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Stereotypes about musicians in Guadalajara: the perception of music professionals and the impact on their careers.

Stereotypes regarding musicians in Guadalajara: Music professionals perspective and how stereotypes affect their careers.

Didier Machillot
Department of Languages. University of Guadalajara. (MEXICO)
CE: dmachillot@hotmail.com / **ORCID ID:** 0000-0002-3617-6919

SUMMARY

In this article, we will ask ourselves about stereotypes about musicians and the influence they can have on the development of a professional career. We will try, for this, to answer three questions: What are the stereotypes about musicians in Mexico and particularly, in Guadalajara?, what incidences do "harmful" stereotypes have on their career? and what are the strategies deployed by musicians to confront them? Inscribing ourselves in a sociological perspective, we have applied for this purpose, a qualitative method directly interrogating the actors involved in this process. From this, it follows that despite the presence of positive representations, negative stereotypes can strongly influence the career of musicians, causing direct effects that, according to them, lead to a poor valuation of the profession, whose

consequences can range from the imposition of the family to study a better valued career, until the abandonment of current studies, or even, in certain situations, it can have a direct impact on the conditions of contract.

Keywords: musicians, professions, stereotypes.

ABSTRACT

In this article, we will question stereotypes regarding musicians and the influence that they may have in the development of a professional career. In order to do this, we will try to answer three questions: Which are the prevailing stereotypes about musicians in Mexico and particularly in Guadalajara? How do these harmful stereotypes affect their career? Which strategies do musicians implement in order to face these stereotypes? Based on a sociological perspective, we have implemented a qualitative method, directly interviewing the actors involved in this process. It is inferred that, despite the presence of positive representations, negative stereotypes may strongly affect the career of musicians, causing a direct impact that, according to them, derive in a poor appreciation of the trade. The consequences may go from the family´s imposition to study a better appreciated major to the dropout of the current studies. In certain situations, it may even have a direct effect on employment conditions.

Key words: musicians, professions, stereotypes.

Introduction

Privileged objects of study of Social Psychology, and more recently, of Gender Studies, stereotypes are, paradoxically, little addressed by disciplines such as Sociology or Anthropology. Paradoxically, we said, since stereotypes influence not only the vision we have of the other, but also our relationship to him, in all social spheres, from interethnic relations, to the conditions of hiring in a company, for example.

But what do we mean by "stereotype"? For a specialist of interculturality, such as Maddalena De Carlo, it is a "hypergeneralization": a person categorized from an element, such as skin tone, is judged as identical to the rest (1998, p. 85). For their part, Amossy and Herschberg Pierrot point out that stereotypes are a preconception dependent on a collective, such as society or culture, for

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example (2005, p. 30). Finally, let us note that stereotypes are not, in themselves, right or wrong – as these last authors point out, quoting Leyens – but simply "useful or harmful" (2005, p. 39).[1]

Having briefly defined this concept, we are now in a position to question stereotypes, and in particular their relationship to professions and the world of work. For this purpose, we will focus, like Becker (1985), on the career of musicians, but interested, for this article, in stereotypes. To do this, we will try to respond mainly to three key points: What are the stereotypes about musicians in Mexico, and particularly in Guadalajara?, what impact do "harmful" stereotypes have on their careers? and what strategies are deployed by musicians to confront them?[2]

Although our article is articulated according to these three questions, we must, however, explain at first, how stereotypes work and the negative impact they can have on groups and individuals, in addition to justifying the choice of the public, our method and the field of research.

1.   On stereotypes: how it works

How do stereotypes work? We will be based on the reflections of both Social Psychology and Sociology: we are particularly interested in the findings of the first, on stereotypes, and on the conceptions of the second, on the construction of identity.

1.a. Stereotypes, intergroup relationships and identity construction

"Identity as I cannot exist without identity as we can" (Dubar, 2000, p. 18), this famous formula by Norbert Élias, seems to echo a no less famous work by Erikson, *Childhood and Society,*where he insisted in the same way, on the importance of social interactions in the construction of identity (Halpern, 2016, p. 6-7). More recently, in Sociology, the theories of Bourdieu's *Habitus* (1979), the works of Berger and Luckmann (2008), or even Jean-Claude Kauffman (2004),pointout, to more or less

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[1] "Useful" when they are positive, since they will allow to value, for example, a profession, both in the eyes of its members and those of the public. "Harmful", conversely, especially when they give rise to discriminatory behaviors harmful to the identity construction of individuals and groups.

[2] In fact, we'll see. later that some of our results coincide with those of this famous American sociologist.

important degrees, the influence of the social on the construction of identity. In fact, as reiterated by various authors, identification towards the group plays a primary role in this process (Marc in Halpern, 2016, p. 32), whether it is a "sexual" type identification, or in relation to a medium or a social class, an age range, a professional group, etc. (Marc in Halpern, p. 32-33). In short, as summarized by Delphine Martino (Halpern 2016, p. 45), the concept of *self*is socially constructed, in a game of reflections, where our image is forwarded by the Other and vice versa.

