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Overcoming Clichés About Moonlighting: The Opportunities, Challenges and Conditions of Multiple Jobholding for Organisations

Sub-Theme 84: Work and Employment at Multiple Crossroads: Building Better Futures From the Present

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Contemporary work has been significantly shaped by the digital revolution and the resulting fragmentation of time and space (Volz-Tollet, 2023; Hassard & Morris, 2022). These changes have fundamentally altered the workplace's organisational structure and nature, leading to its dematerialisation (De Vaujany, 2024; Bidet, Datchary & Gaglio, 2017). The gig economy (Doucette & Bradford, 2019) is the most potent form of this dispersion and flexibilisation of work. However, other existing practices, such as multiple jobholding (MJH), tend to thrive in this context.

The average rate of multiple jobholders inside the European Union is 4%, with large disparities between countries: as an example, the rate is 12% in Iceland, 10% in Norway, and 6 to 7% in Denmark (Pouliakas, 2017). In 2019, the French INSEE recorded 8.2% of working people having several jobs simultaneously or cumulating one job and a freelance activity. In India, it was between 5.2% and 6.6% from the 1990s to 2013 (Arora, 2013). These statistics show how prevalent the phenomenon is among organisations (Campion, Caza & Moss, 2020).

Whether by will or constraint, moonlighting is a significant trademark of the modern labour market (Akinde, Micah & Ademola, 2020). Although it is a management issue, management science has poorly described this practice until now, particularly regarding its impact on organisations. How do they deal with such specific profiles in their teams during times so prone to turnover (Rose & Raja, 2016), especially when performance is related to staff retention? Are they seen as assets to target and retain or troublemakers to avoid in the eyes of their management?

This paper aims to reinvigorate the study of multiple jobholding within organisations by approaching the phenomenon from a managerial perspective rarely used in studying moonlighting. Indeed, most existing studies focus primarily on the experiences of multiple jobholders, giving us little knowledge about the impact of their moonlighting on organisations. There is a need to explore this issue not just from the management standpoint generally but also within the French context specifically.

We demonstrate that although combining several activities is entirely in line with contemporary upheavals in the world of work, it is incorrect to consider it as a determinant of modern work, as this practice has been part of individuals' professional practices throughout the world since the Middle Ages. We show that the many terminologies used to designate it never address the whole phenomenon, only focusing on some of their statutory realities. This is why we propose new terminology to name any person taking part in several activities, whatever the duration and status of their work: 'cumulator'.

The qualitative research analyses how 23 French organisations perceive multiple jobholders and deal with them from the recruitment process until the departure of workers if such happens. It shows that moonlighters are present in most of the organisations studied, and numerous moonlighters are among the management sample. The study reveals that most of them manage moonlighting informally and that the management tools available in the organisations do not meet the specific requirements this practice addresses. Finally, the research highlights that managers mostly appreciate moonlighters' capacity to renew their skills independently to bring back to their network and market opportunities inside the organisation. Their concerns about moonlighters rely on their exhaustion risk and their capacity to maintain high performance and discretion between their many work ties. Loyalty is the core issue at stake in this peculiar relationship.

Theoretical Framework and Research Question

Theoretical Framework

Moonlighting practices are not specific to any organisational form and cut across economic history, gender, and social conditions (Vary, 2007; Fontaine, 2013; Beau, 2002; Létroublon & Mourlot, 2016). Historians, sociologists, and economists have identified numerous forms,

scales (Lardin, 2014), and models of activity based on the principle of MJH all around the world (Guardarrama, 2017; Martinez, De Dios & Lor Leyso, 2016; Kawakami, 2019).

The many disciplines in which researchers study MJH testify to the cross-disciplinary nature of the scientific interest it stimulates. On an international level, economics and management sciences lead, but surprisingly, in France, it is instead sociology, history, and geography that have dedicated most works to the phenomenon. This individual-centred understanding approach of sociology dominates in French literature (Rannou & Roharik, 2006; Lizé, 2014) and reveals the motives leading to moonlighting. Historians and geographers bring a broader perspective and offer valuable insights into the various social and organisational purposes MJH has served for centuries.

These researchers show moonlighting can be exercised on an individual (Vary, 2007; Fontaine, 2013), family (Damianos, Demoussis & Kasimis, 1991), organisational (Dagorn, 2023), and territorial scale. The most known and studied scale is individual moonlighting. It mainly pursues three objectives: additional income, career development, and psychological fulfilment. The populations most considered in Europe are cultural and agricultural workers. When practised at the territorial level, pluriactivity testifies to people's adaptation to seasonality and the resources available in their territory (Lardin, 2013). Moreover, it contributes to keeping the workforce from leaving the territory for larger cities (Chabert, 1978) as long as it helps safeguard endangered know-how (Arnoux, 2009). It also helped establish proto-industries in the Saintonge region (France) at the end of the 19th century (Perisse, 2013).

When studied by economy or management sciences, moonlighting is mainly considered in terms of motives, understanding, or prediction (Campion, Caza & Moss, 2020). Economists tend to focus on predictive factors while management science researchers concentrate on their effect on moonlighters. Within the management sciences, the phenomenon of cumulating professional activities is not considered wholly but by some of its forms. The entrepreneurial forms are addressed through slashers artists (Schieb-Bienfait & Emin, 2021) and hybrid entrepreneurs (Dagorn, 2023). The fragmented and disciplinarily scattered research available generates inadequate theoretical development and limited disciplinary integration (Campion, Caza & Moss, 2020, p. 166). Moreover, we need a management perspective to establish how these profiles contribute to or complicate an organisation's performance.

