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*Multiplied insecurity.
The Japanese classical musicians
on the Polish and French labor market*

Summary

The purpose of this article is to analyze the dynamics of trajectories of Japanese classical musicians residing in Europe — in Poland and France — who, by their professional qualifications, fall into a category of highly skilled professionals, yet at the same time experience their situation of migration similarly to economic migrants, or middling migration (Scott, 2006; Boyle, 2006). Among many factors shaping the European careers of Japanese migrant musicians, I will pay particular attention to the following combination of three elements: (1) structural and legal regulations that shape artistic labor market in general and the situation of migrant artists in particular, (2) the role of social and (3) cultural capital. The intersectional analysis of the professional situation of migrant-artists attempts to demonstrate how these musicians by their profession on the one hand and ethnic origins on the other are trapped into multiplied insecurity. This study

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rests on the material collected upon qualitative methods of individual, in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted among 50 Japanese classical musicians in their mother tongue, as well as quantitative data (statistics of musical competitions, orchestras, music academies, etc.).

Key words: Japanese classical musicians, highly skilled migrants, professional mobility, precarity, job insecurity, multiplied insecurity

Introduction

This article proposes an intersectional analysis (Crenshaw, 1995; Winker, Degele, 2011) of job (in)security in artistic professions as it is experienced by non-EU citizens, specifically the Japanese classical musicians residing in Europe. The number of musicians from Japan and other Asian countries has been steadily increasing in European music academies², music competitions and on classical stages for the past three or four decades, although it is hard to precisely measure their statistical presence on the French or Polish market. The main reason which may help explain this problem is that in both countries, classical musicians fall into a very broad category of artistic professions³, which, however, does not capture professionals, who land teaching positions and pursue music career after hours. Nor does this category include musicians, who reside in Europe based on spousal visa and whose artistic activity comprises mostly freelance projects.

A sociological definition of the job security (Anderson, Pontusson, 2007) indicates two aspects of the phenomenon: (1) individual or cognitive element that links job security with a “person’s assessment of how likely he or she is to lose the job in the near future”, and (2) “*employment or labor market security*, which includes the ability obtain alternative jobs with similar characteristics” (Esser, Olsen, 2012, p. 447). This study will propose an operational definition of the job security that draws from qualitative material. Namely, it will bring to the fore three interacting elements that outline the dynamics and main tensions in the musicians’ unstable, insecure careers: (1) structural and legal regulations that shape artistic labor market in general and the situation of migrants artists in particular, (2) the role of social and (3) cultural capital.

² In the years 2000–2005, Japanese students amounted to to approximately 30% (approx. 60 students) of all foreign students enrolled in courses at Paris Conservatory. In Poland, according to statistics of the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music the Japanese students amounted to five to eight students on average, which constituted approximately 10–15% of all foreign students in the years 2007–2017.

³ With regards to the share of Asian musicians, a preliminary examination based on names of members of 31 French orchestras associated with AFO’s (Association Française des Orchestres [Association of French Orchestras]) showed that 39 out of 2,362 of its instrumentalists could be of Japanese origins. A similar study conducted among 56 Polish orchestras unveiled that the names of 5 persons suggested Japanese origins. This cannot be but rough, because in the first place, orchestras do not provide information about ethnicity. Secondly, judging about one’s ethnic belonging based on the person’s name can be misleading.

The demonstration developed in this article is based on the examination of 95 professional pursuits of Japanese musicians, out of which 50 careers were studied in details based on in-depth semi-structured individual interviews conducted with the Japanese musicians in their mother tongue. Male and female Japanese classical musicians of various specializations were recruited for the study on condition of having an experience of education and life (professional and private) in Europe (i.e., in France and in Poland). In addition to that I have examined 45 careers of Japanese musicians presented in music competition catalogues, in press in the form of an interview or an article as well as on individual websites. To verify my findings, I discussed the material with 20 professionals, whom I call “experts” from the music milieu (i.e., music professors, sound directors, orchestra musicians etc.), who had ever cooperated with Japanese musicians.

This data has been supplemented by various informal observations (i.e., recitals, music lessons); an analysis of data from private and institutional archives (Warsaw University of Music, Conservatory de Musique de Paris); official documents (i.e., statistics from music competitions, orchestras in France and in Poland) as well as musicians’ private blogs and websites. Furthermore, I collected statistic from music conservatories, music competitions, French and Polish orchestras and consulted archives as well as websites to ground the results in a broader context.

Despite numerous research that explore precarity of artists on the English, French or American labor markets on one hand, and a myriad of studies devoted to diverge categories of migrating workforce (from highly skilled professionals, through middling migration up to deskilled laborers) on the other hand, artists as a group of mobile professionals has so far received little scholarly attention. What may help explain this epistemic gap is the fact that geographical mobility has been always inscribed into the music profession⁴ educationally (musicians moved between countries to practice with reputed teachers) as well as occupationally (to perform worldwide solo or with an orchestra, to look for professional promotion).

Given the above, this paper explores the problem of job security on the artistic labor market, as perceived from migrants’ perspective. In particular, it develops around the case of Japanese musicians, or non-EU highly skilled migrants residing and working in Poland and in France. The French and the Polish labor markets reveal to be substantially disparate in many respects, out of which three aspects are particularly important in the light of this study: (1) migration traditions (France more open to migrants than Poland⁵),

⁴ Geographic mobility among musicians intensified, especially under the influence of progressing globalization, as well as the politico-economic changes after the end of the cold war (Wagner, 2015, p. 54).

⁵ The ratio of immigrants in Poland is extremely low: 0.15% (in 2012) and Poland is defined as the country of emigration; available at: <http://stat.gov.pl/en/> [access date: 13.03.2016]. The ratio of immigrants in France oscillates around less than 10% (8.4% in 2008), which is not the highest among other industrialized countries (Austria 16%, Switzerland 23%, Spain and Canada 14%) (Héran, 2012, p. 30). Around 200 people enter the country each year in the category of “artists” (ibidem, p. 12).

