

Abstract

DIGITAMORPHOSIS OF MUSIC CONSUMPTION PRACTICES

The accommodate of young music lovers

FABIEN GRANJON – CLÉMENT COMBES

In this article the author analyzes recent trends that are satisfied changing the consumption patterns of music. Farming ICTs are contributing towards the generalization of access to works, have well have to the wider distribution(broadcasting) and traffic(circulation) of farming satisfied. He also trigger has reorganization of music lovers ' practices and of their relations farming with works and with the new objects through which they exist. Here the author investigates some of the arguments of has hypothesis that he calls digitamorphosis. Drawing his from studies inspiration one discomorphosis, his aim is to identify what of today music to coil owes in particular to the digitization of sound, the dematerialization of music media, and the diversification of equipment.

Keywords

Dematerialization, Digitamorphosis, ICTs, Internet, Music

THE NUMERIMORPHOSE OF THE PRACTICES OF MUSICAL CONSUMPTION

THE CASE OF YOUNG AMATEURS

FABIEN GRANJON – CLÉMENT COMBES

1The music is one of the cultural activities the most appreciated by the French people of more than 11 years. Quoted by 25 % of them among their three main centres of interest, she(it) arrives at the 4th row(rank) of the most appreciated leisure activities, behind the sport, the television and the cinema. The musical consumption is indeed a massive practice which gets(touches) 92 % of the French people (39 % listen to it daily and 36 % at least once a week). Begun in the 60s, this craze for the " musical thing(matter) " had respite to become more marked, notably via a générationnel effect. He(it) benefits quite at the same moment from a release(extension) of the cultural offer(supply), from headways(overhangs) of the technical progress, but also from the renewal of the mechanisms of consecration and from legitimization of the culture. Various at the same moment sociocultural, economic and technical dynamics thus join to make some music a consommatoire shape today of the most common(current) to the point that she(it) appears as one of the most evident partners of the everyday life(daily paper) of the French people. She(it) notably occupies a particularly important place(square) at the young people: 43 % of 12-25 years quote the music among their main cultural interests and 68 % listen to it daily. It is also them who mobilize the biggest variety of supports, who use most the computer in musical purposes and are the most equipped in personal stereos K7, CD or MP3 (34 % vs 11 % in the French population for this last equipment. Besides, the young men are suréquipés in reader MP3 with regard to the young ladies: 47 % vs 24 %). While 47 % of the individuals equipped with a computer at home listen to some music via their computing device, this practice gets(touches) 83 % of 12-25 years having the same equipment. The emergent digital culture is so more that of the young generations for which the dynamics of computerization / digitalization of the leisure activities and the cultural consumption is the substratum from which develops a part(party) always more important of their practices. The familiarization from the youngest age with the most advanced technologies (greater presence of the TRICK and the screens within the private, professional spaces, within the studies and within leisure activities) and the existence of specific sociability between peers are simultaneous dynamics leading(driving) to make 12-25 years the population treating(manipulating) most numeric(digital) contents and the most user of computing technologies in cultural purposes. The computer notably becomes, for them, an integrated(joined) and general-purpose technical system from which we obtain, we centralize, we listen to and we redistribute cultural in particular musical contents. These some elements of centring show that the age, but also the sex, are variables often most clivantes (more than the level of diploma or the PCS) for number of practices bound(connected) to the musical consumption. The sexual differences being besides, generally, more marked to 12-25 years.

1Besides these differentiations sociodémographiques, we would especially like to deliver here a first analysis of the evolutions which redistribute for some years the cards.maps) of the consumption of the musical contents. We wish to pay attention on the changes in the modes(fashions) to make amateurs who result from the dematerialization of the contents and the new conditions of appropriation of the most recent networks and the technologies of information and from communication. TRICK participate for example completely in the generalization of the access to the cultural works as well as to the distribution(broadcasting) and to the traffic(circulation) widened the cultural contents. They lead(drive) to a reorganization of the practices of the amateurs, their relations in the works and in the material supports. In other words, we suggest investigating some some of the reasons adduced for a hypothesis which we shall name temporarily *numérimorphose*. Inspiring us works led on the *discomorphose* (Hennion, on 1981; Maisonneuve, on 2001; on 2004; TurnShoot, on 2005), we want to detail(retail) what the relations of the amateur in the music owe particularly, today, to the digitalization of the sound sign, to the dematerialization of supports and to the reproduction of equipments. Obviously, it is not possible to summarize the alterations(transfers) engendered by the numérimorphose in a simple modification of sizes(formats) (e.g. the passage of the disk in the MP3). The observed changes recover at the same moment from the explosion of frames(executives) stabilized by the discomorphose but also by the important reproduction of the modalities of consumption bound(connected) to the multiplicity of the mobilized technological prostheses. If the music lover is « the

child of the marriage of the music and the market, the union of which was able to be consumed only when the technique knew how to make some music the good and the service » (Hennion *and al.*, on 2000: 55) He is also, from now on, the son of the amorous adventures with the servants of the massification of the culture and the digitalization of the sign which made musical contents of the eminently reproducible, accessible(approachable) possessions, archivables, contagious and not rival.

This phenomenon of *numérimorphose*, we also arrest(dread) him(it) towards the differentiated reports(connections) which maintain the amateurs in their musical passion. The ground which we made tends to show that they are not both the tastes of the amateurs for specific music styles and their level of specialization (potentially centred around a structuring musical genre) and the way they update these desires which determine rather widely their practices of consumption and their technologisés manners of the musical contents. The lines of division(sharing) of the practices of musical consumption really take shape around an opposition putting on the opposite page a *profane* apprehension, consommatoire and functional of the music in front of a *more expert, informed* sudden chill and esthétisant of this one. The *profane* opposition / *expert* is sometimes criticized for being a dichotomy toughening artificially the divorce enter the simple "music lover" who would be a fan of the popular musics of mass and the " big amateur " who would be, him, keen of more cultivated or specialized musics. She(it) would so erase the similarity of the mediations by means of which the music users (and especially the young amateurs) build their respective passions. Nevertheless, if the *grips* by which cross(spend) the production of the amateurism he(it) are is true rather similar from an amateur to the other one (e.g. the use of supports and identical equipments), the modes(fashions) of updating of these *grips* can be appreciably different on the other hand (e.g. a feature which will be central in the manners of some and absentee of the manners of the others). It is not thus a question so much of putting compared to users' profiles which would be completely opposite, but to underline significant differences in the way the music « acts and makes act ». This theoretical polarités is naturally ideal - typical and *to make* them imputed to the one or other one of the categories distribute in the reality on a *continuum* of practices, reports(connections) in the music and more differentiating and distributed manners of the TRICK that let him(it) hear(understand) our model the virtues of which are especially preparatory. The consideration in the same movement of the digital bend of the musical consumption and the sensibility and the contrasted relations which the amateurs maintain with the music allows us however to report main changes of *sizes(formats)* which restructure the practices of musical consumption today.