Various terminologies refer to this timeless and widespread practice in human societies. Most French-language articles refer to *pluriactivité* (Akermann et al., 2014, pp. 259-274), while most English-speaking literature addresses it with the terms *moonlighting* (Kalra, 2023) and *multiple jobholding* (Bouwhuis, Geuskens, Boot, Bongers & Van Der Beek, 2017; Bhayana, Gopakumar & Vohra, 2024). However, many other terms such as *polyactivity* (Rannou & Roharik, 2006; Cingolani, 2012), *bivalence* (Périsse, 2013), *diversification* (Lagarde, 2006), *multiactivity* (Bidet, Datchary & Gaglio, 2017), or even *slashers* (Bohas, Fabbri, Laniray & De Vaujany, 2018, Grima, de Becdelievre & Taphanel, 2024) are used in French contexts. In international papers, '*multiple runs*', '*extra pursuits*', or '*PiPis*' in several contexts (Adelugba et al., 2020) surface alongside *hustle* (Heilmann & Ekonen, 2022) and *blue, half, or quarter moonlighting* (Dharshini & Abraham, 2023).

These terminologies designate one way of having several jobs, whether the activities are all salaried jobs, all self-employed, or a mixture of various statuses. They fail to embrace the phenomenon holistically because they cannot detach themselves from the statutory issues raised by individuals accumulating activities. The vocabulary here worsens the understanding issue, contributing to—or revealing—the difficulty of addressing this phenomenon, which is challenging to grasp.

Far from being a semantic issue, this scattering of terms is characteristic of the way the phenomenon is dealt with, that is, without any holistic approach. It also has an impact on the research itself: even though the global research on moonlighting has developed recently, the definitions of the practice on which they rely, or the criteria and durations they decide to consider, are so various that they result in inconsistencies and contradictory results (Campion, Caza & Moss, 2020, 2020). This also limits our understanding of the phenomenon and its global reach. For these reasons, we propose a new term, 'cumulator', to designate any situation in which people combine professional activities, whatever their status and duration.

Campion, Caza & Moss (2020) conducted the first systematic literature review on MJH, trying to synthesise the knowledge available on working multiple jobs. They propose a depletion/enrichment framework for this practice, based on role theory, that aims to determine the effects of MJH practices on individuals. This framework indicates that the impacts on individuals are influenced by the motives driving them to moonlight. Individuals who work multiple jobs simultaneously to survive (being pushed) are more likely to experience exhaustion, while those who choose to moonlight (pull) to gain new skills or express their

identity through another activity are more likely to find fulfilment in this combination. This review also highlights gaps in the understanding of MJH: while we have a better grasp of its effects on individuals, there is still limited knowledge about how MJH affects the organisations employing these individuals.

The review suggests four further avenues of research to deepen our understanding of the phenomenon of multiple jobholding. The first one concerns the gender and ethnic origin (*race*) of pluriactive people and the dynamics of multiple jobholding, as available research tends to suggest a link between these factors. The second addresses the role of the individual's socio-economic status to refine the description and, therefore, the understanding of moonlighting, which is still too often described as a class phenomenon. The third suggestion refers to MJH over time and how well it is self-managed by individuals. The final avenue recommends focusing future research on the organisational issues involved in cumulation, as the authors report that research to date needs to pay more attention to the role of organisations and their management.

Research Question

This paper is entirely in line with this fourth recommendation and justifies the usage of a new perspective to generate knowledge. The paucity of theories and the inconsistency of available results should alert us to the attention this subject deserves. This need is even more pressing in France, where research is even rarer and uses, to our knowledge, only the point of view of multiple jobholders. There is a real opportunity to describe MJH situations from the organisations' perspectives to better understand the impact of these profiles on the managerial teams and processes inside organisations.

How do organisations deal with cumulators? To answer this question, we need to glimpse how top management and management in general view these profiles inside their staff. We also need to analyse all the management tools used by managers, from the job advertisement to the evaluation process. That is why we will explore two different sub-questions:

- How do managers perceive cumulators inside their staff? Do they see them as assets or threats to their performance creation process and dynamics?
- How do managers integrate and manage cumulators from their recruitment to their departure from the organisation? This last question will also explore the management tools used by organisations to deal with their staff. By questioning these managers on the existence of these

cumulators in their workforce, on how they manage and consider it in terms of opportunities and risks for their organisation, we hope to reveal the deeper issues at stake.

Methodology and research design

Methodology

This inductive and qualitative research was carried out in 2023. Its field of research comprises 26 interviews with managers and top managers of French organisations from the secondary and tertiary sectors. Its methodology consists of two different inductive loops going from literature to data gathered during interviews. The first loop comprised a review of French literature through a search of the keywords *pluriactivité*, *bivalence*, and *slashing* and the other terms outlined in the previous section. This first interdisciplinary collection of papers and theses had been gathered for previous research works in 2018 and 2019. It was updated with a review of recent French works on *pluriactivité*, *multiactivité*, and *slashing* for a total of 40 articles and theses. Next, semi-directive interviews were conducted with 26 managers and top managers. The second loop began with a review of international literature on *moonlighting*, *multiple jobholding/holders*, and *pluriactivity* to the analysis of the interviews collected in the first loop. This second round of literature research resulted in about 60 international articles and a systematic literature review (Campion, Caza & Moss, 2020). These comings and goings gradually fed our understanding of the perception managers have of cumulators. The issue was not determining the value of cumulators *per se* but rather value they have in the eyes of managers. An interpretative paradigm seemed to fit with our goal to question this managerial relationship and attempt to gain a deeper understanding of it.

In this comprehensive approach to organisational management, we aimed to shed light on the lesser-explored managerial aspects of this unique relationship, departing from the usual focus on freelance workers. This research is the first stage of a doctoral research project. It is based on the empirical and longitudinal experience of the multiple jobholding of one of its co-authors.

