

British Theatre Repertoire 2013

**Report by the British Theatre Consortium,
UK Theatre, and the Society of London Theatre**

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1: Headlines

- In 2013, there were 1,771 professional productions, 46,313 performances and 25,612,962 attendances in UK Theatre/Society of London Theatre houses, raising £815,188,350 in box office income.
- The 36 shows which had 200 or more performances represented only 2% of productions, but 45% of all seats sold.
- For the first time since records began, new work has overtaken revivals in the repertoire. In 2013, new work constituted 59% of all productions, 64% of all performances, 63% of all seats sold, and 66% of box office.
- 29% of musicals were new, but new musicals represented 64% of musical performances and 68% of attendances. New pantomimes also do better than old ones. Overall, musicals represent 15% of productions, but provide 61% of theatre income.
- Excluding musicals, pantomimes, and opera, 55% of all productions and 56% of performances were of new writing.
- A quarter of new plays are adaptations and 86% of adaptations are new. For every ten plays written for adults, there are now six plays written for children and young people.
- Devised work made up 21% of new straight theatre productions and 10% of the entire repertoire. However, devised work did less well than new writing in terms of number of performances and tickets sold.
- Despite a numerical decline, revivals did better than new plays at the box office. Classical drama achieved 77% capacity, modern drama (1845-1945) 62% and postwar drama 64%.
- Of new plays written by a single writer, 31% were written by women. However, only 24% of performances were of plays written by women. Women's new plays are presented in smaller theatres, attract only 17% of new play attendances and 13% of box office income.
- 16% of all productions originate in London, with 13.1% of the national population. But London presents 46% of theatre performances and raises 66% of all box office income.
- While the west end contributes a little over a third of performances in London, it accounts for three-quarters of all performances, 82% of attendances, and 85% of all London box office income.¹

¹ This does not include theatre shows with only one performance.

2: Background

1. In 2008, the British Theatre Consortium (a group of academics, playwrights and practitioners that mounts conferences and undertakes research) won a tendered commission from the Arts Council to research how new writing had fared during the five years following the 2003 uplift in funding to English regional theatres.
2. The subsequent report – *Writ Large* – was published in 2009. Based on a survey of the 89 Regularly Funded Organisation theatres (of which 65 replied), the report headline's finding was that the amount of new writing had increased dramatically, from approximately 20% of the repertoire in the 1980s and 1990s to over 40%.²
3. Furthermore, new writing was no longer ghettoised in studio theatres: during the 2003-2008 period, nine out of ten tickets for new plays were sold for main stages. New writing's box office performance rose from 62.1% in 2003-2004 to 68.6% in 2007-2008. Productions of devised work represented 19% of all new writing productions, 7% of new writing performances and 5% of attendances.
4. BTC felt that this picture of English theatre repertoire represented a departure from two pieces of (contrasting) conventional wisdom: first, that new writing is high-risk and empties theatres, and, second, that cutting edge theatre had moved away from text-based work. As the success of new writing clearly has implications both for funding policy and for the programming of individual theatres, BTC recommended that repertoire figures should continue to be collated by Arts Council England (as they were from 1986 to the late 1990s).
5. Arts Council England said that it was unable to produce these figures internally in the future. However, it encouraged BTC to look for alternative ways to collate repertoire figures.
6. BTC met with the Theatrical Management Association (now UK Theatre) and found that both TMA and SOLT were now collecting data from their members which could yield, in an anonymisable form, numbers of productions, performances, attendances, percentage of capacity, box office take and yield. However the shows themselves were categorized to very broad categories (such as 'play').
7. BTC, UK Theatre and SOLT collaborated to categorise the 2,196 theatre shows presented in the 273 UKT/SOLT auditoria, in terms of whether they were new work, new plays, devised works, revivals,

² *Writ Large: New Writing on the English Stage 2003-2009*. London: Arts Council England, 2010. 9 December 2009 http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publication_archive/writ-large/ 10 May 2015.

translations, adaptations or children's shows. These categories were not applied exclusively (so adaptations and translations could also be revivals, new work could and did include new plays, musicals, pantomimes and devised work). It was also possible to divide these categories by region and – in London – between the commercial, not-for-profit and subsidised sector; and to identify the authorship of plays, adaptations and translations in terms of gender.

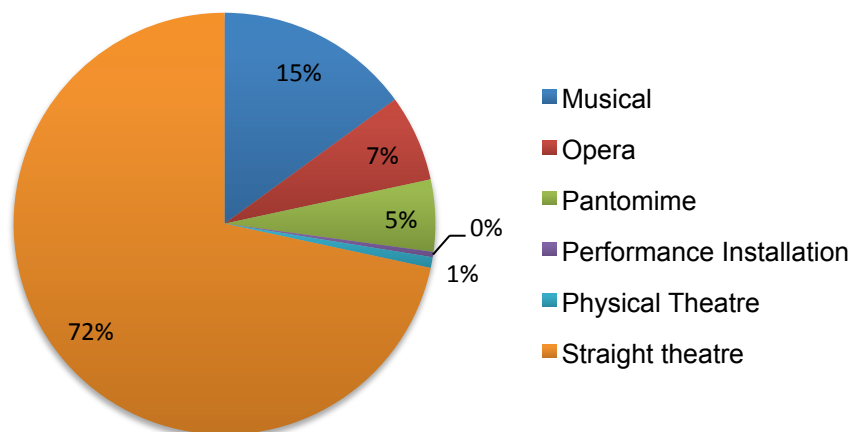
8. Most of our findings come from a dataset which excludes non-theatre performances in theatres, single performances, and work by amateurs. The last exclusion is because, although some amateur work is presented in UKT auditoria, most is presented in dedicated theatres, and so the amateur segment of these datasets are unrepresentative. In addition to having the entire dataset (including non-theatre shows) we also created a narrower set, excluding short runs of between 1-6 performances.
9. In order not to be counted twice (or more than twice), co-productions and tours were only counted in their originating theatre.
10. It should be noted that Scotland is slightly under-represented in the SOLT/UK Theatre figures, and that SOLT and UK Theatre collect data from middle and large-scale venues (including their studio spaces). Fringe venues are also under-represented here.

3: Overview

The Big Picture

1. In the theatres in our survey, 5,250 separate productions took place in 2013. Of these, 42% might be more traditionally defined as theatre (rather than live music, poetry readings, stand-up, book readings, etc.), leaving us with 2,196 individual theatre productions that took place in 2013.
2. We have divided these into six categories: musicals, opera, pantomime, performance installation³, physical theatre⁴, and straight theatre⁵.
3. There are debates to be had about the distinctions between these categories. Stephen Sondheim famously opined that *Sweeney Todd* was a musical at the Uris Theatre on Broadway and an opera in the New York City Opera House. In fact, the great majority of productions ;

Theatre Productions 2013



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³ This is a small category that draws on a visual art practice (the work is installed in a specific location) but has some durational or performative element. Because this sits at the very edge of performance, we have separated this out from 'straight theatre'.

⁴ There is a great deal of dance performed in the UK. We have tried to focus on theatre as specifically as possible, so we have excluded dance from theatre but included shows in the 'dance theatre' or 'physical theatre' traditions (associated with artists like Pina Bausch and companies like DV8) which draw equally on dance and theatre conventions.

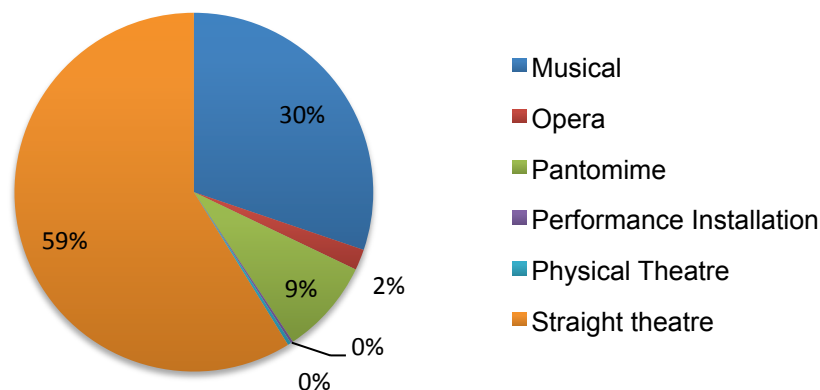
⁵ We have debated an appropriate collective term to describe non-lyric plays and devised work. 'Plays and devised work' seems to set up an internal distinction that our survey does not bear out. 'Legitimate theatre' is clearly outdated. 'Straight theatre' has some unwelcome connotations but it currently seems the best term to describe the work we want to isolate and describe.

are relatively uncomplicated and the tricky cases, which we have debated and assigned to these categories, are few.

4. The overall picture of theatrical production in 2013 is shown in the first chart, which gives us a snapshot of the picture for theatre in 2013. Of the 2,196 theatrical productions:
- Straight theatre dominates the repertoire in terms of productions at 72%. That is, 1,573 of the 2,196 productions.
 - Musicals (329), opera (146) and pantomime (121) together make up just over a quarter of all productions at 27%.
 - Physical theatre (18 productions) and performance installations (of which we counted 9) make up just over 1.2% of all productions.

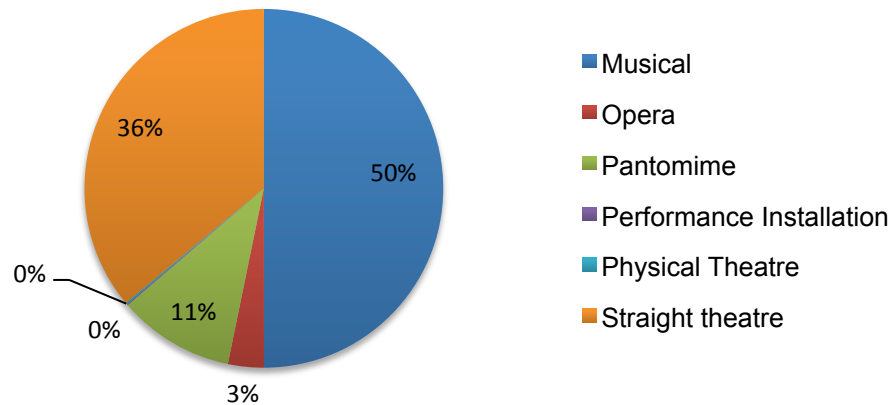
However, if we look at the figures for numbers of performances, individual seats sold, and box office income, the picture changes quite dramatically.

Theatre Performances 2013



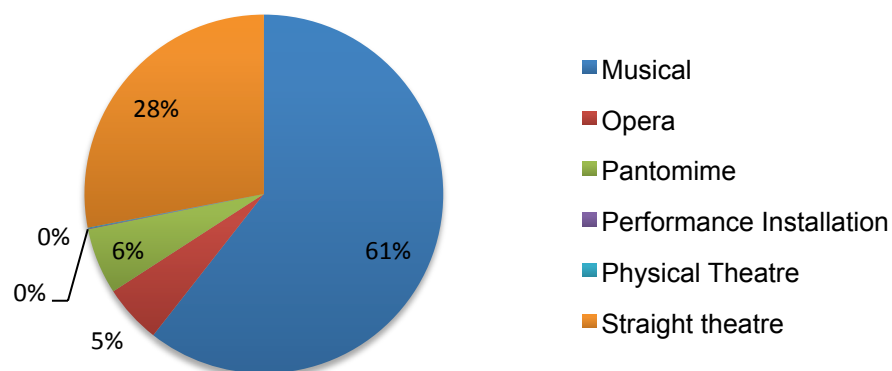
5. If we look at the share of **performances** taken by each of these forms, we can see some substantial shifts:
- In particular, the musical makes up 30% of all performances (as against 15% of productions). This is consistent with a sector dominated by long runs where a handful of single shows will have occupied a handful of theatres for the entire year.
 - Opera, where the runs are traditionally very short, declines sharply, making up only 2% of performance (as against 7% of productions)
 - Straight theatre, with its shorter runs, requires theatres to close for periods during the year for get-ins and technical rehearsals so comprises 59% of performances (as against 72% of productions).