Construction of *himself* compared to the *other...* This game of reflexes obviously implies the generation of stereotypes. In this regard, as we stressed in other works (Machillot, 2010, 2012), the fact of belonging to a group leads us to distinguish ourselves from others. A movement of integration and distinction, which produces *self-stereotypes* and *heterostereotypes:*in otherwords, stereotypes that define a "we", in relation to, or against the "other". The phenomena of identification [3]with a group, respond, therefore,to processes of categorization and classification – the endogroup, being constituted by subjects that a person has categorized as belonging to his group and with whom he will tend to identify while this same person will categorize in the exogroup the individuals judged different from his own (Bourhis-Gagnon cited by Caroline Dayer, 2007, p. 72).

The link between stereotypes and intergroup relationships is, then, not only extremely strong, but essential, if one wants to understand the construction of identity and the consequences that the former have on the latter.

1.b. Some consequences of stereotypes on individuals and intergroup relationships

Whether reference is made to gender, ethnic appearance, professional relationships, disability, etc., one of the main consequences of "harmful" stereotypes is, in this case, as Légal and Délouvée specify in *Stéréotypes, préjugés et discrimination,* discrimination. These authors define it as a negative and unjustified attitude exercised against the members of an exogroup (2008, p. 60). They then point out

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[3] With regard to this classification, Mary Douglas states: "The constitution of a class is an activity of polarization and exclusion. This implies marking borders [...]." (2004, p. 95).

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that the fact of experiencing discriminatory behaviors will have an influence on emotions and the constitution of identity, which can lead, among other things, to a loss of self-esteem (2008, p. 73).

Another possible consequence refers to the judgments and evaluations we make about the other and about ourselves, since stereotypes and prejudices guide our perception of a group and the interpretation of their behaviors (2008, p.64).

Finally, a no less important effect is that, in addition to their normative impacts, as Sidanius and Pratto tell us, stereotypes can influence the reproduction of domination effects within the social hierarchy in various areas – economic, sexual, etc. – by legitimizing the formation of dominant groups and dominated groups (Légal & Delouvée,   2008, p. 54-55).

The above are just some representative examples of the consequences that stereotypes can have on the individual, but there are others, of course. In this article, we are interested in addressing those that have an impact on intergroup relationships and the construction of the individual, since, on the one hand, it allows us to show that the way musicians are perceived is inscribed more broadly in the social order and, on the other hand, it gives us a framework to analyze how harmful stereotypes affect their career. In this sense, we will see that some of the direct consequences will be the abandonment of studies due to the pressure of relatives, or even – as has been seen in other areas studied (Las Mexicanas y el trabajo, 2003: 2) –, the obtaining of a low remuneration.

Having established the above, it remains for now to define the audience that we will study and the method used for this research.

2. Audience, field and method

Regarding the public, we limit ourselves to questioning the "active" performing musicians, understanding as such, the people who performed or sought a paid musical activity during the month prior to the interview, [4]who agree with the category "economically active population" of the INEGI.

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[4] In this approach we do not differ from the definition of the population of musicians studied in France by Coulangeon, which includes under this term the instrumentalists, singers, conductors or choirs, teachers, composers and arrangers who have a paid musical performance activity, this, without distinction of genre. On the contrary, disc jockeys, despite their growing presence, are not taken into account. (2004, p. 13-14).

Concentrating on the "classical" performers, during the early stages of our research, the first results forced us, however, to open up to other types of musicians, this, [5]derived from the fact that most of the musicians questioned quickly revealed themselves as versatile.[6]

Thus, the interpreters of "classical" music, recognized playing by taste or necessity other musical genres, such as rock, jazz, traditional music, etc. (Machillot, 2018, p.267-268). In this way, for this article, our survey was interested in the meta-category "musician", rather than in specific categories, such as "classical concertists", "rockers", "jazz musicians" ... This choice does not rule out, however, possible differences depending on the musical genres. [78]In this regard,further research is planned in order to refine these results and to discern possible differences between the categories.

As for the field studied, we have limited ourselves to the city of Guadalajara, firstly, by the fact that the musical medium of this place has been relatively little studied, unlike the capital, where important research has been carried out, such as those of Guadarrama (2013). Second city in the country, it also has an important population, and especially proposes a growing offer of training (such as the University of Guadalajara, or the Free University of Music, but also Fermatta and other more recent or more modest institutions), as well as multiple spaces to exercise the trade of musician (cafes, bars, restaurants, cultural centers, concert halls, etc.). Finally, we believe that concentrating on a single city would avoid the risks of dispersion.

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[5] "Economically active population (EAP): Persons who during the reference period carried out or had an economic activity (employed population) or actively sought to carry out one at some point in the month prior to the day of the interview (unemployed population)." (National Institute of Statistics and Geography, n.a.)

[6] Same that Guadarrama confirms in his research on concert musicians in Mexico "Concert musicians are those who identify with the so-called cultured or symphonic music. However, when it comes to knowing the occupations of these musicians, we find that the boundaries between this aesthetic orientation and other musical genres are not clear. In practice, although their aesthetic interests and their identity they have as their main reference the cultured music, they usually move between different musical genres and niches of the labor market." (2013, p.199)

[7] The exceptional or frequent use of "bone", a commercial activity of the "food" type, is regularly mentioned in interviews.

