

Utrecht University
Department of Media and Culture Studies
Research Master in Musicology

MUSIC MOVES EUROPE

PERSPECTIVES ON THE EU'S NEW
STRATEGIC INITIATIVE FOR MUSIC

SONJA HAMHUIS

5658829

Supervisor: Dr. Rebekah Ahrendt

Second reader: Prof. David Hesmondhalgh

Date of submission: August 10, 2020

Abstract

In 2015, the Commission introduced *Music Moves Europe*. The new sector-specific component of the EU's *Creative Europe* program aims to “strengthen the strong assets of the European music sector: creativity, diversity, and competitiveness.”¹ While much has been said about EU cultural policy, less is known about this recent addition to the family of EU culture programs. Considering that the increasing involvement of the EU in the domain of cultural policy has consequences for citizens, music professionals, and scholarship, research on the topic is crucial.

In this thesis, I shed light on *Music Moves Europe* as the first music-oriented program in EU cultural policy. By analyzing four different phases of *Music Moves Europe*'s policy process, I explore how the initiative balances different interests and ideas about the values of music (industries) in its initial stages. Chapter One contextualizes *Music Moves Europe* within the broader field of cultural policy. By connecting George Yúdice's theorization of the *expediency of culture* to EU cultural policy, I show how dynamics of agenda-setting allowed for the emergence of what Annabelle Littoz-Monnet terms the *creativity frame*. With a reasoning that explicitly builds on Richard Florida's notion of the *creative economy*, the Commission used this frame to position music as a source of creativity, competitiveness and economic growth. Chapter Two reveals how this *creativity frame* informs decision-making in the earliest phases of *Music Moves Europe*. I analyze how the problems and solutions addressed in the four dimensions of the program – policy, funding, legislation, and dialogue – relate to the various goals put forward in the phase of agenda-setting. Chapter Three follows a case-study design, with an in-depth analysis of the *Music Moves Europe Talent Awards*. Using James English's *economy of prestige* as the point of departure, I examine why the EU invests in a European music prize for as part of its new strategy and how this award exemplifies broader *Music Moves Europe* objectives. I ultimately bring the thesis full circle by comparing my findings to the various goals of EU music policy as articulated by different music industry professionals and policymakers. The main finding to emerge from this study is that while *Music Moves Europe* appears to center and provide targeted support to the European music industry, it simultaneously disregards the heterogeneity of that same sector. I ultimately suggest that addressing this challenge in the evaluation phase of *Music Moves Europe* would contribute to the program's effectiveness in the long run.

¹ “Music Moves Europe,” European Commission, accessed May 23, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/music-moves-europe_en.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude towards a few people. I thank

dr. Rebekah Ahrendt, for her continuous encouragement and feedback throughout this process;

prof. David Hesmondhalgh, who so generously agreed to be my second reader;

the RMA community, that made the past two years an enriching experience;

my partner, for putting up with me;

my friends, who know who they are and how much I appreciate our friendship;

my mom and dad, who have shown me nothing but love and support;

and my other relatives, who have no idea what I am doing but support me anyway.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	2
List of Figures	5
List of Tables	5
List of Acronyms	6
Introduction	7
<i>Music Moves Europe</i> as Cultural Policy	9
Position of the Research(er) and Methodology	10
Chapter One	17
Understanding EU Cultural Policy	18
The Rise of the Creativity Frame	22
Contemplating a Sector-specific Approach to Music	28
Prioritizing Objectives for EU Music Policy	30
Policy Network Analysis	32
Conclusion	40
Chapter Two	42
<i>Music Moves Europe</i> in Four Dimensions	43
What has <i>Music Moves Europe</i> Done So Far?	45
Structured Dialogue with the Music Sector	45
2018 Preparatory Action	50
2019 Preparatory Action	56
Evaluating <i>Music Moves Europe</i>	60
Conclusion	63
Chapter Three	66
The Circulation of Values, Capitals, and Fields in the Domain of Art Prizes ...	67
Why a European Prize for Music?	69
<i>EBBA 2.0</i> : Rebooting the European Music Prize	73
Judging European Music	77
The <i>MMETA</i> as Media Event	85
Conclusion	87
Conclusion	89
Bibliography	98

Appendices	105
Appendix A – Mind map from the Commission’s <i>AB Report</i>	105
Appendix B – Stakeholders <i>Music Moves Europe</i> (Table 1)	107
Appendix C – Different Key Performance Areas <i>AB Report</i> (Table 2)	108
Appendix D – Different Key Performance Areas <i>AB Report</i> (Figure 5).....	109
Appendix E – Dialogue participants <i>Music Moves Europe’s AB Group</i> (Table 3)	110

List of Figures

Figure 1 – Diagram of the Multiple Streams Framework	13
Figure 2 – The EU Policy Cycle	14
Figure 3 – Tolerance, Creativity and Economic Growth	27
Figure 4 – Visualization of the <i>Music Moves Europe</i> network	33
Figure 5 – Different Key Performance Areas <i>AB Report</i>	109
Figure 6 – Companies per country participating in the <i>MME</i> dialogue sessions	38
Figure 7 – Dialogue participants per area	39

List of Tables

Table 1 – Stakeholders <i>Music Moves Europe</i>	107
Table 2 – Different Key Performance Areas	108
Table 3 – Dialogue participants <i>Music Moves Europe's AB Music Working Group</i>	110
Table 4 – List of sessions from the <i>First Dialogue</i> conference	47
Table 5 – Overview of calls for tenders and proposals under the <i>MME</i> 2018 PA	51
Table 6 – Overview of calls for tenders and proposals under the <i>MME</i> 2019 PA	56
Table 7 – List of judges for the 2020 <i>MMETA</i>	78
Table 8 – List of <i>MMETA</i> 2019 winners	82
Table 9 – List of <i>MMETA</i> 2020 winners	82

List of Acronyms

Acronym	Definition
AB Group	AB Music Working Group
AB Report	AB Music Working Group Report 2015
Council	European Council
Council Work Plan	Council Work Plan for Culture 2019-22
DG	Directorate-General
DG EAC	Directorate-General for Education and Culture
EBBA	European Border Breakers Awards
EC; Commission	European Commission
ECOC	European Capitals of Culture
EP; Parliament	European Parliament
EU	European Union
IA	Impact Assessment
KEA	KEA European Affairs
MME	Music Moves Europe
MMETA	Music Moves Europe Talent Awards
Ministry of OCW	Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science (Dutch: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur, en Wetenschap)
MSF	Multiple Streams Framework
PA	Preparatory Action
PNA	Policy Network Analysis
SMBs	Small and Medium-sized Businesses

Introduction

Music constitutes an important pillar of European culture. Aside from its economic significance, the music sector is also an essential component of Europe's cultural diversity, social inclusiveness and soft power diplomacy and it brings positive changes to many levels of society.¹

With this statement, the European Commission (Commission) demonstrates the need for its strategic initiative *Music Moves Europe*. Founded in 2015, *Music Moves Europe* is the overarching framework for the Commission's actions and initiatives giving support to Europe's music ecosystem. The new sector-specific component of the EU's *Creative Europe* program aims to "strengthen the strong assets of the European music sector: creativity, diversity, and competitiveness."² But where do these assets reside? How does *Music Moves Europe* attempt to strengthen the position of Europe's music sector? And how does this new EU music policy correspond with the different aims of the EU's broader involvement in cultural policy?

The regulation of culture on European soil far predates our contemporary notions of cultural policy and a European Union. Over time, increased commercialization of cultural production led to the trading of symbolic creativity. The rise of the *complex professional* in the twentieth century marks a renewed professionalization of commissioning this symbolic creativity, with cultural companies employing symbolic creators through contracts and retainers.³ The complex professional era coincided with the birth of mass culture, and the growth of the commercial cultural industries over the course of the twentieth century prompted modernist fears about the commodification of culture. To shelter "the arts" from this perceived threat – as well as to foster national identities – national policymakers provided the foundation for what we now call cultural policy. These post-Second World War policies formed a "distinctive mixture of funding, regulation, protection, and promotion," and included larger budgets for the public financing of

¹ "Music Moves Europe," European Commission, accessed June 2, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/music-moves-europe_en; European Commission, *Call for Proposals: Music Education and Learning*, Ref. EAC/S53/2019 (Brussels, 2019), 3. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/content/music-education-and-learning_en.

² Ibid.

³ See David Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries* (London: SAGE, 2019), 84–86 for a detailed account of three eras of cultural production as identified by Raymond Williams.

culture as well as reflections on the state's role in cultural regulation.⁴ Essentially, these actions responded to the cultural industries as the “other.”⁵

By the 1980s, policymakers were no longer able to ignore the significance of the growing and increasingly commercial cultural industries. David Hesmondhalgh points out that at this time, policymakers and academics began to question rationales of national identity and anti-commercialism on the basis that they invoked an elitist high culture.⁶ The “Global North” – most notably the New Labour party in the UK – started to include the cultural industries in its cultural policies.⁷ In effect, this paired the more commercial cultural industries with other arts-based activities – including music. This coupling, in turn, further combined cultural policy with economic policy. This historical trajectory of cultural regulation reveals a process that George Yúdice calls the *expediency of culture*.⁸ His term refers to the renewed understanding of culture-as-resource that shapes interactions with culture on all levels of society. The expediency of culture through cultural policy occurs on multiple levels of governance, varying from the regional or municipal level to the nation-state level and supra-national level.

The EU fulfils an increasingly prominent role in the domain of cultural policy. Its involvement historically served two main purposes. First, policymakers viewed culture and symbolic creativity as tools to help legitimize the EU as an institution. Second, a number of commissioned studies pointed to the unexplored potential of Europe's cultural and creative industries for fostering economic growth and employment opportunities.⁹ The EU designed several generations of culture programs and initiatives in light of this dual rationale.¹⁰ In 2013, the EU introduced its largest culture program to date. *Creative Europe* became an overarching framework for all EU initiatives in the cultural and creative industries and operates in line with the broader economic objectives of the EU's *Europe 2020* strategy. Two years later, the Commission presented the strategic initiative *Music Moves Europe* as a new sector-specific component of *Creative Europe*. While much has been said about EU cultural policy, much less is known about this recent addition to the family of EU culture programs. Considering that the increasing involvement of the

⁴ Hesmondhalgh et al., *Culture, Economy and Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 6.

⁵ For a more elaborate discussion of this argument, see David Hesmondhalgh and Andy Pratt, “Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11, no. 1 (2005): 3.

⁶ Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, 176.

⁷ See Hesmondhalgh et al., *Culture, Economy and Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) for an excellent discussion of cultural policy under New Labour.

⁸ George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 2.

⁹ Annabelle Littoz-Monnet, “Encapsulating EU Cultural Policy into the EU's Growth and Competitiveness Agenda: Explaining the Success of a Paradigmatic Shift in Brussels,” in *Cultural Governance and the European Union*, ed. Evangelia Psychogiopoulou (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 28.

¹⁰ Bjarki Valtýsson, “Camouflaged Culture: The ‘Discursive Journey’ of the EU's Cultural Programmes,” *Croatian International Relations Review* 24, no. 82 (2018): 14–37.

EU in the domain of cultural policy has consequences for citizens, music professionals, and scholarship, research on the topic is crucial.

In this thesis, I shed light on *Music Moves Europe* as the first music-oriented program in EU cultural policy. By analyzing the initial phases of the program, I aim to find out why an EU-wide program on music arose, and why it did so at this particular time. Moreover, I examine how the program is currently taking shape: what do the initial phases of *Music Moves Europe* look like? Which problems does it address, and how? Through an interdisciplinary lens typical of cultural policy research, this thesis analyzes the four initial stages of *Music Moves Europe's* policy process. In the conclusion, I make a few recommendations for evaluating *Music Moves Europe* and suggest possible implications of the ongoing commodification of music in EU cultural policy.

Music Moves Europe as Cultural Policy

This thesis follows the *International Journal of Cultural Policy* in defining cultural policy as “the promotion or prohibition of cultural practices and values by governments, corporations, other institutions and individuals.”¹¹ The EU culture programs discussed in this thesis also conform to a narrower definition often used in the Anglophone world that views cultural policy as “the subsidy, regulation, and management of ‘the arts’ and the protection and maintenance of ‘heritage’ and historical artifacts.”¹² While this narrow definition is leading in my discussion of EU cultural policy, EU policy in turn is but one form of cultural policy in the broader sense.

In correspondence with its overall objectives, cultural policy comes in many shapes and sizes. This is partly based on how policymakers define the fields associated with culture: the “cultural and creative industries.” While there is ample discussion on the different interpretations of these terms, I adhere to the working definitions of the EU as I am concerned with *Music Moves Europe* as a form of EU cultural policy. The Commission defines the cultural and creative sectors as “all sectors whose activities are based on cultural values or artistic and other individual or collective creative expressions. The activities may include the development, the creation, the production, the dissemination and the preservation of goods and services which embody cultural, artistic or other creative expressions, as well as related functions such as education or management.”¹³ It views the cultural and creative industries in a narrower sense, referring to “the further stages of the value chain – including the production and dissemination stages of industrial

¹¹ “Aims and Scope,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, accessed July 22, 2020, <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=gcul20>.

¹² Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, 177.

¹³ European Parliament, *Report on the Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing the Creative Europe Programme (2021 to 2027)*, CELEX 52018PC03 (Brussels, 2018), 21. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2018%3A366%3AFIN>.

and manufacturing operations.”¹⁴ Throughout the text, I refer to the music sector as part of the cultural and creative sectors and industries since these are the terms used by the Commission in its policy documents.

In addition to recognizing the broad and narrow definitions of cultural policy, it is also important to note that not all cultural policy is labeled as such. Jeremy Ahearne distinguishes between “explicit” and “implicit” policy to indicate how “policies that are not labelled manifestly as ‘cultural’ [can] prescribe or shape cultural attitudes and habits over given territories.”¹⁵ Moreover, as Toby Miller and Justin Lewis, Miller and Yúdice, and Hesmondhalgh et al. all argued, cultural policy cannot be studied without consideration of the connections between culture, society, and economy.¹⁶ My exploration of *Music Moves Europe* thus actively acknowledges how EU cultural policy is inherently connected to the broader field of EU policy as well as society at large.

Position of the Research(er) and Methodology

By analyzing *Music Moves Europe* as a form of cultural policy, this thesis adds to the still-growing domain of cultural policy research. As Adrienne Scullion and Beatriz García point out, cultural policy research “exists in many contexts, asks many different kinds of questions and adopts a wide repertoire of research methodologies from a raft of academic discourses.”¹⁷ At its core, cultural policy research is thus an interdisciplinary endeavor. The domain of cultural policy research consists of three interconnected research areas: studies on the strategies and principles of cultural policy; research that focusses on connections between cultural policy and cultural theory; and inquiries into the history and historiography of cultural policy.¹⁸

In their investigation of the relatively new discipline, Scullion and García point out that cultural policy research responds to three key challenges. First, it aspires to move beyond mere multidisciplinary towards an interdisciplinary field of study. This involves addressing the insufficient common currency within cultural policy research with the aim of fruitfully consolidating perspectives and methodologies from different disciplines. Second, cultural policy research aims to combine applied and critical discourses. An applied approach towards cultural policy “roots the discipline in the cut and thrust of policy development at all levels,” while the critical approach reminds us of underlying theoretical and intellectual trends.¹⁹ In an ideal situation,

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Jeremy Ahearne, “Cultural Policy Explicit and Implicit: A Distinction and Some Uses,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no. 2 (2009): 141–153.

¹⁶ Toby Miller and Justin Lewis, *Critical Cultural Policy Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); Toby Miller and George Yúdice, *Cultural Policy* (London: SAGE, 2002); and Hesmondhalgh et al., *Culture, Economy and Politics*, 3–4.

¹⁷ Adrienne Scullion and Beatriz García, “What Is Cultural Policy Research?” in *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11, no. 2 (2005): 113.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., 124.

cultural policy research is rooted in both discourses. This goes to the core of the third challenge: coping with the potential of different audiences. For whom do we conduct cultural policy research, and with what aim? The academic study of cultural policy research does not remain within the ivory towers of the university: its audience can encompass a variety of different (and sometimes competing) actors, including policymakers, politicians, lobbying agencies, industry professionals, and citizens.

Cultural policy research is thus predicated on different audiences, research objectives, and academic traditions. Scullion and García propose that altogether, cultural policy research aspires to “contribute to ‘evidence-based research’ and applied policy studies, *and* advance demands to make research critical, reflective, self-aware and rooted within the contemporary theoretical paradigms.”²⁰ To achieve such ambitious objectives, they recommend that cultural policy research ought to involve reflexive research practices that continuously interrogate the position of the academy and its input for policy-related ideas and practices. It demands critical reflection on the part of each cultural policy researcher, myself included.

In the process of writing this thesis, I repeatedly reflected on the challenges of cultural policy research and my own position within that field. As a Research Master student, I have a biased orientation towards the critical discourse of cultural policy studies. Moreover, my research is not commissioned by policy entrepreneurs or other stakeholders and does not directly inform policy processes on the EU level. At the same time, my position as a European citizen ensures that I am already part of the applied discourse. I try to incorporate both critical and applied discourses by focusing on how *Music Moves Europe* plays out in practice, while also connecting it to broader theoretical trends. I am mainly concerned with the research area that centers “strategies and principles of cultural policy,” but also engage with the interconnected areas of history and theory. In doing so, I aspire to productively use the different perspectives of cultural policy research and move beyond the idea of an “academic tourist.”

What, then, can the interdisciplinary lens of cultural policy research do for the study of *Music Moves Europe*? With an academic background in musicology, I strive to move beyond speaking of music in broad terms. The “music” in “music policy” is not merely organized sound. Instead, the notion of music encompasses a wide range of cultural activities that use sound as a medium. Music is a situated and heterogenous phenomenon that comes in many forms. To include this perspective in my analysis of music policy, I use the term *musiciking* to refer to any activity involving or related to music. Introduced by Christopher Small in relation to music performance, the verb refers to

²⁰ Ibid.

[taking] part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing. We might at times even extend its meaning to what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. They, too, are all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance.²¹

Small's notion of musicking matches Andy Pratt's argument that discussions on cultural policy ought to involve not only the "breadth" but also the "depth" of the cultural industries.²² By taking the "depth" of the European music industries into account in my study, I aim to reveal how the EU's new music policy engages with the heterogeneity and situatedness of the European music sector. To do so, I will analyze the initial policy processes of *Music Moves Europe* using an unfolding methodology.

In recent years, scholars used various approaches to analyze how dynamic interactions lead to particular policy outcomes. I follow Nikolaos Zahariadis in using the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) or studying policy processes in the EU context.²³ Originally developed by John Kingdon, the MSF "draws insight from interactions between agency and institutions to explore the impact of context, time and meaning on policy change."²⁴ This strategy works particularly well in the ambiguous environment of so-called "organized anarchies" such as the EU, where the group of participants changes, individuals hold unclear preferences, and methods are opaque.²⁵ The MSF consists of five structural elements: politics; problems; policies; policy entrepreneurs; and windows of opportunity (Figure 1).²⁶ Politics, problems, and policies form the three streams of the MSF. The politics and problem streams can open policy windows and provide the conditions for debating and creating policies.²⁷ Policy entrepreneurs are actors that seize the momentum of open policy windows by coupling the three streams together.

²¹ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 9. I thus extend Small's idea of *musicking* to include any activity involving or related to music, not strictly those related to the performance of music.

²² Andy Pratt, "Cultural Industries and Public Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 34.

²³ Nikolaos Zahariadis, "Ambiguity and Choice in European Public Policy," *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, no. 4 (2008): 514–530.

²⁴ Robert Ackrill, Adrian Kay, and Nikolaos Zahariadis, "Ambiguity, Multiple Streams, and EU Policy," *Journal of European Public Policy* 20, no. 6 (2013): 871.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 872.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 873.

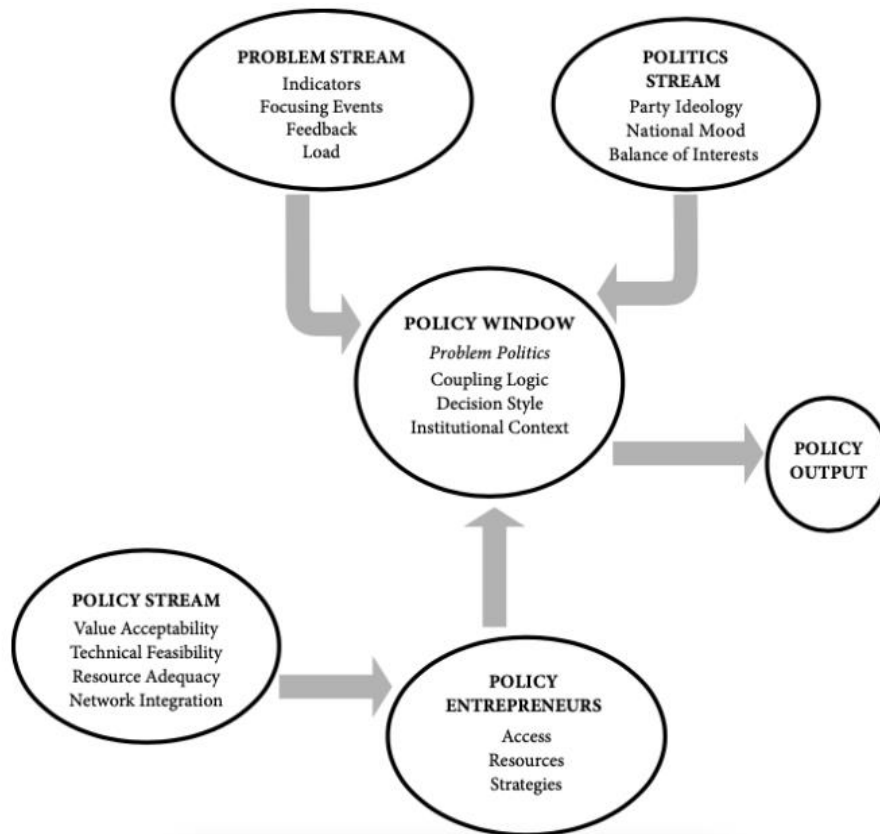


Figure 1 – Diagram of the Multiple Streams Framework²⁸

In addition to the five structural elements, the MSF follows three guiding principles. The first is that policymakers work under significant time constraints. This means that they cannot afford to take their time when making decisions, and often have to hit the ground running. Second, solutions, problems, means, ends, and participants exist independently of one another. They are all part of what Michael Cohen et al. call a “garbage can,” a model that encompasses distinct organizational streams that policy entrepreneurs can bring together in a myriad of ways.²⁹ According to Johan Olsen, this model exemplifies decision-making on the EU-level.³⁰ The ambiguity that permeates these processes is the third guiding assumption of the MSF. Combinations that exist within the garbage can model are often not obvious; policy goals are not always clearly formulated; and neither are the boundaries of jurisdiction (institutional ambiguity). Following the MSF logic, this is not a pathology in need of rectification but rather a crucial part of EU policy processes that allows for the advocacy of different ideas.³¹

²⁸ Nikolaos Zahariadis, “Ambiguity and Multiple Streams,” in *Theories of the Policy Process*, ed. Paul Sabatier and Christopher Weible (Boulder: Westview Press, 2014), 31.

²⁹ Michael Cohen, James March, and Johan Olsen. “A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1972): 1–25.

³⁰ Johan Olsen, “Garbage Cans, New Institutionalism, and the Study of Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (2001): 196.

³¹ Ackrill et al., “Ambiguity, Multiple Streams, and EU Policy,” 872.

The social sciences often approach the subsequent study of EU policy by tracing a policy cycle. Scholars identify the specific phases of this cycle in various ways that can often be reduced to five stages: agenda-setting; formulation; decision-making; implementation; and evaluation. Figure 2, designed by Eva G. Heidbreder and Gijs Jan Brandsma, visualizes these five stages in accordance with the EU context.³²

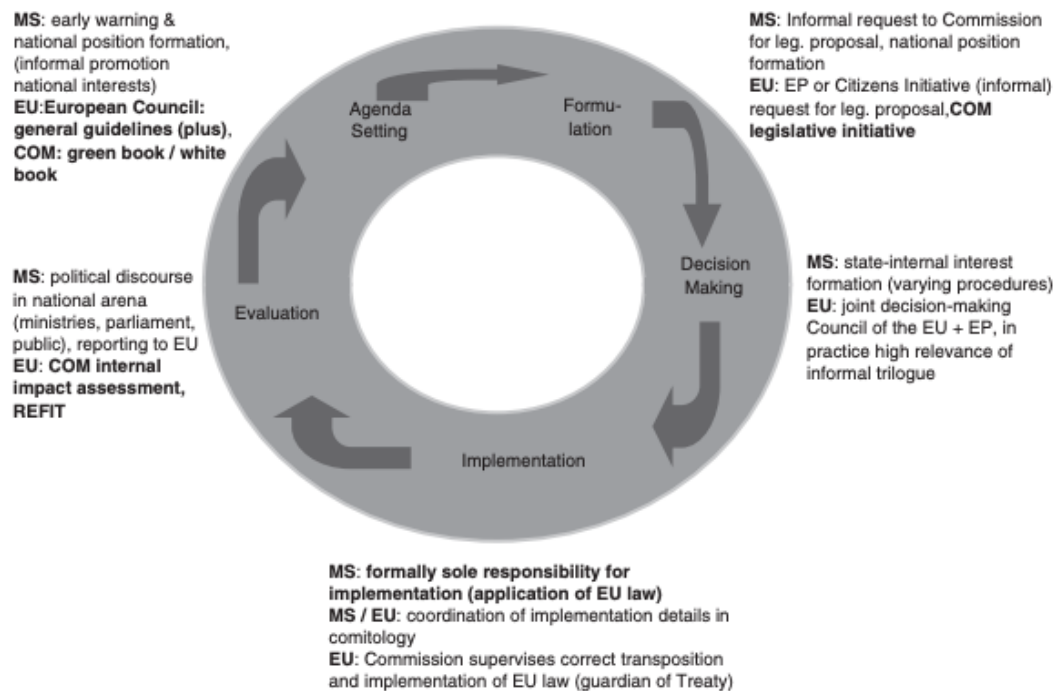


Figure 2 – The EU Policy Cycle

In this thesis, I will focus on the initial four phases of this process. This allows me to analyze *Music Moves Europe* in different stages of its creation and ensures a clear structure throughout the different chapters. Yet while I speak in terms of different policy phases, I do not imply that these phases follow a linear path. On the contrary: the different phases move fluidly and unpredictably in practice. I thus do not subscribe to the notion that values translate into policy in a straightforward manner, but merely refer to the linear policy cycle for structuring and theoretical purposes.

Altogether, the different phases form the structural basis for this thesis. Chapter One departs from the phase of agenda-setting and concludes with the phase of policy formulation. The first section of the chapter contextualizes *Music Moves Europe* within the broader field of cultural policy. By connecting Yúdice’s theorization of the expediency of culture to EU cultural policy, I explore how the EU historically sought to coordinate economic and sociopolitical interests. I show

³² Eva G. Heidbreder and Gijs Jan Brandsma, “The EU Policy Process,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*, eds. Edoardo Ongaro and Sandra van Thiel (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 807.

how dynamics of agenda-setting allowed for the emergence of what Annabelle Littoz-Monnet terms the *creativity frame*. The creativity frame represents a paradigmatic shift that made economic objectives the prime justification for EU cultural policy. With a reasoning that explicitly builds on Richard Florida's notion of the *creative economy*, the Commission – in particular the Directorate-General for Education and Culture – used this frame to position music as a source of creativity, competitiveness and economic growth. The second part of the chapter focuses on the transition from agenda-setting to policy formulation. By conducting a Policy Network Analysis, I reveal the different agents, problems, solutions, and perspectives that are clustered in the so-called “garbage can” of policy commissioning. The Commission ultimately had to map, evaluate, and prioritize these different aspects in order to formulate concrete proposals that fit the existing EU cultural policy window. To do so, they formulated broad goals that kept all stakeholders engaged in the initial phases of *Music Moves Europe*.

Chapter Two reveals how this creativity frame informs decision-making in the earliest phases of *Music Moves Europe*. The Commission decided to structure the strategic initiative along four dimensions: policy, funding, legislation, and dialogue. For each dimension, I investigate whose interests prevail and how these relate to the ideas articulated in the phase of agenda-setting. By analyzing how the program unfolds, which projects receive funding, and what policy measures are taken, I reveal what aspects of Europe's musical ecosystem *Music Moves Europe* emphasizes. These findings form the foundation for an exploration of *Music Moves Europe's* initial implementation phase.

Chapter Three explores the first steps of the implementation phase using a case-study design. An in-depth analysis of the *Music Moves Europe Talent Awards (MMETA)* – the unofficial fifth pillar of *Music Moves Europe* – reveals how the EU's new music policy might be turned into practice. By connecting James English's theorization of the *economy of prestige* to the EU's history of governance by prizes, I examine how an EU music prize rhymes with the objectives of the broader *Music Moves Europe* program. I then consider the initial stages of the *MMETA* in more detail, asking how and for whom it strives to represent “the European sound of today and tomorrow.”³³ In other words, I asked who gets to decide what European music entails, who qualifies as “up-and-coming European artists,” and why these processes and contexts matter for *Music Moves Europe*.

I ultimately bring the thesis full circle in the conclusion, where I look forward to the first evaluation phase of *Music Moves Europe*. I summarize the current state of the program according to my main findings and propose several points for reflection for the evaluation phase. Thereafter, I

³³ “About,” Music Moves Europe Talent Awards, accessed June 13, 2020, <https://musicmoveseuropetalentawards.eu/about/>.

reflect on the implications of these findings for the study of EU policy. This reflection ends with the assertion that continuous scholarly inquiry into the EU's new music policy is much needed in order to provide a wider group of people with insights into the dynamics of cultural policymaking.

Chapter One: Contemplating a Strategic Initiative for Music

If music cannot be discussed without acknowledging its context, then neither can music policy. To understand *Music Moves Europe* as a form of music policy, we must first consider its position within the broader *expediency of culture*. Theorized by George Yúdice, this logic views culture as a resource that can be deployed to a wide array of sociopolitical and economic ends through processes of “culture management.”¹ The expediency of culture creates a social imperative to perform, and “underpins performativity as the fundamental logic of social life today.”² Yúdice builds on Judith Butler’s notion of performativity to argue that subjects relate to societies not through fundamental laws, but through interactions between different principles of formation and exclusion.³ Social realities – including identities – originate from repetitions of norms and models (the normative), as well as from those who do not fit the norm (“constitutive exclusions”). In other words, we perform culture and we perform difference. Especially in light of globalization processes, a multiplicity of forces consisting of individuals and societies ultimately allows for practices of “managing norms.” As such, culture has become much more than just a commodity. The shift towards culture-as-resource underpins a new epistemic framework in which economic rationalities inform new institutional and societal norms that penetrate what Michel Foucault termed the *disciplinary society*.⁴ The expediency of culture thus has theoretical as well as sociopolitical consequences that are crucial for debates on the roles of culture in policy strategies, and in everyday life more broadly.

