

**Understanding “The Social construction of Street performers”
In New York City**

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Course: Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods

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Introduction

Street performance or busking has always been a part of New York History. At the turn of the century, immigrants helped to make street performing popular in New York. There were German marching bands and Italian organ grinders—“hurdy-gurdies”—who serenaded women below their tenement windows. During the Great Depression, banjo players set up on the subway and elevated platforms. Government authorities never knew precisely what to make of street performing. They seemed to think its spontaneity was a threat to law and order. In the 1930s, New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia called them beggars made it illegal to perform on New York City’s streets. Although street performing was allowed once again after 1970, subway performances were illegal until the 1980s. And yet the elevated and underground subway platforms were not quiet. Artists still expressed themselves and attracted an audience underground¹.

Now, whether it is the past history on the lives of street performers or simply the increasing economic gap amongst the various classes, it is assumed that buskers are poor, struggling musicians who are living life one day at a time, and are sometimes a nuisance. However, the reality may not be exactly so. Nonetheless, this fact may or may not change the social construction we have of Buskers playing in the city. Rather the clichéd notion of a struggling musician may still be prevalent. The objective of this paper is to test this hypothesis whether the general transit using public still socially constructs the image of a struggling artist trying to make ends meet whenever they see a musician playing on the street or has that perception changed? To test this hypothesis I carry out a qualitative research, the methodology of which is outlined on the following pages. Although, the objective and approach to understand this phenomenon may seem

unorthodox, I believe there is a scope to learn that might in fact affect policies that are focused on public spaces and their uses. This 'impact' will be further elaborated on the conclusion pages.

Explanation of Method

Before we delve into the methodology of this research, there are some basic assumptions on which basis this research rests and needs to be addressed. Otherwise, the rational integrity of the research paper is compromised. One, it is assumed that “buskers are artists who are struggling financially and use busking as a source of income to survive”. While there are many articles that might support that notion, there are no specific studies or data that validates that statement with a degree of certainty. Personally, I know some buskers who upon being photographed and interviewed reveal that they come from financially stable families, have at least college education on the field “Arts, Music and Theatre”, have travelled around the world and busk to expand as an artist. However, this observation does not nullify the above notion, only suggests that it may not be a hundred per cent true. The fact is there is a scarcity of data when determining the actual number of people busking in the city². Two, it is assumed that “the NYC transit public generally perceive buskers as ‘poor and struggling artists’”. Again, there is no tangible evidence that substantially supports this argument, only personal observation and conversations with one or two NYC transit riders. The only way to test the first assumption is by conducting a separate study that focuses on the busking population of New York and their livelihood. Since this is not the scope this paper we will conclude that the statement all buskers are poor and struggling is not true based on the aforementioned buskers I interviewed and whose photographs will play a key part in this research. The purpose of this paper is to test the second assumption and since the challenges of the first assumption has been addressed, we can move forward with the research,

The methodological approach to this research is simple. Through the process of random selection, locate NYC public transit users and invite them to partake in the research as interviewees. If they agree, show them pictures of people busking and ask them what they think the personal back story of these buskers might be and what led them to playing in the street. The expectation is that the interviewees will use their preconceived notions about busking to construct a narrative, based on which there will be some follow up questions and an engaging conversation about busking and New York street activities. It is hoped that the analysis of this interaction will give us clues as to how buskers are perceived in the public sphere. This is a very open ended approach to a research, while one can be very optimistic about the potential outcome, there are some challenges. First, due to time and logistic limitations, the number of participants in the interview will be maximum two, which does not represent the really diverse NYC transit riding population. However, their opinion can be insightful and therefore should not be dismissed. Also the ideal location for selecting interview candidates would be places where buskers frequently play such as Times Square, Union Square or even 59th street on Lexington Avenue. Again a time constraint was a hindrance. Although more of an ethical challenge, the open ended format of the research question also possesses some challenges. It is uncertain how the interviewee might interpret and respond to the pictures shown to them as well how the interviewer might interpret that data based on subconscious personal biases.

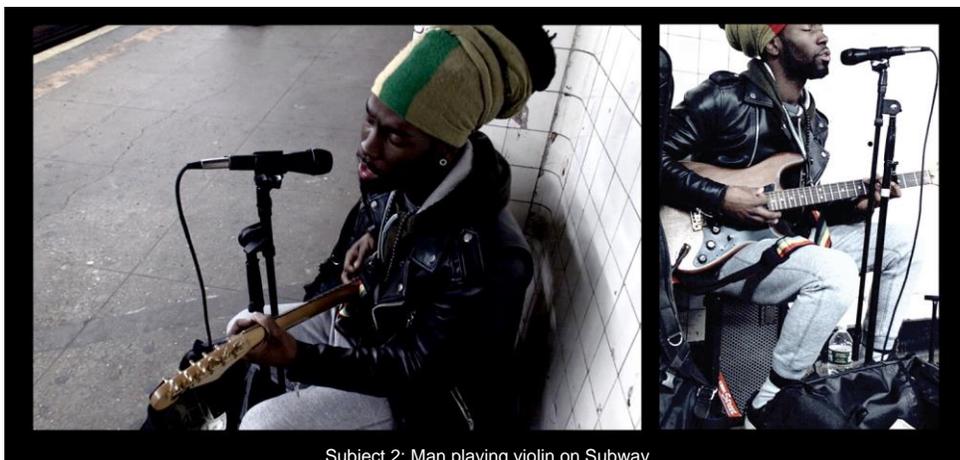
The design framework of this type of questionnaire is inspired from the constructivist approach to 'grounded theory' by Kathy Charmaz³. This research does not have predecessors from which I could take hints in how to design a more focused set of questions. Therefore the best I can do is have a very loose structure and theory of the potential outcome, in this case that "transit users

might perceive buskers as ‘poor struggling artists’”, but also be prepared for the emergence of a totally different hypothesis that may even contradict the theory that I stated. Essentially, this paper will create a foundational theory or argument regarding the relationship between transit users and buskers which will lead to more extensive ethnographic studies based on observation and detailed survey questionnaires.

Generation or Research Instrument



Subject 1: Woman playing violin on Subway



Subject 2: Man playing violin on Subway

The participants are shown images of two people playing on the subway platform. They are then asked mostly open ended questions as well as some on specific issues. It was expected their race and gender may have subconscious bearing on the answers the participants produce. However they did not. If it did, it would have added another dimension or layer to understanding the public perception of the street performers. The following page contains the questionnaire for the interview and is formatted to fit in one page.

Read Disclaimer to participant: As a willing participant of the research **You** are free to refuse to disclose any information that you feel might put you in a compromising position or make you feel uncomfortable. The data collected from this questionnaire will be only used for academic purposes and will not be released to any public forum or entity.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Name: _____ **Age:** **Gender:** M F **Zip:**

Race: White Hispanic / Latino Black or African American Asian Refused Other: _____

Marital status: Married Never married Live in partner Divorced Separated Widowed

Education: Grade School Middle/High School College Post-graduate school

Employment status: Full-time job Part-time job Unemployed In school Other: _____

Occupation title: _____

Income range: Less than \$15,000 \$15,001 to less than \$25,000 \$25,001 to less than \$35,000
 \$35,001 to less than \$50,000 \$50,001 to less than \$75,000 \$75,001 to less than \$100,000
 \$100,001 to less than \$150,000 \$150,001 or more

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Q.1 Please look at these pictures and tell me what you think. What might be the back story of these people playing on the subway?

(Note: The participant should not be directly or indirectly be lead into any particular narrative that the interviewer feels is correct. Although, the interviewer can encourage the participant to think to the full extent of his or her imagination.)

Probe: What else does the pictures reminds you of?

Q.2 Did you know that you may need a permit to play music on the streets of New York? But only if you have sound devices that enhances the volume of your music such as loudspeaker, megaphone or stereo. The fee for the permit is \$45 per day. (Yes/ NO)

Q.3 What are your thoughts about this policy and the implications it might have on street performers and the New York City experience?

Follow up question: There are other rules and regulation by the MTA regarding street performance can I read them to you? They are as follows:

- No performances between 8:00 p.m. and 9:00 a.m. if you're within 50 feet of a residential building; 10:00 p.m. and 9:00 a.m. everywhere else.
- Stay at least 500 feet away from schools, courthouses, churches, and hospitals during operating hours.
- Apply for a Parks Special Event Permit to perform within earshot of a park. Applications must be filed at least three weeks in advance of your desired date, and cost \$25 for up to a month of performances.
- To perform at the Staten Island Ferry Terminal, apply for a Ferry Terminal Performance Permit online.

Probe: Based on this new information how do you feel about the policies now?

Q.4 Would you like to know their actual background story? (Tell the participants). Based on this new knowledge what are your thoughts about the street performers of New York City?

(Note: The intention is gauge the public perception of street performers. However the focus is on the 'social construction' of the street performer and public opinion regarding their importance on the New York City life.)

Application of Method / collection of Data

For this research data was collected through the process of an interview. Two volunteers were randomly selected to participate in the interview. They were explained the nature of the interview, how it would be conducted, given an estimate time duration of the interview (each interview was approximately 40 minutes long). They were also informed that they are free to refuse any answer that they felt made them uncomfortable and also if there was any doubt about a the nature of a question, briefly explained the rationality behind it.

