

Helsinki Street Buskers

A temporary break from our otherwise
busy lives.

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Introduction

What are Busking?

The street performance is the practice of performing in public places for gratuities. Rewards generally come in the form of money, but other forms of gifts may also be given. It is practiced all over the world by both women, men and children. In the English speaking countries people engaging in this practice are also known as buskers. Busking comes in many forms such as acrobatics, juggling, sword swallowing, fortune telling, magic tricks, card tricks, dance, storytelling, street art and music performances. Performances in public places have through history existed in every major culture in the world, dating all the way back to the antiquity. For many musicians, street performances were one of the most common means of employment prior to the arrival of recording technologies. Busking was and still is very common among the Romani people (also known as gypsies). The Romas brought the word busking (originating from the Spanish word “buscar” - “to seek” fame and fortune) to England through their travels along the Mediterranean coast to Spain and the Atlantic ocean and then up north to England and the rest of Europe.

Busking in Helsinki

In Helsinki street music is the most common busking practice. During the cold winter months street musicians in the capital can typically be found in Sörnäinen and Helsinki University Metro Stations as well as in the Helsinki Central Railway Station. Only the bravest musicians dare to venture out into the streets during the long cold winter period. However, during the warmer spring and summer months the street musicians can be found outside under the open sky in the central urban areas of Helsinki. For some musicians money is the main motivation and incentive for performing in the streets and playing for the audiences roaming there. They prefer to play in some of the higher populated areas with as many pedestrians as possible i.e. at the metro stations and in front of Stockmann. Other musicians go to the streets to have fun and meet people. For them money comes second. They prefer to play in more intimate areas with less people, as these places allow them to create a deeper connection with their audiences. Their joy is in the act of playing and their passion and love for music. However, the

streets may also have other meanings for the musicians. Thus, street performances offer the opportunity to practice and test a newly written song or in preparation for an upcoming gig later in the week. The streets can help the musician build confidence, get used to playing in front of big audiences and can cure any potential stage-fright one might have.

Approaching the topic

Having seen street musicians in passing from time to time on my way to university in the morning, my initial assumption when approaching the project and the topic of street musicians was that street buskers in Helsinki have a hard time gathering a crowd and that people are too occupied by their busy daily lives to notice them. I was convinced the talented street musicians and that their presence in the urban landscape was completely overlooked or ignored.

My initial objective and research problem was therefore: Are Street Buskers in Helsinki able to gather a crowd, and if not, or are we just too busy to notice them? In relation to this question I was curious to know what parts of playing on the streets appeal to the musicians, why do they do what they do, what motivate them and keep them coming back, what do they require from the public space, and what are the ideal spots for playing?

As someone who adores music it was important to me that this view would not limit my ability to explore the full nature of the busking phenomenon and its people. Rather than to setting out to prove myself right or wrong, I wanted to know everything there is to know about the culture and fully understand the member’s point of view; not only limited to the street musicians but their audiences as well. This was one of the reasons for using ethnography in the first place - to learn how people react to, enjoy or behave around free public performances, and the musicians who create them. Like many new ethnographers, I quickly realised that most of my preconceptions regarding street busking were a limited and inadequate representation of the musicians, their audiences and the streets.

The research process

In week one my focus was on how people moved and behaved around the street musicians. I also wanted to explore how the street musicians' equipment were used in and to support their performances and the use of technology by both the musicians and the audiences. I used mainly observations as I wanted to make my own impressions of the street. This was my way of getting used to the methods of ethnography. For me the main goal was to get used to reading and interpreting the new setting I was about to immerse myself into in the following weeks, and learn how to jot down what I saw, heard and felt in the moment in a way that would be sufficient enough for me to transform the events that I saw, the people I observed and the places that I visited into adequate words that were honest to my impressions of the occurrences.

When observing the street musicians and the pedestrians I discovered that while it is true that the musicians are mostly ignored by the people rushing by, some interesting interactions do in fact happen between the musicians and the audiences. In addition to the quick exchanges between the two groups, I noticed that some of the interactions between them lasted longer and had more meaning to them than initially meets the eye. Thus, some engagements could last up to half an hour or even longer. Somehow the musician were able to connect to the audiences beyond a simple greeting, nod or eye-contact exchange.

