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**Street Musicians, Artistic Practices
and Survival Strategies:
An Ethnographic Example (Dionysiou Areopagitou
Street, Athens)****Abstract:**

This research is based on fieldwork I carried out as a researcher during years 2016 and 2017 at Dionysiou Aeropagitou pedestrian street, in the framework of a wider research program. The research is based on ethnographic data resulting from the fieldwork at the Dionysiou Aeropagitou pedestrian street. Initially, the issue of street performers is briefly addressed, and then there is a reference to the particular issue of street musicians and the categories that are traced right now in Athens, and in particular at the Dionysiou Aeropagitou pedestrian street. The main part of the article will refer to and analyze the daily practices followed by these people in order to attract a wider audience and earn money, as well as the way in which these tactics are integrated in the wider framework of survival strategies in the city. In addition, this article refers to the methodology of the research and the way in which these performers are approached.

Key words: street musicians, music, street art, survival strategies, street ethnography, musical performances, musical themes

Introduction

The issue of street performers had concerned me ever since the time I was writing my doctoral thesis (2010-2014). The main subject of my doctoral thesis was beggary in Athens today (Kouzas 2017). This is a contemporary ethnographic approach of beggars in the modern city. Through my research at squares and streets in Athens, I fairly frequently met people playing various instruments and having in front of them a hat in which passers-by threw coins or bills. All the times that I spoke with these people, on the one hand they strongly

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denied being beggars, and on the other hand they considered what they were doing to be art. This was my first contact with street performers. This first contact troubled me regarding these people, and made me want to get to know them better.

My opportunity to get acquainted with them arose through my participation as a researcher in the research program jointly organized by the Institute of Ethnography (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade) and the Laboratory of Folklore and Social Anthropology, Department of History and Ethnology, Democritus University of Thrace and which is titled: *Art practices and urban promenades (pedestrian zones). Comparative ethnological study of Belgrade Knez Mihailova Street and Dionysiou Aeropagitou promenade in Athens*. Through this ongoing program, I was able to get closer to street performers and, in particular, to the ones acting at the Dionysiou Aeropagitou pedestrian street. Here, I chose to occupy myself with the case of street musicians, whom, however, I include in the wider group of street performers.

In general, this study has the following form: First, I will refer to the street performers of Dionysiou Aeropagitou, and then more specifically to street musicians. Afterwards, there will be a brief reference to the ethnographic approach of these people and information will be provided on the ethnographic research, and then follows the main part of the paper, which refers to the wider survival strategies they follow and to the individual artistic practices that help them actualize more general survival strategies in the difficult reality of the modern city.

Who are street performers and who are street musicians

The issue of street performers has strongly concerned sociologists, anthropologists and folklorists (White 1988; Tanenbaum 1995). The questions posed by the researchers of this activity, which takes place exclusively in the street, at squares and other public areas, are mainly four: a) Which categories are included in street performers? b) Is this indeed a form of artistic expression? c) Can street art be characterized as work (even in the form of occasional occupa-

tion) or is it a means of expression of feelings and artistic concerns?
d) Can street performers be associated with beggary?

Street performers are a group of people characterized by great diversity (Harrison-Pepper 1990, 12-13). They usually are: acrobats, clowns, singers, dancers, mimes, magicians, narrators, people who execute dangerous acts (swallow knives, play with balls of fire etc), and of course street musicians, with whom I was mainly occupied. In particular, street musicians usually play the guitar, bouzouki, kanun flute, accordion, saxophone, clarinet and the keyboard. We can also divide them: a) in street musicians who only play a musical instrument, b) in musicians who play a musical instrument and at the same time dance or sing, c) in musicians who along with music, dancing and singing, also execute a small performance.