Also, the whole interview was recorded using a video camera, where the participants were allowed to refuse to show their face if they felt uncomfortable (an option that both participants chose). All the answers provided by the participants were then transcribed manually. The transcription resulted into a 19 page word document and due to the page limitations of this paper, have been provided as an appendix.

After collecting data from the interview they were coded. Portion of one the interview questionnaire is presented below:

GENERAL INFORMATION	
Name: <u>MARCOS ALCANTARA</u>	Age: <u>21</u> Gender: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F Zip: <u>11370</u>
Race: <input type="checkbox"/> White <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hispanic / Latino <input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American <input type="checkbox"/> Asian <input type="checkbox"/> Refused <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<i>QUEENS</i>
Marital status: <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Never married <input type="checkbox"/> Live in partner <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed	
Education: <input type="checkbox"/> Grade School <input type="checkbox"/> Middle/High School <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> Post-graduate school	
Employment status: <input type="checkbox"/> Full-time job <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Part-time job <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed <input type="checkbox"/> In school <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Occupation title: <u>Stock and delivery</u>	
Income range: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Less than \$15,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,001 to less than \$25,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,001 to less than \$35,000	
<input type="checkbox"/> \$35,001 to less than \$50,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,001 to less than \$75,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,001 to less than \$100,000	
<input type="checkbox"/> \$100,001 to less than \$150,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,001 or more	

Data Analysis

support for the well-known artist and I feel like... going from unknown to well-known is kind of what they are seeking, that fan base that support structure.... Um you know that record deal of some sort of. And that's the purpose of being well known. Whereas when you are unknown... I mean you pay out of pocket for instruments, whatever accessories you need... um you pay out of pocket with your time basically. Because, time spent on a subway playing the guitar is time you could use working a job or something else like that. Um... so it's really more like when you're well known your time has more value like you make... if you make a million dollar you know... on your last record I mean every minute of that song is worth a certain amount of money. Whereas, if for every three song you play you make like 10 bucks... your time is worth a lot less than somebody who is well known, like the industry.

So, to clarify you're saying that in your opinion these (interviewer pointing at images of street performers) people are unknown and that has an impact on their income.

Yes

And popularity as well...

Yes

Ok.... So might sound like a leading question but are you trying to tell me that they are struggling or did I misinterpret it?

Comment [u10]: Code: Pay out of pocket
Analytic: Challenges of being a street performer- Expenses

Comment [u11]: Your time is worth a lot less.
Analytic: Impressions of street performers/
Challenges of being a street performer- Expenses

Comment [u12]: Code: Leading question.
Comment: trying to help the interviewee to articulate his opinions, but only after he has given clues as to that is where he is heading.

Comment [u13]: Code: Seems like

The scheme for the coding process was to look for information that gave hints or suggestions that the public transit riding population perceive 'street performers as struggling artists'. The expectation was to find themes or patterns that supported this notion or directed towards it. Based on that linear focus for coding the following analytical codes were born. Codes such as, "Relating Music with passion", "Visibility- wanting Affirmation", "Impression of a street performer", "Awareness about street performers and their activities", "Awareness. "Policies regarding street performance", "Safety- of street performer", "Reflection. "Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.", "Justification for socially constructed impression of street performer", "Suggestions for socially constructed impression of street performer" and "Existence of social construction of street musician as a struggling artist" amongst other examples were used to establish a pattern and reflect that there is a tendency to perceive street performers as people who trying their best to survive and that image is socially constructed.

It should be noted that "Visibility" and "Safety issues" were two patterns that were not expected by the researcher to turn up in the interview results. It added another layer to the research paper.

Interpretation of data

Based on the data collected, the coding process and the patterns that developed, some insight was obtained regarding the thesis. First and foremost there is a social construction that street performer are perceived as “poor and struggling artists, who are barely making it in this world”. This discussion and impression was generated by showing pictures of the two male and female performers. However, the truth is these performers are not struggling, but reasonably well off performers who had good education as well as have done shows out of the country. This was not the impression the participants received. One participant justified his “impression of the street performer”, by saying that since the performers were playing in the subway it was an automatic subconscious connection that he admits was probably born out of ignorance, while the other participant admitted that since we usually pass these performers by, we do not think much about them and their possible background. In this busy city they are sort of invisible, or maybe “inconsequential”. It was interesting to note that the elder, female participant felt that Busking does not define streets of New York, because when she grew up it was not so common. However, the younger male participant felt that busking is an integral part of New York and it makes the city what it is. I could argue that age and generation gap determines how one feels about street performer and their role in the city.

Nevertheless, when it came to the rights and safety of the performers to busk on the street both participants felt, the rules and regulations set by the MTA were very strict and “constricting”. Although they understood the complication of the situation and the strict guidelines, they both felt that the rules should favor the street performers a little bit more. However, one of the interview participants emphasized the importance of safety, for the street performers as well as general public.

Conclusion

The 'Social construction' of a underrepresented group whether it is based on their race, ethnicity, economic status or other social identifiers play a big role in policy making and have significant impact on the lives of those who are specifically targeted. For example, the stereotypical notion that black people are 'lazy', unmotivated and therefore are more likely to depend on social welfare programs was the foundation argument of many policy makers such as Paul Ryan who believed Medicaid and other social benefits budgets should be cut down. It is their belief that such act of 'tough love' might discourage the black community on depending upon welfare as a crutch and encourage them to 'work hard' for their living. Similarly, the rhetoric that "All Muslims are Terrorists" spewed by men such as Donald Trump not only hurt the sentiments of the Muslim population all over the world, but also encourage prejudice in people and hate crimes carried out in this country. It also becomes the ideological framework for stricter immigration policies as well as targeted inspection of people with "Muslim" or "Middle Eastern" heritage.

Similarly, the "social construction" of street performers also affects how they are allowed to engage in the public atmosphere of New York City. While facts paint a nuanced impression of the nouveau street performer, our social construction of them might very well "trump" that fact and it is important to acknowledge that. Such impressions do inform the judgment of authorities when they develop rules and regulations of performing in public. While it is completely legal to perform in public on the streets of New York, the MTA rules and regulations do make it quite a bit of a challenge and quite often there is a contentious relationship between street performers and authority figures such as the police. The underlying intention of the paper is to help navigate through the relationship by being a spring board for discussion and research on the matter.

REFERENCES

1. History of Busking- <http://citylore.org/urban-culture/resources/street-performers/#history>
2. Number of official buskers in NYC. <http://web.mta.info/mta/aft/muny/>
3. Charmaz, Kathy. 2003. Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods. In *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, pgs. 249-91.

APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRES SCANNED

Read Disclaimer to participant: As a willing participant of the research You are free to refuse to disclose any information that you feel might put you in a compromising position or make you feel uncomfortable. The data collected from this questionnaire will be only used for academic purposes and will not be released to any public forum or entity.

GENERAL INFORMATION	
Name: <u>MARCOS ALCANTARA</u>	Age: <u>21</u> Gender: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F Zip: <u>11137</u>
Race: <input type="checkbox"/> White <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hispanic / Latino <input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American <input type="checkbox"/> Asian <input type="checkbox"/> Refused <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Marital status: <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Never married <input type="checkbox"/> Live in partner <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed	
Education: <input type="checkbox"/> Grade School <input type="checkbox"/> Middle/High School <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> Post-graduate school	
Employment status: <input type="checkbox"/> Full-time job <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Part-time job <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed <input type="checkbox"/> In school <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Occupation title: <u>Stock and delivery</u>	
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<input type="checkbox"/> \$35,001 to less than \$50,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,001 to less than \$75,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,001 to less than \$100,000	
<input type="checkbox"/> \$100,001 to less than \$150,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,001 or more	

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Q.1 Please look at these pictures and tell me what you think. What might be the back story of these people playing on the subway?

(Note: The participant should not be directly or indirectly be lead into any particular narrative that the interviewer feels is correct. Although, the interviewer can encourage the participant to think to the full extent of his or her imagination.)

Probe: What else does the pictures reminds you of?

Q.2 Did you know that you may need a permit to play music on the streets of New York? But only if you have sound devices that enhances the volume of your music such as loudspeaker, megaphone or stereo. The fee for the permit is \$45 per day. (Yes/ NO)

Q.3 What are your thoughts about this policy and the implications it might have on street performers and the New York City experience?

Follow up question: There are other rules and regulation by the MTA regarding street performance can I read them to you? They are as follows:

- No performances between 8:00 p.m. and 9:00 a.m. if you're within 50 feet of a residential building; 10:00 p.m. and 9:00 a.m. everywhere else.
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Probe: Based on this new information how do you feel about the policies now?

Q.4 Would you like to know their actual background story? (Tell the participants). Based on this new knowledge what are your thoughts about the street performers of New York City?

(Note: The intention is gauge the public perception of street performers. However the focus is on the 'social construction' of the street performer and public opinion regarding their importance on the New York City life.)

discussing

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GENERAL INFORMATION

Name: Miriam Galindez Age: 58 Gender: M F Zip: 10468 ← *same*

Race: White Hispanic / Latino Black or African American Asian Refused Other: _____

Marital status: Married Never married Live in partner Divorced Separated Widowed

Education: Grade School Middle/High School College Post-graduate school *Some under credit*

Employment status: Full-time job Part-time job Unemployed In school Other: _____

Occupation title: Administrative Assistant

Income range: Less than \$15,000 \$15,001 to less than \$25,000 \$25,001 to less than \$35,000
 \$35,001 to less than \$50,000 \$50,001 to less than \$75,000 \$75,001 to less than \$100,000
 \$100,001 to less than \$150,000 \$150,001 or more Refuse

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

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Probe: What else does the pictures reminds you of?