OF THE NUMÉRIMORPHOSE

The sociology of the culture made for a long time the impasse(dead end) on the materialism of the works and the various technical mediations which make them happen (supports and equipments). This fault was notably underlined by the pragmatic sociology of the attachment for which the taste is above all considered as a " problematic modality of attachment to the world » (Hennion, on 2007). She(it) shows how much devices sociotechniques heterogeneous, consisted of collectives, of persons and objects are essential *grips* to the music lovers and invites us to consider their love of the music in closer of their actual practices (*i.e.* of their common experiences(experiments)). Antoine Hennion so insists on the fact as the music is not « one given fixes that we could isolate from the activity, but what appears with her, through her ». Be interested in the music (or quite other cultural domain), it is to pay attention on the manners to make of the amateur, « less what he likes (...) That his(her,its) manners to listen to (...) His(her,its) pleasure, which holds him(it), the forms that set the practices, the surprising techniques which he(it) develops to gather(combine) the conditions of his(its) bliss, without guarantee of success » (Hennion, on 2004: 13-15). Describing the experiences(experiments) of the gramophiles of the 20s and 30, Sophie Maisonneuve clarifies: « Technical know-how and aesthetic sensibility are two skills which build themselves collectively. The more the amateur, discovering the resources and the acoustic limits of the record player, learns to settle(adjust) the device and to operate the optimal adaptation enter a disk (a musical genre) and the technical constituents of the instrument, the more he becomes sensitive(perceptible) to this acoustic element of the musical performance. More, also, he learns to know his tastes, to anticipate his feelings, and to put in relation of objects (disk or type of recording, needles), gestures(movements) and subjective arrangement(measure,disposal). (...) The material attachment supports the attachment in the music » (Maisonneuve, 200: 16-22).

Today, the cultural practices in a general way and the musical practices in particular are transformed under the influence of the development of the mass culture, the diversification of the cultural and technological offer(supply), and the emergence of new platforms of services (networks *to peer to peer* – P2P–, social media of Web 2.0, etc.). The music consumption so declines on a variety always more important of supports (Vinyl, K7, CD, MP3), of equipments (computer, Pocket PC, key USB, walkman MP3 mobile phone, etc.) and becomes updated in new manners. The changes led(inferred) by the dematerialization and the renewed potential of manipulation move more or less strongly the activities of discovery, acquisition, storage, listening and distribution(casting) of the musical contents.

The *discomorphose* fixed until then: 1) the question of the sound aesthetics (notably by knocking down the hierarchy concert / studio, the live performance tending to align itself then on the "sound" studio), 2) dedicated the album as the material expression succeeded in the musical work and 3) organized the creation of the value around the contents themselves and their exploitation(operation) by cultural industries. On these three points, the *discomorphose* tends for some years to be pushed aside(knocked down) in its various reasons adduced. First of all, the digitalization allowed the opening of unpublished horizons the musical creation and introduced the stake in experiences(experiments) of new musical forms. She(it) has impacté the artistic know-how as well as the order of the contents, proposing original bases of composition which resulted in new aesthetics. " His(Her,Its) studio " imposed by the disk autonomisé in a sense and took the status of informative material, of sound material(subject) and the relation in the music was upset there. It became a matrix lending itself to any sort of operations without possible equivalence with the traditional instrumental sound production. The use of the computer as the system of management and production invites in a more immediate creative act and is especially going to urge to consider with more attention the sound material(subject). The digital music carries(wears) the potential of an aesthetics of the structure, the joining(assembly) and the repetitive semiotic production. *Mix, remix, diversions, collages(stickings), quotations and the other faces(figures)* of the loan and of "*cut and paste*" became the fundamental syntaxes of the musical creation. Music of the fragment and the sequence, it feeds just as much on concrete acoustic events (credits(generics), jingles, bells, etc.) Of fragments registered(recorded) beforehand, that of original electronic sounds which she(it) is going to make live within new musical units(unities). Doubtless this musical plasticity is responsible also partly for the hybridization of certain styles (world music, jazz-électro, cinematic music, etc.) which educate forms of eclecticism within musical genres and also lead(drive) to an evolution of the public: the rockers open in the musics of the world, the amateurs of électro in the jazz, the rappers in the black music, etc.

In the second place, there where the *discomorphose* led(drove) to a valuation of the album, the *numérimorphose* tends to open forms of appropriation allowing an easier(more well-to-do) demolition of the entity album thanks to the entity piece (even sometimes of the fragment of piece: her(it) "turn"("shoot") or the "riff"). If the disk « had introduced a new type of musical consumption into the domestic inside, [conferring] on the music a bigger accessibility » (Maisonneuve, on 2001: 18), the digitalization of the sound sign coupled with the computing of network multiplied tenfold these potentialities. The provision via networks P2P of all or any of the discotheques of the Internet users offers completely considerable and new quantities and variety of contents to this scale(ladder). The relations in the music are there then modified because the *grips* of the consumption and the amateurism are worked again by this regime of abundance as well as by the plasticity of the encoded sound material(subject). The era of the music and the numeric(digital) networks so renew the *sizes(formats)* of the *discomorphose* and open new possible to the amateurs. The wide deployment of the microcomputing domesticates, the dematerialization of supports, the use more and more spread by *webradios*, by *streaming*, by *podcast* or still constitution of numeric(digital) sound libraries are so many phenomena which harmonize within configurations of new practices which tend to dispute the until then crushing hegemony of the support CD which we buy and engrave(burn) fewer and fewer. We see for example certain amateurs, especially among the youngest, establishing(constituting) virtual sound libraries of a new kind(genre), essentially consisted of addresses of musical resources essentially écoutables in the form of stream, without feeling the need to hold(detain) solely on their computer or on CD the slightest contents.

Lastly, « when CD are replaced by numeric(digital) files, production costs, to a certain extent, and especially distribution costs, are strongly reduced. Such productivity gains allow a consumption more diversified as

well as the development of intermediate practices between the consumption and the production: the amateurs can reach a professional quality for the costs limited by a *home studio*. The works destroy the sacred aura. They reuse, consist with the others, are reorganized in new works. Compilation, *remix*, *sampling* take(bring) out narrow limits of the copyright as the exchanges on the networks of peer to peer question the exception for private copy. Nevertheless, the processes of production, distribution(casting), promotion delay taking advantage of what the technical, internet progress and the digitalization allow » (Executioner, Gensollen, Moreau, on 2007: 15). Actually, on the economic plan, the unprecedented development of the reproduction of the works in marginal costs, the exchange of musical contents become not rival (the copy is not synonymous of a loss of custom(usage) of the contents) and not excludables (their access tends to generalize) as well as their distribution(broadcasting) pushes aside(knocks down) the industries of the disk which see lowering(dimming) every year their figure of affair(business). The answers brought by these last ones seem badly adapted because too much traced on the characteristics of the markets of the tangible assets the promotion of which is assured(insured) by the media of mass. They so try hard to reproduce the structures of intermediation bound(connected) traditionally to the market of the disk but meet important difficulties not knowing how to, *via* these models, organize this new abundance. The price lists(rates) of the on-line sale are prohibitive, the catalogs of the paying services are widely more needy than those of the not commercial platforms of download and the innovative solutions of monetization of the contents (protection of the value by locking of *Digital Rights Management*, micro-payments, fixed subscriptions, licenses, etc.) Stay still not enough widely in the state of experiments (meeting besides, for some of them, a deep opposition on behalf of the consumers). The new forms of offer(supply) and extraction of the value thus delay appearing and it is rather in the margins of the musical industry that invent the new forms of intermediation and the future possible models of affair(business). It is not moreover the fate that these are carried(worn) by marginal actors as far as they base themselves only rather secondarily on the sale of contents and tend rather to lean on the other relays as the illegal seurement of audiences, referencing, prescription (adaptation of the offer(supply) to the demand) or the division(sharing) of experiences(experiments) (e.g. tastes) which are so many services not calling necessarily a process of marchandisation.