There are ambiguous opinions among the researchers of street performers regarding whether a) this is a form of artistic expression or b) a form of work or c) a form of beggary.

a) First of all, as highlighted by Tanenbaum (1995), we cannot talk about all street performers as if they are a homogenous and undivided group, while in essence they are people with great differences from one another. On the contrary, we should examine each case separately, since these people are very different from one another. Regarding artistic expression and its value (an assessment that is quite connected with subjective factors, Harrison-Pepper (1990) points out that there are many cases of performers among street performers that may either have a common and not original at all repertoire, or, again, be characterized by exceptional artistic skills. Indeed, many of them have been distinguished and have made a career in singing. However, being distinguished is more of an issue of coincidence (if they are noted by someone connected with the area of shows). In any case, the fact that they are artistically talented, that they are familiar with the art and technique related to their musical instrument, is something indisputable, in the sense that otherwise, i.e. if they did not have any artistic skills, they would not be able to approach a wider audience of passers-by.

b) In addition, another view that divides researchers is whether being a street performer is an occupation or simply a form of expression. Most researchers agree that for the vast majority of street performers this occupation is work, as they declare themselves, while

for many of them it is also the only way to work and earn an income (Campbell 1981, White 1988). It is also important that the aforementioned views are not based on only theoretical opinions, but are mostly based on findings of ethnographic researches based on systematic fieldwork. Anthropologist Sandra Wallman (1979), who has studied the division existing between the views on what is and what is not work today, agrees with the above views. According to Wallman (1979, 1-8), in societies in Europe and America the meaning of work was often identified with either work in office spaces or with individual entrepreneurship. Unfortunately, this one-dimensional point of view also brought about some misunderstandings, with the one that we should not consider as work other types of work, such as street work, material and object collection from the street, artistic or musical performance in the street, being basic. As Wallman (1979, 9) points out, if we approach these people anthropologically and speak with them, we will ascertain that many people in modern cities not only live from street occupations (e.g. street musicians), but at the same time these occupations constitute for these people a source of pride, because from this work they and their families survive.

c) Finally, regarding beggary, the issue is complicated and cannot be answered in a few words. Researches abroad, such as the one of Tanenbaum (1995), as well as in Greece (Kouzas 2017), have shown that on the one hand most street performers deny that they are begging, since they interpret musical performance either as work or as artistic expression, and on the other hand that beggars pretending to be musicians are much fewer. As Tanenbaum (1995) has shown, the difference between a street musician and a musician-beggar is the following: the musician plays music in order to please passers-by and earn a living. He is interested in both pleasing the people who listen to him and for his art to be appreciated. On the contrary, the music played by beggars is usually of lower artistic value, while its aim is not for the audience, passers-by, to appreciate it, but to attract their attention in order to receive money. Therefore, music is the means in order to achieve a goal (e.g. to receive charity) and not the goal itself (e.g. to play good music).

Approaching street musicians and speaking with them

It is a fact that groups, which are at the social and financial margin (e.g. homeless, beggars), as well as groups working in the street, without having “normal” working conditions (i.e. fixed hours, insurance and medical care), quite often hesitate to talk openly to researchers (Fleisher 1995). Several of them could not believe that I was interested in their life and their general activity from a research point of view. Others also expressed towards me – at least initially – feelings of suspicion, fearing that I was a policeman or an employee of the Municipality of Athens, and I was going to give them a fine. In addition, we should also take into account in this case the fact that for these people time is calculated in a different way. We can say that their time is valuable for them, since each passer-by may give them money. But, who of these people would “waste” one or even two hours having an interview with me, while he could not, at the same time, sing, paint, and perform an artistic sketch? Therefore, approaching these persons was not an easy task.

I considered the attitude of these people to be understandable, and in good part anticipated mostly for two reasons: first, until he develops a relationship of familiarity, the researcher always constitutes a “stranger” in the group (Varvounis 1994), and, second, it is a fact that the groups, which are often in a precarious and vulnerable position, such as street performers, who work in a public space, however without having any official permit or insurance (at least in their vast majority), usually express feelings of suspicion and cautiousness towards any stranger that asks them questions regarding their work, and who could potentially constitute a “threat” for their work (Kouzas 2017). Thus, I considered that the only way to approach them was essentially to get to know them and, mostly, that they got to know me. To understand that I am researching in order to infiltrate their daily routine and that I do not want to “exploit” them just in order to gather information or, much more, to deceive them (Marcus 1995).

