains it, the classical music ideology, is founded on basic concepts such as genius and masterpiece. It cherishes the idea of transcending the time and the place in which an artwork was written “[s]ince artworks are thought to speak directly to their listeners or viewers, whatever history, culture, or social conditions produced them are thought to be irrelevant” (Taylor, 2007, pp. 3-4). In other words, classical music was assumed to embody within itself universal, otherworldly values and truths that were immune to the impact of everyday life and were immune about its concrete human interests (Shepherd, 2003; Kramer, 1996). This aesthetic ideal would also have meant that concepts such as nationality, ethnicity, race, and gender would be considered as something extramusical that would not concern the music itself, and that music would thus belong to everybody. Still nowadays, certain consensus exists on the positive power of music in general that is put to expressions, such as “Music knows of no race”, “Universal music”, and “Music across borders” (Fock, 1997, p. 55).

5.2 Art as a Social Construct

However disputed character Mao Zedong ever was, he believed that all the arts, including music, were to serve the society and were inseparable from the customs, feelings, language, and history of a nation (Melvin & Cai, 2004) annulling the idea of musical autonomy. Today’s critical musicologists are somewhat on the same track. They are being critical towards the idea of music

transcending the borders of culture, time, and place. “Music is more than notes,” declares the introduction of the book *The Cultural Study of Music* (Clayton, Herbert, & Middleton, 2003). The foundation of the book lies in the thought that culture matters, and therefore any attempts to examine music without situating it culturally are illegitimate (Clayton et al., 2003).

Naturally, arguments against the Western music’s universal qualities are several, states Clarke (2003). For him the idea is bourgeois, hegemonic, and Eurocentric in that it wants to present its socially and historically specific paradigm as universal and as the measure against which all other music is evaluated. In Huntington’s words: “What is universalism to the West is imperialism to the rest” (2002, p. 184). European high culture is considered universal and all other cultures ethnically marked (Yang, 2007). By declaring music as meaningful purely in its own terms, the autonomy principle promotes the idea of the “fossilized museum culture of classical music” (Clarke, 2003, p. 159). In addition, it is patriarchal and sexist, for example, in that it does not consider gender even though the canon of Western classical music consists exclusively of masterpieces of male composers (McClary, 2002). The culture of classical music has been principally developed in within this racial and cultural tradition.

According to Herd (2008), music is not a universal language. It is a diverse group of languages closely related to cultural identity. In the age of globalisation, it is undeniable that contemporary musical styles around the world are becoming more alike in technique, but the manner in which these styles are conceived differs in many respects. Traditional views on music’s permanent nature, universally understood beauty, independency of its social

context and the composer as the primary meaning maker are questioned in critical musicology. Music should always be connected with the social, economic, and political context – to the time and place where music is being listened, played, and composed (Leppänen & Moisala, 2003). Interest in art has always gone, and will always go, hand in hand with some kind of extramusical interest on political level (Fock, 1997).

5.3 Interpretation and Musical Authenticity

When musicians are represented in the media, their ability to interpret music is often evaluated at the same time. In the Oscar winning document *From Mao to Mozart: Isaac Stern in China* from 1980, Stern is teaching Chinese students interpretation of Western classical music implying that Westerners had an organic relationship and natural understanding of classical music that comes from their culture, and on the contrary that the Chinese do not have the experience of living with Western music for hundreds of years (Yoshihara, 2007). In the above mentioned example national, ethnic, and cultural background is seen meaningful and essential in considering the quality of the musical interpretation.

Taylor (2007) declares in his book *Beyond Exoticism* that Western European music for centuries has been concerned with representations and appropriations, as to some degree all music. Still nowadays nation dictates much of what is considered deriving authority from a supposedly unbroken tradition or constitution of our tradition (Said, 1993). First of all, many of these claims of appropriation lack historical accuracy. Besides, as Kraus (1989) states, music has different functions depending of the context where it creates

its own history of sentiments, loyalties, and resentments. Thus, music's meaning only exists within the culture where it is performed and heard and therefore the seeking of musical *authenticity* or *appropriation* can be seen shallow.

In music, the notion of authenticity is closely connected to the autonomy principle. It varies from a universalist position that disproves the presumed connection between race/ethnicity and music-making to a particularist position that sees the inherent, culturally specific nature of musical expression (Yoshihara, 2007). Through interviews with the Chinese and Chinese-American musicians, Yoshihara (2007) formed principles that fit this universalist and particularist views towards the notion of music's authenticity.

Defenders of the universalist position cherish their anti-commercialist, anti-materialist, art-for-art's-sake ideals that embrace the universal humanism. They oppose the attitude that sometimes illustrate the audiences inclinations to assume that musical understanding or expression have something to do with the musician's geographical, historical, cultural – and by implication racial or ethnic background. Universalist principles assume that 1) it is provincial and even racist to think of musical understanding as geographically and culturally bound. 2) Nobody owns classical music any more legitimately than others. 3) In today's information society it is possible to gain understanding of other musical cultures. 4) The ability to express musical ideas, including those that originate in cultures other than their own, is a sign of a competent and talented musician (Yoshihara, 2007).

The particularist views, on the other hand, emphasises that self-identity does influence the music making results. It assumes that 1) Music

making is somehow shaped by one's racial and cultural background. 2) If the musician and the composer are of the same nationality or ethnicity, the music is considered more authentic. Adjectives such as instinctive, innate, and inherent may be found from the discourses representing this view (Yoshihara, 2007).

From an academic standpoint, it is easy to criticise both of these views: the universalist position can be criticised as being devoid of historical and social specificity. It partly echoes the neoliberal rhetoric of globalisation ignoring the unequal access of different classes and people from different regions, political spheres, et cetera. The particularist position, on the other hand, can be charged with essentialism (Yoshihara, 2007), that is, treating individual behaviour or a particular element of culture as the unique core that is constrained by the cultures in which they live so that the stereotype becomes the essence of who they are (Holliday, 2011). In addition, the particularist position may be seen simplistic and out-of date. Lau (2004) claims, that instead of sticking to nationalist or Orientalist discourse, there is a need to understand boundary crossing and make room for the need to create multiple identities that shift the global market of classical music.

The views of the musicians interviewed by Yoshihara (2007) were not permanently on either side but rather defined in both positions. Even if the interviewees took the universalist position they sometimes acknowledged that some musical sensibilities and aesthetics were recognised as more Asian (Yoshihara, 2007). What comes to the example *From Mao to Mozart* it seemed that the particularist view towards the notion of authenticity was the ruling one there. According to Miike (2010) culture is both deeply felt yet it is inherently elusive and this is the challenge of indigenous theorising. Also, what the

listeners see as authentic often depends on who is the composer of the music and who are the listeners themselves (Bellman, 1998). How does the perception of musical interpretation change when the listener does not know who the musician is or where he or she is from? For the sake of equity, should blindfolds be compulsory in all entrance examinations of symphony orchestras? In conclusion of the chapter, one cannot deny the representative power of music that is closely connected to the way musicians are represented in the media. By reflecting one's thoughts about what is authentic and what is not and why one can perhaps better contemplate one's ideas about perceiving and representing art, culture, and people.

6 Methodology

The basic assumption of social constructionist approach used in this thesis is that the media texts do not merely mirror realities (Fairclough, 1995) but are rather socially constructed and context dependent (Hall, 1997). In accordance with Wetherell (2001) this study sees that as the authors write articles about East Asian musicians they form representations and shape the world simultaneously. The aim in this thesis was to capture these representations and summarise them into categories of discourse.

Said (2003) states that a human being in his/her own circumstances cannot avoid his personal involvement in the production of knowledge in the human sciences. He argues that no matter how objective one wants to be in his/her studies one can never ignore one's involvement with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or being a member of a society (Said, 2003). The researcher's own frame of reference directs his/her eyes and thoughts and hence wearing of 'cultural eye glasses' is inevitable. This claim to offer only a biased "subjective" account is called the crisis of representation according to Taylor (2001). By implementing a critical interpretive methodology in this intercultural communication study some of the minefields of essentialism and neo-essentialism (Holliday, 2011) are hopefully avoided. Bracketing (Holliday, 2011) or putting aside one's own preoccupations and existing national stereotypes of Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, Koreans – and classical musicians was important in this kind of representational study.

6.1 Research Questions

- How are East Asian classical musicians represented in the three European classical music magazines Crescendo, Gramophone, and Rondo during the period of 2002–2011?
- What kind of discourses concerning the cultural identities of East Asian classical musicians emerge from the magazines?

This thesis examined how East Asian musicians of Western classical music are represented in specialised magazine publications and examined which kind of discourses were connected in the texts to their cultural identities. In recent years, East Asian artists have been portrayed in numerous cover stories and articles in newspapers and magazines. Yet, as explained in the introduction, there seems to be a research gap for studying media representations of international artists outside their national cultures from an intercultural communication perspective. Despite the prominence of East Asian's in Western classical music there is little previous study on representations of East Asian classical musicians formed by European music specialists even when these authors have canonic power over the shaping of the future of classical music.

The examples of few related studies also focus on artists' identities from differing viewpoints. Leppänen's (2000) doctoral thesis in musicology examined how the newspaper media in Finland discussed the 1995 Sibelius Violin Competition. One of the research foci was on the different construction of identities of the competitors from all over the world in terms of gender, nationality, ethnicity, and race. *Musician's from a Different Shore* by

Yoshihara (2007) concentrated specifically on East Asian artists' cross-cultural adaptation in the United States. The focus of Everett and Lau (2004) is on intercultural exchange and synthesis in the book *Locating East Asia in Western art music*. Yang (2009) researched the ways in which artistic, ethnic, national, and postmodern identities collide in the Western art music tradition in her article, *East meets West in the Concert Hall* issued in the journal *Asian Music*.

6.2 Methods

This study is by nature multi-method. It combines both quantitative and qualitative research methods. A quantitative content analytical approach for researching the surface structures and mapping the possibilities of the articles was chosen for this type of a critical media study. A discourse analysis approach was chosen to follow the content analysis to provide a thick description of the data and it is used as the main method of this study. Also in the history of critical studies, discourse studies were used to go beyond the more traditional, content analytical analysis of images of the Others towards more deep linguistic, semiotic, and other discursive properties of text (van Dijk, 2001). In this case, the content analytical data would not have been able to describe the subtle deep structures of the whole data content. On the other hand, discourse analysis would have been difficult to execute without looking first at the data by content analytical means since discourse analysis is not meant to be a consistent research method but rather a suggestive theoretic and methodological framework. On account of content analysis, the data could be presented in condensed and more general form to begin with (Pietilä, 1976).