If he(it) is doubtless premature to consider the frames(executives) of the discomorphose as obsolete (they stay still very widely in the work), it is however evident that the reproduction of equipments and supports as well as the development of the P2P or still the *streaming introduce a change of regime of manners and redraw the frames(executives) of the musical consumption. The following section declines the first elements of analysis of these new consumer regimes of the music, reporting of some some of the dynamics sociotechniques who(which) prevail in the discovery, in the acquisition, in the storage, in the listening and in the redistribution of the numeric(digital) musical contents today. It is not naturally possible to raise(to draw up) an exhaustive panorama of these various changes of sizes(formats) but we nevertheless tried to draw the main outlines.*

ESTABLISH(CONSTITUTE) A TASTEFUL WALLET(PORTFOLIO), DISCOVER NEW CONTENTS

The mediations by means of which the tasteful wallets(portfolios) of the amateurs build up themselves and through whom(which) these become updated are diverse. There are particularly important two: the cultural socialization and the media consumption. It is mainly through these two phenomena that the discovery of certain categories of contents and that the desire or the indifference felt for these build themselves in the course of time(weather).

The cultural socialization

In tastes, the inheritances stemming from the youth, period in the course of which the interest for the music is thus particularly marked sometimes leave their imprints on the individual directories. The "knocks of heart » and singular desires (e.g. a taste pronounced for such music style or such artist) sometimes cross years and continue to feed certain practices of consumption in the adulthood. If the forms of primary socialization in particular the parental and family cultural inheritance can influence the grown-up practices, they do not leave systematically strong imprints on the tastes of the individuals. According to their bibliographic route(course), these build up to themselves their appropriate(clean) tastes, develop them and they maintain very often, in the end(final), only little link with the initial family musical environment. Generally speaking the socialisatrices experiences(experiments) secondary are central in the diversification of the cultural contents mobilized by the individuals. Furthermore, the modes(fashions) of attendance(company) of the musical

works being widely opened today, the filial transmission of the tastes is less prégnante than in the past and the much more porous individual cultural peculiarities in the plurality of the socialisatrices and media influences. The relational networks which mobilize the persons are one of the main relays of their cultural practices (Di Maggio, on 1987; Burgos *and al.* 1996; Erickson, on 1996; Relish, on 1997; cardoon, Granjon, on 2003; Pasquier, on 2005; Granjon, Bank, on 2007). Whom the amateurs are in a report(relationship) rather profane or rather expert in the music, the cultural frictions which take shape within their networks of sociability are essential resources of the constitution of their tastes and their consumptions. The sociability relieving at some point a shared cultural interest oscillates then between two main forms. In the first case of face(figure), the cultural interest is the generative principle of the sociability, it requires an adaptation of the tastes to the interlocutors and mobilizes singular skills the expert amateurs of which are rather carrier in a characteristic way. Internet sometimes plays moreover a role of catalyst in the initiation of this type of contacts carried(worn) above all by specific cultural interests. The cultural sociability can also marry more coarse forms where, this time, it is rather the elective affinities which are generative of the practice or the discovery cultural. We showed for example somewhere else that the *cultural eclecticism* notably gets fresh ideas in the attendance(company) of individuals developing varied cultural registers and that it is as well in these renewed meetings as form more or less temporary cultural markets, always singular, when distribute, negotiate and build up to themselves variously the tastes (Granjon, Bank, 2007). It is one of the main manners there the profane amateurs of which acculturate to the tastes of the others. It is necessary to note in this respect that the sociability of group (visits, evenings, holidays(name-days), exits(releases), etc.) Are potentially so many occasions to evoke, but especially to exchange contents with the interlocutors about whom we know besides that they are computerized and that they download. Have his/her walkman MP3 and/or a key USB on one, permanently, so allows, as us numerous related him(it) times our investigated, to get back musical contents according to the meetings. If the expert amateurs lean generally on clearly identified persons-resources, competent influencers among whom the notices and the judgments(sentences) are recognized as being of value, the profane amateurs mobilize their sociability in a sharply less targeted way. The gift(donation) of contents does not cross(spend) inevitably by a preliminary stage of informed discussion and prescription fitted to the tastes. He(It) sometimes takes then a little radical forms by way of the copy en masse of musical contents (several gigas of data) the sorting of which will be made only after acquisition.

The registration(inscription) of the musical interests in the sociability also pulls(entails) a sensitive(perceptible) change in the manners to share its tastes as we advance(move) in the age. The diverse stages of the life cycle *correspond de facto* to notorious modifications in the way they are organized and lived. The typical relational profusion of the youth becomes blurred and the time(weather) devolved to the musical leisure activities diminishes with the advanced in the age. The occasions of frictions with the taste of the others are thus reduced and the activities of division(sharing) evolve more within the conjugal, family frames(executives) either specifically dedicated for that purpose, mobilizing generally less the friendly circles. The discotheque or the sound library is then divided more with the spouse rather than with his/her friends. Nevertheless, throughout the life, the musical consumption finds to get fresh ideas in forms of division(sharing) fed by diverse forms of sociability. To discuss music is for example an activity in which 65 % of the French people of more than eleven years and 91 % of 12-25 years declare to be regularly engaged(to surrender) (the more we advance(move) in age, the more this activity diminishes). Among the declaring individuals to discuss regularly music, it is with the friendly circle that these discussions are most common(current) (82 %) followed by the family except home(foyer) (60 %), of the home(foyer) (46 %), colleagues and classmates (38 %) and Internet users (7 %). The more we advance(move) in the age, the more the family except home(foyer) is mobilized and the less the other circles are invested(surrounded).

The media relays

Whatever are the modalities of acquisition of the contents (purchases, downloads, loans), the media relay plays a dominating role in the processes of information and discovery which precede these acts of appropriation. It seems as a major *grip(taking)* allowing to go to meet unpublished contents. Because the media show a big variety and this one allows to feed the majority of tasteful wallets(portfolios), the most specialized in the most common. The media mediation exercises not only its magistry with the individuals whose musical tastes correspond to the commercial productions carried(worn) by the main media of mass (radio, television, print media), but also, and just as much (although in a contrasted way), with the persons to the sharper tastes. As notes it Philippe Coulangeon: « The development of the cultural industries does not

inevitably keep pace with the homogenization of the preferences and the customs. Quite the reverse, the industry of the disk and the broadcasting(audiovisual) media seem to have left bound(connected) with a strong segmentation of the tastes which this one operates on a national base, générationnelle or ethnic » (Coulangeon, on 2005: 58). The media are mobilized by manners differentiated by the music lovers according to the level of specification of their tastes. More their tastes are registered in a regime of rarity more the media which they frequent are specialized. The amateur of R' n' B will find of what to feed its curiosity on a radio as Skyrock or a television channel as M6, the satisfaction of the fan of jazz can be partly insured by the reading of certain titles(securities) of the press magazine specialized (Jazzman, Jazz Hot, etc.) Whereas that of the aficionado of breakcore or abstract German hip-hop will find more certainly of what be satisfied on blogs or expert Web sites. The more the popular contents are sharp less they are relieved by the media of big distribution(broadcasting) (it is about too small markets considered little profitable) and the more he(it) is necessary for those who carry(wear) these singular cultural desires to turn(shoot) to media of niche or more alternate. Experts and laymen thus find most of the time media corresponding to their needs of information whatever is the popular degree of specialization. If the type of media mobilized (radio, television, press, blog, etc.) Inform in itself rather badly about the directories of the tastes of his(her) users (the radio landscape French FM covers for example all the types of music, furthermore *mainstream* in the rarest), it is however necessary to note that the internet is the privileged space (but naturally not exclusive) musical expressions among the least common.