Panel presentation

The sample group consists of 13 women and 13 men holding leadership roles in French companies and non-profit organisations across various sectors such as education, consulting,

cybersecurity, culture, and healthcare. There are four organisations in the secondary sector and 19 in the service sector. The cultural nebula predominates within the sample, with 11 structures out of 23 ranging from central administrations to service providers. The second most prominent part of the sample is made of IT service providers. 4 of them are distinct organisations working in IT sector, another is the IT department of a multinational company.

The organisations have a workforce ranging from a few employees to nearly 20,000, with diverse cultures and practices. Two-thirds of the organisations have structured HR functions. Five respondents oversee HR, while nine others do so in the absence of a dedicated department. The managers' average job tenure is 5.5 years; their teams range from 2 to 45 members. Top managers of the sample oversee 54 to 1,200 people indirectly.

Their headquarters are in France, with half of them being in Paris, but some have teams across the country or overseas (Ireland, Spain, Italy, and Tunisia). One organisation uses flex-office, while other organisations have in-person full-time workforces due to the nature of their work (secondary education, product manufacturing).

The selection of organisations was aimed at being as broad as possible. It seemed relevant to study these managerial attitudes in France, where the monoactive norm has still prevailed (Mouriaux, 2006) since the post-war years, as in Western European countries.

Research design

The semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face or via Visio and lasted between 30 and 90 minutes. An interview guide served as an *aide-mémoire* (Nez, 2011). The guide was not used systematically or linearly, especially given the sometimes highly limited time available to the interviewees, necessitating adjustments in the line of questioning. We ensured that the most crucial questions were asked, even during the shortest interviews. This inevitably impacted the depth and richness of specific interviews, where the researcher-interviewee relationship could not fully manifest. Without this contextualisation of the request and interaction with the interviewee, the responses received were superficial, and occasionally even sterile.

The grid emphasised organisational values, managers' loyalty, and desired recruit qualities. A key focus was understanding the managers' views on employees working multiple jobs correlating with the organisation's DNA, culture, and managerial values.

Work in the organisation

- Working practices – Current working methods (face-to-face, hybrid, full TT) and the conditions under which they are used.
- HR characteristics of the organisation (organisation of the HR function nationally, regionally, by manager, etc.)

In which recruitment processes are the interviewees involved?

The organisation's values

- Does your organisation claim to have particular values?
- How would you define the notion of professional loyalty?
- What actions could an employee take that would indicate a lack of loyalty to an organisation?

Figure 1 : Extracts from the questioning grid

Another vital aspect involved examining the organisations' tools and processes to assess their preparedness for managing cumulators. The structured interview questionnaire assessed recruitment and employee management procedures to reveal how organisations anticipate and integrate cumulator profiles.

Recruitments

- Recruitment process in place (management by departments, HR department, etc.)
- What basic qualities do you expect from a candidate when recruiting?
- On the other hand, what behavioural traits or lack of skills do you find prohibitive to recruitment?
- Do you ask candidates about any multiple jobs they may hold during interviews?
- Do you ever eliminate candidates because of their request to hold multiple jobs?

Managerial/organisation's vision of multiple jobholders

- Does your organisation allow its employees to hold multiple jobs and, if so, how? Is there a procedure in place for requesting multiple jobs?
- If the organisation prohibits this, explain in detail why.
- In your opinion, what benefit or risk does combining the activities of your teams represent? Explain
- (added on 5 July) What conditions are required to ensure the smooth running of a collaboration with a person combining activities?
- Have you "formally" identified those of your employees who carry out other professional activities? Are they covered by a specific management document?
- Have you ever had to separate from an employee because of his or her other professional activities?

Figure 2 : Extracts from the questioning grid

The interview structure changed on three occasions: The initial plan to ask about "pluriactivity" and "polyactivity" definitions was dropped early on, owing to the realisation of

how it could influence or disrupt the interview process. The original grid version omitted inquiring about interviewees' multiple jobholding experiences as managers, solely emphasising their managerial roles and overlooking their potential as cumulators. This omission was rectified by introducing three additional questions on this subject:

Manager's experience of multiple jobholding

- Are you or have you ever been pluriactive?
- If yes, for which missions?
- If so, why did you stop?

Halfway through the interview campaign, a question seemed to be missing when respondents had experienced longitudinal collaboration with cumulators in their staff. The remaining half of the panel was asked about the conditions under which the professional relationship benefits both the organisation and the cumulator.

Biases and limitations

This study has several biases and constraints that require identification in order to understand their extent fully. The initial constraint relates to the representativeness of our organisational sample.

First of all, the prevalence of cumulators in managerial positions constitutes a notable bias in our research findings. This prevalence not only underscores the significance of this phenomenon within the organisations we surveyed but also potentially skews perceptions of cumulators in a positive light. Conversely, it is crucial to note that this over-representation does not impact the examination of management tools within the study.

As we explained, one of the coauthors has been a cumulator all her life. Rather than trying to ignore her sensitive and necessarily situated experience in the social and organisational world, she should instead use it as support, even if it means “observing herself in the process of observing,” to uncover her biases.

Extracting this research from her networks proved complex, hindering a more impartial research approach. Building trust-based relationships and obtaining recommendations from reliable sources were crucial for securing interviews. Efforts to expand outreach often resulted in refusals or no responses. For instance, contacts were made with two workroom managers at

a prominent French fashion house and two bank executives. Despite direct emails, no responses were received from them, and reaching out to unfamiliar contacts on LinkedIn resulted in the same outcome. Nonetheless, recommendations fully supported by friends and colleagues did result in some successful interview outcomes. Sixteen interviewees had or currently maintain a professional connection, while six were engaged through a reliable intermediary. Only four individuals participated without any endorsement, mediation, or pre-established affiliation.

These relationships with part of the sample inherently influenced the interview content to varying degrees. However, these individuals would likely have declined to grant an interview to an external party. Furthermore, the researchers could better understand the organisational environment of the individuals with whom they engaged, including potential biases and insincerity.