Thus, my research took place only during weekends. The reasons were simple: first of all, most performers gather at the pedestrian street mostly during the weekend, and therefore it was easier

for me to meet them. In addition, during the weekend there are more passers-by from the pedestrian street (Greeks, as well as tourists), the reactions and thoughts of whom I wanted to record. The ethnographic research moved around the following axes: contact and at the same time discussion with street performers in order to gain their trust on the one hand, and to create as big as possible communication networks with these people on the other hand (Tonkin 2003). Trust and relationship and communication networks are the most important thing in these groups that perform in the street. Through relationship networks I was able to receive more information, as well as to approach other street musicians. As it was also noted above, I did not want to “infiltrate” the lives of these people, but to speak with them on an equal basis regarding their life and the issues that concern them (Lydaki 2016). This is why interviews always took place in a framework of discussion with semi-structured questionnaires that would give them the chance to express themselves, as well as to move the interview to the direction they wanted (and this was something very positive, since this way they also directed the discussion towards fields that I had not imagined initially that could constitute a topic of discussion) (Kakamboura 2008). Finally, whenever it was feasible, I also recorded the views and opinions of passers-by – viewers, in order to have a fuller approach of the issue.

Survival strategies and everyday practices

The concepts of *strategy*, *tactic* and *practice* are often confused with one another both in everyday and scientific speech. The concept of strategy is clearly wider than the other two and every strategy contains the following distinctive stages: a) formation, b) implementation, and c) evaluation and control (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu 1985). During the second stage, that of implementation, the concepts of tactic and practice, which are used in order to implement the wider strategy, are involved. In particular, the concept of *strategy* can be briefly analyzed. The word *strategy* stems from the ancient Greek world and refers to acts of war in order to achieve victory in the battlefield. Today we can determine it as the rational use of appropriate means in order to achieve goals. Strategy is not only a function of a person’s education or intelligence, but also depends on the degree of

experience the person has regarding basic issues of life. In addition, strategies do not only refer to the present (current strategies), but also to the design of the future (future strategies) that aim at wider goals (Bourdieu 1977).

Now, passing from the general to the specific framework, we will summarize the characteristics of tactic and practice. Tactic is clearly lower in hierarchy than strategy. In addition, it does not only refer to a theoretical level, but is mostly about a concept that is actually applied. I.e. it is the sum of the methods, aggressive or defensive, that we use in order to achieve our strategy (Bourdieu 1977; de Certeau 1980).

In addition, practices located in terms of hierarchy lower than strategies and tactics are in essence the actions, the additional acts that we perform in order to serve wider tactics, which are integrated in the framework of a more general strategy. Quite often, practices are “underestimated” by some researchers, because they basically have a more practical, and, therefore, definitely a more everyday, mundane character. However, this view is reversed by everyday life researchers. Michel de Certeau (1980) for example, not only connects everyday practices with the calculations of everyday life, but believes that they also play a basic role in the achievement of more general strategies.

Survival strategies and everyday practices of street musicians

A) The selection of space

Tanenbaum (1995) mentions that space is of crucial significance for art performers. Of course, the same applies for street musicians at the pedestrian street that I studied, and indeed multiple times. Space is not just a neutral location, where musicians happen to be (Kyriakidou 1989; Nitsiakos 2003), but an active space that essentially “contributes” to the success of the musician’s entire attempt (Canter 1988, 15-17). A place by which many people pass, and, therefore, will give them more money. In addition, a busy spot always constitutes a spot of possible opportunities. I.e., it is more likely that at a busy spot someone related to the world of shows will notice them and later promote them to the musical industry. There-

fore, White (1988, 30-32) correctly stresses that the space on which the musician performs, is not just a space, but co-creates and contributes significantly to the success and the acceptance of the performer's work.

Manos, 35, who plays the guitar, talked to us about the issue:

"I am at this spot for more than two years [meaning, the entrance of the Acropolis Museum]. Of course, I cannot be here every day. Some day someone else will come. However, I try to be here, because it is a good spot. I almost make double than in other places where I could stand and play the guitar".

The following can be considered to be good spots for street musicians at the Dionysiou Aeropagitou pedestrian street: a) the Metro station, b) the entrances of the archaeological sites and the museums where usually several tourists gather, c) the beginning of the pedestrian street, where it is intersected with a central avenue of Athens, d) the famous restaurants and cafés, e) the intersections of the pedestrian street with other streets leading to the area of Plaka, and by where always, even during winter time, tourists pass.

We should also point out that other researchers, who have studied the occupations or groups of people living in the street, also reach the same conclusion. In one of my recent researches regarding beggary in Athens, I also reached the conclusion that the given space, in which each beggar will beg, is essential not only because he will get enough money, but also because he will not get arrested by the police (Kouzias 2017).