6.2.1 Content Analytical Approach

The main purpose of the quantitative content analysis used in this thesis is to map the themes of the articles and examine the attitudes towards the East Asian artists in order to prepare a ground for the discourse analysis. Content analysis is defined as a group of methods that through following scientific rules make observations and collect information. Through content analysis, information about the researched document content is collected either textually or statistically (Pietilä, 1976). In the beginning, 10 volumes of all the three magazines from years 2002–2011 were skimmed through to map the content. All articles concerning East Asian classical musicians or classical music phenomenon or any reference to China, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, or Asia were first read and entered into Excel worksheets arranged according to the magazine.

The information in the Excel worksheets included year, issue, pages, article name, author, type of article/genre and East Asian classical musician/musicians mentioned. During the second reading a new category of words referring to nationality, ethnicity, geographical location, and descent was added. These words and their variations were used as key words when researching the relevant articles in the electronic PDF version of *Crescendo* in order to enhance validity. The new chart also included East Asian classical musician's focus in the article (main focus, secondary focus, mentioned only in passing, other), East Asian classical musicians as actors (quoted directly, referred to but not quoted, other), and value dimension about the attitudes towards the East Asian musicians (positive, negative, neutral, mixed). Finally, theme categories on the basis of the chosen sample articles were found.

The primary cluster of information (name, date, page numbers, authors, actors, and genre) was collected to understand the type and extent of the content and to add reliability since this information is necessary for the repeatability of the study. Reference to nationality and ethnicity as well as the focus of the artists and the way of quoting the artists in the articles was then collected to confirm the validity of the articles concerning the research question and to define the terms for the final sample of the study. At this point the forming of the criteria for the sample was possible. The main purpose for analysing the attitudes towards the artists and the themes of the articles was to provide answers to the first research question of how the East Asian classical musicians are represented in the music magazines. The content analytical results prepared the ground for the discourse analysis.

In the end, articles that had at least one East Asian classical musician or the classical music phenomenon as a primary or secondary focus formed the sample of the study. Article was used as a unit of analysis. A mere name reference without a context relating to that person or the East Asian classical music phenomenon was not considered enough to be counted as a unit of analysis. A criterion of words was chosen to only include texts over 200 words. The CD, DVD, book and concert reviews were, however, left out since this type of music criticism was considered as a topic for a new research. A list of the sample articles can be found at the very end of this study.

6.2.2 Theme Categories

According to Pietilä (1976) defining and choosing the content analytical categories on the basis of the research problem can be seen as the most important phase of the content analysis (Pietilä, 1976). Seven different theme

categories were found to describe the content of the articles concerning East Asian classical musicians. Some of the articles were included in various theme categories depending of the content. All of the articles of East Asian artists touched upon at least one theme category. The approach was inductive, data-driven, and the categories came into existent by reading and re-reading the articles and seeing which themes kept reappearing. After this the themes of each article were counted to see which categories were the most frequent. These results are presented in chapter 6.

East Asian Classical Musicians

- 1) Social background
 - Upbringing, parents, class status, etc.
- 2) Music study, profession
 - Teachers, schools, practicing, colleagues, repertoire, etc.
- 3) Performances, competitions
- 4) Musical expertise, musical works, composers
- 5) Marketing
 - Stardom, media appearance, record sales, et cetera.
- 6) Evaluation of the artist (e.g., virtuosity, interpretation)
- 7) The East Asian Classical music phenomenon context

The first category, social background, includes the information about the East Asian artist's background such as upbringing, parents, and class status.

The second category, study/profession, includes the everyday professional or study life of the artist. This category includes information such as teachers, schools, practicing, colleagues, and repertoire.

The third category, performances/competitions, includes information about the performances the artist is attending or has attended as a performer and about the competitions the artist is attending or has attended as a competitor.

The fourth category, musical expertise, includes artist's opinions of composers, musical works, interpretation on music's aesthetics and style, et cetera.

The fifth category, marketing, includes information concerning the artist's stardom, media appeal, appearance, record sales, record deals, et cetera.

The sixth category, the evaluation of the artist, includes all the information concerning the evaluation of the artist and his/her work.

The seventh category, classical music phenomenon, includes the information that refers to the East Asian classical music phenomenon.

6.2.3 Discursive Approach

In this study, the term discourse is considered a group of statements that provide a language for representing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. Discourse analysis as a method explores the meanings produced by language and communication. It aims to perceive and categorise various meaning-making processes, networks, and practices from the data. Jokinen, Juhila, and Suoninen (1993) describe discourses in an eloquent way by saying that discourses do not exactly “flutter” around in our social reality to be captured by the researcher. Instead, the researcher analyses and interprets our manifold text universe and forms discourses, condensed and interpreted summaries, of these texts.

According to Fairclough (1995) the people who represent always make choices about what to include and what to exclude in a text. These choices are partly a matter of vocabulary, metaphor, or grammar. Furthermore, Fairclough (2003, p. 8) insists on the change producing effects of implicit and explicit messages carrying texts by saying that “[...] texts have causal effects upon, and contribute to changes in, people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world.” The opinions of the authors influence the discourse structures of the articles (van Dijk, 1998) and as soon as the magazine is published the beliefs, attitudes, and opinions of the authors are no longer private but mediated to a vast readership. In some cases, subtle, routine, everyday forms of text that may appear ‘natural’ and quite ‘acceptable’ maintain some sort of control and dominance over represented groups (van Dijk, 1993). Nesler, Qaguinis, Quigley, and Tedeschi (1993) explain that the recipients, on their behalf, tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals, or reliable media in the condition that they are not inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences.

In addition to representational and change producing functions of discourses, they also have the capacity to build identities and understanding of ourselves, each other, and relationships between people. As mentioned before, individual and group identities are also formed in language. From discourse analytical point of view identities are not self-evident, inherent labels, or unchangeable facts but are construed in everyday language, history books, media representations, et cetera (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009). Since the

location of the Other is primarily in language it can be used as an example in discourse analysis since it is through language that selves and Others are mediated and represented. The symbolically construed Other and the patterns of social exclusion and incorporation entailed by it are distributed in signs and language, discourse and representation.

In this study, discourses referring to nationality, ethnicity, foreignness, Otherness, authenticity, identity, and exotic were the focus since these discourses will presumably reveal something about the attitudes and opinions of the authors about East Asian classical musicians and their cultural identities. By finding ways of representing East Asian musicians continuously in the same way creates a way to reach a nexus of discourses and their hierarchies. Sometimes old, existing, and presumable representations are being questioned and one can talk about juxtaposed power and counter representations and discourses that react with one another (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009).

6.2.4 Discourse Categories

The meaningful discourses for this study were formed combining both inductive and deductive approaches; Both, previous research on East Asian classical musicians and the data content helped to reveal new clusters of discourse representing East Asian musicians and the classical music phenomenon.

At first, frequently appearing discourses relating to the research question were underlined from the texts. Next, the most accurate excerpts containing these discourses were written in a Word document under different working titles and printed out. These excerpts or passages were then cut and

categorised into different piles that eventually formed the four different discourse categories. The excerpts were colour-coded for to find similarities, differences, paradoxes, and repeated patterns as Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009) instructed. After this, the pieces of paper were arranged into a collage with each excerpt under one of the four discourse categories. When writing down the results, passages from the texts were provided to enable a detailed analysis of the data. The discourse categories are the following:

The Discourse Categories

1. The Discourse of Imminence
2. The Discourse of Nation-ness
3. The Discourse of Techno-Orientalism
4. The Discourse of Cultural Bridge

The first category, the discourse of imminence, includes discourses that were interpreted based on threatening, culturist, and/or warlike lexicon.

The second category, the discourse of nation-ness includes discourses that were representing East Asian classical musicians as representatives of their national cultures and categorising them in groups according to their nationality or ethnicity.

The third category, the discourse of techno-orientalism, includes discourses that reflect Asians as mere technical wonders without artistic style or deepness.

The fourth category, the discourse of cultural bridge, describes the contexts where East Asian musicians are presented as unifiers of eastern and western culture.

6.3 Music Magazines as Empirical Material

Within the extent and time frame of this thesis, three magazines – Rondo, Gramophone and Crescendo – were selected to represent three different European music magazines that were accessible, either in the Finnish libraries (Rondo and Gramophone) or in the Internet archive in PDF file format (Crescendo). The issues selected are within the time frame of ten years from 2002–2011.

There are several reasons for choosing these magazines: Besides accessibility and choice of language, the German and the British magazine are good representatives of magazines from countries having the most traditional and influential classical music research, education and practice in Europe and being among the most influential creators of the classical music canon throughout the history of Western classical music. The German Crescendo and the British Gramophone are also one of the most well known magazines in their respective countries. Also the Finnish magazine Rondo is Finland's most well known and most circulated classical music magazine. What comes to choosing music magazines as a source for intercultural communication study, I believe that they provide a versatile data that reveals discourses on representations of cultures. Those discourses further influence conversations and become realities in intercultural face-to-face communication events. The aim was to choose three magazines that would be compatible with each other. All the music magazines are aimed for a similar yet marginal audience consisting of music professionals, music teachers, musicians, artists and amateurs of music, between the age group of approximately early teens to adults.

6.3.1 Crescendo

Crescendo is published seven times a year in Munich, Germany, by Port Media Gmb. The circulation is 73,209 (2010) which makes it one of the most important culture magazines in the German-speaking world. Once a year, a Festspiel Guide, which focuses on upcoming events, is issued. Since the year 2007 Crescendo also published an award issue called ECHO Klassik. The editor-in-chief changed from Klemens Hippel to Winfried Hanuschik (2006–). Liselotte Richter-Lux is responsible for the Festspiel Guide.

