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Artist, Craftsman, Teacher: "Being a Musician" in France and Switzerland

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the working lives and careers of "ordinary musicians" (i.e., those who are neither rich nor famous) in France and Switzerland. It aims to show how national employment policies frame the different ways of "being" a musician in these two jurisdictions. After presenting the methodology of surveys that we conducted in each of the countries, we show the importance of the national context in shaping the bundle of tasks that define the job of a musician. We then compare the different types of careers and the various ways of being a musician in the two countries. This comparison leads us to distinguish between three ways of defining oneself as a professional musician – as an "artist," as a "teacher," or as a "craftsman."

Introduction

Recent publications have underlined how national policies shape the various developments of popular music in each specific socio-historical context, even during the era of the triumph of "globalization" and the so called abolition of national boundaries (see Cattermole, Cloonan, and Homan). In line with these works, this article shows how national employment policies are a key issue in the analysis of musical labor and in understanding the various ways of "being a musician" among popular music players in contemporary societies, especially for those located at the grassroots level of the professional hierarchy. Thus this article is about musical work, musical employment, and musicians' careers. Its empirical focus is a comparison between France and Switzerland, two countries that are very close geographically and culturally, and share a common language within the French-speaking part of Switzerland. It addresses the life and work of "ordinary musicians" (see Perrenoud, *Les Musicos*; Faulkner and Becker), people who are neither rich nor famous, but make a living as musicians at the lower stages of the professional pyramid. While such musicians are often less visible in the public eye, they are also by far the most numerous.

Our work combines the study of social dispositions and of symbolic interactions in a constructivist and empiricist approach. We address various issues such as the construction of a professional/occupational identity from material and symbolic resources (economic, social,

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and cultural capital) and from the bundle of tasks defining the job of ordinary musicians (see Hughes), the structure of the job market, and of the professional/occupational space (social stratification, inequalities of gender, for example) and the influence of the national context (law, economics, and cultural policies). This article contributes to understanding how the ordinary musicians live their professional lives in the context of the classic oppositions between the will of creative autonomy and the need to work as service providers (see Becker, *Outsiders*; Perrenoud, "Jouer"), between cultural legitimacy (see Bourdieu, *La Distinction*; Coulangeon, *Les Métamorphoses*) and commercial success, or between local and cosmopolitan careers (Merton; Perrenoud, *Les Musicos*). All of these alternatives shape very different ways of being a musician.

Following a short presentation (part one) of the two surveys that this article relies on, the second part compares the national unemployment schemes in France and Switzerland. While those two countries are neighbors, the forms of musical labor and musicians' careers are quite different in each case. French musicians can gain access to a unique unemployment benefit system. Conversely, Swiss musicians are generally excluded from unemployment benefits mainly because, as will be explained in part two, of the extreme fragmentation of their employment patterns. Importantly, this exclusion leads them to diversify their activities by undertaking jobs such as teaching music or having daytime employments outside of music. The particularities of the national unemployment schemes strongly shape the ways of "being a musician" for French and Swiss musicians. Doing nothing except playing music is the main criteria for being a "professional" in the French case, but Swiss musicians may still be considered professional if they partake in multiple parallel activities. The third part shows that despite these differences the main types of musical careers prevailing in France and in Switzerland are still aligned on the question of the opposition between, on the one hand, music as an art or music for itself, and, on the other, music as a craft, a service labor. Nevertheless, we suggest that the national Swiss context produces a third type – the teacher, whose situation is somewhere between the artist and the craftsman.

Part One: Introducing Two Surveys: Methods and Substance

This article is based on two surveys led in France and Switzerland with two methodological designs (mostly qualitative for the French survey, mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches in the Swiss case). We thus will lead a twofold comparison of the different ways of "being" an ordinary musician in two different countries, by analyzing variations among several national contexts, but also by confronting results gathered with different methodological tools (qualitative and quantitative).

