田中理恵子
Rieko TANAKA

Between Music and Anthropology: The Experience of “Field”

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Let's feel the *soundscape* of everyday life, with body and soul. This paper shows, through an ethnographic exploration of the structure of Tokyo street music and consideration of street music as “field” in the anthropological sense, how a phenomenon becomes street music by reflexive interaction between people and urban soundscape.

As for the distribution of street music performances, locations expand in concentric circles from their epicenters. Street musicians in Tokyo run the gamut from amateur to professional, and there are even a small number of foreigners mixed in. The musicians’ social affiliations are diverse, and their level of awareness of their own performances also varies. Street music’s most distinctive characteristic is that musical performance per se is not the only means of expression, but rather works in tandem with a broader system including lyrics, conversation, gestures, visuals, and charisma.

These performances are dependent upon reading the field’s distinct characteristics, and then becoming capable of a performance that incorporates a soundscape composed of varied elements including the audience and spontaneous happenings. Thus, this phenomenon becomes music only on the street, and this space and time is the “field” in which “street music” generates.

Based on the above data, street musicians are classified into four types. (1) “Fusion” type repeats interaction with the acoustic space of the city in a performance that is highly variability. It is a product of the musician and city resonating together. (2) “Centripetality” type has deep variability and emphatic independence but the flexibility of their music is not so high. (3) “Non-Interference” performs without the awareness that is generating the acoustic space of the street, in which reflexivity is shallow but independence is not strong. (4) “Counteraction” type’s performance is isolated by acoustic space in that its reflexivity is shallow and its independence is summarized as strong.

This paper tends to indicate two important characteristics of street music. One characteristic is a high degree of “variability”. However it is controlled by constraints of the street’s “happening”. For this reason, street musicians have to “select” what they can incorporate from acoustic space and how they can “improvise” or “persistent” their music in the environment of the street. And it is repeated such their seeking as whether they become to have a interaction by improvised reaction, or become to perform with self-representation for the music even having interaction towards acoustic space.

The other characteristic is “reflexive” transformation, through which the process of transformation further strengthens the influence of the acoustic space and the transformation; musicians encounter these situations again, and the music comes to be performed on the street. Thus, this transformation process is the principle for the “structure of street music”, and the “field” where this structure occurs repeatedly. In this sense, both street music and anthropology are created from the experience of the “field”.

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I The Experience of “Field”

1. Introduction

Let's feel the *soundscape* of everyday life, with body and soul.

This paper is an ethnographic study of street music in Tokyo that explores how a phenomenon *becomes* street music by reflexive interaction between people and urban soundscape. We often hear street music in urban everyday life, but when trying to understand the phenomena of street music, existing concepts and taxonomy in music have limits. Therefore this study aims to show, through an ethnographic exploration of the structure of street music in Tokyo and consideration of street music as “field” in the anthropological sense, how musicians, audience, and ambient environment participate in the creation of a street music “field”.

Street music can be seen in metropolises throughout the world, and is on its way to being an indispensable element to the life worlds of cities. For example, Schafer, who wrote about sonic environments, addressed to a limited extent the concept of how this music is integrated with the urban soundscape (Schafer 1977)[1]. Furthermore, Tanenbaum, who was the first to investigate the structural organization of street music, illustrated its politics in New York (Tanenbaum 1995).

However, existing literature have devoted little attention to the actual music that is the *raison d'etre* of street musicians. The reason that this music, which is so indispensable to the cultural fabric of contemporary cities, has not been focused on in conventional studies is likely that the enthusiasts responsible for its production are not performing as professionals, and thus researchers are falling into the trap of invalidation by comparing street music with modern Western concepts of art.

Even more importantly, the processes by which this music, which suddenly appears in urban spaces, becomes “street music” (as in, becomes realized in the form of performance in the street, and becomes acknowledged as music) remain relatively unexplored. This paper uses the concept of “field” where music and experience occurs as its theoretical axis and conducts a deep analysis of street music and its creation based on participant observation with street musicians in Tokyo.

The term “field”[2] as it is used here, has two important aspects. One is used as the basic conditions for the phenomenon of street music’s becoming. As I will argue in the conclusion of this paper, street music “becomes”[3] music only in the street. Although someone may play music well in a theater, this music will not be able to *become* “street music”. Also if nobody stops on the street, people will be just a pedestrian, not a street musician or an audience member. Thus, the term “field” encompasses the spatial, sonic, and relational conditions necessary for the becoming of street music.

The second aspect, in my use of the term “field” is the space and time where a specific event occurs. That is why modern anthropology sees working in the “field” (ethnographic field work) as the most important process for the discipline. Musicians also cherish this experience of music in the field, such as experimental musicians or street musicians, and therefore both musicians and anthropologists understand the phenomenon of the field deeply (Tanaka 2013).

In other words, it can be said that “experiencing the field” is a useful way to capture the dynamism of such phenomena as music, which cannot but be regarded only as a becoming, and it is the field where the work of music and anthropology most deeply intersect.

Working from this idea, focusing on the experience of the field means not asking what music is, but whether a phenomenon becomes music. Through this work of participating in the becoming of music, street musicians are deeply connected to the matter of “field”, which in turn reflects Heidegger’s concept of “Earth (*die Erde*)” (Heidegger 1950). This paper will make the claim that there is a deep affinity between this concept and the subject of investigation.