(2) labor market characteristics (French music market offers more work opportunities than Polish⁶), (3) welfare (especially related to job security in arts⁷). Comparing the situation of the Japanese classical musicians operating in two distinct environments, I aim at better understanding the impact that structural (legal and market characteristics specifically seen from the perspective of migrant musicians) as well as socio-cultural environmental idiosyncrasies (e.g. conventions of the art worlds) have on career dynamics.

Three main questions drive this study: (1) how musicians perceive job security on the French and Polish labor markets; (2) which elements of their professional situation as migrants impact their working conditions in Europe; (3) eventually, shall we conceive of these musicians as highly skilled professionals, for whom mobility is a response to structural problems of oversupply (saturated market), which is comparable to the geographical mobility of a *Gastarbeiter* (I. Wagner, 2014, p. 167) or precarious middling migration? I shall argue that the three main characteristics of the French and Polish labor markets, mark differently professional situation of musicians of Japanese origins in each country.

Answering these questions, this paper firstly introduces some crucial points of scholarly debates on work security in classical music to contextualize the analysis of the

⁶ The cultural map in France is very well developed. According to the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, 551 festivals are programmed as classical, lyric or contemporary music (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2017, p. 166–170). Available at: <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Musique/Actualites/Carro-Classique-une-etude-sur-les-festivals-classiques-lyriques-contemporains-en-France-en-2015> [access date: 14.12.2018]. The Reunion des Operas de France (ROF) gathers 33 opera houses or lyric companies; available at: <http://www.rof.fr/index.php/en/> [access date: 14.09.2017]. There are 30 State-supported permanent, professional, symphonic formations of high level including 2 ensembles of Radio-France and the one at the Opéra National de Paris, which have been appointed with specific missions. All the orchestras employ approximately 2,000 musicians. In addition to the support of orchestras, comprised by permanent salaried musicians, the Ministry of Culture and Communication supports about 330 independent music ensembles. The French government promotes music education providing sustenance for and pedagogically controlling a network of 441 conservatories and schools of music, dance and drama dotted around the country. Available at: <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Musique/Publications-Dokumentation/La-musique-en-France/2-Les-grandes-institutions-de-referance-nationale> [access date: 15.09.2017]. The data from 2014 demonstrate that there were 160 places, where musical and choreographic artistic creations were produced and performed (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Paris, 2017). Available at: <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Etudes-et-statistiques/L-actualite-du-DEPS/Atlas-regional-de-la-culture-2017> [access date: 15.09.2017]. Today, Japanese musicians studying in Poland have access to a music labor market with approximately the following structure: in 2013, there were 170 theaters and music institutions, among which there were 26 philharmonic, 24 music theaters (11 opera houses and 13 operettas), 11 orchestras 4 choirs and 3 folk dance and chants ensembles (zespół pieśni i tańca). The majority of them belonged to the public sector and was subsidized by local governments. Available at: http://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5693/16/1/1/dzialalnosc_instytucji_kultury_w_polsce_w_2013.pdf, p. 9 [access date: 31.05.2017].

⁷ Here, I mainly refer to the system of the *intermittent de spectacle* that exists in France and is a form of protection of artists against unemployment. It is described in details further in the article.

subjective perception of job security by Japanese musicians that follows in subsequent paragraphs. The main problem is approached from an intersectional perspective stressing three interrelated elements that dovetail with each other and shape security at work: (1) Migration law that determines the possibilities of legal residence and professional pursuit; (2) Social capital (i.e. valuable interpersonal/institutional relations) that hinders/facilitates access to *net-works*; (3) Cultural capital (i.e. music skills, the knowledge of language and “conventions” (Becker, 2008) of the local music milieu) that decides about the continuation/maintenance or discontinuation of job and future work calls.

Insecurity inscribed in the music profession

Artistic occupation, like any non-routine, non-utilitarian activity, precludes a certain degree of uncertainty (Buscatto, 2004, 2007; Coulangeon, 2004; Menger, 1998, 2010; I. Wagner, 2015) that is related to: 1) the very definition of this profession; 2) structural (condition on artistic markets, demands for artistic projects, supply of artists⁸, access to public, private and human resources), as well as 3) individual situations of each artist.

Firstly, the contemporary definition of ‘artist’ presupposes a degree of uncertainty. Who is a musician, if neither specific education nor diplomas accredit this profession? Some scholars claim that musicianship has failed to become a profession due to a lack of “standardization of training and formal evaluation, and of credentialing” (Frederickson, Rooney, 1990, p. 199). Given this, the music occupation should be perceived rather as a “semi-profession” (ibidem), because on the one hand they managed to create a new market, but at the same time, they failed to assert a monopoly over the market through licensure, formal training and certification. Professional musicianship is defined then, not by acquired certificates, but by the skills a person actually presents⁹.

Second aspect of musicianship, namely uncertainty which underpins the nature of the music labor market, results from “the ability to adapt to the changing conditions of performances and to irregular rhythms of work” (I. Wagner, 2015, p. 202). An overproduction of musicians, caused by the fact that musicians’ guilds worldwide failed to control the professionalization in this sector (Frederickson, Rooney, 1990, p. 198), brought about the development of an occupational sphere parallel to the institutional one, which offered fixed positions in orchestras or in academia. Others relied upon “a trajectory of realizations established through contractual transactions, whose dynamic does not benefit from any guarantees associated with the ordinary salaried-career” (Menger, 2010, p. 63)¹⁰.