Theatre Attendances 2013



6. When we turn to **attendances**, the picture is again transformed:
- Just over half of all theatre attendances in 2013 were at musicals.
 - Opera and pantomime, which traditionally take place in the larger theatres, have 14% of total attendances (from 11% of performances).
 - Somewhat over a third of all attendances are for straight theatre and one-quarter of 1% of all attendances are for physical theatre or performance installations.

Theatre Box Office Income 2013

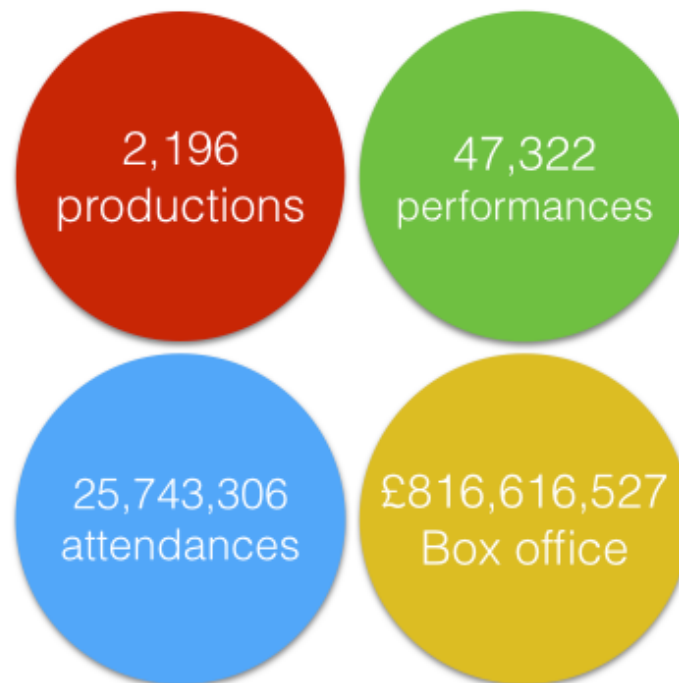


7. By the time we turn to **box office income** the snapshot of theatre seen by numbers of productions is reversed.
- Musical theatre now dominates, accounting for 61% of the total theatre box office for 2013.

- The income for straight theatre makes up 28% of the total box office.
- The income for physical theatre and installation work is 0.15% of the total. (Though, it is worth noting, this sector nonetheless generates £1.2m at the box office.)

8. The following chart offers a snapshot of the theatre in 2013:

Theatre 2013



9. In other words, despite the recession and the very severe cuts to the arts budget, the theatre appears to be holding up. 2013 was, however, early into the period of the Coalition's austerity budgeting and it will be interesting to compare these figures with the results in subsequent years as the effects of the cuts accumulate.

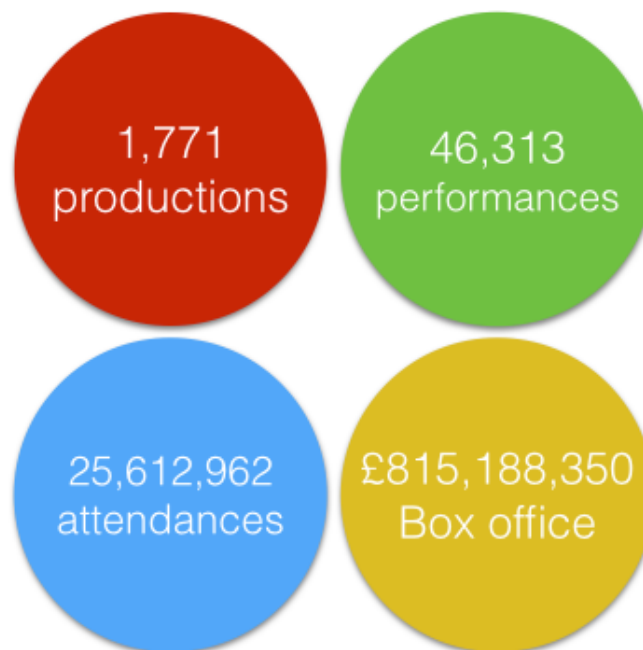
A Narrower Focus

10. One of our aims in conducting this research has been to assess the health of the professional theatre sector as a whole. These figures represent the entirety of theatre work taking place in the SOLT and vast majority of UKT theatres. But there is some work that has the potential to distort the overall picture. For example, a significant number of shows are actually amateur theatre productions given typically short runs in professional theatre buildings. Also, several productions only have a single performance; these might be

playreadings, gala performances, recitations or other occasional pieces.

11. While they clearly count as theatre and have their own value, they risk giving a false impression of the amount of activity on our theatres or on our stages.
- In particular, it inflates the number of productions considerably. 19% of the productions in the figures above are amateur or one-off performance.
 - Because these are all very short runs, it brings down sharply the average number of performances for an individual production from 26 to 22.
 - For the same reason, it brings down the average number of people seeing each production over the run from just under 14,500 to just over 11,700.
12. For these reasons, for the rest of this report we will focus on a more restricted dataset, which excluded one-off performances and amateur work. This principally affects the number of productions, as discussed, but leaves most other figures much the same, as can be seen in this and the previous chart:

Theatre 2013 (narrow set)

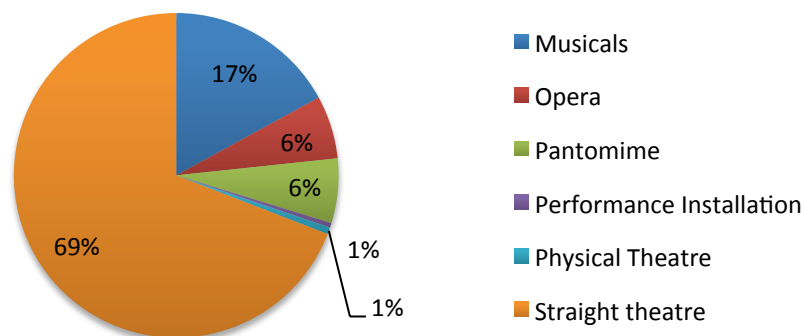


13. The reduction of the set does not change the share of attendances and box office between the various forms of theatre shown above. It has a marginal effect on the share of performances. In this narrower set:

- musicals make up 31% of total performances, rather than 30%
- Straight theatre makes up 58% of total performances rather than 59%.
- All other figures are the same.

14. As suggested in 11., the biggest impact of restricting the dataset as we are doing is on productions. This chart shows the new proportion of theatre forms in this narrow set.

Theatre Productions 2013 (narrow set)



15. Although these figures are very welcome, we should add a note of caution: when we look at long-running shows, we find that the 36 shows which had 200 or more performances in 2013 represented only 2% of productions but 45% of all seats sold. In other words, the average figure masks very wide disparities in performance.

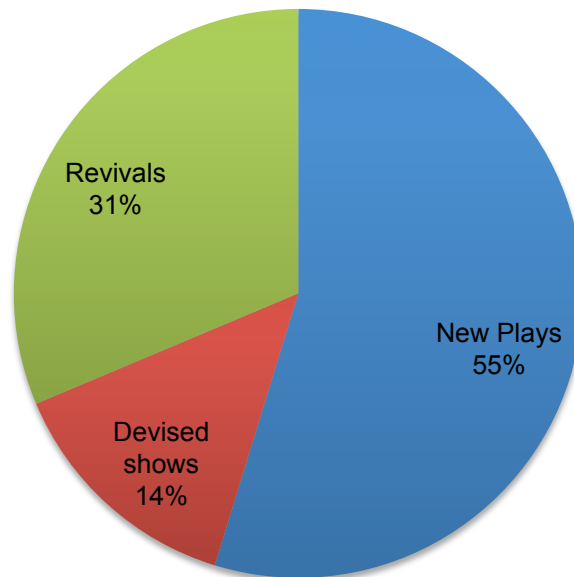
The repertoire

16. Using this narrower set, we can now take a look at the composition of the repertoire as a whole. Within straight theatre:

- New plays constitute well over half of all productions.
- Revivals constitute a little under a third of all productions.
- Devised work constitutes around one-seventh of all productions.

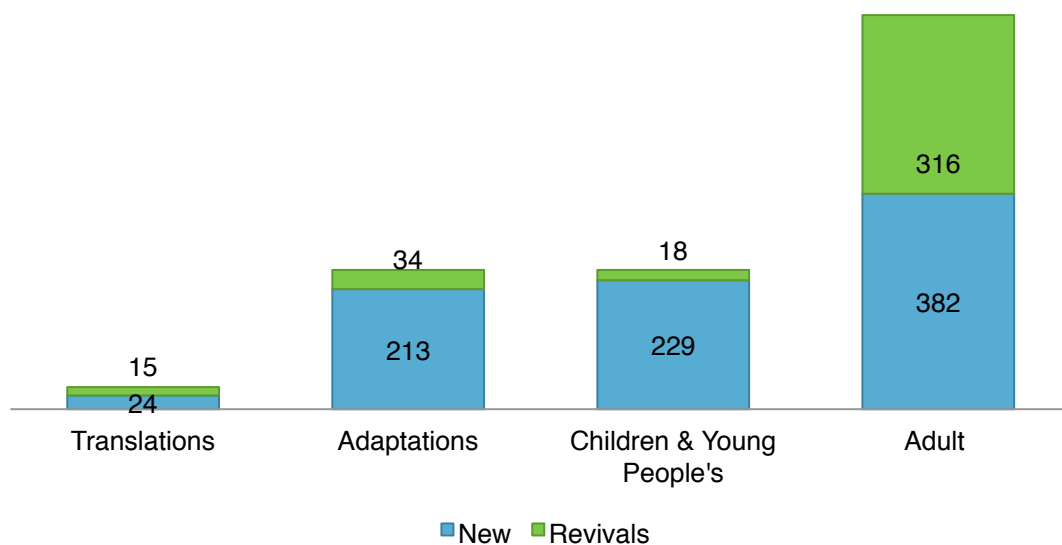
We will further explore the performance of these kinds of theatre in the following chapter.

Straight Theatre Repertoire 2013



17. These productions are by no means only original adult plays, and include adaptations, translations and plays for children and young people. Some of these are themselves revivals. We can get a sense of numbers from the following chart.

Straight Theatre Repertoire 2013



18. This chart shows raw numbers of productions. The columns are not mutually exclusive – many plays for children and young people are also adaptations, in particular. Nonetheless it demonstrates broadly the proportions between various types of theatrical production.

- The number of new original plays for children is around 60% of the number of new original plays for adults.
- Adult plays are more-or-less split equally between new plays and revivals
- Translations make up a very small part of the repertoire: the total number of original and revived translations still makes up barely one-tenth the number of original adult plays.