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Q.4 Would you like to know their actual background story? (Tell the participants). Based on this new knowledge what are your thoughts about the street performers of New York City?

(Note: The intention is gauge the public perception of street performers. However the focus is on the 'social construction' of the street performer and public opinion regarding their importance on the New York City life.)

APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPT

GENERAL INFORMATION	
Name: <u>MARCOS ALCANTARA</u>	Age: <u>21</u> Gender: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F Zip: <u>11137</u> <u>QUEENS</u>
Race: <input type="checkbox"/> White <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hispanic / Latino <input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American <input type="checkbox"/> Asian <input type="checkbox"/> Refused <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Marital status: <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Never married <input type="checkbox"/> Live in partner <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed	
Education: <input type="checkbox"/> Grade School <input type="checkbox"/> Middle/High School <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> Post-graduate school	
Employment status: <input type="checkbox"/> Full-time job <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Part-time job <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed <input type="checkbox"/> In school <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Occupation title: <u>Stock and delivery</u>	
Income range: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Less than \$15,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,001 to less than \$25,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,001 to less than \$35,000	
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<input type="checkbox"/> \$100,001 to less than \$150,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,001 or more	

Legend:	Terms
Text = interviewer is speaking	MTA: Metropolitan Transit Authority
[text] = interviewer is interjecting in speech	
Text = interviewee is speaking	MUNY: Music Under New York
[text] = interviewer is interjecting in speech	
..... = pauses between sentences	

(CONVERSATION BEGINS)

Ok so I'm going to show you some pictures and you are going to swipe left and after you are done seeing them I'm gonna ask you the questions.

Ok!

So here they are [so I just swipe..].... Yea you can swipe left... And take your time, there is no rush.

Umhm.

(Note: the interviewee recognizes the the male guitar player. He has seen the performer before)

I've seen this guy before... yup definitely seen him..... I think he plays at 68th street at this (Hunter station) and I think he does a lot of Bob Marley songs.....(the interviewee is convinced by now) yea definitely..... Yea I know him for a fact.

Yea. (the interviewee nods agreeingly)

So my first question to you is .. was ..um... Please look at these pictures and tell me what you think. **What might be the back story of these people playing on the subway?**

Well I always see people play in the subway especially music. And I have a sort of a connection because I had a deep passion for playing instruments before. Um... not so much anymore because of school, work and things like that. But I always see them that.. **Somebody that's passionate enough to put themselves out there they must really want to**... I would say expose their and that's what I feel like what a lot of

Commented [u1]: Code: Passionate.
Analytic: Relating Music with passion or a voluntary choice

them look for. To be recognized and it might not be in a large scale but definitely has a scale of it's own. Um.. specially because there's so many people passing by, You always see a lot of people stop and tip and say hey nice music. I'm like i've been one of them... i've seen some amaazing... you know like bands that play on like 14th street, like on the 6th and they are just really great. So every time I see that I see people trying to... go from being less known to more well known. Or just trying to fulfill a dream. That's what I always see it as... I'm trying to fulfill my dreams... You know through unconventional methods. Basically. 'Cause a lot of people they would go... you know and not to say that they wouldn't go to like professional schools to like learn their (musical) instruments. But a lot of people you know they go through very classical applications of music and they would go on to maybe be with a more general industry. But... You know, I always see... fulfilment of a dream. There is always like a path they're trying to take.

So..um.. Three things caught my ear. One is fulfillment of a dream, that was evident. The other one I think you were referring to their education... [..yes] in terms of their music? [yes] So could you go... that was one thing Education in music. [..Yea]. And the other one that caught my ear was going from unknown to well-known. So.. I'm gonna start from the lowest one. What did you actually try to mean by "unknown to well-known"?

Well because... you know there is a difference between people who play on the subway ... you know pop artist of today. Because anybody says a pop artist's name and instantly clicks in your mind somebody that you know. Whereas a lot of these (street performers) people, you don't even know their name. You pass them by, you might drop some money or whatever the container they have. But, you know you don't really stop to say like, hey what's your name? Where your from from and things like that. It's kind of almost like... you see them, you hear their music but they are almost..... inconsequential to you. Whereas like a big pop artist.. You have a lot of their music, you follow (on social media) what they do... well not me personally... but I think in general a lot of people do that more. You know there is a lot more support for the well-known artist and I feel like... going from unknown to well-known is kind of what they are seeking, that fan base that support structure.... Um you know that record deal of some sort of. And that's the purpose of being well known. Whereas when you are unknown... i mean you pay out of pocket for instruments, whatever accessories you need... um you pay out of pocket with your time basically. Because, time spent on a subway playing the guitar is time you could use working a job or something else like that. Um.. so it's really more like when you're well known your time has more value like you make... if you make a million dollar you know.... on your last record I mean every minute of that song is worth a certain amount of money. Whereas, if for every three song you play you make like 10 bucks, your time is worth a lot less than somebody who is well known, like the industry.

So, to clarify you're saying that in your opinion these (interviewer pointing at images of street performers) people are unknown and that has an impact on their income.

Yes

And popularity as well...

Yes

Ok.... So might sound like a leading question but are you trying to tell me that they are struggling or did I misinterpret it?

Commented [u2]: Code: recognized
Analytic: Visibility- wanting affirmation

Commented [u3]: Code: Hey nice music
Analytic: Visibility- getting affirmation

Commented [u4]: Code: Less known to well known
Analytic: Visibility- wanting affirmation

Commented [u5]: Code: Trying to fulfill a dream.
Analytic: Impressions of street performers

Commented [u6]: Code: Unconventional methods
Analytic: Street performance is in the fringes of social norms.

Commented [u7]: Code: Fulfilment of a dream.
Analytic: Relating Music with passion or a voluntary choice as well as Impressions of street performers

Commented [u8]: Code: Don't even know their name.
Analytic: Visibility- absence of affirmation

Commented [u9]: Code: inconsequential
Analytic: Visibility- absence of affirmation

Commented [u10]: Code: Pay out of pocket
Analytic: Challenges of being a street performer- Expenses

Commented [u11]: Your time is worth a lot less.
Analytic: Impressions of street performers / Challenges of being a street performer- Expenses

Commented [u12]: Code: Leading question.
Comment: trying to help the interviewee to articulate his opinions, but only after he has given clues as to that is where he is heading.

Um.. a lot of them... it seems like a lot of them are.... And then it also seems like.... Some of them are not. You know just at a first glance. You know.. Seeing some of them... some of them just look like I've seen people play on the train and they look well dressed like they have a house and they have places to go and they just kinda do it as a hobby. And there is other people I see that look more rag tag you know it's kind like they almost do it to survive. And there is a big split there versus the people that wanna be recognized and the ones that need to be recognized. You know, I need this because it's put me in a better place.. whereas I see others that they just kinda jus do it. Then they are just there and they wanna play music for people and they want people to kinda you know enjoy their day or something like that. And like I said that it's kinda like that difference that some of them are struggling and some of them are not. It's like a passion for them.

And going back to 'education in music' what were you trying to kind of communicate there?

Um... education and music. Well.. to play an instrument it does takes a lot of application and you know a lot of people are self taught. Like I was self taught. I'd had no formal education whatsoever but I did play for you know five years you know in my childhood and you know I stopped for life reasons. But um... you know you see a lot of them that you know they read the sheet music and they know the grand staff back and forth and you feel almost like... they give you that sense there is something more than just being self taught here... there is a mastery in the way they handle themselves that is different than most.

So... who are they?

Usually the ones you see playing the more classical instrument?... i guess. [..Ok] the ones that you know I see playing the cello or the double base or the violin, the trumpet the saxophone. You know they have sheet music out... um they are playing very classical musics... very like.... Songs people don't know the name to but they could pick them out because they are more classical than anything else. Whereas a lot of the self taught ones you see them playing pop culture songs, you know for example like Bob Marley. Everybody can pick up a Bob Marley because he is popular.. Um I wouldn't say he is really like a pop artist but he is pretty you know [.....he's popular nonetheless].. Yeah. So that's the big differences that you see them... you see the ones that seem well educated, that they play with grand staff and sheet music whereas the ones that are self taught, they use none of that. It's all memory, it's all by ear or something along those lines.

So you are referring to street artist and you see a division....

Yes.

Ok.... Although fulfillment of a dream is kinda self explanatory could you still elaborate on it a little bit?

Yea... yea sure. Um... actually funny story, there is an older gentleman that he sings um... really classic like soul music, like, Marvin Gaye and things like that or Luther Vandross you know things like that and he sings on 6th Avenue on the L train. And a couple years back I used to work fast food and I used to go home really late and he was always there. Every Saturday on the dot.

Can you describe him for me a little bit?