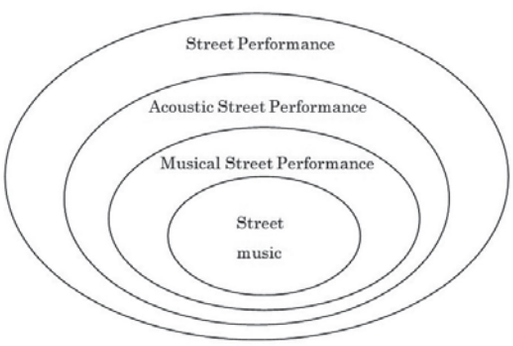
2. Definition and Methodology

The street music referred to in this document is treated as part of the broader category of street performance. Street performance will be defined broadly as all activities carried out on the street, including walking. Street musicians in Tokyo fit within this categorical definition.

On the question of terminology, street musicians in Tokyo do not refer to street music and performances as "street music." On the contrary, the most commonly established terminology among them is "street live" (*sutorito raibu*) or "street" (*sutorito*)[4]. Taking an example from Japan's Asahi Newspaper, the first usage of "street musicians" (*sutorito myuujisyan*) was in 1989, and "street live" (*sutorito raibu*) was first used in 1991. In other words, the terminology in use today became standard in the late 1980s. It was also from around that time that street music became fashionable. Therefore this study will deal with the "street music" that was popularized in the late 1980s as one part of street performance. Furthermore, concrete individual performance actions will be referred to as "street live" and in the case of group phenomena, "street music" (see Fig.1).

This paper is based on participant observation conducted intermittently from 2002 to the present in Tokyo. The main survey locations were neighborhoods in Tokyo including Shibuya, Shinjuku, Harajuku, Yoyogi, Kichijoji, and Ikebukuro among fifteen others, at which the researcher came into contact with about 100 musicians. The researcher's direct experience performing on the street will also be considered as data.

Figure 1 < Position of Street Music >



3. Case Studies Overview

As for the distribution of street music performances, locations were divided into the three categories of "landmarks" (street music Mecca), "satellites," (landmark peripheries), and "home town locations" (musicians' areas of residence)[5], layouts which expand in concentric circles from their epicenters. Depending on the locational category, periods of peak activity for street music vary greatly, and the genre of music performed and instruments involved exhibit striking trends. Street musicians in Tokyo run the gamut from amateur to professional, and there are even a small number of foreigners mixed in. The musicians' social affiliations are diverse, and their level of awareness of their own performances also varies. Presently, rather than making financial gain their goal, there are an increasing number of musicians who see street performance as a gateway to success as professionals. On the other hand, there is currently a crackdown underway by the police, who may judge street music to be an illegal activity.

While street live is itself a live form of performance, it may involve the use of recording and reproduction technology, sometimes accompanying singing or instrumental performance with CDs and cassette tapes. Street music's most distinctive characteristic is that musical performance per se is not the only means of expression, but rather works in tandem with a broader system including lyrics, conversation, gestures, visuals, and charisma (see Fig.2).

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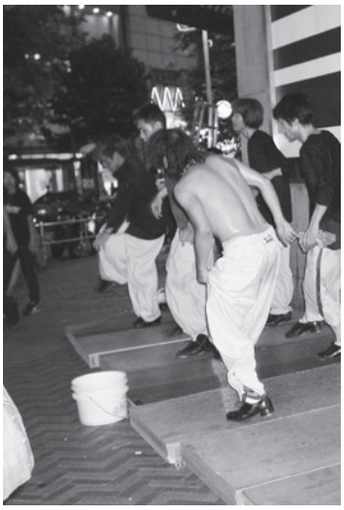
Figure 2 < Street performers and musicians in Tokyo >



4. Report on Case Studies

Musicians are the main characters behind street music creation. This creation process will be investigated from the perspective of how these individuals perform on the street and interact with the audience and surrounding urban space. For the sake of expedience, the informants in this study are divided into three categories, based on the musicians' experience levels.

(1) Almost no experience

Mr. O, 20 Years Old

Mr. O, who had his first performance at the time of interview, is a veritable ambassador for this category. Before then, he was used to practicing alone in his house. During his first street live, he played songs that he usually practiced at home, in addition to audience requests. Afterwards, he said, "I had a good response, so I want to try this again."

Mr. O's place of residence, Ikebukuro, consists mostly of young people, and is a neighborhood where street live is thriving. However, O said that he chose the area out of convenience given that it was his own neighborhood. Explaining that he wanted to ease himself into the experience of live performance, he forewent the liveliest area in front of the station in favor of a slightly more remote location facing a shopping street. After staking out his place of performance, Mr. O repeatedly played cover songs by Okuda Tamiyo, music he was already used to practicing. However, when a slightly intoxicated man paused to listen for some time, there were some observable changes in Mr. O's behavior. After realizing that he had a somewhat dedicated audience member, the author observed a slight increase in the volume with which Mr. O's strummed his guitar. Gradually, his voice also began to increase in volume, apparently a result of his lifting of spirits. Next, he was slightly befuddled to have the tipsy man make a request, but promptly responded to it. Although it was a Beatles song that he had not prepared for, he sang with abandon, negotiating the English pronunciation as best he could. Furthermore, he was spoken to by another man, and had a conversation. However, this only consisted of responding to the man's questions, rather than an active approach from Mr. O. This resulted in his summation that "the reactions were good," and provided incentive to perform again in this capacity.