The sample of managers and top managers was assembled to create the most exhaustive picture of management relationships with cumulators possible. However, the panel lacks organisations that have opposed this practice and defined HR policies accordingly. The organisational mindset within the cultural sector may have permeated some of the entities in our sample. Numerous structures have robust economic, network, and employment ties with the cultural environment, factors that are likely to shape their stance on the issue of holding multiple jobs. The French cultural sector, characterised by a substantial presence of multiple jobholders, exhibits a certain level of assimilation to these professional practices (Lizé, 2014; Menger, 2002, 2005).

The people interviewed may have felt uncomfortable disclosing their practices, especially when they opposed multiple jobholding. We perceived that some of the comments made during the interviews were guarded, especially those of individuals who were likely to refuse to have people holding multiple jobs on their teams. Despite this, we were unable to elicit more candid responses.

Research results

Cumulators are to be found in almost every organisation, especially among the management sample itself.

A widespread but invisible practice, sometimes even unconscious. Most organisations we met identified cumulators in their staff, albeit in small numbers, even if they initially expressed reluctance. A total of 23 out of 26 managers identified cumulators in their staff. These cumulators are not always mentioned spontaneously by executives and top managers, but one case or another is always found at the latest when executives are asked to name the profiles of people who accumulate experience. Dominique, who serves as the HR Director for an IT division of a multinational company in the perfume and cosmetics industry, offers an insightful perspective on this matter. While appearing to dismiss the notion of multiple jobholding due to exclusivity clauses, he also acknowledges the existence of exceptions:

“Our employment contracts contain an exclusivity clause. [...] If I want to teach at Sciences Po, I can do it, but it has to be official, declared and in my own name. [...] The clause forbids me to work for a competitor, it forbids me to work half my time for another [...]. As HR Director, I am responsible for ensuring that there is a form of loyalty between what is managed within the company and what is managed outside. Secondly, I’m legally responsible for ensuring that this person complies with the rules on working hours over the course of a week. And as I’m the main employer, I’m supposed to be the main employer. If someone works at Sciences Po, not just two hours a week for tutorials but the whole week, at night, the person won’t benefit the legal 11 consecutive hours off, will work more than 12 hours a day, won’t necessarily have their two consecutive days off in the week, etc.”

Stéphanie, a top manager for a subcontractor of a French ministry, has a clause in her contract which prohibits her from holding other jobs, conditioning it to the express acceptance by the organisation:

“We have exclusivity clauses in our contracts. We’re not allowed to work for other companies, or, if we ever were, we would have to declare them.”

The practice of multiple jobholding exists even when it is prohibited *a priori*. This is notably the case in the non-profit managed by Amélie in the events sector. This is why it seems all the less likely that there are no cumulators in the division of over 600 people for which

Dominique is HR Director. On the other hand, it is more than likely that these multiple job-holding situations are not declared there.

A majority of cumulators exist within the management sample, sometimes unknowingly.

The interviews revealed that most executives and top managers are cumulators themselves. Indeed, out of the 26 people interviewed, only 9 said they have never held multiple jobs. Five had been holding more than one job in the past, and ten were being cumulators at the time. Two managers were not conscious of their cumulator situation before the interview. Donald manages a team in a marketing and customer relations software publisher:

“For me, professional activity has a very contractual framework. For example, I bought a ruin in an old village that my wife and I want to renovate; well, that we have finished renovating, so that we can do a side project alongside our jobs to develop local tourism in the region. [...] Taking a step to the side, but without any financial objective, you see, it’s more about finding an interest in something else that I like, that doesn’t take up time in my business. Basically, today I do things on weekends when I go there, once a month, and then I say to myself, ‘We’ll see when we get there,’ [...] how we’re going to manage it. We don’t want to put any pressure on our current business or on our family life, but yes, we’ll manage it.”

A similar story unfolded during our conversation with François, who has been managing a printing factory for 10 years. While he explained his reluctance to cumulation and struggled to see any benefit for his business, he understood that his combining of two jobs for most of his working life made him a perfect example of a cumulator. Indeed, apart from his factory management position in the printing factory, he had been buying fixer-uppers to renovate and generate additional income. He even explained that he had been working on his renovations for his apartment every weekend from the time he was 18 until recently to supplement his family’s income and avoid dipping into his factory’s profits, which he kept reinvesting in his business.

Management tools anticipate cumulators only when trying to avoid or retain them.

The study of organisations’ management tools revealed how little multiple jobholding is foreseen or addressed through managerial processes and software. Indeed, most of the time, management tools did not anticipate the situation of multiple jobholding. We found only a few examples of management tools planning the possibility of a cumulator. And even when this

regulation was mandatory, as in French public bodies whose employees must disclose their multiple job holding situations when they are recruited, management tools did not cover all the cumulators' needs: The contracts' templates and appendices declaring the several occupations existed, but the HR software evaluation processes did not cover these specific situations. Furthermore, even when management tools are set to establish a multiple jobholding situation when a cumulator is hired, almost no organisation keeps track of cumulated activities after the recruitment.¹

- Contractual clauses, as mentioned above
- Multiple jobholding statements exist in public bodies because their legal framework require organisations to ask their employees about such. Sometimes, an ethics officer is involved in the decision of whether or not to validate the other activities.
- A contract amendment
- Written notification in contracts, anticipating possible situations of multiple activities and specifying that they must not be in competition with the organisation
- A regular progress report

It is mostly by the request of someone already employed that the management tools get adapted to meet the needs of the cumulators “inhouse”. The case of the French start-up Y, which offers cybersecurity services, seems the most interesting to mention here. It outlines the entire process by which an organisation that had not previously established a policy on cumulation evolved to set guidelines for this practice and was able to meet one of her managers' requests. Both managers involved in this situation were interviewed:

“Elsa joined the company two years ago as a customer success manager. [...] She comes from the music business, where she used to organise festivals. So, it's a completely different world job-wise; now she sells cybersecurity. But she's remained very close to the music world. Recently, she asked us if she could take on freelance work in addition to her full-time job to help develop a small start-up that organises events. So, there's absolutely no competition with Y. That was the subject of a request to HR, who sent me the request [...] and then we made an appendix to her contract saying, 'OK, you have the right to combine'. There

¹ Such as a request form, or an employment contract stipulating the need to formalize a request

was no contract yet.”