The first survey is the long fieldwork that Perrenoud did during his Masters and Ph.D. researches in social anthropology between 1997 and 2005, when he was a musician based in the south-west of France (see Perrenoud, *Les Musicos*). He made a living playing the double bass and the electric bass, performing more than 600 gigs, from "anonymous labor" in Rotary Club banquets (playing jingles when each speaker comes to the microphone, playing – not too loud – a "musical carpet" during the banquet) to international festivals in Amsterdam and Barcelona. That fieldwork was also an occupation, featuring jobs in regular bands (one played noisy post-rock, another gypsy swing, and another sophisticated contemporary jazz) or in ephemeral gatherings of players around a repertoire of standards and jazz classics or for totally improvised music, or even for replacements in many kinds

of groups and styles, such as in popular balls in the countryside between the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean Sea. This survey mostly utilized participant observations during gigs, rehearsals, recording sessions, tours, and everyday life among musicians. In addition Perrenoud also undertook around 30 semi-structured interviews. The survey was entirely qualitative. Despite the lack of a representative sampling, it provides very useful information on the different "bundle of tasks" musicians undertake – i.e. the different ways of "doing the job" and/or "living the art" – and on the different patterns of and segments within musicians' careers and life courses. Furthermore, it provided a first basis for the second survey, which was undertaken in Switzerland.

The Swiss data is more recent. Together with our team,[1] we collected the data for the Musicians' LIVES research project at the University of Lausanne between 2012 and 2015. Directed by Marc Perrenoud, Musicians' LIVES was a subproject of the program, the National Center for Competence in Research, LIVES – Overcoming Vulnerability, Life Course Perspectives. Our main objective was to provide data in order to analyze the life conditions of ordinary musicians living and working in French-speaking Switzerland. To catch the multi-dimensional aspect of musicians' careers, we chose a "mixed methods" approach. During the three years, there were two phases of the survey. We first led an ethnographic study in which we shed light on what might be the most relevant issues and variables differentiating the careers. Then we ran a campaign of long, structured interviews which included the gathering of standardized data to collect more precise information about the musicians' social origins, like their education, the sequences of their careers, the kind of repertoire they played during their careers, and the evolution over time of the composition of their income.

In this article we present only a sample of the interviewees with whom we met during this more quantitative part and focus on the analysis of some of the results of this second phase of the survey. Musicians are generally under-represented in national workforce surveys because they are often working at the margins of traditional workforces. For this reason, recruiting an ad hoc sample is often the best solution for academics seeking data on musical workers. To build our sample, we used the "Respondent Driven Sampling" method as defined by Douglas D. Heckathorn and Joan Jeffri in their work on American "jazz musicians." This sampling method is related to "network sampling" methods, in which interviewees are recruited trough a "peer to peer" process. Here it involved recruiting a small but motivated group of people in the target population (known as "seeds") and asking them to respond to our questionnaire. The seeds were asked to introduce us to three of their contacts within the musician population. We then asked the same questions of their contacts and so on. This sampling method led to the constitution of a relatively small, but diversified, group of our target population. We repeated the process of recruitment for eight waves and, starting with a group of seven "seeds," we were able to meet 123 other musicians who work and live in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and with whom we made recorded interviews (about two hours each) and which included standardized data.

Among this data was information about the musical income composition of the interviewees. This income data will be at the core of our analysis of the Swiss case. For this we used the "artist revenue stream" typology. This tool has been created and developed by a team within the Future of Music Coalition (FMC), an association of musical activists, union members, and academics who led a large survey among North American musicians in 2011 (DiCola). To better understand the composition of musicians' income, the members

of the FMC team used eight categories of musical income: royalties; salaries (if they are permanent musicians in an orchestra); earnings from shows or public performances in a non-permanent position (which is by far the most common situation); income from records sales; studio sessions; sales of merchandising, and from teaching music. The eighth category regroups all those kinds of earnings that do not fit in with any of the above categories. In our work on Swiss musicians, we added two more categories of earning: those coming from unemployment insurance, specifically dedicated to intermittent artist workers and those coming from technical activities linked with music (like being the sound engineer in addition to an instrumentalist; we found several such cases during our study).

Those two surveys provided us with some very interesting results concerning what it means "to be a musician" in the two countries.