Mr.Y and Mr. S, Early 20s

Mr. Y's and S's street live was characterized first of all by their choice of location. They chose Ikebukuro station out of convenience, because it did not require switching train lines from either of their home stations. However, they also mentioned that since they were passionate fans of the duo "Yuzu," a band with its origins in street live, they also wanted to choose a comparably thriving venue for their own street live. One other noteworthy point is that street live eventually provided the occasion to perform their own original songs in response to an audience's requests. When they had first begun doing street live, they would perform nothing but covers of "Yuzu" songs.

From the above example, at the stage of having almost no street live experience, (1) performers tend to choose parks or train stations in their own neighborhoods, or locations based on their ease of access by public transportation. Characteristically, there is not much thought given to the nature of the location itself. (2) The set list usually consists of what they have been practicing recently, or what they are simply capable of playing at the moment. (3) There is not much initiative taken towards the audience.

While street live are easy for passersby to take part in, they are just as easy to disengage one's self from. At the present point in time, Mr. O is not conducting street live, stating, "I'm not sure," when asked about his reasons.

(2) Moderate accumulated experience

Mr. D, 30 Years Old

Let us now address the example of Mr. D, who has one year of experience with street live. Mr. D does street live about twice a year, and was introducing his own original songs at the time of interview. His reason for beginning was that he had been recommended to do so by the music office with which he is on contract. However, he began at a time when people doing street live had already increased in number, so he was not very enthusiastic about becoming just another face in the proverbial crowd of street performers. He explains that he gave much thought to the question of "how can I get them to listen?" regarding his audience.

Observing Mr. D's performance, when people lingered nearby, he would start to direct his performance in their direction, smiling subtly toward them. This behavior can be interpreted as an expression of the performer's intent to treat such participants as listeners of his music, and to read passersby affirmatively as his audience. Between songs, he would talk to them and ask, "What kind of song would you like to hear?" and accommodate audience requests. In his choice of songs, he would prioritize the most popular of his original compositions, as well as his personal recommendations. Because Mr. D believes it is difficult to get people to listen to ballades on the street, he has started to create shorter, street-specific arrangements of his ballades for these purposes. Such tactical considerations reflect a gradual change in Mr. D's awareness of street live as an activity that "becomes work".

On the other hand, Mr. D conducted street live with only an acoustic guitar at Mizunoguchi Station in Kawasaki City, a suburb of Tokyo. At first he was performing in the same capacity as at any place, but then, for the stated reason that Shibuya was too noisy, he used an amplifier and raised the volume at this location. Thus, he can be observed adapting the volume and style of his performances based on location.

Mr. I, 40 Years Old

Next is the example of Mr. I, who also does street live in Shibuya with his band. Before street live, he already had experience performing acoustically (amplified through a detached microphone) with his band near his hometown station, so he decided to perform in Shibuya with electric instruments using an amplifier.

His band's defining trait is the considerable attention it gives to the performance format, tailoring it almost as if they were on stage. They will pre-set a starting time, interposing breaks amongst their songs with occasional bouts of MC-ing and storytelling, and dividing the overall performance into a pre-planned stage, rather than progressing arbitrarily.

In many cases, these highly conspicuous events draw police officers. Even after being reprimanded by the police, Mr. I would tread water by MC-ing, or temporarily stop using the amp, and adapt to the surrounding circumstances in order to continue the performing no matter what. However, in this case, the performance ultimately had to be canceled.

Drawing from these examples, the characteristics of street live with musicians with moderate accumulated experience are as follows. (1) As they continue their street live careers, the performers often begin to change the performance location. (2) Performers with the goal of promotion or gaining publicity are more likely to choose "landmark" areas or famous places. (3) The nature of the performance changes with the location. There may be a shift in band composition or from acoustic to electric in response to the immediate sonic environment. (4) The performers' awareness of their audience is being shaped by these experiential shifts in execution. For example, they base decisions on how to get people to stop and listen, what will provoke a favorable response, and their selections of their own original songs trend toward popular, mainstream ones.

As the street musicians explore in response to the various happenings surrounding street live performances, the actual phenomenon of street music begins to become manifest.

(3) Considerable accumulated experience

Mr. K, 30 Years Old

The next stage of development is that of musicians who have done street live for several years. Let us first look at the case of Mr. K, who has seven years of street experience. Mr. K says that he dislikes street live. He expressed the reason as follows.

> "You can't use good amps, so the sound quality is low. Also, police come, and there are many drunk people. In the street, the first priority is to not impede the flow of pedestrians, so I have to think about how to get a good response. There is not much emphasis on playing in tune, because people don't notice either way. I feel like that's boring. I had nowhere else to play music in front of people, so, in any case, I was happy to be able to perform at all. I really don't like street live."

Mr. K, who says that he is presently performing with other musicians, is strategically developing ways to make people stop and donate. First of all, he usually chooses songs that are mostly slow tempo, famous, and melodious from among a selection of standard jazz numbers. Furthermore, no matter what, he plays at high volume, using popular phrases that involve rapid, aggressive strumming, and irregular time intervals, as well as the slide method while strumming. These techniques had a considerable effect on the audience during solo performances. It can be said that while Mr. K was racking up street experience, he also gained knowhow in eliciting positive reactions from the audience.