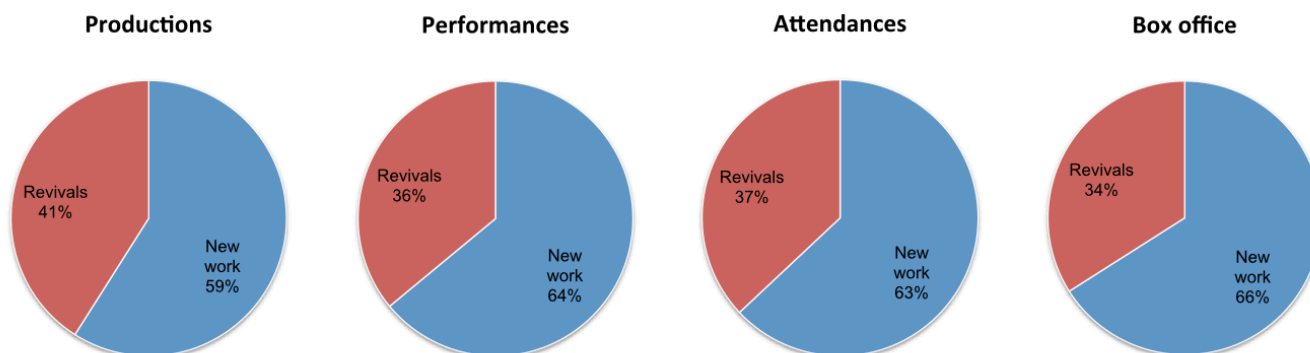
19. This chart points to a major division within the theatre repertoire, between new work and revivals. It is to this division we now turn.

4: New Work

1. In our 2009 report *Writ Large* we found that the proportion of new work in the repertoire of our reporting theatres had increased dramatically between the 1990s and 2000s. We also discovered a smaller but significant increase in the amount of new devised work. In this much larger sample we find that– by 2013 – new work (written and devised) had overtaken revivals in the repertoire. Even without devised work, new writing forms the majority of straight theatre presented in the British theatre.
2. All areas of theatre have significant amounts of new work as opposed to revivals.⁶ In 2013:
 - 70% of pantomime productions were new.
 - 29% of musical theatre productions were new⁷
 - The exception is opera, which is heavily reliant on its classic repertoire, where new work comprises only 7% of productions.
3. It is interesting to see that new work, generally, does better than revivals in most forms.
 - The new pantomime comprises 70% of pantomime productions, but 81% of performances, 79% of attendances and 77% of box office income.
 - New physical theatre comprises 61% of physical theatre productions but 97% of attendances and 99% of box office income.
4. Of all theatre, new work constitutes:
 - 59% of all productions
 - 64% of all performances
 - 63% of all attendances
 - 66% of box office income

⁶ In this chapter, we are continuing to use the narrower dataset that excludes productions by amateurs and single performances.

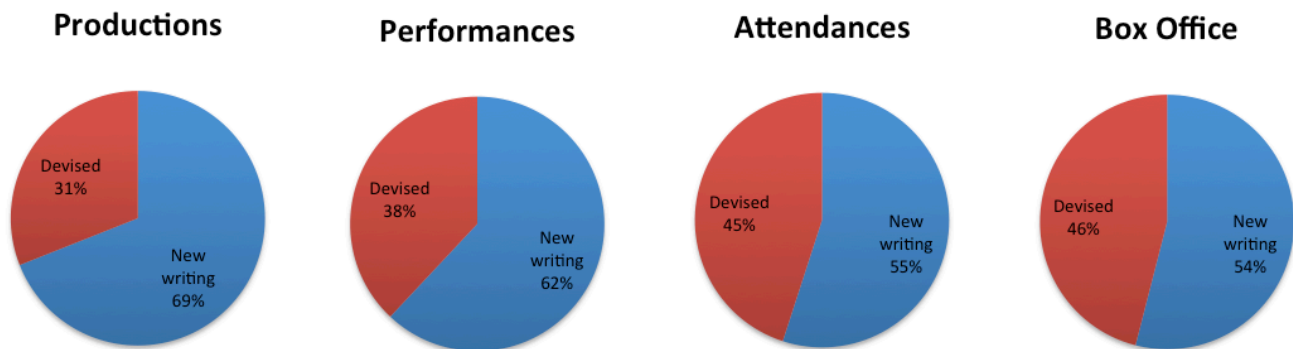
⁷ This struck us as surprisingly high, but we should remember that technically several long-running shows in the West End – *Les Misérables*, *Phantom of the Opera*, *Mamma Mia!*, *The Lion King*, *We Will Rock You* and *Wicked*– are still technically ‘new’ because it is the original productions that are still running, even though in 2013 they had collectively been running for 104 years.



5. In other words, using all four measures – shows, performances, attendances, and money – our research shows that new work dominates the repertoire; it is substantially over half of the work programmed and generates almost two-thirds of our theatres' income.
6. The dominance of new work continues as we take out musicals, pantomimes, opera, installations and physical theatre,⁸ and thus narrow the dataset down to straight theatre, which consists of:
 - 1,224 'straight theatre' shows (69% of all shows).
 - 26,890 performances of 'straight theatre' shows (57% of all performances)
 - 9.1m seats sold for 'straight theatre' shows (35% of all seats sold)
 - Generating £228m of box office income (24% of all box office income)
7. Within the straight theatre sector:
 - 839 of 1,224 of the 1,224 individual **productions** (69%) were new work.
 - 16,765 (62%) of the 26,890 individual **performances** were of new work
 - Just over 5m (55%) of 9.1m **seats sold** were for new work
 - £123.5m (54%) of the £228m of **box office income** was for new work.
8. On every index, then, new work represented over half of British theatre product, audience and income in 2013.⁹

⁸ We have debated whether to include installations and physical theatre/dance in this 'straight shows' category and have eventually decided on excluding them, on the basis that they cover a wide range of performances, some of which go far beyond theatre. In any case, both categories together constitute only one half of one percent of all performances and would therefore make minimal difference to the category.

⁹ Although we have excluded amateur work in our main analysis, it should be stated that during 2013, 126 plays were presented by amateurs in UK Theatre or SOLT auditoria.

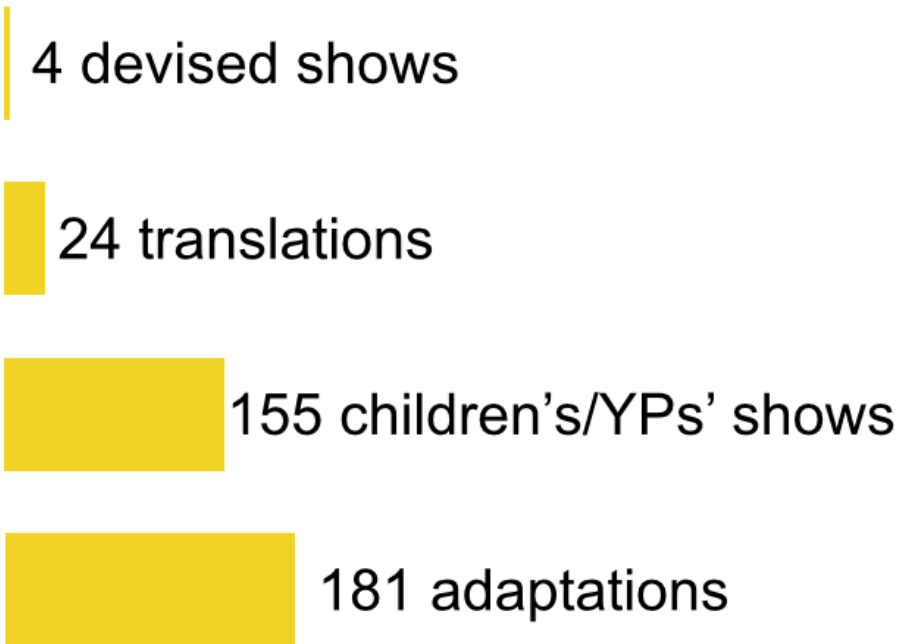


9. Since the first round of Arts Council cuts in 2013, considerable concern has been expressed about the particular threat to the development and production of new writing in the theatre. Responding to casual dismissal of these concerns by Culture Minister Ed Vaizey, playwright Fin Kennedy produced *In Battalions* (2013)¹⁰, a report into the state of new play development at the beginning of 2013, which suggested that there had been a sharp decline in the commissioning, development and programming of new writing.
10. Our figures do not demonstrate a reduction in the production of new writing in 2013 (in fact, they show the reverse). One possible cause of this is the fact that new plays often take two or more years to develop, and that plays commissioned after the 2011 cuts began to bite are unlikely to be in the 2013 repertoire. So, in 2013, in all straight theatre:
 - 55% of all productions were of new writing
 - 56% of performances were of new writing
 - Just under 5m (53%) of seats sold were for new writing
 - £120.9m (53%) of the box office income was for new writing
11. In addition, within straight theatre, when we isolate only new work, new writing describes the vast majority of work in all categories, accounting for 80% of productions to 98% of box office income.
12. Not all new work is new writing and not all new writing consists of new plays. 'New writing' as a category means all theatre productions in which a named writer has been involved (as a writer). It includes new translations, new adaptations, some devised shows, and new work for children and young people.

Possibly unrepresentative of the amateur sector as a whole, it is nonetheless noteworthy that 46% of the amateur productions were of new work, 20% of it devised.

¹⁰ Fin Kennedy in collaboration with Helen Campbell Pickford: *In Battalions*, 2013
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/126273288/In-Battalions>

New Writing includes:



4 devised shows

24 translations

155 children's/YPs' shows

181 adaptations

These categories are not mutually exclusive; several plays for children are also adaptations; some translations are also for young people or adaptations; a few productions are all three.

13. A considerable proportion of new writing consists of plays that are not original to the writer, but are translations of foreign-language plays or adaptations (usually, but not always, of novels). Within the 'straight theatre' category, there were 181 new authored adaptations (26% of new plays), 24 new translations (representing 4%), and 155 plays for children or young people (representing 22%).
14. By removing translations and adaptations it is possible to find the proportion of the repertoire represented by original new plays; by then removing plays for children and young people, we can see the proportion of new original plays for adults in the repertoire.
 - If we *exclude* adaptations and translations but *include* (non-adapted) children's work ('original plays'), then there were 467 new plays produced in these theatres, which represents 70% of all new writing.
 - If we exclude *all* children's work ('original adult plays'), there were 398 new plays produced, representing 59% of all new writing.
 - If we exclude all children's work, but include new adaptations and translations ('adult plays'), there were 531, representing 79% of all new writing.

'Original plays' currently seems to us the most helpful definition of 'new plays' (as opposed to new writing) and that gives us the conclusion that new plays in 2013 formed

- 26% of the repertoire as a whole
- 38% of all straight theatre
- 45% of all new work.

All of these are calculated in numbers of productions.

15. Finally, it should be noted that theatres are commissioning and presenting a large number of new adaptations and translations. Of the 247 adaptations (including devised adaptations), 86% were new. Of the 39 translations, 61% were new. Meanwhile, for every 10 plays written for adults, there are now a further six new plays for children and young people.

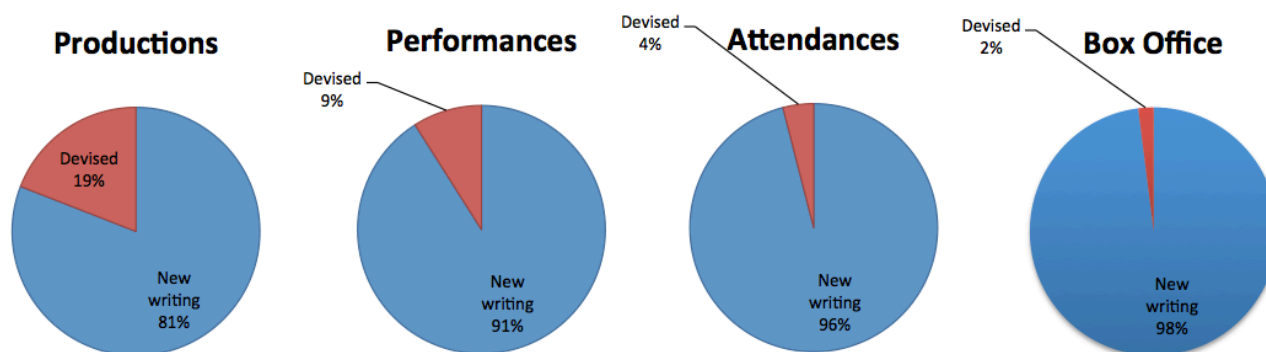
Devised Work

16. As a proportion of straight theatre work – including devised adaptations and devised work for children and young people – new devised work has become a significant part of the repertoire. Devised work means work made collaboratively, usually without the involvement of a named writer, and comprises:

- 21% of new 'straight theatre' productions.
- 16% of all new work
- 14% of all straight theatre
- 10% of the entire repertoire of British theatre

To take the first of these figures – probably the most relevant context for devised work – devised work, as a proportion of new straight theatre productions, makes up:

- 9% of all performances
- 4% of all paid attendances
- 2% of box office income



This fairly sharp declining pattern in the percentage of devised work measured by production numbers, performances, attendances and sales can be partially explained by devised shows having fewer performances in smaller houses. However, devised work generally achieves on average 50% of capacity, compared to 62% for new writing, 70% for musicals, 72% for opera and 74% for pantomime. It would be worth investigating how confident theatres are in marketing new work of this kind.