In week two I focused on exploring more of these interactions between the two groups; some forming very deep and personal connections. As an observer and being an audience myself, I had my own interpretations of the setting from the first week, but I also wanted to know the "impressions of the streets" from the perspective of the musicians; to understand the "meaning" of the street through their eyes. For this I could not rely solely on my own observations and interpretations. Instead I started having a few informal interviews with the musicians during their breaks to learn about their perspective of playing on the streets, and why they do it in the first place. It was clear that not everyone who plays in the street identify themselves as "street musicians" or "buskers" if you like. There is a certain stigma to the term, and thus some musicians rather prefer to see themselves as professional musicians who sometimes take to the streets for whatever reason they might have; whether it is for training for a big gig, getting over stage fright or just for fun "because this is what they do". Talking to them proved rather difficult, because those musicians that I met were mostly from Russia and did not speak a lot of English. And those who did in fact speak English barely had time to talk to me because any interruption in the performance is potentially a loss of money. My chats with them were thus limited to short conversations during breaks or after the performance when the musician was tired and

rather wanted to go home and rest after a long day. While my efforts to engage in longer conversations with the musicians between breaks were largely unsuccessful, a privileged few were able to connect to the musician through the music - during the performance they were able to establish a higher connection that is difficult but not impossible to reach.

During the first two weeks I had only observed and talked with solo-musicians and solo-performances. However in week three I was lucky to casually talk to and observe a group of Russian string players. The group performances are very different from that of the soloists. Thus, a group are able to create much more attention than the solo-musicians who are really struggling to stand out from the business and everyday life of the streets of Helsinki.

Finally, week four was spent coding and recoding all my data from the previous weeks into themes. Many of the themes overlap or are connected to each other, and in the beginning it was hard to create an overview of the overwhelming amount of data I had collected. However, having memos included in the fieldnotes helped immensely in making sense of the data. In the coding I noticed two major aspects of the "musician-audience" interaction with potential opportunities and implications for design; firstly the small and short interactions between the musicians and their audiences including the act of tipping, and secondly the behaviours of the deeply "immersed" audience - situations in which the musicians and a few from the audience form a space in which only they exist.

Research question

With these two implications for design I narrowed down and reframed my research question from the very broad and vague one formulated in the beginning, to a new and more focused research question. It is as follows:

- *What kind of interactions happen between the street musicians and their audiences and can design be used to support them?*

In relation to these musician-audience interactions the research question explores two aspects and opportunities for design.

- *How can design be used to improve the tipping process for those audiences who are busy, but still want to show their appreciation?*
- *What are the behaviour of the immersed audience and how can design be used to build a stronger and more intimate connection between street musicians operating in Helsinki and their audiences?*

Key findings

“Musician-Audience” interactions

While a huge majority of people completely ignore the presence of the street musicians, interactions do happen. In observing the musicians I have seen different levels of “musician-audience” interaction. The first I define as the “blink-of-an-eye” moments. These are moments that pass by before one even noticed they happened, and are limited to the exchange of a few words, a quick nod, a few short moments of eye contact, and the leaving of a tip. The second I call “capture that moment”. These are moments with longer interactions that do not quite form and maintain an established connection. The last I define as “the immersed audience” moments. They are moments where deep connections are formed between the musicians and their audiences. In the following I present my findings in the form of individual thick descriptions of the moments of interaction. Each paragraph is a small quirky story told through my eyes as a student of design ethnography.

The “blink-of-an-eye” moments

The periphery of the city

The business of the most populated streets and areas in Helsinki does not typically allow for very deep connections between the musicians and the audience. People have their busy lives, places to go, errands to run and people to meet, and a lonesome musician sitting on a wooden chair in the middle of the busiest streets of urban Helsinki is barely noticeable in the rush of a metropolitan capital of 1.4 million people. The musician sits in the centre of the big city, with people scouring back and forth in the streets around him. Through his eyes he can see his immediate world evolve; with all his worries, thoughts and feelings filling the part of his being. All he can do is to see what is reachable within his horizon, but for the thousands and thousands of people rushing by, he is almost insignificant in the grand scheme of things. After all, they have their own lives to worry about. For most people, the musician is just a part of the city’s peripheral landscape and his act is barely visible in a city so big as ours.



A skillful deception

There are the subtle moments that happens so fast that nobody hardly notices. The attention of a girl has been caught by the musician, but she does not want anyone to know. Pretending to be completely uninterested, she secretly snap-record the situation with her phone over her right shoulder in passing while remaining completely anonymous. When realising her deception has worked, it is impossible for her to hide her happiness over her success. This does not matter as nobody, except the ethnographer, has even noticed what happened.