B) The selection of time

In a respective way, time is also related to multiple survival strategies. Besides the given dimension that is has in Western societies, and besides the linear perception that it creates in absolute progress, time is not a "fixed" dimension for all people. I.e. people who live in cities have a different perception and, mostly, use of time, and people who live in the country (circular time) have a different perception (linear time) (Nitsiakos 2003; Avdikos 2016). However, even in the urban space, frequently, and depending on the needs, people organize their time in a very different way, in order to serve their various strategies. Thus, calculation of time is very important for street musicians. They usually calculate a) when more passers-by pass from the pedestrian street, b) when it is a day of celebration or

a holiday and therefore the pedestrian street is full of people, and c) they know when the pedestrian street has less traffic. This way, they organize their presence in the space. I.e. they know when they should stay more or which days they may stay less. Therefore, we can say that the circular perception of time, i.e. when it is a day of celebration or a holiday influences how many hours they will stay at the pedestrian street.

C) The projection of their artistic skills

The most known artistic strategy for attracting passers-by is the projection of their artistic skills. Playing an instrument in an exquisite way, singing loud, intense music, dancing with rhythm and, in general, anything that can be considered to be extraordinary and beyond the known, attracts the attention of passers-by. Nikos, mentioned that:

"In our work, many people seeing you, being seen by people is everything. Because the more people that see you, the more chances you have to get money. This is why we sit in the street here in busy places. From the 100 people who will see us, at least 10 will give us something".

Cambell (1981) points out that we should see the issue of projection of the artistic skills of the musicians also from the point of view of passers-by, i.e. of the audience which they address. Usually two categories of people pass from Dionysiou Aeropagitou. Either tourists or citizens of Athens who are headed to the Metro in order to go to work. These are people, who are in particular hurry, as happens in all big cities, and who will not waste time to watch a spectacle that does not attract their interest. On the contrary, as noted by Harrison-Pepper (1990), who has been occupied with street performers, passers-by, no matter how much they are in a hurry, will stop and watch an artist with excellent skills.

This tendency of passers-by in big cities can have a dual explanation: a) these are people, who have experience in living within pressuring time limits and, therefore, any pointless stop in the street is a waste of time for them, and b) these are people saturated by spectacles in the city (spectacles from television, performances etc), who are not going to get impressed by a mediocre musician, and, much more, are not going to give him money. Street musicians know this, and this is why they try, not only to play better, but also to improve their repertoire towards the audience all the time.

D) The projection of excellent spectacles that passers-by do not expect to see

As various researchers (Campbell 1981; White 1988; Harrison-Pepper 1990; Tanenbaum 1995) have pointed out, public spectacles in the street, such as public performances or musical events by street musicians are related to the concept of a rare spectacle and, by extension, to the concepts of entertainment and creative use of free time. As it is, therefore, anticipated, street musicians follow a series of strategies in order to stress this rare spectacle, the exquisite image they expect to offer in order to attract more passers-by and earn more money. I was able to point out two main fields, on which street musicians emphasize, in order to present a rare and unusual spectacle: a) outward appearance and b) the special music they choose to play.

Regarding appearance, I observed that intense appearance is considered to be a strategy that may help attract passers-by and mostly small children. Costumes from older times, national costumes from other countries, multi-colored clothes that remind of heroes of the cinema are some of the most characteristic cases of outer clothing.

In addition, another strategy followed by street musicians is the use of auxiliary means (objects) in order to attract a bigger audience. Such objects are either musical instruments or other paraphernalia, such as e.g. a wooden pedestal in order to appear taller, stilts in order to sing and at the same time play a musical instrument and appear to be more impressive. Thus, this is where Tanenbaum (1995) view that most of the times street musicians do not just play an instrument and do not just sing a song, also applies here. On the contrary, they proceed with the execution of an entire performance, of a total performance, the aim of which, apart from entertaining the audience or the musician gathering money, is to show all the dimensions of his art, since very frequently we find in the street complete musicians who subsequently made known careers in the field of the musical industry.

The abstracts of narrations that follow, in which the musicians themselves highlight the important of “special” clothing for their work, as well as the use of auxiliary means, are characteristic.