Commented [u13]: Code: Seems like
Analytic: Impressions of street performers

Commented [u14]: Code: Seems like... some of them are not
Analytic: Impressions of street performers

Commented [u15]: Code: look well dressed.
Analytic: Impressions of street performers

Commented [u16]: Code: Look more rag tag
Analytic: Impressions of street performers

Commented [u17]: Code: almost do it to survive
Analytic: Impressions of street performers / Challenges of being a street performer

Commented [u18]: Code: Big split
Analytic: Class system amongst street performers.

Commented [u19]: Code: Struggling
Analytic: Impressions of street performers

Commented [u20]: Code: passion
Analytic: Impressions of street performers

Commented [u21]: Code: there is something more than just being self taught
Analytic: Impressions of street performers- no musical education

Commented [u22]: Code: big differences
Analytic: Impressions of street performers / Class system amongst street performers.

Commented [u23]: Code: Older gentlemen
Analytic: Description and location of a street performer.

He was African American, old, definitely in his 60's or above and he would just carry like a speaker with instrumental songs. [I know who you're talking about(chuckles), He has an amazing voice] Amazing voice and every single time I see him I'm like why hasn't he been bigger?

Commented [u24]: Code :Carry a speaker
Analytic: description of a street performer

[Side note, did you know he plays here (68th and Lexington) now?]

Does he?

Yea sometimes
Awesome!

He's kinda like in my opinion an institution.

Yes! (LOLS)

Kinda like really the guy... and a lot of like .. people like you and me [Yes] know him

Yes

Not in name but they know a certain guy like this exists.

Yes

Ok.... I'm sorry to interrupt you [no no no.. no problem].. You were saying?

So every time I would walk by I would be like, dude this guy is a powerhouse singer, with a really crisp voice What is he still doing singing in the train? Why hasn't he been picked up by somebody? His voices matches if not surpasses a lot of the pop artists we see today and it's just like... even though he is singing stuff that's old... the talent is still there.. It makes no difference whatsoever and it's always something that baffles me. You can go into the subways of New York and see talent upon talent upon talent, that almost feels like it is going to waste. Because... like I would have kept playing... you know I saw a lot more people more talented than I was and it wasn't that it made me discouraged, it was just like not my passion. You know discovered different things that I wanted to do myself. But when I met really talented people, especially on the subway I was just like man.. Why haven't you guys been picked up by somebody. Somebody has to notice you... but they're not and it's really baffling. Especially with the elderly gentleman. 'Cause he's amazing and there is people who stand around here.. And you know the trains are at night and they are like every half an hour. So it's a great half an hour to spend because he's there. So...it's really baffling but I feel like, that's the basic trouble there. It's that you can have a powerful voice and people still don't see you. People still don't recognize that for whatever reasons may be. It's a little sad but you know... the thing that really heart... it gives you kinda hope is to see them try. That he's still always there on a Saturday, late at night singing to people. And that's the inspiration.

Commented [u25]: Code: Why hasn't he been picked up?
Analytic: Reflection. Trying to rationalize. Impressions of a street performer that he or she is struggling.

Commented [u26]: Code: baffles
Analytic: Curious about the state of the street performers. Why it is the way it is?

Commented [u27]: Code: going to waste
Analytic: Reflection. Trying to rationalize. Impressions of a street performer that he or she is struggling.

Commented [u28]: Code: Somebody has to notice
Analytic: Reflection. Trying to rationalize. Impressions of a street performer that he or she is struggling.

Commented [u29]: Code: People still don't see you
Analytic: Visibility- absence of affirmation

Commented [u30]: It's a sad.
Analytic: Impressions of a street performer that he or she is struggling.

So yea I also had my 30 minutes of..... If I remember correctly, it's where you take the L train ride [Yup]... um it's the West 4th street ... you can have a connection from the 2 to the F train or something like that. [Umhm]... But yea I really know who your talking about.

Yea...

Ok. Is there anything else and I would request you to see the pictures again do the picture remind you of?

Definitely... it reminds me of playing, the enjoyment of that, of learning something new, of making something ... you know Creativity is something a lot of people take for granted I feel, because everybody is so focused on the facts, hard you know the tangible things. But sometimes, when you get introspective and when you start really creating.. You know just playing around with anything like music or studio art or really any kind of art it's... invigorating. It's a little bit liberating because we feel so like pressured like, stuck to certain routine, like work school-work school, go out may be once or twice and even that becomes a routine. So you know when you kinda become... kinda of an explorer of the arts... I would say that's what they remind me of. Every single time. Is that feeling, that feeling when you sit down for an hour or two and you just play, or you draw, or you write or whatever...wherever it may be, that's what they remind me of. And every time I see them, I kinda wanna go home and draw something today, I kinda wanna play something today. That... they're really are kinda like an inspiration to me. Still.

So i'll go to the second question, and I can totally relate to what you are saying. I play the guitar myself and there they are (making imaginary direction gesture) gathering dust. So that's that..

Did you know that you may need a permit to play music on the streets of New York? But only if you have sound devices that enhances the volume of your music such as loudspeaker, megaphone or stereo? And The fee for the permit is \$45 per day.

Wow.. seems a little... I did..I had an inkling it was like that it was like that because you saw a lot of them start playing with like banners, you know, like New York Musicians or something? It's something along those lines and had their name and something like that. What I didn't know.... I thought New York was sponsoring their kind of folk artists in the subways... not ... because it seems it's almost like... it's a little bit unfair for them to have to pay a fee daily. You know cause, \$45 it might take you like six hours of straight hours just to make \$45 that day. So Imagine like \$45 was hard earned, to charge somebody for that and they might not have the money to go and buy a speaker or an amp or microphone. It's... I don't know... it's really not fair because.... Some of them are not... they're not in a position to.. To have that kind of equipment. And for New York City to make it even harder on them... it's almost like New York City doesn't want them. And it's a little sad because, sometimes yes sometimes I have been guilty of like oh my god he's so annoying, they're playing something. You know it's what makes New York City ... New York City, that's a part of... what New York City is ... that it breeds and nurtures talent. I feel like once we start making it less accessible to people to actually express their talent , you know to the public....then New York City is not going to be like the art capital of the word because we are stunting the artist we breed here. So... it's a little sad to hear that. That they actually get charged to pay.

Yea... but like i said... it depends... if you are on the street with just an acoustic guitar you don't have to have a permit. But if you have like an amplifier then it becomes an issue. Um... and also. So the permit thing is there.... I mean it's legal to play on the streets but there are some conditions, basically. So that's the thing... infact um...the third question is.... And i'm gonna actually answer something related to the "\$45 per day" ... ok I might as well say now. Once you do play the \$45 or are in the habit of doing that, your kinda like a member of... the thing that you were trying to mention is Music Under New York [yeah... there you go]. That's the name of the program. So.. uh hen what they do is give you hints, well not hints they kind of give you a schedule of look.... From '4 to 5' or '4 to 6' Times square is

Commented [u31]: Code: Go home and draw
Analytic: Role of street performer in the public sphere-The street performer is an instigator of creativity. Though provoking

Commented [u32]: Code: Inspiration
Analytic: Role of street performer in the public sphere-The street performer is an instigator of creativity. Though provoking

Commented [u33]: Code: Inking
Analytic: Awareness about street performers and their activities

Commented [u34]: Code: I thought New York was sponsoring.
Analytic: Awareness about street performers and their relationship with authority

Commented [u35]: Code: A little bit unfair.
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u36]: Code: They're not in a position.
Analytic: Justification. Policies regarding street performance- Negative.

Commented [u37]: Code: Almost like.. City doesn't want them.
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u38]: Code: It's a little sad
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u39]: Code: Breeds and nurtures talent.
Analytic: Impression of New York City.

Commented [u40]: Code: stunting the artist
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

gonna be busy so guys can go there and play. You have a permit, you guys can go there . So... kind of control them but they're also like... these are the prime spots. They give that information and MTA does that though. So transport authority does that. So what happens is that for that \$45 your getting an option of performing at prime locations per se.... That's one thing. The Police are not going to be harsh on you because the banner kind of says that you are part of the New York.. uh program. Also you kind of have to audition for these things... so once you pass the audition that kind of establishes whatever your instrument is, when through the process and nobody can say that you are too loud... nothing like that can happen. And if I remember correctly you will have that opportunity to take part in you... know the street programs during national holidays? [...yea] And you see the whole parade and everything and you see some group of people playing the trumpet or something. So you can be a part of that [...Nice]. So for \$45 that's what you get.

That's pretty cool.. (contemplating).... That makes it a whole lot better. Than... because what I though was that they just got charged to play... instead of...

Commented [u41]: Code: That makes it a whole lot better.
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Positive

Well that is pro... the con is kind of in my opinion was some of the things you said... some of the people can't afford it [...Yea]. So that's that... and some people sometimes feel that this is some sort of way of infringing their creativity [...yea, yea]. Stunting it basically. You may have noticed, the pictures of the people I showed you of, they don't have .. you know banners[...yea]. But they do have their amps [...yes]. They do have their violins connected to some. [... microphone]. Yes. There is ... well then again I am talking on behalf of them so it's not fair to say that... in my opinion it feels like that's their way of standing against that policy [yes]. But still, just continuing forward.. Um... there are other some policies that you kinda have to follow if you perform on the streets and I like to read them to you. These are rules that were set up by the MTA regarding street performance. So it says that, No performances between 8:00 p.m. and 9:00 a.m. if you're within 50 feet of a residential building; 10:00 p.m. and 9:00 a.m. everywhere else. Stay at least 500 feet away from schools, courthouses, churches, and hospitals during operating hours. Apply for a Parks Special Event Permit to perform within earshot of a park. Applications must be filed at least three weeks in advance of your desired date, and cost \$25 for up to a month of performances. To perform at the Staten Island Ferry Terminal, apply for a Ferry Terminal Performance Permit online. So, Based on this new information how do you feel about the policies now?

