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FROM BRASS BANDS TO BUSKERS: STREET MUSIC IN THE UK

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Executive summary

A busker in an underpass, carol singers in the square, teenagers playing guitar on a high street corner with their cases laid out hopefully before them, marching bands parading through city centres; anybody who engages with shared public space has at some point encountered street music. From the historical protection of royalty for the Elizabethan city waits, to a site of conflict on the thoroughfares of Victorian London, to its position today in urban regeneration via culture, street music remains a ubiquitous presence in our contemporary environments and continues to be both a source of surprise and debate, pleasure and nuisance.

Funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the purpose of this report is to chart and critically examine available writing about the historical and contemporary presence of street music in the cultural landscape and our shared public spaces, drawing on both academic and 'grey'/cultural policy literature in the field. The review presents research findings under the headings of

- history
- cultural policy and legislation
- advocacy
- place-making, creative spaces, and community
- protest and social movements
- creativity: performers, performance, and audience
- festivals, carnival, live and outdoor arts.

The report concludes with a set of future recommendations for research. To accompany the report, a 95-entry annotated bibliography has been produced, which is freely accessible online, via the connected communities website (https://connected-communities.org/index.php/street-music-in-the-uk-annotated-bibliography/).

Project information

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Introduction

> As long as cities have created public meeting places and thoroughfares, performers have staked a presence in them. Susie Tanenbaum, *Underground Harmonies* (1995: 33)

Throughout history where people have gathered in shared public spaces, performers have been present amongst them to entertain, practice their craft, and earn a living. However, despite the ever-present place of street music in the soundscapes of our daily living, there may be not as much about the subject in comparison to many other areas of musical study (Watt 2019: 71). But there is some, and we have made it our business to find it, read it, annotate it for other users, and overview it in a structured report, here.

In this report we intend to explore the existing research and policy writing that has been undertaken in this area, and to indicate the rich possibilities for further study. Our approach to this is fourfold. First, we aim to investigate and enhance the knowledge and understanding surrounding street music; second, we propose to examine the cultural value of street music; third, we wish to explore the scope of street music practice within the UK in particular; finally, we plan to consider the role of street music in the continual formation of communities and our sense of place.

From a source of wellbeing and social unity, to a means of increasing visibility and knowledge of diasporic and migrant cultures, and a site of attraction for tourists, the literature shows that street music plays a significant social and cultural role at local and international levels.

While the report deals primarily with street music within the UK, it does draw on critical work from English language scholarship internationally. The report considers a range of music that takes places on the streets, with a primary focus on live music production. Literature was limited to academic books and journals, and policy/'grey' literature, but largely does not contain newspaper or magazine articles. The report includes work from musicology, historical geography, cultural geography, urban planning, performance studies, and law. Street music provides multiple opportunities for interdisciplinary study.

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HISTORY

> … brazen performers on brazen instruments, beaters of drums, grinders of organs, bangers of banjos, clashers of cymbals, worriers of fiddles, and bellowers of ballads. Charles Dickens, on London's street musicians, 1864 (quoted in Picker 2003: 42)

> In the beginning, music was 'for free'. In the streets there was an orchestration of clogs clattering, trams rattling, hooves beating, barrel organs gurgling, temperance bands blarting and buskers serenading. Edna Bold, on early 20th century Manchester (1978: 23).

The predominant mode of academic discourse surrounding street music has been historical. This section traces the evolution of street music in the UK by surveying the current literature on historical modes of musical street performance. Paul Oliver (2003) has shown how various forms of itinerant street performers have existed historically; with street music considered to have been present since streets existed. Oliver traces instances of street music in the Bible, for example the women, and followers of Miriam, who are playing their timbrels to celebrate the saving of the Israelites (ca. 1500 BCE), as well as musical performers on the streets of ancient Rome depicted in the mosaic of street performers on the walls of the Villa del Cicerone,

Pompeii. Additionally, harps, lyres, shawms, and trumpets are noted to have been played in the streets of ancient Assyria (Oliver 2003: 71).

However, it is from the minstrels of the Middle Ages onwards that street music becomes more widely documented. Very early minstrels were the goliards, a loose term applied to groups of itinerant singers who were lower clergymen in Europe. Their performances were often satirical in nature, aimed at the church, society, or the hedonism of the wanderer, and comprised of song, prose or poetry performed in Latin (Paxman 2014: 19). The better-known performer of medieval minstrelsy is the troubadour. Associated predominately with the Moorish-influenced courts of the Provence region of Southern France, the origins of the troubadour can be traced to Poitou and Gascony, and troubadour influence extended into Italy, Catalonia, and Spain, and courts across Europe (Gaunt and Kay 2012: 3). Operating within the period 1100-1300, troubadours were traditionally knights who composed and performed courtly love poetry and music. They travelled between courts where they were received as honoured guests who provided both entertainment and news from their travels (Cohen and Greenwood 1981: 29). The troubadours have been the subject of revision, including studies of female troubadours, or *troubairitz* (Bogin 1976, Bruckner 1995, Sankovitch 1999).

Among the places in Europe in which minstrelsy continued to thrive beyond 1300 was England. Although minstrels had an itinerant lifestyle, some had

benefactors and patrons who supported them. Many were less fortunate and spent the greater part of their time travelling to seek audiences. During periods such as Lent when their services were not required, they could visit 'schools' for minstrels, fiddle players, and trumpeters in western Europe; these were international assemblies where musicians could improve their craft, learn new songs, and meet with other players (Wegman 2002: 11).

Regional guilds for minstrels were established in places such as York, Beverley, and Canterbury. Membership of such guilds required the means to pay an annual fee, again benefitting those with regular income and stable patronage. Those without means or protection, and considered outlaws by the Church, spent their time on the move between markets, fairs, and other gatherings in which a crowd might be sought. In 1469 a guild of royal minstrels was established by Edward IV, those minstrels not so recognised became more vulnerable to increasingly strict laws on vagrancy and licenses. Although associated predominantly with the medieval period—with drama becoming a dominant art form from the 14th century, through travelling spectacles such as the mystery plays—references to the wandering minstrel tradition continue into the early modern period (Brayshay 2005: 431). The decline of the minstrel who played from memory was also hastened by the rise of more professionalised performers who could read musical notation (Milsom 2011).