Revivals

20. Finally, what is the place of the revival in British theatre? A widely-shared online article by the Toronto-based academic Holger Syme in 2015 bemoaned the emphasis on new plays at the prestigious German theatre festival Theatertreffen: 'a theatre that doesn't wrestle with its own past, openly, repeatedly, continually,' Syme argued, 'lacks a vital element'.¹¹
21. In our 2009 report *Writ Large*, we were able to calculate revivals as a proportion of the overall repertoire. We were also able to capture the performance of plays in different eras. We divided revivals into three periods: classical (before 1850, including the Greeks, Shakespeare and his contemporaries and the Restoration), modern (1850-1945, including Chekhov, Ibsen, Wilde, Shaw and most of Coward) and post war (after 1945). We have retained those categories in this report. It should be emphasised that the 2003-2008 (*Writ Large*) datasets are different from our current dataset in the following ways:

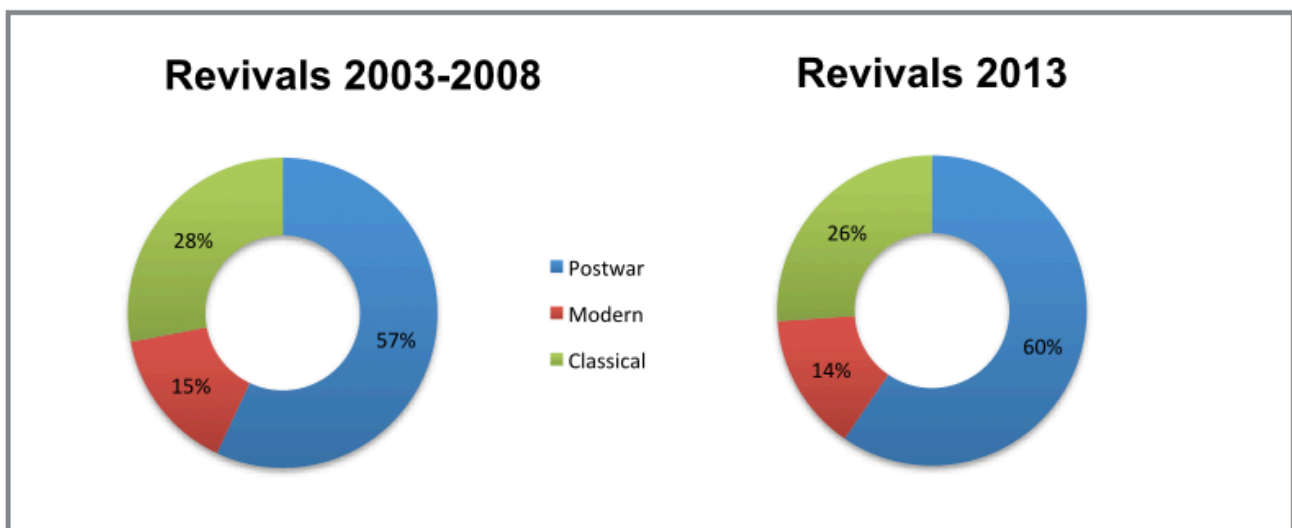
¹¹ Holger Syme, 'German Theatre, the Old, and the Now: Theatertreffen Troubles' dispositio.net 3 February 2015 <http://www.dispositio.net/archives/2112> 4 May 2015.

- The *Writ Large* dataset was based on a survey of the 89 Arts Council Regularly Funded Organisation theatres, of which 65 replied.
- Therefore, this dataset did not capture information about the commercial theatre, opera, musicals, pantomime and those UK Theatre and SOLT members who were not regularly funded.

Nonetheless, and despite those caveats, it is illuminating to compare the performance of revivals in the two periods.

22. As the charts below show, the proportions of these periods has hardly changed at all.

- Revivals are by far most likely to be from the postwar period, making up well over half of all revivals.
- The classical period is represented in a little over a quarter of all revivals.
- The modern period is the least popular period for revival. Though, to put some flesh on these bones, there were 104 modern revivals in 2013, of which 55 were straight plays.



23. In *Writ Large*, we found that of the kinds of theatre we surveyed, classical revivals were the most successful, in terms of capacity.¹² In 2003-2008, we found that classical revivals on average got 75% houses. This trend has continued, with classical revivals averaging 77% houses, the single best figure for any type of theatre surveyed.¹³

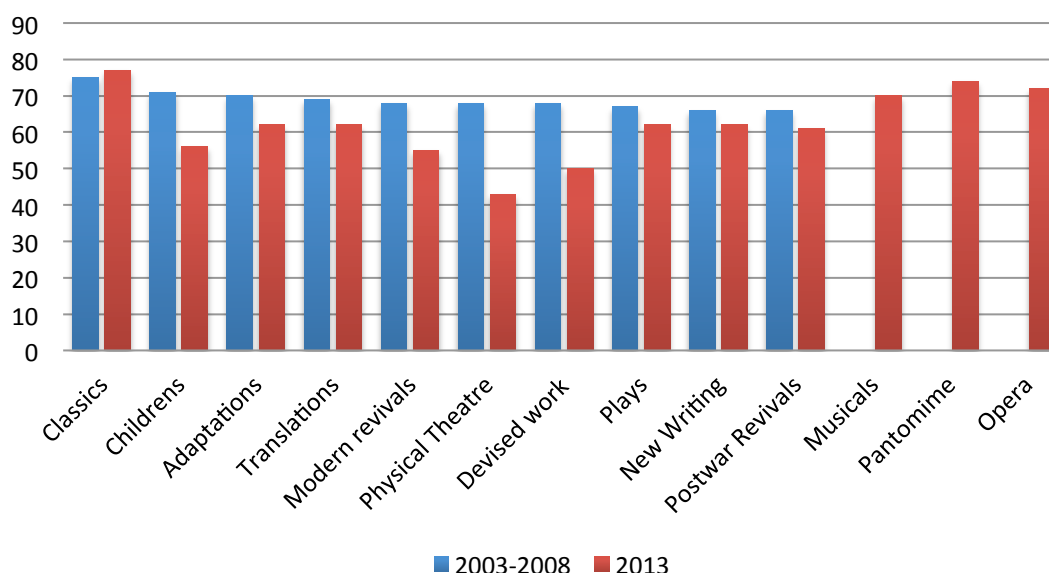
24. However, whereas in 2003-2008, we found that postwar revivals were the least successful in terms of capacity, that no longer seems to be

¹² *Writ Large*, op. cit., p. 65.

¹³ In fact 'new translations' scores even more highly, attracting 85% of capacity, though this is not a fair comparison as many classical revivals will also be new translations.

the case. This chart compares the performance of shows by capacity between the earlier period and 2013.

Types of theatre by % capacity achieved



25. The data suggests that most forms of theatre have seen a slight drop in attendance. What we can see, however, is that the relative performance of different theatre types has changed.

- In *Writ Large*, postwar revivals were the least successful type of production on the list. Now the three kinds of production with the lowest box office are physical theatre (43%), devised work (50%), and modern revivals (55%).
- Postwar revivals achieve an average 61% houses, which is on a par with plays, translations and adaptations (all on 62%).

26. There is evidence, then, that Britain's theatre continues to wrestle with its own past and that it attracts an audience.

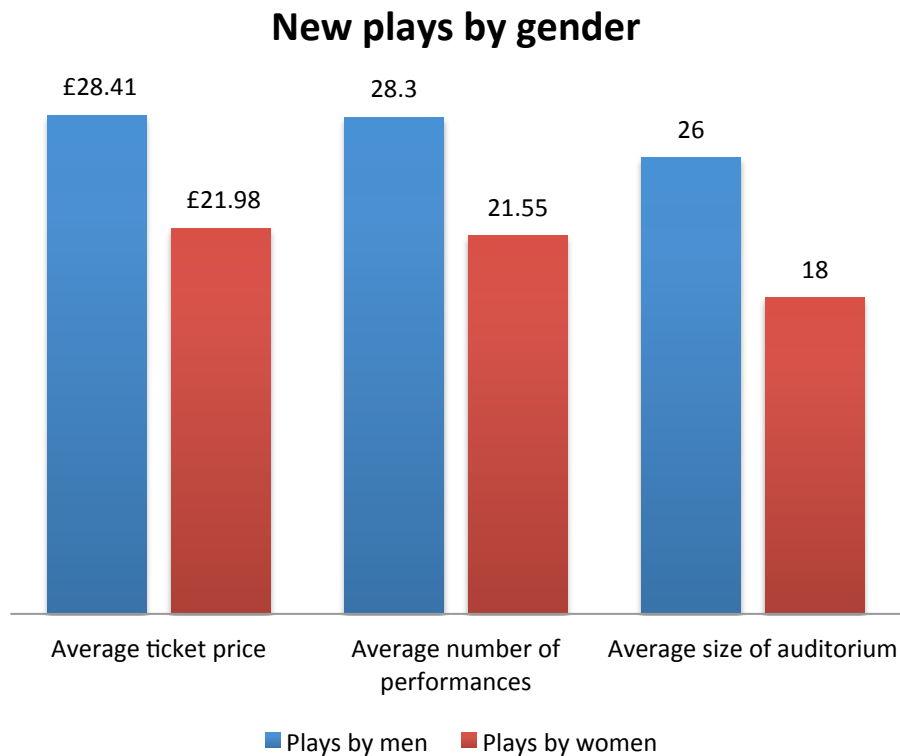
5: Gender

1. The last few years have seen a revival of concern about gender equality in theatre. Lucy Kerbel's work as part of Tonic Theatre (and her book *100 Great Plays for Women*) has been leading the charge for redressing continuing imbalances among actors and other theatre professionals.
2. The position of the female playwright has excited similar attention. The National Theatre's 50th anniversary gala featured excerpts from 36 plays but it was widely noted that only one of them was written by a woman (*London Road* by Alecky Blythe, music composed by Adam Cork). Against that, one might note a number of acclaimed high-profile, main-stage plays by women over the last few years, including *Posh* by Laura Wade, *Chimerica* by Lucy Kirkwood, *ENRON* by Lucy Prebble, as well as *Her Naked Skin* by Rebecca Lenkiewicz and *Welcome to Thebes* by Moira Buffini in the National Theatre's largest space. In 2008, when researching *Writ Large* we conducted interviews with some leading literary managers and artistic directors and asked if they had any policies to attract work by women; the consensus was that they didn't think there was a particular imbalance to correct.