The curiosity of kids

Children have a curiosity and fascination that most adults have lost a long time ago. A lonely musician standing there is a strange phenomenon that cannot but peak their interest. Their relationship to time is different from that of the grown-ups. Grown-ups have their busy lives which can at times be completely foreign to a child. However, the short link between the child and the musician is easily broken when the parent pulls the child away from the scene.

“Capture that moment”

The curiosity of kids

Occasionally one might see more intimate and longer engagements. Once in awhile someone might stop to listen and appreciate the music. We all know that significant moment which made such an impression on our soul and being that we simply can not forget. We see something magnificent and experiential or something that intrigued us so much that we just have to share it with those people closest to us. Suddenly capturing that moment is all we care about, and what is a better way to do so than to record what we see. We want to capture everything, the surroundings, the people and the atmosphere, so we manoeuvre our camera-smartphones around to take it all in in its entirety. Whether we want to capture the moment for bragging rights or just to share our experience with others, filming what happened allow us to control the narrative down to the smallest detail. We become the bards of old, the medieval storytellers who through the spoken word, passed on the folktale to the people in their lives. Now we have had that great moment, and we want to show our appreciation to the person that made it happen. We want him to know how big an impression the music has made in our hearts. So we do the only thing we can do. We make eye contact, we nod, we smile and we may even laugh. Finally we tip following that unwritten social custom we all know. And that is it. Just like that the moment has passed. We have seen what we wanted to see, and now business calls. It is time to move on.

Fun and laughs

There are those funny moments one cannot forget. A group of three young men's attention is caught by the singing musician. Seeing the situation as an opportunity for some fun and giggles, two of the three pose in front of the musician for that funny video that can be shared among their friends later, and what better way to do so than to dance? The whole commotion becomes almost comical attracting the people in the area. What is just fun for the guys, has a more profound meaning for the musician. The boys' act becomes part of the musician's performance, who gladly play along with the whole ordeal with his own remarks. The situation is over in less than four minutes and is soon forgotten in the midst of everything else.

The interested other

Now and then between melodies, the performance is interrupted by an interested person from the audience. Perhaps he wants to show his appreciation, ask a question or is just a little bit curious. It is not a long encounter and is gone before one even realise it happened. The quiet discussion can in the mists of the crowds only be heard by the two people involved.

“The Immersed Audience” moments

Then there is the “immersed” audiences; those people the musicians are able to reach on a deep emotional level. Among them might be that one person who chases culture whenever she can, the one who enjoy good and cheap entertainment, or that one person who really appreciates music. It could be me, the design ethnographer student who has liked music all his life, that one guy who just want to stand and listen while taking it all in, or it could be that man who has always thought of himself as a singer and karaoke-extraordinaire, despite the fact that he can not carry a tune in a bucket.

Behaviours of the “immersed” audience

The one-man audience

It is in this slow and less crowded street that meaningful connections are created. The musician has been able to catch the attention of a single person, now fully engaged in the music. Able to close himself off from the world around him, the observers' focus is 100% set on the musician and the music coming from his electric guitar. The musician too has the ability to completely close himself off. The connection created between the two can now unfold, as the two's separate spaces collide in conversation, creating a space in which only they are present. The street with people fade into

the background and becomes a faint noise. The initiation of conversation becomes an opportunity for the “one-man” audience to express his appreciation in the form of questions related to the act of “playing”. The phone number transaction is just an added bonus, that in the end breaks the “bubble” as they both return to the “street”. With a handshake, the last strings holding the connection together are broken.

A trip to the extraordinary world

The moment is almost missed. The two men catches wind of the music only at the very last second. One part of the duo enters the world of music as he starts singing, leaving his friend behind outside. In the best aristotelian storytelling structure, the music acts as the gatekeeper and bridge, allowing the singer and the musician to cross the threshold of the ordinary world into the extraordinary world, leaving behind the friend and the other pedestrians. The musician and the singer enter a different “state of mind”, fully immersed in the situation, all while the street around them fades away into nothingness. The music keeps them bubbled up in a firm grip. The friend, now left alone in the ordinary world, becomes the only connection the others have to the outside world. Out here in the natural world the voices of the city is buzzing like a living mass that never rests and never sleeps, but inside the music is the world view. Like any good story, obstacles can be found at every turn. The skillful use of technology and street-smarts keeps the two going on their journey across the mystical landscape of music.