The practice of the itinerant street musician was further limited by the development of the waits. The waits were established in the 13th and 14th centuries as a night watch for towns and cities and comprised of male wind instrumentalists who would pipe the watch (Scholes 2011). As well as becoming widespread geographically across England in the following centuries, their duties diversified, and they became civic minstrels who focused on musicianship and performed at weddings and other ceremonial occasions. In addition to carrying out the watch, waits were highly valued by municipal authorities and were provided with salaries, liveries, chains of office, and uniforms bearing the towns arms (Brayshay 2005: 436). City waits were mostly disbanded by the early 19th century, although the term wait continued to be used late into the 19th century to describe street musicians who sang Christmas carols (Scholes 2011).

As a result of the proliferation of the printing press in the 16th century, a new musical presence arrived on the streets in the form of the ballad seller (also referred to as ballad singers and ballad mongers). Street balladry was an occupation held by both men and women. Situated predominately in cities but also found in village squares, ballad sellers would sing the printed songs they were selling (Atkinson 2018: 83). Often printed on a single sheet of paper referred to as broadsides, with the text in verse or in prose and surrounded by a woodcut image (Atkinson and Roud 2017: xi), one of the principal subjects of ballads would be the current affairs of the

day; a broadside from 1540 narrates the fall of Thomas Cromwell (Taylor 2012: 20). Broadsides was relatively cheap, which meant that they were widely purchased. By the 1660s over 400,000 were being sold annually in England (Capp 1985: 199). With urban population increase due to the industrial revolution, the numbers of ballad sellers likewise grew. As David Atkinson notes, this period of economic growth, industrialisation, expansion of literacy, and increased road travel, was also a time of widening disparity between classes, and 'it is not surprising, therefore, that those who eked out what must have been a frequently precarious existence singing and selling ballads were commonly depicted as rogues and vagabonds' (Atkinson 2018: 73). Yet, in the work of 18th century artists such as William Hogarth, street singing is 'described and depicted [as] integral to the life of the city' (Atkinson 2018: 94). Hogarth's *The Enraged Musician* (1741) depicts a classical violinist practicing indoors and protesting against the noise of a London street populated by the 'unlearned' hoi polloi of ballad singers, street hawkers, and street musicians (Johnson 2017: 69).

Although the ballads across this period have been preserved through broadside collections, relatively little is known about the lives of ballad sellers and street musicians beyond their depictions by artists, appearances in legal records, and street music oppositionists. However in 1861, Henry Mayhew published his core social document, *London Labour and the London Poor,* which included numerous interviews

with street musicians, such as 'Old Sarah', a visually-impaired hurdy-gurdy player who performed on the streets for over 40 years. The number of street musicians playing at the time in London were estimated by Mayhew as over 1,000, with ballad sellers totalling at quarter of that figure (Mayhew 1861; Oliver 2003).

Ballad sellers form part of the picture of the extraordinary 'street music debates' of 19th century London (Picker 2003; Simpson 2017). The burgeoning metropolitan professional middle class began to wage 'a battle to impose the quiet tenor of interior middle-class domesticity upon the rowdy terrain outside' (Picker 2003: 42). Their occupations included lawyers, writers, artisans, musicians, doctors, and scholars (Simpson 2017: 93). The streets of London at the time were a source of much sound, from the street cries of hawkers to the wheels of carts, but the origin of sound, or noise as it was widely referred to, that became the main point of consternation for the new urban professionals was … street musicians. John Picker explains that the 'fight against the oppression of street music was mounted in print and Parliament' (2003: 42). Contributions to this struggle *against* street music encompassed articles in the press, *Punch* cartoons, Charles Babbage's chapter on 'Observations on Street Nuisances' in his book *Passages from the Life of a Philosopher* (1864)—which includes a letter by Charles Dickens countersigned by many other prominent writers and artists of the day—MP Michael T Bass's *Street Music in the Metropolis,* and the subsequent 1864 street music debates in Parliament*.*

The Italian organ grinder was a particular target of anti-street music campaigners, with three main explanations given by scholars. First, there were elements of xenophobia and protecting English streets, culture, and people from foreign influence and invasion. Second, aesthetic taste and sensibilities were significant, through which campaigners sought to maintain social divisions and hierarchy of class, position and wealth. Third, questions of health:

the music of the foreign itinerant street players was viewed as damaging to the recovery of those of the domestic middle class who were invalids, frail, or unwell (see Picker 2003: 45; Simpson 2017: 96-104). As John Zucchi explores, so prominent were the concerns of noise, class tension, and foreign influence, that other issues within street music such as child exploitation, say, were all but overlooked (1998: 88).

While the street music opponents have understandably dominated the discourse around the musical activities of Victorian cities, both at time and subsequently, recent scholarship has called for attention to other sources of information on the reception of street music of the nineteenth century (Watt 2018a: 3-8; Simpson 2017: 94). Such sources would include archival material, neglected interviews with street traders and performers, recollections from memoirs of people from different classes, professions, and backgrounds, and collections of street cries from folksong collectors such as Lucy Broadwood (Watt 2018b: 17-22). Other scholars employ new methodologies, thus shifting both object and gaze.

As highlighted by Watt (2018b: 21), Aimée Boutin's study *City of Noise: Sound and Nineteenth-Century Paris* is one such example of taking, in her words, 'a sensory approach to understanding the city as a sonic space that orchestrates different, often conflicting sound cultures' (Boutin 2015: 3).

In addition to the history of solo or small groupings of musical street performers (commonly associated with the term busking, and discussed extensively below), the streets of Britain have also been populated by the music of bands. German bands were a common part of Victorian street music scene. Less formal than many of the newer types of band belo, they consisted mostly of brass instruments, but sometimes also strings and woodwind; the 'German' name came from the ubiquitous use of the saxhorn. Numbers reduced dramatically during and after World War One, with the bands becoming synonymous with 'the itinerant, the vagrant, and the irresponsible in German culture in Britain' (Etheridge 2016). Brass instruments have been present in various forms in villages, the military, and the church (Herbert 2000: 15). The creation of formalised brass bands was in part due to industrialisation, and the growing working classes, advances in design, and expansion in manufacturing. Brass bands were particularly popular in Northern coal-mining towns during the 19th century; and were often sponsored by industrial concerns. Trevor Herbert views them as highly significant, not least because 'one of the achievements of the brass band movement was that it created what was probably the first mass engagement of working-

class people in instrumental art music' (Herbert 2000: 10). The portability of brass instruments enables bands to perform outdoors and on the march. Brass bands thus became and, to an extent, remain a fixture of civic parades and events. The Victorian era saw the introduction of bandstands to public parks (Rabbitts 2018), which facilitated bands being able to play in less favourable weather conditions, as well as providing acoustic support. Salvation Army brass bands originated in the 1870s and developed parallel to the British brass band movement (Salvation Army, 2019); they are strongly associated with seasonal traditions in the UK through their presence at Christian festivals such as Christmas. Military bands have also been common fixture of street parades, civic, and royal occasions, with the military indeed being the single largest employer of musicians from the late 18th century onwards (Herbert and Barlow, 2013: 1).