The reason that Mr. K does not like street live is that the restrictions of the setting get in the way of his musicianship. However, after multiple interviews, Mr. K said, "If I could perform using the relationship between the street's ambient sounds and myself, I might have renewed interest in the street."

Mr. F, 40 Years Old

On the other hand, Mr. F, who says that he enjoys street music, is developing street live from a different stance. He performs mainly at shopping streets in Kichijoji , a well-to-do suburb of Tokyo, and at nearby Inogashira Park, and makes alterations to the member composition and music he performs based on the location. He also selects the location based on what music he plans to perform. With bands who are skilled at performance, he will gather large crowds at evening shopping streets, while with a duo of guitar and saxophone, he chooses early weekend afternoons in parks. Mr. F first assesses the venue, then adapts to its unique characteristics. He cannot do loud performances in a silent park, and when a crying baby is stealing the attention of nearby viewers, he says that he plays as if he is background music. Mr. F's street live are based on attempting to melt into the urban sonic environment.

From the above examples, the following characteristics are identifiable for musicians who have gained a considerable amount of experience. (1) They choose the place of performance with their own will, based on their goals or musicianship. (2) They consciously change the nature of their performance based on the location. (3) They take into account not only the audience, but other surrounding phenomena. Through taking this kind of stance, it is possible for musicians to broaden their options.

Mr. H, 40 Years Old

While the aforementioned case studies have been illuminating, the developmental process they suggest is still only expedient, and not every musician goes through the same stages. For example, the case of the author and Mr. H illustrates an exceptional scenario to the framework suggested above. Mr. H, who had no experience with street live, has only shallow experience playing the shamisen street side, but also has several years of experience with an improvisational band. Because of this, on only the third street performance, when a musician who happened to be passing by spontaneously jumped

in, Mr. H was unperturbed, and even welcomed this participation. That being said, Mr. K already had considerable experience in music and in choosing locations from his first street live. Thus, the capacity for spontaneous adaptation varies considerably based on each individual's skill level and amount of accumulated experience.

5. Short Consideration

There are several salient points to be made regarding the creation process of street music investigated through this fieldwork. First of all, the intense restrictions placed upon performance by the street setting are the precise definition of a sense of place. In other words, street music is music that is made in the street, which is the site of many spontaneous events, and is thus strongly restricted to the place of performance. In addition to such hinge factors as the activity level of a neighborhood (i.e. Shinjuku's bustling commercial district or in front of a major subway station versus a park slightly removed from the station or a bedroom suburb), there are also the questions of time, of weekday versus weekend and night versus day. The types of passersby are affected by all of these factors. Business professionals who lack the time to even glance at street performers during working hours may stop to listen for a while after a beer on the way home from work. Performances are further compartmentalized based on their ultimate goals, the particular set list, and genre of music. The performers may also adapt spontaneously to new circumstances.

The second crucial point of analysis regards the musicians' adaptation in response to the location. Performers with almost no experience tend to choose locations isolated from the street's sonic environment. However, due to confrontations with unplanned sounds and actions, and as they start to accept the spontaneity of the street, they slowly begin to explore ways to adapt accordingly. This is dependent upon reading the field's distinct characteristics, and then becoming capable of a performance that incorporates a *soundscape* composed of varied elements including the audience and spontaneous happenings. Passing this stage, music that fuses with the urban space can finally come into being. Thus, it can be said that street music *becomes* "music" (itself) only on the street, and this field is the space and the time in which it *becomes* "street music".

The next chapter will show the structure of street music, based on a more detailed analysis of ethnographic data.

II Structure of Street Music

6. Acoustic Field: Sonic Experience on the Street

Since the study of street music study still tends to be rather piecemeal, an extended and deep analysis of the phenomenon can not yet be found[6]. As a step to overcoming this problem, this section will focus on the becoming process and the transformation of street music by classifying and attempting to clarify the structure of street music.

The previous section researched the experience of street music by focusing on musicians' subjective generation, and taking the relationship between musician and environment in the street as an axis for analysis. Here, the analysis will be extended and detailed towards four elements: (1) Behavior of Musician (difference and chance of each musician), (2) Behavior of Audience (interaction of the audience and music), (3) Performing Field, and (4) Acoustic Environment. The objective is to focus on the overall picture of the relationships between the elements surrounding the street music (see Fig.4).

It also would be possible to call the whole of the field's environment the soundscape of Tokyo.

However the problem with using the term soundscape is that it overgeneralizes the process of becoming music as objective "sound" without capturing the dynamics of its generation. Moreover, it obscures various relations of the generating environment (Yamada 2007) keeping the existing concepts of objective sound / subjective musician. Such a perspective is not sufficient to consider the various interactions as creativity around street music. Therefore, here I will apply acoustic ecology anthropologists "field" approach which overcomes these problems, and take the viewpoint of "acoustic space" meaning the whole generating acoustic space including music. From this idea, we will focus on the process by which musicians interact with constraints of place, hearing their own sound as the acoustic environment, and become generative subjects.

Figure 3 < Relationship between musician, audience and field >

7. Four Classifications of Street Music in Tokyo

(1) Type 1: "Fusion"

The musicians in type 1 play various genres of music widely such as pop, rock, fusion, jazz, etc, from original to cover songs. The performing members are composed of musicians who can come that day or can join them unexpectedly. Some musicians perform with gestures following their own music. They keep the volume at a level that does not intrude into the surrounding environment, and they also MC, using as topics the passersby who stopped for a moment in front of the musicians. They are used to playing in a way that will excite the audience on the street. Their performance is changed accordingly following audience reactions. Their purpose to play on the street is to present their music to unspecified numbers of audience members.