Certain critical works were able to garage too deftly the media consumption on the shelves of an *inevitably degraded and not authentic* culture, a *cultivated culture* escaping as for her, by definition, this trivialisation by the media. Strength is today to notice that this opposition between *popular* médiatico-commercial culture and *justifiable* culture loosened(kicked away) of the trade and media circuits can be only questioned. Investing(surrounding) numerous niche markets besides those carrying(wearing) the cultural *mainstream* production, the media contribute to legitimize heterogeneous cultural arbitrary powers and to elaborate forms of cultural consecration more varied (Thornton, on 1996). Besides their contribution to the sat(based) of new regimes of cultural participation, the media also participate in the decrease of the cultural unworthiness least indeed endowed in *cultural capital* which share some tastes with a more and more important part of the population. The television, notably, became a " authority of gratitude(recognition) and legitimization for all those who are not a part of cultivated circles and do not benefit from networks of information short and specialized » (Donnat, on 1994: 147). The exploration of the sound library of the expert amateurs often reveals that in suburb of the artists centralement appreciated, the effort is made establish(constitute) a stock of contents of patrimonial type (the inescapable of the history(story) of the music) which we find for example, with sometimes of important resemblances, at the profane amateurs.

Our inquiry reveals a strong consumption of the media by the music lovers. They allow « to discover works the existence of which we ignore or that we would have no idea to buy. It is enough to turn(shoot) a button and the click can take place. The music comes in a sense to the listener, without that he(it) has to make of particular step(initiative): it is here rather the music which takes the listener. She(it) is so often evoked as release mechanism (fate of the hearing(audition)) or used for these properties » (Hennion and al., on 2000: 113). The roles of the radio and the television (notably specialized music channels the provision of which was facilitated by their reception *via* the ADSL) seem so completely central in the practices of information and discovery of the contents. She(it) tends moreover to take a more and more important place(square) at the same moment in the phenomena of search(research) for the novelty but also for the floating musical listening.

If the attendance(company) of the media appears globally as a practice of consumption shared by all the amateurs, the search(research) for contents differs however unmistakably, under certain aspects, between the profane amateurs and the expert amateurs. The first ones find mostly in the search(research) for the novelty (the last *single* which passes on NRJ, the last clip on MTV, or the musical extract of a new album the promotion of which makes a specialized site) the main part of their motivations in the discovery. The second lean as for them on generally more diversified practices (find a rarity, complete a discography, collect the versions, etc.) And adopt, as a consequence, also more varied and more targeted media manners. Such type of media will for example serve at first for « keeping posted », whereas the other one can more specifically feed the curiosity of the expert amateur for a particular musical scene(stage), its history(story) or its stylistic ramifications.

This differentiation also observes in a blatant way concerning the practices of on-line information. The numeric(digital) media (Web sites, blogs, forums, lists of distribution(broadcasting), networks P2P, etc.) Are more and more mobilized by the amateurs and open a consequent renewal of the media consumption in link with the processes of discovery of new contents. But it is nevertheless necessary to insist on the fact that the potentialities opened by the most recent devices of communication on network are especially updated by the amateurs who develop an expert report(relationship) in the music, following the example of this amateur, 20-year-old girl of engineers of visual kei (rock underground Japanese very minority) which finds to inquire by means of specialized sites, meet passionate persons' small French network on the dedicated blogs and downloads or buys his(her,its) on-line favourite albums (via eMule or eBay). Internet, more than any other device allows him(her) to devote to its passion and to by-pass the beggary of the classic media channels(canals) on the subject. Whatever are the most appreciated music styles, to stay « in the blow » *hipness*) require a particular work to reach the sources(springs) of information allowing an *aggiornamento* of the "knowledge" and a renewal of the pleasures of the discovery. This work is naturally relatively simple when it is a question "only" of putting in functioning its television set; he(it) is obviously more difficult when it is necessary to track down and to use sociotechniques resources asking for more complex skills, which are technical, cognitive or social (e.g. subscribe to a list of distribution(broadcasting), participate in a discussion group, use a search engine on Internet, etc.). As calls back(reminds) it Olivier Donnat, « any cultural practice requires(demands) the preliminary accumulation of a minimum of information and, in most of the cases, of knowledge » (Donnat, on 1994: 15-16), this remark costs naturally more than ever concerning the on-line cultural practices. Without the informative grips necessary for the construction of a search(research) (prerequisite of the acquisition), the exploitation(operation) of the nevertheless plethoric resources of the network can fast appear as a limited exercise.

The expert amateurs finalize(work out) particularly varied strategies of information which allow them to answer their various needs. Through the diverse existing services and towards the tasteful wallet(portfolio) which is theirs, they are mostly going to track down then to focus their attention on a set of resources among those who are attested by their musical reference community, to whom(which) they will, mostly, try to add to it some other, less known for the "environment"("middle"), but supposed to give them some competitive advantages onto their groups of peers. These services will mostly be consulted in a iterative way (the consultation is even sometimes routinisée automatically, via links RSS for example), so making a sort of the informative day before(wakefulness) on types of music and of contents which sometimes find no relay within the media of big consumption. Web sites or blogs of houses of disk, places of concerts, festivals or artists; discussion groups or still the specialized lists of distribution(broadcasting) are so variously mobilized to find various types of information (interviews, biographies, discographies, dates of concert, by-products, etc.) and rare contents (former(ancient) albums, unpublished titles(securities), *live* pirates, private concerts, *remix*, *alternate takes*, etc.). The exploration of the taste of the others, notably through the various platforms of Web 2.0 (MySpace, Dailymotion, RadioBlog, etc.) Couples here in a voluntarist search(research) for the dialogue with the other amateurs. For some investigated experts, amateurs' communities met on the forums or the specialized blogs play an essential role in the construction of their musical culture. Internet becomes then the vector of a real musical initiation via the presence of certain passionate persons who play influencers' role. It is the legitimacies of prescription traditionally assured(insured) there by professionals of the domain (generally journalists) that tend then to come undone(get rid) for the benefit of certain expert amateurs.

The use of networks P2P to return in touch with individuals sharing the same musical interests is also rather symbolic of this invested(surrounded) and expert posture of certain amateurs who will often prefer to investigate the stocks of contents proposed in a more reasoned way (by selecting for example at first interlocutors whose files they will cross(go through) put in division(sharing), even by discussing with them) rather than content with downloading contents by means of disembodied requests made with waiters(servers) and not with persons susceptible to share more interesting and not referenced contents. To this type of amateurs, Internet appears then less as a mode of consumption of the musical current events than as a process of learning and exploration of original contents. The profane amateurs are interested on the other hand especially in the search(research) and the acquisition of novelties. If the location and the use of services-resources is well a part of their directory of manners, sites and frequented services have a less specialized character (the sites of the large-scale retailing(distribution) are so often visited whereas they are only rarely frequented by the expert amateurs) and are especially intended to follow the last exits(releases) and the musical events. Besides this interest for the musical current events, the use of on-line services (and more

particularly P2P networks) can sometimes, following the example of the most expert amateurs, serve for enriching the sound library, but under modalities which are more those of the collection of contents the experience of which we already have. Here, the download and the on-line listening feed less the discovery of new artists than that of new fragments of already known and appreciated artists. And when they approach it, it is to the technical device that we confide(entrust) then the mission. The collection of contents which takes shape under these modalities looks like more, in the style of a television series which we follow, in the apprehension of episodes of seasons which we would not have viewed yet, that in the construction of an informed collection such as we find at the expert amateur's there. The profane amateurs so take advantage of a plethoric musical offer(supply) to sit(base) a shape of hedonism which makes tastes the essential engine of the discovery: privilege what we are certain to like to the detriment of a step(initiative) to mobilize contents moved with regard to his(her,its) first desires, but susceptible to open to the other musical horizons.