CULTURAL POLICY AND LEGISLATION

> Much of the history of street performance […] is found in the laws that prohibit it. Sally Harrison-Pepper, *Drawing a Circle in the Square* (1990: 22)

> Should we not be encouraging rather than discouraging busking, which is such an important part of our urban culture? Lord Clement-Jones, House of Lords, 2014

The history of street music can indeed be charted through its legislation and regulation. In ancient Rome, the death penalty was the punishment ascribed to those who composed or performed libellous writings and songs in the streets (*libelli famosi*) in the Twelve Tables (Shuger 2013). In England in 1531, Henry VIII introduced the need for itinerant street musicians, along with other travelling tradespeople, to hold licenses, and those found performing without one could be whipped on two consecutive days under the terms of the Statute for the Punishment of Beggars and Vagabonds (Joseph 2000: 62).The street music debates of Victorian London led to the implementation of restrictions against street musicians in the 1864 *Act for the Better Regulation of Street Music within the Metropolitan Area*. Northern Ireland, following early legislation in the form of the Procession Acts in the 19th century, the emergence of

the Troubles led to the introduction of further regulation aimed at controlling street music. This has included the establishment of the Parade Commission, a 'quasi-autonomous committee with the legal authority to control parades of marching bands by both Protestant and Catholic communities' (McKay 2007: 22). In Camden, London, an area previously renowned for its busking scene, the council introduced a regulation in 2014 to make performing without a license an offence. This meant fees of £19 to play with a regular license and £47 for a special one. On application, performers had to wait 20 working days before a public consultation, which would deem if they were allowed to play. Those performing without a license could face a fine of £1000 and instrument confiscations. This legislation resulted in a high-profile, though ultimately unsuccessful, protest organised by the campaign group Keep Streets Live, joined by performers such as Billy Bragg and Bill Bailey (KSL 2014).

Bruce Johnson has argued that successive legislative acts to control street music since the 19th century have led to its gradual disappearance from the streets of modern cities (2018: 68). However, busking, for example, continues to be a familiar sight on the streets of the UK. Moreover, in places such as Bath, it is identified as one of the attractions of the city, 'creating a vibrant and pleasant atmosphere for those who visit Bath' (Bath and NE Somerset Council, 2016). Nonetheless, legislation continues to be a feature of modern street music, and scholars such as Paul

Simpson have explored the extent to which regulatory practices limit artistic expression, freedom, democratic access, and spontaneity (Simpson 2011; Simpson 2013). As he has noted, recent regulation has varied in severity, from codes of conduct drafted by local authorities at the more tolerant end, to the licensing systems requiring auditions that operate at locations such as Covent Garden and the London Underground, and performers being banned completely. Thus, even in cities ostensibly keen to produce an urban atmosphere and street content of creativity, through processes of auditions of and permit-granting for street musicians, a form of 'affective engineering' takes place (Simpson 2011: 416; Thrift 2004: 58). Further, through auditions it is possible to see how both quality and repertoire could be controlled, as one performer has explained: 'I am slightly wary about auditions as we don't want every busker in Bath just playing Vivaldi. I'm sorry but Bath is very conservative. It is the variety I believe that makes Bath busking fairly special' (quoted in in Simpson 2011: 426). Discussing the introduction of a controversial licensing system at a tourism site in Ireland, Adam Kaul argues that the scheme may be perceived as a way for the tourism authorities to 'seize almost complete control over the music … dramatically reducing the amount of control musicians have over their art-form to the bare minimum.… [I]nstead of an inclusive, multivocal, sonically cacophonous musical landscape, the tourism authorities have made every effort to create a site that speaks with their singular voice' (Kaul 2014: 45).

Legislation surrounding street performers in the USA has been covered in studies such as Patricia J. Campbell's 1981 *Passing the Hat: Street Performers in America,* Harrison-Pepper's 1990 volume *Drawing a Circle in the Square: Street Performing in New York's Washington State Park,* and Susie Tanenbaum's 1995 book *Underground Harmonies: Music and Politics in the Subways of New York.* (There is no such equivalent wealth of scholarship in the UK.) More recently John Juricich (2017) has argued that busking and the solicitation of tips is protected under the first amendment and explores the case law around the free speech rights of buskers. In Australia, Julia Quilter and Luke McNamara (2015) examine recent shifts in busking laws in Melbourne and Sydney, away from the criminalisation of busking in the 19th and 20th centuries, to a permit system that both encourages and controls it. In their view, now 'the law validates and protects, rather than imperils, the contributions that musicians and other performers make to Australia's two largest cities' (Quilter and McNamara 2015: 590).There can be more subtle effects of legislation, though. Simpson asks whether the sociality that street music can create in spontaneous and evolving moments—such as when performers are asked for an encore or have built up a crowd—can be limited by codes of conduct that require musicians to play for no longer than one hour at a specific pitch, for instance (2011: 416). However, such regulation is not always received negatively by buskers themselves, with performers interviewed by Simpson acknowledging that

it allows for fair access to prime pitches (Simpson 2011: 424).

In addition to the complexity of local bylaws pertaining to street performance (Simpson 2011: 425; Bywater 2007: 114), a recent obstacle facing street musicians has been the introduction of Public Space Protection Orders. These orders may be used to restrict 'activities that carried out within the authority's area which have a detrimental effect on the quality of life of those in the locality' (Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014). This law prompted concern that PSPOs would or could be used to 'target informal performances of art and music on the grounds that some people don't like buskers and find them annoying' (Keep Streets Live 2014). However, as raised by Keep Streets Live and other busking campaigners, the potential difficulties in differentiating between 'the antisocial minority and genuine performers'—as they were distinguished in a House of Lords debate on the bill (Parliament, House of Lords, 2014)—are numerous and complex (KSL 2014). The overall issuing of PSPO-related fines rose from 2,000 in 2016 to 10,000 in 2018 (BBC 2019).