[8] This was confirmed not only by our informants, but also by other sources such as this interview with pianist Dimitri Dudin in 2011 by the newspaper. *The Day*: "[...] he has managed to survive doing everything a little, from cabaret and accompanying academic and popular singers on the piano – among the latter are Margie Bermejo and Susana Zavaleta – to "composing popular songs, making arrangements and orchestrations and, of course, with the *bones*"". (Vargas, 2011)

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Due to the needs of this research, given that it is about listening to the actors, we have privileged a qualitative method, mainly because it pays particular attention, as Vela Peón points out, to the meaning, feelings and experience of the interviewees (Tarrés, 2013, p. 87).

For this, we have used a key instrument of the social sciences (Hugues, 1996, p. 281-290; Flick, 2007, p. 89): semi-directed interviews, with an average duration of more than one hour, applied in the last four years to about 30 musicians. In this regard, anticipating possible consequences in their workplace, the anonymity of the participants was respected throughout this article.

In order to verify the information, we resort to the now traditional process of triangulation, on the one hand, between different sources, but also between different methods and theories; invoking various informants and written documents (interviews, articles, etc.), but also, theories of other authors. In this way, we cross the information, until we reach the saturation of data, which has allowed a "relative" validation of the latter (Olivier de Sardan, 1995, p. 98).

Once these clarifications have been made, we will listen to professional musicians, regarding the perception they have of stereotypes about their profession and the consequences that these can have on their career.

3. Stereotypes about musicians in Guadalajara: the perception of music professionals.

It is inevitable, to begin with, to see that contrasting representations of musicians coexist. This, according to what was expressed by the interviewees themselves, but also, by what we could observe in the very heart of Mexican society – in the media or during concerts, for example. Indeed, one of these stereotypes, which some have described as "romantic", is rather positive. Another, more prevalent in the discourse of musicians, is the perception of the negative stereotype of their profession.

1.   The "positive" stereotype

Reinforced by the media, especially when it comes to musicians who enjoy local or global success, the positive stereotype about the profession is also perceived by the musicians themselves, who,

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without completely discarding it, contrast it with the reality they live, emphasizing even its coexistence with a much more negative representation:

How do you think non-musicians, other people, see or perceive them?

Well, in general I think there are those two sides: the side, as I say, romantic ...

Could you specify "romantic"?

Yes, uh... who see music as something very beautiful. As well as something very passionate, something very emotional, but they do not land it on the side, I insist, that it is a job, right? [...] This... I insist, so I think many people see it that way: like "how nice to be a musician" and "how nice to travel" and "how nice to meet people" and "how nice the places where you go" and "how nice to be invited everywhere". But it's not that, it's work and it's very hard work. (Interviewee 1)

You tell them you're a musician, how do they usually react?

Ok, there are people who react very well, it seems that you are talking to people from the Renaissance, right?, who almost almost extend their hand and tell you "pass your majesty" right?, that it is a profession because very beautiful and there are other people who tell you "ah..., musician" as if it were anything, right? *[Interruption],*there is always that double, double reaction, there are people who see you with good eyes and there are other people who see you as if you were not a professional no matter how much you tell them that you studied ten years, right?, in a conservatory. (Interviewee 2)

On the one hand, there are the musicians who are not in the shop windows, who validate the musical work, that is, those who are not on radio or television... and, in general, the vision of them is of lazy, vague, informal, drunk, womanizing, "man-brown" people in the case of women, I suppose. And I think all musicians live that the

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day they say to their parents "I'm going to be a musician", because I don't know anyone who has said "ah, that's great!" On the other hand, musicians are already in the spaces that are valid, radio and television, rather, people in the public already tend to see them as artists, as active members of the intellectual community of their city, as valuable people, and even as an aspiration, so, they want to be like... I feel that neither perception is necessarily true. (Interviewee 3)

Between the "romantic" image of the musician, which does not cease to evoke that of the talented artist, and the negative representation of it, there is, as we see in this last statement, only a single step.

2.   "Negative" stereotypes

"Positive" stereotypes correspond to their negative counterparts. To summarize, the musician, in particular through the image of the "bohemian" (Moussa 2008; Machillot, 2018), to which he is associated, comes to incarnate as the excluded. "Harmful stereotypes", as Leyens named them, quoted by Amossy and Herschberg (2005, p.39), in that they will have certain consequences on the career and perception of musicians.

But let's stop first, and it will only be for a moment, in the definition given by the Royal Spanish Academy, of the concept of "bohemian":

Bohemian, Mia 1. adj. Native of Bohemia, region of the Czech Republic. 2. adj. Belonging to or relating to Bohemia or the Bohemians. 3. adj. gypsy. APL. a pers.,[...] 4. adj. Said of a way of life: That departs from social norms and conventions, such as that attributed to artists. 5. adj. Said of a person: Who leads a bohemian way of life. 6. adj. Belonging to or relating to bohemia. 7. adj. p. us. Czech (‖ belonging to the Czech language). Bohemian lexicon. 8.m. p. us. Czech (‖ language). 9.m. Short, sumptuous and flying cape, used in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 10. f. Set of people of bohemian life. (*Bohemian, mine,* n.a.)