“I don’t like being dressed like an Indian; I am saying it, it is true. But it helps me a lot to attract passers-by. Ever since I was inspired of

this guise, I saw that I was approached by many people and my income was increased by 50%". (Savas, 33 years old)

"Nowadays music is not enough, it is not enough, it is true. People also want to see something else in order to get entertained. Since we live in the era of pictures through the internet, the same applies to the street, for us who sing in the street. People need something different, and this is why I sometimes dress like a clown, and other times I wear stilts". (Nikolas, 29 years old)

Regarding special music, we can observe the following. Music always attracts passers-by. Contrary to what someone would expect, it is not familiar music (rock, pop etc) that attracts passers-by, but rare kinds of music (Tanenbaum 1995, 22-23). As rare kinds of music, as rare sounds we can point out those kinds of music that we do not hear often enough on the radio or on television. a) folk or traditional Greek music and b) at a second level we can point out sounds and melodies that are not related to Greece, such as for example Asian or African music that are not so familiar to the ears of Greek passers-by, but a rare spectacle that they do not encounter frequently in the streets of the city. What Antonis, who plays bouzouki at Dionysiou Aeropagitou every day, mentioned to me is characteristic:

"Bouzouki, yes, my friend, bouzouki attracts passers-by. Let me tell you why. Because it has become something rare in the Greek streets, as everyone wants to listen to foreign music. So, when we play bouzouki or have a tambourine, it always makes an impression". (Yiannis, 58 years old)

As we can understand, the informant not only refers to the interest of passers-by in Greek traditional music, but also refers more broadly to the interest shown by passers-by in the music of other groups, such as immigrants to Greece from Africa and Asia:

"Most people are attracted by the Africans and the Chinese; they are the ones who took our business away to a large degree. And this is happening because they have strange musical instruments, they have ethnic costumes, and the world looks at them, and, of course, by looking at them, they also give them more Euros than they give us, who (we) are "more usual"". (Stavros, 44 years old)

However, can we claim that the sound of music, the repertoire musicians select constitutes a strategy? The answer is clearly positive. Music is characterized as a cluster of sounds, a combination of

sounds in the framework of a tradition. Only within specific cultural frameworks do sounds acquire a musical character. Music, this set of sounds, can have a dual character: a) it can have a symbolic character and become an emblem, and emblem for a country (as happens with the music of the bouzouki) or for a group of people (as happens with the music of various groups of immigrants) and b) it can have a character that revokes the memory, i.e. through listening to it, it can make us revoke images and memories from the past, the individual or collective past. This mainly happens with the sound of traditional bouzouki and traditional Greek songs that mentally transferred passers-by to a world in which they had lived or which they had “seen” and “known” through classical Greek movies, as passers-by themselves declared to me at the pedestrian street.

E) The friendly attitude

The expression of friendly emotions towards the audience is also a strategy that nearly always has a result. It usually takes two forms: a) polite expressions (bending of the head, greetings, taking off and greeting with a hat, greeting through handshake etc), b) praises and compliments mostly towards passers-by of all ages.

Both the polite gestures and the praises of the singers definitely constitute part of a more general strategy, which does not only refer to the singers, but characterizes human communication, multiple “faces” as Goffman has pointed out, that people have during human meetings (Goffman 1959). These meetings are not just face to face contacts, but much more a dynamic procedure of interactive interaction. And as a dynamic procedure they contain strategies and produce results. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness plays an essential role in the whole procedure both in order to neutralize likely threats to the listener and in order to maintain the balance between the relationships of the two persons. Politeness, according to the two researchers, constitutes an “emotional investment”, which is necessary in order to maintain the undisturbed relationship and promote the result that both parties wish for (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Thus, street musicians also use their polite behavior towards passers-by as their main strategy with either greetings and moves or praises in order to attract passers-by, show them their musical skills and, in the end, receive a good amount of money.

Can this politeness be considered to be “exaggerating” or pretended? Sometimes it may be. But this is not the rule. I believe that every informant case is unique and therefore each action is unique. Anyway, it is a fact that if we see politeness as it is considered by Goffman, i.e. as a strategy of balance between two people during the face to face communication, we move away from the “simplistic” considerations of politeness as a pretending action of flattery, and we then pass to a dynamic appreciation of it within an actual social framework.