Part Two: A Bundle of Tasks Shaped by the National Context

We started from the idea that the meaning of "being a musician" is at least partially shaped by national employment and cultural policies (or the lack of such policies) and we present here the unemployment schemes for live artists in France and Switzerland.

The Case of France: A Unique System

The unemployment scheme in France for live artists is reputed to be unique. Under the scheme, dancers, actors, and musicians have to declare 507 h of work or 43 gigs within 10 months to access a daily unemployment benefit during the next eight months. Unfortunately, in France, like many other places, many gigs are not declared by the employer (such as the owner of a bar or restaurant or the father of the bride). Thus a massive amount of the working activity of ordinary musicians is undeclared work, which is not taken into account for accessing the unemployment benefit. Of course, the more a musician plays in small places, underground scenes, etc., the less his or her work is likely to be declared. On the opposite side, the more a musician plays in well-known venues, the more likely he or she is to have work declarations. They will thus be able to access the French unemployment system for "intermittents du spectacle." But for over two decades, most French musicians have worked with non-profit associations which provide a service (live music) to the hirers such as the bar owner or the father of the bride, who becomes a client who just pays a fee to the association. The association then becomes the employer of the musicians and deals internally with informal agreements on the distribution of the money between the members of the band in accordance with considerations such as who has already plenty of gigs declared and who is short and needs a work declaration to complete the necessary 43 in 10 months, for example. Despite the attacks of the biggest French employers' association, the The Mouvement des Entreprises de France (MEDEF), who keep calling for its destruction, this unemployment scheme is still ongoing and is firmly defended by ordinary musicians and other live performers. French musicians often see the system as a subvention, which does not consider the content of the work (Langeard).

One direct effect of that scheme is that French musicians try to play as often as possible, sometimes at any gig. For at least the first 10 years of their career, musicians have several bands and go from one gig to another, regardless of the venue, just to play as often as possible. So, in order to get the "intermittent du spectacle" unemployment benefits, playing

in public, in many different venues, in different bands, across many different styles is the core activity of the ordinary French musician. If the employer declares the work, then all is fine. But if work is undeclared, the association is there to turn the fee into a salary. Another consequence of this system is that other kinds of task – most notably teaching – are often seen as a threat to a musician's professional identity. Many musicians feel that if "musicians" get most of their money from giving music lessons then they are not musicians – they're music teachers. If "musicians" have daytime jobs, they are not really musicians, since they do not only do music. This latter issue seems to be the most important criterion in gaining the necessary acceptance for full integration into the professional group (Perrenoud, *Les Musicos*).

The Case of Switzerland: An Unfavorable Scheme for Musicians

In Switzerland, there is also an unemployment insurance system specifically dedicated to "intermittent" workers such as artists, but also open to technicians who work in show business and in other comparable freelance professions such as journalism. The main difference with the French system is the way in which access to the unemployment benefits is computed by the relevant administration. Swiss workers in an "intermittent" profession need to prove that they have worked at least 10 months during two consecutive years to access the unemployment insurance benefit. Here, the time unit used by administration to determine the potential unemployment benefits of intermittent workers is the entire week. This system does not fit well with the employment patterns of musicians, who are generally engaged for a few hours of performance and not an entire week. Such a system is more appropriate to the working patterns of other performing artists, especially dancers and actors who are usually hired for several days in a row – including both rehearsal sessions and shows.

Moreover, Swiss musicians also face difficulties that arise due to the characteristics of their home country. First, Switzerland is a small country in geographical and demographic terms, meaning that it is often difficult to find enough gigs inside the country. Secondly, Swiss life standards are comparatively high. (The median monthly wage is over 6 000 Swiss francs or approximately $6,150 USD [OFS, *Enquête*].) If they are to maintain their living standards, Swiss musicians cannot afford to play too often in France or Germany for the same money as French or German musicians. Thus, Swiss musicians have to find other ways of earning enough money to maintain their lifestyle.