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As we see, coming from the often discredited, even hated, and then idealized figure of the "gypsy", the "bohemian" came to embody in the nineteenth century, under the pen of writers like Murger, "a class of young Parisian writers or artists, who live day by day the precarious product of their intelligence" (Moussa, 2008, p.7-11). A representation that, according to Moussa, is part of the construction of a true myth (2008, p.11-12).

Impregnated, then, with the image of the "gypsy", from which it comes, this stereotype would be built, in addition, in opposition to a "utilitarian" era, where the values of capitalism and the bourgeoisie prevail. Conversely, the rejection of the comfort and apparent artistic spontaneity of the Bohemians, seduces artists who defend the idea of an "absolute art", and who transform the negative connotations of the stereotype into romantic symbols of love, passion and freedom (Moussa, 2008, p. 11-12).

However, as Julio Romero points out, this myth would also have its counterpart, given that "an image of the bohemian artist would be fostered that responded to the stereotype of external disarray, excessively free life, eccentric attitudes, sentimental adventures, marginality ... image that even today is the most defining of the artist for a large part of the public" (López Rodríguez, 2010, p. 6).

An image, by the way, rejected by some of the musicians questioned, who far from seeing it as a positive aspect, perceive it, on the contrary, as a prejudice that affects their career:

> *But... What image do they have, according to you, of the musician?*
> Ah!... because the generalized image is like this cuate, well, bohemian ... the one who doesn't really care about life, who may be in alcohol perhaps, and his guitar, right? I think it's a very widespread picture. (Interviewee 1)

> [*About the image of the musician in his family*] Yes, I have vices, it's weird, because I do have vices, but not the vices they believe.
> *But what kind of vices do they associate with the musician?*

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> Yes, because you are an alcoholic, that you are always awake, that you are bohemian, that being bohemian is not good... (Interviewee 4)

A stereotype that was also confirmed by the famous jazz musician Eugenio Toussaint, in this 2005 interview for the Mexican Journal of Educational Orientation:

> It was an activity almost considered prostitution; my grandfather once said so: "dedicating oneself to music is like dedicating oneself to prostitution". I think that more than anything else what was scary was the environment, something that still remains a problem for the parents of many of our students. They are a little afraid of drug addiction, the possibility of alcoholism, the awakenings, access to many bad things, the famous bohemian who works in brothels or cabarets; that's the idea of the people, anyway. (Remo, 2005, p. 19-20)

As we pointed out in another article (Machillot, 2018, p.281), if we give credence to this statement by the director of the Faculty of Music, Estanislao Mejía, after the inauguration of the courses on October 7, 1929, this stereotype is not new in Mexican society:

> In the time in which we live, the musician needs to develop, both the technique of his thoughts, and that of his specialty in art. The type of the bohemian musician, dreamer, but without aspirations, who like an irresponsible resonator of his art, sings as an echo of a voice that does not know where it comes from or where it wants to go, is today so discredited, that society rejects him for lack of specific knowledge. (Aguirre Lora, 2006, p.92).

Despite this, although it is true that most of the musicians questioned reject the image of the "bohemian", we note instead, in various statements, the persistence of common features associated with bohemia, which could result from an "internalization" of certain elements associated with this stereotype.

This is the case, especially, of the claim of a certain "freedom", as we will see in the following examples:

> [...] I associate it more with true freedom, right, music. (Interviewee 5)

[...] I would say, for me, to be a musician is to be someone free, right?, because where you are, where you are, or where you are teaching, you are expressing what you feel, not so much what society says, right? (Interviewee 2)

Does this relative ambiguity in turn influence public perception? We wouldn't know how to say it based on this research. What is true, on the contrary, is that, according to musicians, other equally "harmful" stereotypes about the profession circulate within Mexican society. Some of them detach themselves directly from the "bohemian", such as "the lazy" and "the starving".

[*On a friend's reaction when he told him he wanted to study music*]
Of the musician, that, that he is bohemian [*Interruption*] and dies of hunger and I think that in general people think that, well then I talk to them, right? I studied, I entered to study medicine and I left because I decided to study music, they are very surprised, then ... [*Interruption*]. (Interviewee 4)

How do you think non-musicians see or perceive them?
Well, there's that cliché, right, that we're very lazy and we have no future. That we live to the "caiditas" and, well, that's my perception of what people have of you. (Interviewee 5)

But how...? What kind of clichés? If you could specify a little.
No, because of lazy, of starving, whatever you want, right? (Interviewee 6)

[when*he decided to study music*]my dadexpressed his disapproval, but eventually, he gives me free will then.
What did he tell you?

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Well, if I was sure, that I was not going to feed, this ... And now, basically that was his speech, but well, that I knew. (Interviewee 7)

[*About her decision* to study music] my mom says "enter the arts so they are not anything" and when I say "I'm going to go into music" "how do you think?, you're going to starve" [*s and laughs].* (Interviewee 4)

What happened when you decided to become a musician?

When I decided to dedicate myself, already as a career, to music, it was difficult for my dad [...] Because there was that stigma that a musician or an artist is going to starve, right? [*laughs*]... (Interviewee 7)

Characteristics to which other stereotypes that are part, as we will see, of deviation or excess, such as, "the womanizer", "the alcoholic", or even, "the drug addict" will be associated.