F) The pleading attitude – pretention

Very often, also due to the increase of beggary, street artists maintain a beseeching stance and ask passers-by for money. The fact that they often pretend that they do not have money or that they are in need of monetary or material help is also supported by informants, not all informants, but certain ones. I am referring to a characteristic narration by Manolis, who plays the accordion:

“Sometimes I beg for help. I know that it not decent to do this. I have been a musician for so many years. But there are moments when you do not know what to do. You are hungry and you need food for yourself and your people, your family. Then you have to do things that you do not want to do, such as asking for 2 Euros, but you are forced to do it in order to survive”.

The fact that during the past few years beggary, and mostly pretentious beggary, has dramatically increased, made them feel inferior when answering that they often pretended that they have very large financial needs and that they living almost marginally. But besides this, I believe that, as Fleisher (1995) highlights, the concept of the beggar is charged with extremely negative characteristics. They are afraid that they will be permanently characterized as beggars due to their pleading attitude. Therefore, we see that this strategy, even though more “rewarding”, nevertheless long term, could cause them problems and permanently characterize them as beggars and opportunists, who are not aiming at exhibiting their art, but at earning money through beggary.

In the end, the question of whether these artists are beggars or just use the strategies of the beggars in order to accomplish their goals, is posed. I believe that the answer lies in the second part of the question. I mean that they are used to begging, because this is a

known or familiar tactic in Greece during the years of the crisis. We cannot consider them to be beggars by profession because a) they perform an active action, e.g. they sing, they dance, and they do not just wait passively for help, and b) they are not members of groups nor do they live a life that is similar to the one of beggars, i.e. they do not beg outside churches, central buildings, while they are not fed by common meals or live in the street (Kouzas 2017).

Conclusions and extensions

This brief study cannot provide a total image of the life and action of street musicians. This is why I decided to focus on a specific issue, i.e. the survival strategies and everyday practices they follow in order to implement these strategies.

As it was shown in the study, the main strategies relate to space and time. In particular, the occupation of a “beneficial” spot is considered to have crucial importance for these people. By beneficial spot they mean a spot at the Dionysiou Aeropagitou pedestrian street (the corner of an important building, a sculpture that attracts passers-by, a central point of the street), from where a big number of passers-by pass.

We also ascertained that the point in time, during which they will sing or play music, constitutes a strategic choice, since the more passers-by pass as long as they are there, the more money they will be given.

However, at the same time, besides *when* and *where* they stand, I ascertained that street musicians also develop another series of strategies that will help them not only earn the necessary, but also get distinguished in the crowd of other performers. It is also important to ascertain that these strategies are readjusted according to the conditions and the audience, and they not always fixed and constant. This fact in itself shows that street musicians do not play music randomly “in order to have fun”, but in essence it constitutes a means of survival for themselves and their families. In addition, it is often their only means of survival. Musical and artistic skills are not enough to attract the audience. It is also necessary to develop a series of strategies in order to reach the final result. Therefore, this way we understand that street music is not just a form of art, but also

a sum of techniques and strategies.

Both the street as a subject and street musicians always present many interesting and unexplored aspects. They always reveal elements that surprise us. And it lies with the researcher to act appropriately in order to reveal these aspects.

Moreover, I would like to finish with the phrase that one of the informants told me, which I think concentrates the entire meaning of the research:

“The more you search, the more you learn. Street musicians are like a mosaic. They constitute thousands of uncountable pieces, and you will get definitely tired trying to find them and get to know them. However, one thing is certain, that you will gain much insight and many secrets regarding this invisible world that you hadn’t even imagined”.

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Георгиос Кузас

Улични музичари, уметничке праксе и стратегије преживљавања: етнографски пример Улице Дионисија Ареопагита, у Атини

Ова студија је заснована на теренском истраживању које сам спровео током 2016. и 2017. године, у пешачкој Улици Дионисија Ареопагита, у оквиру ширег истраживачког програма. На почетку, кратко је обрађен проблем уличних извођача, да би се, потом, прешло на посебан проблем уличних музичара и других категорија извођача које се, у овом тренутку, могу наћи у Атини, нарочито у пешачкој Улици Дионисија Ареопагита. У централном делу чланка, биће анализирани њихове свакодневне праксе, чији је циљ привлачење шире публике и зарађивање новца, као и начин на које су те тактике интегрисане у шири оквир стратегија преживљавања у граду. Поред тога, у овом чланку се разматра методологија истраживања и начин на који се приступа тим извођачима.

Кључне речи: улични музичари, музика, улична уметност, стратегије преживљавања, улична етнографија, музичка извођења, музичке теме