The combination of Yúdice’s arguments on the expediency of culture and the social imperative to perform reveal how culture can serve as a means to various sociopolitical and economic ends. How these processes take shape ultimately affects how we produce, consume, and perceive culture. Techniques of managing culture can construct and perpetuate inequalities, especially when dominant actors and norms exploit those in a more vulnerable position. Hence, bringing together the sociopolitical and economic sides of cultural management is no easy task. Actors on all levels of society face such challenges, including the EU and its surrounding networks. How then, in the context of the expediency of culture, did we arrive at an EU-wide program on

¹ George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 2.

² *Ibid.*, 28.

³ *Ibid.*, 3 and 47–48. For Butler’s own discussion of performativity, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1. For Foucault’s own discussion of the disciplinary society, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1995).

music? Which objectives and values gave rise to *Music Moves Europe*, and which parties would benefit from a sector-specific program on the EU-level?

This chapter connects the events and trends that eventually led to the establishment of *Music Moves Europe*. In the first section of the chapter, I lay down a theoretical and historical framework for analyzing EU cultural policy. Ideas of Yúdice, Monica Sassatelli, Jacques Derrida, and others form the foundation for exploring how the cultural and creative industries became a tool for achieving broader EU-objectives. Following John Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework for analyzing policy processes, I study how dynamics of framing and agenda-setting induced a new approach to EU cultural policy that places the economic objectives of the EU's *Europe 2020* strategy front and center.⁵ I will then go on to suggest why – only two years after establishing the overarching *Creative Europe* program – the Commission proposed a new sector-specific program on music. I argue that policy entrepreneurs from the Commission's Directorate-General for Education and Culture were able to seize the momentum of an open policy window by connecting the three streams of policy. With a reasoning that resembles Richard Florida's notion of the *creative economy*, the Commission positioned music as a source of creativity, competitiveness and economic growth. The second part of this chapter focuses on processes of decision-making – the next phase in the policy cycle as outlined in the introduction of this thesis. By analyzing the *AB Music Working Group Report* on which *Music Moves Europe* is based, I consider the different agents, problems, solutions, and perspectives that constitute the garbage can model of cultural policy. A Policy Network Analysis unveils the different interests and values involved in the initial phases of the program. Ultimately, it is up to the Commission to balance these interests in proposals that fit the existing EU cultural policy window.

Understanding EU Cultural Policy

The EU's engagement with cultural policy and diplomacy conforms to the logic of the expediency of culture. In his pioneering *Art Worlds*, Howard Becker explains that states not only regulate “art worlds,” but also shape them to pursue their own goals.⁶ The EU historically conveyed two such goals, in line with broader trends of the commodification and regulation of culture in politics. First, there is the traditional notion that cultural policy has a civilizing and educational purpose. Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett reveal how this interpretation of the arts' social impacts derives from longstanding assumptions about its transformative powers.⁷ On the one hand, this approach builds

⁵ John Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995).

⁶ Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 166.

⁷ Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett, “Rethinking the Social Impacts of the Arts,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13, no. 2 (2007): 135.

on what Belfiore and Bennett term the “autonomy tradition” by rejecting an instrumental logic in favor of a *l’art pour l’art* logic.⁸ At the same time, it follows the “positive tradition” that emphasizes various positive social impacts of the arts.⁹ The EU’s second goal is concerned with the ongoing commodification of culture and the growing role of economics in the cultural domain. In essence, it extends the “positive tradition” from the social domain into the economic. The apparent opposition between the commodification of culture-as-resource and the romantic idea of “the arts” is vital for understanding EU cultural policy.

The initial core purpose of EU cultural policy was to legitimize the EU as an institution. Becker asserts that correspondence between the state and the individual informs our notions of citizenship and being.¹⁰ According to Monica Sassatelli, this is no different on the supranational EU level.¹¹ Yet the notions of European identity and citizenship did not take off right away. Liza Tsaliki suggests that the increase of EU power and the low degree of consent among citizens of Member States caused a legitimation gap.¹² In the eyes of policy entrepreneurs, strengthening a sense of European identity among citizens would widen the reach of European public policy as well as help legitimize the EU as an institution. The supposed potential of culture to unify and foster specific identities ultimately enlarged policymakers’ interest in the cultural and creative industries.

Stimulating cultural identity through cultural policy is a complex endeavor. Sassatelli suggests that the EU aimed to foster what Benedict Anderson would call an “imagined community,” but that there was no consensus among Member States and policy makers on how to actually do so.¹³ She draws parallels between federalism and (neo)functionalism as two competing models of European integration politics.¹⁴ The former suggests that intense political integration is needed from the outset to create a supranational infrastructure. The latter asserts that economic integration should be a priority, whose spillover effects ensure political unification and unification in other domains. Federalism exemplifies the unity paradigm by advocating for a united “European people,” but in the process risks othering. Neofunctionalism demonstrates the diversity paradigm by asserting the importance and centrality of cultural multiplicity. A civic

⁸ Ibid., 45.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Becker, *Art Worlds*, 165–166.

¹¹ Monica Sassatelli, “The Arts, the State, and the EU: Cultural Policy in the Making of Europe,” *Social Analysis* 51, no. 1 (2007): 29.

¹² Liza Tsaliki, “The Construction of European Identity and Citizenship Through Cultural Policy,” *European Studies* 24 (2007): 165.

¹³ Monica Sassatelli, “Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity Through EU Cultural Policy,” *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 2 (2002): 436. For Anderson’s original text on “imagined communities,” see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991).

¹⁴ Ibid., 437.

European identity founded on a social contract is possible under this neofunctionalist logic, but a cultural notion based on shared tradition would be undesirable if not harmful to the collection of other cultures.

Both logics thus wrestle with the definitions of shared tradition and civic communities: where does one draw the lines of the imagined community of Europeans? Moreover, what qualities define a European culture? Europe's colonial history, processes of globalization, and new localisms and regionalisms complicate the notions of place and belonging. Sassatelli argues that global, national, and local identities no longer stand in opposition to each other but instead reveal the increasing complexities of modernity and the multiple identities an individual holds.¹⁵ These identities are also formed by other factors, such as one's gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and religion. However, in defining what belongs to a shared European identity and culture one also inevitably excludes. Legitimizing the EU as an institution by fostering a sense of shared identity was thus by no means an easy task. Not only did policy makers, citizens, and politicians hold different beliefs about if and how cultural policy should stimulate such an identity, but it was also unclear how such an identity should be addressed.

This was evident from the early stages of EU cultural policy. Historically, Member States were not too keen on EU-wide political investments in culture. Most Member States emphasized the neofunctionalist argument that national autonomy ought to be preserved and that explicit cultural matters did not belong to the EU domain.¹⁶ The EU thus had to approach the cultural industries in a gradual and careful manner, or what Bjarki Valtýsson terms a "discursive journey."¹⁷ This journey culminated in 1992 when Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty officially constituted the EU's cultural policy. Tobias Theiler concludes that while the article gave limited mandate to the EU, it did not state any specific objectives and still favored diversity over unity in its formulation.¹⁸ Indeed, Article 128 made no reference to a shared European identity, nor did it allow the Union to undertake any legally binding actions. The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty further emphasized the EU's limitations. Article 128 was renumbered as 151 with a minor addition to Paragraph 4: "[t]he Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty, *in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures.*"¹⁹ The alteration received little attention at the time, and did not alter the Commission's standing in any

¹⁵ Ibid., 439–440.

¹⁶ Tobias Theiler, *Political Symbolism and European Integration* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 68–70.

¹⁷ Bjarki Valtýsson, "Camouflaged Culture: The 'Discursive Journey' of the EU's Cultural Programmes," *Croatian International Relations Review* 24, no. 82 (2018): 14.

¹⁸ Theiler, *Political Symbolism*, 71.

¹⁹ Council and Commission of the European Communities, "Article 151," in *Treaty Establishing the European Community, Amsterdam consolidated version*, CELEX 11997E/TXT (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997). Retrieved from http://data.europa.eu/eli/treaty/tec_2002/oj. Emphasis by author.

way.²⁰ Indeed, Theiler asserts that if anything, the revision of Article 151 reminded the Commission that its mandate was still very much restricted.²¹

The perceived cultural differences between Member States ultimately became the very foundation for fostering cooperation between states and imagining a shared European identity. Sassatelli points out that after critiques of federalism and neofunctionalism, difference as a cultural feature in itself became part of a “unity in diversity” paradigm. In 2000, the phrase became the official motto of collaboration between European countries.²² The EU credo builds on Ernesto Teodoro Moneta’s similar expression in Latin, as well as the writings of philosopher Jacques Derrida. In *The Other Heading* (1992), Derrida extends his notion of *différance* to a more public setting by arguing that difference is inherently part of cultural identity. He writes that on the one hand, European cultural identity “cannot and must not be dispersed into a myriad of provinces, into a multiplicity of self-enclosed idioms or petty little nationalisms.”²³ On the other hand, “it cannot and must not accept the capital of a centralizing authority that would control and standardize, subjecting artistic discourses and practices to a grid of intelligibility, to philosophical or aesthetic norms, to the pursuit of ratings and commercial profitability.”²⁴ Derrida suggests that neither of these imperatives should be renounced. Instead, the EU must attempt to “invent gestures, discourses, institutional practices that inscribe the alliance of these two imperatives.”²⁵ Without this reflection, Derrida says, the law of the self-same will come to regulate the ethico-political responsibility of this seemingly impossible task. In other words, reflexivity ought to prevent Others from being consumed by the Same while preventing an emphasis on difference for its own sake. Yet, as Derrida also acknowledged, such an approach is far from easy. Cris Shore opposes the assumption that multiple identities form a natural and harmonious whole by arguing that it omits the possibility and inevitability of conflict.²⁶ In addition, the top-down approach that characterizes EU policy ultimately works against the formal structure as suggested by Derrida and others. Cultural policy thus appeared a fruitful tool at first sight but constructing it in such a way as to contribute to broader EU objectives appeared to be a difficult challenge.

Still, the Commission’s mandate in the cultural and creative industries continued to grow. Yudhishtir Raj Isar explains how a path-dependent convergence of concerns and ambitions in

²⁰ Theiler, *Political Symbolism*, 71.

²¹ Ibid.

²² “The EU Motto,” European Union, accessed May 12, 2020, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/motto_en.

²³ Jacques Derrida, *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today’s Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 39.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 44.

²⁶ Cris Shore, *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration* (London: Routledge, 2000).

the mid-2000s accelerated the gradual emergence of EU cultural policy.²⁷ On the one hand, advocacy platforms such as the *European Cultural Foundation* and *Culture Action Europe* demanded targeted EU actions and funding for the creative and cultural industries. On the other hand, the Commission aspired to increase its activity in the cultural arena despite the Member States' concerns about the principle of subsidiarity. Advocates saw their efforts rewarded with the 2007 Lisbon Treaty. Article 151 converted to Article 167, and the Lisbon Treaty gave the EU full legal personality and replaced the requirement of a unanimous European Council (Council) with the qualified majority voting principle.²⁸ In practice, this opened up the field for European-wide initiatives in the cultural domain, as it enables the EU to act *without* unanimous support of the Council. After the Lisbon Treaty, the EU indeed expanded its involvement in the cultural and creative sectors. The Culture 2007-2013 program received a budget of €400 million, more than twice as much as its predecessor.²⁹ The parallel programs MEDIA and MEDIA Mundus also continued with enlarged budgets and put a larger focus on the role of culture. At last, the EU positioned itself as a crucial player within the cultural and creative industries.

The Rise of the Creativity Frame

The EU's enlarged jurisdiction in the cultural and creative industries made cultural policy part and parcel of EU policy processes. Establishing culture programs and cultural policies was no longer merely an end in itself, but also a tool to solve other problems on the EU level. Cultural policy became interconnected with other realms of (public) policy through what Clive Gray terms processes of "policy attachment."³⁰ The use of culture for non-cultural ends – the instrumentalization of culture – strengthened the political position of cultural policymakers and simultaneously turned EU cultural policy into an odd combination of elements. Studying EU cultural policy is thus no easy task: EU policy processes are notoriously complex and involve different dynamics such as changing groups of policy groups and the unpredictable timing of policy windows.³¹

²⁷ Yudhishtir Raj Isar, "Culture in EU External Relations: An Idea Whose Time Has Come?" *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21, no. 4 (2015): 498–499.

²⁸ Council and Commission of the European Communities, "Article 167," in *Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, CELEX 12007L/TXT (Luxembourg: Official Journal of the European Union, 2007).

²⁹ Anna Kandyla, "The Creative Europe Programme: Policy-Making Dynamics and Outcomes," in *Cultural Governance and the European Union – Protecting and Promoting Cultural Diversity in Europe*, ed. Evangelia Psychogiopoulou (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 51.

³⁰ Hesmondhalgh et al., *Culture, Economy and Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 11.

³¹ Paul Copeland, and Scott James, "Policy Windows, Ambiguity and Commission Entrepreneurship: Explaining the Relaunch of the European Union's Economic Reform Agenda," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21, no. 1 (2014): 1.

The Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) is particularly helpful for tracing how the EU's stronger position in the cultural and creative industries – acquired through the Lisbon Treaty – brought about a sector-specific approach to music. Part of this trajectory stems from overarching EU strategies. The Lisbon Treaty was signed near the end of the broader 2000-2010 Lisbon Strategy, an overarching agreement aimed at enhancing the EU's economy. The strategy turned out rather unsuccessful and would be replaced before the start of 2010. Paul Copeland and Scott James use the MSF to study the emergence of this new framework.³² They argue that the strategy is a product of two overlapping policy windows that simultaneously and suddenly opened. The Greek sovereign debt crisis opened the problem stream window, and changes in the EU's institutional dynamics did the same for the politics stream. Both streams created an opportunity for policy change. On the one hand, the Commission needed to respond appropriately to the problem stream. At the same time, it needed to create a replacement of the Lisbon Strategy before a set deadline. Policy entrepreneurs coupled the three streams by reframing the Lisbon Strategy as an exit strategy from the Greek economic crisis. The result was the economic reform agenda *Europe 2020* that aimed at advancing the EU's economy by stimulating “smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth.”³³

In turn, the overarching *Europe 2020* strategy allowed for changes in EU cultural policy. The implementation of *Europe 2020* coincided with the end of the EU's Culture, MEDIA, and MEDIA Mundus programs. When contemplating the next generation of culture programs, the Commission found a window of opportunity to expand its authority in the cultural and creative industries. Post-2013, the Commission proposed to pool and replace the previous culture programs with one overarching initiative under the name *Creative Europe*. The Commission advocated for the merger by arguing that the different sectors of the cultural and creative industries face similar challenges, including “a highly fragmented market context, the impact of the digital shift and globalization, difficulties in accessing finance, and a shortage of comparable data.”³⁴ But the Commission also pointed to the unexplored potential of culture for broader EU objectives, such as stimulating economic growth, facilitating a better integration of migrants, and fostering social cohesion. As Anna Kandyla points out, the new *Creative Europe* program was destined to “reinforce the contribution of the cultural and creative sectors to Europe's broader economic and sociopolitical objectives.”³⁵ The Commission identified a window of opportunity opened by *Europe*

³² Ibid.

³³ European Commission, *Europe 2020: A Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth*, CELEX 52010DC2020 (Brussels, 2010). Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52010DC2020&from=en>.

³⁴ As cited in Kandyla, “The Creative Europe Programme,” 55.

³⁵ Ibid., 53.

2020 that viewed creativity as a necessity for economic growth. Subsequently, the Commission advocated for what Annabelle Littoz-Monnet terms the *creativity frame*.³⁶ The creativity frame is a logic that views culture as a source of creativity; creativity as a requirement for innovation; and innovation as a means to stimulate competitiveness and economic growth.³⁷ By framing the cultural and creative industries as a crucial source of creativity, *Creative Europe* as a policy stream became the answer to the demand from the politics stream.

While policy changes usually involve a complex pool of several Directorates General (DGs), Littoz-Monnet argues that the Directorate General for Education and Culture (DG EAC) was the main actor to push this paradigmatic shift.³⁸ By articulating “a convincing link between economic “problems” in the EU and culture as a possible ‘solution,” the DG EAC was able to get more recognition and control over policymaking.³⁹ The basis for this link was a collection of statistics and expert studies, including KEA’s *Economy of Culture in Europe* report.⁴⁰ The creativity frame fit well with the broader aims of the Commission: competitiveness and market strategies were primary concerns for the EU, and both scholars and policymakers viewed the knowledge economy as the key to stimulating economic growth. Ultimately, the Commission supported the culture-as-resource strategy and ensured an increase of 9% in the budget for culture programs. The DG EAC could count on funding for years to come, and the creativity frame would be manifested through the EU’s new flagship program: *Creative Europe*.⁴¹

Creative Europe thus marks an important transformation in the EU’s involvement in cultural policy. While the Commission initially promoted cultural policy as a way to define regional, national, and European identities, *Creative Europe* presents an economic rationale as its primary motivation and justification. Ronald Grätz, Secretary-General of the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations (ifa), explains that *Creative Europe* is not only a new support program, but also a way to introduce “a new concept of culture which measures the value of culture in terms of market mechanisms.”⁴² As argued by Cornelia Bruell, cultural identity and diversity are reformulated in light of stimulating competitiveness.⁴³ This shift is manifested through a different terminology.

³⁶ Annabelle Littoz-Monnet, “Encapsulating EU Cultural Policy into the EU’s Growth and Competitiveness Agenda: Explaining the Success of a Paradigmatic Shift in Brussels,” in *Cultural Governance and the European Union*, ed. Evangelia Psychogiopoulou (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 25.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 27. For more information on DGs, see “How the Commission is Organised,” European Commission, accessed July 22, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/info/about-european-commission/organisational-structure/how-commission-organised_en.

³⁹ Ibid., 26.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 28.

⁴¹ “Creative Europe adopted with a 9% budget increase,” Culture Action Europe, accessed March 19, 2020, <https://cultureactioneurope.org/news/creative-europe-adopted-with-a-9-budget-increase/>.

⁴² Cornelia Bruell, *Creative Europe 2014-2020: A New Programme – A New Cultural Policy as Well?* (Stuttgart: ifa, 2013).

⁴³ Ibid., 22.

Where policy documents for the earlier culture programs listed transnational circulation, intercultural dialogue, and cross-border mobility as primary objectives, *Creative Europe* redirects the focus towards competitiveness, growth, and employment.⁴⁴

Creative Europe thus represents a new phase in the ongoing process of the instrumentalization of culture. In line with this new cultural policy approach, *Creative Europe*'s structure differs from that of its predecessors. One of the most significant changes is the move from operating grants to project-based grants. Rather than annual calls for proposals with a changing country focus, *Creative Europe* funds projects that engage candidate countries, neighboring countries, and EEA countries. According to the Commission, operating grants were too complex for applicants and were not sufficiently result-oriented.⁴⁵ Moreover, project-based grants were believed to better stimulate competitiveness and cultural and linguistic diversity. *Creative Europe* also redirects its focus from patterns of production to patterns of consumption. Bruell describes how the Commission views culture as "something from a higher sphere that must be brought to the attention of average citizens, since they do not participate in culture to begin with."⁴⁶ This focus again stipulates the economic nature of *Creative Europe*.

Not everyone was happy with this new approach towards cultural policy. Littoz-Monnet points out that several Member States were particularly dissatisfied with the economic nature of *Creative Europe*. The French Ministry of Culture, for example, suggested that the Commission's focus on the economic side of culture programs would negatively impact the creative potential of artists.⁴⁷ Along with French policy makers, the Ministry argued that cultural policy should allow for a diverse range of cultural expressions and that these do not always contribute to economic targets and the global market.⁴⁸ Indeed, the Commission's initial *Creative Europe* proposal framed culture and art merely as profitable goods without referring to their non-commercial and intrinsic values. Article 3 of the original proposal read that *Creative Europe* would support "only actions and activities presenting a potential European added value and contributing to the achievement of the *Europe 2020* objectives and to its flagship initiatives."⁴⁹ In effect, the proposal disregarded the "subjectivity" of culture. The Parliament made several suggestions for revising the initial proposal, and critiques on *Creative Europe*'s economic nature were also expressed by civil society agents and

⁴⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 25.

⁴⁷ Littoz-Monnet, "Encapsulating EU Cultural Policy," 31.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ European Parliament, and European Council, *Regulation Establishing the Creative Europe Programme (2014 to 2020)*, CELEX 32013R1295 (Luxembourg: Official Journal of the European Union, 2013), 347/226. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1590165846169&uri=CELEX:32013R1295>.

the public.⁵⁰ In addition, art professionals expressed concerns that the presence of too many intermediaries and the insufficiency of the Structured Dialogues would prevent them from actually influencing EU culture policies.⁵¹ Based on this feedback, the Commission made several adjustments to the *Creative Europe* proposal before its implementation. The main alteration is in Article 3 that now refers to the dual function of culture, consisting of its economic potential as well as the *l'art pour l'art* idea and the role culture plays in the construction of values and identities.⁵² After lengthy debates, the prominence of the creativity frame was tempered but still appeared to have the upper hand.

The Commission's idea to explore the economic potential of creativity in light of the knowledge economy is by no means new. The combination between creativity, culture, and economy gained immense popularity throughout the late-1990s and 2000s, pioneered by policymakers as well as scholars that advocated for such policies. The most well-known example of the latter might be Richard Florida's notion of the creative economy and class. In 2002, the urban studies theorist reflected on how creativity was becoming the main source of power for Western economies. Florida argued that the emergence of a creative economy goes hand in hand with the rise of a new *creative class*.⁵³ The core of this creative class encompasses artists, engineers, architects, teachers, and all others "whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content."⁵⁴ The broader creative class also includes other creative professionals such as healthcare workers and lawyers. Florida pointed to humans as the fundamental source of creativity and argued that the creative economy relies on safeguarding diversity. After all, Florida reminds us, creativity cannot be confined by categories of age, race, sexual orientation, religion, gender, or marital status.⁵⁵ The stronger focus on people and creativity affects the structures of social and economic landscapes and simultaneously alters the conditions through which communities are formed.

The notion of place is an important aspect of the creative economy. Florida asserted that cities and metropolitan areas are vital factors for the creative class, and measures their competitiveness through three T's: technology, talent, and tolerance (Figure 3). He viewed tolerance as an economic growth imperative crucial for attracting talent. Regions and nations ought to stimulate creative communities that appeal and are accessible to diverse groups of people,

⁵⁰ Bruell, *Creative Europe 2014-2020*, 23.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵³ Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2012).

⁵⁴ European Parliament, and European Council, *Regulation Establishing the Creative Europe Programme (2014 to 2020)*, CELEX 32013R1295 (Luxembourg: Official Journal of the European Union, 2013), 347/226. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1590165846169&uri=CELEX:32013R1295>.

⁵⁵ Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, 305.

because “places that welcome diversity foster creativity.”⁵⁶ At the same time, the creative community should arise naturally and cannot be made top-down. As Florida put it, “it’s a matter of providing the right conditions, planting the right seeds, and then letting things take their course.”⁵⁷ Enabling an environment in which creative communities can arise is thus essential for reaping the economic benefits of the creative class. However, Florida made no mention of what his notion of tolerance entails, how precisely this could be encouraged, and the fact that tolerance is always subjective.

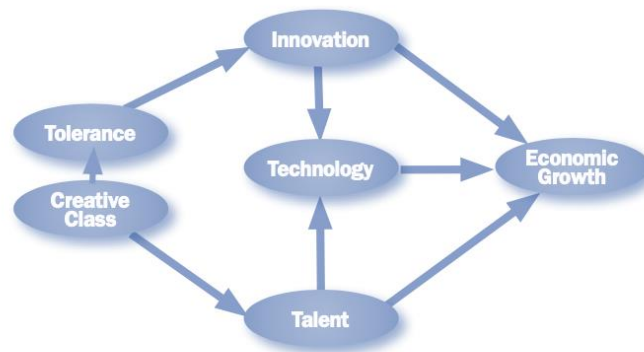


Figure 3 – Tolerance, Creativity and Economic Growth⁵⁸

The importance of place for fostering creativity draws attention to a connection that is crucial to the EU in general: that between the local and the supranational. The EU has been collaborating with creative communities on the local level for decades. The prime example is the European Capitals of Culture (ECOC), an initiative established in 1983 that highlights different European cities each year. The underlying idea is that enabling people to engage with European projects within their local environment makes them feel part of a larger “European” network and become interested in the other aspects of that network. The ECOC exemplify how EU grants impact local communities while emphasizing a European dimension through collaborations between different countries. The idea to explore the potential of creativity through the local level, is thus not new for the EU.

Creative Europe follows a similar logic but employs it to slightly different ends. While previous EU culture programs mainly aimed to establish the EU’s legitimacy by stimulating social cohesion and a sense of shared identity, *Creative Europe* directly puts economic objectives front and center. Its aims overlap with Florida’s theories on the creative class and creative economy: by creating a “creative European people,” *Creative Europe* hopes to stimulate competitiveness and

⁵⁶ Ibid., 273.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 305.

⁵⁸ Richard Florida and Irene Tinagli, *Europe in the Creative Age* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon Software Industry Center, 2004): 12.

economic growth.⁵⁹ As such, the program follows the dual functionality of the cultural and creative industries as a means to both sociocultural and economic ends. But while the economic logic was earlier subtly pursued through the social dimension, economic objectives are now the primary focus.

Yet, the different dimensions of culture are by no means separate entities. Pursuing economic objectives through cultural policy still involves paying attention to its sociocultural dimensions. For as Florida pointed out, enabling a so-called “tolerant” climate for talent to prosper is a necessity for stimulating a creative economy. Furthermore, I assert that separating these dimensions is not feasible nor desirable. After all, the arts cannot be viewed separately from their sociocultural context in the same way that art will never be exempt of economic influences. Indeed, Florida, Yúdice, and others already pointed out the difficulty of balancing the economic, sociocultural and political aspects of the creative and cultural industries. Especially within a program as large as *Creative Europe*, this is no easy task. In the next section, I explore how the Commission chose to balance these interests, and how these developments ultimately led to a sector-specific approach on music.

Contemplating a Sector-specific Approach to Music

Creative Europe came into force on January 1, 2014. With a budget of €1.46 billion over seven years, the program provides funding and support to its sub strands Culture, Media, and Cross-Sectoral. Actions include cooperative projects between organizations from different countries, a network to support competitiveness and transnationalism in the cultural and creative industries, and platforms to promote up-and-coming artists and stimulate “European programming.”⁶⁰ *Creative Europe* also hosts the ECOC, the European Heritage Label, European Heritage Days, and the five European prizes, including EU Prize for Contemporary and Popular Music. Other music-related projects can seek funding through the *Creative Europe* culture strand.⁶¹ Through this collection of schemes, *Creative Europe* successfully supported dozens of projects in the cultural and creative industries.⁶²

However, *Creative Europe*’s one-size-fits-all formula did not tailor to the sector-specific needs of all creative industries. Especially music industry stakeholders felt left behind, claiming

⁵⁹ European Parliament, and European Council, *Regulation Establishing the Creative Europe Programme (2014 to 2020)*.

⁶⁰ “Creative Europe,” European Commission, accessed May 22, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node_en.

⁶¹ In some cases, collaborative projects with a music-related component can also receive projects through the other strands.

⁶² “Creative Europe Project Results,” European Commission, accessed May 22, 2020, <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/projects/>.

that *Creative Europe* favors economic objectives over the sector's needs.⁶³ The music ecosystem, including its patterns of music production, distribution, and consumption, has changed significantly over the past decades. Stakeholders suggested that contemporary support systems did not fit with the specific and increasing needs of the music industry, *Creative Europe* included. The focus on culture and art as goods or services led Bruell and others to ask whether *Creative Europe* is "to be understood merely as a need on the part of consumers."⁶⁴ In addition, *Creative Europe's* move towards project-based funding left institutions that do not (always) operate on a project basis in the cold. The Commission concluded that the music sector was in need of an EU intervention and began exploring the possibility of a sector-specific program on music in 2015.⁶⁵

This intervention did not happen overnight. Any form of Europeanization, including the expansion of European policy, must take into account the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality. In line with Treaty obligations, this means that action requires transnational aspects that cannot be resolved by EU countries, and that action at the EU level should have clear advantages for all Member States.⁶⁶ For a second time, the Commission – and the DG EAC in particular – had to build their case. The Commission's web page for *Music Moves Europe* includes an explanation of "why we need" an EU-wide program on music. This statement returns to the economic logic of Florida's creative economy theory and the already established *Creative Europe* program:

Music is one of the most popular forms of art, widely consumed, and a vibrant expression of Europe's cultural diversity. It also contributes significantly to Europe's economy. The music sector generates revenues of over €25 billion per year and employs more people than the film industry. Technological change has brought about radical shifts in the music field and the music industry is busy exploring new business opportunities. Digitization and online distribution have altered revenue streams, reshaped business models and led to new consumption patterns.⁶⁷

According to the Commission, the same renewed consumption patterns that could provide economic revenue also pose specific challenges to the music sector and consumers. For example,

⁶³ European Commission, *The AB Music Working Group Report* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016), 10–11. Retrieved from <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/f5479d95-2fca-11e7-9412-01aa75ed71a1>.

⁶⁴ Bruell, *Creative Europe 2014-2020*, 22.

⁶⁵ European Commission, *AB Report*, 10.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ European Commission, "Music Moves Europe."

the Commission notes that “[w]hile music is being consumed more than ever, artists and producers claim that they do not receive fair remuneration for the online exploitation of their work. European content, especially from smaller countries, struggles for visibility on big streaming platforms compared to that of American and British artists.”⁶⁸ Through a sector-specific approach on music, the EU aimed to respond appropriately to this new environment in order to benefit from ongoing globalization. To strengthen their case, the DG EAC found synergies between the music industry and the EU’s broader political agenda. In addition to the economic logic, they recollected music’s potential to promote European identity and bridge divides between the Member States which had significantly increased in number at this point. The argument that music “tops the list of factors most likely to create a feeling of community” brought the sociocultural objectives of EU cultural policy back into the picture, alongside the economic objectives that already characterized the broader *Creative Europe* program and the *Europe 2020* strategy.⁶⁹

Deficiencies in the *Creative Europe* program thus opened a window of opportunity to put a sector-specific approach to music on the EU agenda. The politics stream aimed to stimulate economic growth and competitiveness through the cultural and creative industries. The problem stream addressed the concerns of music industry stakeholders about deficiencies of the current funding schemes. The DG EAC was able to make a connection where a sector-specific program on music was the appropriate policy stream to address the needs of the music sector (problem stream) and contribute to the overall aims of the economic *Europe 2020* objectives (politics stream). In the end, the DG EAC was again successful in its efforts and received permission to further develop their ideas for an EU-wide program on music. The first step of policy change – agenda-setting – succeeded. Up next was the policy commissioning phase in which the Commission could formulate concrete proposals for policy initiatives.