[*on people's behavior toward musicians*]

Well, negative, because it is that, "ah!, you do not work", "ah!, because you do not study". I'm a musician, so..." ah, you use drugs" or "you're an alcoholic, right? or... public disorder, mass troublemaker, liver, womanizer *[laughs];* I think it's a common stereotype of the musician... of non-musicians... (Interviewee 8)

Why did your parents react so badly?

Well, for the same reason, because it is the stigma that exists in... now less I repeat, especially with parents, about the career of a musician, who say they think you are going to die of hunger, they think you are going to become a drug addict, right?, that is... (Interviewee 9)

Representations about musicians, which result, in other words, from "deviation". In this sense, the performer or composer corresponds to the image of the "Outsiders", evoked by Howard S. Becker in his book of the same title (1985).

Indeed, if the image of the "rebellious" musician has become constitutive of certain musical genres, such as punk, for example, we must, however, point out that this cannot be applied in the case of all musicians. This generalization and simplification certainly depend on stereotyped processes, as we have seen in the definition of it, but it also responds to the imposition of rules by society. A process that, according to Becker, will define in itself the phenomenon of "deviation", since, if the group that imposes its rules considers that a subject has transgressed them, then it will cease to have confidence and will be considered as "foreigner" in that group *[outsider]* (Becker, 1985, p.25).

Therefore, as Le Breton summarizes, deviation is not an objective content of behavior, but a perspective on the Other (2004, p. 229). Likewise, as we will see, and as Becker reiterates, the person labeled as "foreign" may have a different perception and not accept the norm according to which he is judged, and may even question the legitimacy of his judgments (1985, p. 25). And we will also see that, indeed, musicians sometimes tend to reject the label that is given to them.

But first, it is necessary to verify how these negative stereotypes affect the career of musicians.

3. The influence of harmful stereotypes on the career of musicians

The impact of negative stereotypes has been mentioned in a first part, devoted to the general functioning of stereotyping, and in reality, the consequences of stereotypes on musicians are not minor. We will see, in fact, that these may influence the choice of career, and even, as Becker (1985, 140-141) showed, the abandonment of it, or they will affect social recognition and the conditions of hiring and remuneration.

3.1. Choice and abandonment of the career of musician

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In an article written with James Carper, Howard Becker identifies three groups of "expectations" that would influence the identification of an individual with a specific occupation: these are those concerning society at large, the family, and the occupation group (1970, p. 203).

As these authors point out, occupation is one of the greatest determinants of an individual's social position, and in that sense, society as a whole and the family generally expect it not only to conform to dominant social norms, but also to be "successful" based on these (1970, p.207). Therefore, the knowledge that a family may have about an occupation turns out to be extremely important, since it will depend on whether it is desirable or not (1970, p. 208).

As we have seen, the musical career is often associated with negative stereotypes, which, among other things, provoke the fear of parents, that their children will have little "success", particularly economically. This negative image of the profession of the musician, does not often respond to the "expectations" of the family, and of society in general, provoking negative reactions that, sometimes, can reach, as Becker (1985, p. 140-141) pointed out, up to the family veto, when an individual decides to make a musical career, as we will see in the following testimonies:

> *How did your family react when you decided to pursue music?*
>
> There was no problem*[his parents worked in the musical*field], because no, I hadto be privileged in that sense [*Interruption*], a good of my classmates ... [*Interruption*] to a classmate of anincredible "talentazo", we were many years ago, so, like you and I having a coffee, in the cafeteria of the school and the father came and took him out of his ears, that is, so, I saw him arrive and he came and grabbed him from here by the ears and took him out, and never went back to school. I say he is not doing badly, he is a millionaire the vato, he is dedicated to selling flowers, so on a large scale, for a wedding, for example, he charges five hundred thousand to decorate with flowers [*Interruption*]. (Interviewee 6)
>
> *Did [your parents] influence your decision to be a musician?*

No, no, in fact, as I said, quite the opposite, right?, that is, when I decide that I want to dedicate myself formally to music, rather I encounter the obstacle of them, particularly my dad.

Yes, what did he tell you?

That is, now yes the usual: "you have to study a real career", right? Hey... and yes, yes it was a very strong obstacle, very very very strong.

[...] Do you think that influences professional development?

Yes. Definitely yes. Definitely yes, because it comes in from the dads, doesn't it? I mean, I know I'm not the only case. I know that most cases in Mexico are like mine, it's like: "you can't dedicate yourself to music because you have to study a real career", so unintentionally it's like all the time being like receiving these bombardments, right?, that music is not a profession. So when we want to dedicate ourselves to it because we have this idea that "I can't really dedicate myself to it because the conditions are not there, I have to study something else", and then I already feel sorry or I feel sorry, also like saying: "I'm going to focus fully on that, because I also have the fear that how about it doesn't work, and then they're going to be right that I can't make a living from music." So yes, I think all those issues do affect development a lot." (Interviewee 1)

Do you think that kind of behavior, beliefs... influence and continue to influence your development, the professional development of musicians?