ADVOCACY AND CAMPAIGNING

> Buskers act as civic lighthouses. We give directions. We break up fights. We talk to the lonely. We create moments between spaces, and contribute to the enrichment of urban spaces. We care deeply about the wellbeing of the places where we perform. Jonny Walker, Keep Streets Live

Street music is the focus of a number of advocacy campaigns. One of the most prominent in recent years has been the Keep Streets Live Campaign. Set up in the wake of increased regulation for performers in Camden, Keep Streets Live was created by the late Jonny Walker—a popular busker across the UK in cities such as Leeds, Norwich, London, and Liverpool—to 'protect public spaces for informal offerings of music and the arts' (KSL). Keep Streets Live has been successful in creating a number of well-received best practice guides for buskers, created in partnership with local authorities, businesses and residents. The first, in Liverpool in 2014, was designed in collaboration with the local branch of the Musicians' Union, the Liverpool Business Improvement District, Merseyside Police, and Liverpool City Council, and was claimed as the first guide of its kind in the UK (Musicians Union 2014). Intended for buskers, law enforcers, businesses, and residents, the guide 'sets out some key recommendations to promote positive and neighbourly relations between users of shared public spaces in the city, and will enable the busking community to flourish and exist harmoniously alongside local business' (Musicians Union 2014). Keep

Streets Live have since worked with other councils in the UK, including Accrington, Bath, Birmingham, Canterbury, Chester, Worcester, and York, to produce best practice guides 'based on dialogue, mutual respect, and backed up with properly-used enforcement action where necessary' (KSL 2014).

Online platforms, social and digital media have played notable roles in the promotion of street music in modern urban environments. The Busking Project is a website that allows users to tip buskers electronically, hire street performers for events, buy their music, and connect with performers globally. As a community interest company (CIC) they exist to 'promote, celebrate and defend buskers with tech, advocacy, research and opportunities' (busk.co). World Street Music is a video-blog that charts 'amazing street performers' across the world. Created in August 2012, the project produced a documentary *The Phenomenon of Street Music* that has been viewed by 130,000 people on YouTube (worldstreetmusic.com). StreetMusicMap was established in 2014 to interactively document street music across the world. Operating primarily via Instagram, the acclaimed project encourages people to upload pictures and videos, and has presented over 1,000 artists in 93 countries, filmed by more than 700 collaborators. StreetMusicMap also uses Spotify to create global busker playlists (streetmusicmap.com).

There are also a number of organisations and networks for street and outdoor arts. These include the National Association of Street Artists (NASA UK),

a network managed by a steering group, which aims to provide support and development opportunities for UK-based street artists, including musicians, 'through engaging in strategy and policy discussions, advocating for the sector and networking with key organisations, providing information sharing, discussion forums and peer support,' and more (NASA UK). Outdoor Arts UK is a membership organisation that aims to 'bring together the many diverse parts of the Outdoor Arts sector. Members are individuals, companies and organisations working in different forms of outdoor arts' (Outdoor Arts UK). Its activities include event listings, information about training opportunities, members' networking, report commissioning, advice for emerging artists, and advocacy for the sector in cultural, governmental, and funding contexts. In partnership with the Audience Agency, it produced an Outdoor Arts Audience Report in 2018, which found that 'outdoor arts ha[ve] the power to amplify a sense of community, and to change people's perception of place.… [A] majority of their audiences reported an increased sense of belonging, social connection and pride in their place' (Outdoor Arts Audience Report 2018).

As the Victorians showed us, organisation can function effectively in negative ways, too. Networks against street music have been established by those who have felt disturbed in their domestic and professional lives by the conduct of buskers and street performers. For example, the Anti-Nuisance Busking Oxford is a group that was set up in order to campaign for street musicians in

Oxford city centre to be 'properly regulated by the city council' (ANBO 2008). Formed by people who work and study in the area, the group claim that they are not anti-busking *per se* but are instead 'in favour of ensuring that we get a pleasant pavement culture on the street' (ANBO 2008).

PLACE, SPACE, AND COMMUNITY

> The dynamic of auditory knowledge provides … a key opportunity for moving through the contemporary by creating shared spaces that belong to no single public and yet impart a feeling for intimacy. Brandon Labelle, *Acoustic Territories* (2010: xxi)

> Making music is a way of throwing music back into the streets—streets in which people really begin to live again. Jennifer Whitney, on the Infernal Noise Brigade, anti-capitalist marching band (quoted in McKay 2007, 22)

Street music can create positive atmospheres, relations, and places (Bywater 2007; Doughty and Lagerqvist 2016; Harrison-Pepper 1990; Simpson 2011, 2013, 2014; Tanenbaum 1995). A number of recent academic studies have focused on the potential of street music to create moments of joy, surprise, and togetherness (Doughty and Lagerqvist 2016; Simpson 2014; Williams 2016). Transient gatherings of people rushing through their daily lives stopping to become audiences for street performers, and the possibilities for broader social cohesion, are explored through notions of community. Termed by Tanenbaum as 'transitory communities' (1995: 105), busking and street performing are viewed as 'facilitating moments of contact between strangers

and therefore producing a more convivial form of public space' (Simpson 2011: 423). Doughty and Lagerqvist discuss this in terms of street music's ability to facilitate 'moments of egalitarian togetherness, moments that encouraged co-mingling across multiple existing lines of difference' (2016: 65). Street music convivial affects may in turn effect the health and well-being of the urban populace, as Simpson argues, 'producing positive atmospheres in public spaces through diverse (if fleeting) social relations … in addition to the music itself' (2014: 160). In an era in which high streets are struggling and urban spaces are increasingly 'presented as environments of incivility and indifference' (Simpson 2014: 161), yet while cities are increasingly aiming to be considered 'creative' and 'global' (Bennett and Rogers 2014), the potential for street music to produce moments of spontaneous joy, cohesion, and conviviality appears to be an urgent area for further enquiry, research and consideration.

Street music can also be a space of diversity, where audiences who watch, listen, and enjoy the performance together are made up of people from different socio-economic backgrounds. As Tanenbaum states, street music is '*accessible to everyone* regardless, of income, race, gender, or age' (Tanenbaum 1995: 19; emphasis added). To be accessible to everyone is a profound cultural claim. The musical performances themselves are also potentials for diversity, with both performers and musical repertoires encompassing a variety of nationalities, providing opportunities and platforms for

diasporic and migrant cultures, and space to celebrate multicultural, cosmopolitan cities and populations. Through examining the role of South American pan flute musicians at Sergels Torg, a 'failed public space' in central Stockholm, Doughty and Lagerqvist explore how 'busking impacts on diversity and inclusive forms of place (re)making … where the city can be reimagined, debate can occur, new identities may be forged and marginalised voices can be heard' (2016: 59). Yet, they continue, in research terms 'the role of migrant street musicians in the constitution of, and encounter with, ethnic and cultural diversity in cities has only briefly been considered' (Doughty and Lagerqvist 2016: 59). There is also a danger that the representation of culture becomes a commodity and people feel that nationalities are being staged, and thus become inauthentic— 'performances were often described as a gimmick, a business idea, a well-thought-out concept for selling the same thing everywhere, as something out of Disneyworld' (Doughty and Lagerqvist 2016: 65).