On the other hand, when observing the behavior their audiences, we see passersby tend to stop easily for the street music. The audience of this type of street music has good communication with musicians, cheering for lively performances and responding when musicians talk. Even in the case of the audience members who paused for the first time that day, they can speak to musician cheerfully. They get information about musicians, and sometimes exchange email addresses to continue contact off the street.

The fields are diverse, including locations such as in the front of crowded stations, on suburban shopping streets, in parks on holiday afternoons, and so on. These are changed depend on who can play together (the members of the performance) and when they perform. The form of performance is also changed by the conditions of each field.

Based on the above observations, in the case of type 1 street music, it can be said that there is a strong tendency to attract unspecified numbers of passers-by. Because of the high ratio of passersby stopping and the wide age ranges of audience members, though young people are the majority, and the relatively longer amounts of time that passersby stop as audience members, their performance processes are highly interactive. Musicians make contact with the audience as MCs, the audience

comes to participate actively in the performance, and musicians also instantly see their reactions and their music can change because of these behaviors. Musicians of Type 1, from their willingness to accept such transformation influences, can be said to be "witnesses of sound," performers who capture most deeply the acoustic space of the city.

That is, type 1 street music forms a gathering of people that is open to an unspecified number of audience members, even while in includes a specific number. And they conduct an interactive performance with the audience. On this basis, this type of street music can be classified as a "fusion," one which shows a deep reflexivity and flexible independence (subjectivity). Features of this type are repeated interaction with the acoustic space of the city, in a performance that is highly variable because it is a product of the musician and city resonating together (See Type 1 in Fig.4).

(2) Type 2: "Centripetality"

This Type of musicians mainly play their own original songs, especially in the genre of rock and pop music. They play along with the usual members who perform together. However they sometimes change their performances for street performance, for example, by playing only acoustic for Street, and so on. When MC-ing, they talk about daily topics and their passion for music. Even if other bands are playing in the vicinity, they tend to close their eyes and concentrate on their own sound and show delicate facial expressions. In some cases they finely adjust the volume during a performance while watching the surroundings. Therefore, although it is usually difficult to hear lyrics on the street, their lyrics can be heard clearly.

The audience has conversations with musicians from the time they are preparing to play. Some people stop by gravitating towards the crowd and joining them. When the performance begins, particular fans of the band stand in front of the musicians without going away, and the passersby stop around them. During the performance, they concentrate on watching the musicians; the direction of their gaze is fixed. During MC-ing, they also listen to the story without taking their eyes from the musicians. Although they tend to join while standing, particular fans sometimes sit on the ground directly while listening. After the performance on the street, they communicate online and so on, conducting active exchanges with each other.

The field where they play is selected from spots where street music has been actively performed, and is usually established as their own specific location. Musicians tend to be particular about their field, even if the environment of that spot has become difficult because of being stopped by police and of the presence of other musicians. Their motivation to stand on the street is to play their own music for more people.

In the case of type 2 street music, there is a less of a tendency to attract an unspecified number of passers-by. Because the ratio of particular fans to casual listeners is high, and although there is a wide age range among audience members, the majority are of the same generation. Compared to type 1, which has extremely high variability and flexibility, type 2 music cannot be said to have a deep degree of transformation due to the participation of the audience. However, what is original is the MC-ing and the way of communicating with a general public audience, the interactions such as reacting to the audience's behavior, adaptations such as reorganization for the street, and so on.

On the other hand, in this type we can see musicians' attachment to the street and their desire to being persistent to own performance on the street. It was observed that that they continue to play in the same place even if their performance is stopped by police; they perform in the same way as at a show; and they have more concentration and attention to the sound than playing on stage.

From the above observations, we see that Type 2 musicians tend to form an open gathering of a general audience of people, and the variability of their music is not so high. Thus, it has deep reflexivity and emphatic independence as "centripetality" type. Even if they speak strongly, they play delicately, deeply capturing the acoustic condition of the city (See Type 2 in Fig.4).

(3) Type 3: "Non-Interference"

In the case of Type 3, musicians mainly play pop, rock, and their own original music. They play with microphones and amplifiers, even in quiet areas like parks and the suburbs of Tokyo. They do not control their volume carefully even if they are playing in a very quiet area. When a new passerby stops in front of them, they turn their eyes towards that person, but there is no particular change in the performance. When MC-ing, musicians talk with particular fans, and take care to communicate with the audience. But they talk about topics relating to themselves and make jokes, and passers-by may leave the field in the middle of the MC-ing. During the performance, conversations between fans also occur, and musicians also chat with these fans between the each set.

Most of the audience consists of particular fans, and they have deep communication with each other. Even in the street, there is little distance between the musicians and the audience. On the other hand, some passersby stop at a farther distance and look at the situation. The manner of participation is different between casual passersby and particular fans. Such casual passersby leave after one song. This type forms a group that is a little bit of a closed community between fans and musicians.

The playing field is selected according to whether there is wide space to play and perform, rather than whether it is easy to attract listeners in areas with heavy pedestrian traffic. Another factor in selection of the playing field is the convenience of transportation from musicians' homes.