6.3.2 Gramophone

Gramophone is published in London by Haymarket Media Group that is a privately owned media company. Haymarket Consumer Media publishes a number of consumer magazines and websites. Gramophone has an edition in the US and a global edition in China, South Korea, Russia and Spain. The circulation in 2011 was 26 291. In addition, Gramophone focuses on music reviews and selects the best albums and artists every year by publishing an extra issue, Gramophone Awards. Since the April issue 2010, the cover page of the magazine labelled “The World’s Best Classical Music Magazine” changed to “The World’s Authority on Classical Music Since 1923” and later in 2011 it changed to “The World’s Best Classical Music Reviews”. Gramophone is published monthly. The editor-in-chief changed from James Jolly (1989–2005) to James Inverne (2005–2012). From 2012 onwards the editor-in-chief has been Martin Cullingford.

6.3.3 Rondo

Rondo is a Finnish magazine that has a circulation of 8500 (2012). It is published in Helsinki, and the rights of publication are owned by Classicus PLC. The magazine has a national delivery (plus delivery in other countries for

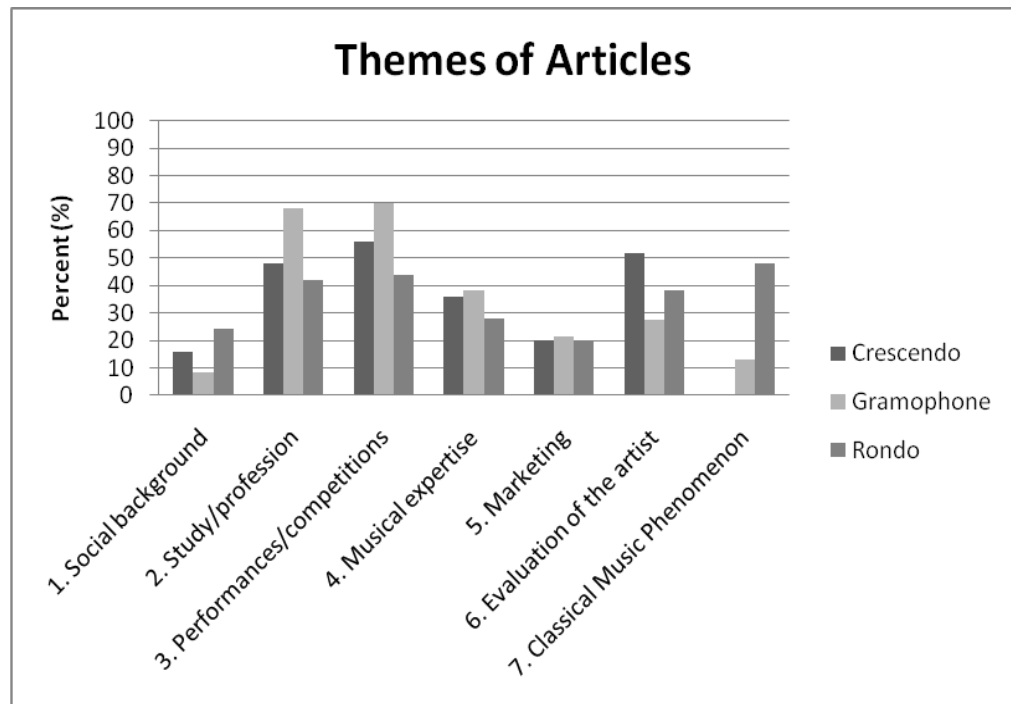
additional price). Rondo discusses the current phenomena and events in the Finnish classical music scene and around the world. The editor-in-chief is Harri Kuusisaari (2000–) who has also written many of the main articles in the magazine. Rondo name changed into Rondo Classica in 2004. Not to confuse the reader both Rondo and Rondo Classica magazines are referred to as Rondo in this thesis. Rondo was published ten times in years 2002–2004 and from 2005 onwards each month.

7 Themes, Attitudes and Artists in Representations

At first, 314 issues from the time period of 2002–2012 were analysed. From these 314 issues, 70 issues were from Crescendo, 130 issues from Gramophone, Gramophone Awards included, and 114 issues from Rondo. Two of the Crescendo issues were missing from the electronic archives and they are thus reduced from the total amount of Crescendo issues.

122 articles, that filled the criteria, formed the sample of this study. From these articles Crescendo had 25 articles concerning East Asian classical musicians, Gramophone 47 and Rondo 50. It is important to remember that the sample proportions between the magazines were different. Therefore, the percentages for themes of the articles and attitudes towards the artists were counted.

Table 1 Theme Categories



East Asians in classical music does not seem to be a merely trendy topic but has been under discussion since the beginning of the 21st century in the music magazines portraying similar kind of topics, themes, and discourses. Looking at the themes of the music articles, East Asians classical musicians do not stand out pronounced from the other non-East Asian artists as the most discussed themes concerning them were the musicians' study/professional lives, and performances/competitions (see Table 1 Theme Categories). Over 70 percent of the articles in Gramophone, 56 percent in Crescendo, and 44 percent in Rondo touched upon the topic of performing/competing whereas the articles on music study/profession were present in over 68 percent of Gramophone, 48 percent of Crescendo and 42 percent of Rondo articles. The most frequent themes in Crescendo articles concerning East Asian classical musicians were performances/competitions, evaluation of the artist, and study/profession. In Gramophone, performances/competitions and study/profession were clearly the

most frequent themes. In Rondo the East Asian classical music phenomenon (48 %) was the most frequent theme although performances/competitions and study/profession were not far behind. Crescendo focused the most in evaluating the artists in its articles (52%).

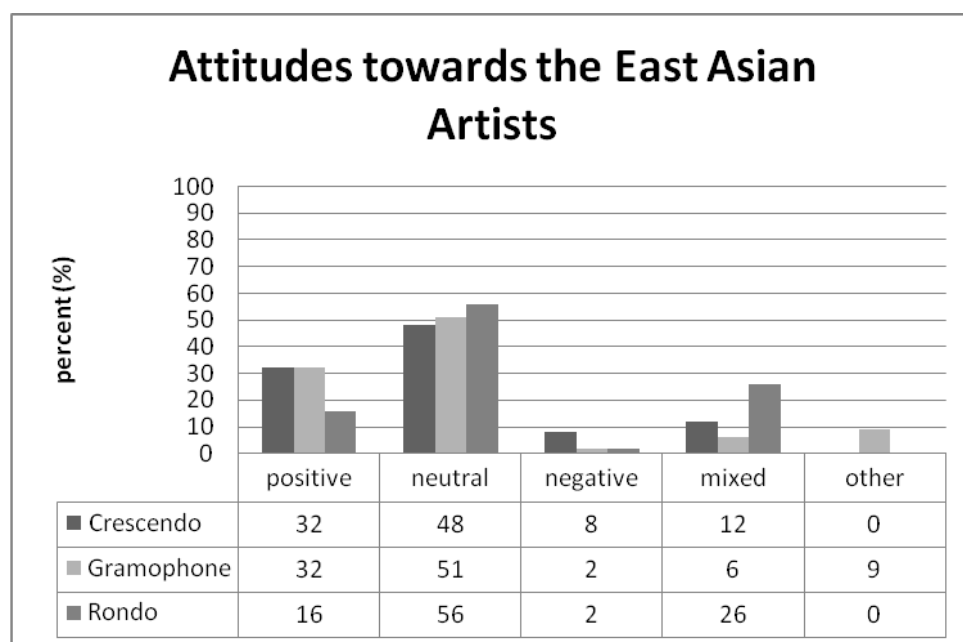
As discovered, the East Asian classical music phenomenon set a frame to numerous articles in Rondo magazine and also to some extent in Gramophone. What is noteworthy about these results is that Crescendo did not have any articles concerning the East Asian classical music phenomenon. In Crescendo, this phenomenon was not at all acknowledged or mentioned in discourse. One can conclude that East Asian classical musicians were represented in Crescendo articles from individual standpoint rather than as representatives of a phenomenon. This meant that the ‘boom’, which was the theme of many passionately written articles in Rondo and Gramophone, was not relevant for Crescendo.

Hardly any palpable differences between the magazines attributable to their countries of origin could be showed of being country-specific rather than magazine-specific. In general, the British Gramophone seemed to emphasise less the nationality and the descent of the artists and one can only guess whether this is due to the relatively multicultural society of Britain. Gramophone was also the most commercial of the three magazines putting emphasise on advertisement and record reviews. Crescendo focused the most in the evaluation of the musician’s talent, skills, and musicianship. Rondo differed from the rest with its entertaining reviews on trends and phenomena in the Finnish and international music scene. There was no clear evidence of the

evolvement of the themes during the time period of 2002–2011, since the themes were found relatively evenly throughout the whole study period.

Attitudes towards the East Asian artists and their context were mostly neutral meaning they did not include any directly evaluative judgments towards the East Asian musicians (see Table 2). Gramophone and Crescendo had the most positive attitudes towards East Asian classical musicians. The tone of the texts was rarely straightforwardly critical; relatively few (12) of the articles had a solely negative attitude towards the artists or the phenomenon in the magazines. Rondo, however, had relatively many (26) articles that showed a mixture of positive and negative attitudes (mixed) towards the East Asian classical music phenomenon and its representatives. The articles, which were labelled other, were about musicians being the authors of the articles themselves.

Table 2 Attitudes towards East Asian musicians



The pianist Lang Lang was the artist whose name appeared by far the most in different articles. His name appeared in as many as 41 different articles in total (see Table 3). The composer Tan Dun was the second most mentioned and the pianist Yundi Li the third most mentioned artist in the three magazines. In general, the most internationally famous artists of the classical music world were mentioned in all the three magazines. The artists that were mentioned in less than four articles were left out from the table. East Asian artist Lang Lang had a cover picture in *Crescendo* and *Rondo* and two in *Gramophone* during the years 2002–2011. Yundi Li, Yo-Yo Ma, Sarah Chang, and Mizuho Kojima also had cover pictures once during the period.