She is also very open about her reasoning concerning this request, particularly with regard to exhaustion risk:

“How do we keep the employee? She’s already working hard, she’s remote, [...] so how do we keep her motivated, committed, how do we keep her doing the job she’s doing so well today? After that, to be completely transparent, it was quite obvious to me that if I wanted to strengthen Elsa’s loyalty, I had to give her this opportunity. If I wanted to keep her for a few more years, she had to be given this opportunity. [...] But that’s what I had to watch out for, and that’s why I insisted that HR put in writing ‘be careful, there must be time off’. Now Elsa is someone with some seniority, she’s able to organize her time. My concern is that she doesn’t burn out, as they say.”

Since this request, the company’s contract frames have evolved in line with Elsa’s additional clause, to specify the possibility of cumulation. It is interesting to note, however, that even after the organisation’s position on cumulation had evolved, they still refrained from making an official announcement:

“Today, contractually, multiple activities are authorized in the employment contract, on the condition that they do not concern a competing activity or business, i.e. offensive cybersecurity [...] This was not the subject of a management committee meeting, but with A., who’s in charge of HR, we sat down, we said: ‘OK, what’s our policy today regarding holding multiple jobs?’ and what we said was that we weren’t going to make it an official communication because we don’t want people to feel obligated to hold multiple jobs. [...] Absolutely not! We updated the policy, but we didn’t communicate about it. [...]. The other employees know this, and the day they feel like combining activities, they know they can do so.”

In conclusion, top managers and executives mostly deal with cumulators informally, their array of management tools being inadequate to manage these profiles. Management tools foresee cumulators’ situations when organisations are reluctant to practice or, on the contrary, when they agree to change the rules to keep a cumulator in-house. The quality of the

relationship between the parties depends on the relationship between the cumulator and the organisation through its management. It does not rely on its managerial arsenal. At this stage, it is even more important to document how managers view these profiles.

The relationship between the organisations we encountered and cumulators is serene and rarely influences recruitment processes *a priori*. For instance, 17 of the 23 organisations have never dismissed a candidate on the grounds that they were a cumulator, and 14 do not ask candidates about their possible cumulator situation during recruitment interviews. Paradoxically, it is mostly when organisations prohibit or strictly regulate this practice that we can find a trace of it in their management tools. This is the case for Amélie, co-director of a non-profit in the events sector, whose company prohibits it in part:

“(...) If we consider our employees’ profiles, we have extremely committed people who would come to work with both legs in a plaster. Our main challenge is to manage people’s energy. It’s about managing their commitment because these people have a lot of energy, but in my experience, I have to scrape them off the ground every year in the fall. These are people who will go to extremes in terms of energy and psychological capacity, and who therefore put themselves in risky situations. And we have people who drive vehicles, who have to be vigilant. We can’t allow them to be in that kind of position; it’s a risk for the organisation for the person. That’s where all the opposition comes from. There are other people who have dual activities that are troublesome in terms of non-competition.”

While most of the organisations do not address this issue during the job interview, some of the organisations on the panel do include it as a selection criterion, as they base their recruitment strategies on the cumulation profile of their workforce. Pierre-Georges and his consulting firm represent one such organisation:

“Of course, it’s important that they do. For me, it’s a sign of commitment. [...] A sign of good health.”

Managers view their cumulator employees’ productive output and achievements positively and make organisational efforts to ensure the coexistence of their cumulators’ activities. When they are committed to the principle of multiple jobholding, organisations make significant efforts to ensure the possibility for cumulators to combine their activities.

Franck is the co-founder of a communications agency. He has dug up some legal agreements to enable one of his employees to combine his graphic design and teaching activities. To keep this employee, Franck finally went so far as to set up a self-created system based solely on trust:

“The difficulty for us was to find a way to combine the two. We came to an agreement that relies heavily on trust. [...] In our collective agreement, we couldn't set up an annualization system. We set up a four-day work contract with this person, but unfortunately, we couldn't go beyond that. There are periods when he doesn't have classes and does his four days, as well as periods when he needs two days a week at school. So, in that case, the four days becomes three, and he takes unpaid leave to be able to take care of things. I say it's a question of trust because, at some point, we could refuse or shame him for taking unpaid leave; it could be a reason for conflict, but there you have it; it's a question of trust. We wish we could have done things differently because there are times when he'd like to be able to work five days a week. He does that from October to May, but unfortunately, we haven't been able to find a work contract arrangement that would simply allow him to do that.”

Far from rejecting these non-standard profiles, the managers we met such as Stéphanie (below) identified numerous advantages to having them on their staff, including new business and networking opportunities, self-managed skills renewal, and loyalty.

“[...] He's very committed to his project and wants to put all his energy into it, so he asked us for part-time work, which we accepted. What we find interesting in this case is that he's working on an issue that's important to us, and he's activating networks in his second activity, which he's putting back into his work, so there's real feedback here; it's a win-win situation.”

These opportunities can manifest in various forms, such as in Benjamin and his fellow teachers' high school, where cumulators are valued for their expertise, dynamic contributions, and innovative capacity.