Prioritizing Objectives for EU Music Policy

The Commission’s first order of business was to “identify and quantify the actions and policy initiatives at national level which would gain by being complemented at EU level, and possibly, formulate and invent the new ones which should and could be undertaken.”⁷⁰ To this end, the Commission created a dialogue platform for a select group of stakeholders representing the needs and interests of “the European music industry.” In December 2015, 108 professionals representing various areas of the music sector received invitations to join a brainstorming session and multiple

⁶⁸ Ibid. The Commission’s remark precedes the Brexit referendum of June 2016.

⁶⁹ European Commission, *A New European Agenda for Culture*, CELEX 52018DC0267 (Brussels, 2018), 1. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2018%3A267%3AFIN>.

⁷⁰ European Commission, *AB Report*, 10.

workshops. The *AB Music Working Group Report (AB Report)* documents these proceedings and formally states the Commission's two-fold objectives behind the platform. First, the DG EAC wanted to learn more about the key challenges and issues within the European music sector. Second, they aimed to create a toolbox of concrete proposals with the ultimate goal of establishing new policy and funding mechanisms.⁷¹ To narrow down the talking points for the dialogues, the Commission asked all participants to propose three topics in advance. In addition, participants could suggest three specific support mechanisms or measures to be included in a potential EU program. The Commission emphasized in their request that "all participants should feel invited in their capacity as industry experts to reflect on the music ecosystem as a whole and explore mutually beneficial solutions rather than to defend the interest of a particular constituency."⁷² In other words, all participants had to make an individual commitment to a group effort.

The Commission ultimately formulated three central topics for discussion: "cross-border circulation and cultural diversity;" "support, professionalization and remuneration of music creators;" and "reinventing the music experience in the digital age."⁷³ In four lengthy sessions lasting up to six hours each, the Commission and participants identified dozens of needs and issues in the music sector. The *AB Report* visualized all findings in a two-page mind map (see Appendix A). The overview shows numerous measures and issues relating to the ongoing copyright reform discussions and other policy topics; the empowerment of music creators and Small and Medium-sized Businesses (SMBs); cultural diversity; artist mobility and the cross-border circulation of European repertoire; the struggle of music start-ups and emerging artists to survive and thrive in a challenging context; the rights of musicians; and the importance of data and metadata in a functioning music economy.

The overwhelming mind map (Appendix A) shows exactly what the music ecosystem is: intertwined and complicated. It incorporates different issues and suggestions proposed by different actors in the music sector and reveals that the music industry is filled with uncertainty and ambiguity. For example, some participants stressed that existing possibilities within the European funding programs framework are not visible and accessible enough for musicians.⁷⁴ Indeed, the Commission concluded that there is a "common lack of knowledge by almost all participants regarding the Commission's mandate in the field of culture, the scope of its intervention, what tools it can use, what tools other sectors are using, and how they could translate into the field of music."⁷⁵ Moreover, others commented that non-transparent definitions of key

⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

⁷² Ibid., 11.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 13.

terms such as “diversity” and “the music industry” reinforce ambiguity.⁷⁶ Most participants agreed that addressing these issues would allow them to give more input to the Commission.

The Commission expressed its enthusiasm for continuing these dialogues whilst working towards an EU-wide framework on music. In the *AB Report*, Commission representative Tibor Navracsics wrote that “[b]y understanding, promoting and supporting the sector, we contribute to individual well-being and social welfare and at the same time support economic benefit and job creation. [...] It makes people happy while being an excellent export article.”⁷⁷ Navracsics’s statement is exemplary of the overall tone of the *AB Report* that foregrounds numerous potential benefits of an EU-wide program on music. However, participants probably knew that the Commission would not be able to fulfill every wish expressed during the dialogue sessions. While the different interests do not necessarily cause conflict (although sometimes they do), taking on all projects at the same time is a demanding challenge. Moreover, there are countless fits between the problems articulated in the *AB Report* and the possibilities that the Commission can propose within the EU’s institutional realm. The Commission thus had to make decisions about which issues deserved the most priority at that moment, and what solutions would be the right fit.

Policy Network Analysis

Considering that the Commission is part of a large system serving a diverse group of actors, prioritizing objectives is a difficult task. The different problems, solutions, perspectives, and interests articulated in the *AB Report* are all part of the so-called garbage can of cultural policy. It is ultimately up to the Commission to transform these different aspects into proposals that fit the existing EU cultural policy window and make *Music Moves Europe* worthwhile for its key actors. Policy Network Analysis (PNA) can help reveal how the relations between and within different policy groups influence the course of policy processes. The accumulation of policy groups brought together in this phase of *Music Moves Europe* resembles what PNA pioneer Roderick Rhodes would term an “issue network.”⁷⁸ These networks consist of agents interested in a particular policy area and continuously formulate policy critiques as well as ideas for new initiatives. According to Rhodes, issue networks are characterized by “many participants; fluctuating interaction and access for the various members; the absence of consensus and the presence of conflict; interaction based on consultation rather than negotiation or bargaining; an unequal power relationship in which many participants may have few resources, little access, and no alternative.”⁷⁹ The next section

⁷⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁸ Roderick Rhodes, “Policy Network Analysis,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, eds. Michael Moran, Martin Rein, and Robert Goodin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 426.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 428.

analyzes the issue network of different policy groups involved in *Music Moves Europe*'s construction. Throughout the analysis, I refer to policy groups as stakeholders and therein follow the Cambridge Dictionary's definition of stakeholders as "people such as employees, customers, or citizens who are involved with an organization, society, etc. and therefore have responsibilities towards it and an interest in its success."⁸⁰

Table 1 (Appendix B) shows the key policy groups involved in or impacted by the actions of the *Music Moves Europe* program. Figure 4 explains how these policy groups interact with each other on the most basic level. In reality, the relations between these policy groups are rarely bilateral. Although these policy groups and their respective connections are inherently simplified in this analysis – scholars spend their entire careers studying the complex relations between different EU bodies – their general aims can be identified all the same.

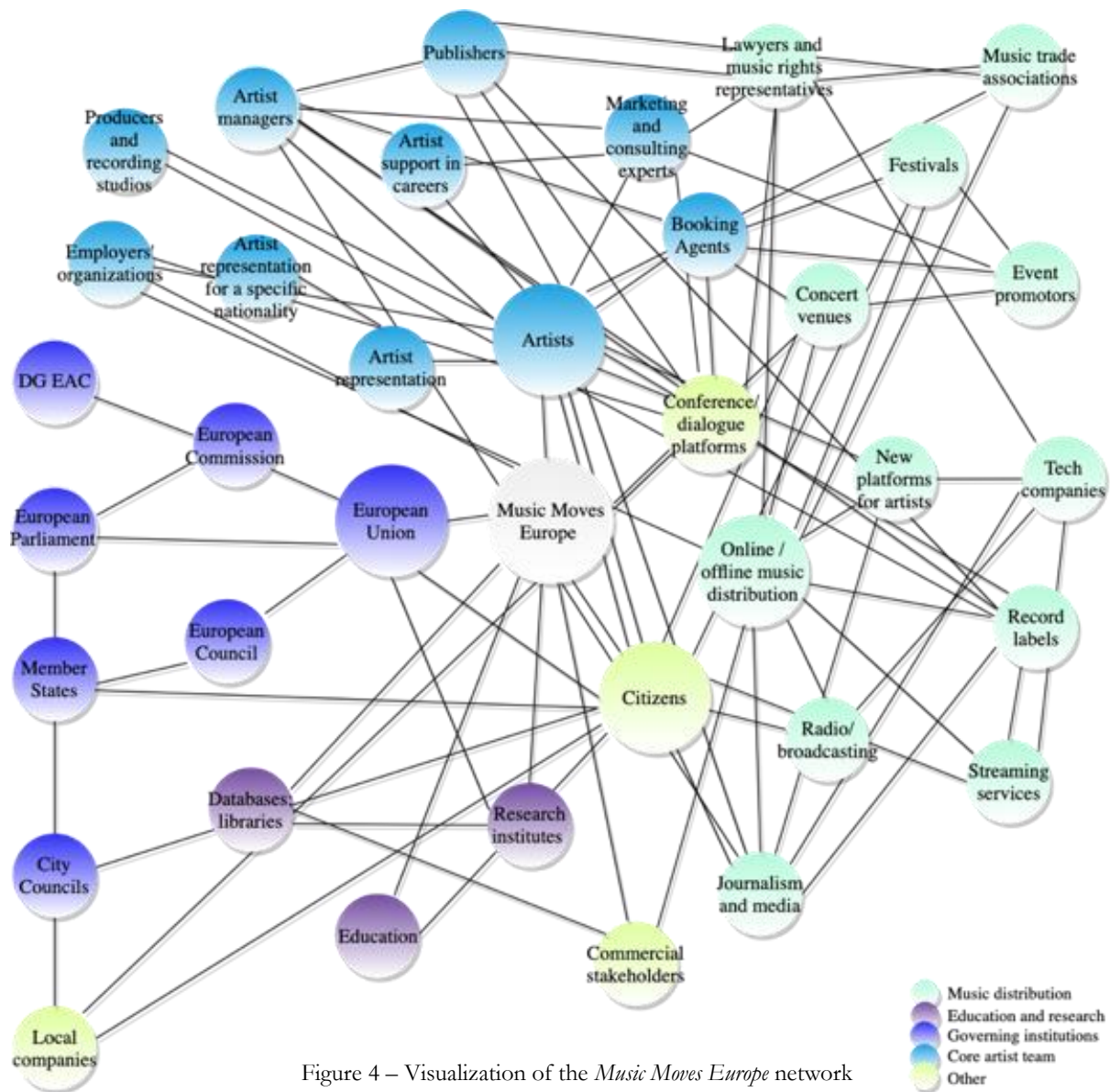


Figure 4 – Visualization of the *Music Moves Europe* network

⁸⁰ "Stakeholder," Cambridge Dictionary, accessed May 23, 2020, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/stakeholder>.

As Isar reminds us, the Europeanization of cultural policy is by no means a strictly top-down process.⁸¹ Each policy group brings different ideas and objectives to the table, and self-interested opportunism leads different groups to advocate for their views by actively inserting themselves in policy debates. This includes cultural institutions that themselves pre-date our contemporary notion of cultural policy, as well as large-scale commercial institutions that entered the cultural policy arena over the past few decades. The Commission's negotiation of the different interests of these actors resembles what Bob Jessop terms *meta-governance*: steering and determining the rules of governance processes.⁸²

To compare the diverging interests of these stakeholders, I follow Anne Fletcher et al., in their method for deducting different value dimensions from an external perspective.⁸³ After identifying the apparent Key Performance Areas (KPAs) of *Music Moves Europe*, I analyze the diverging views among policy groups regarding the priority of the different KPAs.⁸⁴ I derive the KPAs and their individual attributes from literature on structures in music ecosystems, the *AB Report* and other EU policy documents, official statements, and other data available through open access. The *AB Report* notes that all *Music Moves Europe* workshops adhered to the Chatham House rule, meaning that statements cannot directly be traced back to the individual that made them.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, the report still allows access to the overall objectives of the different participants.

The KPAs and their respective attributes (Appendices C and D) show the multiple aims that policy groups pursue through *Music Moves Europe*. Artists, naturally, desire an environment that allows them to thrive artistically without practical restrictions (KPA 2). In general, artists also want fair compensation for their work in order to receive economic gains and visibility (KPA 5). In addition, artists might benefit from access to education (KPA 1) to navigate recent changes in the music industry. Empowering music creators would help them take control over their own careers and diminish the influence of middlemen (KPA 5). Since musicians are not one solidified group, they do not share every single concern. While electronic dance musicians might want to see the complexities and boundaries of musical borrowing practices addressed, freelance singers could benefit from clearer contracts across geographic boundaries. Ultimately, the *AB Report* emphasized that the highest priority was to provide better access to funding for (up-and-coming) artists.

⁸¹ Isar, "Culture in EU External Relations," 498.

⁸² Bob Jessop, "Multilevel Governance and Multilevel Metagovernance," in *Multi-level Governance*, eds. Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 49–74.

⁸³ Anne Fletcher et al., "Mapping Stakeholder Perceptions for a Third Sector Organization," *Journal of Intellectual Capital* 4, no. 4 (2003): 505–527.

⁸⁴ The term Key Performance Area was also coined by Fletcher et al.

⁸⁵ European Commission, *AB Report*, 7.

Unfortunately for many artists, realizing these objectives is anything but simple. Even when policy groups have similar goals, they can still have different opinions on how to achieve them through *Music Moves Europe*. Take, for example, the support team that surrounds musicians. Once artists gain momentum, managers, agents, and publishers will enter the artists' network one by one.⁸⁶ While all members of this core team work together, they have diverging ideas on how to ensure the artists' success. The manager arranges all business affairs and brings artists into contact with the right people to further their careers. In one of the dialogue sessions, ATC Management employee Brian Message noted that while processes of digitization empower managers like never before, new systems of revenue make it difficult to secure funding.⁸⁷ The *AB Report* affirms that "[t]he artist and managers in the room confirmed that it is almost impossible to get a loan as an up-and-coming artist."⁸⁸ Banks view music as a risky investment, and new revenue systems make it harder for managers to get their artists signed by record labels. As such, managers – as well as emerging artists without a manager – might appreciate advice on how to navigate these revenue options. In addition, they might need help exploring alternative methods of funding such as crowdfunding or *Music Moves Europe* financial actions. This demand was partly answered by a sizable group of consultants. The booking agent ensures that artists perform at various places. One of the largest challenges for booking agents working in the EU is having to cope with 27 different tax, visa, and social contribution systems when organizing live tours for artists.⁸⁹ During the dialogue sessions, booking agents thus emphasized a desire for the harmonization of these systems in order to stimulate the cross-border circulation of music through live performance. Finally, publishers make deals with songwriters and promote their songs to musicians and other interested parties. In addition, publishers are responsible for issuing licenses for these songs and collecting royalties. To collect the right fees for the right people, publishers might benefit especially from regulations that clarify who owns what in a musical work or performance. While artists, managers, booking agents, and publishers thus all have the same aim of enabling the artist to excel, they have different ideas about what actions *Music Moves Europe* should prioritize to make a useful contribution.

Policy groups can also have similar goals for different reasons. For example, while artists and their core teams might not be as concerned with stimulating cultural diversity and exchange as the Commission, they still support the Commission's aims as transnational cultural exchange creates additional benefits. Stimulating the cross-border circulation of music creates more options

⁸⁶ Becker, *Art Worlds*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

for artists to tour abroad and expand their audience, which also generates more revenue for managers, booking agents, and other policy groups. While the Commission encourages cultural exchange to strengthen social cohesion, other policy groups thus support their aims for practical reasons. The end goal is the same for all these policy groups, but they all favor different methods in order to take as much advantage as possible of *Music Moves Europe's* actions.

Whatever additional advantages an action yields, a key concern – on paper – remains to support musicians wherever needed. To ensure that the Commission makes considered decisions that truly benefit musicians, multiple dialogue participants emphasized that artists and Small and Medium-sized Businesses (SMBs) should be at the center of policymaking. The *AB Report* noted that a difference in bargaining power among policy groups creates an imbalance that could be reduced by attending to the needs of musicians, designing education, training, and funding frameworks for musicians, and creating “protective schemes to ensure a fair remuneration for artists.”⁹⁰ However, these ambitions do not always go hand in hand with the interests of other policy groups. For example, dialogue participants expressed divergent opinions on the future of European copyright legislation. In the *AB Report*, the Commission writes that

suggestions in favour of a fully harmonized European copyright legislation acting as a catalyst to create a unified market, easier to penetrate and understand, are sitting next to suggestions to reinforce the existing system (rather than harmonize it) and increase even further the level of protection granted to authors and their assignees.⁹¹

While the harmonization of copyright legislation in Europe would make the circulation of music easier for all policy groups, the implementation could negatively impact the flexibility of citizens and user-generated content platforms. Moreover, musicians who often do not have enough expertise on the topic might not profit as much from these measures as anticipated.⁹² Throughout the dialogues, the topic of data on the European music sector evoked similar discussions.⁹³ Whereas some participants were certainly in favor of pan-European databases to store metadata in one single and easily accessible place, others emphasized that “data is a valuable asset in today’s economy and it shouldn’t be expected from organisations to hand it down to policymakers or other governmental bodies without asking anything in return.”⁹⁴ In addition, the market data collected by commercial stakeholders is not necessarily fit for the purpose of creating evidence-

⁹⁰ Ibid., 14.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 33.

⁹³ This concerns sector data, metadata, and usage data. For an explanation of the three types, see the *AB Report*, 21.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 17.

based policy. Although supporting musicians where necessary is articulated as an overall goal, the interests of individual stakeholders certainly complicate the dialogues.

The KPA register (Appendix D) suggests that many other ideas and objectives circulate within Europe's music sector. For example, many policy groups expressed an interest in the potential of the music industry to generate economic growth (KPA 10). Indeed, competitiveness was heavily emphasized in debates on copyright and data management as well as in explorations of different distribution and export strategies. The economic growth objective also correlates with the spillover effects mentioned in the *AB Report* (KPA 13). The report's mind map suggests that partnerships with the food and tourism industries – amongst others – might contribute to economic growth while fostering Europeanization and strengthening the position of the EU. Since the competitiveness agenda matched well with the DG EAC's economy-oriented creativity frame, the Commission appeared eager to offer its support.

However, the Commission's own objectives were not restricted to economic ones. In line with the "unity in diversity" credo, it also framed music as a means to promote European heritage and values (KPA 4). The Commission presented music as "a cultural asset linked with our political history [transmitting] a cultural heritage and a defining of cultural groups," emphasizing its potential to exercise soft power or cultural influence, show EU success stories, and promote local cultures.⁹⁵ According to the report, dialogue participants agreed that music venues and festivals are the main sites for promoting and representing cultural heritage.⁹⁶ The Commission thus combines its economic objectives with objectives related to the music's supposed sociocultural impact.

In doing so, the Commission remarked the connections between music and diverse expressions of identity (KPA 8). On the production side, the Commission aims to ensure equal opportunities regardless of socioeconomic background, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and other aspects of intersectional identities. On the consumer's end, it aims to make music equally accessible to all European citizens. The Commission hopes to support audience development and the accessibility of music by listening to the needs of citizens, safeguarding the affordability of music, and bringing more music to schools and children (KPA 9). Fostering inclusion with regard to both music production and consumption would ensure economic revenue in the long run. By placing sociocultural objectives in contact with – or maybe even in service of – economic ones, the Commission seems to follow the broader *Europe 2020* aim of "turning the EU into a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy."⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Ibid., 55.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 16.

⁹⁷ European Commission, *Europe 2020*, 8.

With all the diverging opinions articulated by the music industry representatives, the last question to consider in this chapter is who had the upper hand in these crucial initial phases. How the Commission interacts with different policy groups (KPA 3) ultimately determines whether policy groups feel heard. While all perspectives are important and some viewpoints fell outside the scope of my own analysis, the degree of advocacy for some topics was higher than others. The *AB Report* provides a list of names of people who participated in the dialogue sessions, along with their affiliated companies and countries. Table 3 (Appendix E) gives an overview of all participating companies and their respective attributes.

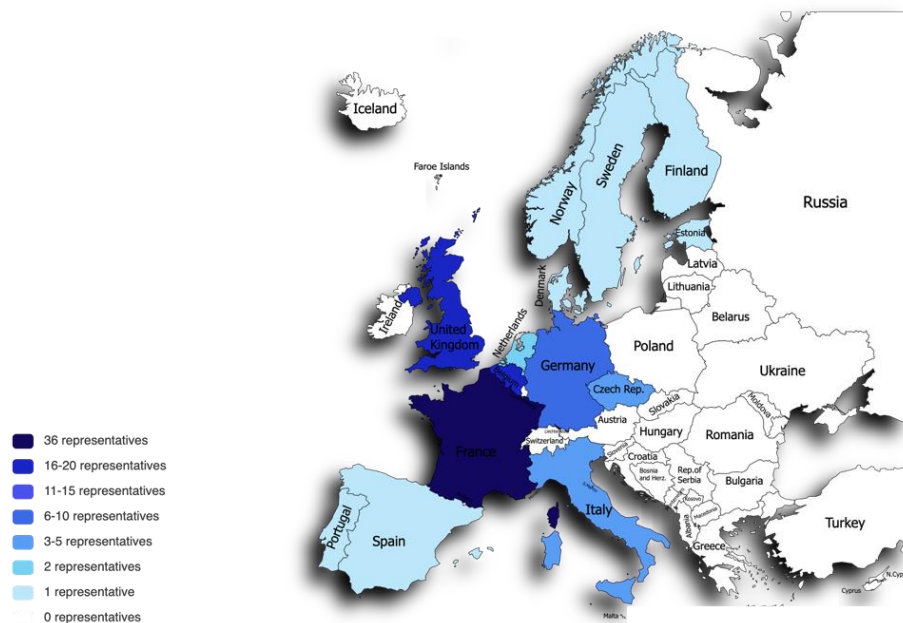


Figure 6 – Companies per country participating in the *MME* dialogue sessions⁹⁸

An analysis of this data reveals that the intended heterogeneity of the participant pool does not ring true in all aspects. In terms of gender dynamics, nearly 70% of the participants appear to identify as male.⁹⁹ Moreover, the national and geographic spread of the participants is hardly proportionate. As evident from Figure 6, policy groups from France, the UK, and Belgium were especially well represented. Nine US-based companies also joined the discussion, as well as one Norwegian representative. These numbers are striking, considering the Commission’s explicit aims

⁹⁸ Map made by author based on the participants list of the *AB Music Report*. Non-EU countries include Norway (1) and the United States (9).

⁹⁹ While determining someone’s gender is inherently problematic, this estimate is solely meant to give an impression of the data. Genders were deducted from a combination of visual images, job descriptions, and references that included pronouns. For a handful of participants, no reference to pronouns was accessible online. In these cases, gender assumptions were made solely based on physical characteristics and these are thus merely interpretations. Other factors of participants’ intersectional identities – such as ethnicity, sexuality, and religion – were left out considering they are at least as troublesome to assume.

to counter Anglo-American dominance. Perhaps the Commission hoped to exchange best practices or intended to create productive collaborations with the major competitors. It should be noted that multiple companies are *based* in a certain country but advocate for interests that transcend national borders (Table 3). Still, there is a sharp contrast with countries that only host one or two participating companies, or even none at all. This contrast also appears to reinforce the symbolic power divide between “Eastern” and “Western” Europe, a frequently discussed topic that prevails to date.

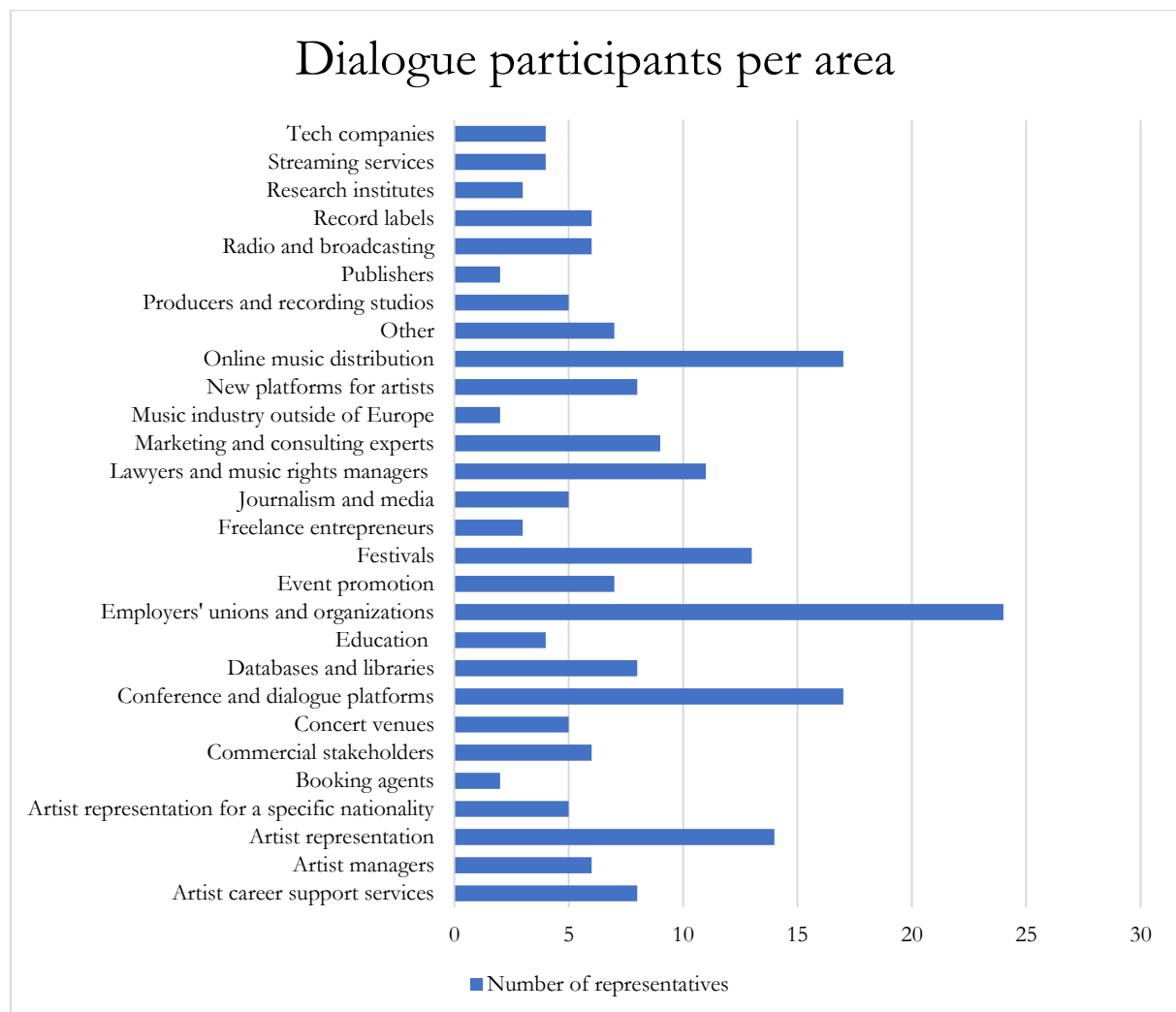


Figure 7– Dialogue participants by area¹⁰⁰

In other regards, the Commission did succeed in mobilizing a diverse array of policy groups. The participants represented companies from a variety of branches (see Figure 7). Rather than gathering a group of freelance artists, the Commission invited multiple companies that represented

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix E for the specific affiliations of participants, as well as elaborations on the “other” category.

the interests of artists. This prevented individual artists from solely pushing their own agendas and forced them to trust representatives in their ability to advocate for musicians. Multiple employers' unions and organizations also attended to speak for specific groups of actors in the music industry, such as publishers and managers. Altogether, the Commission ensured a suitable combination of artist representatives, core actors in the artists' network, concert venues and festivals, online music platforms, record labels, and more. While most participating companies did not focus on particular geographic areas or musical styles, some did. For example, the participant pool included advocates for the early music and jazz music industries, as well as companies representing artists in France, Finland, Norway, and Germany. The Commission also established a proportionate balance between the digital and live domains. Nearly 30% of all participating companies focused on the digital sector, 22% on the live industries, 45% on both, and a few commercial stakeholders did not engage with either one (see Appendix E). In short, the Commission thus mobilized a group of dialogue participants that is diverse in some respects but homogenous in others.

While some interests were inevitably better represented in the dialogue sessions than others, it is the Commission that ultimately calls the shots. The Commission handpicked the participants of the dialogue sessions – although we do not know how or based on which criteria – and composed the final *AB Report*. The *AB Report* concludes with several potential actions based on the participants' input, most of which would foster Europeanization. Suggestions include policy and funding reforms; the development of a pan-European platform for programmers and music influencers with information on European trending artists; and a central system with resources and educational materials for artists and touring people. In addition, the report suggested new tools to promote European music abroad and claimed that more live initiatives such as the *European Border Breakers Awards (EBBA)* would increase the visibility of up-and-coming artists. The ball was left firmly in the Commission's court, which had to prioritize initiatives in collaboration with other EU-bodies.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how we arrived at an EU program for music. In the first section, I traced the developments that led the Commission to create EU cultural policies. Kingdon's MSF revealed how processes of strategic framing and agenda-setting gave rise to a creativity frame that formulated culture as the answer to contemporary political debates. The overarching *Creative Europe* program seized the opportunity of a policy window that was opened by the new *Europe 2020* strategy in the politics stream. By placing the economic objectives of the EU's new strategy front and center, *Creative Europe* was able to tie the three policy streams together. Several months

into the EU's largest culture program yet, stakeholders began to doubt the suitability of a one-size-fits-all formula for their respective industries. Especially the music sector expressed their concerns. Defects in the *Creative Europe* program thus opened another window of opportunity to put a sector-specific approach on music on the EU's policy agenda. Policy entrepreneurs from the DG EAC were able to make a connection that positioned a new music program as the appropriate policy stream to address the needs of the music industry (problem stream) and contribute to the overall aims of the economic *Europe 2020* objectives (politics stream). With a reasoning that resembles Florida's notion of the *creative economy*, the Commission ultimately positioned music as a source of creativity, competitiveness and economic growth. On paper, the new *Music Moves Europe* initiative appeared beneficial for multiple parties: the music sector would get the help they need; the DG EAC could yet again expand its territory; the Commission could exploit the new collaborations with other sectors to strengthen both the idea of a shared European identity and economic growth; and new stages of Europeanization would lighten the burden of Member States.

While the initial stage of agenda-setting might be considered successful, the subsequent phase of policy commissioning brought yet another challenge. In order to create concrete policy proposals, the Commission had to map, evaluate, and prioritize various problems, solutions, and perspectives. I explored the first steps of this decision-making phase. By analyzing the *AB Report* that established *Music Moves Europe*, I mapped how different policy groups are involved in the program's network. This inquiry affirmed remarks of Isar, Sassatelli, and others that EU cultural policy is a polyvocal process that does not strictly move top-down and through official institutional formats. The most obvious finding to emerge from this study is that musicians themselves had relatively little agency in the dialogues, but instead depended on other policy groups to represent their interests. These representatives expressed different goals, or different ideas on how to accomplish these goals. Moreover, the analysis showed how dozens of other policy groups also attempted to push their own agendas. It is ultimately up to the Commission to transform these different aspects of the cultural policy garbage can into proposals that fit the existing EU cultural policy window. And it is to this next phase of the policy process that we now turn.

Chapter Two: Putting Words into (Preparatory) Actions

In 2015, the European Commission (Commission) began exploring the viability of a strategic initiative to support Europe’s music sector. After lengthy processes of agenda-setting, they received the green light from the European Council (Council) and European Parliament (Parliament) to develop *Music Moves Europe* by way of Preparatory Actions. Throughout this decision-making process – the second step in the policy cycle – the Commission needed to balance the interests of different stakeholders while developing a new strand of cultural policy. The *Music Moves Europe* webpage outlines the main structure and achievements of the strategic initiative. On paper, the framework consists of four dimensions: policy, funding, legislation, and dialogue. In addition, *Music Moves Europe* commissions the *Music Moves Europe Talent Awards* (MMETA).