Outside the friend, completely excluded from the situation, is getting restless, but the others remain completely unaffected. No story can go on forever in our modern world, and it is time to return to what is real. With a strong grip and a firm voice, the friend pulls the two dreamers across the gateway and back into the reality of our world. Stepping back into modern society, the two travellers return with the “boon” - the reward; the deep experience and memory of the connection they shared. It is time to exchange names, say goodbye and move on.



A temporary break

It is the capturing of the music that holds them in place. As soon as the string group finishes playing, people scatter quickly in many directions, almost as if whatever was keeping them, almost in a trance, is gone. They stop to listen intently, and watch the performance unfold, but as soon as the act comes to an end, they move on or return to their former mental state. With the chance of sounding too philosophical, it is almost as if they enter this fantasy world when the music plays, holding them in place, but as the performance comes to an end, they return to reality, as they realise that they have places they need to be, or people they need to see. The musicians and their performance offer a temporary break from people's otherwise busy lives.

The alien stranger

A connection is made when the group of women with baby carriages and smaller kids by their side notice the musician standing there in the narrow tunnel. There is a strangeness to the musician that sprouts their curiosity like a seed in the ground. There is something oddly alien about the stranger standing there. He is not like the others when he stands there playing. In that moment when the group stops, it is just the children, their mothers and the stranger. Anything else does not matter. The grown-ups state of excitement spreads from them, to their children, and soon reaches the musician like a chemical chain reaction, only strengthening the bond between all of them. However, there is more to the situation than meets the eye of the outsiders walking by. This is a teaching moment, as the children are introduced to appreciation of music and its beauty. They get to know the joy of "giving" to others when handed a handful of coins they can barely hold onto with their small hands. Hearing the noise of coins hitting coins, the children are full of euphoria as they run back into the arms of their mothers waiting for them on the other side of the tunnel. Their fascination are contagious, spreading like wildfire to everyone around them. At a young age, we alien humans have an unavoidable fascination with the "other", "the foreign" and the things we do not quite understand.

No sense of personal space

The fascination can be seen in his eyes as he notices the musician. The music is all he can focus on, and he wants to be as close to it as possible. Personal space is a foreign concept in that moment, as the proximity between him and the musician is shortened. It is now just him and the musician now. The musician has already noticed this odd man now standing almost on top of him, but is too caught up in the music to even react. The music is like a trance, the one-man audience can not escape; holding him there. Time pass by as long as the music fills the halls. Someone or something shakes him out of the hypnosis of the music as he realise the sudden gap in his memory. Wanting to express his gratitude, he wants to compensate the man who so skillfully kept him in place, however without money what can he do? Biscuits is all

he has, so this will have to suffice. Surely the musician will understand how much the experience has meant to him. The music goes on, and so does he.

Phenomenon: "The audience arch"

When the musicians successfully gather a crowd, the audience are commonly spaced out in an arch around the musicians. Whether this is intentional or something that just happens automatically is hard to tell. Perhaps it is related to how we as a group position ourselves, which in interaction design terms are often referred to as F-formations. F-formations are social interactions that arise whenever two or more people sustain a spatial and orientational relationship in which the space between them is one to which they have equal, direct, and exclusive access.

The act of tipping

A tip, or gratuity as it is also called, is typically awarded for a well performed or anticipated service. In certain parts of the world, tipping is a matter of customary social interaction and good etiquette. On the streets, to tip is to show appreciation and respect for the witnessed experience. But the act of tipping has different meaning for the musicians and their audiences.

For the audiences to tip is to show appreciation and respect for the witnessed experience. If they do not have cash, some give candy, sweets, cigarettes, joint... and even condoms. These kinds of gratuity might be annoying for the musicians to get among their tips. The musicians would of course rather prefer to receive real money. Money is after all the major reasons for musicians for taking to the streets in the first place. But these kinds of tips are unique acts of kindness given to the musician by someone in the audience, who does not have smaller coins at hand but still want to show appreciation and leave some sort of contribution. Similarly, contributions of 5 or 10 cent coins are perhaps a way for the audience to get rid of the smaller coins that can be hard to get rid off otherwise, but for the musicians these contributions are also almost worthless and insignificant.