Compared to other European countries, the percentage of the Swiss population who report themselves as being able to play a musical instrument as an amateur is very high. In 2008, approximately 20% of the Swiss reported playing a musical instrument or singing regularly as an amateur (OFS, *Les Pratiques*). The main implication of this fact for those seeking work as a musician is that there is a high demand for music teachers. Being simultaneously a part-time teacher and a part-time performer can constitute a highly appealing option.

In order to analyze the composition of the bundle of tasks of ordinary Swiss musicians, we focus here on the sections of our survey concerning the different types of income as outlined earlier in the article. The relative weights of each of these 10 categories within the total "musical" incomes of our interviewees for 2013 are represented in Figure 1.

Here we see that unemployment benefits represent a very small part of overall musical income. This observation confirms that accessing the Swiss intermittent scheme is highly difficult. If we look at the mean weight of each of these categories (represented in Figure 1

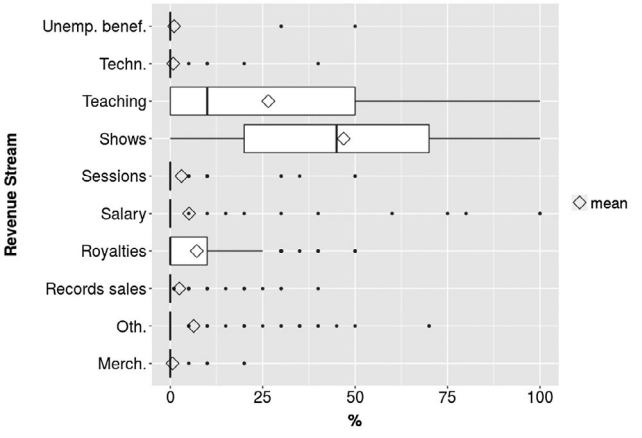

Figure 1. The Swiss Musicians' Revenue Stream (2013).

by a diamond), the two main sources of earning among Swiss musicians come from teaching and playing music in public. These two kinds of tasks are at the core of musicians' work in Switzerland. Unlike working patterns amongst French musicians, teaching appears here as a "normal" kind of task for "professional" musicians. It should also be noted that royalties represent, on average, less than 10% of the total "musical income," a figure which can be considered to be on the low side.

In terms of the recurrent debates on the digitalization of music distribution, its (mis) exploitation by big web platforms such as Deezer and iTunes, and its effect on musicians' incomes, such a finding is very interesting. In spite of the public debate over the problem of artist remuneration through the sale of music on the web, this finding reminds us that, for most musicians, royalties are a minor source of income. Thus despite important debates concerning the state of the recording industry, only a small minority of musicians have ever sold records in significant numbers and the lives and careers of the majority of musicians are mainly shaped by the type of live gigs that they can get.

Part Three: Artist, Craftsman, Teacher – The Many Ways of Being a Musician

Local and Cosmopolitan Careers in France

The ethnography which Perrenoud did in France showed that after a relatively unstable period during the beginning of musicians' careers – which can last up to 10 years, according to Philippe Coulangeon (*Les Musiciens Interprètes*) – such careers tend to stabilize, whether on a "local" or a "cosmopolitan" level. Such a career typology, based on the classical Mertonian distinction (see Merton), corresponds to two very different – in fact opposite – musician lives and lifestyles.

In the "local" career, one plays a repertoire of covers and standards, reproducing tunes which already exist and which the audience wants to recognize easily. Musicians play in venues such as bars and clubs to entertain, and play, for example, private parties and corporate events to provide musical background. Sometimes, when creating atmosphere with background music, musicians get some attention and appreciation from audiences, but

often no one seems to listen and no one applauds. In this type of career, ordinary musicians usually play in bands of men, and the local entertainment scene is merely a social space of male hegemony (see Perrenoud, "Les Musicos") even if there are some women (mostly singers, but also, thankfully, increasingly more instrumentalists).