Table 3 Artist's name appearing in different articles

Artist	Crescendo	Gramophone	Rondo	Total
Lang Lang	14	17	10	41
Tan Dun	3	5	9	17
Yundi Li	1	6	6	13
Yo-Yo Ma	1	5	3	9
Midori	1	2	5	8
Kent Nagano	3	3	1	7
Sarah Chang	0	2	4	6
Unsuik Chin	1	1	3	5
Mitsuko Uchida	0	3	1	4
Seiji Ozawa	0	3	1	4
Xuefei Yang	0	4	0	4
Han-na Chang	1	0	3	4
Ray Chen	2	2	0	4

8

The Four Discourses of East Asians in Western Classical Music

Language of the sample articles revealed a certain passion towards the topic of East Asian musicians and their prominence in the classical music world and the topic seemed to provoke strong assumptions, questionings, opinions, and colourful language use that were found even among the seemingly neutral articles. In many articles, the attitudes towards East Asian artists and their success were not indifferent although the articles were not, as was found out in the content analysis, solely negative or positive but mostly neutral. The amounts of articles written about East Asian musicians and the East Asian classical music phenomenon revealed that the topic intrigued the authors and experts of classical music. Four different discourse categories were found to describe the different ways of representing East Asian classical musicians and their cultural identity in the sample. Those were the discourse of imminence, the discourse of nation-ness, the discourse of techno-orientalism, and the discourse of cultural bridge. These discourse categories were found more or less evenly throughout the sample of 2002–2011.

8.1 The Invader – the Discourse of Imminence

“If there’s no trust, there’s an invasion. If there’s some measure of trust, there’s an exchange” (Smith K., 2002, p. 26).

These are the words cellist Yo-Yo Ma utters for Gramophone when he talks about cultural exchange and his multicultural artistic initiative “The Silk Road Project”. He uses the word invasion, which is also used many times in the music articles by the authors of the music magazines – to describe the East Asian classical music phenomenon.

The first discourse category, the discourse of imminence, was found in Rondo and Gramophone magazines, since Crescendo did not cover the topic of East Asian classical musicians as was found earlier in the theme analysis. The sample reveals the authors of the music magazines label the East Asian classical music phenomenon in discourses such as *the Chinese Musical Explosion; the China Boom of Classical Music* and *Revolution in the East*. James Inverne of Gramophone even entitles his editorial solely in Chinese characters 中国音乐的革命 (*Chinese Classical Music Revolution*) (Inverne, 2007, p. 4). Referring to the phenomenon, Raekallio (2008, p. 46) states, “the colonisation of Western classical music seems to be ahead in its own old heartland”.

What is noteworthy about the articles in these magazines is their relatively extensive content of warlike vocabulary, which gives the East Asian classical music phenomenon a powerful and slightly negative tone, as though something unknown or threatening would be approaching.

Koreans are taking over the singing. The march of the Korean singers is the most noteworthy feature of the Miriam Helin singing competition. Confucian work ethic, Spartan educational methods and tradition of singing in a choir is behind the Korea phenomenon. [...] What is the reason of the Korean storm, and why is there not a similar phenomenon in Japan? (Kuusisaari, 2009, p. 6).

The lexical choice in *taking over*, *the march of Korean singers* and *the Korean storm* combined with cultural explanations about *Confucian work ethic* and *Spartan educational methods* will inevitably draw a somewhat imminent or threatening picture of the participants of the music competition. “The Asians are increasingly invading the student places in European university-level music schools”, predicts Mieko Harimoto, professor at the Tokyo College of Music (Kuusisaari, 2007, p. 9). The verb *to invade* is usually used when describing an enemy’s intrusion to a territory without permission. Also, Kuusisaari (2006, p. 28) draws in *Confucian work ethic* by saying that: “Korean musicians are ambitious and Confucian discipline lashes them forward from early study life”. According to Yang (2007, p. 13) the Confucian work ethic is often used to substitute the idea of ‘real artistry’ or ‘intellectual substance’.

Further in the texts, East Asian classical musicians are referred to as *tigers*, such as in the articles “Tigers are coming: The China Boom has also Reached Classical Music” (Heino, 2005, p. 38), “From Child Prodigy to Cello’s Tiger” (Kuusisaari, 2006, p. 24), or “Cello’s Tiger from Korea” in which “Cellist Han-Na Chang belongs to the cutting edge of South Korean music invasion” (Kuusisaari, 2011, p. 70). Tiger may be a reference to the so-called Four Asian Tigers of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan (Huntigton S. P., 2002; Nederveen Pieterse, 2009; Morley & Robins, 1995) that according to Sarel (1996) are known for their powerful and intimidating economic performance. Traditionally tiger has symbolised power and fear (Tresidder, 2003). Tigers are also mentioned when playing on words with film names and Chinese classical musicians: “Lang Lang is the Crouching Tiger and Hidden Dragon of piano” (Nurmentaus, 2003, p. 6). Also other

combinations of cultural symbols and film names are used in the article headlines.

Enter the Dragon: Lang Lang and Yundi Li are just two pianists in the vanguard of the Chinese invasion of classical music [...] There are now, depending on which source you believe, anywhere between 15 and 60 million Chinese studying the piano with ambitions to turn professional. It will only take a relatively tiny proportion of those pianists to succeed for it to have a seismic effect on the classical music world. We're not talking a slight tremor here; this is a cultural earthquake. Our musical landscape – to whom we listen, to what we listen, perhaps the arts infrastructure itself – may be inexorably altered (Inverne, 2007, p. 36).

Enter the Dragon is a martial arts film from the 1970. The headline is probably chosen here to make a humorous connection between the Chinese musicians and the ancient Chinese cultural symbol *dragon*, but even more likely between Lang Lang and his at that time new album *Dragon Songs* (2006). In the same quote there is a reference to the proximity of Chinese classical music phenomenon referred to as *in the vanguard of the Chinese invasion of classical music*. The phenomenon is also referred to as a *cultural earthquake* that will have *seismic effects* on the classical music world. Here again connotations of threat are being constructed in the form of nature catastrophe that will somehow alter the status quo permanently. Inverne also talks about the phenomenon using in-group categorisation of *Us*. He talks about our musical landscape that will be altered by the *Other*.

8.1.1 Children or Adults?

Apart from the tiger references, the musicians as individual artists are not represented as frightening or threatening – on the contrary. Often a term, *child prodigy*, was brought up in relation to East Asian musicians referring to those musicians who have been spotted at an early age as especially talented and

musically gifted individuals such as Midori Gotō, Sarah Chang and Yo-Yo Ma who have already made long careers as artists. Many times these artists, such as Chang, emphasise how: “surprisingly difficult [it is] to get rid of the child prodigy label” (Arffmann, 2003, p. 15). Chang continues that she has had the label for so long time that people did not really know how to position her (2003, p. 15). Arffmann (2003) writes that the record company EMI has been patient with Chang’s “sticky” teenage years. It was relatively easy to market 8–9-year-old child prodigy but at her teens Chang was not really a girl, yet not a woman (p. 15). Child prodigy label is present also in the cover page of the same Rondo magazine where the title reads “Sarah Chang: Child prodigy grown up” (Rondo, 2003). Also Gramophone talks about Chang as the child prodigy who started playing at four, was studying at the prestigious Juilliard School by five, and was engaged by the New York Philharmonic by eight (Gill, 2007). The difficulty of getting rid of the child prodigy label is not as surprising any more.

Next to the use of warlike language it is almost comical to find excerpts of interviews in which Yundi Li, also known as the piano prince of China thanks to the elegance of his playing, explains that he likes tiny details and collecting of small things – but also fast luxury cars (Kuusisaari, 2011, p. 35). Perhaps this is a way to make the musician seem more approachable but, on the other hand, it may undermine his professional status of what a serious musician should be like. As for Lang Lang, he often seems to be represented as a somewhat naïve and childlike musician: “Meeting me at the Grand Hotel lobby is an ordinary looking China boy, who always travels with his mother” writes Kuusisaari (2011, p. 27). Although the Time magazine (2009) has listed

the 29-year-old musician to be within the 100 world's most influential people he is referred to as *a China boy*.

All in all, the texts concerning the East Asian classical music scene in 2002–2011 seem to imply that things are “evolving at a tremendous speed” (Kuusisaari, 2006, p. 23), that East Asian musicians are downright “flowing from the world's most populated countries” (Kimanen, 2007, p. 19) and “flooding [another nature catastrophe connotation] to the rest of the world” (Suomalainen, 2007). Notably in China, the “juggernaut publicity machine” (Gramophone, 2008, p. 22) surrounding Lang Lang allures “China's new armies of music fans” (Inverne, 2007, p. 38) and China, the “new musical empire in making” (Inverne & Jolly, 2010, p. 26) can be seen as partly assuring classical music's future also in the West. The use of language clearly implies that things are happening big and fast and that all this might be intimidating to the establishment of Western based classical music scene. At the same time, however, the East Asian musicians' stories are seen as representing harmless and childlike individuals that transform tigers into tiger cubs.

8.2 The Asian - The Discourse of Nation-ness

As Leppänen (2000) discovered, the violinists in the 1995 Sibelius Violin Competition were presented as representing entire nations. The competition was seen as a rivalry between different countries, even superpowers of music (China, Russia, Europe), and the nationality of the competitors was almost as important as their names in the newspaper articles. It was very common to present an identity category of nationality of musicians (both East Asian and other nationalities) in the music articles, as Yoshihara (2007) accordingly

found out. In this thesis, this was especially the case when these musicians were more or less unknown for the public or presented for the first time although particularly in Rondo magazine the nationality was seldom left out. “The Japanese virtuoso violinist”, “der chinesische Meisterpianist³”, “half-Japanese, half-German Alice Sara Ott”, New York lebende Shanghai-Chinesin Xiaying Wang⁴” are examples how musicians were often presented in the articles. References to artists representing a whole nation could also be found: “In this as in many other things, Lang Lang epitomises the Chinese music scene. It is bursting with energy” (Inverne, 2007, p. 41).

It was especially interesting to see how artists such as Kent Nagano, Sarah Chang and Yo-Yo Ma were represented in the music magazines since they all have been born outside Asia, yet are sometimes referred to as half-Japanese, half-Chinese, half-Korean, et cetera. Kent Nagano has been born in California to Japanese parents and visited Japan for the first time during his early career as an assistant conductor. Yo-Yo Ma was born in Paris and Sarah Chang in the United States. All of these musicians are leading very international lives and have had Western classical music education in European and American music universities. Yet, the national categorisation referring to their ethnicity and nationality seems to be prevailing in Crescendo and Rondo magazines. Gramophone is less keen in categorising the musicians in the articles according to their ethnic background even when new artists are being represented. Kent Nagano, for instance, is being described as the American composer, man of the world and the modern maestro in the article “Kent Nagano, Hero of Montreal” (Farach-Colton, 2011, p. 38). In this article his

³ The Chinese virtuoso pianist

⁴ Shanghai-Chinese Xiaying Wang living in New York

ethnicity or Asian ancestry is not mentioned, even though his family and childhood in California are being depicted. All this shows that what is considered as being East Asian varies tremendously depending of the context and the source.