⁸ In France, the number has increased twice within one decade, from 12,000 musicians in 1982 to 23,000 in 1999 (Coulangeon, 2004, p. 79). In Poland, the researcher counted approximately 3,300 musicians working in 56 orchestras subsidized by national funds.

⁹ Heinich (2000) provides a list of possible criteria that comprise skills, competences, discipline and equally art, free spirit, artistic intuition etc. (p. 7–8).

¹⁰ “Extensive job and sectoral mobility as well as multiple job holding considerably affect the use of conventional work and unemployment indicators. Unemployment rates may be mis-measured for several related reasons: individuals with artistic occupations may switch temporarily to work mainly

The technological revolution (Menger, 1998), the development of internet and social media have significantly transformed means of distribution of artworks, opening a gamut of routes, which have provided access to audiences outside traditional, mainstream communication media (such as publicly held live concerts or records, in the case of classical music): an alternative source of demand and largely transformed artistic markets. New actors such as temporary or small cultural organizations have joined the game, which had been dominated hitherto by permanent institutions such as symphony orchestras, opera houses, conservatories and the like (Menger, 1999, p. 547). Due to financial constraints, the former were employing artists on temporary contracts and a freelance basis, acquiring information about talented people via “trustworthy networks” (ibidem, p. 549), or the history of records about past projects, rather than relying on official selection procedures. This allowed for reducing the time and transaction overheads related to seeking and maintaining a permanent staff (ibidem, p. 548).

Thirdly, for young¹¹ aspiring musicians, entering this occupation means primarily learning how to build up a reputation, to be able to compete with artists already present for temporary contracts by short-term projects (Faulkner, 1973, 1983; Menger, 1998), according to the common rule that “hiring calls for more hiring” (Menger, 1999, p. 550). Artists’ activity undergoes continuous evaluations regarding the quality of performances. In this kind of job, it is as Hollywood directors told one sociologist “you are only as good as your last picture” (Faulkner, 1983). Part-time single projects, local webs of acquaintances and reputation built upon past realizations (Faulkner, 1973, 1983): these elements translate into future work propositions, while the ability to control professional risks (safety nets for times without work, such as second jobs, health insurance, social security payments) (Menger, 2010, p. 66) help musician stay in the profession.

The Japanese classical musicians enter the market that is already characterized by insecurity. What further determines their professional situation on this market, and at the same time extends the scope of insecurity, is their legal status of a migrant, a non-EU citizen, whose international professional mobility is firstly restricted by the local migration law (structural conditions), secondly, by the access to the local labor market (social capital) and thirdly, by the ability to build and maintain one’s professional position (cultural capital).

Working for the visa. Structural conditions of artistic mobility

Seen from the migrants-musicians perspective the job security on the European labor market is structurally conditioned in three interrelated ways: (1) possibilities of securing time for job seeking (legal residence extension); (2) an array of possible options of legalizing one’s residence and right to work; (3) formal barriers on the way to the local

in non-artistic occupations when unable to make living in their primary vocational field, without stopping to produce art works” (Menger, 1999, p. 545).

¹¹ Age is a crucial element in a musician’s career. A thirty-year-old pianist is perfectly aware of the little chances s/he has to experience a turning point in their career (I. Wagner, 2015).

labor market. The interviewed musicians entered Europe through education channels and hence to launch their professional career in Poland and in France they needed valid work as well as stay permit in order to firstly seek for a job, and then to carry it out. The three enlisted elements emerged in interviews as structural elements that hinder or facilitated integration into the French and Polish labor markets in the way described below.

Possibilities of securing time for job seeking

The Japanese respondents traveled to Europe through education channels (Kofman, 2016, p. 602) and as graduates of Polish and French universities, they were granted the right to reside in each country for twelve months (temporary stay permit: pol. *zewolenie na pobyt czasowy*, fr. *autorisation provisoire de séjour* [APS])¹², which facilitate integration into the working sector¹³, at least in theory. Notwithstanding this legal privilege, the transition between studies and work in musicianship does not occur smoothly and it takes time because posts vacate rarely¹⁴ and supply exceeds demands. Depending on the music specialty, the studied Japanese musicians compete mostly for positions in orchestras (violin, trombone, flute, clarinet) and eventually in academia (pianists). Otherwise, music market offers temporary freelancing. Still, the job-seeking process extends in time, excluding from the race all those non-EU citizens, who fail to meet strict legal conditions that regulate the influx of migrants into Poland and France (i.e., inability to fit one's application into proper migrant category).

The research material demonstrated that a frequent strategy among Japanese musicians who were unable to find a post upon completion of their studies was to prolong their residency permit as a student (i.e., taking a different course, language course or an additional year of the apprenticeship formation at the same or alternative university and, at instances, in another country). The example below illustrates how the person moved to Geneva to continue studies, but in fact to maintain a status of a legal EU resident, which permitted further job seeking desperately extended outside France, for other EU countries.

“You have to expect that around 30–40 candidates will apply for one post (*one of the violinists said that today there are approximately 80 candidates, for one violin post*). In case of oboe, there are only a few positions, so you are really lucky, when the position gets vacant. (...) I thought I would have to go back to Japan, because my two-year stay in Geneva was coming to an end and during that time, I'd passed some twenty auditions in different European countries (Germany,

¹² Available at: <http://udsc.gov.pl/cudzoziemcy/obywatele-panstw-trzecich/chce-pracowac-w-polsce/> [access date: 18.12.2016]; <https://www.campusfrance.org/fr/comment-chercher-un-emploi-en-france> [access date: 26.09.2018].

¹³ A.-C. Wagner (1998) discusses how education and university diplomas take on the role of national symbols of distinction, which are adopted by migrants.

¹⁴ This is related to the composition of the orchestra and translates into the number of positions offered to different instrument voices. A person playing an instrument (e.g., oboe, trombone, flute) which occupies barely three or four seats in an orchestra, needs more time to get a position.