ACQUIRE, STORE, SHARE

Acquisition and division(sharing)

If him(her,it) saved for a moment a reflection on the processes of purchase, the acquisition and the division(sharing) of musical contents depend socially exchanges anchored in the relational networks of the amateurs (family, friends, colleagues) as well as use often coupled by the on-line services opening the other possibilities of reproduction and exchange of the musical contents. French on two so declares be lent or exchanged regularly some music. The exchange of musical contents is a practice generalized at the young people (82 % least than 25 years exchange regularly some music) which rarefies as the age increases. To 12-25 years she(it) is characterized by an important mobilization of the friendly circle, without abandoning for all that the other relational resources. Obviously, the portability of equipments and external storages, the dematerialization of the contents, the development of the unlimited download, as well as the custom of an access made free to certain cultural possessions conjugate to bring to the foreground a culture of the division(sharing) which expresses itself naturally during the friendly meetings or more widely friendly. Number of investigated so make the narrative of practices become common(current) during evenings, when the management of the listening of the music gets organized collectively (each being able to come with its own contents) and goes until the actual division(sharing) of contents: CD or numeric(digital) files are almost systematically exchanged between dinner guests or close relations. Beyond the présencielles sociability, Internet took a dominating part concerning the musical sociability. The music exchange is less and less synonymous of physical meeting or link of attachment as illustrate him(it) the platforms of P2P and the activity of anonymous division(sharing). We note for example the existence of relations established(constituted) and maintained almost exclusively on Internet escaping the spatial constraints. Internet participates on top of a vast mutualization of contents and information via discussion groups, Web sites, amateurs' blogs and other platforms of download. The amateurs among the most invested(surrounded) can make at leisure their contribution to the general musical *buzz* by the addition of additional information or personal comments, even the creation of a site specialized on the precise object of their passion. They can also contribute(compete) to the traffic(circulation) of the works by the stake in division(sharing) of rare or unpublished files and the introduction of works "pirates". If the CD remains a support of which all the amateurs makes use more or less, we are not nevertheless possible that to notice the evident decrease of the place(square) which it holds within some of their practices of consumption. This evolution remains nevertheless complex and deserves a detailed analysis of the actual individual practices because the disk is not, far needs, put in the index of the practices especially among the amateurs who develop the report(relationship) the most invested(surrounded) in the music. These last ones indeed grant(tune) a place(square) still prégnante in the disk (whom they are generally of accurate owners and collectors) and also associate him(her) the other modes(fashions) of acquisition and division(sharing): downloads, manners of external storages motives, constitution of *playlists* on-line, etc. The conjugation of these various supports and services offers them the possibility of increasing their capacities of access to more varied and\or sharper contents with a bigger ease, but the disk also benefits from a particular consideration. Separate *cultural object*, he(it) does not appear only as the support of an edible(consumable) product. It is a major component of a device consommatoire which feeds certainly on the aesthetic pleasure of the sound, but also on that of the knowledge which are put down(deposited) there and inform the work of the artist. He also allows, following the example of the book, to build collections which notably show to the close relations and supply potentially taken in affects (the particular flavour of a CD which was offered to you) or exchanges (verbal, of contents) allowing to anchor, to decline and to prolong his(her,its) musical passion. Offering a visual

dimension to the work, the jacket can establish(constitute) for example a decisive element in the acquisition of a CD of which it becomes then important to possess a "original". The necessity of filling the lack of concréteude of the music so passes by the interview(maintenance) of a collusion between the object-disk and the musical work. In front of the dematerialization of the contents which facilitate the demolition of the works, attach them to the universe of the computing and maintain them in a state of nudity because of the beggary or of the absence of scripturaires and iconographic elements which accompany still often the numeric(digital) files, the expert amateurs reaffirm the anchoring of the disk in their practices.

This report is moreover probably to explain partly the weakness of the practices of music acquisition via the platforms of legal download, because the amateurs who continue to buy CD remain however reluctant to acquire a paying digital contents (and considered as expensively) which remains nevertheless devoid of "paratextes" and materialisms (of the case, the jacket) allowing to anchor their musical interest and to try(feel) an enjoyment(approval) from the other elements that the simple consumption of the sound stream. As regards the amateurs maintaining a more profane report(relationship) in the music, they tend more to disqualify the disk under its shape marketed for the benefit of manners bound(connected) to the numeric(digital) technologies. The purchase of disk is an investment considered superfluous towards their waits(expectations) which focus for the main part on the music without its side issues. More globally, the musical listening is perceived(collected) by the amateurs profane as a practice consommatoire short-lived of *hits* whom(that) propose and legitimizes the market, widely evolutionary and based on the variability of the tastes. The tendency then is to build its musical universe according to a culture of the tube and it is not thus surprising to notice that the modalities of acquisition and division(sharing) also proceed according to a repository which is that of the piece more than the album. Platforms of download, immediate, e-mail messaging, etc. centre the consumption split up by these amateurs in the fact that they facilitate an acquisition and exchanges split by contents. The key USB or the walkman MP3 also make, as such, more and more left the daily mobile equipment taken everywhere "in case". The music exchange is in it less scheduled(programmed) and planned that contingent, taking place according to circumstances. Make a tour(ballot) in the hard disk of the computer of a friend to whom we visit to inspect his musical files tends to replace the former(ancient) inventory of its CDthèque.

The practices of download occupy naturally a place(square) of choice in the renewal of the *grips* and the *sizes(formats)* of the acquisition and the division(sharing) of musical contents. They form themselves mainly according to two recognizable logics. The first one(night) of them likes the perfection of the musical culture of the amateurs and the enjoyment(approval) of their sound library. It is a question of returning this one the most ideal possible for the most expert amateurs and the widest possible for the profane amateurs, by the addition of albums/de fragments considered as "inescapable" and\or of important artists (this value judgment being appropriate(clean) for every amateur and widely function(function) of its tastes). The purchase is in this case, even for the most expert, not necessarily considered indispensable and the download of numeric(digital) files recovers then from the evidence, because of its convenience and of the possibility of answering all the appetites. These new technical conditions create then a double movement of opening and closure(lock) because whereas they multiply the (free) accesses to the works, they lead(drive) the amateur to more requirements towards the music purchase. So, the discovery of an album or an artist is made rarely after investment, but more with full knowledge of the facts, once the artist was put in the test(event) during preliminary listening. If the relational network is mobilized naturally always as resource of supply, Internet however seems to have taken a dominating part in the manners to discover new contents and new manners to reach the works (extracts proposed on artists' sites, services specialized Web 2.0, P2P networks, etc.).