Even if the idea of musical autonomy is seen old-fashioned nowadays, politics is something that is not very often drawn into discussions concerning classical musicians. In Rondo magazine Lang Lang was linked to political discourse being the only East Asian in that regard. According to Kuusisaari (2011) Lang Lang has during his career had the chance to meet President Barack Obama, President George W. Bush, President Bill Clinton, Queen Elisabeth II, Vladimir Putin, to name but a few and...

It is clear, that the Chinese does not do this kind of mingling as a private person, but in one way or another is signed up by his country's government. Lang's position has, however, not been defined more precisely than to be an unofficial "ambassador", and he does not speak about it. Evidently, the Chinese administrators think, that he is the best possible person to polish the country's imago – and they are right about this. Lang Lang knows how to represent, and he personifies the climbing of the Chinese to the top of Western culture. He has not spoken a word about politics or the human rights situation in China and one does not feel like asking, either. Not to mention about his numerous connections to the business world. Also in this sense he represents the model citizen of his country. The order goes: make as much money as your heart desires, but keep your mouth shut (Kuusisaari, 2011, p. 30).

In this excerpt the name 'Lang Lang' has been replaced by a term referring to nationality ("the Chinese"). Similar to the Sibelius competition, also Lang Lang seems to have been put to represent a whole nationality in "the climbing of the Chinese to the top of the Western culture" through his personal success. He is also a model citizen of his country in being quiet about his country's politics and having "numerous connections to the business world". The conclusions about the Chinese government acting through Lang Lang are

severe but do not have actual prove. One might also wonder whether it is the musician's priority to explain about one's national politics to a music magazine – especially when the musician is not even asked to. The text makes overgeneralisations about the Chinese and labels Lang Lang in a particular way.

The historical and political context is of course important to take into account. The major mistake of the 2012 Summer Olympics in London to show a South Korean flag when the North Korean athletes were being introduced, only showed how strained the relations between South Korea and North Korea are. The two Koreas have, after all, regarded each other with hostility for 60 years (Kichan, 2007). It shows little tact to have fun about the relationship of the two countries, as it is done in the article concerning the 2006 Sibelius Violin Competition: “At first, the performing order sounded almost the same as North Korea's official religions holy trinity: Kim, Kim, Kim...” (Pietilä R., 2006, p. 6). Also Kuusisaari (2006, p. 28) plays with the idea of repetition of Korean names, but leaves North Korea out of the game: “Lee, Lee, Lee, Lee, Kim, Kim, Kim, Kim. Here are some names from the previous Sibelius Violin Competition's participation list, although one can find similar lists in any other international music competition.” This kind of representation of the competitors makes the Korean violinists seem like a homogenous group of which the individuals would be impossible to distinguish from each other. A few times in the articles East Asian artist names were also misspelled.

8.2.1 National Categorisations

The data revealed that some authors of the magazines were interested in finding out about the cultural differences and national characteristics in relation

to Western classical music. Articles were quoting music experts who sometimes analyse the essence of some culture by categorising whole nations: “In Japan, Korea and China it is often important to aim at stardom and less frequently to playing together” (Gothóni, 2005, p. 26). Matti Raekallio is a Finnish piano professor from Juilliard School in New York who has had many East Asian descendent students. He has opinions about the different East Asian nationalities as musicians, which he tells about under the sub-heading *The Invasion of the Asians*:

There are also some commonalities [between the Asian musicians] and these are rigorous work ethic and the will to succeed. The Asians manage fast through tasks and one does not have to tell twice. Sometimes, the respect towards the teacher feels excess. The mastery of the instrument is invariably perfect and beauty is aspired in timbre – breaking down barriers is not typical for them. There are country specific culture differences as well. In my experience, the Koreans are often openly temperamental, much less aestheticians than the Japanese. As for Chinese, they are such a huge group that all the stereotypes can be forgotten in their case (Kuusisaari, 2011, p. 30).

Sometimes, instead of lumping together whole nationalities differences between East Asian nationalities were emphasised. The previously quoted professor Harimoto from the Tokyo College of Music, classifies different Asian nationalities in the article *Classical Music's Focus on Asia?*

Koreans are passionate and have a strong character. Chinese tend to master the flow and the sleekness of music that probably stems from their language. Japanese are traditionally plagued by academic rigidity: they are afraid to show their feelings. Now, among the young this self-consciousness seems to have disappeared. The Asians have something in common also: certain consideration or delicacy. The Finns, by the way, have the same characteristics, surprisingly (Kuusisaari, 2007, p. 9).

Kolja Blacher, a German violinist and a teacher, is asked about racism in the orchestras. He remarks that latent racism is not merely a German phenomenon. As an example he mentions Russia, where people would turn up one's nose at a

German playing Prokofiev or Shostakovich because a German cannot play

“their music”. Blacher continues that:

It may be so that the Japanese are more musically reserved than the Europeans, but this is explained by their cultural background. On the other hand the Chinese musicians play very wildly. In my opinion one cannot say that the Asians play this or that way. There is a lot of difference in their playing (Lukkarinen, 2010, p. 29).

Despite these generalisations, all the articles of these excerpts warn about not making too big generalisations about the Asian musicians. “There is not only one ‘oriental’ pianist type”, states Häyrynen (2009, p. 27) after comparing the two personal players Yundi Li and Lang Lang. Yet, there seems to be many, can be read between the lines. On the whole, there seems to be an idea of what a national sound and national character are like and they are being described in the excerpts, even though national character is no longer an acknowledged term at least in scholar works of critical intercultural communication (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010).

The East Asian musicians themselves were also asked to tell their opinion about cultural differences concerning music. Culture was drawn into the discussion to explain some of the differences. There were questions such as “[h]ow can a young Chinese artist sense the Polish local colour of Chopin’s music?” (Kuusisaari, 2006, p. 24) or “[h]as living within European culture given you a different understanding of European music?” (Gramophone, 2002, p. 13) or “[w]hat do you think about the differences between Western and Chinese music pedagogy?” (Kuusisaari, 2011, p. 35). Yundi Li follows Kuusisaari’s style and makes a distinction between Western and Eastern style drawing in Western individualism on the one hand and Confucianism on the other as a cultural resource:

One invests more in individual development in the West. China is influenced by the Confucian tradition, which emphasises that things are passed into the next generation. Both have their pros and cons. In my opinion, each one should develop according to one's own cultural premises. One cannot copy other person's success (Kuusisaari, 2011, p. 35).

In some cases the artists wanted clearly to present themselves as representatives of their national group, such as when Han-Na Chang answers after compliments about her strong playing:

But aren't all of us Koreans emotional and temperamental! Perhaps the turbulent mentality is part of our history from few decades back that has been exceptionally violent (Kuusisaari, 2006, p. 25).

Here Han-Na Chang is seemingly proud about her common cultural identity with (South) Korea. According to Holliday et al. (2010), the things that people say about their cultural identities should be read as the image they wish to present in certain context rather than as evidence of an essential national culture. These kinds of self-presentations were most often visible in the Rondo and Gramophone articles.

8.3 The Virtuoso - The Discourse of Techno-Orientalism

East Asian musicians were often related to the concept of virtuosity in the music magazines. The paradox lies in the term virtuoso since from a Western classical music point of view it should cover both – in-depth musicality and skills to understand music and the ability to interpret it, and on the other hand, skills to master the instrument technically brilliant so to make it serve higher goals of interpretation. According to Häyrynen (2004), one recognises a true virtuoso from the quality of the playing. The ability to master an instrument in every situation tells a lot about the player. One should be precise in technical detail, but not pedant; one should aim towards temperamental interpretations

and seeming easiness. Häyrynen makes the distinction between a true virtuoso and a rank virtuoso: a real virtuoso is simply a phenomenal survivor who flies beamingly over all barriers. A charmer's character is an essential part of the interaction between the virtuoso and the audience since nobody is a virtuoso without an audience. A rank virtuoso, on the other hand, is an industrial performance robot (Häyrynen, 2004).

Ist die Zeit etwa vorbei, in der asiatische Musiker vornehmlich als reine Technikwunder belächelt wurden? (Pieschacón Raphael, 2011, p. 17).

“Is the time almost over when Asian musicians are ridiculed as mere technical wonders?” asks Pieschacón Raphael (2011, p.17). In general, all musicians are perhaps most criticised and analysed for their skills to interpret music.

Leppänen (2000), however, noticed that the relation between musical interpretation and technical mastery of Asian competitors in particular was evaluated unevenly in the violin competition – many times their performances were judged to be too much of a presentation of technical skills. This connecting of technology and the East Asian countries, especially Japan, has a term – techno-orientalism – in which cold, impersonal machine-like and authoritarian features lacking emotional connection to the rest of the world are associated with *Japaneseness* that is destined to be mirrored through the fears and fantasies of the Western society (Morley & Robins, 1995).

Similar findings were found in my study in the sense that often technically brilliant players were seen lacking in interpretative ability, which is essential for the determining of artistry and thus the musicians were excluded from the elite of the great interpreters of Western music: “The standard products of the factory-like Juilliard School, Sarah Chang and Midori, can play

their instruments, of course, but any notable musical insights are yet to be heard from them” (Kimanen, 2007, p. 19).

From the East Asian musicians Lang Lang is definitely the most famous (see Table 3 on page 63): “Lang Lang ist heute eine internationale Marke“⁵ (Kittel, 2010). By keeping a position like this he is obviously not saved from critique concerning his musicality.

What is the result when the Chinese virtuoso pianist has to get by on his own and open up to numerous CD listeners: extravagantly slow “Träumerei”⁶ that more like slept than daydreamed, and Beethoven Concerto that ran though insignificance to, only at its best, melt into a cadenza to serve the tone of the testosterone-hardened virtuoso (Brüggemann, 2008, p. 5).