3. Our figures suggest that this confidence is misplaced. Our research shows us that of new plays where a single author is known and named:

- 31% of productions are written by women¹⁴
 - 24% of performances are written by women
4. Typically, plays by women are performed in substantially smaller theatres and have a lower ticket price:
- New plays by women play in theatres with an average capacity of 431 (compared to 566 for plays by men).
 - New plays by women have an average ticket price of £21.98 (compared to £28.41 for plays by men).¹⁵



5. In other words, there is a significant imbalance between male and female playwrights on all measures. On average, a new play by a woman compared to a new play by a man:
- Has its tickets priced 23% lower
 - Plays in a theatre that is 24% smaller
 - Will have 69% fewer performances
6. For all of these reasons, it is unsurprising that new plays by women fare significantly less well than new plays by men on the measures of raw attendances and box office income. For new plays,

¹⁴ By 'written by women' mean plays written solely by women. There are a few plays co-written by men and women and if you distribute those to men and women, the figures for productions, performances, attendances and box office rise to 32%, 25%, 19% and 14%.

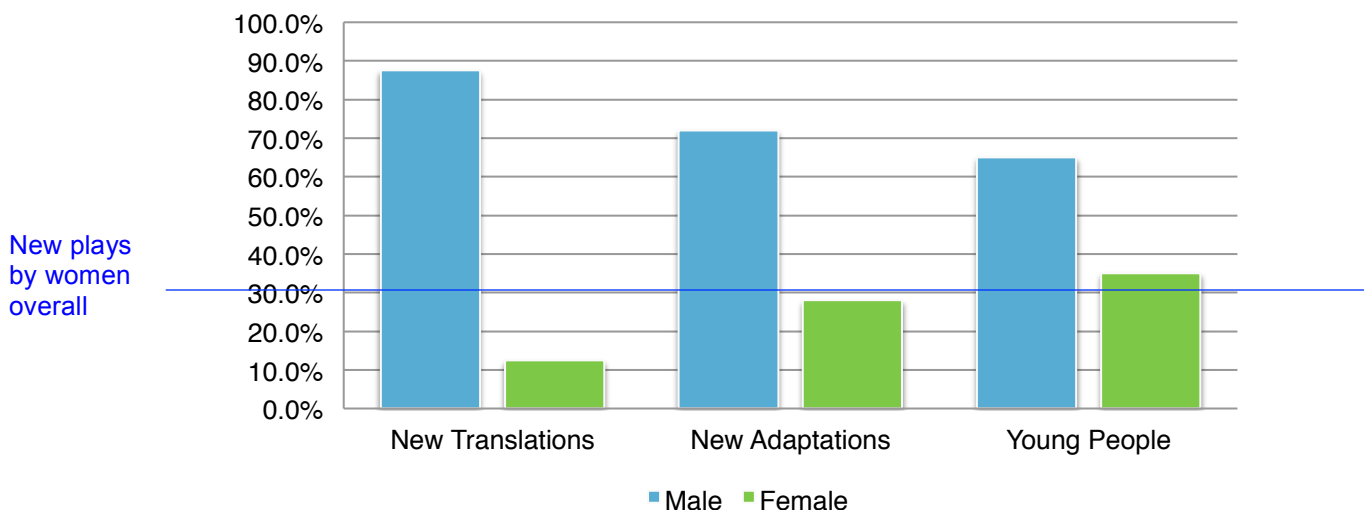
¹⁵ This is the face value of the ticket rather than the price paid. Taking into discounts, special offers and so on, the figures are £26.84 for plays by men and £20.01 for plays by women.

- 17% of attendances are for plays by women¹⁶
- 13% of box office income is for plays by women

Plays by women achieve a smaller percentage of both box office (49%) and percentage capacity (56%) than plays by men (58% and 64%).

7. We should also look at the specific categories of adaptations and translations. Unlike original new plays, which are often conceived and proposed by the writer, the decision to commission a new adaptation or translation is usually decided on by the theatre, and are thus in its gift. It might be expected that, if theatres wanted to redress the gender imbalance in new writing production, they would take care to consider women playwrights when commissioning adaptations and translations. However, this does not appear to be happening.
8. Of new adaptations¹⁷, those written by women account for:
 - 28% of productions
 - 24% of performances
 - 16% of attendances
 - 12% of box office income.¹⁸

Productions by form and gender



¹⁶ UK Theatre separate out complimentary tickets but SOLT do not. Our figures for attendance remove the UK Theatre comps. Incidentally, there is considerable variation in the proportion of comps given out – the musical being the most parsimonious theatre form and devised theatre being the most generous.

¹⁷ More properly, 'of adaptations where the adaptor is named'. There are, in addition these figures, 32 adaptations without a named author (that are probably collectively created) and 3 where we believe there is a particular adaptor but they are unnamed.

¹⁸ We have divided adaptations co-written by men and women and added them to the 'men' and 'women' categories. The figures for women adapting solo are slightly reduced in the first two categories (25% of productions and 21% of performances) and very sharply reduced in the final two (3% of attendances and 2% of box office income).

These surprisingly low figures should be compared to the overall figures for new writing by women, indicated by the blue line on the chart. Thus 31% of all new writing is by women, but only 28% of adaptations.

9. It is worth noting that figures for new adaptations by women are worse than those of revivals of old adaptations. Revivals of old adaptations by women account are

- 20% of productions of revived adaptations, but
- 35% of all performances of revived adaptations
- 51% of all attendances at revived adaptations
- 53% of box office income for revived adaptations.

10. The figures for new translations are even worse. New translations written by women account for:

- 12.5% of all productions of new translations
- 8% of all performances of new translations
- 4% of all attendances at new translations
- 2% of all box office income for new translations¹⁹

These figures are particularly low, though it should be noted that our figures show only 24 original translations with named translators in 2013, of which only 2 were by women. There may be other translations that our figures have not caught, though there is no particular reason to think these 'hidden' translations will be disproportionately by women.

11. The number of revived adaptations contrasts sharply with the gender of writers of plays as a whole. There were 344 revivals of plays written by men and 46 of plays written by women. We have divided all revivals into three periods: classical (before 1850) modern (1850-1945) and postwar (1945+). Plays by women make up:

- 0% of classical revivals
- 9% of modern revivals
- 13% of postwar revivals

12. In the field of children's and young people's theatre, women writers fare somewhat better. Of new plays for children or young people with named authors:

- 40% of productions are shows written by a woman
- 32% of performances are of shows written by a woman

¹⁹ There are three categories: translations by men, translations by women, and translations by men and women together. We have divided the third category in half and divided it between the first two. The figures for women translating alone are 8% of productions, 7% of performances, 3% of attendances and 2% of box office income. There is a further category of translations by 'men and women'.

- 28% of attendances are to shows written by a woman
- 25% of box office income is for shows written by a woman.²⁰

13. The figures are comparable to revivals of children's shows where:

- 38% of productions are shows written by a woman
- 31% of performances are of shows written by a woman
- 27% of attendances are to shows written by a woman
- 24% of box office income is for shows written by women.²¹

14. As elsewhere in our wider society, working with and for children has stereotypically been associated with women. Nonetheless, it is clear that there is real expertise here in a very significant part of the repertoire: shows for children and young people make up 27% of all productions in our reporting theatres.

15. The National Theatre is the leading subsidised theatre in Britain and the Royal Court the leading new writing theatre.

- In 2013, the National presented 23 plays by men, 6 by women, and 3 devised shows. Of the ten revivals, none was written by a woman. The six plays by women (and the 3 devised shows) were new. The only play by a woman writer in the Olivier or the Lyttelton Theatres was Tanya Ronder's translation of Pirandello's *Liola*.
- At the Royal Court, of the 20 plays presented, 18 were new, 11 written by men (including one of the revivals), and 9 by women (including 1 revival). 4 of the plays by women were in the Theatre Upstairs.

16. Of the 58 new plays presented by amateurs in our reporting theatres, 42% were written by women, a much higher proportion than in the professional theatre.

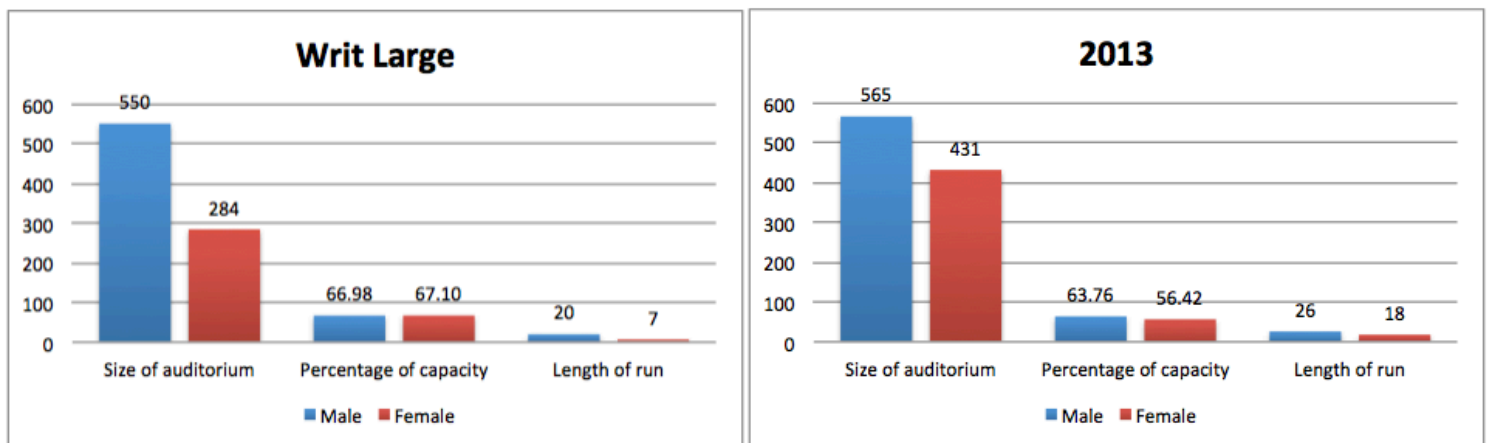
17. We are interested to see whether the position for women playwrights is improving or getting worse. A broad comparison can be made with the data we gathered for our previous report, *Writ Large*, which covered British theatre from 2003 to 2008.²² We ourselves commissioned a researcher to go through the original data, identifying, where possible, the gender of a playwright involved in the productions listed.

²⁰ 11% of all children and young people's shows are co-written by men and women. As before, we have distributed these co-written shows evenly between the male and female categories. If we ignore co-written shows, the figures for children's plays solely written by women drop substantially to 35% of productions, 25% of performances, 17% of attendances and 15% of box office.

²¹ Again, 11% of revivals are co-written between men and women. The figures for revived children's and young people's plays solely written by women drop a little to 33% of productions, 25% of performances, 17% of attendances, and 15% of box office.

²² This was based on data from 65 of the 89 theatres and theatre companies then regularly-funded by Arts Council England.