The relationship between street music and liminal spaces has also been explored by contemporary scholars (Tanenbaum 1999; Simpson 2011; Bywater 2007). Street music creates an 'urban ritual that challenges the way we think about public space by promoting spontaneous, democratic, intimate encounters', and, as Tanenbaum argues with particular reference to subway stations, these encounters take place in 'routinized and alienating environments' (1995:

1-2). Michael Bywater further conjectures that street music creates liminal time for those who stop to listen, time to just be and not do, to step away from the 'stress of modern daily life', which he sees as 'a complaint against the appropriation of liminal time … an unowned time in which we are literally in transit: the traveller has no appointments so long as he or she is travelling' (Bywater 2007: 118). This is echoed by Simpson who illuminates the positive affect of street music for listeners who have impromptu encounters with it, 'to the extent of elevating [listeners] from their everyday routines and concerns and so engendering a sense of wellbeing' (2014: 149).

The history of street music may again be seen through performers being 'in' and 'out of place'; moving between the mainstream and the margins (Simpson 2017: 98). As such, whilst city waits could be afforded royal patronage, minstrels were 'thought of as lecherous and irresponsible fly-by-nights' and in general to be mobile in the Middle Ages was 'to be without place, both socially and geographically' (Cresswell 2012: 11). Similarly, although buskers are described in current civic literature as adding 'diversity', 'local colour', and 'vibrancy' to cities (Norwich City Council 2019, Glasgow City Council 2019, Cardiff City Council 2019), street performers continue to occupy something of a controversial and even oppositional place in the everyday life of modern cities and in fact such apparently celebratory civic literature perspectives 'often take the form of brief mention or by way of a caveat to the introduction of

some form of legislation or imposed control' (Simpson 2014: 160).

Simpson states that 'streets have never actually been free or democratic spaces' (Simpson 2011: 418), and through differing degrees of censorship, control, and omission, various groups of street musicians have been subject to marginalisation, exclusion and restriction. The nationalism and xenophobia present in the Victorian anti-street music debates offer a stark example of this, with Italian organ grinders referred to as '"Savoyard fiends" or "blackguards" that smelled of a combination of garlic and goat-skin', and vocabulary used about musicians consistently evoking dirt and disease: 'they "infest" the streets having brought a "certain vice from Italy" … the streets "swarm with vagabonds" (Simpson 2015: 2). Although on a more moderate scale, recent research conducted by StreetMusicMap has shown that fewer than two out of ten street musicians are women (StreetMusicMap 2019), and further research into the historical role of gender in street music may yield other insights. As McKay has noted, 'street music is heavily gendered and must therefore compromise the liberatory claims' it regularly makes (2007, 22). Additionally, discourse on disability and access has received relatively little attention in scholarship on street music thus far. In the 1980s Cohen and Greenwood discussed the war veteran as 'one traditional aspect of street music that still lingers in London', and highlighted the work of Ernie and Jack; having been shot during the Second World War while working as a stretcher bearer, Ernie

subsequently busked on the streets of London for 35 years playing the banjo outside London underground stations, with Jack acting as his bottler (money-collector) (Cohen and Greenwood 1981: 181). Michael Accinno's study of civil war veteran organ grinders in post-bellum America provides multiple avenues for further exploration, including applying Susan Schweik's critical approach in *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public* (2009), which 'deconstructs cultural efforts to sort beggars from performers, the worthy from the unworthy, and real from fraudulent' (Accinno 2016: 405). Accinno cites earlier examples of disabled veterans' street music activity, not least that of Empress Maria Theresa, who in the mid-18th century introduced licenses for veterans of the Seven Years' War to play barrel organs in Hapsburg territories (Accinno 2016: 405).

Following the growing hostility towards street musicians in the Victorian era, the opening of the London Underground became a fertile space for busking. As Brandon Labelle comments, 'the underground allowed the busking musician new-found opportunities to play outside the particular tensions walking the London streets had; and one could reach an extensive public without having to roam the streets through the rather unpredictable weather'. However, this territory further served to mark the characterise 'the busker as an itinerant, panhandling beggar by contrasting to the more professional classes that the underground trains mostly served', thus arguably perpetuating the narrative of the vagrant outsider (Labelle 2010: 17).

PROTEST AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

> I know that it's spring and dark winter is past when I hear the sounds of the Protestant marching bands…. For it is the marching bands that are keeping open roads for Protestants to walk upon. Ian Paisley, Unionist politician,1986 (quoted in McKay 2007, 20)

> We'll face them with refusal
> We'll face them with song. Anna Reading, 'The silos song' from Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp (2015)

Throughout recent history, where people have taken to the streets in protest, solidarity, occupation, revolution, intimidation, and celebration, music has been present. From anthems of the civil rights movements such as 'We Shall Overcome' that have spread to other social movements in the West; to the familiar sight of samba bands dispersed amongst marches against the rise in student fees protest, the Iraq war, and austerity; to trade union brass bands, the songs of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp; and the *protestivals* (St John 2015) of the Reclaim the Streets movement, music has been a way of making your voice heard.

Historically, 'rough music' or charivari was a tradition practised regionally in England from medieval times through to the 19th century. Usually formed by people playing instruments including trumpets and drums and banging together household objects such as 'pots, pans, basins, spades, animal horns, bells, and tongs […] to make a cacophonous sound' (Marsh 2010: 37), it was generally performed as a way of displaying disapproval at a person's behaviour or of their violating social and community norms, and it involved 'music and street theatre, mockery or hostility' (Thompson 1991). McKay has explored the relation between such 'rough music' and hat has been called the 'rough side of unionism' in the context of the Northern Irish parade band tradition (2007, 26-29).