Consequently the ordinary local male musician allies himself with a spouse from outside the art world, often of working-class origin with a low but steady income, thus reproducing a classical pattern for the independent craft workers (Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame; Perrenoud, *Les Musicos*). Ordinary musicians, as local craftsmen, make money from gigs and get unemployment benefits as "intermittents du spectacle." They rely on the specific human capital of the instrumentalist and a range of social capital, including relations with the other musicians in the area and with potential employers, such as bar owners. Such musicians do not rely on legitimate cultural capital because they usually do not have much. (In most of the cases we studied, musicians had a high school diploma at best.) Moreover, as independent service workers, they don't really need what is considered legitimate cultural capital for the job they do. In this first type of career, music is a craft; playing is a type of service work and the musician is an independent craftsman or employee, or even a proletarian (when, for example, one plays jingles for Rotary Club speakers). He or she is playing something shaped by an extrinsic utility, which is a social convention separating art from craft (see Becker, *Art*). In this case, the production is heteronomous, regardless of the musical style or genre (see Bourdieu, "Le Marché"). Ordinary musicians can earn a living playing music for entertainment in a local career, whether they play country, rock, cool jazz, classical piano, or Irish folk music.

The second type, the "cosmopolitan" career musician, concerns ordinary musicians who mostly play a repertoire of original compositions. Cosmopolitan musicians are creators, even if most of them will not achieve a high level of recognition (Bourdieu, *Les Règles*) and will remain on the lower steps of the professional pyramid in terms of fame and income. This type of career and this way of being a musician are about creation and singularity. Musicians play "real concerts" (in concert halls, theaters, festivals), with a real stage, with a backstage, with support personnel for sound, for lights, for administration, and for handling instruments and gear (see Becker, *Art*). In the highbrow version of such careers, musicians sometimes work in interdisciplinary creative projects with dance or acting productions. These musicians are used to speaking with choreographers or stage directors, they apply for public grants, and/or they know some of the key personnel within the cultural industries. This professional space is marked by greater gender diversity. There are more women musicians (Buscatto), and there is an important structural gender diversity in the dance and drama companies. Within such careers musicians make money from shows, but also from public grants, sometimes royalties if their music becomes popular, possibly some master classes, and always the possibility of unemployment benefits, which remains a key source of income for many. In this kind of career, musicians often meet people with high cultural, social, and economic capital. Here, music is considered an art and the musician is an artist.

In reality these two types of careers are not strictly demarcated as pure categories and can be considered as being two ideal-types. However, it appears that in both cases, professionalism is built on stage, in front of an audience. Some of the local craftsmen teach but that activity is often seen as a problem for career development, as the teaching hours cannot be declared as gigs and therefore are not taken into account for accessing unemployment benefits. So French musicians are mainly attached to the stage and gigs, with teaching activities

coming mostly in the latter part of their careers, seemingly more for the local craftsmen who will try to find a steady job in a music school when they are tired of chasing gigs and have accepted the fact that they will never have a more successful career.

The Tripartition of the Musician Population in Switzerland

To analyze the internal structure of the Swiss musicians' group, we ran a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) using the revenue stream data. Inspired by Geometrical Data Analysis (GDA) (see Le Roux and Rouanet, *Geometric*), such an analytic strategy is extremely useful in identifying a partition within a population through the analysis of the more frequent associations between different tendencies. Figure 2 represents the two first dimensions of this PCA, which are the more important dimensions when analyzing the decrease of the variance of the axes.[2]

Income types with major contribution to the axis – i.e., with a contribution that exceeds 10% – are represented in bold and are underlined. Readings of PCA graphs, like Figure 2, are based on two principles: (i) the longer the arrows, the more the related categories strongly align to one of the axis; and (ii) the more arrows that have a similar direction, the more the related categories are frequently associated among the sample.

Two main oppositions emerge from the PCA. The first dimension (Dim1) opposes those musicians who mainly earn income through teaching with those who earn income through royalties and records sales. The second dimension (Dim2) opposes musicians who mainly earn musical income by playing live to others with more diverse income streams.