This chapter examines the four pillars of *Music Moves Europe* in light of the decision-making phase. For each dimension, I investigate whose interests prevail and how these relate to the ideas articulated in the agenda-setting stage – in particular by stakeholders in the *AB Report*. By analyzing how the program unfolds, which projects receive funding, and what policy measures are taken, I reveal what aspects of Europe’s musical ecosystem *Music Moves Europe* emphasizes. The main finding to emerge from this study is that there is a discrepancy between the acclaimed results of the strategic initiative and the actual actions carried out in the name of *Music Moves Europe*. In practice, the four pillars turn out to be rather interconnected and supported by achievements that are not necessarily the result of the *Music Moves Europe* framework.

I suggest that the Commission might have taken this approach to imply a high impact of *Music Moves Europe* and therewith strengthen the case for continued support after the Preparatory Actions. In doing so, *Music Moves Europe* emphasizes the economic worth of Europe’s music sector. The strategic initiative follows the paradigm shift initiated by *Creative Europe*, in line with Richard Florida’s notion of the *creative economy* and the processes of agenda-setting studied in Chapter One. However, I also observe that the pursuit of economic objectives in the decision-making stage overshadows the perspectives of artists and citizens as well as broader questions about the connections between music, culture, and identity. In other words, the Commission’s approach is directed towards the music sector but simultaneously obliterates the subjectivity of *musicking* and the fact that creativity is not always related to competitiveness.

Ultimately, I argue that the exclusion of these crucial factors damages the clarity of *Music Moves Europe* and its potential to foster “creativity, competitiveness, and diversity.”¹ I support this

¹ “Music Moves Europe,” European Commission, accessed July 23, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/music-moves-europe_en.

argument by showing how disregard for the situatedness and heterogeneity of *musicking* practices breaks with Florida's theories on how to build a creative economy. The exclusion of these perspectives – as well as the low degree of artist and citizen involvement in the agenda-setting and decision-making phases – make that the *Music Moves Europe* in its current state might not have the desired effectiveness. These findings form the foundation for an exploration of *Music Moves Europe's* initial implementation phase. Chapter Three will take up this task by means of an in-depth study of the *MMETA*.

Music Moves Europe in Four Dimensions

Music Moves Europe is but one form of cultural policy in the broad sense.² In its execution however, the strategic initiative views policy in a much narrower fashion. The distinct policy pillar of *Music Moves Europe* primarily engages with formal regulations and laws.³ Despite this narrow definition, the policy dimension exemplifies the interconnectedness of the four pillars: the legislative and funding pillars themselves exist and operate through policies, and the dialogue pillar is crucial to processes of policy creation and evaluation. By including policy as a separate pillar, *Music Moves Europe* thus draws attention to its own position within the EU's broader policy regulations.

There are two sides when it comes *Music Moves Europe's* involvement in cultural policy in the narrow sense. First, there are policy processes and guidelines that *Music Moves Europe* has to follow. These include the treaties and reports discussed in Chapter One, as well as other EU policies, regulations, and guidelines. The policy pillar on the Commission's webpage for *Music Moves Europe* names the Commission's *New European Agenda for Culture* (2018) as one of the leading documents in the cultural domain. A renewal of the original *European Agenda for Culture* (2007), this version actively promotes culture as an essential tool to “help build a more inclusive and fairer Union, supporting innovation, creativity and sustainable jobs and growth.”⁴ In addition, *Music Moves Europe* ought to fit within the economic orientation of the policy windows that were opened by the *Europe 2020* strategy and the overarching *Creative Europe* program. *Music Moves Europe* thus operates within a broader and complex policy framework that informs its scope.

At the same time, *Music Moves Europe* also aims to implement its own policy initiatives. Successful advocacy for the program convinced the Member States to include an action on music in the *Council Work Plan for Culture 2019-22 (Work Plan)*. Titled *Diversity and Competitiveness of the Music Sector*, the action responds to the claim that a “digital shift, notably the appearance of music

² I elaborate on the broad and narrow definitions of cultural policy in the introduction of this thesis.

³ Ibid.

⁴ European Commission, *A New European Agenda for Culture*, CELEX 52018DC0267 (Brussels, 2018), 1. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2018%3A267%3AFIN>.

streaming, and the increased competition from global players has led to fundamental changes in the way music is created, produced, performed, distributed, consumed and monetized.”⁵ The Council’s *Work Plan* states that the action on music will take place through presidency conferences; workshops hosted by the Commission; and possibly Council conclusions. Building on the results of the *Music Moves Europe* framework, the action has the ultimate aim of identifying “transferable best practices and discussing suitable policy measures at European and national level.”⁶

The policy pillar of *Music Moves Europe* hopes to combine these two sides. The Council’s *Work Plan* acknowledged the significance of the music sector and opened up space for *Music Moves Europe* in the domain of public cultural policy. At the same time, the embeddedness of *Music Moves Europe* in broader EU agendas imposes boundaries on its strategies. How these sides come together in *Music Moves Europe* remains to be seen. While the webpage reads that Commission-led workshops and a Presidency conference have been planned for late-2020 and 2021 respectively, the *Music Moves Europe* initiative itself has yet to produce any concrete results in its policy dimension.

Funding is the second *Music Moves Europe* pillar and directly addresses the financing of music related projects and actions through two streams. The first is funding for music projects through the *Creative Europe* program. As a strategic initiative, *Music Moves Europe* does not have its own funding structure and predominantly relies on the overarching *Creative Europe*. The proposal for the new *Creative Europe 2021-2027* program officially introduced a sectoral action on music, in response to advocacy of policymakers and music industry stakeholders.⁷ While the details of this amendment are still unclear, the specific focus on music in the new *Creative Europe* program will allow for more targeted “financial distribution and actions” under the Culture strand of the new *Creative Europe* program.⁸ The Commission deemed such a revision necessary as the current *Creative Europe* program only spent €57 million on music-related projects, approximately 3.9% of the €1.4 billion budget.⁹ The second stream of funding runs through Preparatory Actions designed to test future sector-specific actions on music. These Preparatory Actions are concrete examples of *Music*

⁵ European Council, *Council Conclusions on the Work Plan for Culture 2019-2022*, CELEX 52018XG1221(01) (Brussels, 2018), 8. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/GA/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52018XG1221%2801%29>.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ See, for example, “Joint Letter in Support of a Sectorial Focus on Music in Creative Europe (2021-2027),” <http://www.live-dma.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Joint-letter-in-support-of-a-sectorial-focus-on-music-in-Creative-Europe-2021-2027.pdf>.

⁸ European Parliament, *Report on the Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing the Creative Europe Programme (2021 to 2027)*, Doc. A8-0156/2019 (Brussels, 2019), 39. Retrieved from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2019-0156_EN.pdf?redirect.

⁹ European Commission, “Music Moves Europe.”

Moves Europe actions and – as we shall see shortly – bring the funding dimension together with the other three pillars.

The third dimension of *Music Moves Europe* is legal environment. While the EU does not have direct legal grounds to operate in the cultural domain, EU legislation in other policy fields impacts the music industry with regard to mobility, finances, working conditions, and other factors. With its legislative pillar, *Music Moves Europe* aims to “ensure that the interests of the [music] sector are reflected in other policy fields where the EU has legislative powers.”¹⁰ The legislative element was added as a distinct *Music Moves Europe* pillar after the adaptation of the EU’s new Copyright Directive in 2019. This Directive sets out to arrange fairer remunerations for content creators in light of the transformation of the digital landscape over the past decades. According to the *Music Moves Europe* webpage, the Directive exemplifies the music-oriented legal actions that *Music Moves Europe* aims to support.¹¹ To date, the Copyright Directive is the only example that illustrates the legislative pillar. While the Commission seeks to reflect the interests of the music industry in other policy domains where the EU has legislative power, there is no indication of any new initiatives or projects. Meanwhile the Commission continues to monitor the demands of the European music ecosystem, primarily through dialogues with music sector representatives.

The descriptions of the policy, funding, and legal environment pillars on the Commission’s webpage reveal how *Music Moves Europe* is promoted through accomplishments that are not part of the strategic initiative. While the Commission describes the pillars with examples of actions and topics that they hope to engage with in the future, it does not expand on the reasoning behind the pillars nor on their interconnectedness. So far, it looks as if the pillars are designed to give shape to the strategic initiative, and perhaps to make it seem more effective and appealing to policymakers and other stakeholders. But what concrete actions have actually taken place in the name of *Music Moves Europe*, and what does this tell us about the initial stages of the initiative? With these questions in mind, let us turn to the two domains that organized official *Music Moves Europe* actions: the dialogue pillar and Preparatory Actions.

What Has *Music Moves Europe* Done So Far?

The fourth and last pillar of *Music Moves Europe* is “dialogue,” a crucial part of EU cultural policy making. Indeed, one of the guiding principles for the Council’s *Work Plan* is the organization of “regular dialogue between Member States, European institutions and civil society.”¹² After the initial *AB Music Working Group (AB Group)* sessions that formed the foundation for *Music Moves*

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² European Council, *Council Conclusions on the Work Plan for Culture 2019-2022*, 2.

Europe, the Commission continued to organize dialogues with representatives of the European music sector.¹³ In 2019, the Commission designed a *Music Moves Europe* dialogue platform for discussing “the most topical issues related to musical diversity in Europe and the competitiveness of the industry.”¹⁴ This platform was ultimately adopted under the *Music Moves Europe* umbrella as “Structured Dialogues with the music sector,” the core of the dialogue pillar.

To date, only one edition of these Structured Dialogues has taken place. In May 2019, the Commission invited over 100 participants to attend a conference in Brussels.¹⁵ The conference proceedings were summarized and made available in the Commission’s *First Dialogue Meeting Final Report (First Dialogue Report)*.¹⁶ The report includes a brief introduction; a conference schedule; the names of panelists and moderators; and summaries of the different sessions. Excluded is a list of the conference participants and their institutional affiliations, a component that was present in the 2015 *AB Report*. The report reads that Tamas Szucs from the Commission and Corina Panaitopol from the Romanian EU Presidency opened the conference, and invited attendees to contribute to four dialogue sessions (Table 4). These sessions focused on the future of music media, the accessibility of capital, challenges for the live music sector, and the – now approved – EU Copyright Directive.

While all four issues were raised in the *AB Group*, their prominent role in structuring the *First Dialogue Meeting* suggests that the Commission shapes the pillar to address its own – mainly economic – objectives. Each theme has a strong market-orientation and promotes the idea of artists as entrepreneurs. Moreover, they do not leave room for other issues identified in the *AB Report*, such as the need to better define and stimulate “music diversity,” the call to lessen the influence of the middle men, and the aim to “give music fans what *they* want.”¹⁷ The following analysis of the *First Dialogue Report* will reveal how the dialogue pillar is informed by broader *Music Moves Europe* strategies, in particular that of the economy-driven *creativity frame*. In addition, it will show how a shortfall of transparency might make the *First Dialogue Meeting* appear more comprehensive and inclusive than it actually is.

¹³ Examples include Midem (2016, 2017), an annual music fair organized in Cannes, and Hamburg’s Reeperbahn festival.

¹⁴ European Commission, “Music Moves Europe.”

¹⁵ European Commission, *Music Moves Europe: First Dialogue Meeting Final Report* (Brussels 2019), 2. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/library/mme-conference-report-web.pdf>. The report does not reveal how and why specific participants were chosen.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ European Commission, *AB Report*, 51–52. Emphasis by author.

Title	Format
The Future of Music Media	Structured Round Table Discussion
Access to Capital: How to Fund Creativity and Creation?	Panel Discussion
Live Music	Structured Round Table Discussion
Sharing the Value of the Internet – The European Copyright Directive	Panel Discussion

Table 4 – List of sessions from the *First Dialogue* conference

The first panel on the accessibility of funding mechanisms instantly reveals the industrial orientation of the *First Dialogue Meeting*. The report emphasized the progress made by *Creative Europe* with regard to strengthening the “bankability” of musicians and music organizations. Participants framed the EU Guarantee Facility – a *Creative Europe* initiative to make financial resources better accessible to Small and Medium-sized Businesses (SMBs) – as an exemplary “success story” and advocated for similar funding mechanisms especially for Europe’s music sector.¹⁸ The discussion of the Guarantee Fund corresponds with a broader observation in the panel summary that musicians and organizations “need to adopt a more business-oriented attitude when asking for funding.”¹⁹ In other words, the panel continued the debate on how to empower resilient artist-entrepreneurs in the music industry’s increasingly complex network.

A round table discussion on challenges and needs of the live music sector reveals how participants steer discussions by disregarding the situatedness of *musicking* in favor of debates on lucrative business models. Participants emphasized that rapidly changing patterns of music consumption make it difficult for music clubs to attract younger audiences. The report reads that

[t]here is a need to reconsider the role of clubs, as the current format (audience is invited to stay in a black box for 90 minutes to listen to one group) is equivalent to a CD-format, which is obviously outdated and somewhat obsolete. The general trend among teenagers seems to be a hunger for “shareable” content, and the live sector needs to focus more on this phenomenon.²⁰

While it is certainly true that the live sector faces multiple complex challenges, whether the current format of clubs is obsolete is up for debate. The *slow media* movement and other trends suggest that among some consumer groups, more traditional patterns of music consumption regain their

¹⁸ European Commission, *First Dialogue Meeting*, 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

acclaim.²¹ Moreover, the challenges of live music venues are in part caused by broader trends such as gentrification, festivalization and a move towards a project-based economy of cultural production.²² Rather than dismissing the current club format, stakeholders thus might want to explore ways to rebrand the club experience. The session report also did not specify why clubs would be so eager to attract visitors under twenty years of age. Albeit that teenagers represent the future of music consumption, older generations are often the ones with the most money to spend. Economic restrictions, as well as geographic accessibility and multiple other factors, could also contribute to challenges of audience development. The concept of live concerts is thus by no means the only bottleneck for the live sector, but it is the one highlighted in the dialogue report.

The session on live music shows how debates under *Music Moves Europe's* dialogue pillar are steered by the ways in which the Commission and participants frame challenges to the music sector. Exemplary is the discussion on live music and climate change in the same session. Scholars and *AB Group* participants already pointed out the negative environmental impact of traveling artists, festival waste, and other elements of the live music industry.²³ Participants of the live music session similarly acknowledged that the music industry plays an important role in the climate crisis and that multiple initiatives already make crucial contributions toward reducing the carbon footprint. Yet at the same time, participants also argued that “ecological arguments could present a threat, in particular to the live industry.”²⁴ Rather than taking responsibility for the live sector’s negative impact on climate change, the session thus framed ecological arguments as a cause of problems in the live sector. If sustainability is truly an EU target, then one would expect *Music Moves Europe* to reframe these relationships and actively explore how EU-wide actions in the music sector can contribute to a more viable live music sector.²⁵ The fact that this was not the case in the first Structured Dialogue conference shows how stakeholders steer debates by framing issues to their benefit.

²¹ Jennifer Raunch, *Slow Media: Why Slow is Satisfying, Sustainable, and Smart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) and Aaron Allen and Kevin Dawe, eds., *Current Directions in Ecomusicology* (London: Routledge, 2016).

²² Arno van der Hoeven and Erik Hitters, “The Social and Cultural Values of Live Music: Sustaining Urban Live Music Ecologies,” *Cities* 90 (2019): 263–271; Fabian Holt and Carsten Wergin, eds., *Musical Performance and the Changing City: Post-industrial Contexts in Europe and the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Allan Watson, “Sociological Perspectives on the Economic Geography of Projects: The Case of Project-Based Working in the Creative Industries,” *Geography Compass* 6, no. 10 (2012): 617–631; Robert DeFillippi, “Managing Project-based Organization in Creative Industries,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Creative Industries*, ed. Candace Jones, Mark Lorenzen, and Jonathan Sapsed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 268–283.

²³ See, for example, C. Bottrill, D. Liverman, and M. Boykoff, “Carbon Soundings: Greenhouse Gas Emissions of the UK music industry,” *Environmental Research Letters* 5, no. 1 (2010): 1–8 and European Commission, *The AB Music Working Group Report* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016), 55.

²⁴ European Commission, *AB Report*, 9.

²⁵ See “EU Approach to Sustainable Development,” European Commission, accessed June 3, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/international-strategies/sustainable-development-goals/eu-approach-sustainable-development_en.

A similar argument could be made for the discussion of the Commission’s “diversity objectives” throughout the *First Dialogue Meeting*. While the Commission and participants agreed that EU-funded programs and platforms “should become part of regional or segmental strategies to help emerging artists and to support diversity,” it remains unclear what kinds of diversity *Music Moves Europe* should achieve and how.²⁶ First, there is an aim to ensure a diversity of European musics. As pointed out earlier, this objective remains in general terms and does not elaborate on what European music entails for whom; why this notion is important; or how a diversity of this concept of European musics can be achieved. This ambiguity ignores the richness of music performance and distribution practices that do not respond well to a one-size-fits-all approach. A similar challenge arises in the Commission’s second “diversity objective:” fostering diversity among artists, citizens, and other stakeholders in the music industry. In this context, diversity can refer to numerous aspects of one’s intersectional identity – including but not limited to gender, ethnicity, sexuality, nationality, and religion. As evident from Chapter One, divisions along gender lines perpetuate the male dominance of the music industry. Moreover, national and geographic balance among beneficiaries of the broader *Creative Europe* seems to fall short.²⁷ While several *Creative Europe* initiatives already contributed to significant progress, the Commission will have a hard time changing these dynamics without crafting concrete proposals and critically reflecting on the roots of these imbalances.²⁸

All things considered, the Commission’s decision to predetermine the structure of the *First Dialogue Meeting* through four market-oriented themes reveals the economic orientation envisioned for *Music Moves Europe* at large. In line with the creativity frame, the first action under the dialogue pillar promotes the idea of the European music sector as a marketplace but does so with a disregard for the heterogeneity of musicking and the people involved in these practices. The issues and possibilities put forward throughout the *First Dialogue Meeting* will be part of the foundation for new EU actions on music but have not yet led to concrete plans. The Commission aims to stay in touch with representatives of the music industry on a regular basis while *Music Moves Europe* unfolds. During the *First Dialogue Meeting*, participants asked how the Commission will safeguard the representativeness of these dialogues. The Commission elaborated on its approach but did not include its response in the final report.²⁹ In future sessions, the Commission would do well to be

²⁶ European Commission, *First Dialogue Meeting*, 9.

²⁷ “Creative Europe Project Results,” European Commission, accessed July 2, 2020, <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/projects/>.

²⁸ The most notable example is Keychange, an international initiative that aims to establish gender balance in the music sector, with financial support of *Creative Europe*. For more information, see “Keychange,” Keychange, accessed May 22, 2020, <https://keychange.eu/>.

²⁹ As stated in European Commission, *First Dialogue Meeting*, 3.

more transparent about these processes towards *all* stakeholders. Citizens, scholars, artists, and music professionals who did not have the opportunity to attend the dialogue sessions should have equal access to unambiguous and representative reports of the Commission's actions. Small alterations, such as the inclusion of a participant list and straightforward reports of discussion proceedings, would go a long way towards making clear documentation accessible to all European citizens. In addition, *Music Moves Europe* might benefit from actively incorporating the perspectives of other stakeholder groups in their dialogue dimensions. Throughout the *First Dialogue Meeting*, Commission and participants identified knowledge gaps that could be addressed by welcoming the perspectives of actors with different expertise and experiences.³⁰ The perspectives of scholars and citizens – for example – may be useful for gaining more insight into patterns of music consumption. The Commission has ample time to consider these factors in future Structured Dialogue sessions. A report of a second conference is forthcoming and will continue more in-depth on the topics discussed at the first meeting.³¹

2018 Preparatory Action

The dialogue pillar is not the only *Music Moves Europe* domain to produce concrete actions. In April 2017, the Parliament secured €1.5 million for a music-related Preparatory Action (PA) under the name “Music Moves Europe: Boosting European Music Diversity and Talent.” PAs are EU initiatives that can grow into funding programs, legislation, or policies. After a maximum of three consecutive PAs, the Parliament can prepare or alter a legal foundation to let the Action continue on its own legal basis.³² The Commission was in charge of executing the new PA and viewed it as “an opportunity to test new ideas on how to complement the existing forms of EU support for music under *Creative Europe*.”³³ By uniting the four pillars of *Music Moves Europe*, the PA tested suitable initiatives for more targeted music funding and policy frameworks post-2020.

The PA represents *Music Moves Europe*'s earliest actions in the decision-making phase. Its scope and direction were determined by the Commission, who carried out the PA through four calls (see Table 5).³⁴ The calls are divided into two calls for proposals and two calls for tenders. Calls for proposals provide successful candidates with “direct financial contributions for a specific

³⁰ Ibid., 9.

³¹ It is unclear when and where the second conference was held.

³² European Parliament, *Pilot Projects and Preparatory Actions in the Annual EU Budgetary Procedure* (Brussels, 2019). Retrieved from [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/nl/document.html?reference=EPRS_ATA\(2019\)640130](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/nl/document.html?reference=EPRS_ATA(2019)640130).

³³ “Music Moves Europe Preparatory Action: All Four Calls Published,” European Commission, accessed April 2, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/content/music-moves-europe-preparatory-action-all-four-calls-published_en.

³⁴ All calls are published under *Creative Europe*'s webpage, see “Calls for Proposals and Tenders,” European Commission, accessed May 27, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/calls_en.

action or project that helps further EU policies.”³⁵ Calls for tenders are “public procurement procedures to generate offers from companies competing for works, supply or service contracts.”³⁶ In what follows, I analyze the different calls to find out which topics they address and how they do so.

Total budget	Calls for proposals	Calls for tenders
€1.5 million	Online and offline distribution	Feasibility study for the establishment of a European Music Observatory, and a gap analysis of funding needs for the music sector
	Training scheme for young music professionals	A European music export strategy

Table 5 – Overview of calls for tenders and proposals under the *MME* 2018 Preparatory Action

Throughout this analysis, I show how the Commission steers the PA’s direction by determining the rules of governance processes, or what Bob Jessop terms meta-governance.³⁷ It appears that all four calls focus on the entrepreneurial side of the music sector and use their language accordingly. This is fully in line with broader EU-objectives and policy statements, as well as with the creativity frame inspired by theories of Florida and others. At the same time, each call contains ambiguities or evokes questions about the intended execution and goals. This ambiguity is characteristic for the EU’s involvement in the cultural domain and allows the Commission to attract a wide range of projects while maintaining its economic orientation.³⁸ Let us now turn to the different calls and consider them in light of this broader *Music Moves Europe* strategy.

The first call for proposals supports pilot training programs for young music professionals with the aims of strengthening artists’ entrepreneurial skills. By testing innovative models, the Commission hoped to learn how to improve the sector’s capacity and resilience. In addition, the Commission aimed to foster professionalization by giving young musicians suitable career-building skills. This includes getting to know (trans)national legal frameworks and learning more about different music industry actors whose functions are often vague and subject to change.³⁹ What these programs do *not* include, is education related to the creation and performance of music. Rather than seeking ways to make the music landscape less complex, this approach thus suggests that artist have the best chance of survival if they conform to – in George Yúdice’s words – the

³⁵ “Calls for Proposals,” European Commission, accessed May 23, 2020, <https://ec.europa.eu/clima/funding>.

³⁶ “Calls for Tenders,” European Commission, accessed May 22, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/clima/tenders_en.

³⁷ Bob Jessop, “Multilevel Governance and Multilevel Metagovernance: Changes in the EU as Integral Moments in the Transformation and Reorientation of Contemporary Statehood,” *Multi-level Governance* 2, no. 1 (2004): 49–74.

³⁸ Nikolaos Zahariadis, “Ambiguity and Choice in European Public Policy,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, no. 4 (2008): 514–530.

³⁹ European Commission, *CfP: Training Scheme For Young Music Professionals*, 3–4.

expediency of culture.⁴⁰ Winning proposals had to be carried out by non-profit actors and could take the form of training schemes, fellowships, and mentorships. Out of 79 proposals, 10 projects received financial support.⁴¹ Beneficiaries had one year to carry out their ideas, and the Commission noted that it would use the results to create sector-specific support under the post-2020 *Creative Europe* program.⁴² The official end date for all projects was 31 December 2019, and the results are yet to be published as of this writing. In due course, scholars and policymakers might want to explore more in-depth who designed these programs and how. For now, the call exemplifies the Commission's overall aim of supporting musicians in their journey towards becoming resilient artist-entrepreneurs.

The second call for proposals reveals the ambiguity that comes with the PA's industry-oriented creativity frame. The call welcomed online and offline music distribution models with "the potential to increase the availability of European repertoire beyond mainstream hits."⁴³ Out of 51 proposals, the Commission ultimately selected 10 startups and initiatives that should help citizens discover various types of music made by European artists.⁴⁴ While most projects seem promising, the publication of the winners lacks transparency in multiple respects. First, the Commission does not elaborate on its choices of beneficiaries. The project descriptions are noticeably vague, and only one out of ten beneficiaries specifically engage with the live sector. It remains unclear why these ten projects are most fit to address the multitude of needs among artists and citizens – the two groups centered in the initial call for proposals. Second, any indication of the awarded financial support remains absent. According to the original call for proposals, each project would qualify for an allowance of maximum €30.000. However, the list of beneficiaries solely mentions the total cost of the projects and leaves the exact EU contributions unknown.⁴⁵ Moreover, the Commission neglects to ask broader but crucial questions: what do they mean by "European musics," and who gains what by supporting the cross-border circulation of this conception of European musics? What implications does it have to finance projects that curate – manually or through algorithms – particular views on the definition of European musics?

⁴⁰ George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

⁴¹ For the list of beneficiaries, see "Music Moves Europe – Training Scheme For Young Music Professionals," *European Commission*, accessed May 26, 2020, <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/calls/eac-s18-2018>.

⁴² "Music Moves Europe: Successful Applicants Selected for Training and Distribution Calls," *European Commission*, accessed April 2, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/content/music-moves-europe-successful-applicants-selected-training-and-distribution-calls_en.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *European Commission, Winning Projects for the Call for Proposals "Online and Offline Distribution"* (Brussels, 2019). Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/content/winning-projects-call-proposals-online-and-offline-distribution-mme_en.

⁴⁵ Information on the specific EU-contributions for this particular call, or any other call under the Preparatory Actions, could not be located by the author, despite extensive searching and knowledge of EU platforms. While this information may be accessible some place, the difficulty of accessing these materials signifies a shortage of transparency in this regard.

Unfortunately, these questions remain unaddressed. This affirms Sassatelli's observation that ambiguity in cultural policy is not a sign of weakness or confusion, but rather a necessary tool for actions aiming to profit from the symbolic nature of Europeanness.⁴⁶

In addition to the two calls for proposals, the Commission also published two calls for tenders to investigate industrial aspects of Europe's music sector. While calls for proposals offer grants to applications with promising proposals on a particular topic, calls for tenders are competitive "public procurement procedures to generate offers from companies competing for works, supply or service contracts."⁴⁷ The buyer – in this case the Commission – awards a public contract to the candidate with the best bid. The first call for tenders commissioned a study to develop an evidence-based *European Music Export Strategy (Export Strategy)* that stimulates the international competitiveness of Europe's music sector and promotes European artists beyond continental borders. The study should take into account the infrastructures and peculiarities of the different Member States. At the same time, it ought to examine "the relevant features of the most important international music markets (at least the US, Canada, one Asian and one African country)"⁴⁸ with the aims of identifying entry options and limiting factors for European repertoire. These inquiries should ultimately lead to recommendations for interventions at the national and EU levels.

The tender for an *Export Strategy* again emphasizes the economic orientation of *Music Moves Europe* in its initial stages. Contracted by the Commission, a consortium of le bureau export, KEA European Affairs, Factory 92 and the European Music Exporters Exchange published a 274-page *Export Strategy*.⁴⁹ The Commission and the *Export Strategy* report refer to music export not as the cross-border movement of music, artists, and audiences, but as the revenue streams generated by these movements.⁵⁰ By placing economic terminology front and center, the Commission frames the value of music export as a strictly financial matter. In doing so, it follows the economic orientation of the creativity frame pioneered by the *Europe 2020* strategy and the overarching *Creative Europe* program. This segment of the 2018 PA thus follows Florida's notion of the creative economy and exemplifies what Yúdice terms the expediency of culture.

The strategy's conclusions affirm this direction. The consortium mainly presented open doors: different member states employ different export strategies with mixed successes; regulatory constraints obstruct artists' attempts to export their music across national and continental

⁴⁶ Monica Sassatelli, "Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity Through EU Cultural Policy," *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 2 (2002): 446.

⁴⁷ "Contracts & Grants," European Commission, accessed July 4, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/clima/financing_en.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴⁹ le bureau export et al., *European Music Export Strategy*, 4.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

boundaries; music export offices do not have sufficient tools; and there is a lack of data collection with regard to the European music ecosystem. The cohort's proposed toolbox contained promising initiatives, including traineeships abroad for artists to learn more about the music sector; mentoring programs; resource centers; a co-creation fund and a marketing fund for artists. Ideas from the strategy's toolbox could ultimately be carried out through sectoral actions on music under the *Creative Europe* program. As such, they could contribute to a primary objective of *Music Moves Europe*: strengthening the sector's competitiveness.

While promising on paper, the *Export Strategy* seems to pay little attention to societal and industrial aspects that are inseparable from music export and crucial to *Music Moves Europe*'s overall objectives. For example, it omits thorough reflections on the online/offline divide – a central topic for the *Music Moves Europe* strategic initiative and vital to discussions on music export and musicking practices.⁵¹ Moreover, the study does not show any inquiry into the actual wishes and needs of artists with regard to music export, despite the overall aim of *Music Moves Europe* to empower artists. Subsequently, one of the most pressing matters remains unaddressed: if the Commission wants to increase the visibility of European artists, it should first boost the visibility of its own support mechanisms. Surely, training sessions can make artists more aware of the music ecosystem and existing opportunities for funding and education. But to access these tools, one needs to know about these training sessions in the first place. While the *Creative Europe* desk and other resources are readily available, the *AB Report* and ongoing dialogue sessions named visibility as a significant problem. In addition, artists and other stakeholders who do know how to navigate the EU's support structures still have to comply with lengthy and complex application processes. To increase the awareness about cultural policies and initiative – especially among people and countries in less-advantaged positions – is thus an essential first step towards implementing a successful export strategy that truly represents the diversity of the European music ecosystem. For “safeguard[ing] the diversity of European music” remains one of the formal core missions of *Music Moves Europe*.⁵²

We can deduct from the second call for tenders that the Commission frequently turns to the same partners to realize *Music Moves Europe*'s objectives. To explore the workability of a European Music Observatory, the Commission contracted policy research centers Panteia and KEA. The research centers were familiar with the *Music Moves Europe* initiative, as both participated in the founding *AB Group*. Moreover, KEA also worked on the *Export Strategy* and has been publishing EU-commissioned reports on the creative and cultural industries for almost two

⁵¹ European Commission, *Call for Proposals: Online and Offline Distribution*, 4.