[...] Yes, yes it is an influence, I have known [*Interruption*], yes [*Pause*] I have had studentswith enough skill, who have had to leave because they have to work, because their parents demand them, young people who could very well start a career in this, they do not let them.

Why?

Because of this ignorance, because no, that is, they have to study a career that feeds them, basically. (Interviewee 7)

[...] well even I have met students who like it and have faculties, but because of the pressure of their dad or their mom, they leave music and go to an engineering or something else, because at home, they almost run them if they continue in music, right? *[laughs].* (Interviewee K)

As Becker already observed in the sixties, the pressure of the family, or of society in general, is such that it sometimes leads to a change of orientation, and even to the abandonment of the career of musician (1985, p. 139-144). In these phenomena, stereotypes play a key role, since they are at the center of the beliefs that weigh on these choices. But these are not the only disastrous effects, since, as we will see later, if despite the pressures young musicians go in pursuit of a professional career, thesesamestereotypes and negative social imaginary, will have consequences in the exercise of their work, especially in the conditions of hiring and remuneration.

3.2. The impact on working conditions

Although the impact of stereotypes has often been analyzed within different professional contexts – an example of this is the multiple studies of gender at work or discrimination, associated with physical appearance or a religious group (Klein& Pohl, 2014) – they are scarce, however, l research concerning the consequences of these representations on interprofessional relations. Therefore, it is necessary to look towards other concepts and analyses, which allow us to understand the observed phenomena. In this respect, the Constructivism of Berger and Luckmann is very valuable to us.

From this, we retain, in effect, that everyday life is affected by "typification schemes" – the Other is perceived as "man" or "woman", pleasant or not, etc. – that is, by our way of understanding and acting with others in the course of our interactions (Berger et Luckmann, 2008, p. 85). Typifications that recall stereotypes, as defined by social psychologists, and that, like these, partly determine the reactions that can be had in front of a type of people.

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In this case, in the case of "ordinary" musicians – that is, musicians who do not enjoy wide media recognition – these, as we have observed, are often perceived or "typified" negatively, not only by "foreign" people in the midst of musicians, but also by society in general, and, as will be seen below, by those who hire them:

Simply, I say, if we go to the most basic part, which is the work of a musician in a bar, the owner of the bar also has that idea that he does not have to pay you much, because pos... for two hours that you are there..., that is, why does he have to pay you more than two or three hundred pesos?, because, that is, if you are not really doing such an important activity, eh... and if we go to the cultural institutions, the same cultural institutions say: "well, why do I have to pay you what you are asking me here, if nothing else is going to go to play?", that is, "how am I going to pay you two thousand pesos for an hour of work or for two hours of work?". And it's not really that, I mean, that's the time I'm going to be playing, but all the time I invested in my preparation... right? However, they do not say anything if a doctor in a twenty-minute consultation charged eight hundred or a thousand pesos, they do not see it as "alas, he charged me a thousand pesos for twenty minutes"; no, "he charged me a thousand pesos for all the knowledge he has." Here it's the same, isn't it? (Interviewee 1)

[...] when you go to certain places and.... it is classic that: "well, you know what?, there is no budget to pay them, but we can give them beers or food" [...] then, it is something that also influences. (Interviewee 8)

The owners of the places see you as a second-class worker [...] I, at this point in my life, there are still people who want me to play for dinner, "my kitchen is excellent, I am giving you my dinner, that is, see what my letter costs" and I: "I am not interested", I am interested in living from what I do ... (Interviewee 9)

[...] when you come to look for forums to present yourself, and where the same government sometimes does not appreciate art, and then, they treat you as a... [*pause*] let's say, as one more employee, as... as if they were doing you a favor. (Interviewee 10)

That belief of the musician, as something of little value, or as something easy to achieve, because it demerits the experience of music, and the payment of musicians, and competition in general. (Interviewee 11)

We observe, in these testimonies, the lack of recognition of the "status" of musicians as trained professionals, and, consecutively, the devaluation of their work, which entails an impact on their remuneration.

Faced with this situation, the reactions of the musicians questioned are not homogeneous, but, despite these differences, they all point to the need to obtain from the rest of society a recognition of their competences and their value.

4. Demands and redefinitions of the profession of musician, through the condemnation of stereotypes (or the desire for social recognition)

In *La lutte pour la reconnaissance,* Axel Honneth, although not specifically attached to the question of work, is interested, as Emmanuel Renault points out, in the issue of conflicts between groups in order to assert their own competences and characteristics. This recognition, then, turns out to be, according to Honneth, the objective of a constant struggle for the other to value our competences and recognize our value for common life (Renault, 2007, p.124).

In line with this struggle for recognition, and based on the interviews conducted, we observe in the musicians three types of attitudes, not contradictory between them, to try to impose themselves against the rest of society: the first would be the claim of belonging to the endogroup

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"artists", which would thus distinguish them from the *exogroup* ; the second would be linked to the rejection of the negative stereotype about the profession, and the third would be built from the adoption of the values dictated by society.