What I find quite staggering about all this is that Lang Lang though unquestionably a master of the mechanics of piano playing, is blatantly lacking in musicality and taste. Not for nothing is he known as “Bang Bang”. One occasion springs to mind. In 2003 the Verbier Festival celebrated its first decade, and among the season’s highlights was a massed piano concert featuring such stellar artists as Martha Argerich, Mikhail Pletnev, Leif Ove Andsnes, Emanuel Ax, Evgeny Kissin and... Lang Lang. [...] When artists of today are compared to such phenomena, it’s less about music-making than creating cult figures, which is always dangerous. Heaven help us if, in 50 years’ time, people are searching for “the new Lang Lang” (Smith, 2006).

In the column and critique above, Lang Lang is clearly put into the category of rank virtuosos by being unquestionably a master of the mechanics of piano playing, but lacking in taste. In addition, Lang Lang is called by a mockery name *Bang Bang* associating it with banging the piano. The ellipsis (three dots) marks a pause in the list before Lang Lang’s name and hereby discretely excludes his name from the list of the “stellar artists”.

Volker Banfield, a professor of a piano masterclass in Hochschule für Musik in Hamburg, was also provoked when asked about the quality of

⁵ Lang Lang is today an international brand.

⁶ “Daydream” by Robert Schumann

Lang Lang's playing: "The boy makes me feel pity. He is manually gifted but has no idea of style. He is a victim of calculated marketing" (Voigt, 2008, p. 13). Here style and technical talent (manually gifted) is juxtaposed. Style and taste seems to have a clear connection with the "right" and unwritten way to interpret or perform Western classical music. In addition, the term marketing and observations about looks are very frequently mentioned, as there is a discussion about the *Chinese* pianist Lang Lang:

Part of his popularity undoubtedly stems from his showmanship. Lang Lang plays with a theatrical physicality, his head thrown back, his arms at full stretch. But while his energetic performances of Romantic repertoire have earned him a reputation among concert-goers for firework-virtuosity, they have also earned him caveats of the 'fine, but what next?' variety from critics (Cullingford, 2005, p. 12).

Lately, it has been rather the "sunny boys" who have got the big campaigns of the record companies: the overemotional, Chinese golden boy Lang Lang, the assumed "German Glenn Gould", Martin Stadtfeld, or in the mean while already burn out Yundi Li (von Freuden, 2007, p. 25).

Lang Lang certainly provokes debate – to some he's a poet with a prodigious technique, to others he's merely a flashy showman. He certainly seems to enjoy playing the part of the superstar soloist, with his shiny jackets, spiky hair and larger than life gestures (Baker, 2009, p. 19).

Even though one should not deny his artistic merits, it is easy to see how much the market system in the background influences the product development and the gel hairstyle (Häyrynen, 2009, p. 27).

The disclaimer above does, however, diminish Lang Lang's artistic merits since they are discursively drawn closer to the marketing system and consequently towards consumerism and popular culture. By these words Häyrynen (2004) also makes null and void what he said earlier about virtuoso's charmer characteristics, including public appearance, being important for the virtuoso.

Crescendo asks from a world-known baritone Dietrich Fischer-

Dieskau whether it is true that the singers from Russia and South America are excellent and that the Asians even imitate these legends:

Yes, they [the Asians] imitate, but often there is a lack of understanding the essence [“Durchdringung”] of the music. It is a big problem that ever fewer singers have idea of the language – yet that is the prerequisite for understanding the score (Brüggeman, 2007, pp. 11-12).

Seldom, however, there is an explanation why East Asian musicians lack in style or deepness. Yet, when this is done, whether to praise or criticise Asian classical musicians for their interpretative abilities, often a connection is drawn between their Asian background and their performance of classical music (e.g., Kuusisaari 2006, p. 24). The success of Asian classical musicians is often attributed to the work ethic, commitment to education, family values, and other traits that are presumably specific to Asian cultures, both by the music magazines and the musicians (e.g., Raekallio 2008, p. 10). Häyrynen (2007, p. 37), for instance, suggests that “[t]he mechanical interpretation sometimes connected to Asian players can be related to certain education methods that stress rote learning and repetition”. The attributes connected to one’s musical talent are explained by Asian cultural background rather than by one’s classical music culture background. Music professor Yong Wang’s answer to Henell’s (2010, p. 28) question “[h]ow is it possible that both Chinese musicians and sportsmen are now conquering the Western arenas at a top level?” is direct.

Wang answers:

The fact that Chinese have got to the top tells about us as people. We invite here western teachers and coaches, we copy what they do and then we just try to do everything better. Young students practice six to seven hours per day. They are diligent and precise – and they have a

dream. Nowadays families are rich, so that they can buy a Steinway. [...] If they [students] want to play Sibelius, it is not enough to listen to CD's in China. They can go to study in Finland (Henell, 2010, p. 28).

Wang clearly has an idea of the Chinese musicians – the way they behave and the aspirations they have. Wang also enforces the idea of Chinese being mimickers rather than true interpreters. He suggests that the Chinese will go to Finland to study classical music, whereas many music students in Finland have aspirations to go elsewhere to acquire the best classical music education (Leppänen 2000).

After interviewing Chinese musicians Inverne (2007, p. 39) sees that: “Studying and working abroad is a vital part of overcoming the stereotype of Chinese musicians as soulless craftsmen rather than inspired artists.” He (p. 40) speculates whether “the image of Chinese musicians as automatons” stems from the fact that sometimes parents in China do not have other choice than to quit their job in order to support their child to succeed in classical music. From this moment on the child is the family’s only hope, as was the case with Lang Lang whose father quit his job in order to look after him while his mother was earning money for the family (Ritz & Lang, 2008). Inverne (2007, p. 40) continues his question “[t]hat many of them [young Chinese musicians] don’t actually have the heart for a job they’ve been forced to do?” Lang Lang’s answer takes into account China’s classical music infrastructure and the historical past of China.

They usually still have heart. And in fact the real problem is that we don’t have enough good teachers. How could we have? The teaching traditions in Moscow, London, Paris, these have built up alongside the creation of great classical music over centuries. In China we have not been exposed to this music, so we suddenly have all these millions of students and a teaching infrastructure that’s not equipped to handle

what's happening. And because most of the teachers, being older than their students, are of the generation who did not travel outside of China, they haven't learnt about different performing styles in other countries. So they just can't teach that. They usually don't know about stylistic nuances (Inverne, 2007, p. 40).

Even though Lang Lang sees the problems of China's relatively newly build classical music infrastructure he had already earlier stated his disbelief in the idea, that the Chinese would not understand or appreciate Western music, especially when they have teachers who are familiar with the traditions of Western classical music. This way, he has taken a universalist position towards musical understanding, which means that musical understanding is not geographically bound (see chapter Interpretation and Musical Authenticity). Also Nurmentaus (2003) writes about Lang Lang and his attitude towards musical learning.

[...] Lang Lang will not hear a word about the kind of prejudices that say that as a Chinese he would not be able to put his heart and soul into western music. He is thoroughly familiar with music from different European countries. His own school is based on Russian pianism since his Chinese teachers acquired their education from the Soviet Union for many years. [...] China, being a nation the size of a continent, has almost the same climatic zones as Europe. Lang Lang is from Shenyang, Manchuria in Northern China, so he is familiar with Finnish-like cold climate (Nurmentaus, 2003, p. 6).

A curious thing, however, is that Nurmentaus immediately brings up climatic zones after talking about musical understanding. It is as though understanding of music would be somehow connected to the climate or indeed geographical location.

8.3.1 The Denial of the Cliché

What was striking about the data was not the amount of actual criticism that East Asians got for their lack of interpretative ability since this had been present in previous studies as well but rather the amount of denial concerning

the very stereotype. In the study one constantly came across with the stereotype of techno-orientalism – only that these stereotypes were rejected usually within the same sentence, time after time.

A question often heard is whether the Chinese musicians are able to grow artistically and not just technically. This phrasing of a question seems to be behind the times: among so many people one can definitely find innate artist geniuses that may absorb music culture in them already in the womb (Heino, 2005, p. 42).

Often repeated cliché of Asian musicians' mechanical, virtuoso playing but superficial expressiveness does not at any rate hold true in the case of Yundi Li: He is a poetic player although as an interpreter he is more intellectual than Lang Lang (Kuusisaari, 2006, p. 24).

Frequently Asian competitors participating to music competitions are overshadowed by prejudices of being technical performers who would not find the fundamental being of music. Additional problems for the singers are the different languages that are not easy for Koreans to learn. This time the prejudice could be dismissed by the fact that the Western singers were not really any better off rendering (Kuusisaari, 2009, p. 6).

All this shows, that first of all, the stereotype of techno-orientalism is still very much appealing to the authors of the classical music magazines and second, that the stereotypes and clichés of the Asian musicians are indeed acknowledged among the authors since they are present very frequently when there is a discussion about Asian musicians as representatives of a group. Denying of stereotypes shows, that the authors want to make it visibly clear that they are supporters of the idea of techno-orientalism or that there are at least exceptions for this “rule”. On the other hand, the degree in which the stereotypes were first presented and then undone was so high that reading these counter-stereotypes from the magazines makes one think about them and remember them even better. Also, constant repeating of a stereotype can make it become a self-fulfilling prophecy (Stephan & Stephan, 2002) whether the

stereotype is denied or reassert. In this way the reminder of the denied stereotype does not dissolve it away but rather lets the stereotype linger.

There is an array of explanations why the stereotype does not hold true in the articles. It may be seen old fashioned since it is statistically very probable that “innate artist geniuses” are born out of so many people (Heino, 2005, p. 42). The musician may have impressed someone by his or her unique style and artistic skills, as in the Kuusisaari (2006) example above. In some cases also comparison with the Western musicians shows that the Westerners did not do any better in the competitions (Kuusisaari, 2009, p. 9). The discourse of the West and the Rest is present in the last comment. It implies that in one way or another, the Asian competitor is nonetheless compared to the Western colleague.

8.4 The Bridge Builder – The Discourse of the West and the Rest and the Bridge over it

It seems that the aping of Western ideals starts to be a dying pastime. A genuine search for synthesis has replaced this (Amberla, 2002, p. 55).