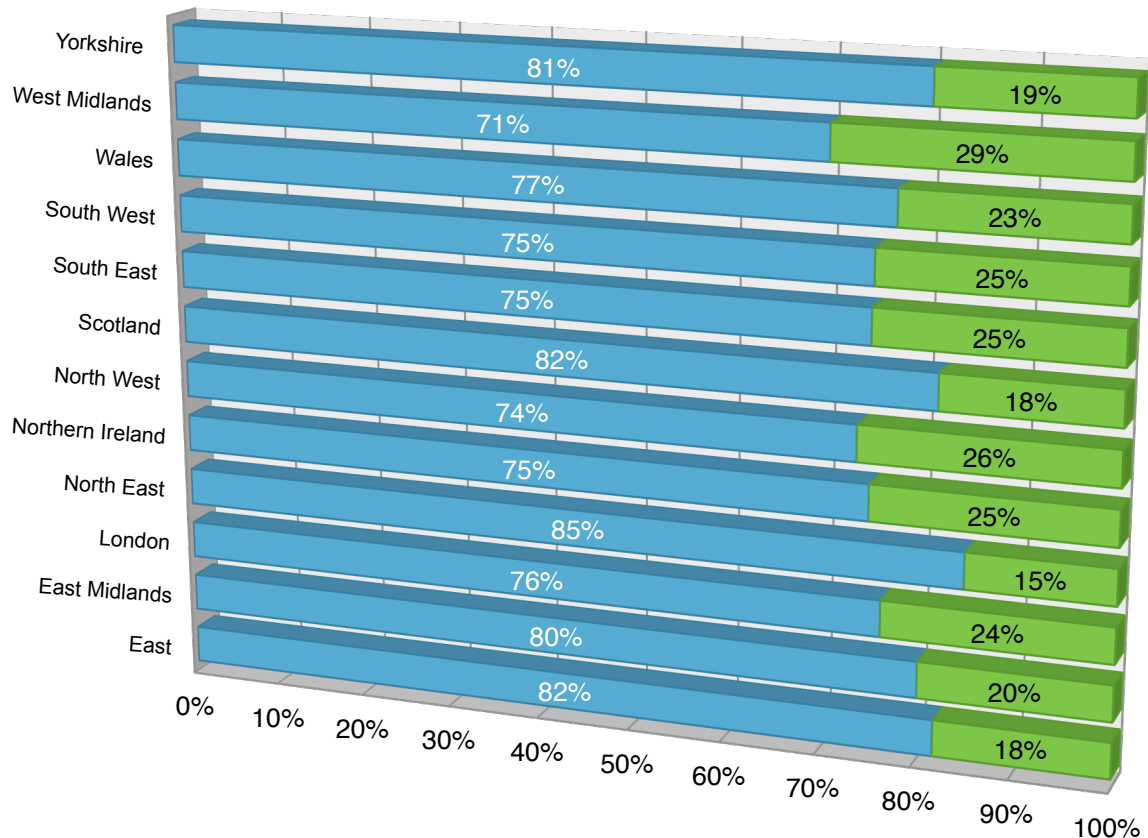
18. Some caveats are appropriate to repeat here. The two datasets are not strictly comparable, since they involve a different group of theatres. In addition, in *Writ Large* individual dates on a tour were listed as separate items, while in the present study one production touring to many different venues is only registered as a single item. We have done some manual fixes to take account of this discrepancy, but it is important to understand that a strict comparison cannot be made.
19. The findings suggest a mixed pattern. The overall balance of productions is broadly the same: we found that, in 2013, 31% of new plays produced were by women (see 3 above). *Writ Large* had a figure of 30%. While this might suggest reassuring consistency, given the high profile of several main-stage plays by women, one might have expected a greater increase.
20. These large plays may have contributed to some significant improvements.
- *Writ Large* found that in 2003-2008 the average auditorium capacity for plays by women was only just over half (52%) the average for plays by men; that figure has increased to over three-quarters (76%) in 2013.
 - Perhaps as a result, the proportion of all attendances at new plays that are at plays by women has risen from 12% to 17%.



21. However, on other measures, the situation would appear to have got worse.
- *Writ Large*'s figures suggest that the plays by women fill just over 67% of capacity and plays by men a little under 67%. In other words that, marginally, plays by women do better than those by men in terms of seats sold.
 - 2013's figures suggest that plays by men fill 64% of capacity and plays by women 56%.
22. A similar pattern affects the length of runs for men and women.
- *Writ Large* suggested that the average length run for a play by a man is 20 performances, and for a play by a woman 17.

- 2013's figures suggested that the length of run for a play by a man is 26, but for women it is just 18.²³

Gender of writer of plays by region



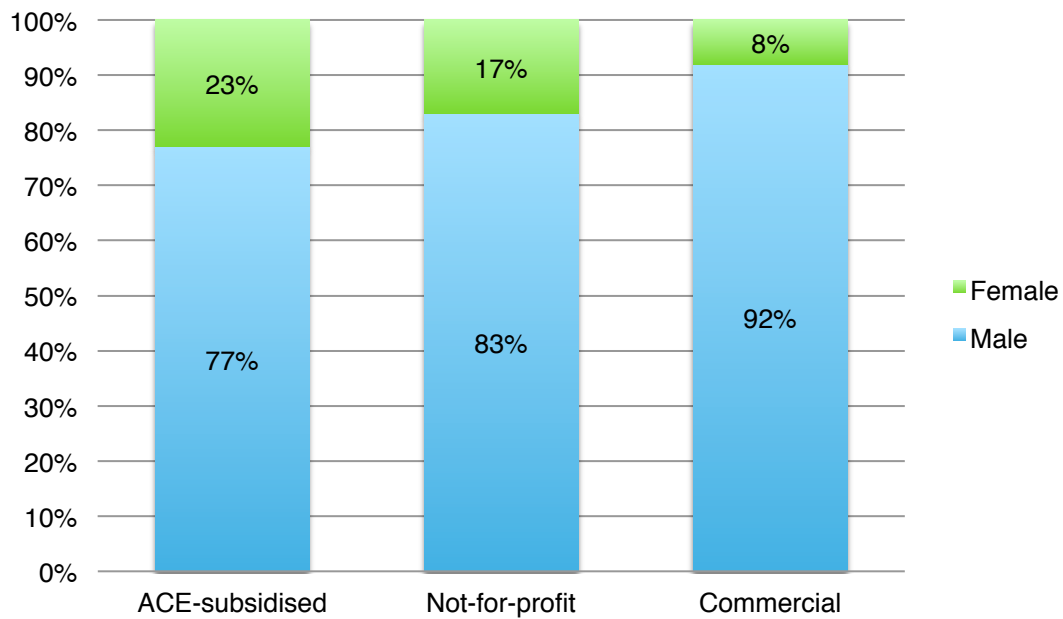
23. Our figures make it possible to look at the gender balance for productions of straight theatre across the regions. The preceding figure sets this out visually.

- What this shows is that there is around 14 percentage points of variation in the gender balance across the regions.
- The region with the highest proportion of women writers is the West Midlands, followed by the North West.
- The region with the lowest proportion of women writers is the North East, followed by the East of England and Scotland.²⁴

²³ It is possible that this apparent change may be explained by the 2013 figures treating a tour as a single production (rather than a series of short runs at different dates), which, given that men are significantly in the majority as produced playwrights, will have a disproportionate effect on the figures for their plays.

²⁴ These figures cover all of straight theatre, which includes revivals, not just new plays. Hence, even the highest percentage of women writers – in the West Midlands – does not reach the 31% average for new plays.

Gender of writer of plays by SOLT sector



24. We can also break down the gender balance of straight theatre productions in London theatres. The subsidised sector does best in terms of producing plays by woman and the commercial sector does least well, as can be seen in this figure.

6: Regions

1. 2013 saw the publication of *Rebalancing our Culture Capital*, a much-publicised report into the bias of arts funding towards London.²⁵ Our figures allow us to see how much theatre production is concentrated in the capital. Of all 3,132 productions presented by UK Theatre and SOLT theatres in 2013, excluding amateur shows and one-off performances, but including musicals, pantomime, opera and physical theatre/dance, the breakdown of productions by region is as follows (percentages of the total in brackets):

- East 215 (7%)
- East Midlands 249 (8%)
- London 512 (16%)
- North East 148 (5%)
- Northern Ireland 50 (2%)
- North West 154 (5%)
- Scotland 152 (5%)
- South East 433 (14%)
- South West 234 (7%)
- Wales 430 (14%)
- West Midlands 286 (9%)
- Yorkshire 269 (9%)

It should be noted that Scotland is slightly under-represented in the SOLT/UK Theatre figures, and that SOLT and UK Theatre collect data from middle and large-scale venues (including their studio spaces). However, these figures suggest a relatively even spread of theatrical activity across the country.

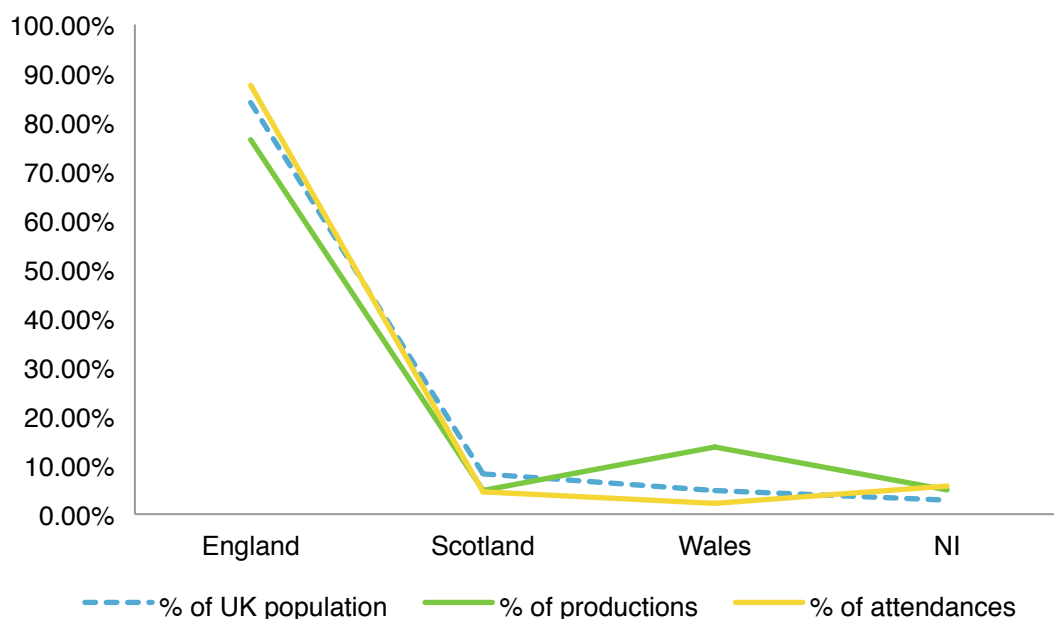
2. In terms of theatre productions, is there a bias towards particular nations of the UK? Using the Office for National Statistics' [ONS] population figures for 2013,²⁶ we can plot the proportion of the national population in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland against the proportions of productions and theatre attendances in those nations. The results (as shown in the following figure) suggest that:
 - Theatrical activity, measured in terms of productions and theatregoing is broadly proportionate to population in the constituent nations of the United Kingdom.

²⁵ Peter Stark, Christopher Gordon, and David Powell, *Rebalancing our Cultural Capital: A contribution to the debate on national policy for the arts and culture in England*. 31 October 2013 http://www.gpsculture.co.uk/downloads/rocc/Rebalancing_FINAL_3mb.pdf 6 May 2015.

²⁶ Office for National Statistics. *UK Population Estimates 2013*, 26 June 2014. <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/pop-estimate/population-estimates-for-uk--england-and-wales--scotland-and-northern-ireland/2013/sty-population-estimates.html> 22 April 2015.

- In Scotland and Northern Ireland, theatre attendances are slightly lower than average against population; in England attendances are slightly higher than average.
- In England, the percentage of all UK productions (80%) is a little lower than the percentage of UK population (84%), while in Wales the percentage of productions (14%) is very significantly higher than the percentage population (5%). This is particularly striking as Wales has a smaller number of theatre buildings than the rest of the UK and is thus perhaps an indication of the success of non-building-based touring and site-specific policy of the National Theatre of Wales.