Switzerland, Finland and of course, France), but I wasn't accepted anywhere. I thought that living lackadaisically leads to nowhere and is risky. So if I hadn't found any post, I would have had to return to Japan and try my chances there" (woman, forties, oboe, France).

The scarcity of such alternatives in Poland in comparison to France, where the music education market flourishes, forces Japanese musicians arriving to Poland either to move away from Poland to obtain another scholarly affiliation, find a job or get married. Otherwise, they have no choice but to return to Japan, as it demonstrates the following excerpt:

"The two Japanese students (male and female) I studied with, they both went back to Japan. Having no job, they just couldn't prolong the visa" (woman, piano, thirties, Poland).

Stay and work permit options as condition sine qua none of job security

Migration law that designates conditions of legal residence and work of a non-EU citizen within EU is but one important element that structurally frames the job security of Japanese musicians on the Polish and French labor markets. Although it lies within the competences of the European Community to regulate general conditions of immigration law that its members shall abide to, detailed prescriptions are designed by each country respectively. While in both countries, interviewed musicians — and especially working mothers (but conditions are incomparable) — in France and Poland¹⁵ emphasized that tenured position in an orchestra provided them with a sort of living security in the form of a stable income and social benefits (paid leave and paid maternity leave, health insurance, social insurance and pension). In Europe, as a full-time orchestra member, female musicians from the studied group were entitled to maternity leave and they did not experience institutional pressure to quit their job due to care-giving duties. Disparities between the two countries appear when it comes to legal possibilities of undertaking a part-time job. Furthermore, an issue that concerned all respondents, regardless of their country of residence, was the structural setting of their habitation (conditioned also to their conjugal status¹⁶), which related to their judicial status as workers of a non-EU citizenship. In a dissimilar way, this was due to each country's idiosyncrasy.

¹⁵ Only three instrumentalists from the Polish group worked in orchestras (one violinist and two trombonists). According to results from a preliminary study of the composition of 56 Polish orchestras, there were four persons of Japanese origins and one, with a Japanese name and probably half-Polish origins.

¹⁶ Married foreigners, who reside in France for five years or more, are granted a ten-year card (long term residence card). A candidate eligible to apply for the long residence card is required to present documents proving at least five years of residence in the country, and sources of stable income or a work contract that corresponds to the length of stay. Ten-year residence card (*Carte de résident de 10 ans*) is granted also to people on condition that they have integrated into the country, based on kinships or family relations (marriage, children or grandparents), or on other specific conditions. The person is also expected to prove linguistic proficiency. Available at: <https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F11217>

As it clearly stands out from the research material, contrary to France, where freelance musicians are provided with a number of legal options that enable them to engage in temporary employment, the Polish immigration law does not accept freelancing artists. I assisted one musician to the Office for Foreigners (Wydział Spraw Obywatelskich i Cudzoziemców) in Poland during the residence card renewal procedure several times. By 2014, this person presented documents that proved carrying out artistic activities, which was sufficient to prolong the artistic visa. However, after the law changed, this musician fell into the category identified as “Other” (pol. *inne*), without the possibility to legally undertake work (included in the artist status, which this person used to hold). Consequently, this musician lost all opportunities to professionally engage in financially rewarded performance projects in Poland. This type of activity constituted a significant source of the income, and provided this person with tax declarations that also served as the grounds on which the musician had the residence permit validated for subsequent years.

Poland: who needs foreign artists?

In the light of the Polish law after the 2014 modifications, artistic freelancing does not provide a sufficient ground to apply for the resident or work permits. Before the modification of the migration law in 2014, artists could apply for the stay permits in the category of “Artist” as long as they could prove their professional artistic activity. This category vanished after 2014, and today some obtain the stay permit as “Other”¹⁷, which deprives them of the work permit (included in the former artist status). Another category that the Japanese could fit in given their high skills, is the category for highly skilled professionals. However, as explained by the clerk office from the Bureau for Foreigners in Warsaw, this category is reserved for migrants with high salaries.

According to the research material, it was easier to legalize one’s residence before 2014 modifications and respondents profited from the old yet not systematized legal migration law. But each case differs from the other, which proves the structural chaos. One respondent acquired a permanent residence permit (*Zezwolenie na pobyt stały*) (valid

[access date: 22.02.2017]. In Poland, married musicians obtain the right to work and stay on the Polish territory based on the *Zezwolenie na pobyt rezydenta długoterminowego UE* (Long term EU resident permit), having successfully undergone the administrative procedure. The card must be renewed every 5 years. Available at: <http://www.migrant.info.pl/zezwozenie-na-pobyt-rezydentadlugoterminowego-ue-2014.html> [access date: 23.02.2017].

¹⁷ In order to legalize their residence as “Other”, they have to justify the reasons for staying in Poland (for example, participation in a volunteer program), and prove a regular monthly income that covers living costs equal to the amount that entitles a person to social security benefits, which was calculated to be PLN 674, approximately EUR 160 per single-person household. Available at: <http://www.wsoic.lublin.uw.gov.pl/pl/content/z-dniem-1-maja-2014-r-wchodzi-w-zycie-nowa-ustawa-o-cudzoziemcach-z-dnia-12-grudnia-2013-r> [access date: 08.02.2016]. Cf. *Dziennik ustaw* (Journal of Laws); available at: <http://www.dziennikustaw.gov.pl/du/2013/1650/1> [access date: 08.02.2016].

for ten years with the possibility of renewal) based on an application that consisted of many of the posters detailing the concerts that she performed in, or was supposed to give in Poland. There were persons who had to get married in order to legally work in Poland. The person quoted below was claimed an illegible candidate without the work permit, and to resolve the problem she had to get married first.