The 1960s is hailed as a time of resurgence for busking, with the folk movement being one of the key influences. As Prato suggests, the cultural-political turmoil of the period 'primarily involving the younger generation, led to a rebirth of the folksinger as a popular stereotype, able to attract many of the new anti-conformist expectations', thus putting into motion, 'both a vast process of music self-education especially on the guitar and a "return to the streets"' (Prato 1984: 153). Characterised by nomadism, revolution, and autonomy, and modelled on prominent figures such as Joan Baez and Bob Dylan, the folksinger became a mainstay of the busking scene. In the protest songs of the folk movement—and in busking's continual relationship to music with socio-political messages—it may also be possible to observe

what Joseph Williams describes in his article 'Busking in musical thought' as its 'capacity to catch us unawares at our most insular and exposed moments as we auto-navigate the paths of everyday life, potentially impelling us toward new courses of thought and action' (Williams 2016: 142).

Acoustic music, especially played on the guitar, became an emblem for resisting commercialized music in the late 1950s and early 1960s, establishing the 'amateur acoustic performer as a symbol of authenticity and accessibility in opposition to the star system of the popular music industry' (Bennett and Rogers 2014: 456). One-man-band Don Partridge had top ten hits in 1968 with songs 'Rosie' and 'Blue Eyes'. However, he preferred the lifestyle and ethos of busking and returned to it shortly afterwards. He continued to perform on the streets of Brighton and Lewes until he died in 2010. During the period of his chart success, in February 1969, he organised a concert at the Royal Albert Hall featuring fellow street performers called Buskers' Happening (LaBelle 2010: 18). For many street musicians, the spontaneity and freedom of their practice continues to be a means of resisting capitalism, commercialism, and control, as part of an alternative economy (Harrison-Pepper 1990; Tanenbaum 1995; WorldStreetMusic 2019).

Nor is it only folk music. Traditional jazz marching bands were a mainstay of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament annual Aldermaston marches in the late 1950s and early 1960s (McKay 2004; 2005, ch. 1). In his

1958 book *Jazz in Britain*, David Boulton wrote of how the new scene's 'attempts to establish a British marching style could spark off such a new music. If we were to bring jazz out into the streets of our towns and cities,' he continued idealistically, hearing another kind of political street music, 'then jazz might once again develop a music of the people' (quoted in McKay 2005, 65).

But there are different approaches, too. The marching band tradition of accompanying a political demonstration, or being the focal point sounding a political statement in the street via its musical presence, is an important one. While 'marching bands are resounding in their similarities—choreography, the rhythm of drumming, uniforms, the contradictory gamut of military and pseudo-military practice'—they are 'also so very different from one another—…in terms of ideology, the politics of repertoire, gender, cultural tradition and innovation' (McKay 2007, 20). This has been seen most strikingly of course in recent decades in the powerful and intimidating practice of the parade bands in Northern Ireland.

Jamie Rollins states in *Battle Cries and Lullabies* that the parade tradition in Northern Ireland is about 'the commemoration of events and people, the prioritizing of political aims and objectives, and maintaining memory and historical narrative through music' (Rollins 2018: 19). Furthermore, in *The Irish Parade Tradition,* Seamus Dunn and Valerie Morgan highlight that there is an 'historical, cultural and emotional significance of the

need many communities feel to join together in public demonstrations' (Dunn and Morgan 2000: viii). However, embedded within the parading traditions of the two major communities of republicans and unionists are 'the sense of separation and difference that has been at the root of the conflict' (2000: iii) and during the 1970s, following the reclamation of street music by Protestant youth, there was a, 'shift in balance from the parade as a statement or celebration of religious and historical tradition to a more overt, sometimes uncompromising display of its political underbelly' (McKay 2007: 27). This division could lead to conflicts on marching days between republican marchers and unionist parade bands, Catholic residents, the police and army; as in the dumcree standoff in the town of Portadown, Northern Ireland (2007: 23), with clashes during marching season from 1995 – 2000 gaining international attention and unfolding against the backdrop of the peace process. Mark Howard Ross in *Cultural Contestation in Ethic Conflict* observes that since 2003 there has been a different tone to marching season in Portadown and wider Northern Ireland with 'significant de-escalation in the rhetoric and provocation from all sides' (Ross 2007: 115).

CREATIVITY: PERFORMERS, PERFORMANCE AND AUDIENCE

When you're street performing, you're on a tightrope. You have to deal with whatever comes along, which is great practice for gigging, and especially for playing festivals: the weather, the equipment, the sound quality might not be what you expected. Can you still deliver a performance? Busking is the ultimate version of that. Get good at busking and later, when you're playing the Pyramid stage, you know you won't be fazed. Singer Billy Bragg (2014)

'It was a strange feeling that people were actually … *ignoring* me. At a music hall, I'll get upset if someone coughs or if someone's cell phone goes off. But here, my expectations quickly diminished. I started to appreciate any acknowledgement, even a slight glance up. I was oddly grateful when someone threw a dollar instead of change.… When you play for ticket holders, you are already validated. I have no sense that I need to be accepted. I am already accepted. Here, there was this thought: *what if they don't like me, what if they resent my presence?* Classical violinist Joshua Bell (quoted in Weingarten 2007)

As Billy Bragg notes in his 'How to Busk' guide for *The Guardian* (2014), street music is a means through which musicians, singers, and performers may practice their

craft. The immediacy between the performer and the audience is a key feature of street performance and subway music (Tanenbaum 1995; Labelle 2010; Simpson 2011), both intensifying the intimacy and interaction, and in some circumstances, 'requiring more in the way of improvisation by the performer' (Simpson 2011: 420). Improvisation is a skill needed by the street performer for more than the audience-performer relationship, the unpredictabilities reaching far beyond that to a variety of external factors. As Harrison-Pepper points out, 'helicopters, barking dogs, traffic, babies, hecklers—all become the stuff of outdoor performance, and the better a performer can transform these potential disruptions into entertaining diversions … the more successful [they] will be' (Harrison-Pepper 1990: 114). The ability to transform passers-by into an audience is also foregrounded by street musicians as a test of their talent and performance, as a busker interviewed by Bywater recounts—'when you're busking, they're not the audience. That's not what they've come out to be. They've got other things on their mind. And your job is to make them *be* an audience for a bit—hopefully long enough to drop some money in your hat' (quoted in Bywater 2007: 100).