⁵² European Commission, “Music Moves Europe.”

decades.⁵³ Whereas the expertise of both institutes made them compelling candidates for the job, one does wonder why the Commission publishes these calls for tenders when they continue to work with the same companies. This is especially remarkable when considering the trajectory that preceded the call for tenders. In an earlier EU-commissioned study, KEA already explored different ways of collecting data in creative industries other than the audiovisual.⁵⁴ KEA presented the results of this study at the *AB Music* dialogue meetings and suggested a European Music Observatory as one of three viable options. Other suggestions included improving the sustainability of Eurostat's current work, establishing a CCS Virtual Platform, and setting up a Creative Leadership Board to help with data collection.⁵⁵ In the *AB Report*, the Commission summarizes that dialogue participants clearly favored a thorough update of Eurostat data over a music observatory.⁵⁶ The Commission itself also considered the observatory highly ambitious and pointed out inevitable issues of human resources and budget. But with the aim of better detecting trends in the music industry and allowing for evidence-based policymaking, the Commission still wanted to explore its options. The results of the feasibility study, as well as a second lot on “market trends and gaps in funding needs for the music sector,” are yet to be published. In any case, the trajectory behind this call for tenders suggests that the Commission not only decides the topics addressed under the PA but also who gets to address them.

Altogether, the four calls discussed above represent *Music Moves Europe's* first actions in the decision-making phase. Through what Jessop terms meta-governance, the Commission determined the scope and direction of the calls to emphasize competitiveness, export, and economic worth as important aspects of the music ecosystem.⁵⁷ Subsequently, the PA fits well with the *New European Agenda for Culture* that focuses on the economic, external, and social dimensions of the cultural and creative industries.⁵⁸ It also ties into other broader policy initiatives and guidelines such as the 2016 Joint Communication from the European Commission and the High Representative “Towards an EU Strategy for International Cultural relations.”⁵⁹ Herewith, the Commission appears to follow the economic orientation of *Creative Europe* and the *Europe 2020* strategy. However, the perspectives of artists and citizens – as well as many other stakeholders –

⁵³ “Publications,” KEA, accessed May 27, 2020, <https://keanet.eu/publications/>.

⁵⁴ KEA, *Feasibility Study on Data Collection and Analysis in the Cultural and Creative Sectors in the EU* (Brussels, 2015). Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/culture/library/studies/ccs-feasibility-study_en.pdf.

⁵⁵ European Commission, *AB Report*, 26.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Jessop, “Multilevel Governance,” 49–74.

⁵⁸ European Commission, *A New European Agenda for Culture*, CELEX 52018DC0267 (Brussels, 2018), 2. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2018%3A267%3AFIN>.

⁵⁹ European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, *Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations*, CELEX 52016JC0029 (Brussels, 2016). Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=JOIN%3A2016%3A29%3AFIN>.

are often omitted from the first projects and studies. In addition, none of the four calls explicitly addresses the situatedness and heterogeneity of musicking practices. While the PA seems to incorporate broader EU-objectives, it remains unclear how and to what extent these actions will concretely benefit Europe’s music sector.

2019 Preparatory Action

In the 2019 budget, the Parliament reserved €3.000.000 for another *Music Moves Europe* PA.⁶⁰ With twice as many resources as its predecessor, the second PA applies a two-fold approach. First, it builds on the training and export initiatives proposed under the 2018 PA. Second, it explores new actions in the categories music venues; co-creation; health effects; and music education.⁶¹ The Commission published four calls for proposals and two calls for tenders, all to be carried out in 2019–2020 (see Table 6). In what follows, I analyze the different calls of the 2019 PA to reveal how they are informed by the Commission’s meta-governance. This inquiry again affirms the focus on the economy-oriented creativity frame, but also shows how *Music Moves Europe* simultaneously operates within the frame of what Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett term the “positive tradition.”⁶² It appears that to date, the PAs fall short on critical reflection on the assumptions that form their own foundation. To illustrate this claim, let us now consider the different calls in light of the broader *Music Moves Europe* strategy.

Total budget	Calls for proposals	Calls for tenders
€3 million	Professionalization and training	Export of European music
	Cooperation of small music venues	
	Music education and learning	Study on the health and wellbeing of music creators
	Co-creation and co-production	

Table 6 – Overview of calls for tenders and proposals under the *MME* 2019 Preparatory Action

The first call for proposals answers the demand from the *AB Report* to better support small music venues.⁶³ As Simon Frith already pointed out, small music venues occupy an important position in the music ecosystem and make live music accessible to local communities and cities.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ European Commission, *Brochure for Music Moves Europe Preparatory Action 2019* (Brussels, 2018). Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/library/mme_2019_brochure_final-web.pdf.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶² Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett, “Rethinking the Social Impacts of the Arts,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13, no. 2 (2007): 135.

⁶³ European Commission, *Call for Proposals Co-operation of Small Music Venues*, Ref. EAC/S17/2019 (Brussels, 2019), 4. Retrieved from [https://creativeurope.in.ua/storage/documents/30082019/EAC-S17-2019_-_Call_for_proposals_-Small_venues_update_230819%20\(2\).pdf](https://creativeurope.in.ua/storage/documents/30082019/EAC-S17-2019_-_Call_for_proposals_-Small_venues_update_230819%20(2).pdf).

⁶⁴ Simon Frith, “Live Music Matters,” *Scottish Music Review* 1, no. 1 (2007): 1–17.

Especially in the age of digitization, live music venues remain crucial catalysts for social interaction that allow individuals to create physical and emotional spaces for themselves. The Commission noted that these organizations face significant challenges due to “[t]he changing music consumption trends and the often challenging regulatory environment, coupled with urban development trends like gentrification.”⁶⁵ Their call for proposals aims to increase the resilience and competitiveness of small music venues, for “a well-functioning club scene is essential for a healthy music ecosystem and generates multiple cultural, economic and social benefits.”⁶⁶ The Commission hoped to achieve these goals by stimulating cooperation, both between small venues and between venues and urban authorities.

While the Commission’s initiative to help music venues is much-needed, its approach might not be the most effective. Some scholars argue that Florida’s notion of the creative economy – reflected in the *Music Moves Europe* strategy – is at the very foundation of gentrification and other factors that threaten live music venues today.⁶⁷ To attract members of the new creative class, numerous cities redesigned entire neighborhoods. These modifications have significant consequences for music venues, such as rent increases, new legal requirements, and a higher risk of sound complaints due to the density of neighbors. In addition, regeneration alters the composition of audience groups. This makes it harder for music venues to attract visitors: loyal audiences are pushed out of the area, and those who stay often have to reduce their spending on cultural and creative involvement due to higher living costs. Moreover, urban development strategies often disregard the situatedness and heterogeneity of musicking practices, especially with regard to genre.⁶⁸ In these processes, small music venues thus receive recognition for their symbolic value but not for their artistic value or role as a social place. The accessibility and affordability of these sites are crucial to the EU’s broader objectives, yet their significance for “urban identities” and citizens that do not belong to the creative class appears to be overlooked. An accumulation of these circumstances ultimately leads countless people from the non-creative classes to move away, and many venues to close. London, for example, saw 35% of its small music venues shut their doors between 2007 and 2015.⁶⁹ In earlier studies, Fabian Holt already pointed

⁶⁵ European Commission, *Call for Proposals: Co-operation of Small Music Venues*, 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁷ For one of the first publications to make this argument, see David Ley, “Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification,” *Urban Studies* 40, no. 12 (2003): 2527–2544. Stefan Grüll also discusses processes of gentrification in relation to specific music genres, see Stefan Grüll, “Building Cities on Basslines: How Techno Music Mediates Urban Space” (RMA Musicology thesis, Utrecht University, 2018).

⁶⁸ Grüll, “Building Cities on Basslines: How Techno Music Mediates Urban Space,” 7.

⁶⁹ The Mayor of London’s Music Venues Taskforce, *London’s Grassroots Music Venues* (London, 2015). Retrieved from https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/londons_grassroots_music_venues_-_rescue_plan_-_october_20152.pdf.

out similar developments in other Western European countries as well as the United States.⁷⁰ In his recent book *The New Urban Crisis* (2017), Florida himself also addresses gentrification and unaffordability as the dark sides that result from the growth of the creative cities.⁷¹ This is by no means a mea culpa on Florida's part, but rather a nuancing of his theory in which gentrification is reframed as decay rather than a sign of growth. In any case, gentrification remains part and parcel of the creative economy rationale that shows significant similarities to the EU's creativity frame for the cultural and creative industries.

The silver lining is that new alliances between the European and local levels – as pointed out earlier by Sassatelli – place the EU in a unique position to address the root of these problems.⁷² This requires *Music Moves Europe's* initiatives to look far beyond the traditional scope of the cultural and creative industries and include factors such as public transport and the affordability of housing. In other words, productively addressing the challenges of small music venues means extending Florida's call for tolerance to include not only the creative class, but all citizens. To do so, the Commission would have to acknowledge the sociocultural embeddedness of musicking in its discussions on music policy.

The calls for proposals on music education and co-creation/co-production further exemplify how the PAs disregard the situatedness and heterogeneity of musicking. In line with the *New European Agenda for Culture*, the Commission's call for proposals on music education emphasizes the socially transformative power of music with regard to enhancing creativity, fostering social inclusion and strengthening social competences.⁷³ Moreover, the Commission suggests that music education has the potential to stimulate economic competitiveness while “promoting personal fulfilment, development, and active citizenship.”⁷⁴ Conforming to the *AB Report*, *Europe 2020* targets and broader EU-objectives, the call specifically welcomes projects that stimulate social inclusion.⁷⁵ With this focus, the Commission aims to make music and music education accessible to children from “disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds, those from a migrant background or those with special needs.”⁷⁶ The call therewith joins initiatives with similar aims, such as the Sistema-inspired *Sistema Europe* that engages children in orchestral and ensemble

⁷⁰ Fabian Holt, “Rock Clubs and Gentrification in New York City: The Case of the Bowery Presents,” *LASPM@journal* 4, no. 1 (2013): 21–41 and Fabian Holt and Carsten Wergin, eds., *Musical Performance and the Changing City: Post-industrial Contexts in Europe and the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

⁷¹ Richard Florida, *The New Urban Crisis: Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality, and What We Can Do About It* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2017).

⁷² Monica Sassatelli, “The Arts, the State, and the EU: Cultural Policy in the Making of Europe,” *Social Analysis* 51, no. 1 (2007): 29.

⁷³ European Commission, *Call for Proposals: Music Education and Learning*, Ref. EAC/S53/2019 (Brussels, 2019), 3. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/content/music-education-and-learning_en.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁵ European Commission, *AB Report*, 55.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

music-making.⁷⁷ However, as illustrated by Geoffrey Baker’s pungent critique of *El Sistema*, assumptions about the transformative powers of music can also lead to highly problematic musicking environments.⁷⁸ The Commission does not challenge these assumptions in its call for proposals nor does it acknowledge the significance of social and environmental factors for the experience of music education. By emphasizing the transformative potential of music education without reflecting on its underlying assumptions, the Commission follows what Belfiore and Bennett refer to as the “positive tradition” of philosophical thinking on the impacts of the arts.⁷⁹

The Commission’s call for proposals on co-creation and co-production can be viewed in a similar light. With this action, the Commission intends to develop European co-production schemes that facilitate collaborations of international writing teams.⁸⁰ The available funds are not directly distributed among winning collaboration projects: applicants respond to the call with ideas for organizing settings (co-creation camps or residencies) that allow for collaborations. The final products of the different beneficiaries should be new musical materials and the overall aim of the call is to encourage creators to think beyond the borders of their nationalities and home genre.⁸¹ While the Commission is by no means the first to view collaboration as the way to solve differences, it does seem to overlook the fact that musicians do not speak some sort of universal language. Under unfitting circumstances, even well-meaning attempts at fostering music co-operation could be harmful for musicians and other individuals involved.⁸² The call for proposals does not acknowledge the significance of social and environmental factors for fostering productive collaborations. Yet again, the Commission thus affirms its affinity with the “positive tradition” of thinking about the impacts of the arts.

The Commission’s latest call for tenders under the 2019 PA supports a study on specific health concerns among musicians. In the call, the Commission points out that musicianship is a difficult profession that requires both psychological and physical resilience. The tender intends to find out musicians’ specific tasks and to examine the impact these demands create. Based on these findings, the resulting study should “map relevant national policies relating to culture, specifically music, health and education while also providing guidance for European cooperation and

⁷⁷ For more information on the Sistema Europe project, see “Sistema Europe,” Sistema Europe, accessed May 26, 2020, <https://www.sistemaeurope.org/>.

⁷⁸ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela’s Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁷⁹ Belfiore and Bennett, “Rethinking the Social Impacts of the Arts,” 135.

⁸⁰ European Commission, *Call for Proposals: Co-creation and Co-production Scheme for the Music Sector*, Ref. EAC/S18/2019 (Brussels, 2019), 3. Retrieved from https://creativeeurope.in.ua/storage/documents/15012020/Guidelines_MME_Co-prod.pdf.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸² Mark Katz arrives at similar conclusions in his study on US Hip Hop Diplomacy, see Mark Katz, *Build* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

support.”⁸³ The initiative for such an inquiry might have come from the Commission’s own policy officers, considering that dialogue participants did not mention “wellbeing” and “health” at all in the *AB Report*.⁸⁴ In addition to blurring the lines between the policy and funding pillars yet again, the Commission shows that the wellbeing and health of artists is crucial for the success of its creativity frame. Ultimately, the Commission hopes to use the study to contribute to a future of more resilient artist-entrepreneurs.

Overall, the Commission managed to construct a wide variety of different calls (see Table 5, 6). The 2018 and 2019 PAs involve different segments of the music ecosystem and lay the foundation for the construction of new institutes, funding frameworks, export strategies, and policy initiatives. With the exception of the action on music education, all calls focus on the entrepreneurial side of the music sector and use their language accordingly. This is fully in line with broader EU-objectives and policy statements, as well as with the creativity frame inspired by theories of Florida and others. At the same time, each call contains ambiguities or evokes questions about the intended execution and goals. This ambiguity is characteristic for the EU’s involvement in the cultural domain and allows the Commission to attract a wide range of projects while maintaining its economic orientation.⁸⁵ The execution of these PAs is still in-progress but will ultimately affect the course of *Music Moves Europe*. In the meantime, other music-related projects can seek funding through the overarching *Creative Europe* program.

Evaluating *Music Moves Europe*

The elaborate analysis of *Music Moves Europe*’s structure and actions allows us to reflect on the course it has sailed so far. To begin with, *Music Moves Europe* seems to be moving slower and less strict than its webpage suggests. On paper, the strategic initiative is structured along four pillars: policy, funding, legislative environment, and dialogue. In practice, only the dialogue pillar produced concrete actions under the *Music Moves Europe* label. The other three pillars mainly built on examples of actions carried out by other initiatives or proposed future aims. Moreover, the PAs suggest that the four pillars are more interconnected than implied on the *Music Moves Europe* webpage.

A closer look at the PAs also revealed how some issues and pillars are emphasized over others. The Commission sets the conditions for all actions under *Music Moves Europe*: from who is invited to participate in dialogue sessions, to what topics are discussed at those sessions and which

⁸³ European Commission, *Call for Tenders: Study on the Health and Wellbeing of Music Creators*, Ref. EAC/12/2019 (Brussels, 2019), 8. Retrieved from <https://etendering.ted.europa.eu/cft/cft-document.html?docId=63572>.

⁸⁴ European Commission, *AB Report*.

⁸⁵ Nikolaos Zahariadis, “Ambiguity and Choice in European Public Policy,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, no. 4 (2008): 514–530.

issues raised in the *AB Group* receive a call for proposals or tenders under the two PAs. In doing so, the Commission appears to continue the economic reasoning of the creativity frame. For instance, the *First Dialogue Report* emphasized the need for artists and music companies to be more business oriented. Several calls for proposals under the two PAs similarly aimed at the professionalization of artists with regard to marketability. It seems that through trainings, a new generation of artist-entrepreneurs should be more marketable and better equipped to navigate Europe's increasingly complex music ecosystem. Other calls for proposals and tenders also centered the economic orientation of the creativity frame. Examples include the studies into music export, as well as commissioning a study on the wellbeing of music creators based on "the social and economic benefits that come with addressing the health risks and concerns of people in the music sector."⁸⁶ Soaked in economic jargon, the first PAs and dialogues thus appear to view Europe's music ecosystem as an investment with social and economic pay-offs.

While the four interconnected pillars of *Music Moves Europe* all seem to be in service of the economic character of the creativity frame, most dimensions are yet to deliver concrete results. The policy pillar has not produced any policy proposals beyond its inclusion in the Council's *Work Plan for Culture*. The legislative pillar is not supported by any *Music Moves Europe* actions, and the dialogue sessions also have not led to any concrete results beyond their own existence. The funding dimension allowed for the industry-oriented PAs and referenced the successes of other funding mechanisms for increasing the overall revenue in the music sector. Yet in doing so, it does not address the potentially negative consequences of loans and project-based funding under *Creative Europe* for artists and SMBs. All things considered, *Music Moves Europe* takes its words from the "positive tradition" but has not yet turned them all into actions.

Meanwhile, highlighting achievements seems to be a significant part of the *Music Moves Europe*. The pillars of the strategic initiative are each supported by examples of successful actions, some accredited to *Music Moves Europe* but the majority achieved by other EU initiatives. *Music Moves Europe* therewith seems to conform to the broader EU focus on measurable impact. Usually, Impact Assessments (IAs) determine *ex ante* the intended impact of particular policy actions in the decision-making phase.⁸⁷ From the implementation phase onwards, policy initiatives are under significant pressure for quality control and ought to prove the achievement of tangible results. Because strategic initiatives do not have IAs and evaluations of their own, *Music Moves Europe* builds on the IA of *Creative Europe*. *Creative Europe*'s IA has an economic orientation and focusses on cost-

⁸⁶ European Commission, *Call for Tenders: Health and Wellbeing of Music Creators*, 10.

⁸⁷ "Impact Assessments," European Commission, accessed July 17, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/law-making-process/planning-and-proposing-law/impact-assessments_en.

effectiveness and efficiency.⁸⁸ To grow and develop its PAs into more concrete and solidified actions, *Music Moves Europe* has to show its significance within the context of this IA. As David Hesmondhalgh and Andy Pratt have shown, such circumstances sometimes lead policymakers to adopt a more inclusive definition of the cultural and creative industries to “argue that the sector is perhaps more economically significant than it really is.”⁸⁹ *Music Moves Europe* similarly appears to present itself as more impactful than it currently is by actively claiming successes that are not necessarily tied to the strategic initiative. This explains the discrepancy between the acclaimed results on the Commission’s official webpage for the framework, and the actual *Music Moves Europe* actions. The strategic initiative thus aims to promote itself within the EU’s cultural policy environment by highlighting on economic objectives and achievements of EU actions – regardless of whether these actually derive from *Music Moves Europe* itself.

In this manner, the initial stages of *Music Moves Europe* follow the paradigm shift initiated by *Creative Europe*. This shift can be described through Florida’s overall notion of the creative economy, as well as trends such as festivalization and project-based attitudes towards the cultural and creative industries. *Music Moves Europe* thus successfully seizes the momentum of the open policy windows discussed in Chapter One. The first window was opened by the *Europe 2020* strategy and a broader move towards the expediency of culture and was used for the introduction of *Creative Europe*. When *Creative Europe* did not meet the specific needs of the music sector, *Music Moves Europe* utilized a second policy window that addressed these shortcomings and simultaneously supported the European music sector.

Yet while *Music Moves Europe* aims to address specific needs of the European music industry, its economic objectives are sometimes pursued with little attention to the situatedness of music production and consumption. Despite the fact that a multitude of stakeholders, challenges, and solutions was identified early on in the *AB Music Working Group* dialogues, the decision-making processes primarily engaged intermediary actors. While one of the key targets is to create resilient artist-entrepreneurs, artists are rarely involved in policymaking processes. Instead, artists – alongside citizens – are framed as passive recipients of *Music Moves Europe*’s support and only receive indirect aid through the program’s actions. The initial phases thus do not center the voices of artists and citizens, despite suggestions in the Council’s *Work Plan for Culture* and the *AB Report* to place these groups at “the heart of any policy-making or instrument-making process in order to address the imbalances of the music market.”⁹⁰ Ultimately, the question arises whether this

⁸⁸ “Evaluations,” European Commission, accessed June 30, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/evaluations_en.

⁸⁹ David Hesmondhalgh and Andy Pratt, “Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11, no. 1 (2005): 6.

⁹⁰ European Commission, *AB Report*, 14.

approach accurately addresses artists' needs: is empowering artists truly a key objective of *Music Moves Europe*, or is empowering artists the means to a different end? By prioritizing economic revenue over the societal and intrinsic value of music, *Music Moves Europe* risks turning its back to people's personal environments and experiences. In other words, this approach obliterates the subjectivity of culture and the fact that creativity is not always related to competitiveness.

The exclusion of these perspectives and actors suggests that *Music Moves Europe* might not be as effective in its current state. Moreover, without actively addressing these issues, the program's creativity frame could have unintended but negative repercussions. The report of the first dialogue conference framed ecological arguments as a "threat in particular to the live industry" rather than an opportunity to encourage a more sustainable music ecosystem.⁹¹ The PAs disregarded the complexities of gentrification in relation to small music venues. And the call for co-creation appears to favor a notion of music as a universal language over the particularities of co-operation that comes with musicking practices. The situatedness of musicking practices is not only significant for fostering a sense of European belonging and legitimizing the EU as an authoritative force, but it is also a key element for bringing out music's economic worth. In line with Pratt's argument, *Music Moves Europe* thus ought to take into account not only the breadth, but also the depth of the music sector. To fully explore the social as well as economic objectives of EU music policy, specific and targeted actions that center the subjective and situated experiences of artists – as well as other citizens from the creative class and beyond – are much needed.

Conclusion

Music Moves Europe builds on the contents of an imaginary garbage can filled with different stakeholders, problems, and solutions. In this chapter, I examined how the Commission balanced these elements in the decision-making phase of *Music Moves Europe's* policy cycle. The Commission addressed the concerns of different stakeholders through four interconnected pillars and a set of PAs. An analysis of these actions suggests that the decision-making phase maintains the economic orientation put forward in the processes of agenda-setting. The balance between culture's potential to generate economic revenue and to foster specific identities – the dual rationale justifying EU-involvement in the creative and cultural industries – is tilted to the economic side: *Music Moves Europe* frames artists as artist-entrepreneurs; citizens as neoliberal consumers with high demands; and the music industry as the provider of jobs and economic growth. The initiative thus addresses specific needs articulated by music industry stakeholders during the *AB Music Dialogue*, seemingly

⁹¹ European Commission, *First Dialogue Meeting*, 9.

with the aim of increasing the industry's competitiveness and economic worth. As such, the initial stages of *Music Moves Europe* follow the paradigm shift initiated by *Creative Europe*.

However, choosing to focus on economic objectives also means that other aspects remain unexplored. While *Music Moves Europe* aspires to support specific needs of the European music industry, its economic objectives are sometimes pursued with little attention to the situatedness of music production and consumption. Throughout this chapter, I aimed to show how this approach obliterates the subjectivity of culture and the fact that creativity is not always related to competitiveness. I suggested that future actions under the *Music Moves Europe* strategic initiative would benefit from a consideration of what Pratt calls the depth as well as breadth of the music industry. This would include acknowledgement of the situatedness and heterogeneity of musicking. It would also include centering the voices of citizens, artists, and SMBs, as suggested in both the Council's *Work Plan for Culture* and the *AB Report*. Without these perspectives and actors, *Music Moves Europe* and its creativity frame might not be as effective and could even have unintended but negative repercussions for artists, citizens, and other actor groups that appear to have less bargaining power.⁹²

At the same time, we must also acknowledge the inevitability of flaws in such an early stage of a new policy initiative. As Nikolaos Zahariadis points out, broad and ambiguous policy objectives obstruct effectiveness in early stages of EU policymaking.⁹³ Moreover, processes of framing extend well beyond the initial phase of agenda-setting and also encompass the subsequent policy phases. In choosing how to design actions and calls under *Creative Europe*, solutions often appear to chase problems rather than the other way around. The tools and approaches put forward in this phase of decision-making ultimately determine which problems will be addressed. As such, the early stages of *Music Moves Europe* thus exemplify what Yúdice terms the expediency of culture. Numerous stakeholders attempted to frame music in such a way to fit their objectives and solutions. In this context, as Zahariadis writes, "bias and the power to dominate the process become more important elements of the process than traditional notions of efficiency and effectiveness."⁹⁴ Ultimately, the challenges and points for reflection that arose in this chapter can only be addressed in a later stage of the policy cycle that focuses on evaluation.

Ensuring a balanced *unity in diversity* while combining economic and social tolerance thus remains an ongoing challenge for the EU's culture programs, and *Music Moves Europe* is no exception. As we saw in Chapter One, the speed and complexity of EU policy processes renders the idea of a flawless culture program next to impossible. Still, the processes of agenda-setting and

⁹² European Commission, *AB Report*.

⁹³ Zahariadis, "Ambiguity and Choice," 526.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

decision-making form the foundation for implementing new cultural policy. Since *Music Moves Europe* is still in its earliest stages, only time will tell how these processes will play out. But we may be able to find initial glimpses in the *MMETA* – the unofficial fifth pillar of the program that has been up and running since 2018. Chapter Three discusses the EU Music Prize in-depth to get an impression of what the implementation of an EU-wide approach to music might look like.

Chapter Three: Representing “the European Sound of Today and Tomorrow” at the *Music Moves Europe Talent Awards*

It appears that today, almost every form of cultural expression is celebrated by some sort of prize. From their outset – and increasingly so since the 1980s – European institutions have been involved in the domain of culture awards.¹ The most recent addition to the family of EU prizes is the *Music Moves Europe Talent Awards (MMETA)* – a specific *Music Moves Europe* action. The reboot of the *European Border Breakers Awards (EBBA)* aims to celebrate “emerging artists who represent the European sound of today and tomorrow.”² In this final chapter, I explore how the *MMETA* contribute to the broader *Music Moves Europe* objectives. A qualitative case study of the awards will reveal how the EU’s new music policy might be turned into practice in the implementation phase. By connecting James English’s theorization of the *economy of prestige* to the EU’s history of governance by prizes, I trace how multiple fields, values, and capitals come together in the new EU music prize. I then consider the initial stages of the *MMETA* in more detail, asking how and for whom it strives to represent “the European sound of today and tomorrow.” In other words, I ask who gets to decide what European music entails, who qualifies as “up-and-coming European artists,” and why these processes and contexts matter for *Music Moves Europe*.

Two main findings emerge from this study. First, I observe that ambiguity is an integral part of awards’ creation and implementation. Criteria for the selection of jury members, nominees, and award winners remain unclear. In addition, the concept of European sound is largely reduced to vague and wide catchphrases. The subtleties of different musics and their respective histories, performance practices, modes of consumption, and ties to identity remain unaddressed in the official *MMETA* documents, selection criteria, and social media outlets. Second, the *MMETA* do not appear to meet the Commission’s intended objectives with regard to visibility. While a high degree of visibility and publicity among citizens and artists was a specific objective for the new music prize, the first two editions received little media attention and were hardly accessible to citizens. The *MMETA* seem to function not as a media event but as a site for promoting marketable artists among industrial stakeholders. As such, the initial implementation of the *MMETA* corroborates the conclusions from Chapters One and Two. The *MMETA* – as part of

¹ François Foret and Oriane Calligaro, “Governing by Prizes: How the European Union Uses Symbolic Distinctions in its Search for Legitimacy,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 26, no. 9 (2019): 1335.

² “About,” *Music Moves Europe Talent Awards*, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://musicmoveseuropetalentawards.eu/about/>.

the broader *Music Moves Europe* initiative – uphold an economic orientation towards the marketability of artists and reflects this focus in its criteria for selecting nominees, as well as its apparent target audience. This approach, I suggest, bypasses the people who facilitate and stimulate economic growth: the artists who compose and perform music, and the citizens who support artists by visiting concerts, buying merchandise, and streaming albums online. In other words, the ambiguity and highly industrial orientation of the *MMETA* – and *Music Moves Europe* more broadly – could obstruct the initiatives’ effectivity in the long run.

The Circulation of Values, Capitals, and Fields in the Domain of Art Prizes

The sole notion of art prizes makes some of us uncomfortable. The idea that art is a competition from which a definite winner must arise appears to oppose the belief that art is somehow pure and independent of societal factors. Viewed this way, prizes seem to impose value onto an artist or their repertoire rather than follow the *l’art pour l’art* notion that understands the value of art as intrinsic to an artwork. Yet, the abundance of art prizes suggests some degree of familiarity and appreciation: awarding prizes has become a habitual act essential to what Howard Becker famously termed *art worlds*.³ How do this familiarity and strangeness come together in contemporary prizes? What roles do prizes play in contemporary art worlds? And what do prizes reveal about the connections between money, politics, temporal dimensions, social dimensions, and the “pure” artistic realm?

James English asks these questions in his pioneering book *The Economy of Prestige* (2005). He points to the growing trade in dematerialized products as the main incentive for the rise of arts prizes. This trend makes artistic prestige and other symbolic goods catalysts for growth of the global economy. English is particularly interested in how prestige is produced within the context of awards. On the one hand, the etymological roots of prizes lead to exchange and money.⁴ On the other hand, the notion of a prize resembles a gift. The rituals of award shows differ from purely economic transactions, making it impossible to reduce a prize to economic and monetary concerns. In other words, “generosity, celebration, love, play, community, are as real a part of the cultural prize as are marketing strategy and self-promotion.”⁵ Hence, English suggests expanding the notion of economics in such a way that it includes patterns of symbolic and cultural interactions.

This approach resembles what Goethe already called “the market of general intellectual

³ James English, *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Cultural Value* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 110; and Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 141–142; 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

commerce,” and builds on Bourdieu’s suggestion to “extend economic calculation to all the goods, material and symbolic.”⁶ Bourdieu’s ideas lend themselves exceptionally well to the topic of cultural prizes, and English applies his terminology when discussing relations between different capitals and fields. Capital, in the Bourdieuan sense, refers to “anything that registers as an asset, and can be put profitably to work, in one or another domain of human endeavor.”⁷ Each field has its own ways of operating based on specific forms of capital. While distinct, they all belong to what Bourdieu terms a *general economy of practices*.⁸ All capital exists in connection to their own field, but also in relation to other fields and different forms of capital. In practice, this means that groups of stakeholders bring different mixes of capitals to the table to negotiate different interests and strive for different kinds of value and power.

The processes surrounding awards and prizes allow for high degrees of such *capital intraconversions*.⁹ Indeed, English argues that prizes are “the single best instrument for negotiating transactions between cultural and economic, cultural and social, or cultural and political capital.”¹⁰ All stakeholders enable this intraconversion, from artists to judges and from sponsors to audiences. Artists, for example, gain symbolic capital by winning an award. They can then use this symbolic capital to secure more festival bookings, in return for economic capital – or money. The booker invests economic capital to book an artist with symbolic capital for its festival. The festival, in turn, increases in symbolic value, which leads to more economic capital for the organizers through more ticket sales, more consumption of foods drinks, and so on. These trades are all based on agreements of value: how much economic capital, for example, is an artist’s symbolic prestige worth?