In this type of street music, particular fans gather as the audience at the center, to participate. It has good communication because of the style of rapport such as their frank conversations, interactions about requests on the street, relation of fans to each other, contact on the internet after the street performance, and so on. So musicians and fans have a strong relationship and form an intimate gathering on the street. On the other hand, even passers stop and listen to the music, but they simply surround these crowds at a distance and look on without doing anything. Such casual listeners tend to listen to just one song and leave soon. Therefore, in this type, the degree of acquisition of casual fans is low, and it is not observable as having an influence on the audience's behavior and the acoustic space, although musicians do adapt their music for the street before the performance.

Thus, type 3 has low degree of participation from casual passersby, and takes the form of a gathering of people that is slightly closed between musicians and a specific minority of the audience who are particular fans. But if they become fans, they can be seen as having deep communication with each other. Although the reflexivity of performance is low on the whole, one cannot observe attachment and being persistent to the street in Type 3. Therefore, this type takes a position of "non-interference" in which reflexivity is shallow but independence is not strong. The characteristic of this type is that awareness is not so much directed towards acoustic space; music is performed without the awareness that is generating the acoustic space of the street (See Type 3 in Fig.4).

(4) Type 4: "Counteraction"

In the case of type 4, musicians play a huge variety of genres such as Rock, Pop, Folk, and their original songs. They feel antipathy towards cover songs. If audience has a request, they respond by playing within their comfort zone. They chose to play acoustic instruments rather than electrical ones, and they control the volume depending on the surrounding sound environment. The music they play is determined by their feelings in the moment, and is selected on the spot. Some musicians show bodily movement accompanying their music while playing, but it is not like type 1 where we see strategic gestures in the performance. It is due to the elevation of their feelings. Rather than playing in a row as on a live stage, they each rest for one song, and sometimes stop in the middle of a song.

The audience enters into a conversation with uncertainty, whereas, musicians sometimes speak in an abrupt manner. Casual passersby do not stop so often, though one can email to the white collar workers and and drunk people stop and listen. Even if passers-by stop front of the musicians, the performance is not affected so much. The musicians and audience do not form a large collective

gathering. They might converse a few times, one-on-one. Some musicians know the residents and homeless people of the area by sight.

The playing fields chosen are areas such as underpasses of railroads where listeners do not stop easily. Some musicians with a lot of experience as street musician dare to play on the street, and select such spots. The playing field is important for these musicians with strong attachment.

In the case of type 4, the rate at which casual passersby stop is extremely low, and there are also not large numbers of particular fans. Moreover, since playing times are very short, even if passersby stop, it can be seen that the rate of acquisition of new fans is low. Also if the musician acquires a new audience, their performance is not influenced by the change of situation, and one cannot see interaction with the audience. Even if listeners try to talk and make requests, compared to other types, it cannot be seen that musician actively make overtures to the audience. It is an uncommon interaction when they perform on the street. On the other hand, musicians of this type have a lot of experience of performing on the street, and there is a tendency to being persistent to playing on the street. In addition, because of the high probability of very limited participation, if the audience communicates even a little, musicians have a special feeling towards the audience. From the insight that musicians of this type do not accept the various influences of the street, it can be said that they do not venture to respond to interaction with audience and environment, although it is not necessarily to have a consciousness toward acoustic space.

Here, from the above analysis, type 4 is stopping more little closed casual listeners, and it is seen that their performance is isolated by acoustic space. Standing on the street is a strong assertion, even while they reject its properties of transformation. Therefore, this type is located as a “countermeasures” type in that its reflexivity is shallow and its independence (subjectivity) is summarized as strong. The characteristic of type 4 is that it keeps the independence (subjectivity) strong, under the influence of regulation of the field in the street (See Type 4 in Fig.4).

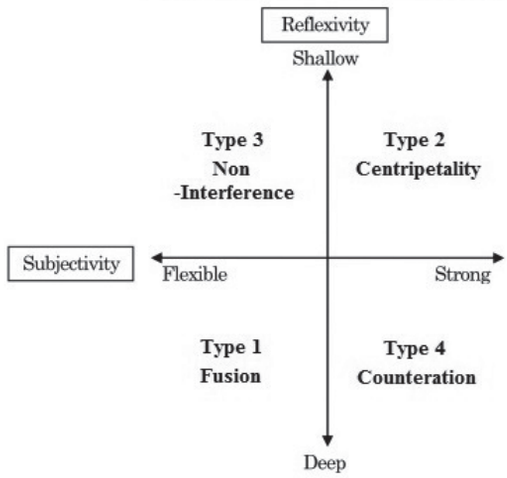
Figure 4 < Four Types and Characters of Street Music in Tokyo >