Even there the practices of download underline a split(cleavage) between categories of amateurs. The most expert take advantage of potentialities of the P2P to deepen(fathom) their knowledge of the musical currents to which they are attached by purchasing for example rare contents which they would not have been able to find via the industries of the disk (pirates, not republished albums, broadcasts(emissions,issues) radio, artists unsigned, autoproduites musics, versions different from the same piece, etc.). But they are going to be incited just as much to investigate universes different from what the heart of their tastes. In it, their acquisitions are informed: the downloaded files are targeted (and if necessary informed via the close relations or the media) and intended to be once guarded placed in the sound library. The profane amateurs as for them gather in rather contents which they would never have wanted to acquire under trade shape. The P2P is thus the occasion to obtain free of charge often recent and easily accessible(approachable) *hits* in the business and about which these amateurs know that they correspond to envy(urge) so lively as short-lived. Finally, the

practice of the download does not lead(drive) them to take(bring) out musical artillery promoted by the market because they do not invest(surround) more specialized / alternate media inciting them to discover different works. The got back musical contents remain those spread(diffused) and relieved by the musical industry. The P2P can however allow them some openings towards kinds(genres) previously rather abandoned. The classical music makes for example regularly its entrance(entry) to sound libraries by means of the advertising(publicity) or the soundtracks of film. From then on, the P2P is going to confer on this type of musical *grip(taking)* more efficiency because she can give place to explorations at a lower cost.

Peeristes proceeds generally by more or less spaced out sessions of download. The time(weather) to listen to the last acquisitions and to reconstitute artists' new list or fragments to be downloaded. If most have the appeal to a unique(only) software of download, some among the most worn-out to Internet diversify sources(springs) between the classic platforms (eMule, Kazaa, Soulseek), the networks of type *bit torrent* (faster but offering fewer choices), the sites of " free music " (Jamendo, etc.) Or still blogs MP3 and other *warez*. Less supplied and more risky as for the safety(security), these last ones are extremely fast and win well with the practices and the waits(expectations) of the profane amateurs (but experimented however in the custom(usage) of Internet). These last ones, and, among them, those notably who have an Internet culture of the most consequent, can be brought to download massively, in a little ordered way and not always thoughtful, various files (music as much as video, games or software). Still it is necessary to have knowledge of these sites and if necessary the way of practising them. We *observe a contrario* certain amateurs, including among the most expert, giving up the potentialities offered by the P2P because of a precarious control(master's degree) of the technical devices (and of a weak will to remedy it). This choice can be however connected to diverse causes (fear of the gendarme or the viruses, the sense of guilt towards the artists, etc.). It seems to them then on the whole simpler to count on " braver ", less scrupulous close relations or better technicians. They privilege then frequent exchanges with the members of their network and also turn(shoot) to on-line listening. The download holds place here of last appeal: he(it) is made *via* common(current) and easy platforms of custom(usage) (eMule for the greater part) and concerns some scattered, targeted and absolutely wished titles(securities).

Store contents

If certain amateurs continue to buy disks most of them gave on the other hand up engraving(burning) CD, benefiting henceforth from enough place(square) on their computer or on external storages to store and protect their music. The youngest have generally only a restricted CDthèque, mostly consisted of disks offered by close relations and the favourite disks are very often " rippés » on the computer to be able to be copied to the other various supports (external hard disk, iPod and the other personal stereos MP3). The home computer actually became real one management tool from whom(which) the amateurs can organize all the operations bound(connected) to the management and to the listening of musical contents. His(Her,Its) current performances in terms of storage capacity facilitated little by little the constitution of numeric(digital) sound libraries of which it is not rare that they count(record) several tens (hundreds) of giga-bytes, what is translated by the in memory actual stake of (about ten of) thousand fragments. These sound libraries are most of the time oversized and certain albums and\or titles(securities) are little, even never mobilized whether it is in practices of listening or division(sharing). Certain profane amateurs admit to be so sometimes, while they cross(go through) their sound library, in front of artists of whom they ignore everything, that they have even never listened to and whose origin and the reason of their presence they forgot both. The expert amateurs are forced to a certain shape of realism in spite of an *a priori insatiable* curiosity. *Once crossed(spent) the period of euphoria inherent to the new conditions of quasi-unlimited access to the works (which(who) feeds so much their desire to have it always more), they quickly notice their structural incapacity to listen to everything and resign finally to return to more modest directories.*

The expert amateurs in particular establish(constitute) of real numeric(digital) collections where the contents are conscientiously organized by kinds(genres) and\or by artists. They are also attentive to the presence of the titles(securities), the fragments and the illustrations of the album, following the example of the interest carried(worn) to the notebook of a disk. Some uses for that purpose software of type iTunes which are automatically going to look for on Internet the missing information concerning a contents whereas the others download only already "informed"("inquired") albums. The sound libraries of the expert amateurs are generally carefully alphabetized, chronological, by styles, by labels, by sources(springs), etc., and sometimes even listed in the form of lists or of data bases. It is by means of this normalization(standardization) that

stocks take then value of collection. If their discotheques were also generally structured according to more or less numerous criteria (kinds(genres), artists, dates) which led(drove) to a more or less complex unique(only) classification, sound libraries benefit, them, from the plasticity of the digital technology in particular from the possibilities of duplication of the contents. Classifications can then overlap some in the others (e.g. the same file can be present in various directories), live in the same space and present still ever reached(affected) levels of customization. Sound libraries become then the expression of the implemented(operated) forms of amateurism: at the same moment sédimentés spaces of the tastes, but also reports(memoirs) of the modes(fashions) of apprehension of the music. The space of the hard disk becomes in itself a constituent place of the musical pleasure because it is through the variety his structures that the amateur multiplies the manners to concretize his passion. In the will to have complete and informed albums couple modalities of classification which mostly harmonize between them. These recover from standards of organization which structure stocks on objective criteria stemming from very contents (artists, labels, dates of recording, etc.) and not indexed in contextual or functional elements (« musics of dance », « zik to Tof », etc.).

The profane amateurs have as for them tendency to care less about the organization of their sound library. On one hand, their functioning by fragments makes them meet some difficulties of classification, on the other hand, the plasticity of the numeric(digital) contents strengthens the possibilities of demolition / reconstruction of their sound library, more subject to the ceaseless movements of the additions and the abolitions(deletions) of files according to the envy(urge) and the desires of moment. Albums are deconstructed, amputated indeed almost systematically by some, even by most of their titles(securities) and réagencés in *playlists* or compilations of completely variable life expectancy(cycle): *highlights* personalized by an artist, a compilation of fragments preferred in a kind(genre) or a particular musical atmosphere, *playlist* titles(securities) the most listened to of moment (often intended for the listening nomads), etc. This implies the naming personalized by files indicating for example the origin of the contents: « Music David », "Catherine + tricks(things) Lou " Topher Musique «, « zzz Camille », etc., but also referencing of type " invalid(useless) tricks(things) ", « compile Zen », "dance", etc., which indicate the functions(offices) waited in the reading of files. These are so often reported to social contexts by reports(connections) in which the music is going to participate in the realization of a particular situation: relax, party, to laugh, to dance, etc. We find some of these practices at the more expert amateurs although they resign only rarely to get rid of contents and, which, when they create *playlists* or compilations, keep(preserve) obviously the albums from which they created them. The compilations and the *playlists* of the expert amateurs marry besides outlines at least different from those elaborated by the profane amateurs. They find their reason for being in the aesthetic pleasure to configure a continuation(suite) of fragments which can have common lines(features) under various aspects (the same year, the same label, the same musicians, the versions different from the same piece, etc.) or which can give place to the demonstration of certain forms of learning during collective moments: *blind tests* of growing difficulties for example. Sophie Maisonneuve (Maisonneuve, on 2001) reminded that the succession(advent) of the disk, its material pleasure, had engendered the practices close to those of the book-collecting.