The fourth discourse, the bridge builder, was present when the multicultural identities of the musicians were more or less recognised in the articles. These music cosmopolitans, as referred to earlier, were often represented in connection with words such as *synthesis*, *bridge creators*, *fusion of cultures* and *border crossers*⁷. At that time twenty-year old Lang Lang, for instance, “[...] is already employing his increasingly super-star status to help remove obstacles and barriers between music of different types, and audiences of different ages” (Cullingford, 2003, p. 28). Because of his travels all over the

⁷ Grenzgänger

world Lang Lang is asked where he feels most at home. With the answer, Lang Lang matches his Chinese and musician's identity:

Naturally, my home country is China but I also have an apartment in Berlin – although I am only rarely there. Actually, I'm home where I can make music (von Freuden, 2007, p. 42).

East Asian composers, on the other hand, are not exactly the “best” representatives of East Asian classical musicians because they compose music of their own instead of interpreting Western classical music of Western composers. Nonetheless, these composers mentioned in the classical music magazines, such as Unsuk Chin, Tan Dun, and Chen Yi often do have an educational connection to Western art music, whether their education in Western classical music took place in their home countries or abroad.

For Chen Yi “[a] mediation between her Asian heritage and a fascination with Western harmonies and orchestral techniques has become her well considered trademark” (Clark, 2008, p.43). *Heritage* is also mentioned in the article about Tan Dun who is said to be concerned with portraying his beloved Chinese heritage in Western context (Jones, 2009). In *Crescendo*, he is described as “a border crosser between the Asian and Western culture, between the archaic and spiritual tradition of his homeland and the avant-garde and experimental tendency of the western music” (Winter, 2011). While presenting Tan Dun's Paper Concerto, a composition in which paper is used to create music, *Crescendo* states that “concept-oriented versatility has an equally important meaning to Dun as the incorporation of eastern and western traditions⁸” (Eckstein, 2009). Both of these comments from *Crescendo* put

⁸ „Konzeptorientierte Vielseitigkeit besitzt für Tan Dun eine ebenso große Bedeutung wie die Verbindung östlicher und westlicher Traditionen.“

Dun into a position where he is somewhere between different traditions and cultures and as a composer creates something new out of the synthesis. Still a clear distinction, a binary opposition, is set between the Western culture and the Eastern culture and tradition, although “experimental tendency”, for instance, can be seen not exclusively as a Western particularity in composition.

Midori Gotō, commonly known as Midori, is an American Japanese violinist who has moved away from Japan at the age of 11 to pursue her career in New York. She has found and taken part in many outreach programmes that provide classical music services in locations where people would not otherwise have access (Buck, 2009).

In Japan, Midori has established an organisation called Music Sharing and its aim is to create bridges between Japanese and Western culture. [...] Midori preferably wants the interview questions to be sent to her by e-mail and she also answers to them round and politely. It feels that the whole Midori is like a Japanese brand, which spreads its humane message effectively, but the person inside it stays a mystery (Kuusisaari, 2004, p. 37).

When looking at the web page of Music Sharing⁹, one notices that creating bridges between Japanese and Western culture is not part of the organisation’s mission. The mission of the independent, not-for profit organisation in Japan is to “make both classical and traditional Japanese music of the highest artistic standard available to children” (Music Sharing, 2009). The mission states nothing at all about building bridges between Western culture. In the Kuusisaari (2004) excerpt Midori’s *Japaneseness* is highlighted. The *whole* Midori is compared to a humane and effective thing or an object – a Japanese brand – that has a mysterious inside.

⁹ <http://www.musicsharing.jp/en/profile/index.html>

Not all East Asian artists want to be represented as building bridges across cultures. The composer Unsuk Chin, for example, does not want to be seen as the unifier of Eastern and Western music influences (Kuusisaari 2006, p. 10). She announces that she feels being at home in the modern globalised world (p. 10) just as Lang Lang had stated earlier in this chapter. In another article Soda states that Chin “does not see it essential to define her cultural background” (Soda, 2007, p. 23). This suggests that Unsuk Chin is a composer, who does not need geographical attributes to define her profession.

Lau (2004) and Hung (2009) claim that also artists, not only media, create certain type of music to pull audiences and use e.g., Chinese elements to participate in globalised market in which they are being perceived through their music and use of Chinese elements. In order to break Western Orientalist discourse they underline Orientalism in their music (Lau, 2004). The sincerity of fusion of cultures is also questioned in the music articles.

Faraway cultures are coming even closer and ethnic and popular influences are creeping also to the symphony orchestra repertoires. Are the orchestras open for the cultural encountering? [...] Is there a danger of shallow exoticism in this kind of fusion of cultures? “Yes, for sure, but in Tan Dun’s case it works. The composer does not copy things from outside but brings in something of his own, something that is older than him” tells Anssi Karttunen who has collaborated with Tan Dun already fifteen years (Kuusisaari, 2007, pp. 35-36).

Only few of the magazine articles used direct orientalist imaginary as a marketing tool, however. The use of East-West dichotomy and the terms referring to cross-cultural synthesis were more commonly used to create a feeling of a separated world that is unified through people, artists in this case, and a picture of the world as a united place of harmony where difference walks hand in hand. There are ways to defeat naïve multiculturalism (Holliday, 2011,

p. 83) by genuine transculturation whereby people belonging to a global culture or a “third culture” are understood as being more than merely representatives of their nation-states and being more than agents between different cultures (Featherstone, 1995).

9 Discussion

The aim of this thesis was to explain how East Asian classical musicians are represented in the three European classical music magazines German Crescendo, British Gramophone, and Finnish Rondo during a 10-year period. More specifically, the thesis examined what kind of discourses concerning East Asian classical musicians' cultural identities emerged from these magazines.

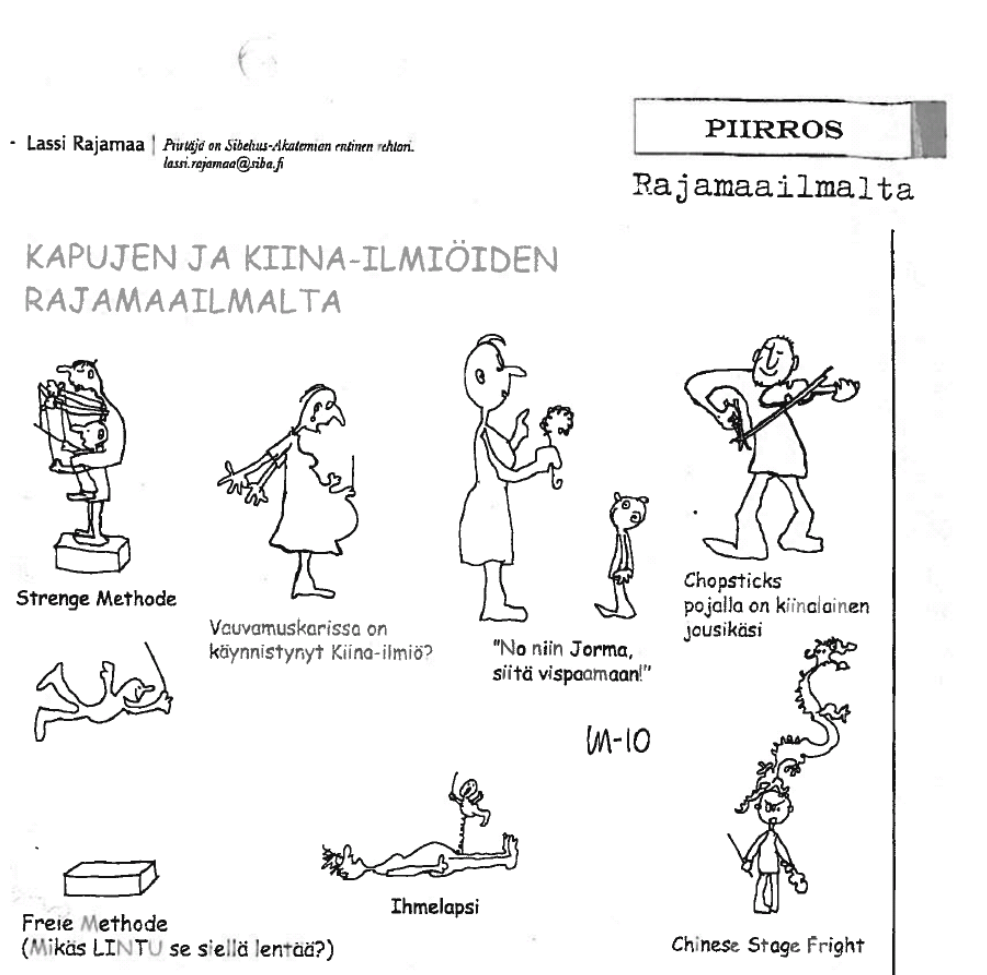


Figure 2 At the Borderline of Conductors and the China Phenomena

The stereotypes of East Asian classical musicians have inspired the former headmaster of Sibelius Academy, Lassi Rajamaa, who made a comic of the China phenomenon in 2010 Rondo magazine. The characters in the picture represent, for instance a “potential China phenomenon in a musical playschool for babies”, a “Chopsticks boy with a Chinese bow arm”, “a child prodigy” still corded to his/her mother, and a “Chinese State Fright” with a violinist having a dragon above his head. The playing of words and pictures has much resemblance with the representations and discourse categories found in this thesis and the illustration leads to the main results of this thesis.

East Asian musicians are represented as part of the classical music world, yet they are seen as essentially different. This difference and sometimes out of date ways to represent globalised, cosmopolitan musicians that have complex cultural identities became evident in the discourse analysis. Four categories of discourse were found, which were the discourse of imminence, the discourse of nation-ness, the discourse of techno-orientalism, and the discourse of cultural bridge. Here, one could also add a fifth category: the discourse of child prodigy.

East Asians are represented as a threat, which refers to a more unfamiliar Other and the threat of its perceived invasion (Lau, 2004; see also Hall, 1996b; Rösen, 2004; Taylor, 2007). They are represented as childlike individuals, which sets a juxtaposed counter representation between the imminent and the fragile (see Okely, 1996; Moeran, 1996). East Asians are represented as nation- and ethnicity-bound, where their difference is indicated through historical and legal status and through the belongingness to a continuum of *Asian-nes* (see Sakai, 2000; Leppänen, 2000; Yoshihara, 2007).