The distinctions made in processes of capital intraconversions make prizes particularly fit for the creative industries. In *Performing Rites* (1998), Simon Frith argues that judging music and identifying differences are crucial elements of popular music culture. He builds on similar arguments made by Bourdieu but points out that these ideas are not exclusive to what some call high culture: “the fact that the objects of judgment are different doesn’t mean that the processes of judgment are.”¹¹ These judgements are inherently context dependent. While entertainment prizes often lay claim to universality and objectivity, institutional circumstances and interests ensure that such ideals remain far out of reach.¹² English suggests that in analyzing prizes, we

⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁷ Ibid., 9.

⁸ Ibid., 9.

⁹ Ibid., 287. *Capital intraconversions* is the term English uses to describe the processes outlined above.

¹⁰ Ibid., 10.

¹¹ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 17.

¹² Ibid., 4.

should thus take into account “the high ideals and good faith of many of its participants, while also recognizing that those ideals and that faith are themselves part of a social system of competitive transaction and exchange which prizes serve and by means of which all cultural value is produced.”¹³

Taken together, Bourdieu, English, and Frith reveal patterns of different interests and values that come together in arts prizes. Moreover, they show how the institutional context of prizes conditions processes of capital intraconversion and value creation. In the case of the *MMETA*, this is no different. Before moving on to an in-depth analysis of the award itself, let us thus examine the new EU music prize within its institutional context. In the first place, the *MMETA* are part of the *Music Moves Europe* strategic initiative – which in turn is also situated within broader EU institutions and strategies. In addition, the *MMETA* are also part of a larger group of EU arts prizes. But why did the Commission turn to the prize format in the first place? To grasp how the *MMETA* complement the objectives of *Music Moves Europe*, we must first consider the EU’s engagement with arts prizes as a means of cultural policy.

Why a European Prize for Music?

European institutions have been handing out awards and accolades for decades. The number of culture prizes associated with Europe steadily grew from the 1980s onwards and peaked in the 2000s. François Foret and Oriane Calligaro discuss how these symbolic distinctions are part of a longstanding technique of governance by prizes.¹⁴ The authors show that European prizes initially emerged in fields in which the EU had big ambitions but limited competences and financial resources: politics, culture, human rights and research. In the structures of these awards, Foret and Calligaro observe two ways of governing by prizes. The first is *governing by praise*: honoring someone or something ex-posed based on past accomplishments.¹⁵ The second is *governing with a prize*. In this case, monetary or material prizes are awarded ex-ante to help realize a proposed project with perceived potential. As one would expect, the two largely overlap in practice. The authors suggest that in any case, EU prizes serve at least one out of three purposes. First, they can function as tools for establishing authority and the centrality of the giver. Prizes can legitimize values articulated by the giver, and position prize recipients as exemplifiers of those values. Second, they can mobilize civil society and bring together different kinds of private and individual interests. In

¹³ English, *The Economy of Prestige*, 7–8.

¹⁴ Foret and Calligaro, “Governing by Prizes.”

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1336.

other words, they create incentives and compliance for recipients. Third, prizes can serve as public policy constructions for tackling social problems.¹⁶

The family of EU culture prizes and distinctions expanded significantly over the last three decades.¹⁷ Accomplishments in the European music sector also received more recognition on the EU level. In 2004, the EU introduced an award for music: the *EBBA*. This award sought not only to unite people, but to help emerging European artists develop their careers and circulate their music across borders. It is this event that was eventually redesigned under the *Music Moves Europe* initiative. In line with the *European Agenda for Culture*, the Commission's website reads that it aims to "promote cultural diversity and dialogue, culture as a catalyst for creativity and innovation and culture as part of the EU's international relations."¹⁸ To this end, the text continues, EU culture prizes and actions hope to "promote, recognise, and reward sites, works, artists, organisations, and cities that contribute to these aims."¹⁹ As such, the EU award for contemporary and popular music neatly fits into a larger narrative of governance by prizes, aimed at establishing legitimacy and centrality of the EU and highlighting its broader institutional objectives.

Evaluations of the *EBBA*'s selection procedures revealed that the platform fell short on the Commission's aim of promoting and celebrating a diverse musical landscape in Europe. Angela Medendorp, for example, remarked that the *EBBA* displayed significant imbalances in both the cultural and linguistic diversity of the winners.²⁰ Between 2004 and 2018, 79.7% of the *EBBA* winners performed exclusively in English and a handful of Western European countries received notably more wins than others.²¹ In addition, Medendorp concluded, the *EBBA*'s selection processes were incomprehensible to the broader public because of their dependence on many different variables. According to the *EBBA* website, winners were chosen based on airplay, sales, and the number of live performances in Europe. Data for these factors came from the European Border Breakers Charts; the European Broadcasting Union; EBU radio stations; festivals participating in the European Talent Exchange Programme; and research conducted by Nielsen Music Control.²² This information was only partly accessible to the public, and it was unclear how much weight was put on each variable. Moreover, the organization did not explain how these

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Prizes," European Commission, accessed June 2, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions_en.

¹⁸ "European Prizes and Initiatives," European Commission, accessed May 10, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions_en.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Angela Medendorp, "Breaking Down Borders? Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in the European Border Breakers Awards 2004-2018," in *Where Is Europe? Reshaping, Replacing, and Reordering Europe*, ed. by Janny de Jong, Marek Neuman, and Margriet van der Waal (Groningen: Euroculture Consortium, 2019), 85.

²¹ Ibid., 86.

²² "This is EBBA," European Border Breakers Awards, accessed June 20, 2020, <https://www.europeanborderbreakersawards.eu/en/info/>.

factors ultimately translated into actual winners: were the final decisions made by people, and if so, how and by whom? Altogether, Medendorp writes, these shortcomings appeared to reinforce the perceived dominance of Western Europe and the English language. While the concept of a European music prize has thus been around for over a decade, the execution remained a work in progress.

The Commission eventually reached similar conclusions: the launch of *Music Moves Europe* in 2015 went hand-in-hand with a reorganization of the *EBBA*. In a twenty-six-page call for proposals, the Commission sought a new partner to organize the *EBBA*'s successor in 2019, 2020, and 2021.²³ The Commission wrote that

[t]here is potential for the prize to do more and better, notably in developing its contribution to the economy of the music industry and strengthening European identity, participatory democracy, and creativity. The prize should give appropriate answers to what emerging artists need, what music professionals look for and what music fans like.²⁴

The Commission's quest hints at processes of Europeanization as well as the dual rationale underlying the EU's involvement in the cultural and creative industries.²⁵ The new awards ought to stimulate the economic growth of Europe's music sector and simultaneously legitimize the EU as an institution by strengthening European identity. Following the Commission's call, different actors attempted to secure the award show. One of the most notable competitors was the Dutch city of Groningen. After intense but successful lobbying by the city of Groningen in Brussels, the *EBBA* moved from Cannes to Groningen's Eurosonic Noorderslag (ESNS) festival in 2009.²⁶ Persuading EU officials in Brussels turned out to be a fruitful move for Groningen. According to a report by Hendrik Beerda Brand Consultancy, ESNS's profits rose from €1.7 million in 2011 to over €4.7 million in 2018.²⁷ This, in turn, led to higher turnovers for the local hotel and catering industry as well as other small local businesses.²⁸ The municipality of Groningen affirmed this

²³ European Commission, *Call for Proposals: Organisation and Administration of the EU Prize for Popular and Contemporary Music*, Ref. EAC/S26/2017 (Brussels, 2018). Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/eac-2018-00032-00-00-en-rev-00_final.pdf.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁵ I explain these terms earlier on in the theoretical framework.

²⁶ European Commission, and Ecorys, *Study on the Impact of the EU Prizes for Culture* (2013), 56–57. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/library/eu-culture-prizes-study_en.pdf.

²⁷ "Economische waarde en merkkracht ESNS stijgt spectaculair," Eurosonic Noorderslag, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://esns.nl/merkkracht/>.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

statement, in line with its own *Cultuurstad Groningen, City of Talent 2017–2020* initiative and other city policies.²⁹ English similarly suggests that awards and other competitive spectacles draw significant attention to the host location, be it a country, city, or neighborhood.³⁰ It is not surprising then, that Groningen was particularly eager to remain host of the new European Music Prize. In addition to ESNS's application, Groningen city council members De Rook and Brouns wrote a letter to the Commission.³¹ In this letter, the municipality and province of Groningen each promised to donate €100.000 annually to the Award Shows, on top of ESNS's resources. The Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science also agreed to provide additional resources with the aims of “establishing The Netherlands as a bright, skillful and creative country.”³²

The actions of the Groningen cohort exemplify city diplomacy, a phenomenon that has become part and parcel of the EU political realm. As Teresa La Porte and Beata Surmacz point out, city diplomacy moves beyond solely promoting a geographic domain as a brand but actively centers the interests of citizenry.³³ La Porte explains that city diplomacy often encompasses processes of public diplomacy where cities use their power to influence – or soft power – to negotiate agreements with EU institutions. By emphasizing their potential to help spread a unified and positive image of the EU, cities increasingly attempt to offer solutions to international political challenges. In the case of Groningen, the lobbying proved successful. The cohort eventually managed to persuade the Commission: before the call had even officially ended, news reports documented that Groningen signed an agreement to host the new *MMETA* until at least 2021.³⁴

By accepting to host the awards, Groningen promised to create an enhanced version of the *EBBA*. The Commission placed collaborations with European digital services platforms particularly high on the agenda, explaining that European content is less visible on streaming platforms than Anglo-American content and that the difficulty to access musical content perpetuates the fragmentation of European music markets.³⁵ The renewed *Talent Awards* should

²⁹ Gemeente Groningen, *Cultuurstad Groningen, City of Talent 2017–2020* (2016). Retrieved from <https://gemeente.groningen.nl/sites/default/files/cultuurnota-def-losbladig-hr.pdf>. For more information on the culture policies of the Municipality of Groningen, see <https://gemeente.groningen.nl/cultuurbeleid-en-cultuuronderwijs>.

³⁰ English, *The Economy of Prestige*, 51.

³¹ “Stad en provincie binden EU Music Prize langer aan Eurosonic/Noorderslag,” *Dagblad van het Noorden*, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/Stad-en-provincie-binden-EU-Music-Prize-langer-aan-EurosonicNoorderslag-23099246.html>.

³² “Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur, en Wetenschap,” Rijksoverheid, accessed May 11, 2020, <https://www.government.nl/ministries/ministry-of-education-culture-and-science>.

³³ Teresa La Porte, “City Public Diplomacy in the European Union,” *European Public Diplomacy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 85–111 and Beata Surmacz, “City Diplomacy,” *Regional Barometer Analyses & Prognoses* 16, no. 1 (2018): 7–18.

³⁴ *Dagblad van het Noorden*, “Stad en provincie binden EU Music Prize langer aan Eurosonic/Noorderslag.”

³⁵ European Commission, *Call for Proposals: Organisation and Administration of the EU Prize for Popular and Contemporary Music*, 3.

create collaborations with digital platforms to bridge this divide, both when promoting winners and helping them foster their careers. In addition, the organization was tasked to develop a “solid and reliable mechanism” for selecting nominees based on both qualitative and quantitative data.³⁶ This system includes the formation of a steering committee of Commission representatives and international jury members that monitors and validates the selection processes. These enhancements ought to ensure geographic and – in so far as possible – linguistic diversity among nominees.³⁷ The Commission also asks that all winners receive a tailored business training program that includes access to conferences and festivals, as well as coaching sessions with professionals and networking opportunities. The organization has to carry out communication and branding activities throughout the year to construct a high-profile award ceremony. Altogether, the Commission expects the renewed *Talent Awards* to promote and celebrate European repertoire while reaching out to new – particularly young – audiences with “positive messages about European values.”³⁸ And although Groningen organized the outdated *EBBA* for eight years without delivering the desired results, the Commission deemed ESNS most capable of achieving these goals through the new *MMETA*.³⁹

EBBA 2.0: Rebooting the European Music Prize

Creating a new prize is by no means an easy task. For one, administrators have to convince nominees to attend the event and receive their prize. If artists do not show up, their absence negatively affects the climax of the award show. English explains that well-known artists possess symbolic value which they can transfer onto the prize they receive, in return for economic or other types of values.⁴⁰ Hence, organizers need to contemplate what they can provide and what type of artists would respond to those incentives. In their first years, English writes, awards need large cash prizes to attract artists with a lot of symbolic but less monetary value. Once artists’ symbolic capital transfers onto the prize, by showcasing previous winners or inviting them back as judges, prize money becomes less important because the award has more symbolic value. As part of the *MMETA* ceremony, award winners are scheduled to perform in the city of Groningen after the show. In addition, lists of previous winners are promoted on the *MMETA*’s official pages and 2019 *MMETA* winner Steinunn Jónsdóttir (from the Icelandic group Reykjavíkurdætur) served as

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁹ This discontinuance of the *EBBA*, as explained earlier, primarily derives from the Commission’s observation in its CFP that “there is potential for the prize to do more and better” (3).

⁴⁰ English, *The Economy of Prestige*, 123.

a judge on this year's jury panel. The initial phases of the new *MMETA* are thus crucial to the prize's future success.

Each award also needs a strong narrative. John Street points out that these narratives consist of several phases.⁴¹ Judges and prize money are usually the first factors to be announced. What often follows is a shortlist of candidates, and ultimately an award ceremony. Some prizes incorporate additional phases, such as a longlist preceding the shortlist. The timing of these phases is important and impacts the degree of media attention to which I will return later. How an organization constructs and plans the broader narrative of an award thus sets the conditions for its success. This is no different for the *MMETA*. In some respects, the *MMETA* follow the initial *EBBA* narrative. The *MMETA* continue the prize format based on both regular and public choice awards, and conclude with an award show at ESNS. The *MMETA* organization made several changes to the *EBBA* narrative, especially with regard to the procedures for selecting nominees and winners. The *MMETA* website outlines this “complex but well balanced” process.⁴² Between May and July in the year preceding the awards, a selection committee compiles a list of up-and-coming artists who meet the *MMETA*'s eligibility criteria.⁴³ As an enhancement of the *EBBA* procedures, the selection committee also welcomes recommendations from European music professionals in the network of the Commission. For the 2020 edition, 179 professionals from 31 European countries recommended artists for the so-called grosslist. The selection committee then divides the artists into eight genre-based longlists to “maximise the diversity in musical styles.”⁴⁴

The webpage omits any details about how the selection committee makes these genre categorizations, or which genres they consider. The 2020 edition did not reference genre lists at all, and the 2019 editions featured only six genres.⁴⁵ These inventories eventually form the basis for a shortlist. Eligible artists receive additional points for “registered (ETEP) festival performances,” as well as the number of times they were recommended by professionals and the number of countries that they are actively building a career in.⁴⁶ This list is thereafter adjusted to provide an equal representation of gender and nationality. The minutiae of this process, however,

⁴¹ John Street, “Showbusiness of a Serious Kind?: A Cultural Politics of the Arts Prize,” *Media, Culture & Society* 27, no. 6 (2005): 832.

⁴² “Selection Process,” Music Moves Europe Talent Awards, accessed May 11, 2020, <https://musicmoveseuropetalentawards.eu/about/>.

⁴³ The members of the steering committee are not listed on the website, but only seem to be involved in data research.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ “Music Moves Europe Talent Awards 2019: 12 Winners Selected,” European Commission, accessed May 12, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/content/music-moves-europe-talent-awards-2019-12-winners-selected_en.

⁴⁶ ETEP refers to the European Talent Exchange Programme, an initiative created by *MMETA* host ESNS and co-funded by *Creative Europe*. For more information on the initiative, see “ETEP,” ETEP, accessed July 22, 2020, <https://etep.nl/intro/>.

remain ambiguous. The final nominees are selected based on their accomplishments on Soundcharts, a commercial platform that maps international artist data varying from airplay, charts, social media, and playlists. This shortlist is ultimately presented during the Nominees Revelation Night at the Reeperbahn Festival in Hamburg and commences the voting campaign for the *MMETA Public Choice Award*. The expansion of the selection criteria through the employment of different lists, as well as the announcement of the shortlist at a separate event, are both additions to the initial *EBBA* narrative.

The *MMETA* narrative also reveals how an award's structure balances various kinds of values. As Street points out, prizes choose their winners based on different elements. For example, the *Mercury Prize* solely considers recorded music while the *Brit Awards* also take artists' reputation and history into account.⁴⁷ The *MMETA* too take multiple factors into account. Its shortlist, for instance, aims to represent different regions, genders, nationalities and genres. The value attached to these different aspects in turn influences the structure and narrative of the award: if an award attaches value to national diversity among winners, then the selection procedure should tailor to this aim. Arts prizes thus choose their winners based not only on the assessment of a particular work or repertoire, but also on measurable results. In the case of the *MMETA*, this includes quantitative data on artists' social media presence, airplay, visibility in charts, and registered festival performances. Ultimately, successful nominees are those that comply with the values put forward by the selection criteria.

Contemplating these different values is commonplace when evaluating popular music. Frith points out that sales figures, music charts, and other statistics have a growing impact on how music is valued and discussed in contemporary markets and popular cultural history.⁴⁸ Consequently, Frith suggests, popular culture is often unrightfully equated with market choice. Even if such statistics are accurate, they do not reveal *why* people engage with particular artists and musics nor how people experienced these encounters. In other words, market choices – or what “sells” – is not necessarily the same as what is “popular.” For an inquiry into the latter, one would need to engage in qualitative measures of audience research to learn more about the subjective perspectives and experience of listener. Such an enterprise is complex and time-consuming, and perhaps does not hold a priority for the organizing parties. Still, this friction between different ways of measuring the value of artists and musics impacts the structure – or narrative – of the *MMETA*.

One example is how the *MMETA* define the ambiguous notion of “upcoming artist in the

⁴⁷ John Street, “Awards, Prizes and Popular Taste: Organizing the Judgement of Music,” in *Popular Music Matters: Essays in Honour of Simon Frith*, ed. Lee Marshall and Dave Laing (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 190.

⁴⁸ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 15.

music industry.” According to *MMETA* guidelines, all nominees must aspire to an international career and have a tour record outside of their home countries. In addition, the artists’ first release cannot be older than 36 months. Nominees are thus selected based on statistics measurements, as is often the case in the realm of popular music. However, these criteria do not account for the fact that the “emerging artist” label takes on different meanings in different musical genres and traditions. As Frith points out, market statistics do not acknowledge that music is produced and consumed in various ways. For example, the selection requirement of an international live tour only counts the number of accredited performances without considering venue sizes or the countless interactions inherent to live performance. Furthermore, the *MMETA* do not consider the significance of the digital realm – a key focus in other *Music Moves Europe* domains – until the very last stage of selection.⁴⁹ And although the selection commission relies on Spotify data to verify that an artist’s first release is not older than 36 months, they do not appear to put much weight on additional streaming data. For the 2020 edition, this resulted in a list of upcoming artists that included both Polish singer-songwriter Perfect Son (2,402 Spotify streams a month) and Italian EDM-artist MEDUZA (22,304,217 Spotify streams a month). While statistics do not give a definite indication of an artists’ “popularity,” they do appear to be of significance to the selection committee. Yet despite the organizations’ efforts to transform their selection procedures, the discrepancies caused by these procedures are not addressed nor explored.

The *MMETA* selection criteria suggest that market value is a significant factor for locating “the European sound of today and tomorrow.” On the one hand, as pointed out by Frith, relying on market statistics to measure values of artists and their repertoire is a tricky endeavor. Choosing which statistics and sources to consider inevitably influences the outcome. In addition, as mentioned earlier, market data does not tell us much about why people listen to a particular artist, and how they experienced that encounter. At the same time, the *MMETA* selection criteria are in line with those of multiple other awards. This corroborates English’s observation that prizes view artistic prestige as a symbolic good that can be used as a catalyst for economic growth through capital intraconversion. As such, the *MMETA* ultimately appear to comply with the overall economic rhetoric of the broader *Music Moves Europe*. It is this reasoning that ultimately determines which aspects the *MMETA* highlights, and thus which qualities make for suitable *MMETA* winners.

⁴⁹ While achievements in the digital realm may be considered when selecting the initial “grosslist,” explicit attention to artists’ digital presence only takes place in the last stage of selection. In this stage, artists’ activity is measured based on their Soundcharts profiles.

Judging European Music

Different institutional designs can generate different outcomes. Yet structure, as Street points out, “establishes the rules of a game but not how it is played.”⁵⁰ While the *MMETA* selection process dictates the conditions, it is a jury that makes the final decisions. These judgements ultimately determine which values have the upper hand. But who has the authority to identify that value, and how are these judgements made? Numerous scholars already pointed out that processes of judging are subject to many influences, from institutional factors to the way we persuade one another and the words we use to do so. Street suggests that prize committees are political entities characterized by three political dimensions: structure, statecraft, and advocacy.⁵¹ We already reviewed the *MMETA*'s structure – or narrative – in detail. Statecraft and advocacy are concerned with the social processes that occur within that structure. Statecraft is primarily used to designate the skills presidents and prime ministers use to win elections manage state affairs. Street argues that these skills are also used by jury chairs: how the chair conducts meetings impacts how decisions are made. In addition, the chair and other jurors advocate for their own interpretations of value by relying on claims of expertise and rhetoric skills. These claims are inevitably subjective, and judges too are not exempt from self-interest. As Street puts it, “the arguments that win are the ones that create a winning coalition of judges, of judges who together develop a language and form of justice appropriate to the circumstances in which they find themselves.”⁵² Judging is thus not a matter of taste, but an agreement on the value of set characteristics. In other words, it is a matter of agreeing on specific ways of listening.

What role then, do these jury processes play in the context of the *MMETA*? The prize relies on an independent jury of seven music industry professionals to make the final selection of *MMETA* winners. The *MMETA* website includes brief introductions of each juror. ESNS head of program Robert Meijerink chairs the committee, with the help of Reeperbahn Festival's head of music program Bjørn Pfarr as vice-president. The duo oversees a jury panel of five music industry professionals from Iceland, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, and Italy. The authority or prestige of the jurors appears to derive from the companies they are associated with. Their institutional affiliations are highlighted at the top of their respective pages, and hyperlinks for accessing more information on the jurors leads to pages of the institutions that they work for. The only exception is Steinunn Jónsdóttir, member of the all-female Icelandic hip-hop formation Reykjavíkurdætur that won both a *Public Choice Award* and a *Jury Award* in 2019. In her case, the “more information” hyperlink leads to her personal social media page. The *MMETA* website also

⁵⁰ Street, “Awards, Prizes and Popular Taste,” 191.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, 192.

suggests that the jury decisions are based on the votes of five jurors. The chairman and vice-president are excluded from voting themselves, but still participate in the judgement processes.

Judge	Position	Affiliation
Robert Meijerink	Chairman of the Jury	Head of Program ESNS
Björn Pfarr	Vice-Chairman of the Jury	Alternate Director / Head of Music Program Reeperbahn Festival
Julia Gudzent	Jury member from Germany	Festival Programmer Melt!
Wilbert Mutsaers	Jury member from the Netherlands	Head of Content, Spotify Benelux
Katia Giampaolo	Jury member from Italy	CEO Estragon Club
Huw Stephens	Jury member from the UK	Radio Presenter BBC Radio 1
Steinunn Jónsdóttir	Jury member from Iceland	Artist, MMETA winner 2019 + Public Choice Award winner

Table 7 – List of judges for the 2020 *MMETA*⁵³

In brief interviews published on the *MMETA* website, each juror discusses their views on Europe’s music sector and the *MMETA*. Some jurors explicitly reference their own impartiality. Katia Giampaolo, for example, writes that “[b]eing a juror allows me to elevate myself to the utmost, greatest impartiality with no personal interest involved. Music never lies.”⁵⁴ When asked how her taste in music affects her jury decision, Julia Gudzent responded with a similar remark: “my personal taste does not have anything to do with my jury decision. I book festivals which completely do not fit my personal taste, and often have to put my business interest above it. I listen to music differently when I listen to it professionally.”⁵⁵ In line with Street’s observations, Giampaolo and Gudzent thus seem to suggest that their expertise allows them to engage in – and agree on – an appropriate language and form of professional judgement.

At the same time, other jurors write that agreeing on winning artists is not the main aim of their involvement. Steinunn Jónsdóttir, for example, points out that “music is a mission, not a competition. It’s such an important reminder, especially when you get caught up in the politics and industrial side of it all.”⁵⁶ Wilbert Mutsaers issued similar remarks:

Music is never and shouldn’t be a competition as such. But highlighting and supporting emerging European talents is of great importance. In my work I always have to weigh a lot of factors, and use the context and data available and try to take into consideration as many different personal tastes possible. That’s a joy. Music is more than just the notes and tones, it has so much more meaning, context and even lifestyles within it. Music can

⁵³ Positions and affiliations as listed on the *MMETA* website.

⁵⁴ “Jury,” Music Moves Europe Talent Awards, accessed May 13, 2020, <https://musicmoveseuropetalentawards.eu/jury-steering-committee/>.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

be just to entertain, music can be statement, music can be hedonistic, music can be political.⁵⁷

Indeed, the *MMETA* are not solely about creating winners. The Commission as well as the *MMETA* organization emphasize that the primary aim of the awards is to “celebrate emerging artists who represent the European sound of today and tomorrow.”⁵⁸ But what does this European sound entail, and how are jurors to agree on a list of artists that fits this description? From a sonic perspective, one could be tempted to locate the “Europeanness” of music in musical characteristics. The Commission itself approaches the topic of musical style in broad terms. In the call for proposals, the Commission writes that all *MMETA* nominees have to produce popular or contemporary music. The Commission defines popular and contemporary music as

today’s music accessible to the general public and disseminated by the mass media, as distinct from art music. ‘Popular music, unlike art music, is conceived for mass distribution to large and often socioculturally heterogeneous groups of listeners, stored and distributed in non-written form’ (*Philipp Tagg Musicologist*). Popular and contemporary music spans different musical genres, including **electronic** (breakbeat, electro, EDM, hard style, house, techno, trance), **folk** (traditional), **popular** (blues, country, hip hop, jazz, pop, reggae, R&B, rock (alternative, synth, metal, punk)), **progressive** and **psychedelic**.⁵⁹

It is unclear why the Commission settled on this specific definition to determine the scope of their prize. But perhaps even more striking is the use of an incomplete fragment from Philip Tagg’s *Analysing Popular Music: Theory, Method and Practice* (1982). Since the publication of Tagg’s article almost forty years ago, musical landscapes have changed significantly: genres have taken on different forms, and so have their respective musicking practices. For example, Tagg’s distinctions between characteristics of folk, popular, and “art” music are much less prevalent today. Moreover, Tagg’s article revolved around the broader debate on how to analyze popular musics in the academic realm, a question that would later be answered by the *New Musicology* movement and the introduction of new academic subfields. In the context of his article, Tagg’s words thus meant to reveal that popular music and “art” music required different analytical methods due to observable

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ European Commission, *Call for Proposals: Organisation and Administration of the EU Prize for Popular and Contemporary Music*, 3; and “About,” Music Moves Europe Talent Awards, accessed May 13, 2020, <https://musicmoveseuropetalentawards.eu/about/>.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 1. Emphasis in original.

differences in musicking practices. While this particular quotation from the 1982 article remains the primary reference on the “music genre - popular music” Wikipedia page, Tagg himself revised the article in 2015.⁶⁰ To an outsider then, it makes little sense to rely on this particular quotation – especially without providing any citation or additional context. But when taken at face value, Tagg’s quotation appears to be a convenient way to connect the economic and social dimensions of both popular music and the *MMETA*. First, the connection between popular music and mass consumption recalls the economic rationale behind the broader *Music Moves Europe* initiative. In addition, the reference to the “socioculturally heterogeneous groups of listeners” draws attention to the social aspect of *Music Moves Europe*. This logic emphasizes relations between music and a European identity based on “unity in diversity.” Altogether, the Commission’s questionable use of Tagg’s article thus serve to connect the scope of the *MMETA* to the dual rationale behind the broader *Music Moves Europe* program.

Still, the Commission’s definition of popular and contemporary music tells us little about their notion of European sound. The Commission names genres without explaining this particular categorization or referencing a shared European music history. This leaves ample room for interpretation, for as Fabian Holt points out, genres are social constructs that are by no means solid.⁶¹ In addition, the genres mentioned in relation to the *MMETA* change from time to time. For example, the Commission’s list – which positions progressive and psychedelic as genres alongside the umbrella terms popular, folk, and electronic – does not correspond at all with the genre labels of *MMETA* winners. The 2019 *MMETA* winners were divided into six genres (pop, rock, electronic, r&b/urban, hip-hop/rap and singer-songwriter), while *Creative Europe*’s webpage on the *MMETA*’s mentions eight genres (pop, rock, singer-songwriter, R&B, hip hop, loud, alternative and electronic).⁶² These wide definitions not only obstruct the consistency of the awards, but also preserve the ambiguous relation between popular music and the “European sound.” Are regional and transnational musical expressions part of the much-contested “folk” genre?⁶³ What about different music traditions of the past that inform the present, or the cultural exchange engendered by the colonial past of many (West-)European countries? On the one hand, ambiguity is a necessity of cultural policy that allows for the inclusion of different perspectives and

⁶⁰ “Music Genre – Popular Music,” Wikipedia, accessed May 14, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Music_genre#Popular_music; and Philip Tagg, “Analysing popular music: theory, method and practice,” accessed May 14, 2020, <https://www.tagg.org/articles/xpdfs/pm2anal.pdf>.

⁶¹ Fabian Holt, *Genre in Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 5.

⁶² “EU Music Prize,” European Commission, accessed May 10, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/eu-music-prize_en.

⁶³ For debates on the concept of “folk music” see, for example, Andy Letcher, “Paganism and the British Folk Revival,” in *Pop Pagans: Paganism and Popular Music*, ed. Donna Weston and Andy Bennett (New York: Routledge, 2014): 91–109.

musical practices. But at the same time, it can hinder the *MMETA* in achieving the diversity it strives for. Ensuring diversity demands elaborating on the genres that structure the award and contextualizing the histories of different musicking practices. In other words, ensuring a diversity of musical styles demands balancing the needs for ambiguity and transparency.

The intricate process of identifying and evaluating musics extends into the domain of the *MMETA* jury. After a lengthy pre-selection procedure, it is up to them to select the winning artists who represent “the European sound of today and tomorrow.” Reflecting on his own experience as *Mercury Prize* judge, Frith explains that one condition for winning the prize was that an album could not have been made elsewhere.⁶⁴ But how does a jury agree on such a cryptic requirement? Frith points out that this distinction is not always related to musical trends or traditions: “an album has to say something that could only be said like this in Britain, even if more often than not the musical language being used is not British at all.”⁶⁵ He suggests that one can find such qualities in sonic and lyrical elements that connect music to lived experiences. For some, the essence thus lies in designating a particular time and place. For others, it is a distinct form of musical hybridity that makes music “British,” or in the case of the *MMETA* “European.” In addition, sound can also be defined by what it is *not*. For example, Frith observes that many British rock musicians view their musical identity as “not being American.”⁶⁶ In any case, the verdict of whether something could or could not have been produced elsewhere remains a judgement. A judgement that, as Frith pointed out, derives from processes of identifying and evaluating differences and often combines the above logics.