Within the space of incomes drawn by these two major oppositions, three main poles can be distinguished, corresponding to three main musicians "ideal-type" profiles: The "live" musicians, the "teachers," and the "artists." The two first types are clearly related to one specific main source of income: on one hand, show fees for the "live" musicians and, on the other, teaching fees for the "teachers." The revenue streams of the third type (the "artists") are a little more of a composite, involving a mixture of income from royalties, records, merchandising sales, studio sessions, and even unemployment benefits from the specific regime of Swiss intermittent workers. Nevertheless, the weight of royalties is significantly high at this north-east pole. Thus, it can be said that amongst the "artists," those who produce and sell their own music are the more numerous.

Once this "space" is drawn, one can see how individuals are located within it according to several characteristics. This helps to provide a deeper understanding of how these three ideal-types vary in term of social recruitment and professional practices.

In Figure 3, we plot the cloud of individuals and three "concentration ellipses" related to the educational achievement of our interviewees. The ellipses here are a way to "summarize" where the sub-clouds of individuals are located according to their educational capital (Le Roux and Rouanet, *Multiple* 69).[3]

It can be observed here that musicians without any diploma are mainly located at the south of the "income space." Musicians with the lowest level of educational achievement thus seem strongly predisposed to embrace a "live" musician's career pattern. The other musicians – those getting a vocational or tertiary diploma – are less found at one of the three poles. Nevertheless, it can be seen that musicians with tertiary education are a little more concentrated at the "artist" pole than any others. In addition, the ones with the lowest level of diploma are totally excluded from this artist zone.

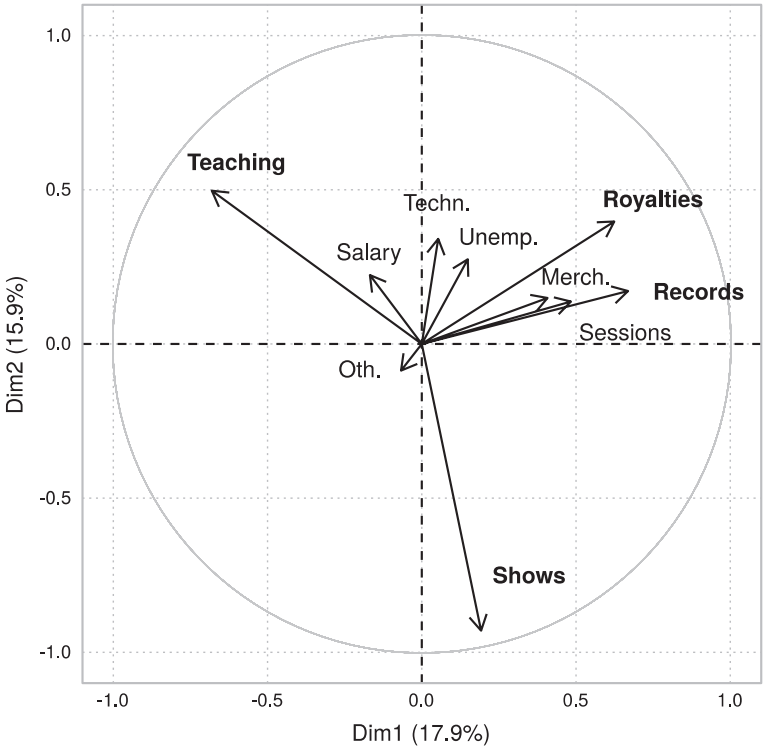

Figure 2. The Space of Swiss Musicians' Incomes (PCA).