They are represented as skilled role models in technical sense, yet something in their sense of style and artistic sensitivity is not quite in place (see Morley & Robins, 1995; Leppänen, 2000). East Asians are represented as mediators between the West and the East on their way to ensure their place in the sun (see Everett & Lau, 2004). They are represented in a way that suggests their Otherness in Western classical music, yet regardless of this Otherness their presence in the classical music world is, altogether, seen more in a positive than a negative light. The goal of a music magazine is to promote classical music and classical musicians, after all, and many of the texts seem somewhat well-written at first glance.

All in all, the results of this thesis agree with previous research on East Asian classical musicians made by Leppänen (2000), Yang (2007), Yoshihara (2007), Wang (2009), among others. Leppänen (2000), for instance, had also found that it is extremely difficult to report about music except in the context of extramusical attributes that were, for example, the nationality, ethnicity, and appearance of the artist in this study. Often, the avoiding of extramusical features is not even the objective of a classical music magazine article. Foregrounding of any other cultural aspect except classical music culture, however, may be seen as evidence of some sort of control and dominance taking place when trivial aspects are emphasised over the musician's musicianship. Musician identity in this thesis is, after all, considered to be more meaningful category for the artists than, for instance, their racial identity. Nevertheless, the racial identity is shaping other's perception of their musicianship (Yoshihara, 2007) as was also found in this thesis and this can be seen to add inequality in the field of classical music. The

constant presence of any national or ethnic category in the texts implies the authors' assumptions that one of the biggest differences perceived between the musicians is indeed their nationality. By emphasising the difference of the other can also simply be a strategy for distinguishing and remembering the East Asian musician, which is done as by making kinds of mnemonics based on the extramusical attributes of the artists.

There were some examples in the articles, where artists specifically wanted to emphasise their national identity but not at the expense of their professional identity. It also makes a difference how people wish to be represented and what things they wish to promote about themselves depending whether it is through self-representations and directly quoted interviews or through representations that only refer to them directly or indirectly. In the latter case the categorisation and grouping of the represented person is a matter of discretion of the author.

The new offering of this study, which was not present in any of the previous related studies, was the amount of attention the old but at the same time contradicted stereotypes of techno-orientalism and generalisations of nationality deserved. It was not so often, that the authors would point out these stereotypes and generalisations as such but rather prove them wrong reflecting and comparing the old stereotype with a gifted artist that managed to prove this stereotype wrong. There is also a danger in this kind of 'reflective' stereotyping in a sense that in this way the stereotype is kept alive and it might work as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Second, it is questionable to represent an artist through comparing him/her to some negative pre-existing group attribute because it indicates that the artist has some innate qualities dictated by a

national or ethnic group – until proven wrong. It is difficult to know why the stereotype of techno-orientalism is so interesting for the authors but if their intention is to prove it wrong it is, hereby, better to stop repeating the cliché from the beginning and focus on individual performances instead.

Classical music is the culmination of European or Western high culture – one of its highest achievements of all time. The story of classical music, or as Inverne (2007, p. 3) articulates it *the European Saga*, is told from a very Eurocentric point of view highlighting the East Asian “invasion” of classical music, putting emphasis on East Asian ethnicity and nationality, keeping up the stereotype of techno-orientalism and dichotomising the East and the West. It should be remembered that the formation of Western art music is a global process: As the repertory of art music has moved beyond the Orientalist and exotic paradigms of cultural appropriation, these things should be taken into account in the collective discourses and subjective interpretations, states Everett (2004). Furthermore, as music is an important maker of identity, both socially and culturally, any kind of exclusion is very unfortunate (Fock, 1997) and that is avoided in the field of classical music if the representatives of classical music are treated and communicated about equally and if their multiple identities as well as the boundary crossing of classical music are understood.

An array of positions towards musical understanding from universalist to particularist and their combination, as described by Yoshihara (2007), was present in the representations of East Asians. Some authors of the music magazine articles managed to support a view of a cosmopolitan musician transcending the boundaries of nationality and ethnicity. In these

texts the East Asian musicians' musical identities were, indeed, emphasised over essentialist national and ethnic characteristics, groupings, and stereotypes. These texts, mainly found in Gramophone magazine, work as a good example for future authors.

All in all, based on this study and previous research on the topic, Western classical music was used to profile the identity of Europe and Europeans and still is. And this is one of the reasons why East Asian musicians are still today represented as people slightly outside the very core of classical music – outside the story of classical music – and only the ones who truly make it to the top in the West and manage to prove their possession of insight and understanding of European culture by means of certain European (music) education will be considered true Western classical musicians. Due to their descent, East Asian classical musicians seem to face a challenge of proving their relevancy to a Western aesthetic hegemony without being marginalised as Other.

9.1 Future Research Proposal

This thesis focused on representations created by the European media about East Asian classical musicians. This is only one angle to see how representations about other cultures are being created. Further research questions would go deeper in examining the opinions of the represented party. It would be interesting to see how accurately the representations found from this study reflect the lived experiences of East Asian classical musicians. Do East Asian classical musicians themselves actually approve of the image that the media gives of them?

Further research might also look at the whole matter from different perspective. How are East Asian musicians represented in the East Asian media? How are Western musicians represented in the East Asian media? How are other non-European classical musicians represented in the European media and how do these representations differ from the representations of East Asian classical musicians? Continuing with these research questions would also add considerable value to this study and the research on representation about the Western classical musicians in the world. Further, media is nowadays filled with representations of East Asians in the field of growing economy, renewable energy, human-right politics, etc., and it would be interesting to see whether the discourses found in this study have any commonalities with a discourse analysis study made on one of these topics.

A future proposal for intercultural scenarios dealing with representations is on order. Even when it is sometimes unavoidable to avoid abstractions such as the East and the West or categorization and stereotypes concerning nationality, ethnicity, etc. there are ways to represent people in a more interculturally sensitive manner. It is proposed in this thesis that people are represented through dialectical approach, in which two contradictory ideas are not held as a paradox, subject for tension, or as a means to differentiate, but the contradictory and multiple identity of the represented is rather acknowledged and there is a strive towards interpreting cultural identity of the represented in a way they wish to represent it themselves. It is suggested that authors interviewing people in different intercultural settings move beyond repeating old stereotypes, even when they are proved outdated, and instead

focus on creating representations that respond to current issues and interests focusing on inclusion instead of exclusion.

9.2 Limitations of the Research

The research process was long and some parts of the content analysis, for instance, could have been left out since they were not useful in the end considering the research question. This would have saved time and effort. Also the expertise of the researcher and the supervision for the research was not sufficient enough for the execution of an extensive qualitative content analysis and thus the quantitative content analysis was chosen to be a preliminary first step for the discourse analysis. The choice of the topic was satisfying throughout the process, yet acquiring the data for the study was more easily said than done and much data base research and library visits all over Finland were made in order to find compatible magazines. An intercoder agreement is also usually needed to assure the reliability in content analysis research. Unfortunately, this was not possible in the realisation of this thesis, as the data was coded by a single researcher and not by a team of researchers.

The three selected magazines did not represent the whole European music magazine spectrum and therefore any generalisation was considered carefully. Rather, some of the continuous discussions and discourses appearing in different European magazines were illuminated. The magazines were not directly compatible since they all had slightly differing goals, different audience sizes, and publishing frequencies. Due to this, the sample sizes of different magazines were also different. The spectrum of different authors in the music magazines was relatively vast and varied. In Rondo, however, the

editor-in-chief was responsible for writing the majority of the main articles concerning East Asian musical scene. Therefore, Kuusisaari is also quoted more in the discourse analysis, which is problematic for the even presentation of the authors' quotes and the conclusions drawn from these examples. Finally, from a discourse analytical point of view, words and their context are critical and when read and translated from a non-native language to English the meaning is never exactly the same as in original language. Altogether, the ambitious and multi-disciplinary thesis process was very satisfying and educational.

10 Conclusions

In recent years, an apprehension of classical music mummifying (Tiikkaja, 2011), dying (Dreyer, 2012), or becoming the privilege of the *crème de la crème* in the society (Malmberg, 2012) has been in headlines in newspapers all over Europe and the United States. At the same time Western classical music field is bursting with international synergy and cooperation as countries outside of Europe and the United States, having newly built infrastructure for classical music, are experiencing somewhat the opposite: Classical music magazines *Rondo* and *Gramophone* are writing about East Asian classical music phenomenon that will alter the dynamics of Western classical music culture for good. Some scholars, however, claim that the attitudes towards East Asian musicians are not the same as towards their European colleagues, which automatically creates an unequal setting in the field of classical music.

Even though the theories of identity concentrating on politics of Othering are nowadays challenged, the discourse analytical results of this study indicate that dialectical tensions are still noticeable in the representations of the East Asian musicians. Essentialist view of culture colours the representations of East Asian musicians and manifests itself through national and ethnic categorisation and stereotypes present in the discourse. In this study the East Asian classical music phenomenon created a framework for describing East Asian musicians by using war-like, military-like, and nature catastrophe related vocabulary. A notable paradox was, however, created when the musicians of

this phenomenon were represented as gentle and even childlike individuals. A category referring to East Asian musicians' ethnic and national background was attached almost every time an East Asian musician was mentioned, although the generalisation of East Asian musicians into national categories was simultaneously and repeatedly seen dubious according to the authors themselves who made the generalisations.

At times when nationality is stressed, outdated stereotypes concerning the members of these nations will also become part of the representation, which is inevitably a barrier for intercultural communication. Techno-orientalism, a stereotype of technical mastery combined with lack of artistry, is one of these stereotypes that have been connected to East Asian musicians. This study showed that the rejecting and proving false of the stereotype of techno-orientalism was even more frequent than the stereotype itself. Hence, the East Asians in the music magazines were often represented as the ones who proved the stereotype of techno-orientalism wrong. At the same time, however, the stereotype of Asians being mere technical wonders without ability to interpret is kept alive in memory.

The representations of East Asians as unifiers of the West, bridge builder, the boarder crosser, and mediators between cultures represents the East Asians as agents between cultures rather than members of a global classical music culture. Many of the East Asian musicians represented in the three magazines are, indeed, cosmopolitans who have created their careers around the world. Cultural complexity is ruling their lives as musicians. This study supports a hybrid and dialectical notion of culture and a shift towards a more open and dialectical representation of multiple and complex cultural identities.

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