How then, does the *MMETA* jury approach this intricate matter? If anything, the jurors underline the diversity and hybridity of the European music scene. In this context, diversity appears to refer to the inclusion of various nationalities, ethnicities, genders, musical styles, and musical traditions.⁶⁷ Hybridity seems to concern distinct combinations of these factors. Judge Katia Giampolo writes that the European music sector “has always been characterised by an immense stylistic variety, cultural intertwining and specific languages. Europe is ready to leave the Anglo-Saxon music trend behind and open up to the global market.”⁶⁸ Wilbert Mutsaers also addresses the matter of musical genre. He points out that “in a way it’s a semantic discussion to talk about ‘genres’ and at the same time it’s handy to categorise songs and artists by (several) sub-genres.

⁶⁴ Simon Frith, “Does British Music Still Matter? A Reflection on the Changing Status of British Popular Music in the Global Music Market,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 7, no. 1 (2004): 53.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁷ Based on the Commission’s call for papers and the *MMETA* website.

⁶⁸ Music Moves Europe Talent Awards, “Jury.”

Every single genre has its own attractive styles, artists, audience and relevance.”⁶⁹ None of the jury members comment in detail on specific musical characteristics or genres, instead choosing to leave as much room as possible for different interpretations. After all, establishing a fixed set of indicators to identify a “European sound” is not their primary concern. Instead, their goal is to celebrate and promote music by European artists.

Artist	Country	Genre	Award	Language of repertoire
Bishop Briggs	United Kingdom	Pop	Jury Award; Public Choice Award	English
Lxandra	Finland	Pop	Jury Award	English
Pale Waves	United Kingdom	Rock	Jury Award	English
Pip Blom	The Netherlands	Rock	Jury Award; Public Choice Award	English
Smerz	Norway	Electronic	Jury Award	English
Stelartronic	Austria	Electronic	Jury Award; Public Choice Award	English
Rosalía	Spain	RnB/Urban	Jury Award; Public Choice Award	Spanish
Aya Nakamura	France	RnB/Urban	Jury Award	French
Blackwave.	Belgium	Hip Hop/Rap	Jury Award	English
Reykjavíkurdætur	Iceland	Hip Hop/Rap	Jury Award; Public Choice Award	Icelandic
AVEC	Austria	Singer-songwriter	Jury Award	English
Albin Lee Meldau	Sweden	Singer-songwriter	Jury Award; Public Choice Award	English

Table 8 – List of *MMETA* 2019 winners⁷⁰

Artist	Country	Genre	Award	Language of repertoire
Meduza	Italy	Electronic (dance music)	Jury Award	English
Girl in red	Norway	Indie pop singer-songwriter	Jury Award	English
Naaz	The Netherlands	Singer-songwriter	Jury Award; Public Choice Award	English
Anna Leone	Sweden	Folk; singer/songwriter	Jury Award	English
PONGO	Portugal	Kuduro, EDM, bass music, dancehall and melodic pop.	Jury Award	Portuguese
Harmed	Hungary	Metal	Jury Award	English
5K HD	Austria	Alternative	Jury Award	English
Floho	United Kingdom	Hip Hop/Rap	Jury Award	English

Table 9 – List of *MMETA* 2020 winners

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, both the number of awards and the genre categories vary each year. The 2019 *MMETA* had six genre categories and gave out two jury awards per category, plus six Public Choice Awards. The 2020 *MMETA* did not include any genre categories and gave out eight jury awards plus one Public Choice Award.

The current list of *MMETA* winners indeed reflects the diversity and hybridity that the jurors emphasized. As evident from Tables 7 and 8, the *MMETA* celebrate artists from various nationalities and affiliated with different genres. Mixtures of musical styles within the repertoire of a particular artist is also not uncommon. One example is 2020 *MMETA* winner 5K HD. The Austrian band is a combination of the improv/jazz combo Kompost 3 and vocalist Mira Lu Kovacs. The group actively refrains from placing itself within particular genre boundaries, instead opting for a sonic mixture of pop, jazz, funk, and sound experiments. Indeed, journalists described 5K HD in various ways, ranging from “emotional avant-garde pop” to “a songwriter’s vision of noise music” and “jazz, pop, and electronica at the same time.”⁷¹ A music critic for the online platform *Worlds for Us* writes that through this combination, “5K HD will disrupt your listening habits in a way very few bands can.”⁷² Taking silence and sadness as their primary sources of inspiration, 5K HD reflects on their personal experiences as performers in a Western society. Their album *High Performer* poses a critique to the fast-paced capitalist environment that musicians have to navigate. The performer, 5K HD suggests, is “subject to a force of nature, captured in a daily grind, he continuously pushes himself to unachievable goals and is never satisfied by the results.”⁷³ 5K HD’s combination of different musical styles as well as the sonic representation of their lived experiences could be interpreted by the juries as qualities that represent a “European sound.”

Another example is 2020 *MMETA* winner PONGO. The Portuguese singer illustrates the renewal of Kuduro, an Angolan dance and music form that blends regional styles with global influences from other continents. Part of the Kuduro’s genesis lies in anti-colonial political tensions, and the genre developed further in Lisbon following the immigration of many Angolans to Portugal. Elements from Western electronic music soon became part of the renewed Kuduro trend that PONGO engages with. By combining Kuduro with EDM, bass music, dancehall and melodic pop, the singer aims to combine her Portuguese nationality with her African, Langan and Zairian roots. Although Kuduro rejects Western musical imperialism, it is still informed by Western music traditions and shaped by postcolonial diasporas worldwide. As such, PONGO exemplifies how notions of European musics extend well beyond nationality and broad genre categorizations.

⁷¹ “5K HD – MMETA WINNERS,” Austrian Music Export, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://www.musicexport.at/5k-hd-winners-of-the-mm-meta-awards-2020/>; “5K HD,” Europavox, accessed May 11, 2020, <https://www.europavox.com/bands/5k-hd/>; “5K HD,” Music Moves Europe Talent Awards, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://musicmoveseuropetalentawards.eu/mm-meta/artist/5k-hd/>.

⁷² “5K HD,” World’s Focus, accessed May 10, 2020, <http://worldsforus.com/5k-hd-and-to-in-a/>.

⁷³ “5K HD critique our fast-paced world,” The Line of Best Fit, accessed May 13, 2020, <https://www.thelineofbestfit.com/new-music/discovery/5k-hd-crazy-talk>.

While the list of *MMETA* winners thus encompasses artist from different nationalities and various combinations of musical styles, other signifiers of the diverse “European sound” are less obvious. In the call for proposals, the Commission emphasized that the new EU Music Prize ought to ensure national and – in as far as possible – linguistic diversity among the prize winners. Yet when comparing the nationalities of *MMETA* winners and the language in which they sing to Medendorp’s analysis of the *EBBA*, we find that these ratios have barely changed.⁷⁴ To ensure a balanced national spreading, the *MMETA* selection committee requires all nominees to originate from different countries. However, despite these guidelines, the first edition of the *MMETA* featured two Austrian winners and two winners from the UK. Furthermore, this requirement does not necessarily increase the level of national diversity among *MMETA* winners: while there is a spread in nationality, the majority of award winners still comes from Western European countries. With the exception of Hungary and Poland, Eastern European countries deliver significantly fewer *MMETA* nominees. With regard to linguistic diversity, the *MMETA* made no changes to the *EBBA* selection procedure. In 2019, 9 out of 12 winners performed songs in English. In 2020, this was the case for 7 out of 8 winners. While the *MMETA* thus actively ensure the inclusion of different musical styles and nationalities, they still perpetuate the dominance of West-European countries and the English language.

Ultimately, the “European sound of today and tomorrow” remains a construct that favors certain qualities over others. The 2019 and 2020 *MMETA* highlight a European sound that is mainly based on market statistics, nationality, and wide genre definitions. As far as artists’ actual repertoire is concerned, wide genre definitions ensure that there is a lot of room open for interpretation. The European sound refers first and foremost to artist with a nationality that is part of the EU. The focus on statistics in the initial stages of the selection procedure suggests that the focus of the awards lies on upcoming artists who show potential to grow. The “European sound of today and tomorrow,” then, appears to designate music made by artists with an EU-nationality who have the ability to increase their economic and symbolic worth in the future. It seems that artists within this frame are the center of celebration at the *MMETA*.

Of course, one could critique the *MMETA*’s interpretations of this European sound. For example, I would argue that the complexity and diversity of European sound cannot be discussed without referencing the historical and sociopolitical context of genres, artists, and musicking practices. In addition, scholars like Frith would add that market statistics cannot be used as the sole measure of an artists’ “popularity.” On the one hand, these critiques might not mean much

⁷⁴ Although cultural identity is not tied necessarily to geographic national boundaries, this is the type that is marketed by the Commission.

to the *MMETA* organization. In the selection procedures of the *MMETA*, artists' up-and-coming status and European descent appear to have more weight than the intricate details behind the awards' broader diversity targets. Actively working on a more complete and inclusive representation of "European sound" might not be a top priority for the *MMETA* organization. On the other hand, as English points out, debates on the decisions and interpretations made by prizes are crucial to the prestige of an award. Public debate on these matters – either positive or negative – generates attention for the prize. The question that remains is thus: who does the organization want to listen to their interpretation of the "European sound"?

The *MMETA* as Media Event

Media coverage is crucial for bringing a prize under the attention of the right people. Street defines arts prizes as media events, through which various sponsors and industry actors aim to showcase different values and images.⁷⁵ The degrees and forms of publicity become indicators of prize's prestige and success. Multiple aspects of a prize contribute to its depiction in media, ranging from the award's overall narrative to the choice of jurors, and from (previous) winners and their earlier successes to the host of the award ceremony. For the *MMETA*, publicity is high on the agenda. In the call for papers, the Commission identifies three specific objectives of the new EU Music Prize. The objective "promoting and celebrating popular and contemporary European repertoire" pays special attention to media coverage of the awards. Under this objective, the Commission asks that the organizers "strengthen and rejuvenate the image of the prize among artists, professionals, the media and the general public; develop a business-to-consumer branding and communication strategy to increase media attention, and engage with social media influencers and music consumers; and ensure continued high visibility by engaging with different target groups throughout the year."⁷⁶ Eligible applications were reviewed based on multiple criteria, including the proposals' potential to create "a high-quality, high-profile and accessible event."⁷⁷ Another criterium titled "branding and communication activities," similarly awards points for the proposal's potential to "create momentum and raise the awareness and impact of the prize throughout the year," with an emphasis on engaging young people.⁷⁸

To meet the Commission's demand for a prize with high visibility among different target groups, the Groningen cohort developed an extensive marketing strategy. In line with the Commission's advice, the *MMETA* organized a side-event for announcing the *MMETA*

⁷⁵ John Street, "Showbusiness of a Serious Kind," 820.

⁷⁶ European Commission, *Call for Proposals: EU Prize for Popular and Contemporary Music*, 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

nominees. The Nominees Revelation Night at the Reeperbahn Festival – an event for music industry professionals – also initiates the *Public Choice Award* campaign. The organization also sought to associate public figures with the award, for example by inviting Eurovision winner Conchita Wurst to present the 2020 *MMETA*. Furthermore, the *MMETA* post promotional materials on their social media channels all year around and update an MME Talent Charts platform on a weekly basis. The *MMETA* YouTube channel is particularly active, and hosts dozens of videos related to the *MMETA*. The *MMETA*'s appears to be successful in increasing their visibility among industry professionals. Especially the collaboration with Reeperbahn Festival expands the awards' visibility among this group. The music industry event hosts for the Nominees Revelation Night, and also put forward one of its organizers as vice president of the *MMETA* jury. In addition, the *MMETA* organization successfully persuaded representatives from the music industry to attend the 2019 and 2020 *MMETA* award ceremonies, and ensured strategic partnerships with Spotify, Deezer, and other platforms.

However, the interaction with European citizens through social media does not seem as effective. To date, the official Facebook and Instagram pages count 15.000 and 1.500 followers respectively, and YouTube videos rarely receive over 300 views. The possible disconnect between the *MMETA* and European citizens extends beyond the digital realm. Although the Commission promotes accessibility of the program, written correspondence with representatives of ESNS revealed that the general public is not allowed to attend the *MMETA* without an official invitation. While formally part of the ESNS festival, the award show is also not accessible to guests with an ESNS ticket. The invitations appeared to be reserved for press and stakeholders, as the organization refused to provide the author with an invite to conduct research for this thesis. While live streams were commonplace in the *EBBA* era, this was not the case for the *MMETA*. The author was unable to find any live stream on the official *MMETA* and ESNS pages, and no full recordings of the event were published afterwards. In the execution, the *MMETA* thus actively engage music industry stakeholders, but do not seem to extend the same courtesy to citizens.

This observation suggest that engaging citizens is not presently a priority for the *MMETA*. In the initial call for proposals, the Commission emphasized the “potential for the prize to do more and better, notably in developing its contribution to the economy of the music industry and strengthening European identity, participatory democracy and creativity.”⁷⁹ Yet the lack of attention to the visibility of the prize, as well as its accessibility to a broader audience, suggests that the sociocultural aspects of the prize do not have the upper hand. Instead, the event appears to be a way to promote artist with economic potential among stakeholders in order to build their careers

⁷⁹ Ibid., 3.

and stimulate the competitiveness of the European music industry. As such, the initial implementation of the *MMETA* appears to follow the economic orientation of the “creativity frame” outlined in Chapters One and Two. Music may move Europe, but money makes the world go around.

Conclusion

This chapter explored how the EU’s new music policy might be turned into practice. By connecting English’s theorization of the economy of prestige to the EU’s history of governance by prizes, I traced how multiple values and capitals come together in the *Music Moves Europe*’s music prize: the *MMETA*. The *MMETA* appear to claim the EU’s centrality and authority in the music sector through what Foret and Calligaro call governance by praise. They legitimize values articulated by the prize-giver and showcase recipients as exemplifiers of those values. By extension, the *MMETA* frame artists that display these values as representative of “the European sound of today and tomorrow.”⁸⁰

The particular values promoted through the *MMETA* derive from the awards’ embeddedness in wider EU culture strategies. The *MMETA* ought to contribute to the broader objectives of the *Music Moves Europe* strategic initiative. These objectives – as we observed in Chapters One and Two – follow the *creativity frame* that emphasizes the economic worth of Europe’s music sector and aims at fostering economic growth and innovation by rewarding creativity. My analysis of the awards revealed two aspects that suggest a similar approach in the *MMETA*. First, I observed that the creation and implementation of the awards maintain a high degree of ambiguity. Criteria for the selection of jury members, nominees, and award winners remained unclear. In addition, the concept of European sound was largely reduced to vague and wide catchphrases. The subtleties of different musics and their respective histories, performance practices, modes of consumption, and ties to identity remain unaddressed in the official *MMETA* documents, website, and social media. Rather than the sociocultural situatedness of European artists and the *MMETA*, the artists’ sales numbers and marketability among music industry professionals appeared to prevail.

Second, I observed that the *MMETA* do not yet meet the intended objectives with regard to visibility. While a high degree of visibility and publicity among citizens and artists was a specific objective for the new music prize, the first two editions received little media. Rather than a media event, the *MMETA* thus appear to function as a contest that mainly targets music industry stakeholders. This is also supported by the collaborations with Reeperbahn Festival and other

⁸⁰ Ibid.

music industry stakeholders, as well as the fact that citizens are unable to attend or stream the actual award ceremonies. The event appears to be a way to promote artist with economic potential among stakeholders in order to build their careers and stimulate the competitiveness of the European music industry.

I would like to conclude this chapter by asking to what extent the awards actually contribute to *Music Moves Europe's* market-oriented objectives. The *MMETA* undoubtedly benefit multiple stakeholder groups. The awards provide direct exposure for emerging artists and gives them a podium to build their careers. In addition, the *MMETA* engage multiple music industry actors and indirectly increase values for the host city and its local businesses. Yet at the same time, others might feel left out by the awards' current form. The selection procedures for nominees as well as the interpretations of the "European sound" construct are too ambiguous to ensure the awards' aspired forms of diversity. Furthermore, the *MMETA* do not actively involve artists and citizens in their narrative. Future evaluations of *Music Moves Europe* and the *MMETA* might want to address this unexplored potential for increasing the awards' sociocultural impact. By actively widening its visibility in the public domain, the *MMETA* could draw more attention to the prize, its artists and stakeholders, and the *Music Moves Europe* program more broadly. While attracting music industry professionals is crucial, consumers are the ones that ultimately spend money on artists' albums, stream their music, visit their concerts, and purchase their merchandise. What matters is not only providing a stage to showcase a "European sound of today and tomorrow," but also ensuring that people can actually hear it.

Conclusion: Towards a “Truly European Music Policy”

On May 9, 2020, singers from fourteen European cities joined in song. The composition in question was Beethoven’s *Ode to Joy* – the EU’s official anthem. The occasion was *Europe Day*, an annual event in commemoration of the 1950 Schuman Declaration. Amidst the turmoil of the ongoing COVID-19 crisis; protests against police brutality and racial inequalities; and environmental concerns, music appears to offer relief and comfort to many.¹ With the aims of upholding “the European spirit and values,” the EU gave a new musical impulse to *Europe Day* by introducing *Music Europe Day*.² In a live stream accessible to all citizens with an internet connection, thirty artists from thirty European countries “pass each other the mic to share their music, their optimism and their vision of Europe.”³ This initiative is not the first to address music on the EU level. On the contrary: it exemplifies the recent orientation towards music in EU cultural policy that comes together in *Music Moves Europe*.

In this thesis, I aimed to shed light on *Music Moves Europe* as the first music-oriented program in EU cultural policy. By analyzing three different phases of *Music Moves Europe*’s policy-process – agenda-setting; decision-making; and implementation – I explored how EU’s approaches to the European music industry in the initial stages of *Music Moves Europe*. I did so by employing an interdisciplinary approach that brings together perspectives from musicology, sociology, philosophy, political science, international relations studies, and other academic fields. In this conclusion, I will sum up my main findings and propose their implications for the ongoing development of *Music Moves Europe* and for the study of EU cultural policy more broadly.

Chapter One took a fundamental question as its point of departure: why an EU-wide program for music? In light of what George Yúdice terms the *expediency of culture*, I began by examining how the EU historically sought to coordinate economic and sociopolitical interests in cultural policy. The EU’s interest in cultural policy appeared to be rooted in a dual rationale. The first is economic, and views culture and art as profitable products manufactured by the cultural and creative industries. The second is sociocultural and treats culture as valuable in itself and able to foster social cohesion, with the ultimate aim of legitimizing the EU as an institution. This synopsis formed the foundation for analyzing the first phase of policymaking: agenda-setting.

¹ Renée Vulto, “Singing in the Time of Corona,” *Early Modern Soundscapes*, accessed July 24, 2020, <https://emsoundscapes.co.uk/singing-in-the-time-of-corona/>.

² “Music Europe Day,” The Mayor, accessed July 28, 2020, <https://www.themayor.eu/en/music-europe-day-an-online-festival-to-celebrate-9-may>.

³ “Music Europe Day,” Facebook, accessed July 23, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/events/277040146661966/>.

Nikolaos Zahariadis's use of John Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework proved useful in examining how processes of agenda-setting led to what Annabelle Littoz-Monnet terms the *creativity frame*. The overarching *Creative Europe* program employed the creativity frame to address a policy window opened by the new *Europe 2020* strategy in the politics stream. By placing economic objectives of the EU's new strategy front and center, *Creative Europe* was able to tie the problem, policy, and politics streams together. Deficiencies in the *Creative Europe* program eventually provided an opportunity to put a sector-specific approach to music on the EU's policy agenda. Policy entrepreneurs from the DG EAC were able to frame an EU music program as the appropriate policy stream to address the needs of the music industry (problem stream) and contribute to the overall aims of the economic *Europe 2020* objectives (politics stream). With a reasoning that explicitly builds on Richard Florida's notion of the *creative economy*, the Commission ultimately positioned music as a source of creativity, competitiveness and economic growth. In the second part of Chapter One, I conducted a stakeholder analysis to reveal the different agents, problems, solutions, and perspectives clustered in the "garbage can" of policy commissioning. An analysis of the *AB Report* showed how industry representatives expressed different goals, as well as different ideas on how to achieve these goals. The Commission ultimately had to map, evaluate, and prioritize the different aspects of *Music Moves Europe's* garbage can in order to formulate concrete proposals that fit the existing EU cultural policy window. To do so, the Commission formulated broad goals that kept all stakeholders engaged in the initial phases of *Music Moves Europe*.

Chapter Two examined how the Commission approached the various goals of the agenda-setting phase in *Music Moves Europe's* initial stages of decision-making. I analyzed how the problems and solutions addressed in the four dimensions of the program – policy, funding, legislation, and dialogue – relate to the suggestions put forward in the *AB Report*. In accordance with Florida's notion of the creative economy and the processes of agenda-setting studied in Chapter One, I found that the first actions under *Music Moves Europe* emphasize the economic value of Europe's music sector. The program addressed issues articulated by music industry stakeholders during the *AB Music Dialogue*, seemingly with the aim of stimulating the industry's competitiveness, creativity, and economic worth. Yet at the same time, the pursuit of economic objectives in the decision-making stage appeared to overshadow broader questions about the connections between music, culture, and identity. In a fast-paced environment where solutions appear to chase problems rather than the other way around, the initiatives that emerge in the decision-making phase determine what and whose problems are addressed under the *Music Moves Europe* program. I ultimately

suggested that the scarce reflection on the situatedness of music – as well as the low degree of artist and citizen involvement in the agenda-setting and decision-making phases – prevent *Music Moves Europe* from having the intended effectiveness in its current state. This observation corresponds with Zahariadis’ claim that broad and ambiguous policy objectives obstruct effectiveness in early stages of EU policymaking. By extension, it implies that effectiveness is not yet a top priority in the first phases of *Music Moves Europe*. Nonetheless, the trends observed in the processes of agenda-setting and decision-making form the foundation for the implementation of this new music policy.

In Chapter Three, I explored the first steps of this implementation phase by means of a case study. An in-depth analysis of the *MMETA* – the unofficial fifth pillar of *Music Moves Europe* – revealed how the EU’s new music policy might be turned into practice. By connecting James English’s theorization of the *economy of prestige* to the EU’s history of governance by prizes, I traced how multiple fields, values, and capitals come together in the new EU music prize. I then considered the initial stages of the *MMETA* in more detail, asking how and for whom it strives to represent “the European sound of today and tomorrow.” I pointed to two main findings. First, the creation and implementation of the awards maintain a high degree of ambiguity. Criteria for the selection of jury members, nominees, and award winners remained unclear. In addition, the concept of European sound was largely reduced to vague and wide catchphrases. The subtleties of different musics and their respective histories, performance practices, modes of consumption, and ties to identity remain unaddressed in the official *MMETA* documents, website, and social media. Second, the *MMETA* do not yet meet the intended objectives with regard to visibility. While a high degree of visibility and publicity among citizens and artists was a specific objective for the new music prize, the first two editions received little media attention and were hardly accessible to citizens. Rather than a media event, the *MMETA* thus appear to function as a contest that mainly targets music industry stakeholders. The event appears to be a way to promote artists with economic potential among stakeholders in order to build their careers and stimulate the competitiveness of the European music industry. As such, the initial implementation of the *MMETA* corroborates the conclusions from Chapters One and Two. The *MMETA* – as part of the broader *Music Moves Europe* initiative – upholds an orientation towards the marketability of artists and reflects this focus in its criteria for selecting nominees, as well as its apparent target audience. This approach, I suggest, bypasses those that facilitate and stimulate economic growth: the artists who compose and perform music, and citizens who support artists by visiting concerts, buying merchandise, and streaming albums online. In other words, the ambiguity and highly

economic orientation of the *MMETA* – and *Music Moves Europe* more broadly – could obstruct the initiatives’ effectivity in the long run.

Altogether, the three chapters form an overview of *Music Moves Europe* in the earliest stages of its policy process. This examination revealed how European music policy is intertwined in a complex web of EU institutions, strategies, and practices. Moreover, it affirmed that processes of policymaking do not follow a rational problem-solution sequence. Instead, as Zahariadis writes, policymakers and other stakeholders “manipulate frames, opportunities, and the policy process to get their pet solutions adopted.”⁴ For *Music Moves Europe*, this meant that some stakeholders, problems, solutions, objectives, and justifications prevailed over others. Subsequently, the initiative’s initial phases appeared to center and provide targeted support to the European music industry while simultaneously disregarding the heterogeneity of that same sector. The multitude of histories, traditions, production processes, consumption patterns, and musicking practices that underly different music genres does not appear to inform the different actions under *Music Moves Europe*. In addition, unmediated perspectives of crucial stakeholder groups – in particular artists and citizens – are absent in the program’s Structured Dialogues.

The omission of these aspects could obstruct the effectiveness of *Music Moves Europe* in the long run. To achieve the economic objectives of the Commission’s creativity frame, the program ought to consider how economic revenue and competitiveness grow in a particular sector. In the music sector, artists and citizens are at the very core of music production and consumption. Most European citizens engage with music in one way or another. They stream music online, attend concerts and festivals, or purchase recorded music and merchandise. Properly addressing the varied interests and needs of consumers is one of the main factors that allows the European music sector to generate over €25 billion in revenue each year. Europe’s highly heterogenous music ecosystem tailors to the richness that different musical traditions and musicking practices bring. Almost 99% of its music companies are micro, small or medium sized enterprises and these so-called “independents” represent over 80% of the sector’s jobs.⁵ To emphasize the economic significance of Europe’s music sector, one also needs to emphasize the heterogeneity of the sector that allows it to produce such high revenue. Actively acknowledging the heterogeneity and situatedness of the music ecosystem is crucial to Florida’s theorization of the creative economy.

⁴ Nikolaos Zahariadis, “Ambiguity and Choice in European Public Policy,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, no. 4 (2008): 526.

⁵ “European Music in Numbers,” IMPALA, accessed July 21, 2020, <https://www.impalamusic.org/node/9>; Monika Murzyn-Kupisz, Jarosław Dzialek, eds., *The Impact of Artists on Contemporary Urban Development in Europe* (Cham: Springer, 2017), 143.

Since Florida's line of thought directly inspired the Commission's creativity frame, it is by extension also crucial to the broader *Music Moves Europe* strategy and objectives.

At the same time, ambiguity remains an integral part of the EU's policy processes. The garbage can model allows for the co-existence of various problems, solutions, and stakeholders. The subsequent wide formulations of problems, solutions, and objectives allow for broad consensus within EU policy networks and the inclusion of various stakeholder groups. Policy windows open and close quickly, and policymakers operate under time restraints and stress. As such, policy initiatives rarely arise in their optimal form right away. It is thus only later in the policy cycle that limitations and deficits become visible and pressing issue. The phase of policy evaluation aims to address these challenges, with the aims of improving the current program and contemplating improvements for new initiatives. Indeed, evaluations of *Creative Europe* revealed deficits that allowed for the emergence of *Music Moves Europe*. Now, five years after the initial *AB Working Group*, *Music Moves Europe* will soon enter its own evaluation phase.

Evaluations are indeed in order if the Commission aims to increase the effectiveness of *Music Moves Europe* in the long run. In this thesis, I already pointed to several aspects that could benefit from revisions. First, the initiative could consider the heterogeneity and situatedness of musicking practices in its four dimensions, as well as the *MMETA*. Second, *Music Moves Europe* might gain from actively engaging artists and citizens in the ongoing development of the program. Whether empowering artists is an end in itself or a means to stimulate economic revenue, involving them in processes of policymaking is crucial. A similar argument can be made for the inclusion of citizens' perspectives, either through commissioned research projects or the initiative's own dialogue dimension. Especially within its Structured Dialogues, *Music Moves Europe* has ample room to welcome these stakeholders and map their diverging perspectives. Moreover, the funding dimension could explore the possibility of funding mechanisms that target artists directly without the intervention of intermediary stakeholders. Actively inquiring and addressing the various challenges of these stakeholder groups would allow the Commission to better understand their needs and make considerate revisions that ultimately contribute to the objectives of *Music Moves Europe*. In addition to these two proposals, I suggest that the Commission might do well to revisit earlier critiques of the broader *Creative Europe* in light of the new *Music Moves Europe* framework. *Music Moves Europe* adopted elements from the broader *Creative Europe* program that do not seem to optimally benefit Europe's music sector. An example is the move towards project-funding, which Cornelia Bruell already deemed unsuitable for the cultural creative industries. Indeed, the debate surrounding the EUYO's funding exemplified how the music ecosystem does not lend

itself well to project-based funding structures. By combining statistical inquiries with qualitative considerations of *Music Moves Europe's* current structure and approach, the Commission can continue to work towards its “ultimate goal [of] develop[ing] a truly European music policy.”⁶

The evaluation phase not only impacts the *Music Moves Europe* program, but also has broader societal implications. Not properly addressing the deficits in the current program obstruct *Music Moves Europe* from meeting its economic objectives and producing the desired economic capital. As a result, the Commission would have difficulty demonstrating the added value of *Music Moves Europe* to the Member States. In addition, insufficient effectiveness of the program could negatively impact the lives of European artists and Small and Medium-sized Businesses (SMBs). The financial contribution of Member States allows the Commission to establish a European approach to music. In line with the principle of subsidiarity, Member States agreed that action on the EU-level would most benefit the music industry. Yet if *Music Moves Europe* fails to meet its objectives, this could cause significant challenges for artists and SMBs. The Europeanization of music policy might go at the cost of national support structures. After all: Member States already provide support to the cultural and creative industries through EU frameworks. Continuous evaluation of *Music Moves Europe* is thus of utmost importance.

I would like to conclude with a brief moment of reflection. What does *Music Moves Europe* bring us for the further academic study of cultural policy? The emergence of more and more intermediaries increases the complexity of Europe's music ecosystem. These developments impact how the EU, Member States, and local governing bodies approach the regulation of culture. In this thesis, I analyzed how the EU engages with these developments by moving towards a Europeanization of music policy. I asked how the *Music Moves Europe* strategic initiative balances different views on the values of music. In line with Yúdice's theory on the expediency of culture, various stakeholders attempted to instrumentalize music to fit their own respective interests. For the Commission itself, this interest was partly economic in nature. Florida's theorization of the creative economy – alongside a variety of commissioned reports – formed the basis for a creativity frame. This frame positioned music as a source of creativity; creativity as a requirement for innovation; and innovation as a means to stimulate competitiveness and economic growth. As such, *Music Moves Europe* thus corroborates a move towards economically oriented cultural policy.