In our almost moneyless society it is not easy for the street musicians to operate. While it is true that we are moving towards a cashless society (and many of us do not carry the same amount of cash that we used to), the issue of missing tips is not due to the lack of coins people carry, but rather in the inconvenience of having to dig them out of a wallet that is typically tugged away somewhere. Noticeable is that people do in fact carry cash, and they do tip if they have the time to stop, however as the steady stream of fast traveling commuters do not usually have time to spend on taking out their wallets and go through them, the musicians do not get as many tips as they could have.

The solo performance versus the group performance

Packing light is important, if not crucial to the solo-musicians. It allows them to quickly and easily unpack and repack their equipment just like that. After all, it is a matter of fact that they have to go where their audiences are, and without having to carry a lot, they are able to move from spot to spot (back and forth) depending on the business of street and the time of the day. However, standing out for a solo musician is not the easiest task in the highly populated areas. The business of streets makes it hard to stand out from everyone else. As a musician on the streets of Helsinki you are just one needle in a large stack constantly on the move to somewhere. The solo-musicians have to read the situation and the environment. The break in the flow of people, is a natural break opportunity so they do not miss potential tippers. It is exhaustive to keep playing and sooner or later they would need to stretch their muscles which have been in the same position for a longer period of time. Unlike the group performers they can not just leave their spot to get a snack or a drink in one of the grocery shops nearby. While packing and unpacking is fast for them with the limited amount of equipment they bring, packing ones things down in order to get to the store for a cold beverage could mean losing the spot to someone else.

Multiple people performing together can create a lot more attention. In a group they do not need to rely on shifting between spaces or looking for audiences like the solo performers do. The group performers can thus just pick a highly populated spot and stick to it. Without the need to follow the crowds they can also bring more equipment. A well organised group act can create a lot of attention. The way they stand out causes people to actually gather in anticipation for the performance they can see is about to happen, even before it begins. When a group is performing, a very typical reaction amount the audience is to film the musicians with their smartphone. In such moments the musicians are clearly able to catch their audience's attention, and people are impressed enough to wanting to document the moment and the experience, so they can show and share what they have seen to their friends and families later. As for the solo musicians standing out is crucial, but groups of musicians have the numbers to back them up and thus they are much more recognisable on the large and busy street. Watching a larger group of street musicians is thus very different to watching the soloist, and their larger size really makes a difference; the amount of pedestrians taking the time to stay for the performance are a lot larger. The musicians almost have a certain "wow factor" in numbers. Larger musician groups seem to offer more freedom for the artists, as they can split up into smaller groups during the breaks. In fact in larger groups members can take shifts watching after the spot and the equipment. Thus, they do not need to worry about losing their equipment or the location.

Design spaces

Two implications for design

While a huge majority of people completely ignore the As I see it there are two opportunities for design based on this ethnographic study. Firstly, in supporting the the short “blink of the moment” interactions, that specifically the solo-musicians rely so heavily on for earning extra tips in the fast paced and populated streets, lies a possible design space for making the tipping process easier for the audience. The highly populated areas in the city do offer the musicians the highest exposure, but it is also in these areas people are the most busy. Most of them are too absorbed in their lives to stop and spend time listening and tipping the talented musicians. This inconvenience of having to spend time trying to gouge up coins from their wallet somewhere at the bottom of their backpacks, and in some cases the lack of cash on hand, prevents most from leaving a contribution and a show of appreciation. It is a matter of fact that multiple people in the audience actually want to show respect for the witnessed experience, even if only a very brief experience, but lack the means to do so.

Secondly there is an opportunity in supporting all street musicians to better stand out on the busy streets as well as in the more intimate areas. Especially the solo-musicians are having a hard time, because they do not have the strength and advantage of numbers that the group performers have when attempting to stand out. Despite this difficulty, some musicians are able to reach part of their audiences on a deep emotional level with their beautiful music, which is a complete contrast to the constant noise of people and cars in the urban capital. What makes them so immersed? Is it the meaning of the music and the connections they share or our human ability to shape music so beautifully and impressively through the use of our hands? There is no doubt the musicians append the foreign “otherness” to people’s busy lives by offering a temporary break from our present reality. Through the atmospheric layer their art adds to the city landscape, they appeal to people’s love for music. In the street the musicians’ performances create a bubble of musicality in stasis that has the ability to keep their audiences in a trance. The design should be able to build human and musical relations between the musician and the others on the street. It is important that the aesthetics of the design materiality are able to properly reflect and represent the deep, personal and intimate connections that are formed. Additionally the almost semi-circular arrangement by the audience - “the audience arch” - offers a particularly interesting scenario for a possible design space in which technology could be used to involve the deeply “immersed” audiences.