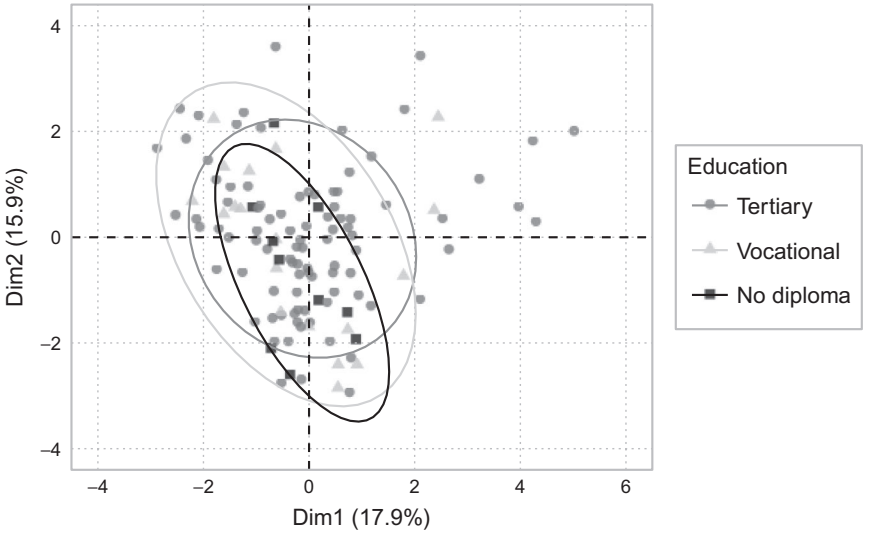

Figure 3. Cloud of Individuals and Musicians' Educational Achievement.

In Figure 4, we plot the "concentration ellipses" related to the type of gigs that our Swiss interviewees were mostly playing in 2013. The three types of gigs represented here have been inspired by the work of Perrenoud and French "musicos" (Perrenoud, *Les Musicos*):

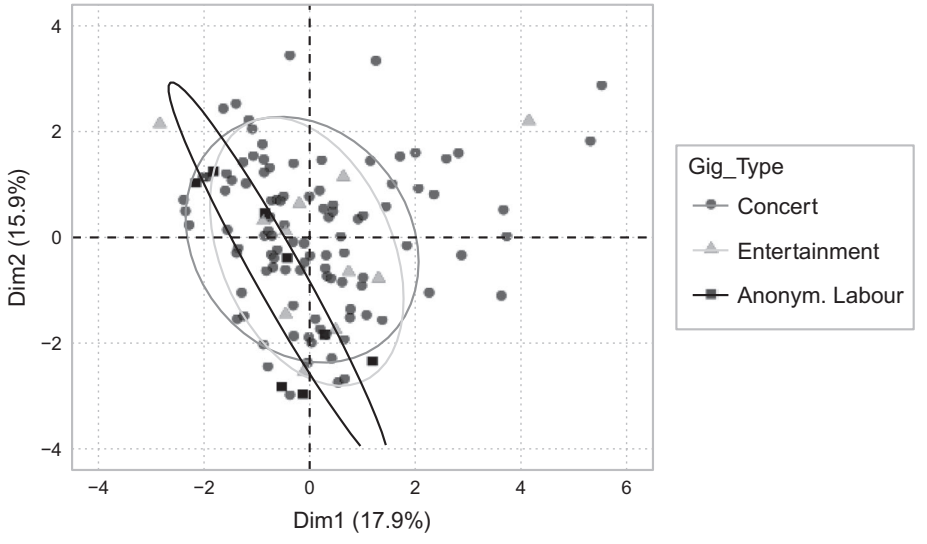

Figure 4. Cloud of Individuals and Gig Type (2013).

the situations of "anonymous labor" – where music is mainly played on demand, such as orchestral playing for wedding parties; "concert" situations – where the music is played and appreciated for itself, generally in a place which has a stage, a backstage, a sound engineer, etc.; and intermediary situations of "entertainment" – typically in a bar or a club, where music is essentially played in order to attract people in to buy drinks, but where it can also be appreciated for itself by at least parts of the audience.

As we see in Figure 4, musicians located at the "live" musician pole or the "teacher" pole are more likely to play mainly in "anonymous labor" situations. The ones who mostly play in concert are more often located at the "artist" pole – even if some of them are also located near the "live" musicians pole or the "teacher" pole.

To sum up, despite some national specificities – such as the weight of teaching on musicians' incomes – we thus find in Switzerland a structure of the musicians' workforce which is relatively comparable to the French one. On the one hand, there are musicians who play their own music and earn some royalties (the "artists"), who mostly play music in "concert" situations, and who often have a higher educational background. One the other hand, we found musicians who mainly earn their musical income by playing music written by somebody else (the "live" musicians and the "teachers"). Among the musicians close to these types, people with a lower level of education are over-represented. They also are more likely to perform music in an "entertainment" or an "anonymous work" situation than in a "concert."