However, the craft and creativity of street musicians has also been disparaged, and indeed the term street musician can all too often 'carry with it pejorative implications of impoverishment and an inferior status' (Oliver 2003: 71). With the rise of concert halls and other indoor music venues for skilled, professional performers

and formal recitals, the space left outdoors began to be associated with the informal, the untrained, and the amateur (Prato 1984)**.** Thus, as Schafer states, 'after art music moved indoors, street music [became] an object of increasing scorn' (Schafer 1980: 66). Reception, class, and taste have also played a part in the valuing of street music. In terms of repertoire, the organ grinders of Victorian London were often playing music that in its 'original' form was being consumed by the new middle classes. However, even when music from acceptable repertoires was being played, 'for certain sections of the population these organs managed to transform such music into undesirable and disturbing noise.… [I]t was not so much an issue of what was played on the streets but rather how it was played that affected some listeners the most' (Simpson 2017: 101). That street music has been perceived as lacking in prestige is underscored by Williams in his observation that the majority of literature pertaining to musical street performance has been produced outside of music scholarship, and that 'the idea of musical value has no doubt played a role in the small amount of literature on busking coming out of the discipline of musicology' (Williams 2016: 142). A recent news item highlighted these tension over cultural and priority, detailing an incident between Dame Helen Mirren and a parade promoting a gay and transgender festival on Rupert Street, London. Leaving the nearby stage of the Gielgud Theatre in the middle of one of her performances in *The Audience* as Queen Elizabeth II, Helen Mirren is reported to have shouted at the drummers in the parade, 'Quiet! I'm trying to do a play in

here! People have paid a lot of money for tickets' (BBC, 2013). Festival organiser Mark McKenzie embraced the performativity of the situation, instructing his performers 'let's end this now because we can't do better than that' and stating during the press coverage, 'not much shocks you on the gay scene. But seeing Helen Mirren dressed as the Queen cussing and swearing and making you stop your parade – that's a new one' (BBC, 2013).

Street music may also be performed by those with little, or no, musical ability as a legalistic device; a recorder player of 'pitifully abbreviated tunes' interviewed by Bywater explains that, 'if you don't play you're, like, begging. They kick you around. [But] I'm not begging with this [his recorder]. What it is, I'm busking. Everyone likes music. I don't cause trouble' (Bywater 2007: 100). The freedom, variety, and spontaneity afford by unregulated, or lightly regulated, street music, thus also leads to issues of quality control, which can mean that for some people, 'performers appear to them as little more than beggars, or that their performances constitute little more than noise or an unsightly obstacle that annoys residents or disrupts trade' (Simpson 2011: 427). However, once licensing schemes that require auditions are introduced or buskers and other street performers are banned altogether, the possibilities for surprise, nostalgia occasioned by songs from the past, diversity of styles and nationalities, and freedom from the mundane everyday are restricted. A user on the notice boards of Lewes Forum captured these debates in their comment on the "Standards of busking on the

Precinct" thread, arguing: 'I say let it be. If you let people perform on the streets you get all sorts. Real gems and real howlers. I'd rather all than none' (Lewes Forum, 2011).

Diverse or unusual instruments are also a feature of street performance. As one London Underground busker from the 1980s put it, 'by playing in public pretty much constantly, I expose many people to instruments they would never otherwise hear. In doing so, I have inspired three people to buy a hurdy gurdy, and one to buy a mijwiz, and that's only counting the ones who told me so personally afterwards' (quoted in Bywater 2007: 100). It is therefore possibly to see how through both opportunity for musicians to finesse their craft, and for audiences to be exposed to new musical styles and instruments, busking pitches may be conceived of as 'sites for learning' (Webster and McKay 2016: 13).

Value also plays an interesting role in the coverage of a busking experiment in the *Washington Post.* One January morning in 2007, virtuoso violinist Joshua Bell went 'undercover' as a busker in the L'Enfant Plaza Metro Station, Washington. The question posed by the *Washington Post* was, 'in a banal setting, at an inconvenient time, would beauty transcend' (Weingarten, 2007)? The general consensus was no, as in the time that Bell played, seven people stopped to listen of the 1000 that passed, and he collected $32.17 from 27 people. This was despite Bell being, 'one of the finest classical musicians in the world, playing some of

the most elegant music ever written on one of the most valuable violins ever made' (Weingarten, 2007). However, as Simpson highlights, these value qualifications are based on audiences being defined by people who stop to listen and people who donate. Might there have been value for those who encountered and enjoyed the music in passing, or people who expressed gratitude and appreciation in ways that weren't financial, such as smiling? How might we understand other 'practices of listening' (Simpson 2009: 2557).

Recent studies on street music audiences have begun approach measuring audience responses. Robbie Ho and Wing Tung Au assert that unlike past studies of busking that have mainly been concerned with performance and performers, their study 'takes an audience perspective with the aim to identify the components of how street performance is experienced by the audience' (Ho and Tung Au 2018: 453). The study was undertaken across Hong Kong in what the authors identified as the city's most popular areas for street performance, with three stages of interviews, Street Audience Experience scale design, completion and analysis. It was designed to measure the experience of audiences who are 'unambiguous spectators'. Findings included that audiences identifying positive experiences with sense of place, novelty and technique donated larger amounts, and that increased levels of interaction and a heightened sense of place led to longer audience viewings (Ho and Tung Au 2018). A

recent study for the Greater London Authority and advocacy group Busk in London, of 1,042 respondents in popular, licensed London street entertainment locations (Covent Garden, Trafalgar Square and Portobello Road) found that 86% of tourists and 62% of residents surveyed were in favour of busking and street entertainment (MusicTank, 2016). Further recommendations from the report included a study that engages with local businesses and their response to street performance, widening the field to all other key London busking sites (such as Camden, Spitalfields Market, Southbank), and surveying street performers, 'to gauge the importance of busking as an income stream, as well as an opportunity to hone their craft in pursuit of a professional music industry career (MusicTank 2016).

Increasingly levels of technology have also affected the way that street musicians perform, and the way that they are received. Where organ grinders were once the focus of those opposed to street music, amplification is the 21st century source of complaint. Andy Bennett and Ian Rogers have researched how street musicians have diversified their craft in order to adapt to a changing urban environment and become as a result an 'inextricable aspect of the contemporary urban soundscape' (Bennett and Rogers 2014). Through state-of-the-art technology such as small-scale PA systems, effects, samplers, and loop pedals, they argue that the modern-day street musician produces a sound that is 'bigger, richer and more technologically complex than that produced by earlier forms of street music which

relied purely upon unamplified acoustic instruments' (Bennett and Rogers 2014). In part, the reason for this—beyond musical progress and aesthetic choice—is that street musicians have needed to cut through the newer and louder noisescape of the city. While increased amplification can cause annoyance for people who might see this raising of the stakes as further noise pollution, for others it is provides a welcome counter, as one street musician interviewed noted: 'I think, you know, people are happy to, to listen music in the street [because] it's like different ... to [what they] have all the time, the noise of the car and stuff and the bus' (quoted in Bennett and Rogers 2014). Bennett and Rogers also highlight the performance energy and quality aimed for by street musicians among the hubbub of the street, which they refer to as a 'desire for momentary stasis in performance', and examine how such performatives desires can be realised by technology; how, for example, the 'sound of a performance can be pushed into a specific place and held there with an amplifier' (Bennett and Rogers 2014).