	Behavior of Musician		Behavior of Audience	Performing Field	Relation with Acoustic Environment
	Purpose				
Type 1 Fusion	Money, Advertising	Street style	Attract passers-by	In front of the station crowd	High acquisition condition of an unspecified number of passers-by
		Diversity of playing genre	Participation like cheers and applause	Shopping street of the suburbs	Performance expansion due to the interaction
		Attentive to the surroundings (entertainment, volume, atmosphere)	Other communication methods besides street conversation	Midafternoon in the park	High transformativeness “Witness of sound”
		Encouragement the participation of the audience			
		[Interactive]	**[Active]**	**[A wide range of choice]**	**[Deep reflexive, strong subjective]**
Type 2 Centrip-etality	Entertain -ment	Play on the usual members	Regular fan but also passers	Station square	High acquisition a number of regular fan but also of unspecified number of passers-by
		Mainly original songs	Difference in the distance between musicians,	Main street	Clear relationship between the musicians and the audience
		Attentive to the sound (volume, lyrics, and own way of singing)	Differences in attitude to join (either stand or sit)		Transformativeness is lodw
		Similarity as live on stage (MC etc.)	Other communication methods besides street conversation		
		[Like stage performance]	**[Passive] (exclusively listening)**	**[Select a specific place of its own]**	**[Deep reflexive, flexible subjectivity]**
Type 3 Non-Interfer ence	Self-satisfaction	Play on the usual members	Mainly particular fan of the same generation	Station square	Mainly specific fans join but unspecified number of passers-by
		Mainly original songs	Participants of passers and specific fan	Thriving square of performance	
		Reaction to the surrounding thin (remains constant volume)	Large differences in participation attitude		Deep communication with a particular fan
		Performance for the particular fan	Frequent exchanges by internet communication		Transformativeness is low
		[Expected manner]	**[Inner manner]**	**[Limited selection]**	**[Shallow reflexive, flexible subjectivity]**
Type 4 Counter -action	Street pride	One person or a small organization Original songs only	Difficult to passers-by	Under guard passway	Hard to stop passers-by
		It exceeds the volume of the ambient Exchange When the mind facing	Drunk and specific fan	Station square	Personal exchanges
		Stage tailoring of deployment is not	Request, conversation (but will not last long)		Do not like the transformation
		[Unilateral]	**[Individualistic]**	**[Select a specific place]**	**[Shallow reflexive, strong subjectivity]**

8. Findings

(1) Four Classification and Coordinate

Figure 5 < Four Classification of Street Music >



For this classification, I have organized types of street music by coordinate (see Fig.5). In the process of becoming street music, it can be said that there are reflexive interactions between street musicians and acoustic space. From this ethnographic data, I show the transformation as "reflexivity", represented on the longitudinal axis of the coordinates. The vertical axis shows "the degree of retro-depth" with reference to the immediacy and frequency of interaction.

In particular, the aspects considered are (1) acquisition conditions of casual listeners (2) the depth and the breadth of the communication (exchanges) between musician and audience, (3) mutual penetration of the acoustic space. For degree, "high recursive" is considered to be the case when there are aspects of the transformation through repeated frequent interaction, and interaction is considered "shallow recursive" in cases that have aspects of appearance of uncomplicated transformation, or no transformation.

The vertical axis shows the structure of the street music constructed by following the complex relationships between street musicians and audience,, the relationship of street music and street, and street music and acoustic space.

On the other hand, the horizontal axis shows the aspects of subjectivity of creation of street music, what the acceptance from street musicians is or what their own persistence under the provisions of the street, for create their music on the street, among the acoustic space. This is shown on the horizontal axis as "strength degree of subjectivity" based on "independence."

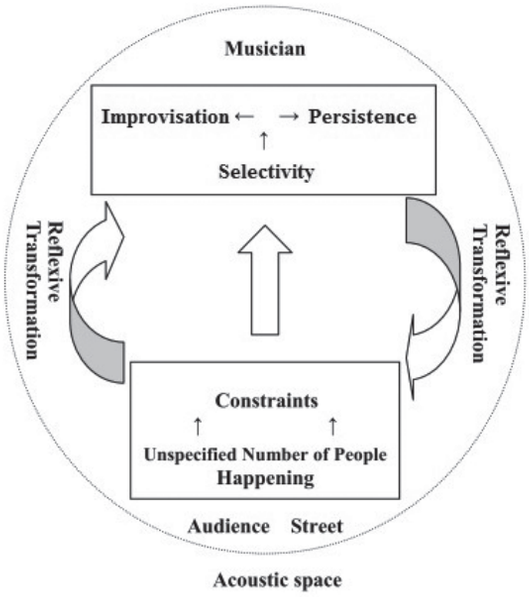
This subjectivity, here, is also the flexibility of the performance. This is based on their persistence to self-expression in music performance on the street, or with respect to the transformation of the performance. Thus, it is regarded as strong subjectivity when it is seen that musicians push through a strong self-assertion, and it is regarded as flexible when it is seen that musicians change enough to accept the events of the street. From this analysis, it follows the above classification and the following definitions for street music.

(2) Definition of Street Music

In consideration of these coordinates, the structure of street music as an acoustic performance on the street is defined as the following.

Street music is characterized by including a high degree of variability. But, conversely, it is controlled by constraints of the street such as casual listeners, events, and so on. For this reason, street musicians are urged to consider what they can incorporate from acoustic space and how they

Figure 6 < Structure of Street Music >



can express or continue their music in the environment of the street.

The great transformation which is the character of street music is caused by such repetition of interaction and self-representation. And a more important feature is this reflexive transformation, through which the process of transformation further strengthens the influence of the acoustic space and the transformation; musicians encounter these situations again, and the music comes to be performed on the street[7].

Thus, it can be said that this process is the structuring principle of street music, and the "field" where this structure occurs repeatedly is the generative conditions of street music (see Fig.6).

(3) Street Music in Tokyo in Transcultural Phenomenon

Using ethnographic data, this essay has tried to present 4 types of street music, and explore the structure of street music. Here, I would like to discuss street music in Tokyo in its entirety in the context of street music as a transcultural phenomenon, in order to work towards the possibility of future comparative studies.