“Moreover, they didn’t want to employ me because I didn’t have a work permit, but I wasn’t eligible to apply for the work permit, because I didn’t have a job. A vicious circle. Fortunately, I was about to get married to my boyfriend, which resolved the work permit problem, but still, the role’s salary was poor, so I didn’t take the post after all” (woman, piano, thirties, Poland).

A modified law, which regulates the residence and work permit issues, and which was enforced on May 1st 2014, will not permeate legal discrepancies. In addition to the lack of legal options, the existing ones contain imprecise definitions¹⁸ or are tightened with strict conditions uneasy to meet. For instance, even if the academic grade acquired in Poland entitles a person to undertake work legally according to the Polish law, such a person cannot prolong a stay permit based on just any contracted job, but on a job with a monthly salary of being equal or higher than the minimum wage (pol. *placa minimalna*¹⁹), as it illustrates the excerpt below:

“I teach piano in a small private school in the outskirts of Warsaw. I have signed the contract for two months. It’s *umowa o dzieło* (a contract for a specific task)²⁰, which is renewable every two months. But I have no health or social insurance and if I’m sick for example, I simply get the time of my absence deducted from my salary. Also, because my monthly salary falls below the minimum wages, the Office for Foreigners refused to prolong my stay permit even if as a graduate of a Polish University, I’m entitled to a work permit and I do have a job. This situation is very stressful for me. I’m not sure what will happen with me in a month, when my visa expires and if the decision is negative” (Women, piano, twenties, Poland).

In light of the above legal artistic freelancing in Poland is possible only when artists are entitled to legally stay and work in the country. Therefore, most freelancing Japanese musicians in Poland stayed in conjugal relation with Poles. The situation of musicians in France differed for several reasons among which an elaborated migration law provides but one rationale.

¹⁸ One example is a “source of steady income”, a term which has no clear legal definition, yet it is decisive in an application for visa in the “Other” category. The actual assessment of candidates’ documents belongs to the area of responsibilities of the decisive officer, meaning that the decision can be to the applicant’s advantage or disadvantage.

¹⁹ In January 2017, it amounted to PLN 2,000 (approximately EUR 500).

²⁰ *Kodeks cywilny* (Polish Civil Code) provides for two basic types of short-term contracts (pol. *umowa na czas wykonania określonej pracy*) that bound employer and employee, if the subject of the contract is accomplishment of a given task/set of tasks: *umowa o dzieło* and *umowa zlecenie*. The main difference between the two is that only the latter is subject to social security contributions (that contain pension, disablement benefit or accident insurance). Cf. *Kodeks cywilny*, Dz. U. z 1964, Nr 16, poz. 93.

France: a restricted multiethnicity of the music world

In comparison to Poland, the French legal frameworks offer several possibilities for artists to carry out their profession on French territory, providing the foreigner fulfills prescribed criteria concerning the type of activity and the annual gross income, which are difficult for musicians with modest careers. In addition, foreign artists with legal stay and work permit have the right to profit from the state flexicurity-type program (fr. *les intermittents du spectacle*) (for more on this system and the situation in France, cf. e.g. Menger, 1998, 1999; Coulangeon, 2004) that supports freelancing artists partly alleviating the burden of job insecurity that arises from the alternate periods of work and unemployment, a mode specific for music world. In France and in Poland likewise, the greatest safety of job was declared by male and female musicians on permanent posts and married female musicians, whose legal working situation has been already sorted out. Single freelancers or those in informal relations work out visa extension strategies.

Among numerous solutions offered to foreign artists, who wish to carry out their professional pursuit on the French sole, the research material illuminates particularly situation of musicians, who inhabited the country based on the *Carte compétences et talents* (Skills and talent card)²¹. Since 2006 this card has been intended for artists, who plan to carry out a remunerated or non-remunerated activity for a maximum of four years. An obstacle in the application process for the mentioned card may be the annual gross income, which the lawmakers specified as being equal to or higher than EUR 53,289.60. Musicians do not say it explicitly, but their frequently overloaded schedules are partly intended to “pay for the visa”.

“The *Compétences et talents* card is granted to artists, who do a great deal of things, even if they do not have fixed employment. It is renewed every three years. It is actually very free in terms of working conditions, in that a candidate is free to define the goal of stay as long as this is related to artistic activity. I’m doing many different things, and so I thought I fit its regulatory framing. But this is not easy and I know many people who had to return to Japan, because they couldn’t renew their visa. I think that generally speaking, it’s not easy, especially when you are a freelancer. Musicians must perform five or six concerts a month to preserve their status” (woman, piano, thirties, France).

Due to overwork, some musicians then have the impression that the main goal of their work was to meet the legal criteria imposed on them by authorities, who intended for this category of visas to be for artists with high wages. Consequently, to meet the requirements, many often accept any jobs they are offered, to: 1) pay for the visa; 2) diversify professional activities in case the law changes to make sure they have records that entitled them to further extending the stay; 3) to sustain the source of work offers, or out of fear that once they refuse to accept the job there will be no more calls from this source, the source of work will dry out. In this sense, musicians perceived their situation as temporary, being uncertain whether their ‘privileges’ and ‘comfortable status’ they had worked out would

²¹ Cf. <https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F16922> [access date: 10.03.2017].

be terminated by potential governmental modifications, that could be anticipated upon each power shuffle.

“I have a fixed job, yet at the same time, I have students on individual lessons, I play concerts and record CDs. I’m trying to diversify my activities, you never know when and how the law changes” (woman, piano, thirties, France).