Conclusion

At this final stage of the article, two main points have to be underlined. First, we have shown that there are substantial differences between the situations of musicians in France and Switzerland. We have seen how the national context is relevant in the construction of the professional and in the definition of the bundle of tasks that constitutes the musicians' legitimate occupational identity. In line with this first result, providing a synoptic vision

of the different national schemes in Europe (and elsewhere) for musical jobs and careers – such as employment and cultural policies – emerges as a potentially fruitful perspective for future research on musical work. The creation of an international network in Glasgow in 2016 to gather and share information and data on musical work is a important first step here (see *Musicians' Union*).

Our second main finding is the constant bipolarization of the occupational group. After some common experiences at the beginning, careers tend to stabilize in one pattern or the other: local-craftsman-service worker or cosmopolitan-artist-singular creator. As we have shown, the Swiss context favors the existence of a third modality, with careers of teachers who play frequently in public. However that type is still close to the craftsman as it includes, for instance, a large part of steady service work (teaching and playing for entertainment). This structural bipolarization might be a consequence of the equivocal nature of music in capitalist societies, corresponding to the two sides of musical jobs: music on demand (which is generally useful for other purposes) and music in and for itself as an autonomous artistic creation. In line with the Marxist perspective, music appears thus as twofold – i.e. as an alienated labor or emancipatory work.

The next step for us may be to encourage more international comparisons, in order to see if the bipolarization emerging from our two cases is evidenced elsewhere, to see whether music teaching is integrated or not into the bundle of musical tasks and to see how people cope with daytime jobs.[4] With regard to bipolarization, we already have many indications that it is more or less the same elsewhere, but there are many variations which have to be analyzed. We are now trying to develop such research, since one of us is supervising the Ph.D. research of a Chilean student studying ordinary musicians in Santiago, while the other is about to start two years of post-doctoral research in Brussels, where he will try to examine the situation of musicians in Belgian. We have also undertaken some live observations and informal interviews in Dongguan (south China), Beijing, Chicago, New York, and New Orleans. In addition some online research is also moving in the same direction. We recently found two U.S. websites, both claiming to tell the "real" story about musicians' work and to get beyond the myths. The first one gives tips on such things as how to use social media, how to brand yourself, how to avoid playing covers, and how to play only your own compositions, in line with the artist–entrepreneur model (see McDonald). The other one says to the average non-musician reader, "I have a job like you," and explains the reality of a musician's life (see Parker). The future directions for us now include discovering the extent to which bipolarization can be discerned in various types of careers across national boundaries. For example, would we find more musicians with a daytime job in the U.K. than in Switzerland? Would the terms and conditions of jobs of supplying live music as a background to corporate and other events be the same for craft-musicians in Spain or in Belgium? What are the employment and unemployment schemes for artists – specifically musicians – in each European country? These questions, and many more, will inform out future work, all the time following the idea that the sociology of music and "art," in general, can *not* be isolated the from sociology of work (Becker, "Quelques"; Cloonan).

Notes

1. We would like to express our gratitude to Karen Brändle, Jérôme Chapuis, Sara Cordero, Frédérique Leresche, and Noémie Merçay for their work in the Musicians LIVES project.

2. The third dimension and the following ones represent less than 10% of the variance when the first and the second dimensions represent respectively 17.9% and 15.9%.
3. In all our figures, each ellipse represents the zone where 90% of the individuals have the characteristic analyzed.
4. We prefer talking about "part-time musicians" rather than "semi-professionals."

Disclosure Statement

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Notes on Contributors

Marc Perrenoud has worked for years in the south-west of France as a bass player and a sociologist. He is now Maître d'enseignement et de recherche (senior lecturer) in sociology of work at the University of Lausanne and conducts research on musical work.

Pierre Bataille, a guitar and cello player, holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Lausanne and now works at the Université libre de Bruxelles conducting post-doctoral research on musicians' careers.

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