Wow... that's like really constricted. It's more (chuckles).... More constricting than.... Ok... it's totally unrelated but it almost feels like... it almost feels like you know how sex offenders are like ... hey you can't live with 5000 feet of a school or a park or like this or that. Like it almost feels like that. Like, you can't perform here, you can't perform there unless we say so and you have to give us money. It's like... it's really like... wow like it's really almost a little bit oppressive because they are like, we want a cut of your hard earned money to use public property, like they somehow own it. It's a little bit... I don't know man... it's not right. Because, it's almost an infringement of their freedom of speech. Because they have the right to express themselves, you know however they choose. Like nobody should be infringing on that... their freedom of speech. If there is a rally somewhere it's not like you have to get a rally permit... [Actually, you do...]. You really do?!! (exasperated)

Commented [u42]: Code: really constricted.
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u43]: Code: Oppressive
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u44]: Code: hard earned money
Analytic: Impressions of a street performer that he or she is struggling.

Commented [u45]: Code: Infringement of...freedom of speech.
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u46]: Code: right to express
Analytic: Social justice.

Yea... (chuckling)

Jesus Christ (flabbergasted!)

Well there's a thing... then again I'm just talking from memory so taking that information would not be a good thing (chuckles) [...yea]. As far as I remember like you kinda have to have a permit saying we are gonna have a gathering of this amount of people on that place ... just letting you know. So maybe you don't have to pay for it But then again I'll suggest google it

Yea I know, I would but not that I'm gonna participating..

No, yea... but im just saying.. If I remember correctly I think that was the thing. There was a permit thing.

Yea, cause when people are outraged you know... they express themselves somehow [...yea]. But it's just like this is Music. This is non damaging. They are not proponents of something destructive. So I don't see... really the reason to having to charge them to play music that people usually like on public property. It's the why of it that is lost on me. Yes, I do understand the hour stuff... if you are in a residential area and you are playing guitar at three in the morning and somebody is trying to get up and go to work... yea you know it's like c'mon dude, Move. But also.... It's so ambiguous too because like. What is.... They're like oh you can't ... you need a special permit to play within an earshot of a park. Well.. what is an earshot of a park? Is that the find? Is there a certain like you know square footage that you can't be. Are all of these ambiguous terms being clarified? So that they have to deal with this now, it's the law. But these things need clarification. Because they need to stay on the right side of it. They still wanna express themselves but they don't wanna inadvertently break the laugh. "Oh yea, well you're within earshot" (impersonating the voice of an imaginary police officer). Well how far is earshot? Is it like 10 feet or is it a 1000 feet? Where is the difference there?

I do see your point here and the MTA does have a very detailed... but that's not specifically on street performers but it does include their activities. And so they do have a very strict guideline on it. But that's one thing kind of "clarification of the law".... And probably the other thing that you were saying is the law itself. Challenging whether the law itself is valid or not? So.. if I understand correctly....

Yes, because it seems very unusual for something like this to be implemented, especially in the climate of New York City is. New York City is... to me, what I always gather every time I walk around the city, especially in Manhattan is there is creative expression everywhere. There is always a guy painting something, always a guy playing something, always a guy who's doing a comedy show or dancing. You know, I've seen traditional native american music being played. I've seen things from different backgrounds and cultures and styles being kind of thrown into the mix of New York and a lot of it happens in the subway. So, it's like why would you wanna take that away from us? Why would you want to... kind of.... It seems to me like take away the seasoning away from New York. Like.... New York is the meat, but all these people making New York what it is are the seasoning. The reason why people come and are like wow New York is so great and we heard a guy play for 20 minutes on the subway and it was really great music. It's kinda like they're just trying to stamp that down and... to me it's um a mistake and it's unfair to them. Especially because, them being.. A lot of them being struggling artists, that cannot afford to pay \$45. I imagine if you had to pay \$45 for that day and if you're gonna do a special event within earshot of that park, then you had to pay \$25 for that day. It's like c'mon where does it stop? An then if you... I don't know you are gonna move on to Staten Island ferry terminal and pay \$25 for that?

Well, those are the things that I personally cannot confirm because I'm not well versed on it but I can see you point. It seems to me you are trying to say there are too many hurdles just to play music.

Commented [u47]: Music... non damaging.
Analytic: Impression of street performer- passive and docile

Commented [u48]: I don't see... the reason
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u49]: Code: I do understand
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Positive

Commented [u50]: Code: ambiguous
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- negative

Commented [u51]: Code: need clarification
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Suggestions

Commented [u52]: Code: How far is earshot?
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- needs clarity

Commented [u53]: Code: Creative expression everywhere.
Analytic: Impression of New York City

Commented [u54]: Code: Take that away from us
Analytic: Social justice. Ideology

Commented [u55]: Code: A mistake
Analytic: Social justice. Ideology

Commented [u56]: Code: Unfair
Analytic: Social justice. Ideology

Commented [u57]: Code: Struggling artist
Analytic: Impressions of a street performer.

Yea... just to do something basic that they love. **If you are charged... if you're** penalized for doing what you love **then that's not right**. You know it's not like... and that... **it breaths into** an even bigger topic. **Because, like with them it's almost on a small scale but if you look at like American students who... it almost feels like they're penalized too for pursuing their careers, what I mean is massive student loans, massive student debt.** I mean, the worth of the Bachelor degree is decreasing and decreasing and decreasing, almost to the point where it's like you gotta bachelor, it's almost like you are in high school again. Like if you don't get a master's degree.. The master's degree is the new bachelor's degree. And think of how much money it takes to get there. **And it almost feels like america is trying to** milk people's dreams **for all they can get.** It's like you wanna be a lawyer, well then you gotta pay this much for law school, you gotta pay this much... you gotta (chuckles) pay this much to get your bachelors and pre law, and then to get to law school you gotta pay this much and then if you wanna get a doctorate somehow you gotta pay this much too... and then the next thing you know poor guy isn't even making that money because he has so much student loans to pay. **And then harkening back to this... it's kind like the same thing.** It's like well if you wanna play this here you gotta pay this much, if you wanna play there you gotta pay this much and then your are not making no much near enough. Like you are not making no where near what you could have made that day. **Because you had to pay just to play and you don't even know if you're gonna have a good day or not. You don't know even if one person might drop by or drop a penny if everybody could just walk you by and not drop anything. And you just spent \$45 to pay and what do you have to show for it? So, it is really unfair to them especially.**

Commented [u58]: Code: Penalized for doing what you love.
Analytic: Social justice. Ideology

Commented [u59]: Code: An even bigger topic.
Analytic: Systematic oppression. Criticism of the government.

Commented [u60]: Code: Milk people's dream
Analytic: Systematic oppression. Criticism of the government.

Commented [u61]: Code: You gotta pay
Analytic: Systematic oppression. Criticism of the government.

Commented [u62]: Code: don't know.. gonna have a good day or not.
Analytic: Impression of a street performer that he or she is struggling

Ok. So, is there anything you would like to add with what you just said? Something that crosses your mind or you feel like...

Mmmm.. i feel like the arts are really underappreciated... um...

Commented [u63]: Code: Arts are really underappreciated.
Code: Criticism of society. Priorities are wrong

Are you referring to New York or in general?

I feel like in general **[Ok]**... like something...(contemplating)... how should I say. Because it goes both ways, it really does goes both ways in everything. Like... **the kind of indie-artists that you know like... People like this are** really underappreciated. They're almost like invisible. And that's why it's probably not a lot of people know that, these people need to pay to play, like I did not know these people needed to pay to play. **Because they are** almost invisible **to you.** You walk them by and you might drop a quarter or a dollar if you're feeling good that day you might even drop a \$10. But that's it, that's as far as the relationship goes. But then, when you see like a pop artist and you're like the biggest fanboy, it's like almost an obsession. Like i've seen people being obsessed with artists and they and they go, they follow them on tour and they buy everything, it's just like what's the difference between what he's (pop artist) doing this person right here just playing the guitar. You know, because I love his voice (indicating to the picture of the guy playing guitar), it is amazing it is seriously amazing.

Commented [u64]: Code: Really underappreciated.
Code: Criticism of society. Priorities are wrong

Commented [u65]: Code: Almost invisible
Analytic- Visibility absence of affirmation

Very classic and modern right?

Yes!

He's both at the same time [Yes. he's got a good mixture]. **He's got the Frank Sinatra thing going** [Yeah!, I love Frank Sinatra]. **Yeah exactly...**

It is really great and it's like what is the difference between what he's doing, if anything I feel like what he does is much more wholesome. Because it's not catchy, it's not like oh my god this beat is so great.. I just love the beat. It's like, the music is good. So why is he stamped down? While the big pop artist is like put on a pedestal? And what crossed my mind with that is the difference between like how our society sees importance. It's literally like, nobody knows the names of all the guys out there doing research trying to cure cancer but, we know like every name of the next pop artist and who they dated in the past five years. It's almost at the top of your head you can say it. And um... it's really sad to see because this situation almost applies here as well. We don't know any of their names, we don't know any of their stories but we know who Brad Pitt dated five years ago and then three years ago and then two years ago. Like it's really instant information and everybody knows it. But nobody knows these people, trying to make it and trying to really put their music out there. And show people that good music does not have to be popular. That it just has to be good.