The French Labor Code²² provides artists in the performing arts sector, whose activities are carried out in alternative working and non-working periods, with special support. In this regime, an artist is classified as *intermittent du spectacle* if s/he is employed in projects that run in a succession of fixed-term, intermittent contracts. This system stipulates that artists are entitled to compensation (a minimum income) in times of unemployment²³, which is taken from the unemployment insurance paid by employers/employees according to specific rules. Initially, the system covered uniquely French creators (and people working in artistic projects). Today, also foreigners without French citizenship are entitled to apply for the status of *intermittent* on condition that they have a legal right to reside in French territory and are able to prove their creative activity — for musicians, it should constitute of *interprétation*, or music interpretation. One respondent who acquired this status spoke about its benefits in the following way:

“*Intermittent du spectacle* has nothing to do with nationality, it’s for those foreigners who pay taxes in France or contributed to the country’s wellbeing (financial or cultural). The rule has it that if a person proves a working activity of 500 something hours within a period of 10 months and a half, then this person is entitled to receive financial support. Basically, the idea of the system is to give you an amount of money in periods when you have no jobs, based on the amount of money you’ve earned until this particular moment. I find it very helpful. The amount for 2015 is estimated based on salaries from 2014. There is a condition that a person must have a valid *carte de séjour* (stay permit). This is the first thing to do, and without the card you cannot apply. Students are not eligible either” (woman, violin, thirties, France).

As supportive as it may seem, the system, however, was not accessible to all participants of my research, due to the difficulty of providing such high number of performing hours in relation to their music specialization in case of music teachers.

Some research points out that freelancing provides musician with the freedom of choice, in that they can select between projects that are compatible with their need, and that satisfy their aesthetic senses (Couch, 1989). Notwithstanding that, the data from the

²² This solution is not unique to France, but is partly implemented in Luxemburg (available at: <http://www.guichet.public.lu/citoyens/fr/loisirs-benevolat/culture-tourisme/statut-artiste/intermittent-spectacle/index.html> [access date: 19.07.2017]) and Belgium (available at: <http://smartbe.be/fr/sinforme/chomage/comment-evolue-mon-allocation-de-chomage-dans-le-temps-2/exception-pour-artiste-et-technicien-du-secteur-artistique-la-protection-de-lintermittence/> [access date: 19.07.2017]). Cf. e.g., Menger, 1998, 1999; Coulangeon, 2004.

²³ Available at: <http://www.pole-emploi.fr/actualites/intermittent-du-spectacle-quelle-definition--@/article.jspz?id=61284> [access date: 14.02.2016].

interviews shows that musicians were frequently accepting whatever they were offered. Migrant musicians are in need of jobs since they have to pay for the rent, renew their visas or the status of *intermittent du spectacle*. In practice, musicians make their timetable and themselves flexible, ready to accept invitations (for concert, festival, recordings) that might arrive any time (“if you refuse they might not call you again”). They practice to master a repertoire and to widen it in order to be able to respond to varied market needs (Faulkner, Anderson, 1987).

Working in the Polish and French academia. Formal barriers on the way to the local labor market

The job insecurity, both in France and Poland was related with the state-controlled positions, in the academia. What determined the vocational situation of the interviewed Japanese music teachers in France and pushed them into “precarity” (Paugam, 2000) was their Japanese nationality that precluded them from competing for tenured posts reserved for French nationals and also to citizens from EU- as well as EEA countries (Norway, Iceland, Lichtenstein) and Switzerland. This precarity was experienced in a similar way in Poland and in France. There is a specific career path designed in academia, based on degrees. In Poland and in France likewise, a person who intends to follow a university career path must step on an academic track that consists of acquiring subsequent degrees (PhD and postdoctoral academic titles qualifying a person as assistant professor) and in the end, leads to an attainment of a professorship.

To be eligible to sign a contract with the university in Poland, a candidate is required to have obtained at least a doctoral degree (meaning a submission of doctoral dissertation in English, or in Polish in case of the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music). Progressive internationalization of the Polish academic world in terms of increasing numbers of foreign students (Asians are one of the most numerous among music students) invites a hypothesis about possible growing acceptance of foreigners among academic staff (i.e. at the time of writing this article, the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music was employing two Korean lecturers with PhD and two Chinese assistants in the solo singing classes²⁴). The world of Polish academia seems to be more open to its French counterparts, where the academic staff constitutes one of the civil servants categories.

In France, vacancies in the academia world can be replenished with *enseignant titulaires* (tenured position) or contracted teachers. The main differences between the two are: (1) the stability of the job, and (2) the system of promotion linked with financial rewards²⁵,

²⁴ Available at: <http://www.chopin.edu.pl/en/departments-of-the-university/vocal-studies/> [access date: 26.09.2018].

²⁵ There are three grades of university professors. A debuting professor starts with income amounting to gross EUR 2,998.47 and when the person is promoted to the third class (*classe exceptionnelle*, exceptional class), their salary raises up to gross EUR 6,015.17. Available at: <http://www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/cid22705/professeur-des-universites.html> [access date: 05.03.2017].

which are beneficial for the former type of employment. There exists a formal system²⁶ of granting the title of *enseignant titulaires*, but the greatest barrier is the nationality condition. Since *enseignant titulaire* is a public function, it has been reserved for a long time, uniquely to people of French nationality and that encompassed European citizens as well (Héran, 2012, p. 10). Another difficulty arises from the exam content, which is not easy even for the French. The Japanese, who decided to retain their Japanese nationality, were not eligible to attain particular qualifications in order to apply for such a post. Put differently, the “glass ceiling” (Morrison, White, Van Velsor, 1987) that closes the way to upward mobility in the occupational structure of the academic world in France for the non-EU citizens, rests on the nationality issue. Many complained that their position was insecure, because they did not possess formal qualifications, which were reserved for French nationals and nowadays, are also accessible to EU citizens.