According to Tannenbaum (Tannenbaum 1995), almost all musicians in the subway in New York, except for those who play from inner desire, money is the reason they perform, even it is small sum. These are so-called professional street musicians. Street musicians in Tokyo generally do not play for donations, and audiences rarely give money to street musicians. When street musicians who travel to different cities performed in Tokyo, they asked me "Why do Japanese street musicians not seek money for their performances? What are they playing for?" As you can see from the above question, if we try to consider street music in Tokyo as an extension of the Tannenbaum's discussion, this phenomenon would be hard to understand. However, if we consider street music using the above Four Classifications and their coordinates, it can be said that in Tokyo's case street music has a high incidence of type 2, 3, and 4.

In other words, if you consider from the perspective of musical performance, street music in Tokyo is characterized by low reflexivity. In addition, the fact that they do not demand any money is also a factor that weakens motivations to play on the "street", and street musicians in Tokyo tend to quit quickly (they have less continuity as street musicians, performing regularly or for many years).

In particular, for type 2 "non-interference" that has flexible independence for the happenings on the street and shallow reflexivity, it can be seen that they have a high probability to quit. On the other hand, for type 4 "counteraction" that also has flexible independence but has strong subjectivity, there is

high continuity of street music (a lower probability of quitting). The people who perform street music in Tokyo that have increased in recent years include exactly type 2 "non-interference" that has high possibility of withdrawal.

From the point of continuity and withdrawal, we can see the sociological aspect that street music is characterized by high anonymity. For example, Tannenbaum analyzed a gathering of people as a "community of transitory" which is created by street music in New York. On the other hand, it is seen differently in the case of Tokyo, through the examples of the participation of particular fans and their active communication even in situations other than on the street. Such gatherings of people can be said to be a "substantiating community". By using the previous types and coordinates, it will be possible to expand discussions of the differences in street music.

Thus, by continuing various explorations of street music, the street musician in Tokyo becomes a presence that is attuned to an array of elements in the urban life world that are normally difficult to ascertain. Furthermore, the performers, by accepting this spontaneity, acquire enhanced musicianship and capabilities of self-expression, and become street musicians only in Tokyo. The creation and flux of street music occurs within the course of this process; that is to say, this music can become "street music" exclusively in the restrictive field named "street".

9. Concluding Remarks —Toward the Perspective from "field" to "Erath"

This essay showed one of the street music which has broadly spread to each city of the world, with using ethnographic data in Tokyo. The research also contributes creating street music study in the following reasons.

Firstly, when considering street music, the existing music concepts and taxonomy have encountered a limit. The ideas presented here will be an opportunity to envisage new music concepts, such as street music structure, casual listeners, happenings, selectivity, subjectivity, reflexivity, improvisation, persistence, and so on.

Secondly, the study of street music clearly shows how a phenomenon *becomes* music. Therefore this discussion will lead to further inquiry into the "field" where humans live, capturing music that comes and goes with the time.

Moreover, as shown here, the most important element for street music is the street, the Field. And the field itself is partially created by the performances of the street. In this sense, the street as the field must truly have an affinity with Heidegger's concept of "Earth (*die Erde*)" (Heidegger 1950).

When a phenomenon *becomes* music appears before one's eyes, the street is born for music, in the same meaning of "Earth," because only on "Earth" can street music *become* itself. In the other words, the music creates by street musicians who appear unannounced in contemporary metropolises, holds within it the latent potential to create "Earth" within the life world of the city as well.

It makes possible a theoretical consideration of street music in which the musicians emerge as key persons deeply engaged with the issues of "Earth." Without a doubt, there still remains a tremendous wealth of topics left to be investigated with regard to street music, from an anthropological perspective.

Notes

1 One of the few descriptions on street music as *soudscape* (e.g. Yoshimura 1990).

2 Based on a geographer Y.Tuan's understanding, it is a well-known concept that interprets phenomena as "place" —"a place requires a space to be a place" (Tuan 1977).

3 The term "become" as it is used here, based on a Deleuzean's understanding, is a concept that interprets phenomena as "become" rather than

as simply “being” (e.g. Yanai 2002; Schneider 2006).

4 There is a tendency to use words such as “live” and “musician” by performers themselves, and on the other hand, researchers tend to use the neutral term “street music”.

5 With the goal of investigating the intentions of the musicians, the interviews were free style. The musicians in this study were interviewed multiple times.

6 Although “street” has the social and cultural meanings, the musical performance on the street has not been officially accepted by the government . Take Osaka as an example, the street performance and music had been prohibited since the "Street control regulation (*gaiji torishimari kisei* 街路取締規制)” was established in 1886 in Meiji Period, and still under prohibition when the new “Road Traffic Act (*douro kotsu hou* 道路交通法)” in cities came out. But in the case of Tokyo, since 2002, some street performers received license and they are called “heaven artist.” This is the official recognition system and is one part of "the TOKYO art town plan (*tokyo art town keikaku* 東京アートタウン計画) ". As a result, the street performers have been divided as “license street musician” and “freelance street musician”. In this way, the street music has been affected by the regulations and policies varying from city to city. Street music studies also can focus on cultural and historical aspects of the street (e.g. Aoyagi 2006, Yoshimi and Kitada 2007, Mouri 2009).

7 This core character can be considered as “street music property”. For example, some street music has more such characters, it can be interpreted as having “high street music property”, in other words, that music has “high transformativeness of street music”.

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