The plasticity of the digital technology and the potentialities of réagement which ensue from it, the manipulation of files and organization of new musical entities are also essential of new feelings. The new conditions of access to the works, even rare or new, as well as the relative abolition of the financial constraint also allow the expert amateurs to experiment diverse musical forms and to make explorations in musical universes distant from their main tastes: discover important artists of the history(story) of the music, make the tour(ballot) of the discography of a particularly prolific artist, etc. The idea to establish(constitute) a sort of ideal discotheque (*i.e.* hold(detain) the "classical authors"("classics") of every musical current, independently of its particular desires) can be concretized from then on. The acquisition of unpublished contents comes along then with new classificatory requirements: Make the sorting among the novelties between what will not be kept(guarded) and what goes the being, to store(tidy up) and to classify what is intended to stay, etc. If for someone the selection of the musical contents is *made quasi-exclusively a priori*, that is they target their acquisitions with full knowledge of the facts, most of the people asked get back just as much albums or fragments which they like and wish to have that contents little or not known to try(feel) in first listening. This sorting *a posteriori* often leads(drives) them to create a file *ad hoc* serving as "sieve"("airlock","{sieves}","{airlocks}") of selection.

THE MUSICAL LISTENING

As notes it Anne-Marie Green in her work on the social manners of the Walkman, « nothing obliges more the listener to listen to the various parts(parties) of the work in the order of their execution, nothing prevents him(it) more from listening to a piece as often as he wants him(it). The papillonnage, the "channel-hopping", the interactive report(relationship) in the registered(recorded) work is actively involved of the report(relationship) maintained with the music » (Green, on 2004: 104). *De facto*, the listening is doubtless the activity which, under the influence of the dematerialization of the contents and their new plasticity, turns out to be the most deconstructed by all the operations bound(connected) to the music consumption. This demolition is at first spatial and temporal (we shall not land here of the question of the listening in mobility. On this particular point, cf. Bull, on 2002; green, on 2004; Bullich *and al.* 2006; Pecqueux, on 2007). In big music consumers and to satisfy what they sometimes formulate as a " vital need ", the amateurs whom we questioned multiply the occasions and the modalities of listening. The places of listening thus multiply and also tend to specialize according to the distribution of equipments. The listening in mobility will be of use for example more to the discovery of novelties, when the lounge(show) will rather be reserved for the attentive listening of the "standards" on the chain(channel) hifi and the cooking(kitchen) can be the space dedicated to a floating listening of radio contents. It is however difficult to generalize these forms of specialization so much they depend on equipments, on domiciliaires spaces and timetables of the amateurs.

Also, the moments of listening tend to multiply and to distribute according to more vast time slots (e.g. in the work) and chosen. The example of the possibilities of deferred listening opened by the *podcasting* is in this respect symbolic, allowing to make coincide in best the contents with the moment of their listening. It is also necessary to note that at certain profane amateurs, a wide part of the listening is made not from the contents which they possess but via radio stations and television channels. In other words, the listening usually proceeds of a subjection to a programming. The first interest admitted to this practice is to be held informed about the novelties, but we also understand that this one allows a less active and free-and-easier listening. This tendency for the radio and television music channels joins rather clearly the report made by Hervé Glévarec about the radio: These modes(fashions) of media consumption registering the music in a " impure universe ", which unlike the disk mixes(involved) various contexts of apprehension: « a broadcast(emission,issue) being at the same moment discursive, musical, promotional, the listening of the music is embedded in any sorts of the other elements » (Glevarec, on 2003: 85; on 2005). Making it, beyond their function(function) of musical medium, the radio and television hold, for the profane amateurs, " companion's(journeyman's) " role of road escorting various activities and appear as " spaces of integration », a " connection in an imaginary and symbolic universe » (*Idem*: 88). The custom(usage) of certain forms of webradios (Musicover, RadioBlog.com, etc.) also joins in this double phenomenon of subjection a programming allowing a lax listening and of embedding in an extra-musical context (forums, comments, advertising links, etc.). Towards the variety of the services which they propose, the various sites and the services of on-line music preside over very heterogeneous practices. That they are intended for a wide distribution(broadcasting) or for a public of niche, they can participate actively in the construction of the tastes of their audiences, even in the promotion of the artists. The possibility of establishing(constituting) a customizable musical universe via the creation of *playlists* in streaming, the choice of a musical style or an atmosphere, the stake in "favourites"("whiskers"), as well as the principle of interactivity and coproduction (more or less mattering according to sites) from systems of vote or recommendations are so many potentialities opened by the technique and which diversify and split the forms of consumption.

But the most spectacular demolition takes shape around the *sizes(formats)* of computerized listening where *playlists* and *random* function(function) practices of "channel-hopping" which get closer to certain modalities of television consumption. These are it symptomatic of this emancipation which(who) breaks with the image surinvestie and fantasized over a report(relationship) of respect of the amateur towards the work. They highlight in a significant way the phenomenon, increased under the digital regime, of customization of the musical listening which can go as far as taking the extreme shape of erratic listening where fragments are never consumed in their total. An artist replaces the other one, « every work becomes integrated into a continuous music stream, preceded and followed by the other similar works either not, according to its tastes, or to a programming, even to an unpredictable choice confided(entrusted) to his(her) walkman » (Kaplan *and al.* , on 2007: 10). The P2P or the *streaming* also modify the report(relationship) of the amateur in the music in the fact that they authorize practices more compulsive consommatoires. The abundance of the contents (stored or not) and their access facility create a new space of freedom where choices not being more than very partially forced, the amateur delights finally more in the surprise of the listening than in the very listening. Doubtless we can moreover see in this musical pleasantries the indication of a growing instability of

the cultural consumptions and the public. The conversations(maintenances) so produce count of number of listening bound(connected) to more or less short-lived "whims" which the amateur (often profane) tries to satisfy in an instant. The listening of *playlist* became another modality of regular consumption which allows to reconcile in best music and condition of listening at the profane amateurs. The place, the humor, the time(weather) at arrangement(measure,disposal) or the persons present will be so many criteria allowing to schedule(program) a series of supposed fragments to correspond in best to the atmosphere of moment. Musical *medley* by style, artist, color, atmosphere or patchwork of heterogeneous fragments, going of some titles(securities) at several hours of music, the *playlist* can take a multiplicity of forms. Of a generally short life expectancy(cycle) (the time(weather) of evening or of a route for example), she(it) offers the possibility to the amateurs to shape to best their musical programmings in their emotional states. The structure by the tastes mixes then in a collection of the contents being convenient for the situation. Desires contextualisent and are more easily indexed in the expected sensory effects which are not only moved by an aesthetic sensibility.

Coupled or not with the *random* function(function), the custom(usage) of *playlists* also allows to reintroduce some variety in the routines of listening of albums sometimes known to the chain(sequence of movements) of the titles(securities). This device also offers the possibility of discovering stored contents, but rarely settled. We delegate then to the machine the fact of fetching contents little or not listened to while we would rather tend to mobilize naturally the contents which we already know. If this modality of listening is widely shared by all interviewees, it is at the upholder's of a profane amateurism that she(it) is most developed going as far as becoming the mode of the most common(current) listening.