“I teach a little. I get paid mainly by accompaniment. I don’t have qualifications, so I’m not a professor *titulaire* (tenured), but a plain teacher. Qualified professors get promoted. First of all, people without French citizenship are not eligible to apply for a professorship and the Japanese are not permitted to hold double nationality. I’m married to a Frenchman, so I could change citizenship, but it’s risky — I wouldn’t be able to keep my Japanese passport. Therefore, I’m just a teacher and you can’t get promoted from this position. Promotion means that your salary rises progressively. In my case, wages increase as well, but only a little” (women, piano, thirties, France).

There is one factor that plays in favor of Asian musicians struggling for positions in European academia: the needs of the local education market. Today, European conservatories attract many Asian musicians (e.g. the Conservatory national supérieur de musique et de danse de Paris (CNSMDP, Paris national higher conservatory of music and dance) attracts approximately twenty students from Japan each year, which is one of the largest foreign student population), consequently, these institution may employ Asians to assist foreign students. This is one reason for which respondents, notwithstanding their insecure employment situation, were convinced that there would be a job for them as long as this significant population of young Japanese wanting to study at the CNSMDP continues to flow in from Japan. What if the trends change, depriving Asian teachers of the grounds of staying in Europe? The Japanese interviewees (in particular those who were single) realize that discontinuing their job contract would not only affect their economic condition, but consequently, their legal status.

²⁶ In its first phase, they are to be enlisted on the national qualification list (*la liste de qualification*). Eligible candidates must fulfill one of the following conditions: having acquired habilitation (*habilitation à diriger des recherches*, abbreviated *HDR*, accreditation to supervise research), which indicate their qualifications to conduct self-contained, university teaching or equivalent titles; or to be full-time teachers (there are five categories in total). In the second phase, the candidates must pass a competition suitable for a specific category. Cf. <http://www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/cid22705/professeur-des-universites.html> [access date: 05.03.2017].

Net-working. Formally and informally mediated professional linkages

Migration studies underline how heterogenic networks, which foreign students or “sojourners” (*cyrkulanci*) created in Poland, enabled their settling down in this country (Górny, Grabowska-Lusińska, Lesińska, Okólski, 2010, p. 207)²⁷. Heterogenic networks denote a web of contacts linking people affiliated with disparate social groups and of various social statues, unlike homogeneous networks, which are composed of actors driven by similar life goals and socio-economic status (*ibidem*). An insecure working situation interlocked and interacted with a musician’s irregular legal status in France and in Poland alike. These two elements were inseparable in that without work prospects, respondents were unable to apply for a visa renewal and without a renewed visa, they were unable to undertake legal employment. Also respondents declared that a web of connections played a significant role in the job-seeking process. Japanese musicians in Europe found their positions through networks: (1) formal (school) and (2) informal: family (spouse), friends. Among many others, these two elements were raised more often in the research material.

Academic linkages are by definition enrooted in the professional world and as such they open access to numerous working opportunities: e.g. *extras* (substitution) in the orchestra and chamber music, teaching, accompaniment, orchestras, consecutive interpreting of music lessons for other students. Firstly, students and absolvents have access to the announcements of auditions placed on notice boards of those schools. Also, music professors (trust-based relation) informally distribute information about vacancies in orchestras or academia and in addition, they help potential candidates preparing for the very audition (offering lessons and advice concerning the specific selection process), like in the example below:

“I was lucky, because my accompaniment teacher introduced me to an accompaniment department at a different conservatory, where I got some jobs. Once, inside I built contacts with other people from the conservatory, and received many part-time work offers” (woman, piano, thirties, France).

Schoolmates constitute another important medium that connect musicians with potential employers. Such informal network of employment agency or information about vacancies brings Polish and French professional music labor market close to each other. It illustrates the quote below:

[About the announcement of audition] “I found out from a friend. I heard that ‘a place will vacate there’. I was told that ‘this and that person left the orchestra, so a voice will vacate’. There was no document screening, only a practical examination, which I passed” (man, trombone, fifties, Poland).

²⁷ According to the authors, aside from social capital, rare skills and competences or cultural capital are also helpful (Górny, Grabowska-Lusińska, Lesińska, Okólski, 2010, p. 208–209).

Aside of valuable, high-quality within academia with their professors and peers, for musicians in both countries who stayed in conjugal relations with other musicians, life partners became a valuable connection with the music milieu. They usually have access to a larger variety of music-related events: from accompaniment, through chamber music or solo performance during music festivals up to a stable position in orchestra or music university.

“I had many friends and acquaintances that I met through my husband. In the beginning, I was asked to perform on TV programs, but also for interpreting. All these jobs came from connections, friends of friends, colleagues of colleagues” (women, piano fifties, Poland).

Marriage interplayed with their professional careers in two ways: legally (the stay and work permit), and economically²⁸ and in terms of relations.

Connections and networking are valuable assets in the careers of musicians of different specialties, including soloists: “(w)hat Bourdieu called the ‘portfolio of connections’ (“portefeuille de liason”) (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 516) are the soloist student’s main assets for the future” (I. Wagner, 2015, p. 198). Respondents were recommended and networked-employed because they were trustful. Trustfulness denoted high music skills, rare competences (e.g. knowing a specific repertoire and the like) and ability to cooperate smoothly (i.e. knowledge of the language, conventions).

“Supplémentaire (supplementary musician, who fills in for others, or is called for larger projects) in the opera system is selected by the lead person. These people are recruited by audition, or externally through connections. If this person asks you to come, you get the job. Certainly, my violin teacher was the soloist, but I also had to pass the audition to get in” (woman, violin, thirties, France).

In other words, these connections worked in favor of their candidature for a vacant position (yet another condition) if they met the meritocratic criteria. This supposition is made based on how these respondents described their relations with other musicians (be it French or Japanese), with whom they cooperated: be on time, well prepared — meaning that the musician mastered the pieces to be performed with others. These elements are crucial for short-term projects in order to achieve success (Faulkner, Anderson, 1987). Music skills that fit local performance conventions and the knowledge of other cultural conventions, including local language, that shape cooperation and interpersonal relations accumulated in a cultural capital that played a decisive role in the job-seeking and maintaining process.