In doing so, the EU's music policy brings to light a dichotomy surrounding the perception of music's worths. The Commission's policy documents frame music as a Janus-headed

⁶ “Music Moves Europe,” European Commission, accessed May 23, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/music-moves-europe_en.

phenomenon with an economic and a sociocultural side.⁷ The former views music as the tradable end products of the music sector, while the latter approaches it as a cultural good that has value in itself. One might ask whether this distinction makes sense today. In a neoliberal society that views everything as commodifiable, a notion of “pure” art appears to be nothing more than an ideal. To make a living, musicians have to operate within increasingly complex *art worlds*: they sell their music and merchandise, perform at festivals and in concert halls, and interact with many intermediaries discussed in this thesis. While it might be tempting to suggest that music policy should abate the role of economic objectives and intermediary actors – one cannot ignore the weight these factors have today. Instead, *Music Moves Europe* and programs alike aim to help artists prosper in this environment. In a world where *all* art is economic and *all* art is political, a distinction between economic and pure art does not seem productive. Such a distinction could even be harmful: if *Music Moves Europe* favors projects that maintain an economic orientation, those that do not have an explicit profit-oriented image could end up being left behind.

Acknowledging that an economic orientation is – and has been for a long time – part and parcel of musicking practices allows us to contemplate how this perspective fits into music policy. The abandonment of the superficial dichotomy between music’s economic and sociocultural sides seems like a good point of departure. On the one hand, bridging this divide could reduce the tensions between those who seek to foster economic growth and those who advocate for a *l’art pour l’art* approach to music policy. At the same time, acknowledging that *all* music is intertwined in a network that includes economic players puts artists with a non-profit orientation in a stronger position as actors within the *Music Moves Europe* policy process. As David Hesmondhalgh et al. already pointed out: “it is perfectly legitimate to value culture for reasons that are secondary to its fundamental nature – what matters is how those ‘non-cultural’ or ‘less cultural’ ends are conceived, and to what purpose.”⁸

Indeed, even while deconstructing the opposition between music’s economic and sociocultural sides, the ongoing contest between different views on the values of music draws attention to the ethical dilemmas and power relations that underly policymaking processes. Who is in a position to make their case and see their preferred solutions adopted? Whose problems are subsequently addressed, and whose are not? In the end, processes of making music policy move beyond persuading other people to adopt particular beliefs or preferences. As Zahariadis points out, policy entrepreneurs “manipulate frames, opportunities, and the policy process to get their

⁷ Cornelia Bruell, *Creative Europe 2014-2020: A New Programme – A New Cultural Policy as Well?* (Stuttgart: ifa, 2013), 27.

⁸ Hesmondhalgh et al., *Culture, Economy and Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 95.

pet solutions adopted.”⁹ Decision-making, in the words of James Gardner March, may thus be “better conceived as a meaning than as an action factory.”¹⁰ In the context of *Music Moves Europe*, policy entrepreneurs used the creativity frame to give meaning to the notion of music as a resource for economic growth. But this meaning remains constructed and is not the only nor the dominant driver of music policy.

Ultimately, it is up to scholars to keep pointing out the significance of these different perspectives. Mapping processes of EU policymaking provides insights into the complex – and sometimes questionable – dynamics within the imaginary garbage can. As Zahariadis puts it, “[i]n a world where solutions chase problems, bias and the power to dominate the process become more important elements of the process than traditional notions of efficiency and effectiveness.”¹¹ The fluid participation of stakeholders involved – and the high degree of turnover within this network – makes that only a few people know the rules of the game that is EU policy making. In other words, those who have the knowledge and access to sell viable solutions are the ones that see their prioritized problems addressed. Cultural policy research provides insight into these dynamics. Since the EU strives for evidence-based policymaking, insights into the underlying processes might encourage policymakers, scholars, industry professionals, and other stakeholders to become more aware of their own positions.¹² This awareness is crucial for the evaluation phase of policymaking and could lead to productive adaptations to the EU’s current policy processes. As such, cultural policy research can help “facilitate important conceptual change.”¹³

This research could take multiple directions. From a musicological perspective, further study could assess the particular musics that *Music Moves Europe* concentrates on. The *MMETA* and Preparatory Actions indicate that the strategic initiative primarily focuses on popular and contemporary music. Other music practices – including early and classical music traditions often associated with European composers – seem to remain outside the scope of *Music Moves Europe*. Future research might interrogate how such distinctions are made, and to what end. For example, scholars could examine how the focus on particular music practices relates to the various aims of EU music policy. By extension, this might include further inquiry into the position of *Music Moves Europe* in relation to contemporary cultural policy debates on the values of the arts. For instance, to which of the longstanding assumptions outlined by Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett does

⁹ Zahariadis, “Ambiguity and Choice,” 526.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 529.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 526.

¹² “Evidence-based Policy Making in the European Commission,” European Commission, accessed June 30, 2020, <https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/publication/evidence-based-policy-making-european-commission>.

¹³ Scullion and García, “What Is Cultural Policy Research?” 122.

Music Moves Europe subscribe and who does that ultimately serve? Political scientists and cultural policy scholars might also be interested in further exploration of the connections between *Music Moves Europe* and other policy initiatives. This includes EU culture programs such as the broader *Creative Europe*, but also the national policies of Member States and regional policies. Such inquiry might also include a focus on the institutional aspects of EU cultural policy. Lastly, future research might also question the broader societal role of *Music Moves Europe* and related policies by connecting it to discussions of the *democratization of culture* and *cultural democracy*. By documenting the shapes and needs of the cultural and creative industries and putting forward ideas for creating more egalitarian policies, scholars play an important part in stimulating conceptual change.

For after all, only a select group of policy entrepreneurs and other stakeholders knows the rules of EU policymaking. Providing more people with access to this knowledge would allow broader groups to debate processes of EU policymaking within academia, governing institutions, and the public realm. With this thesis, I hope to contribute to this aim. We – policymakers, scholars, artists, stakeholders, citizens, people – should never stop reflecting on why we have certain policies, who they do and do not benefit, and how. As Christopher Weible reminds us, “policy processes have no beginning or ending. [...] Any given output of the policy process in one study can serve as an input of the policy process in another.”¹⁴ My exploration thus ends abruptly in the middle of the Commission’s nonlinear path towards a “truly European music policy.”¹⁵ And of this quest, *Music Moves Europe* is part and parcel.

¹⁴ Christopher Weible, “Introducing the Scope and Focus of Policy Process Research and Theory,” in *Theories of the Policy Process*, ed. Paul Sabatier and Christopher Weible (Boulder: Westview Press, 2014), 5.

¹⁵ European Commission, “Music Moves Europe.”

Bibliography

- Ackrill, Robert, Adrian Kay, and Nikolaos Zahariadis. "Ambiguity, Multiple Streams, and EU Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 20, no. 6 (2013): 871–887.
- Ahearne, Jeremy. "Cultural Policy Explicit and Implicit: A Distinction and Some Uses." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no. 2 (2009): 141–153.
- Allen, Aaron, and Kevin Dawe, eds. *Current Directions in Ecomusicology*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Association Européenne des Conservatoires et al. *Joint Letter in Support of a EU Music Programme*. Retrieved from <https://www.efa-aeu.eu/media/5452-joint-letter-in-support-of-a-eu-music-programme.pdf>.
- Bache, Ian, and Matthew Fletcher, eds. *Multi-level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Baker, Geoffrey. *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Becker, Howard. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Belfiore, Eleonora, and Oliver Bennett. "Rethinking the Social Impacts of the Arts." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13, no. 2 (2007): 135–151.
- Bottrill, C., D. Liverman, and M. Boykoff. "Carbon Soundings: Greenhouse Gas Emissions of the UK Music Industry." *Environmental Research Letters* 5, no. 1 (2010): 1–8.
- Bruell, Cornelia. *Creative Europe 2014-2020: A New Programme – A New Cultural Policy as Well?* Stuttgart: ifa, 2013.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Cohen, Michael, James March, and Johan Olsen. "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1972): 1–25.
- Copeland, Paul, and Scott James. "Policy Windows, Ambiguity and Commission Entrepreneurship: Explaining the Relaunch of the European Union's Economic Reform Agenda." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21, no. 1 (2014): 1–19.
- Council and Commission of the European Communities. *Treaty on the European Union*. CELEX 11992E/TXT. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992.
- Council and Commission of the European Communities. *Treaty Establishing the European Community, Amsterdam consolidated version*. CELEX 11997E/TXT. Luxembourg: Office for

- Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997). Retrieved from http://data.europa.eu/eli/treaty/tec_2002/oj.
- Council and Commission of the European Communities. *Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*. CELEX 12007L/TXT. Luxembourg: Official Journal of the European Union, 2007.
- DeFillippi, Robert. "Managing Project-based Organization in Creative Industries." In *The Oxford Handbook of Creative Industries*, edited by Candace Jones, Mark Lorenzen, and Jonathan Sapsed, 268–283. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Delgado-Moreira, Juan. *Multicultural Citizenship of the European Union*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2000.
- Derrida, Jacques. *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today's Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- English, James, F. *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Cultural Value*. Harvard University Press, 2009.
- European Commission. *Europe 2020: A Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth*. CELEX 52010DC2020. Brussels, 2010. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52010DC2020&from=en>.
- European Commission. *The AB Music Working Group Report*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016. Retrieved from <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/f5479d95-2fca-11e7-9412-01aa75ed71a1>.
- European Commission. *A New European Agenda for Culture*. CELEX 52018DC0267. Brussels: 2018. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2018%3A267%3AFIN>.
- European Commission. *Brochure for Music Moves Europe Preparatory Action 2019*. Brussels, 2018. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/library/mme_2019_brochure_final-web.pdf.
- European Commission. *Call for Proposals: Organisation and Administration of the EU Prize for Popular and Contemporary Music*. Ref. EAC/S26/2017. Brussels, 2018. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/eac-2018-00032-00-00-en-rev-00_final.pdf.
- European Commission. *Call for Proposals: Training Scheme For Young Music Professionals*. Ref. EAC/S18/2018. Brussels, 2018. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/calls/eac-s18-2018_en.
- European Commission. *Call for Proposals: Online and Offline Distribution*. Ref. EAC/S19/2018.

Brussels, 2018. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/culture/calls/2018-s19_en.

European Commission. *Call for Tenders: Music Moves Europe – A European Music Export Strategy*. Ref. EAC/13/2018. Brussels, 2018. Retrieved from <https://etendering.ted.europa.eu/cft/cft-display.html?cftId=3532>.

European Commission. *Call for Tenders: Music Moves Europe – The Feasibility Study for the Establishment of a European Music Observatory, and a Gap Analysis of Funding Needs for the Music Sector*. Ref. EAC/14/2018. Brussels, 2018. Retrieved from <https://etendering.ted.europa.eu/cft/cft-display.html?cftId=3533>.

European Commission. *Call for Proposals Co-operation of Small Music Venues*. Ref. EAC/S17/2019. Brussels, 2019. Retrieved from [https://creativeeurope.in.ua/storage/documents/30082019/EAC-S17-2019_-_Call_for_proposals_-Small_venues_update_230819%20\(2\).pdf](https://creativeeurope.in.ua/storage/documents/30082019/EAC-S17-2019_-_Call_for_proposals_-Small_venues_update_230819%20(2).pdf).

European Commission. *Call for Proposals: Co-creation and Co-production Scheme for the Music Sector*. Ref. EAC/S18/2019. Brussels, 2019. Retrieved from https://creativeeurope.in.ua/storage/documents/15012020/Guidelines_MME_Co-prod.pdf.

European Commission. *Call for Tenders: Study on the Health and Wellbeing of Music Creators*, Ref. EAC/12/2019. Brussels, 2019. Retrieved from <https://etendering.ted.europa.eu/cft/cft-document.html?docId=63572>.

European Commission. *Mobility Scheme for Artists and/or Cultural Professionals*. Ref. EAC/S06/2019. Brussels 2019. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/calls/mobility-scheme-artists-cultural-professionals>.

European Commission. *Winning Projects for the Call for Proposals “Online and Offline Distribution.”* Brussels, 2019. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/content/winning-projects-call-proposals-online-and-offline-distribution-mme_en.

European Commission. *Call for Proposals: Music Education and Learning*. Ref. EAC/S53/2019. Brussels, 2019. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/content/music-education-and-learning_en.

European Commission. *Music Moves Europe: First Dialogue Meeting Final Report*. Brussels 2019. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/library/mme-conference-report-web.pdf>.

European Commission, and Ecorys. *Study on the Impact of the EU Prizes for Culture*. 2013. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative->

europe/files/library/eu-culture-prizes-study_en.pdf.

- European Commission, and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. *Towards an EU Strategy for International Cultural Relations*. CELEX 52016JC0029. Brussels, 2016. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=JOIN%3A2016%3A29%3AFIN>.
- European Council. *European Council Conclusions, 14 December 2017*. Brussels, 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/12/14/european-council-conclusions-external-relations/>.
- European Council. *Council Conclusions on the Work Plan for Culture 2019-2022*. CELEX 52018XG1221(01). Brussels, 2018. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/GA/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52018XG1221%2801%29>.
- European Parliament, and European Council. *Regulation Establishing the Creative Europe Programme (2014 to 2020)*. CELEX 32013R1295. Luxembourg: Official Journal of the European Union, 2013. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1590165846169&uri=CELEX:32013R1295>.
- Fletcher, Anne, James Guthrie, Peter Steane, Göran Roos, and Stephen Pike. "Mapping Stakeholder Perceptions for a Third Sector Organization." *Journal of Intellectual Capital* 4, no. 4 (2003): 505–527.
- Florida, Richard, and Irene Tinagli. *Europe in the Creative Age*. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon Software Industry Center, 2004.
- Florida, Richard. *The Rise of the Creative Class (Revisited)*. New York: Basic Books, 2012.
- Florida, Richard. *The New Urban Crisis: Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality, and What We Can Do About It*. London: Oneworld Publications, 2017.
- Foret, François, and Oriane Calligaro. "Governing by Prizes: How the European Union Uses Symbolic Distinctions in its Search for Legitimacy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26, no. 9 (2019): 1335–1353.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage, 1995.
- Frith, Simon. *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music*. Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Frith, Simon. "Does British Music Still Matter? A Reflection on the Changing Status of British Popular Music in the Global Music Market." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 7, no. 1 (2004): 43–58.
- Frith, Simon. "Live Music Matter." *Scottish Music Review* 1, no. 1 (2007): 1–17.

- Gemeente Groningen. *Cultuurstad Groningen, City of Talent 2017–2020*. 2016. Retrieved from <https://gemeente.groningen.nl/sites/default/files/cultuurnota-def-losbladig-hr.pdf>.
- Grüll, Stefan. “Building Cities on Basslines: How Techno Music Mediates Urban Space.” RMA Thesis, Utrecht University, 2018.
- Hesmondhalgh, David, and Andy Pratt. “Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy.” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 1–13.
- Hesmondhalgh, David, Kate Oakley, David Lee and Melissa Nisbett. *Culture, Economy and Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Hesmondhalgh, David. *The Cultural Industries*. London: SAGE, 2019.
- Hoeven, Arno van der, and Erik Hitters. “The Social and Cultural Values of Live Music: Sustaining Urban Live Music Ecologies.” *Cities* 90 (2019): 263–271.
- Holt, Fabian. *Genre in Popular Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Holt, Fabian. “Rock Clubs and Gentrification in New York City: The Case of the Bowery Presents.” *LASPM@journal* 4, no. 1 (2013): 21–41.
- Holt, Fabian, and Carsten Wergin, eds., *Musical Performance and the Changing City: Post-industrial Contexts in Europe and the United States*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- IFPI et al. *European Creatives and Rightsolders Call on Negotiators Not to Proceed with Copyright Directive on the Basis of Current Proposals* (2019). Retrieved from https://www.ifpi.org/downloads/European_creatives_and_rightsholder_letter_7Feb19.pdf.
- Isar, Yudhishtir Raj. “‘Culture in EU External Relations’: An Idea Whose Time Has Come?” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21, no. 4 (2015): 494–508.
- Katz, Mark. *Build: The Power of Hip-Hop Diplomacy in a Divided World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- KEA. *Feasibility Study on Data Collection and Analysis in the Cultural and Creative Sectors in the EU*. Brussels, 2015. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/culture/library/studies/ccs-feasibility-study_en.pdf.
- KEA. *The Impact of Culture on Creativity*. Brussels, 2019. Retrieved from <http://keanet.eu/publications/>.
- Kingdon, John. *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. New York: HarperCollins, 1995.
- La Porte, Teresa. “City Public Diplomacy in the European Union.” In *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work*, edited by Mai’a K. Davis Cross and Jan Melissen, 85–111. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

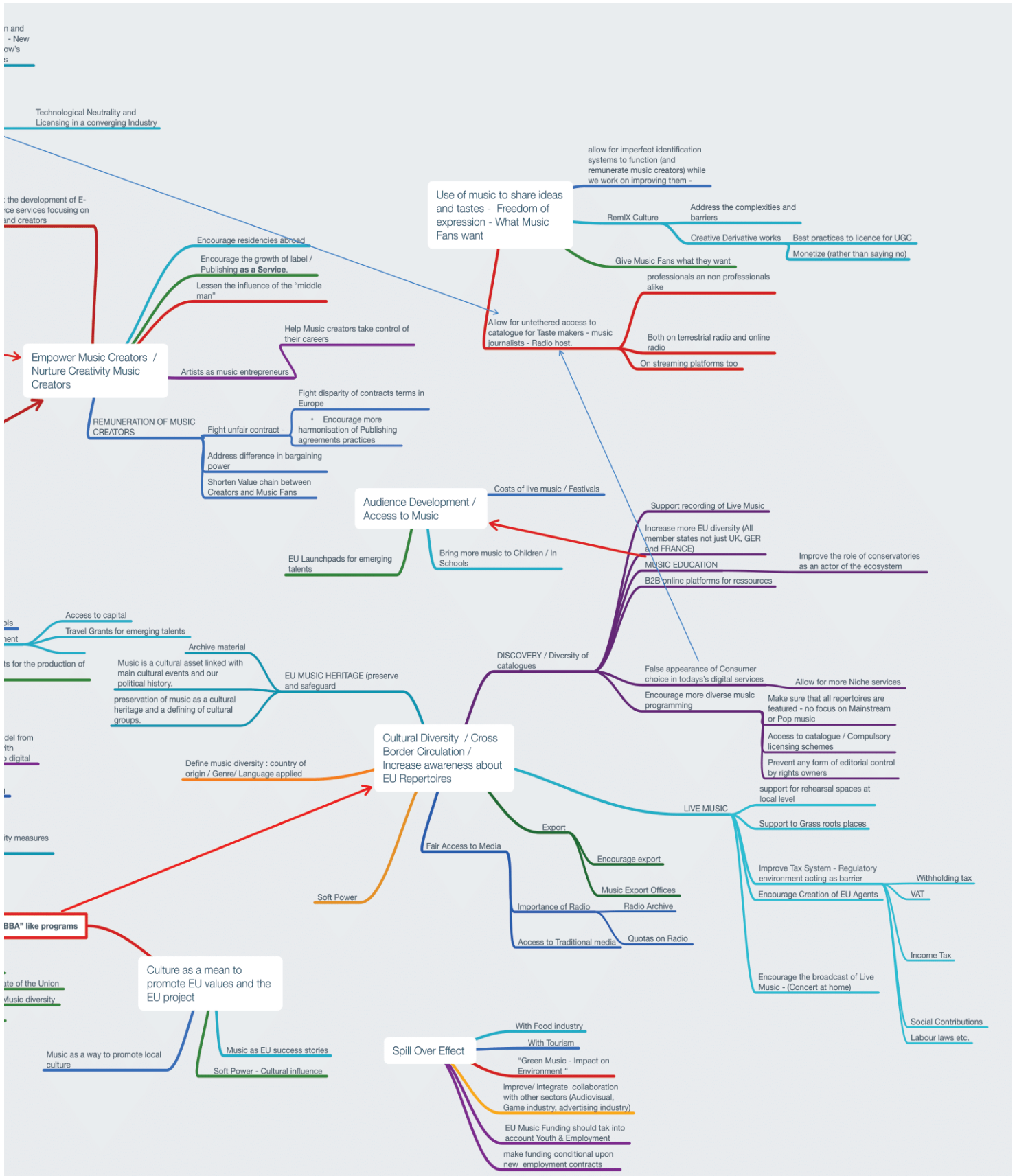
- le bureau export et al., *Music Moves Europe – A European Music Export Strategy*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019. Retrieved from <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4be2f11d-216c-11ea-95ab-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF/source-111483830>.
- Letcher, Andy. “Paganism and the British Folk Revival.” In *Pop Pagans: Paganism and Popular Music*, edited by Donna Weston and Andy Bennett, 91–109. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Ley, David. “Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification.” *Urban Studies* 40, no. 12 (2003): 2527–2544. The Mayor of London’s Music Venues Taskforce. *London’s Grassroots Music Venues*. London, 2015. Retrieved from https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/londons_grassroots_music_venues_-_rescue_plan_-_october_20152.pdf.
- Medendorp, Angela. “Breaking Down Borders? Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in the European Border Breakers Awards 2004–2018.” In *Where Is Europe? Respacing, Replacing, and Reordering Europe*, edited by Janny de Jong, Marek Neuman, and Margriet van der Waal, 79–92. Groningen: Euroculture Consortium, 2019.
- Miller, Toby, and Justin Lewis. *Critical Cultural Policy Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Miller, Toby, and George Yúdice. *Cultural Policy*. London: SAGE, 2002.
- Moran, Michael, Martin Rein, and Robert Goodin, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Murzyn-Kupisz, Monika, and Jarosław Dzialek, eds. *The Impact of Artists on Contemporary Urban Development in Europe*. Cham: Springer, 2017.
- Olsen, Johan. “Garbage Cans, New Institutionalism, and the Study of Politics.” *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (2001): 191–198.
- Ongaro, Edoardo, and Sandra van Thiel, eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Pratt, Andy. “Cultural Industries and Public Policy: An Oxymoron?” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 31–44.
- Psychogiopoulou, Evangelia, ed. *Cultural Governance and the European Union: Protecting and Promoting Cultural Diversity in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Rauch, Jennifer. *Slow Media: Why Slow is Satisfying, Sustainable, and Smart*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Sabatier, Paul, and Christopher Weible, eds. *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2014.

- Sarikakis, Katherine, ed. *Media and Cultural Policy in the European Union*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007.
- Sassatelli, Monica. "Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity Through EU Cultural Policy." *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 2 (2002): 435–451.
- — —. "The Arts, the State, and the EU: Cultural Policy in the Making of Europe." *Social Analysis* 51, no. 1 (2007): 28–41.
- — —. *Becoming Europeans: Cultural Identity and Cultural Policies*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Scullion, Adrienne, and Beatriz García. "What is Cultural Policy Research?" *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 2 (2005): 113–127.
- Shore, Cris. *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Small, Christopher. *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998.
- Street, John. "'Showbusiness of a Serious Kind': A Cultural Politics of the Arts Prize." *Media, Culture & Society* 27, no. 6 (2005): 819–840.
- Street, John. "Awards, Prizes and Popular Taste: Organizing the Judgement of Music." In *Popular Music Matters: Essays in Honour of Simon Frith*, edited by Lee Marshall and Dave Laing, 181–194. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014.
- Surmacz, Beata. "City Diplomacy." *Regional Barometer Analyses & Prognoses* 16, no. 1 (2018): 7–18.
- Tagg, Philip. "Analysing Popular music: Theory, Method and Practice." Accessed May 14, 2020, <https://www.tagg.org/articles/xpdfs/pm2anal.pdf>.
- Theiler, Tobias. *Political Symbolism and European Integration*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Tsaliki, Liza. "The Construction of European Identity and Citizenship Through Cultural Policy." *European Studies* 24 (2007): 157–182.
- Valtysson, Bjarki. "Camouflaged Culture: The 'Discursive Journey' of the EU's Cultural Programmes." *Croatian International Relations Review* 24, no. 82 (2018): 14–37.
- Watson, Allan. "Sociological Perspectives on the Economic Geography of Projects: The Case of Project-Based Working in the Creative Industries." *Geography Compass* 6, no. 10 (2012): 617–631.
- Yúdice, George. *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Zahariadis, Nikolaos. "Ambiguity and Choice in European Public Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15, no. 4 (2008): 514–530.

Appendix A – Mind map from the Commission’s *AB Report*¹



¹ European Commission, *The AB Music Working Group Report* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016), 54–55. Retrieved from <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/f5479d95-2fca-11e7-9412-01aa75ed71a1>.



Appendix B – Table 1 Stakeholders *Music Moves Europe*

Group no.	Stakeholder
1	Artists
2	Artist managers
3	Artist representation
4	Artist career support services
5	Booking agents
6	Citizens
7	Commercial stakeholders
8	Concert venues
9	Conference and dialogue platforms
10	Databases and libraries
11	DG EAC
12	Education
13	Employers' unions and organizations
14	European Commission
15	European Union
16	Event promoters
17	Festivals
18	Journalism and media
19	Lawyers and music rights managers
20	Marketing and consulting experts
21	Member States
22	Music Moves Europe
23	New platforms for artists
24	Online music distribution systems
25	Producers and recording studios
26	Publishers
27	Radio and broadcasting stations
28	Record labels
29	Research institutes
30	Tech companies
31	Streaming services

Appendix C – Table 2 Different Key Performance Areas *AB Report*

No.	KPA	Definition
1	Education for musicians	All actions and beliefs related to the development of music creators
2	Freedom of artistic expression	All aspects that influence the possibilities of music creators in processes of composition
3	Collaboration with stakeholders	Contact with diverse stakeholders that are involved in or impacted by the music sector in Europe
4	Promotion of EU values and projects	Any actions and beliefs related to the promotion of the projects that the European Union hosts or the values that the European Union aims to transcend
5	Empowerment of music creators	All actions and beliefs related to the empowerment of music creators as entrepreneurs in the current European context
6	An EU-umbrella for music	All actions and beliefs related to the construction of overarching EU-projects in the field of music
7	Cross-border circulation of music and cultural diversity	Everything related to the exchange of musics between Member States and between the European Union and the rest of the world, especially in regard to safeguarding cultural diversity
8	Connections between music and identity	Actions and ideas related to, or allowing for, connections between music and any aspects of an individual's identity
9	Audience development and access to music	All actions and ideas that aim to make music accessible to all citizens of Europe, and/or aim to develop new audiences for a range of musics
10	Contribution to economic revenue	All aspects of actions and ideas that contribute to the economic growth of the European Union, Member States, music creators, and other stakeholders
11	Data management	All topics related to the collection, storage, and exchange of data on anything in the music industry.
12	Copyright reform	Related to the copyright laws in Member States and the European Union more broadly.
13	Generation of spillover effects	Any effects generated by stakeholders of the music industry that contribute to fields other than the music industry.

Appendix D

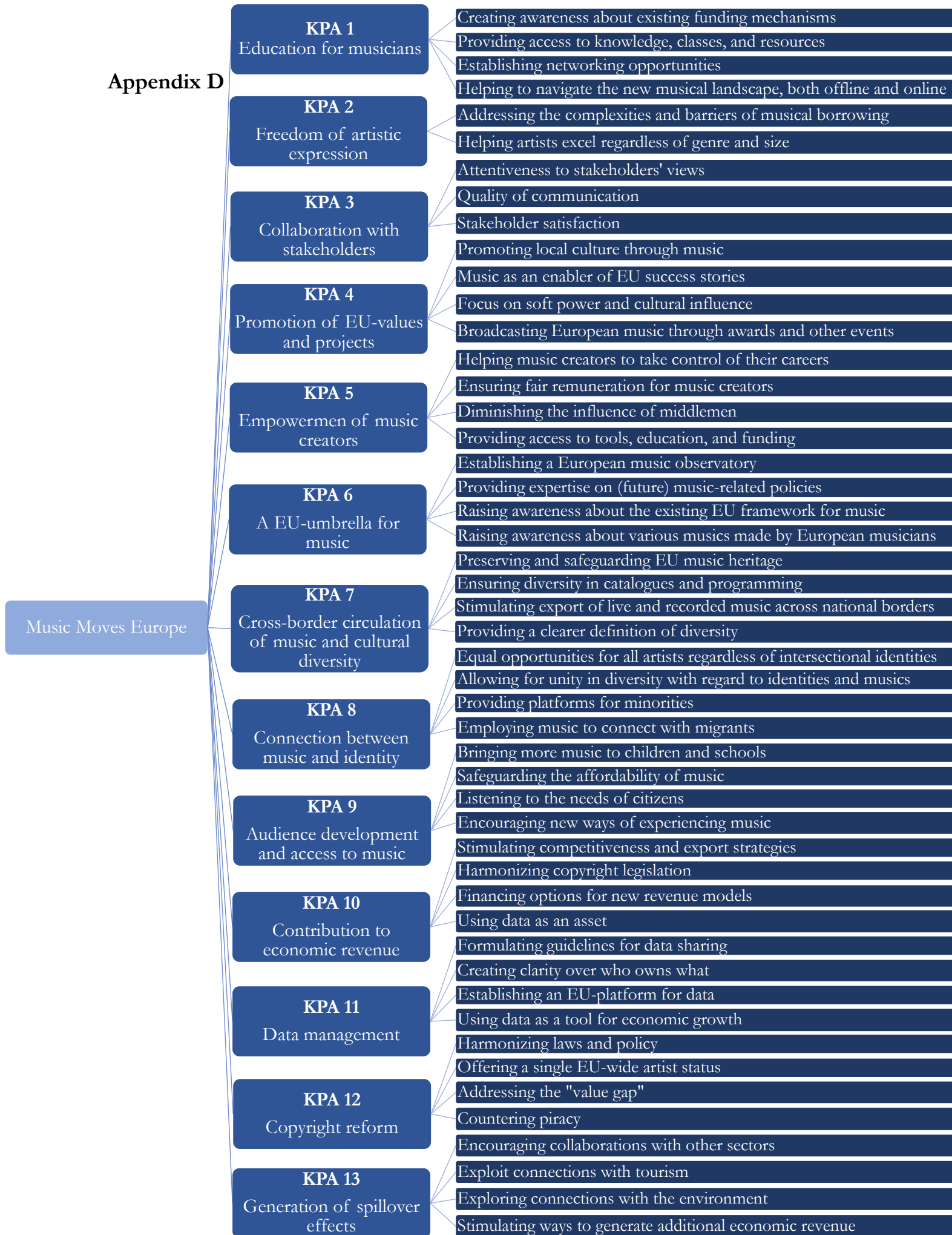


Figure 5 – Different Key Performance Areas *AB Report*

Appendix E – Table 3 Dialogue participants *Music Moves Europe's AB Group*¹

Table 3 is omitted from this online version to respect the privacy of the dialogue participants, who all engage in valuable work to foster Europe's music ecosystem. Individuals interested in the table for scholarly reasons can request its contents from the author of this thesis.

¹ This representation is inevitably subjective to the interpretations of the author. The author attributed all labels based on data accessible online, primarily company's own websites. The categorization is solely meant to give an overall impression of the composition of the *AB Music Working Group*.