“[...] They're people who have a global vision, who aren't confined to the school. They meet other colleagues and, in turn, also bring in innovative

teaching practices. So they're open-minded, often able to analyse, and knowing that they're often high-quality colleagues. That's often why they're recruited for these missions. And even if a supervisor is also a summer camp director, in terms of managing teenagers, he knows what he's doing. In another context, he can manage them. We're also involved in educational activities, so it's all about taking the initiative and being autonomous, which are really interesting qualities. [...] It develops their skills and their outlook."

Only a handful of organisations declare that they do not have cumulators among their staff. Yet even with those who struggle to perceive the benefits or opportunities that cumulators might offer their organisation, we identify a tenuous link to multiple jobholding. Marion is the general secretary of a nationwide group working on housing issues:

"It may be suitable [...] for freelancers who could be in a service-provision relationship for corporate clients and who have the possibility of adapting their working hours or their time-framed assignments. [...] I think it's more complicated when you're in a more traditional company where you have projects that are spread out over a longer period of time, where the projects are linked to each other [...] After that, it's a question of proportion, too. I don't really know the forms that exist [...] someone who would share his time half and half, for me that is less obvious. [...] These are things that can be organized, but I don't think they can be directly plugged into all organisations."

In the same interview, she mentions a candidate who had won her preference because of his side job. This candidate was applying for a position in the communications department and was also the editor-in-chief of a political newspaper. Recognising the apparent contradiction, Marion clarified that the candidate's journalistic work occurred outside regular work hours and did not interfere with his primary responsibilities. This example illustrates how organisations often allow employees to have additional roles, even if they suggest otherwise.

Risks perceived by managers focus on exhaustion and competition between different activities. The risks mentioned by the managers focus on exhaustion, disorganisation, and infringement between activities. The legal risk of exceeding working hours and its consequences for the main employer were cited by some organisations such as that of

Dominique, the HRD of the multinational perfume and cosmetics company. He even used it as a reason to prohibit it. Another HR director on the panel, who worked in a business school, took a very different view on the issue:

“It’s up to the employee to make sure he complies with working time regulations, and as long as he meets his objectives for the year, there are no repercussions for the company. [...] For me, it’s very factual. We hire an employee for X amount of time and X amount of work. He has to inform us if he does other activities. If he doesn’t, he’s putting himself at risk, not us. If he hasn’t informed us, we’re not supposed to know he’s doing something else. [...] for me, the risk is, above all, for the person who combines activities, because at a certain point, he can put himself at risk of not carrying out the missions for all his employers.”

On the other hand, these two HRDs agree that beyond a certain point, multiple jobholding can cause psychosocial risks (PSR) and that these may appear inexplicable if the person has not stated the situation:

“(The risk is) that the person is overloaded because of this cumulation, and that without any explanation, we come to think that the PSR comes from us, and that there’s something we haven’t identified, that it’s a management problem, a work overload that has generated this overheating.”

Eventually, the departure of the cumulator is a risk that organisations mention all the more as they recount concrete experiences while being aware of the inevitability of the evolution of individual desires, aspirations, and projects. Franck even mentions the emotional nature of these potential departures:

“I was going to say it’s almost more emotional than anything else: The risk is that at some point the other activity will take precedence over their activity, which is most of the time their main activity with us. I know that it would bother me if, at some point, I had certain people on the team who said, ‘Well, I was doing this on the side as well, and now I want to devote myself to full-

time.' It's more like in a love relationship, you can be accommodating, but you don't want to be left behind."

Matthieu, the co-manager of a merchandise company, also sees the desire of some employees to have a secondary activity as a reason for leaving the company:

"I can't hold them back, so to speak, if there's a project at some point, the project's there. And when you have a personal project, it's always cooler. I think it's always better to work for yourself than for someone else."

To a lesser extent, conflict of interest plays a role in some managers refusing their employees' requests for multiple jobs. Amélie recalls the case of several employees who used to freelance, offering consulting services in the same working field. When they took on greater responsibility within the organisation and were entrusted with projects of high strategic and financial value for the association employing them full-time, these secondary activities became a source of conflict of interest.

Loyalty is the main organisational concern regarding cumulators. When asked about their organisations' values, managers spoke of the way organisations view relations between employees, positioning them in the field of cooperation, mutual aid, and team spirit. Their personal definition of loyalty was mostly based on three points:

- Putting all their abilities and efforts at the service of the organisation
- Daring to express themselves fully, even in the event of disagreement
- Respecting his or her duty of confidentiality towards the organisation

A significant proportion of our panel views loyalty as a dynamic notion driven by a logic of reciprocity, which is one of the significant results of our research. Elsa, manager at Y., sums up these ideas:

" I've always had the impression that I am very loyal professionally, and yet I find it hard to define. I'd say it is defending your company to the outside world, and I think that fits in with my definition of loyalty in life. It's keeping your dirty laundry inside the family, and then trying to give back what you've been given. [...] I think being loyal, and being faithful, means supporting the choices

of your company's managers when they support yours, and I think that's only possible when the values defended by the company are shared [...].

The research findings on the impact of cumulators on organisations were derived from comparing managers' responses regarding the risks associated with handling cumulators and their perception of loyalty. According to the managers, it is crucial to ensure that individuals remain loyal to their organisation, meaning they should stay committed, involved to the best of their abilities, confident enough to express their doubts, questions, and disagreements, and continue to maintain a transparent attitude. The most frequently mentioned risk associated with these profiles is that of exhaustion. This aligns with the most cited definition of loyalty, which emphasizes giving one's best and being fully committed to the organisation. This comparison sheds light on the significance of managing multiple tasks, especially as the questions were asked at different times during the interviews.