²⁸ Studies conducted by M. Buscatto (2007) in the jazz world, as well as I. Wagner’s (2014) among transnational scholars, demonstrate that careers in these worlds are frequently supported by the spouse.

Cultural capital: music skills and conventions

Even if a musician's career is constructed around part-time projects that are introduced by networks, meritocratic criteria are no less significant. Especially if this musician is of Asian origins and has to prove that his/her professional qualifications negate the stereotype of Asian musician labeled as technically deficient, yet lacking the sense of music, as demonstrated by the passage below:

“If French and Asians perform the same piece, the later has to be twice or three times as good as the former to get any recognition. That is my impression. The French are simply given preference. I find nothing strange about it. It has nothing to do with nationalism or anything” (man, violin, forties, France).

Respondents underlined that one should not let down either a potential ‘employer’ or the one who recommends them. An unfavorable social reputation may exclude the person from future projects, as it appeared frequently in interviews conducted among musicians based in France. Below, a freelance violinist based in Paris depicts the efforts she made to manage and to secure her part-time job in a chamber music ensemble and as an orchestra substitute.

“After graduation from a conservatory, through the connections of my violin teacher, I entered a different music school to get the permit, and I started working as a freelancer. (...) I get to know someone, who has connections, and that is how you obtain a job. If it goes well, they will ask you again. If you fail — play wrong notes, are unprepared, or don't get along well with other members — they will not call you anymore. (...) When you work with an orchestra as a substitute (extra), you have to be careful, because there is an invisible code and you really have to use your head. That's tiring. Honestly. For example, you shouldn't be making unnecessary remarks, nor should you meddle in colleagues' problems/arguments, you should be careful with your attitude, the time you arrive, you mustn't grumble. If you cause any trouble and if any complaints reach the top of the orchestra, they might not ask you to play with them again...” (woman, violin, thirties, France).

Musicians residing in Poland have made fewer similar remarks, but supposedly “smooth, conflict-less cooperation” is a *condition sine qua none* of any cooperation in music, meaning that social skills is a must for any musician regardless of his/her nationality. Numerous studies on the subject argue that musicians' reputation rests not only on his/her skills, but also on the quality of cooperation with other members of the ensemble. According to their opinions, the continuity of cooperation on short-term projects largely depends on mutual trust, which decreases the cost of collaboration (Becker, 2008; Faulkner, 1983; Faulkner, Anderson, 1987). If for example music ensembles impose a form of collaboration on musicians, it is because the goal of its activity is to create coherent interpretation, and as scholars proved, creative collaboration requires trustworthy relations (Khodyakov, 2007, p. 1). If the trust-building/integration process reveals to be more difficult for foreigners in comparison to local musicians it is because they lack the linguistic mastery of the

native speaker. Similarly, this process hinders their insufficient knowledge of the local music milieu (A.-C. Wagner, 1998), as well as its conventions (regarding interpersonal connections on the one hand and standards of music performance on the other). All these elements contribute to musicians' multiplied insecurity on the local, French and Polish labor markets.

Conclusions

The European music milieus, for their universal music language of communication alongside the specifics of work (performing music according to set conventions), are expected to enhance the international working atmosphere, and to guarantee job security, just like transnational business corporations. A closer examination of professional situation of the studied Japanese musicians uncovers that job security on artistic labor market is constrained by juridical framework, valuable networks, which mediate access to the local labor market, as well as the knowledge of the language and culture (A.-C. Wagner, 1998). Regardless of their high skills, these musicians experience precarity at work and are loaded with the responsibility for their own welfare and settlements" (Kofman, 2016, p. 610). Work contract duration is uncertain, so is the remuneration, social benefits and statutory entitlements (Kofman, 2012) and their legal status. Scholars notice that, in the long-term perspective, staying in a precarious situation that limits the person ability to improve occupationally may lead to "deskilling" (ibidem), which is another consequence (of high cost given the life sacrifice related to acquirement of music skills) of multiplied insecurity experienced by a non-EU music professional on the French and Polish labor market.

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***Zwielokrotniona niepewność.
Japońscy muzycy na polskim i francuskim rynku pracy***

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest analiza dynamiki trajektorii japońskich muzyków klasycznych mieszkających w Europie — w Polsce i we Francji — którzy dzięki swoim kwalifikacjom zawodowym należą do kategorii wysoko wykwalifikowanych profesjonalistów, a jednocześnie ich sytuacja migracyjna podobna jest do sytuacji migrantów zarobkowych lub tzw. *middling migration* (Scott, 2006; Boyle, 2006). Spośród wielu czynników kształtujących europejskie kariery japońskich muzyków migrantów szczególną uwagę zwrócę na następujące połączenie trzech elementów: (1) strukturalne i prawne regulacje, które kształtują artystyczny rynek pracy, a w szczególności sytuację zawodową artystów migrantów; (2) rolę kapitału społecznego oraz (3) kulturalnego. Zastosowanie intersekcyjnej analizy czynników kształtujących sytuację zawodową artystów-migrantów pozwoli zrozumieć, w jaki sposób muzycy ze względu na swój zawód z jednej strony i pochodzenie etniczne z drugiej wpadają w pułapkę zwielokrotnionej niepewności. Badanie opiera się na materiale zebrany metodą jakościowych wywiadów indywidualnych przeprowadzonych wśród 50 japońskich muzyków klasycznych w ich języku ojczystym, a także danych ilościowych (statystyki konkursów muzycznych, orkiestr, akademii muzycznych itp.).

Słowa kluczowe: japońscy muzycy klasycznie, wysokokwalifikowani migranci, prekariat, niepewność pracy, zwielokrotniona niepewność