Design concept 1: Tipping micro-transactions

Following the opportunity for improving the tipping process, a good option would be to implement the use of microtransactions (small financial transactions).

Microtransactions would be an easy way for people in the audience to tip the musicians for their musical efforts, without having to rely on carrying cash. Microtransactions are also so small they are easily manageable. The optimal way would be to make small 1-2 euro tip via text message where the fees would be automatically drawn from the tipster’s phone bill. It could be made even simpler by using short range wireless communication such as NFC (near-field communication) or QR codes. The person passing by could just use his or her smartphone, which most of us now carry, to pay a couple of euros by holding the phone next to the NFC tag or QR code placed next to the performing musician. Finally, MobilePay is getting more and more popular in Finland and would allow people to tip through their bank.

However, there is some controversy in making the tipping process too easy. While it would help the musicians earn more money, which for some is the sole reason for playing on the streets in the first place, it could potentially ruin the building of some of the more meaningful and deep immersive connections that are sometimes created. With this concept we could also potentially lose the sound of coins hitting coins that have been such a common practice for street musicians through the ages. Would we be willing to lose such an old tradition?

Design concept 2: Meaningful neuron highways

The brain, our very own supercomputer, contains about 100 billion microscopic cells called neurons. When we dream, laugh, think, see or move it is because tiny chemical and electrical signals are racing between these neurons along billions of tiny neuron highways. This is what happens when we in the audience connect with the musician through the making of music. When entering this deep and intimate connection with the musicians, the audience becomes part of the network of neurons. The electrical currents running through the neuron highways are shared among the audience and the musician.

To build on this intimacy music can create, an installation using projection mapping could be designed to support the musician in creating awareness about their presence and to attract people, but also to build human and musical relations between the musicians and the audience. The second design concept is a strong immersive experience. The audience are able to step into the performance and become part of it. Circles are projected on the floor around the “audience arch”. The musician are playing in a circle in the centre of the arch. When a person from the audience enters one of the outer circles, electrical cables starts to grow from the musician’s circle towards the circle just entered. The electrical highway will accordingly attach and form a connection between the musician and the person in the circle. Once a connection is made, new cables will start to make their way towards the people in the other circles, eventually forming a network of connections. As soon as a

connection between two circles are formed, waves and electrical and chemical signals will start pulsing from the circles along the cables. As a participant one becomes part of the big neuron network where the music travels from one person to the other. The intensity and frequency of the pulses depends on how many people are standing within the space; with more and more people's neurons connected to the superbrain the more electric signals can be generated.

While a setup like this would stand out in a busy area, it would mean that solo-musicians would have to carry a lot more equipment which results in the loss of their mobility. However, arguably the likeliness of them having to move at all is reduced because of the uniqueness of the experience and the attention it would create.

There is also the difficulty of location. Such an installation would require a setting with low light. This would be next to impossible outside during the summer time.

Perhaps in the darker metro-stations? The darker months would be much more suited but would require the musicians to play outside in the cold. This could, however, be a problem for musicians playing the more sensitive instruments that require a lot of finger precision. There is also the risk that the installation spectacle would take the focus away from what should be the core of a street performance - the beautiful music a talented musician can make, that for some is all that is needed to intimately connect to the musician and the creation of music.



Final remarks: Moving forward

This ethnographic study rely heavily on my interpretations as an observer and ethnographer. A lot of the situations are laid out through my interpretation as a member of the musicians' audience and my own imagination. In my research I was only able to briefly talk to the musicians. One of the musicians I spoke to did show an interest in talking to me in an interview, but due to time issues he was not able to meet with me during the course period. Moving forward my research would arguably benefit a lot from getting the street musicians'

perspective of the street, their experiences with playing there, their encounters with the audience, as well as how they experience this intimate and deep connection between them and the few people in the audience. From my fieldwork and data coding I have many other interesting themes and avenues than could have been included here. I have only just scratched the surface of such an interesting topic and there is a lot more of the busking phenomenon left for me to explore.