Summary of the symbolic and practical challenges of multiple jobholding for organisations	
Practical issues	Symbolic stakes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining cumulator performance • Compliance with the legal framework for working hours • Psychosocial Risks (PSR) prevention • Respect for the organisation's time and organisational constraints 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining confidentiality • Preventing conflicts of interest – Maintaining loyalty to the organisation • Retention of cumulator

Trust and communication: the two prerequisites for a mutually beneficial multiple jobholding. The panel unanimously agreed that establishing a bond of trust between employees and their managers is essential for a smooth collaboration with cumulators. This trust requires transparency, quality communication, and a framework for negotiation to discuss the conditions for multiple jobholding and their potential impact on the organisation. Renewing mutual trust between the parties can happen within this same framework. During our interview with a former deputy director of a healthcare establishment, they shared their experience of managing a dysfunctional team partially due to undeclared cumulators. Some even held illegal activities or breached their duty of loyalty to the establishment. This stormy experience shaped her thoughts on the subject:

“If I had to set up a team today with a combination of activities, I would want things to be thought through in terms of framework, and within this general framework, we would discuss and reach an agreement with either the future employee or the current employee. So that, in the end, we can come up with a

charter of good practice. For me, a charter of good practice means transparency. [...] Not transparency about their other activity, but transparency about the activity, whether in figures or with a follow-up with the manager. Because, for me, we are here to work on a relationship of trust. And to perhaps set some milestones. For me, it has to be really, really, really managed and defined with readjustments. It is not fixed in time, but it must be transparent. For me, you can only work well if you are clear.”

For Perrine, the HR Director at a cultural institution, everything hinges on the relationship of trust between the manager and cumulator:

“The ideal situation is when it is talked about. It is when we can talk openly, for example, during the professional interview, about this ‘outside work time’ and how it nurtures, impacts, constraints, or whatever, and therefore discuss the specific arrangements for working hours [...] It is a give-and-take, so it works well when discussing it. However, to do that, you must trust your manager enough, and the manager has to trust the person who will talk to him about it.”

In her previous job, she had to deal with managers who took a very dim view of cumulators *“[...] with the presupposition that they were cheating or abusing the system”*. Jordane, co-manager of a training and support structure for cumulators, also shows the extent to which it is unthinkable to make this organisation work around cumulation within a relationship of mistrust between the manager and the employee:

“I have seen it as a consultant; I have seen it with managers I used to work with. Some were flexible, others not at all, and those who did not complain that their employees were going off sick because they were not getting the listening, the ear, the empathy, and the sympathy they expected from their manager or company.”

The main difference between organisations that fully embrace the practice of multiple jobholding and those that do not lie in the individual's relationship to time and the extent of the organisation's control over it.

Discussion

Multiple jobholding permeates almost all the organisations on our panel. It seems almost inescapable, even when management does not favour it. It seems to contribute to the cumulator's personal development and the renewal of their skills. Most importantly, according to the managerial panel, it contributes to their development as organisations. They identify cumulators' practice as an opportunity to develop their network, generate new opportunities, and retain or reengage cumulators by strengthening their ties. When they do not actively

facilitate the coexistence of cumulators' activities, most organisations adopt at least a tolerant and benevolent attitude towards these activities, whether they are declared to them or not. Our research has enabled us to identify the most significant challenge organisations face in their dealings with cumulators: ensuring that cumulators maintain their loyalty to them, understood as a demonstration of a high level of commitment and performance, and respect for the confidentiality owed to the organisation.

These empirical results renew our approach to long-standing issues, such as the organisation's control over individuals' time and the various dimensions that make up the bond (affective, symbolic, practical) between these two parties. In how they accept and support this practice, organisations reveal their relationship with subordination. In Fanny's words, organisations' acceptance of multiple jobs "*stimulates loyalty, gives employees more freedom, and improves their quality of life at work*". In light of the elements emerging from this research and the available literature, it would seem useless for organisations to resist cumulation at the risk of sending them back into the realm of hidden activities and ending up in the situation previously mentioned of the occurrence of unexplained PSR, hence a drop in performance. Was this practice riskier than opportune for organisations, they would have long since consolidated their management tools to prevent it from happening. On the other hand, organisations need to anticipate the conditions of this practice through the quality of their management and the evolution of their management tools so that it remains a vector of new opportunities and the retention of cumulators.

“Pluriactive people make good hires, yes, they always do; I am convinced of that. And I would sincerely like to see more people like that in companies, and I am convinced that we will have more and more of them in the future.”

Delphine, HR Director at a College of Business

For many organisations that view cumulation with goodwill and interest, it is understood that loyalty can no longer be achieved through contractual commitment alone. This is why they accept the cumulators' request to hold several jobs and capitalise on them for the benefit of their organisation. By doing so, they stimulate the loyalty of the cumulator. The managers' emphasis on establishing a bond of trust and authentic communication, as well as discussing the needs and requests of cumulators, aligns with existing management literature: Dagorn (2023) recently established the importance of discussion spaces (*espaces de discussion*)

(Detchessahar, 2001b, 2003, 2013) in the smooth running of the activities of hybrid entrepreneurs, which are nothing less than cumulators. Such “discussion spaces” allow organisations to reap the full benefits of the opportunity cumulators represent if HR policies support them. Dagorn shows that organisational dysfunction tends to cause hybrid entrepreneurs to leave the company for entrepreneurship. Conversely, “discussion spaces” within the organisation enable a specific "power to act" to be regained (Clot, 2014) and keep the cumulator in hybridity.

In this article, we wanted to overcome clichés associated with the classical approach of cumulation. Our goal was to enhance understanding of this insufficiently explored practice by introducing a perspective that has not been widely utilised: that of the organisations themselves. This shift in perspective sought to empirically contribute to the knowledge of this widely prevalent yet poorly managed practice. It also presented a theoretical challenge of unifying the analysis of a highly diverse phenomenon, as evidenced by the current varied terminology used to describe it. To address this, we proposed a new concept, the "cumulator," to grant this term a theoretical status detached from the statutory conditions of practice. By doing so, we could focus on studying the relationship between the cumulator and their organisation and identifying the managerial and organisational conditions necessary for a mutually beneficial cumulation. The stark contrast between the almost systematic presence of multiple jobholders in organisations and the absence of such issues in organisational management tools calls for further research in management science on multiple jobholding from an organisational perspective, as Champion, Caza & Moss (2020) recommended.