Commented [u66]: Code: much more wholesome
Analytic: Appreciation for street performers

Commented [u67]: Code: Music is good
Analytic: Appreciation for street performers

Commented [u68]: Code: Stamped down
Analytic: Reflection. Trying to rationalize. Impressions of a street performer that he or she is struggling.

Commented [u69]: Code: How... society sees importance.
Code: Criticism of society. Priorities are wrong

Commented [u70]: Code:
Analytic: Reflection. Criticism of society. Priorities are wrong

Ok. Now... (long pause)... I think I'll just go to the last question. I actually know their back story a little bit. Would you like to know that?

Yea. For sure!

So the girl you see playing the violin, she has an education from Harvard [..Wow!], as a you know Masters in Fine Arts [..yea]. So...

Commented [u71]: Code: Wow
Analytic: Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.

She has a Masters in Fine Arts?

Commented [u72]: Code: She has a Masters in Fine Arts?
Analytic: Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.

Yea I think so... [Oh my god!] I mean if that's what MFA stands for. Yeah because I sometimes mix up the...

Commented [u73]: Code: Oh my god!
Analytic: Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.

She has a masters in fine arts

Yea. And the first girl, uh.. I've had interactions with her through mail but um, most of the informations that I got from was in the social pages. Just letting you know the information was out there for people to know [..yea]. But yea, so I found out that she is a student from Harvard, did her Masters in fine Arts. She did do one or two like joint exhibitions. I think she did very few what you call that... um... television shows. Maybe they did not get popula, but she does have acting.. So she is an actress. So she does have an acting experience.

So she is an actress and a musician.

Right. And yea she also went to Germany maybe just to visit or something like that but even there I saw some pictures of her playing on the street[..yes]. So that's one thing. This guy (pointing at the image of guy playing guitar) you'll be happy to know I'm pretty sure he's a student from Hunter actually.

Yea.. that's nice

Commented [u74]: Code: Yea.. that's nice
Analytic: Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.

Yea. Even he also did, I don't know the program here but, you know the Music, Arts and Theatre. You know whatever program (at Hunter), um.. He was a student of that. He already graduated, you know. If I remember correctly, he lives in Brooklyn [..wow]... so, and he's got a Jamaican heritage. These

information like I'm trying to recall and sometimes I google and you know I make sure I got my data correct, but sometimes I also make mistakes. But um... the most impressive thing though is that he does do a lot of like um... shows and some of them are like out of the country [..wow]. So if... last time I talked with him he did mention that he was going to Jamaica or something [..wow] to perform there. So basically what I'm trying to say that maybe the idea that they are struggling as you would think. So relating to that I want to disclose what was the purpose of my research. The purpose of my research was to show you pictures and the thesis behind that was whenever we see people playing in the subways we have this social construction of them being struggling...

Yes. **We have** a big perception of struggle **there** because they are in the subway [..right]. That is actually very true and something...

And I'm not saying that's wrong [..yea]. **There are people who..** [who struggle] **but there are also people who are there kinda of something that you mentioned, just there for the music** [..yes] . **It was nice that you were able to figure that out although you did use the physical appearance to judge that. But apparently there are people who give the impression that** [yes!]... **but probably they're not**

It's like I don't like to stereotype people or generalize but it's like a lot of the times you are just passing them by **and you're like he's struggling and then you go in the next station and you go to his like ... oh no he's just doin it for the music**[..yea]. You no it's not like...

So my intention was to kind of see that this idea, this notion I have is holds up. Do you think based on the whole interaction, do you think that there was this preconception of ...

Yes. there was definitely some pre-conceived notion. Because, **I do not know them personally, there will always be a preconceived notion out of ignorance. It's not malicious, it's just that... you just don't know... you don't know these people personally. But if I stopped and talked to them then I could have like .. oh yea I know him... he does this he does that. But a lot of it you just don't know.** So you kind of go by what you see...

And going back to the old guy, the very famous you know [..yes] **he's kinda like the grandfather of everything** [..yea]. **Just google old guy playing... uh singing on the subway. Guess who come's up?**

Him?

Him!

(both LOL)

New york subways.. He is that famous [he has to be man!]. **yea , you can't deny that kind of talent. He's way too...**

Tha is too powerful to be not be recognized. Everybody must know him. He does have some, again this is also me bringing it from memory but I do remember... he does have an album.

Yes, Yes he does sell his albums actually.

Commented [u75]: Code: A big perception of struggle.
Analytic: Reflection. Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.

Commented [u76]: Code: Because they are in the subway
Analytic: Justification for socially constructed impression of street performer.

Commented [u77]: Code: You are just passing them by.
Analytic: Justification for socially constructed impression of street performer.

Commented [u78]: Code: preconceived notion out of ignorance.
Analytic: Justification for socially constructed impression of street performer.

Commented [u79]: Code: Stopped and talked.
Analytic: Suggestions for socially constructed impression of street performer

So that's an interesting thing though wouldn't you say? **They are** kind of famous **[..yes]. Just not in the traditional way.**

Yes. Definitely.

So, yea just revising the final question do you think that the questions or the research served the purpose that it wanted to?

Definitely, because... it definitely led you to, well it led me to kind of have exposed and kind of, reflect on how I see these people and what I think about them. You know, from the good to the negative and it was really interesting to see it in retrospect because then you're just like oh you know... it's not what you think it is. **Never judge a book by it's cover** as such a like cliché kind of saying but it holds true in so many different situations. And I feel like that's really, a good kinda fit into the questions that I got, because it was like.... I was kind of going based of what I saw and not what I knew. Because, I don't know much so that's all I really have to base on my theories. That's the only foundation that I have.

Ok. So thank you so much for your time I really enjoyed talking with you.

No Problem!

Commented [u80]: Code: Kind of famous
Analytic: Visibility- Affirmation

Commented [u81]: Code: Never judge a book by it's cover
Analytic: Existence of social construction of street musician as a struggling artist.

GENERAL INFORMATION	
Name: <u>Miriam Galindez</u>	Age: <u>58</u> Gender: <input type="checkbox"/> M <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> F Zip: <u>10468</u>
Race: <input type="checkbox"/> White <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hispanic / Latino <input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American <input type="checkbox"/> Asian <input type="checkbox"/> Refused <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	
Marital status: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Never married <input type="checkbox"/> Live in partner <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed	
Education: <input type="checkbox"/> Grade School <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Middle/High School <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> Post-graduate school	<i>(some under grad college credit)</i>
Employment status: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Full-time job <input type="checkbox"/> Part-time job <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed <input type="checkbox"/> In school <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	
Occupation title: <u>Administrative Assistant</u>	
Income range: <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$15,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,001 to less than \$25,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,001 to less than \$35,000	
<input type="checkbox"/> \$35,001 to less than \$50,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,001 to less than \$75,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,001 to less than \$100,000	
<input type="checkbox"/> \$100,001 to less than \$150,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,001 or more <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Refuse	

Legend:	Terms
Text = interviewer is speaking	MTA: Metropolitan Transit Authority
[text] = interviewer is interjecting in speech	
Text = interviewee is speaking	MUNY: Music Under New York
[text] = interviewer is interjecting in speech	
..... = pauses between sentences	

(CONVERSATION BEGINS)

So ok, so my intention here is... basically show you some pictures and I would first like you to look at the pictures... there are about thirteen of them. You can scroll to the left ...sorry swipe to the left. (Miriam finishes the seeing the pictures. Says ok, that's it)

CONVERSATIONS RELATED TO QUESTION 1:

So my question to you is... tell me what do you think. What might be the back story of these people playing in the subway? And I just want to include that ... you know... you are encouraged like imagine whatever you feel like might be their back story.

Well... looking at all the pictures... um.. looking their pictures I see the music that's the common bond between all of them. And they are using basically their craft, what they like what they feel comfortable with to either share it with the people... (The interview is interrupted for a few seconds by an office staff, and then she continues)... So, I see the common bond the music with all of them ... you know... sharing, expressing no matter where it is. I mean it does not even look like a subway at some point [Interviewer interjects that's just bad photography, (LOL together)] . But it's... and they are into it.. they love what they are doing, you could tell they love what they do and they just want people just to hear it. They wanna be heard.

Ok.. umm.. what else do you think the picture reminds you of? Going beyond the fact that these are pictures of people playing in the subway? This is a very... known tradition of what they call busking. That means they do earn money from this process as a way of living. How do you feel about that information?

Um.. I don't like the idea that they get paid for it... because.. I think it puts them in danger... because I know the history of the subways and things like that. So I kinda feel that they gotta be maybe really desperate to do something like this ..and um.. I don't know if Like if I had a child who did this, I don't

Commented [u82]: Code: common bond the music
Analytic: Relating Music with passion.

Commented [u83]: Code: they love what they do
Analytic: Relating Music with passion.