Production and Attendances against Population

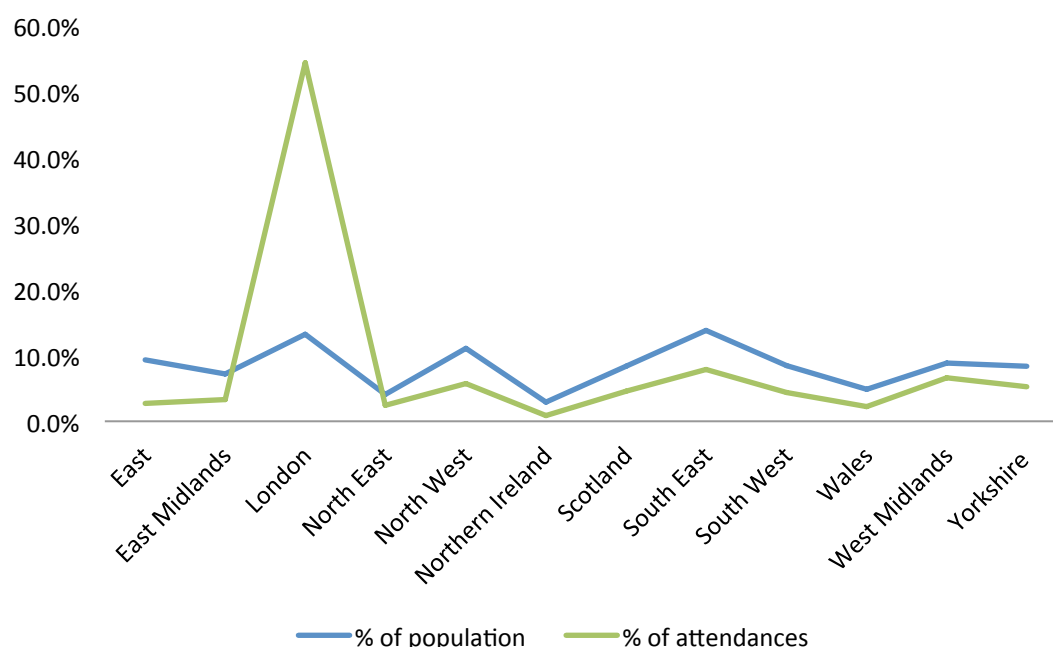


3. Nonetheless, it is striking that 30% of all theatre productions are performed in London or the South East. The dominance of these regions is even clearer when other measures are examined. London and the South East together make up, respectively:
 - 56% (46% London and 10% South-East) of all theatre performances
 - 62% (54% and 8%) of all theatre attendances
 - 71% (66% and 5%) of all box office income.
4. It is also clear that grouping population into nations masks very considerable variation within England. If we plot theatre activity against

population in the English regions, we see the dominance of London very sharply (see figure).²⁷

- In most regions there is a broad correlation between population and theatregoing.
- However, while London has 13.1% of the UK population, it has 54.3% of the theatre attendances.
- There were 13,866,476 attendances at our reporting theatres in London in 2013.²⁸ Visit Britain has estimated that in 2012 just over 2 million theatre visits in London were made by tourists from overseas and estimates that 2013 would see even higher levels of tourism.²⁹ It is also the case that London theatre attendances are swelled by significant tourism from elsewhere in the UK.

Population against Attendances in UK Regions



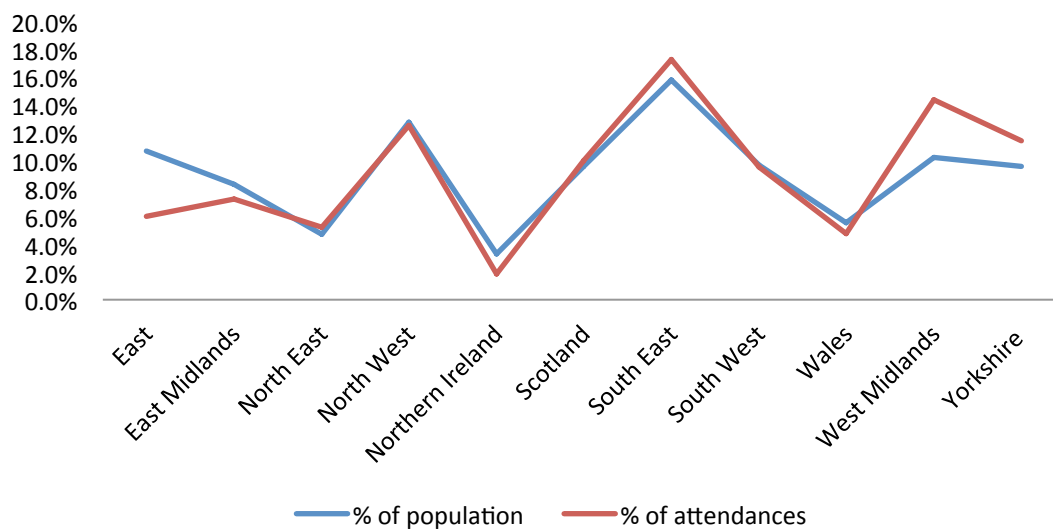
²⁷ Office for National Statistics. *Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, Mid-2013, Population Estimates Analysis Tool, Mid 2013* 26 June 2014. <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/pop-estimate/population-estimates-for-uk--england-and-wales--scotland-and-northern-ireland/2013/rft---mid-2013-population-estimates-analysis-tool.zip> 23 April 2015

²⁸ For consistency, we are still using the dataset that excludes amateur and one-off performances. If we include those performances too, the figure is 15,414,595. Interestingly, of total attendances, London has the smallest proportion (10%) of attendances at amateur and one-off performances of any UK region. Nine of the other regions have more than 20%, four of those having over 30% and in the East Midlands 42% of total attendances are at amateur or one-off performances.

²⁹ Visit Britain, 'Theatre scores tourism points over sport', November 2013 <http://www.visitbritain.org/mediaroom/pressreleases/theatretourism.aspx> 23 April 2015. It is worth noting that the report suggests that the West Midlands and North West also benefit substantially from tourist theatre visits.

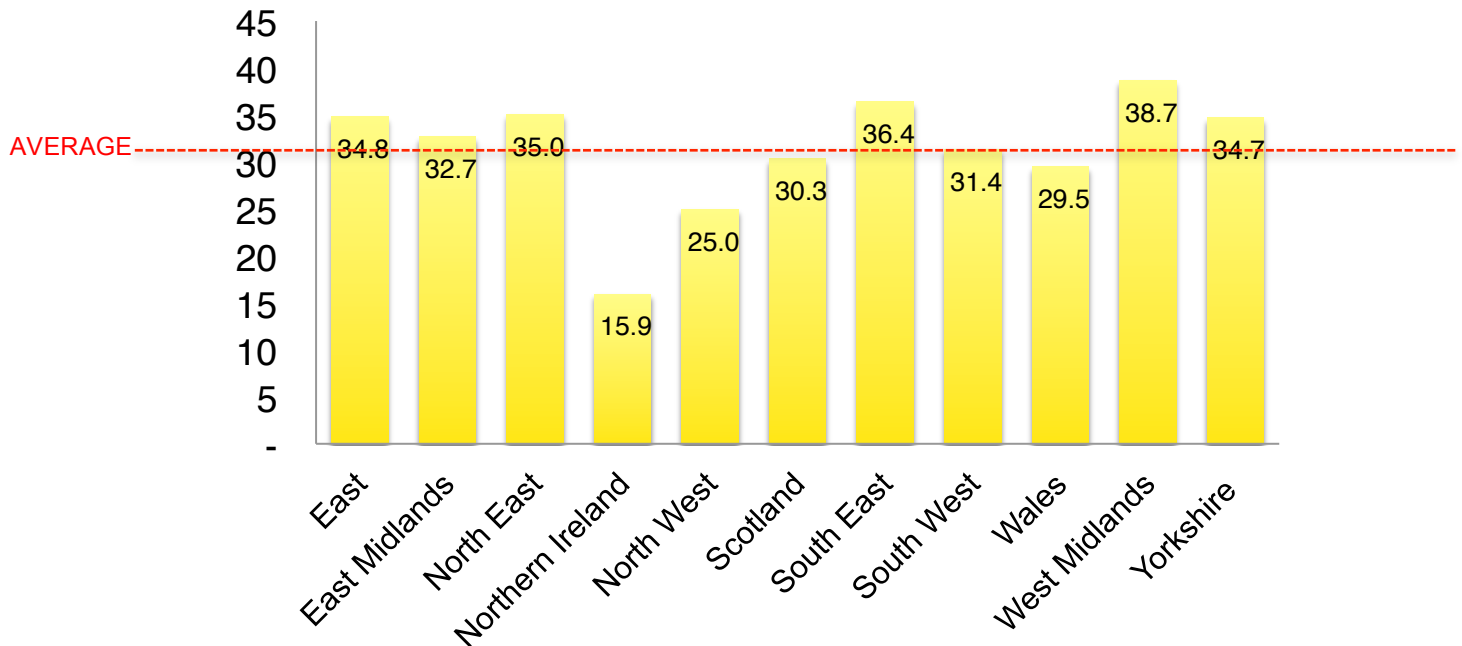
5. London's effect is profoundly distorting to the other regions. Nationally, because London has so many of the national theatre attendances, it depresses the averages everywhere else. If we remove London's theatregoing and population from the figures, we can see that population and theatregoing track very closely in most regions. The small exceptions are as follows:
- In East of England and – to a lesser extent – in the East Midlands, there are lower than average attendances per population.
 - In the West Midlands and – to a lesser extent – in Yorkshire and the Humber, there are higher than average attendances per population.

Population against Attendances in UK Regions (excluding London)



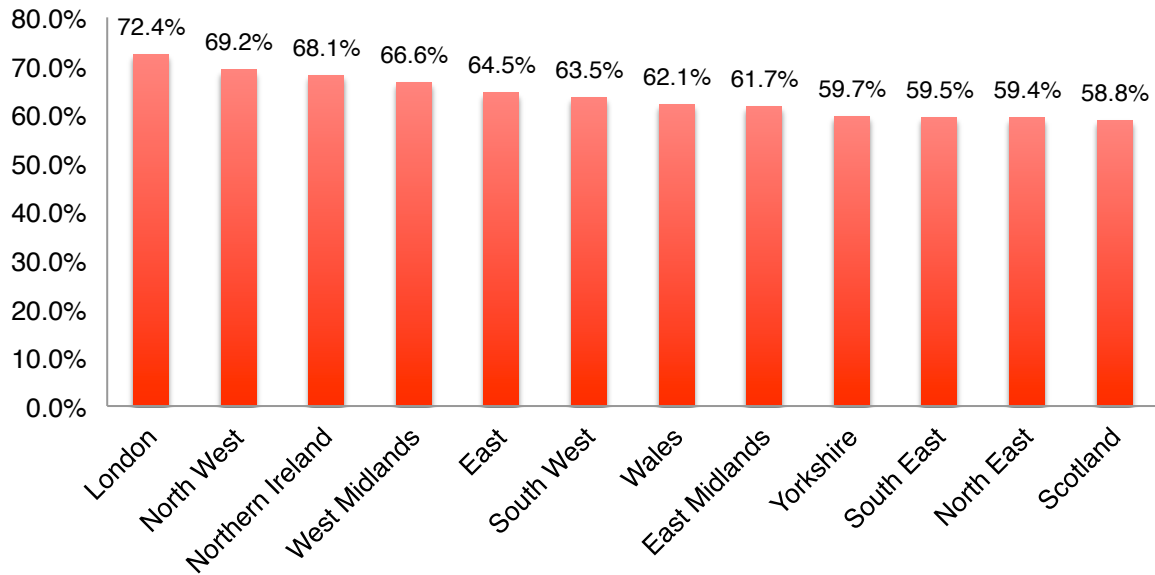
6. These figures are based on our usual dataset that excludes amateur and one-off performances. However, if we add those back in (and complimentary tickets too) to get a full picture of all the theatregoing outside London, we see that:

Annual theatre visits per 100 people



- the West Midlands still has the highest number of theatre visits per head (no doubt substantially boosted by the presence of the Royal Shakespeare Company's theatres), followed by the South East and the North East.
 - The East of England and East Midlands are now *above* average for their theatregoing.
 - Northern Ireland has, by quite some way, the lowest level of theatre attendance per head of population.
 - The variation between these two charts may be explained by certain regions (like East of England) having a high proportion of amateur and single-night performances. Removing these is justifiable to get a sense of more fully-realised production work but it may have a distorting effect on some regions, under-representing their theatregoing habits.
7. Although attendance in most regions tracks close to population there is a 14pt spread in the percentage capacity achieved.
- London has the highest average capacity achieved at 72.4%
 - Scotland has the lowest at 58.8%.
 - The average percentage attendance in 67.4%.