Our research shed light on some interesting issues that have not been fully pursued. The first one is that while cumulation is a serene subject for organisations, it is not the case for remote working, which is still causing intense discussion within organisations. While we only questioned managers about work organisation methods to comprehend their organisational culture, we gathered spontaneous reports of numerous debates, negotiations or conflicts caused by organisations' return to the post-health crisis era and the questioning of previously implemented telecommuting methods.

The second point to consider is that, for many organisations, a part-time job is the default option for holding multiple jobs. While having multiple jobs seems legitimate for part-time and self-employed individuals, it is much less common and obvious for full-time workers. Many people we interviewed only considered holding multiple jobs in the context of part-time

work. Legal full-time jobs are the standard framework when considering the possibility of holding multiple jobs, which is surprising given that it is commonly accepted that managers work way more than legal full-time hours. Why would cumulators only be considered capable of working within the legal full-time? The legal rules around working hours obviously influence how managers think and can even shape their perceptions. Surprisingly, even paradoxically, these rules play a significant role in managers' understanding of their team members' work habits.

There is a critical distinction between organisations that embrace multiple jobholding and those that do not lie in this point. Managers who struggle to comprehend the concept of multiple jobholding tend to perceive full-time employment with their organisation as entitling them to an individual's entire working hours within a legal framework. This notable contrast is evident in Franck's remarks.:

« We do not have to pledge allegiance to a company either. There is a working time, and we respect that working time. We will not ask them to do things on top of that, and they have the right to have a private life. [...] »

Finally, our research reveals that managers who consider cumulators positively often compare the flexibility given to employees for personal reasons with the flexibility cumulators require. They do not see a distinction in the need for flexibility between personal and professional commitments. This underscores the ongoing issue of control over employees' time and its impact on the manager-employee relationship, regardless of whether employees are cumulators.

This article is preliminary to a doctoral project in which we aim to develop a more robust conceptualisation of cumulation. Thanks to the time offered by the PHD, we also aim to resolve biases and limitations of our methodology.

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Appendix 1: Interview grid

Questions to start off the discussion about the organization

1. Organisation name (ACTIVITY OF ORGANISATION, company name, age of organisation, approximate number of FTEs).
2. Name of interviewee, position held, average number of people supervised, length of service in the organisation.
3. What professions do you manage?

Work in the organisation

4. Working methods – Current working methods (face-to-face, hybrid, full TT) and the conditions under which they are used.
5. HR characteristics of the organisation (organisation of HR function by country, region, manager, etc.)
6. What recruiting activities were you involved in?

Organisational values

7. Does your organisation assert any particular values?
8. How would you define the notion of professional loyalty?
9. What actions could an employee take that might indicate a lack of loyalty to an organisation?

Recruitments

10. Recruitment process in place (management by departments, HR department, etc.)
11. What essential qualities do you expect from a candidate when recruiting?
12. On the other hand, what behavioural traits or lack of skills do you find prohibitive to recruitment?
13. Do you ask candidates about any multiple jobs they may hold during interviews?
14. Do you ever eliminate candidates because of their request to hold multiple jobs?

Managerial/organisation's vision of multiple jobholders

15. Does your organisation allow its employees to hold multiple jobs and, if so, how? Is there a procedure in place for requesting multiple jobs?
16. If the organisation prohibits this, explain in detail why.
17. In your opinion, what benefit or risk does combining the activities of your teams represent?
Explain
18. (added on 5 July) what conditions are required to ensure the smooth running of a collaboration with a person combining activities?
19. Have you "formally" identified those of your employees who carry out other professional activities? Are they covered by a specific management document?
20. Have you ever had to separate from an employee because of his or her other professional activities?

Manager's experience of multiple jobholding

21. Are you or have you ever been pluriactive?
22. If yes, for which missions?
23. If so, why did you stop?

Appendix 2: Panel presentation

Research panel members

- **Delphine**, human resources manager at a College of Business
- **Thibaut**, academic director of a College of Business
- **Amélie**, co-director of a non-profit in the events sector
- **Stéphanie "Stiff"**, venue director
- **Perrine**, human resources manager for a cultural institution
- **Fanny**, general manager and chief operating officer of a start-up specializing in offensive IT security
- **Elsa**, support manager of a start-up specializing in offensive IT security
- **Matthieu**, co-manager and co-founder of a merchandizing company
- **Marion F.**, strategic communications manager for an energy performance engineering firm
- **Jordane**, co-founder and partner of a training and support structure for cumulators
- **Benjamin**, assistant principal of a public high school
- **Donald**, chief services officer at a marketing and customer relations software publisher
- **Franck**, co-manager and co-founder of a digital communications agency and software publisher
- **Dominique (anonymous)**, human resources director of a division in a multinational perfume and cosmetics company
- **Cécile (anonymous)**, former deputy director and acting director of a healthcare establishment
- **François**, printing plant manager
- **Marion**, general secretary of a group working on housing issues
- **Hichem**, business developer for a non-profit in events sector
- **Marianne**, human resources manager in a food start-up
- **Romain**, communications and CSR Manager for a clothing company
- **Jean-Baptiste**, former director of a government department
- **Stéphanie**, manager in a private company in charge of running a public scheme for the French Ministry of Culture.
- **Pierre-Georges**, co-founder and co-manager of a consulting firm
- **Marie (anonymous)**, former head of department at a national museum
- **Laurent (anonymous)**, former head of department of a national museum
- **Bernadette (anonymous)**, account manager in an events advertising agency