Commented [u84]: Code: They wanna be heard.
Code: Visibility- Affirmation

Commented [u85]: Code: Danger
Analytic: Safety- of street performer

Commented [u86]: Code: desperate
Analytic: Impression of a street performer

know if I would be comfortable with them doing it. Of course I would support them no matter what because I am a parent. But I would not want them to do this particular thing. I would rather see them have a job in a safe environment, in a safe area and earn money like that rather than being paid like this.

So if I interpret correctly, you are encouraging the idea that they are expressing themselves (...right) but you sort of feel there is an issue of safety (...yeah) in the whole process...

Because... if you're there expressing yourself you could leave whenever you want. You could do it for 20 minutes a day, an hour a day.. whatever. But when you get starting paid for it I would imagine you would have to have certain hours to be there. You would have to report to someone, that person would have to watch you and I think that person would not be responsible for your safety in that kind of environment.

Ok, that is in an interesting thing....the issue of safety. Is there anything else this pictures remind you of. Just to elaborate it does not necessarily have to relate to this picture... just... what else could you tell me about these pictures that provoked you in terms of thinking of something else?

Well... when you told me that these people got paid for it kind of **made me feel like how desperate sometimes people are.** So looking at the pictures and what you told me, that's what you know made say you have to be desperate to really do something like that.

Ok. So is there anything else you might want to add to that [Nope].... Ok so we will go to the next question.

CONVERSATIONS RELATED TO QUESTION 2:

Did you know that you may need a permit to play music on the street of New York. But only if you have sound devices that generate a lot of noise as in amplifiers or maybe trumpets that usually have more noises.... An acoustic guitar is ok because the noise is not that much.. um so loudspeakers, megaphones or stereos if you want to use them as a performance element on the streets of New York. And the fee for the permit is \$45 per day. Did you... were you aware of this information?

I knew that they had to get a permit... I knew that much. I did not know they had to pay for it... I didn't know that. **[And the amount is \$45 per day]** That's a lot... I think that's a lot in this...(mumbles) , but I thought it was free **to be honest with you.**

It is... but it kinda fluctuates.. it depends upon how you're performing. So if you have an acoustic guitar.. you know that doesn't make that noise.. that's ok. [...right. ok] So if I take an acoustic guitar and play it anywhere nobody is going to bother me. But the moment I include an amplifier, an electric guitar or even drums that generate more noise [...right] you do have to have permit.

Hmm... that's interesting

Yeah. So like you said you did not know?

No.

CONVERSATIONS RELATED TO QUESTION 3:

Commented [u87]: The interviewee was under the impression that the street performers were employed by some unwonted entity. Because the interviewer in an honest mistake used the word paid for 'voluntary donations'. Thus safety was a concerning issue of the interviewee.

Note: Safety of the street performer from other threats is still a key concern.

Commented [u88]: Code: desperate
Analytic: Impression of a street performer

Commented [u89]: Code: had to get a permit
Analytic: Awareness about street performers and relationship with authority

Commented [u90]: Code: That's a lot
Analytic: Reflection. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u91]: Code: Thought it was free
Analytic: Awareness. Policies regarding street performance

So.. basically my third question was... what are your thoughts about this policy and the implications it might have on the street performers and the New York City experience?

I don't necessarily think the New York experience is seeing people in the street playing instruments. I don't think it's part of New York. I mean I grew up in New York City and I don't..... that wasn't something that was common back in the day. It is common now and they do it much more now. I don't think people should pay for it.. I think what they should do is... maybe have a police presence or something like that which because of the times, because of the world we live in they should be some ... again "safety issue" involved. And it sounds what your telling me that as long as they pay and as long as they get their permit people can go on ahead and do whatever they wanna do basically.

Commented [u92]: Code: I don't think it's part of New York.
Analytic: Impression of New York City

Commented [u93]: Code: I don't think people should pay for it.
Analytic: Awareness. Policies regarding street performance-Negative

Commented [u94]: Code: Safety issues
Analytic: Safety- for general people

So... I need to clarify on some of these aspects. Um... first of all I would like to go back to one thing that you mentioned.. that you still had issue that they were getting paid. Could you elaborate on that?

I think that you said the people in the subway they should not get paid I don't think that whoever is paying them is responsible for anything that might happen to them. I think that they are just paying them just to be there. I don't know what other things are involved... so the things with the employer...

(Note: It is at this moment the interviewer realizes that there was a misinterpretation regarding the word 'paid'. The interviewee was under the impression that these street performers actually have an employer who pays them to perform in the subways. Upon realizing the error, the interviewer promptly decides to clarify the interviewee as well as proceeds to revisit some of the key aspects of the previous questions. While it does compromise the appropriateness of some answers given so far but it does not make the data collected so far completely unusable)

Oh oh sorry... ok no... what I meant by paid is ... oh I should have really clarified that. Nobody is paying them to be there but it's like if you are performing there ... I as an observer I can...[put some money down] donate some money that's the word I'm looking for. [Ok donate money]... the wording was wrong. But there is a catch also there. I myself as a performer am not allowed to ask for money.

But you could take the money if somebody puts it down?

Yeah right... it's more like solicitations in subways are not allowed. So I as a performer can play provided I am not causing too much noise and there can be a box in front of me where if someone as an observer or an audience comes and pay... that is ok.

So definitely these people do it for the love of music. Because you know...what other reason would you be able to do it? I mean would you get... what they give you... I can't imagine it is a lot of money and you can't live of that. So it has to be for the love of the music if nothing else... with the people on the subway. Now with the people on the street.... I mean it's crazy, because if they have to pay the permit they have to pay every single day \$45... that's crazy.

Commented [u95]: Code: Love of Music
Analytic: Relating Music with passion

Commented [u96]: Code: What other reason
Analytic: : Reflection. Trying to rationalize. Impressions of a street performer that he or she is struggling.

So again going back to the previous questions you would say that you endorse the fact that they play in public.

I don't have an issue if they play in public if it's their choice. If it is their choice and they are not harming anyone it's fine with me. Because.... I often hear good music actually... you know ... because of the

acoustics in the subway stations and things like that. That's totally fine with me as long as it's their choice.

And your also.. now you are also ok with them earning some money out of it?

If they happen to give them money why not? I mean nobody is making the person give them the money, nobody is forcing them or anything like that. I don't see a problem with that.

You could say it is a very voluntary process.

Yea.. if it is a voluntary process it's fine with me.

So to just to reestablish... you are ok with the performance [umhm...] and you are also ok with the fact that whole donation process [Yea sure.. sure] you are ok with it. Ok great. But you do seem to have an issue with the fact that if you need a permit you have to pay \$45.

Yeah...

Ok. So.. like I said what are your thoughts about the policy and the implications it might have on street performers and the New York experience? You would say....

Um... I would say it's unnecessary to charge people. It's not necessary to um... charge people... I don't even know why they charge people..... Why do they charge people?

Ok. I will elaborate on it. I mean I can always say my understanding of it. So you do feel that the policy is not a very acceptable [no I'm not]you are not in favor it?

No I'm not. And where does the money go?

Ok. Alright. I will explain it to you in a few minutes. I also want to follow up with this question that there are other rules and regulations by the MTA regarding street performance... can I read them to you?

Sure...

(Note: The interviewer reads the rules and regulations shown in the 'follow up questions' portion found in the third question)

Based on this new information how do you feel about the policies now?

About this policy I think it's pretty good. Because they are thinking about schools, they're thinking about churches, they're thinking about their environment. But at the same time they are giving them the opportunity to do what they wanna do. So I think that is pretty well... ok. And I think the \$25 what you said for a month?

Yea... so what I think ... I understand i.... that's for special event purposes. So... [I think that's ok... as opposed to the other one] But probably, if I am reading that correctly... probably it's for the application fee. So maybe there is a different fee for the performance or something like that.

Commented [u97]: Code: Unnecessary
Analytic: Analytic: Awareness. Policies regarding street performance- Negative

Commented [u98]: Code: Pretty good
Analytic: Awareness. Policies regarding street performance- Positive

I think that's fine... as opposed to the other one that it was \$25 every single day... I think this one is a much better... um ... much to better to go for and do than the other one. And I don't have a problem with the time of day and things like that. I don't have a problem with that. Because know that a lot of people especially in front of residential buildings and churches and hospitals... you really should not be doing things like that.

Commented [u99]: Code: that's fine
Analytic: Awareness. Policies regarding street performance- Positive

So... um what I'm going to do now.. even though it is not part of the research question but since you asked that why do they have a permit for \$45. I believe it would be discourage some of the performers, that would be one thing... definitely that's an impact the way I feel. Because, it could be assumed that most of these performers.... Or a certain percentage of them cannot [Afford...] have that constant \$45 in their pocket. That is one thing... also there are some benefits if you do get a permit. First you do become a part of the Music Under New York (MUNY) program that the the MTA has under the Arts & Design program. So what they do is that once you have applied for a permit you essentially become a member of the MUNY program ... they kind of tell you that is that ok these are the... they kind of schedule the places you can perform and they schedule it in a way where there would be a huge inflow of people. So even if the schedule is going to be tight, since there will be a lot of people at the certain time of the day.. there is a good possibility of you to earn money. And plus just being part of the program allows you to perform anytime MUNY needs performers [Like in the holidays]... Exactly. So those are some of the benefits and the police won't harass you because they always know that you are part of the program because there is always a banner [Oh...ok!] behind your performers. And I'm sure your you've seen that whenever you walk through Times Square [yeah..!] where they have the MUNY specific logo under which they have the name of the band. So that kinda indicates that they are part of that Also you actually have to do auditions [oh really?]. Yes so that the MTA knows that the content is not too disruptive or a nuisance in the public sphere. So these are some their processes...