The regimes of listening of the most invested(surrounded) amateurs marry rather different, more specialized, more respectful forms of the completeness of the works, less immediate, they sometimes summon(convene) levels of expertise(assessment) and varied knowledges going of the statement of chorus on partition(score) (carried(worn) attention on the melodic, harmonious and rhythmic construction) to the most attentive aesthetic listening (dumping in the sound material(subject)). Besides, the experts maintain the necessity of the linear listening of albums and their manners of *playlists* are more associated with aesthetic reasons adduced: transverse reading of various albums of an artist, a confrontation of various versions of the same piece, etc. For these last ones, the *playlist* can be also protected, becoming then a separate musical object. Modern *jukebox* for the profane amateurs, *playlists* appears, for the expert amateurs, as of new potentialities allowing them to renew the *grips* of their passion. Sometimes conceived as real toilets(offices) of curiosity, they collect very diverse contents the enchainement of which will have been reflected sometimes for a long time. Unusual shop windows, this *playlists* do not redistribute both the modalities of listening and presentation(display) of the contents according to aesthetic criteria. It is not the reading of the CD that sees itself here revisited, but rather the discotheque and the way of showing its contents (to one and to the others) by means of new structures. Besides, the other features of listening as the programming of some titles(securities) or the stake in buckle are also often mobilized, allowing a maximum impregnation of the work on the amateur. The thing(matter) is not new and already existed under the regime of the discomorphose, but its facilitation by the digital technology renews « a listening attentive to the interpretation(performance), among which the sensibility and the aesthetic resources (of enjoyment and appreciation) develop by the comparison » (Maisonneuve, on 2004: 40). Alternately free-and-easy consumption of a background music hardly perceived(collected) and intended to accompany an activity, "a religious" listening during which we dive into an aesthetic experience(experiment), either still intellectualized appropriation where the desire of knowledge substitutes itself for the only aesthetic pleasure, the various modalities of listening succeed one another in everyday life. But there are even there more structural distinctions relative to the personal report(relationship) maintained in a more general way towards the music. For the profane amateurs, the musical listening is above all dreaded as an entertainment, a light pastime which does not ask for particular cognitive effort and allows to take some distance with the gravities of the everyday life. The physical commitment in which invite certain musics which are made to be danced and exert itself physically is an illustration (less frequent it is true) of this cathartic function(function) which is bound(connected) to the musical consumption. However, the listening of the music by the profane amateurs can be also the place of an authentic aesthetic experience(experiment) which the individuals express mostly by evoking the emotional states that certain fragments and in the way activate(start) at home which they have to manage their listening according to the sensitive(perceptible) load(responsibility) for them of such contents or of such the other one. We find very there an amateur *bustling* to be allowed act by the music, in other words giving deliberately of the sound, via devices and ritualisées practices to reach(affect) popular

feelings: « give itself the peach(fishing) » for example. One of the characteristics besides remarkable of this aesthetic experience(experiment) is that she(it) tries(feels) above all to the first person and finds enough little to take turns in a collective division(sharing), mostly at the same moment by modesty (held(retained) by the evocation of intimate sensations) and due to the lack of linguistic resources susceptible to make understandable in other this sensibility.

From their part, the expert amateurs (who besides can too, occasionally, mobilize forms of detached or functional listening) cultivate a more educated step(initiative) aiming at the enrichment of their musical culture which, beyond the collection of the aesthetic pleasure, requires to venture on more "steep" territories. They show themselves also more attentive to the quality of the restoration of the sound. In sound quality, they are going to greet at first the virtues of the disk (only support with the eyes of someone capable of restoring correctly certain directories specific as that of the classical music), but are also going to surround in the hifi equipment (amplifier, surrounding walls(speakers), helmet, etc.) And carry(wear) a big interest at his/her disposal in the place of life. These amateurs are arranged all the more « to put the price(prize) » in the successful material(equipment) that they have henceforth an access to the works at a lower cost. They are also going to show themselves attentive to the encoding of the numeric(digital) files which they create or get back and are going to make use of features offered by the materials(equipments) the most sophisticated to act on the quality of the sound. As notes it Franck Léard: « The intervention of the listener comes true not only at the musical time(weather) which is offered to him(her). He can also operate inside the work, by means of the corrective functions(offices) which proposes him(her) the technology. (...) The musical listening frees(franks) itself [then] from the musical work to meet the expectations of the customization which imposes the custom(usage) of the numeric(digital) technologies. She(it) comes even there to dominate on the work because she(it) places the listener as the center of the aesthetic relation by offering him(her) possibilities of intervention increased on the work » (Leard, on 2003).

CONCLUSION

Doubtless what we indicated(appointed) by *numérimorphose* he can be seized as the sign, in the field of the musical production / reception, the development of certain individualism of meaning type. This one, leaning on technological numeric(digital) the most recent would produce new forms of amateurism which, renewing the *grips* of the love of the music, would allow that express themselves consommatoires forms the object of which would be finally less the music himself than the amateur. The postulate is audacious but appears to us to recover from a conception over-valuing the autonomy of an amateur who would be inevitably an active, creative, accomplished user and an entrepreneur of his own passion. For what concerns us, the numérimorphose appears less as a theoretical revealing construction how much the music lover would be crossed(spent) boss in the *arts to make* thanks to the numeric(digital) technologies that a hypothesis showing that these are actually *producing* of new forms of practices of consumption and amateurism. The numérimorphose corresponds to more and more varied and sophisticated equipments (computers, hard disks, personal stereos MP3, etc.), new plasticities (MP3, *playlists*, *podcasts*, etc.), media and services foisonnantes (press, television, blogs, Web 2.0, etc.) Heterogeneous collectives (social networks in / except line) from whom are embodied new manners and thus new amateurs who distance themselves from those of the discomorphose exactly by their manners to make appreciably different. Less marked by the tastes, the practices of musical consumption are more and more diversified for example and come along with a movement of the signs of distinction of the nature of the very contents towards the modalities of consumption of these. To distinguish itself more seems to pass today by the way we mobilize certain contents (via various equipments, supports and reports(connections) in these contents: e.g. interest for the rarity vs interest for the novelty, the rigorous classification vs classification in permanent reorganization, etc.) That by the simple choice of these. But what we also tried to show through modest profane differentiation / expert (and of some statistical elements), it is that the numérimorphose is not a uniform phenomenon. She(it) does not describe so much a general report(relationship) renewed in the music redefining the relation which would maintain the face(figure) of an amateur abstracted in the object so abstracted from its passion as a complexification of the concrete forms of amateurism which had already been introduced during the passage to the discomorphose. Far from operating a frank break towards the forms of amateurism established by the disk, the digital technology prolongs it and renews rather the modalities, notably because of the possibilities strengthened by intervention on a work fewer and fewer bound(connected) to the size(format) finished and unified by the album.

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i Figures advanced(moved) in this article arise from a quantitative inquiry led on a sample of more than 2 000 individuals of 11 and more years old, representative of the French population. This inquiry was led within the SENSIBLE laboratory (Orange Labs France). The material of inquiry also consists of around thirty semi-directive conversations(maintenances) which were led(driven) with young music lovers, men and women, having between 17 and 35 years (most than 25 years being student again for the greater part) the musical consumption of which is daily and important in terms of duration of listening (several hours a day). The investigated possess any various devices of reading (chain(channel) hifi, walkman MP3, etc.) and of storage (external, key hard disk USB, etc.) of whom inevitably a personal computer. Also having an Internet connection at home, they develop diverse on-line practices (*peering, podcasting, etc.*) In link with their passion for the music (the sample so established(constructed) thus aspires to no statistical representativeness). Besides, observations were led to the place of residence of the investigated.

i The notion of " discomorphose » reports the invention of a new musical *size(format)* (the disk) as main shape of the musical consumption.