4.1. An "artistic" way of life

In previous sections, we have been able to see how marked the stereotype of the artist has been since the nineteenth century by the myth of the Bohemian. Myth that is notably associated with freedom (Moussa, 2008, p.11-12), but also, on the other hand, as Adenot points out, is linked to the concepts of "vocation" and "gift" (2010). An imaginary that we find in certain musicians, when they describe their profession as "a way of life":

> Be a musician? [...] For me it is a way to be able to find freedom and to project endless ideas that can be imprisoned there if they did not have this form of escape. It is also a way of life, it is a way of understanding life, of enjoying it... (Interviewee 13)

> It's my lifestyle. It's my *modus vivendi.* (Interviewee 12)

> I believe that it is a way of life, it is a way of life ..., in everything that I conform, I believe that it goes that way, always. (Interviewee 4)

As we already stressed in another article (Machillot, 2018, p. 282), some of the musicians establish a clear difference between the "musician" endogroup and the "non-musicians". Agreeing with what Tajfel described, in his theory of social identity: the endogroup tends to establish distances with the exogroup, comparing itself with it, but insisting on its own characteristics, judged as positive (Scandroglio, López Martínez & San José Sebastián, 2008, p.83):

> [...] I think we are first professionals and then we are artists.

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In what sense?

It seems to me that it has to do with the management of the technique, [...] so, it has to do first with the improvement of a technical management, right? Like a carpenter perhaps, like a craftsman. For me that is the first thing, and then would come the part, let's say, of the discourse of the artistic, of the generation of a possible universe [...] It seems to me that the artistic question goes to a domain perhaps a little more refined and does not have to do only with music, that is, playing something. It would have to do with... for example, I, in the compositional question, see it more as the generation of possible worlds.   (Interviewee 14)[9]

What is being a musician? Ugh, it's dedicating yourself. It is to dedicate your effort and your concentration to... in this case, a little to art, a little, and a little*[rectifying]*a lot, or a little more to the, because to the music industry and what has to do with music, and with all the links it has perhaps with literature, with cinema, with audio, with technology ... (Interviewee 15)[10]

[...] I notice a type of personality in the artist and in the non-artist, be it a musician, a dancer, a painter, a writer; I notice a different kind of thinking, different from the lawyer, the doctor [...] I have noticed that we are a little more, it could be said, I do not know if liberal, much more given to creativity or to break with ideologies, to ... to create molds, instead of adapting to the molds that are already in the standard of society, perhaps, and perhaps much more emotional, much more, much more emotional, that I have*[Interruption]*noticed, much more emotional. (Interviewee 16)[11]

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[9] Quoted in Machillot (2018, p. 282).
[10] Quoted in Machillot (2018, p. 282).
[11] Quoted in Machillot (2018, p. 283).

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Although, when talking about his profession, in the imaginary of certain musicians the stereotype of the "free" artist appears, as analyzed by Moussa (2008), linked, as we had observed, to the image of the "bohemian" (Bourdieu, 1998; Moussa, 2008, p. 7-12; Machillot, 2018, p. 281), in others, on the contrary, we find the rejection of these associations, due to their often negative connotations, shared by the public.

4.2. The rejection of the stereotype

Quoting Becker, we recall that the individual labeled as *an outsider* can deny his judges the necessary powers to judge him (1985, p. 25). In the 60s, the author masterfully analyzed numerous musicians he frequented, observing how they had not only developed a subculture that was their own, but also denied those non-musicians the ability to understand them, and therefore, to judge them correctly (1985, p.120-125). This, the author adds, allowed them to isolate themselves and, in turn, differentiate themselves from non-musicians.

As we saw in another article (Machillot, 2018, p.283), in the case of musicians questioned on our own, the rejection of the negative stereotype, and of being assimilated to the characteristics that, according to them, society sometimes attributes to them, is evident:

> [...] the truth is a perception, because very wrong, maybe they are based on the fact that a good number of young people want to try, right?, they want to play and make their disaster [...] and maybe, on that side, is that you have that perception, because almost all my friends are musicians and I have very few friends [*who are*] like that... (Interviewee 6)[12]

> [...] no, no, I'm not bohemian, because I like to work a lot. (Interviewee 4)[13]

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[12] Quoted by Machillot (2018, p.283).
[13] Quoted by Machillot (2018, p.283).

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But beyond what Becker (1985) could observe, we observe, for our part, other strategies that musicians deploy, so that society validates their *being,*or at least, what they would like to be.

4.3. The claim of "professional competences"

Although we have been able to observe the claim of certain characteristics, emphasizing the positive differences between the "artist" endogroup, with which the musician identifies, and the "non-musician" exogroup – which, as we have already said, would be in accordance with the theses developed by Tajfel in his theory of identity(Scandroglio & al., 2008, p.83) – the answers of the vast majority of subjects questioned defended, on the contrary, in the face of the negative stereotype of the musician, the professional dimension of the exercise of music, that is, an image in accordance with the norms and values of work dominant in Mexican society, responding in that sense to what Masters and Keil had been able to observe: "In comparison with the standard [...] individuals do not focus on comparison with other groups and are compared to standards that reflect socially shared norms or goals" (Scandroglio & al., 2008, p.83).