FESTIVALS, CARNIVALS, LIVE AND OUTDOOR ARTS

London has one of the most vibrant and diverse busking scenes in the world. This will be a great day for families across the city – and around the world – to get together and enjoy a fantastic showcase of the city's talent, music and street performances. Sadiq Khan, Mayor of London, International Busking Day at Wembley Park, 2018

While the term street music may conjure up the solo, or small group, performances that take place in urban thoroughfares, doorways, and tunnels, that can be broadly termed 'busking'; street music encompasses many practices, genres, styles, and crossovers. Festivals are common sites and facilitators of street music. In addition to public processions related to displaying identity, where music is bound up with 'cultural celebration and urban energy' (Webster and McKay 2016), such as Gay Pride, calypso and street-based urban carnival, there are the programmed streets acts that accompany regional arts festivals such as the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, Brighton Fringe Festival and the Norfolk and Norwich Festival. Festivals have also been created around busking and street performance; one of the most notable is the International Street Musicians Festival in Ferrara, Italy. Founded in 1988 it has become part of the identity of the city and its seasonal cultural offer (ISMF, 2019). Busk in London, a not-for-profit initiative run by Found in Music since 2016 and supported by the Mayor of London, programmes 'over 7,000 hours of live music and street performance

on busking pitches across the capital each year' and also runs the Busk in London Festival (Found in Music, 2019).

Choirs from the natural voice tradition and other musical styles are also a large part of our outdoor musical landscape, a contribution marked, celebrated and staged each year by the Streets Choirs Festival. The festival has been running for 35 years and takes place in a different location each year across the UK. The festival's first location was Sheffield in 1984, where it was inspired by the musical protest movement of the 1980s: choirs formed from striking miners' wives who sang on the picket lines still regularly attend the event (Street Choirs 2019). Calendar customs and traditions are another iteration of street music across the UK. The most prominent nationally are the singing of Christmas carols by formal choirs or groups of neighbours in streets, squares, and door-to-door. (Though note here Barry Cooper's words of doom: 'Live performances are less frequent, for the days when bands of carol singers would roam the streets during the Christmas season have long since passed—[partly] due to … the increase in traffic noise': Cooper 2008, 95.)

Other regional customs in which music is integral include mummers' plays, plough Monday celebrations, Lewes Bonfire Night, Up Hella Aa, and morris dancing, as well as folk festivals—from the smaller scale town-based festivals, to the established events of Cambridge, Sidmouth, and Whitby Folk Festivals. These practices, events, and festivals become for many inhabitants and

visitors a 'pivot around which the rest of the year is planned' (Webster and McKay 2016: 10). The place of diasporic music and dance free public gatherings is vital to understanding the depth and energy of British urban spaces today, as well as their sometime contestation of majority culture. They also sound the shifting landscape and consciousness of what it means to be British. So, '[t]he first carnival—a Caribbean "fayre" staged in St Pancras town hall in 1959—was … an attempt to galvanise London's black community…. [It] drew on Trinidadian traditions of costume and the scurrilous political commentary of Calypso' (Melville 2002). Within a few years, this would transform into Notting Hill Carnival, now with more of a Jamaican musical slant—featuring reggae music's mighty sound systems where amplified music is played and made. 21st century carnival 'has an explosive auditory impact due to its cacophony of sounds, in which soca, steel bands, calypso floats and sound systems mix and mingle in a multi-media and multi-sensory event' (Henriques and Ferrara 2014: 131). Such 'bass culture', played in the streets during carnival, forms an 'alternative soundtrack to Britishness' (Riley 2014).

Street music can also be found in flashmobs. Emerging from the cultures of the 20th century avant-garde and countercultural movements, flashmobs became a sensation in the millennium, aided by the growing practice of going 'viral' on the internet. Taking the form of a seemingly spontaneous gathering of people to perform an action together in a public space and then

disperse; flashmobs were harnessed by companies such as T-Mobile to create advertising campaigns (Molnar 2014). Flashmobs are performed by, and to, a wide variety of musical styles; an orchestral flashmob of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* in the Catalan town of Sabadell has over 15 million views on YouTube.

Finally, street music may also be discussed in relation to public art. For example, the public art project 'Play me, I'm Yours' was conceived by British artist Luke Jerram 'in 2008. 15 pianos were located across Birmingham for three weeks with the instructions, 'Play me, I'm yours', and it was estimated that 'over 140,000 people played or listened to music from the pianos' (Street Pianos). The project has continued to grow, with around 2000 street pianos being placed in 60 cities across the world, reaching as either audience or performers an estimated 10 million people (Street Pianos). The project's legacy has also been to inspire other grassroots organisation or individuals to donate pianos to local train stations, shopping malls, and city squares, thus continuing to place street pianos amongst us in many places, both locally and globally. Through projects such as 'Play me, I'm Yours', it is possible to see how live art and music can help us to reimagine our public spaces as places of creativity and sharing.

FURTHER RESEARCH:

Based on this review of the academic and 'grey'/cultural policy literature, the following are recommendations for further study:

- An authoritative set of cultural, historical, geographical, musicological, and social studies of street music.
- Further audience-based research for street music in the UK.
- Further research into street music, wellbeing, and social cohesion.
- Further research into the effects of legislation on the variety of street performance and capacity for spontaneous social relations.
- Further research into street music and diasporic and migrant cultures.
- Further research into the role and rhetoric of street music in creative cities.
- Interdisciplinary studies that develop new theorisations, critical approaches, and methodological perspectives to contemporary and historical research into street music.
- Further research into the economic benefits of street music for the UK.

"Having championed and opposed bureaucratic restrictions on busking for many years it is hugely encouraging to see this very well researched study which looks at the origins and cultural importance of street music, its benefits and in particular its contribution to societal creativity.

It is also an impressive overview of the regulation of busking and street music and the risks it presents in terms of enforced conformity and restriction of diversity. I very much hope that this report will lead to much needed further quantitative and qualitative research into the impact and benefit of street music and the effect of regulation and adoption of best practice which will inform policy makers at both local and national level so that the benefits of live street music will be properly recognised."

Tim, Lord Clement-Jones

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