Now one thing that might happen and that is me assuming that is .. that might lead to some people be genuinely discouraged and not partake in the process. It kinda creates a contentious relation between the MTA authority and the street performers. So that's the other side of this whole story.

It's interesting I always wondered how these people came out of God knows where and performing in front of everybody. I always wondered that... who picked them? Where did they come from? How did they get there?... But you know... we live such busy schedules that we walk by and don't think of it twice.

Commented [u100]: I always wondered.
Analytic: : Reflection. Trying to rationalize. Impressions of a street performer that he or she is struggling.

Commented [u101]: Code we walk by
Analytic: Visibility- absence of Affirmation

CONVERSATIONS RELATED TO QUESTION 4:

So um... I personally know a little bit of their background. Would you like to know that?

To know their background?]

... the background of the people whose picture I showed...

Sure!

So the first one that I showed you, you know the girl with the violin? (interviewer reopens the image files) By the way I got all her information from her professional social pages. She is did her Masters in Fine Arts from Harvard [umhm]. There were pictures of her online where she went to Germany to perform (Note: the interviewer forgot to mention the interviewee that it was as a busker on the street).

And actually she is an actress. She's also done some very small acting jobs. So for her probably....probably it is an assumption, she may not necessarily be struggling [...a struggling artist] as we would assume. Yeah. Maybe she is not doing the best but she is not struggling either [...right, right].

Commented [u102]: Code: ..Right, right
Analytic: Reflection. Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.

The other example that I showed you of the person playing a guitar... both of these pictures were taken in the 68th street subway station on Lexington Avenue... so it's very near by (Note: the interview was taken at Hunter College Urban Planning Department). So the other person was actually a student of Hunter college [

..him? (pointing at picture)

Yes. He is from Brooklyn. He graduated from ... if I remember correctly... from the Arts and Theatre department at Hunter College. Even when he was a student he used to go to the subway station and play. And he is also travelling the world [Wow!...]. Based on a casual conversation if I remember correctly he is going to Jamaica to perform. He has heritage there.

Commented [u103]: Code: Wow
Analytic: Reflection. Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.

Did you ever ask him why he did that?

Commented [u104]: Code: Did you ever ask
Analytic: Curiosity. Reconciling with interviewee's own social construction

Why he played?

Yeah...

Um... Yea ... actually I did... you know it was a very simple answer. This is the only spot... if I remember... and I can't really talk for him... I'm just bringing things for memory.... For him it was a point where he could test new material [...Ok] or at least seeing how his performance could improve without... feeling pressure [...Ok]. Because once you're in front of an engaged audience it becomes challenging to really perform.

So he wanted to see the reaction of the people?

Yea... and I think... as an artist it gives him flexibility to play anything real and talk with people... Oh yeah he did mention he likes talking with people. That was one of the many things he said.

..Alright

So my final question to you is... now that you know their back story what are your thoughts about the street performers of New York City? And I think tangentially... I think I am also trying to ask how do you feel about the policies we just already discussed.

Well about the people you just told me about, I kinda have a certain respect for them now. Because they don't really have to do what they are doing and yet they wanna do it for their own personal gain and they are not getting much out of it. It's more personal, dealing with the music and have people react and things like that. And if you know.... They want to get permits or they wanna do the right thing, or they wanna pay some money for the permits then I think it is totally up to them. You know as long as they are not harming people, as long as it is not harming them in any way and they are getting some kinda benefit out of it I think it is totally fine. [Ok.. so um..] So when you gave me more information

Commented [u105]: Code: respect for them\
Analytic: Visibility- Affirmation / Socially constructed impression of street performer is breaking down.

Commented [u106]: Code: It's more personal
Analytic: relating Music with Passion

about it and you told me the back story of it.... You told me the rules and the money involved and things like that, then it kinda changed my perception of the picture when I saw the pictures again.

(Note: At this point all the questions were answered but the impromptu decision of the interviewer was to disclose the main intention of this interview and eventually conclude it)

So as a researcher I think it is my ethical duty to disclose the purpose of this research. Like I said this wont (chuckles..) be published anywhere but I'm glad you gave me the time. The basic purpose of this research was.... To say that whenever we see street performers or people who... they call em buskers.... We always imagine them as struggling artists [...yeah] .. like barely making it in this world [...yeah].... Which may not be the case [...yeah]. And my intention was to kind of see whether that stereotype.. or that "social construction" of street performers that they are struggling [umhm] and the fact that people perceive them as that (yeah)... that was basically my hypothesis.... Whether...

No but (agreeing with the hypothesis)... definitely when I first saw them.... That was my first... thought and that's what when I said to you about safety when I thought that they were getting paid for it... You know... I was... trying to think more that these people are struggling and somebody is paying them? ... and they could be in danger! For you know.. who knows. So that was my first impression.

Commented [u107]: Code: That was my first thought.
Analytic: Existence of social construction of street musician as a struggling artist.

Commented [u108]: Code: Could be in Danger
Analytic: Safety- of street performers

Yes. But we already clarified that what I meant by paying is receiving donations [..Yes (nodding)]. So when you got that information it was not a concern for you?..

No it wasn't... because it was their choice and they're adults and they should know ..um when they could do this and when they could not do this, and what time and what day.

So, going back to what you mentioned that if it was your own children [...umhm], and now knowing the fact that this is a very voluntary choice, donations and everything is voluntary [..right] would you still allow them to be a part of this program?

I support my children whatever they wanna do. No matter what.

As long as it's safe? (Interviewer asking leading an answer)

As long as it's safe but even if it's not safe I'd still... it has to be their choice because they are adults.

Ok. So now the reason I go back to the issue of 'safe' and by now I've derailed from my initial.... Which is ok, we are ok with that... um is that.... This is an issue I did not expect you to mention... the issue of safety. And there are many ways the safety of this people can be challenged. Sometimes through people who are supposed to keep them safe. Because people like them ... they do not necessarily endorse the idea that you have to pay to perform on the streets of New York... they are kind of against that idea. They are essentially breaking some rules, as in using an amplifier without having that permit and a police officer might come in and say that either get out of here or lower your volume. Actually the (picture of) first girl I showed you.... She actually uploaded a video where she was having that confrontation with a police officer and it was like 10 minutes long. Because he has some bindings he could not just pic those things (instruments) up and throw it away , but he was kind of circling her and telling her... she did up... you know put up a sign that said that you know he New York City is not allowing us to perform the way we want to. And the guy was saying that's not case... so there was very contentious.. you know challenging relationship. So safety becomes an issue there. And there are cases where... police officers ..um how do I put it cuff them [they arrest them.. yeah]

and charge them that they were asking for donations [..yeah]. So going back to that issue of safety do you think that.... even though there are rules and regulations proposed by the MTA that um... the performers themselves are safe?

I don't think they are safe if there is no police presence. There has to be a police presence. I know that the police could be very intimidating many times but this goes to the relationship we have with the police. You know if there was a better relationship with the police... um performers and anyone basically do things within the law without a problem. But because of the relationship that we have with police... that's why sometimes it becomes a problem. Even when it's something as simple as .. you know playing music... or sharing something with the public. So... the problem we have with the police department we have right now, it stems all around and including this. So safety and the police department go hand in hand and there has to be a balance there. Who is...(chuckles).. going to do it I have no idea but there has to be some kind of balance. And the music in the subway... the music in New York is nice... but sometimes it's not.

Commented [u109]: Code: has to be police presence.
Analytic: Safty- of public/ Relationship of street performers with authority

So based on that statement what would you say regarding the policies?

I think the policies should include safety issues. I mean from the policies that you read to me it's pretty much um... the type instruments you have, how much you gonna pay a day, the time.... I did not hear about any safety issues. I didn't hear no warning about... if you go beyond this time you are strictly on your own. I didn't here anything like that. And I think that... maybe that should be incorporated.

Commented [u110]: Code: Include safety issues
Analytic: Policies regarding street performance- Suggestion

So my next question might be a little leading ...so I'm just acknowledging that. But do you think or get a sense that the polices are really not made for the street performers? As in... in their favor?

Could be... could be (contemplating) ... maybe they want to limit the number of performers they have. They do not wanna make it so easy for people to do it, to limit it and maybe control them more. Who knows? So (shrugs) I don't know....

Ok even I really didn't figure out how to end the conversation but basically we came to the interview. And like I previously mentioned... the intention was The intention ws gauge the public perception of street performers in New York city. However the focus is on the 'social construction' of the street performer and public opinion regarding their importance on the New York City life. Just out of curiosity, do you think we have kind of discussed those things?

I think we have. I think you brought to my knowledge something I didn't know much about and you gave me more of a clarity and also a certain respect for a certain people who do it for their own issues or for their own views. So you gave me something that I did not have before we were interviewed.

Well Miriam... thank you so much for giving me your time!

Your very welcome!

(CONVERSATION ENDS)