This inscription in the "norm", is found, in fact, in the speech of numerous musicians questioned:

> [being a*musician]*is a job at last [...] I mean, it's actually a lot of work. And many times it is a much heavier job than others, isn't it? (Interviewee 1)

> [being a*musician]*is just as serious a job as anyone... (Interviewee 3)

> Because of the level of demand it has and everything that being a musician demands of you, to ultimately achieve the result, I see it as the same or more effort than with other professionals ... (Interviewee 16)

> *[music]*is a profession that is chosen like any other. (Interviewee 17)

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Between strategies of "distinction", to paraphrase Bourdieu (1979), rejection of stereotypes, or adoption of dominant norms of society: the reactions of the actors are diverse and, sometimes, contradictory... They all testify, however, to the desire for recognition...

4.4. From artist status to rejection of stereotypes: the desire for recognition

According to the theory of Recognition, developed by Honneth, esteem is an object of constant struggle between the different social groups that, in this way, try to assert their competences and demonstrate their importance for the community(Renault, 2007, p.124). In this sense, work is a privileged object for access to social recognition, since there are confronted the actors who will try to be validated by society (ElAkremi & al, 2009, p. 666).

Whether it is a question of claiming for his profession specificities that distinguish him from others, even of "being" a musician, of rejecting the negative stereotypes projected by the rest of society about his person, or, on the contrary, of inscribing himself in the norm and values of the dominant groups: all these attitudes, sometimes adopted together by musicians, they testify precisely to this desire for social recognition, as these statements confirm even more explicitly:

[...] the artistic work, well, no, is not sufficiently valued, isn't it? I think it's a sad phenomenon, and I'd like it to change, but I don't see it*[laughs]*many, many possibilities... (Interviewee 17)

[...] as people are not very interested, well, in the world of art, and they consider it something secondary, then once they know that there are people who are dedicated to that fully and that we do not conceive life without it, eh... well, yes, for them it's like... is where that typical question arises, of which, sometimes we mock a little, where they tell you: "ah!, you play guitar, you are a musician, but ... what is your profession really?, that is like the one you have as fun, but what is the real one?" *[laughs].* And

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then it's very funny because anyone who starts learning an instrument, or you already understand how the requirement that music has to be able to do it well, you realize how funny a question like that is, right? I think that in Mexico that is a reality: throughout the country, not just in Guadalajara. [...] I mean, they don't understand the value of what you do. Of course, I'm not saying that what I do is worth a lot and everyone "has" to... but I believe that if what you do is honest, minimum deserves attention, right?, there will be those who identify with what you do and those who do not; then yes, because all that causes that... because do not give you the respect you give to other professionals, right?, from other branches. So, yes, it's hard*[laughs].* (Interviewee 10)

To the process of professional stigmatization, experienced by musicians, respond not only different strategies of rejection or adjustment, but, generally, a desire for recognition prevails. These contradict the existing negative stereotypes about their status, and try to reverse their perverse effects...

Conclusion

What are the prevailing stereotypes about musicians in Guadalajara and what effects do they have on their career? How do musicians react to these? Seeking answers to these questions, we have directly questioned music professionals, since, precisely, it is they who are continuously confronted with stereotypes. The constant response, although with certain nuances, has been globally negative.

Indeed, despite the existence of a figure described as "romantic" by the actors themselves, that is, that of "star", harmful stereotypes, as Leyens would characterize them (Amossy & al, 2005, p.39), predominate. In this sense, the image of the "bohemian" artist has endured notably since the nineteenth century, with all the prejudices to which he is associated: alcohol, drugs, excesses, poverty, etc.

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As Becker had observed in the sixties (1985) and as we saw in this article, the negative effects of these characterizations on the career of musicians are also imposed: choice or imposition by the family of a career judged as more valued, but also the abandonment of ongoing studies.

Direct effects, which can flow or advance against the current, since, according to the musicians' own statements, these negative stereotypes derive a weak valuation of the profession, which directly influences the conditions of hiring and, particularly, remuneration.

In the face of these representations, the reactions of the musicians are variable: we find thus, like other authors (Becker, 1985) a tendency to the revaluation of the endogroup, to the detriment of the exogroup, claiming for itself the positive characteristics of the stereotypes, but we also verify, conversely, that there is a rejection of stereotypes that is generally accompanied by the claim of a recognition of the career, based on a definition more in line with the dominant norms, i.e. music seen as a profession.

Through this debate on stereotypes and their influences, we witness a true redefinition of the identity of the musician, who, beyond the figure of the artist, increasingly claims for himself the dominant norms that govern Mexican society, regarding the principle of professional skills. It is therefore a debate that oscillates between distinction, rejection of stereotypes and assimilation.

In short, throughout this research, we have been able to verify that although stereotypes do not reflect, or do so only partially, the professional reality of the musician, they nevertheless exert real negative effects, both in their career -abandonment, low remuneration, etc.-, and in their identity and behaviors -adaptation, rejection, desire for recognition ...

In this sense, the present study on stereotypes is crucial, since it allows to describe the existing representations about a professional group, the effects they will have on that group, and the identity and professional reactions and accommodations that they provoke, but also, more generally, the dominant norms of a society ... An investigation, in short, that will provoke, we hope, other studies on the subject.

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