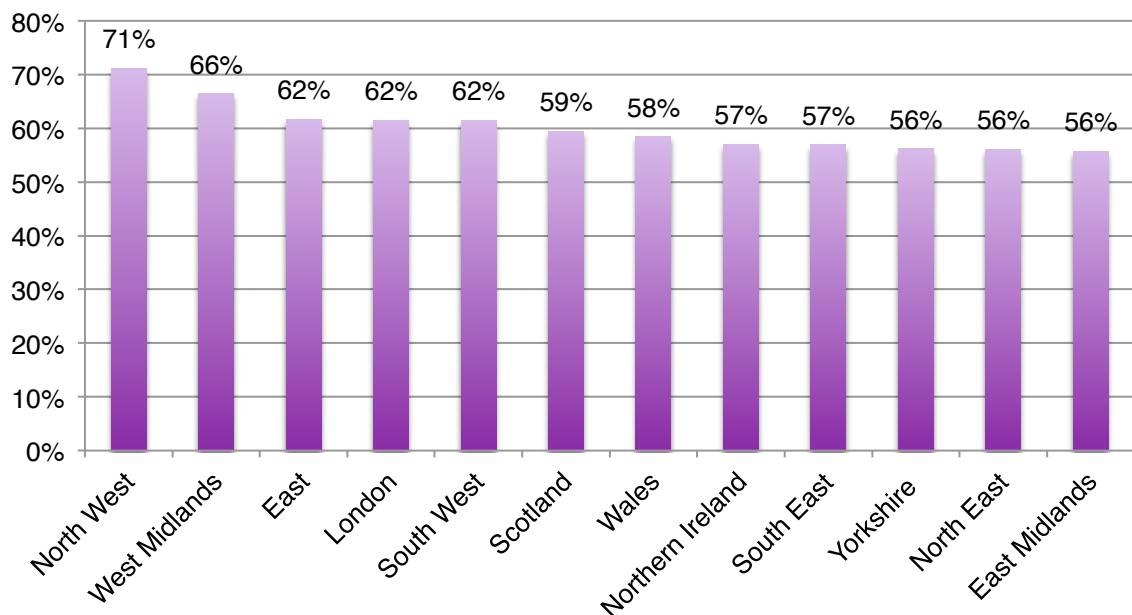
Capacity achieved by region



8. It is instructive to compare these figures to the percentage of total potential box office income received. Although two-thirds of all UK box-office income is generated at theatres in London and has the highest percentage capacity it comes only fourth in the lists of percentage box office. This is likely due to London having a higher number of discounted tickets, special offers, the half-price-ticket booth, and so on.

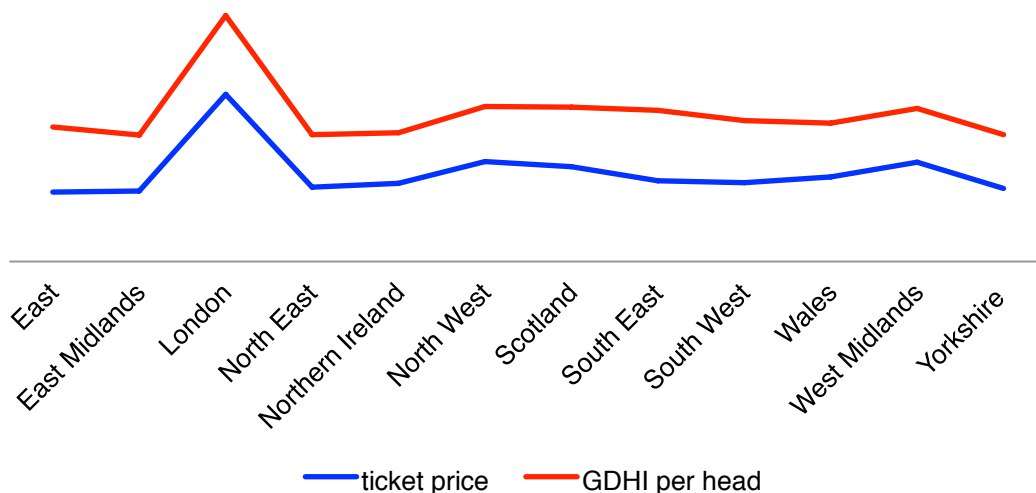
- The North West achieves the highest box office income against potential.
- The East Midlands achieve the lowest.

% Box Office by region



9. There is considerable variation in ticket price per region.
- The average ticket price is below £22 in over half of the regions covered by our report:
 - East £18.90
 - East Midlands £19.21
 - Yorkshire £19.97
 - North East £20.21
 - Northern Ireland £21.22
 - South West £21.38
 - South East £21.96
 - The average ticket price rises to between £22 and £28 in a further four regions:
 - Wales £23.05
 - Scotland £25.74
 - West Midlands £26.97
 - North-West £27.28
 - London's average ticket price is £45.55. Put another way, the average ticket price in London is more than double that in seven other regions and over a third more than in the remaining four regions.
10. That said, regional variations in average ticket price track closely to regional variations in income, which we can see by using these figures and comparing them with the ONS's figures for Gross Domestic Household Income (GDHI) per head.³⁰

Regional ticket prices against income



³⁰ Office for National Statistics, *Regional Gross Disposable Household Income (GDHI) 2012*, Statistical Bulletin 4 June 2014 http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_364960.pdf 22 April 2015. This is the most recently published set of figures and covers 2012, rather than 2013. (The variation between 2011 and 2012 was not significant for these figures so, until it is proven otherwise, this looks like a reasonable comparison.)

- Tickets are most expensive compared to GDHI in London, followed by the West Midlands, followed by the North West.
- Tickets are cheapest compared to GDHI in the East of England, followed by the South East, followed by the East Midlands.³¹

Broadly, it looks as though ticket pricing is responsive to local economic conditions.

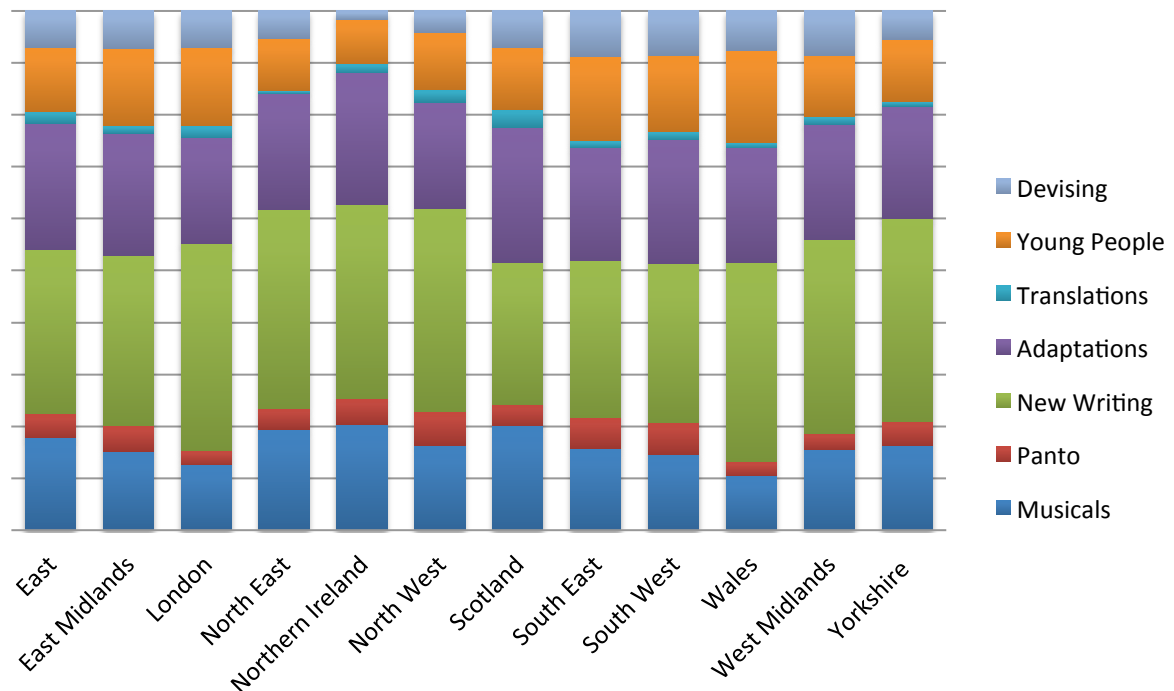
11. The make-up of the repertoire is loosely similar across the 12 regions of the United Kingdom. Taking seven major forms of theatre – devised work, theatre for children and young people, translations, adaptations, new writing, pantomime, and musicals - we can plot what proportion they make up of the repertoire.³² The following observations will demonstrate the consistency of the repertoire. Of these seven forms:

- New writing makes up the largest proportion of the repertoire in *every* region.
- Adaptation makes up the second largest proportion of the repertoire in *every* region.
- This is usually followed by musicals and then theatre for young people (in London and the South East, and in Wales, it is the other way round; in the South West musicals and theatre for young people make up exactly the same proportion)
- This is usually followed by devised work and then pantomime (in Northern Ireland and the North-West pantomime is a larger part of the repertoire than devised work)
- Translations make up the smallest proportion of the repertoire in *every* region.

³¹ It might, at first sight, be surprising that in the relatively affluent South East, ticket prices are lower compared to incomes. This might be the relative lack of No. 1 touring venues in the South East but also the effect of competition with London.

³² We have used a '100% stacked column' format to make comparisons of proportions clearer, but this should not be considered a graphic representation of the repertoire for several reasons (a) these forms are not mutually exclusive; most adaptations are new writing; a devised show might also be for young people. (b) there are forms of theatre not captured by these figures, (c) there are wide variations in the amount of theatre production between regions so, for instance, the North West's 11 pantomimes looks on this chart twice as large as London's 16.

The Repertoire by Region



12. Which areas favour particular forms of theatre? We can calculate the largest and smallest parts of the repertoire in each of the regions:

	Largest	Smallest
Devising	South East	Northern Ireland
Young People	Wales	Northern Ireland
Translations	Scotland	North East
Adaptations	Scotland	London
New Writing	London	Scotland
Pantomime	North West	Wales
Musicals	Northern Ireland	Wales

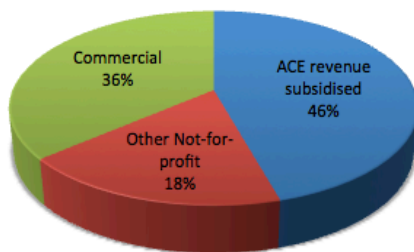
- It's worth underlining that, according to these figures, Scotland is the only region in which new writing is less than 30% of the repertoire (27%) and in which adaptations are above 25% (26%). One might detect in this the distinctive influence of the National Theatre of Scotland, which has championed a very broad range of theatremaking processes, and of the Glasgow Citizens Theatre which has a long-established tradition of adaptation.
- Perhaps because of its lack of a wide range of theatre buildings, it's notable that Wales has the fewest pantomimes and musicals. It's perhaps predictable that London favours new writing, but perhaps more noteworthy that devising is particularly popular in the South East.

- Northern Ireland has not taken to devised work, it seems. In our reporting theatres, there was only one single devised show in 2013, compared to 87 across London and the South East.

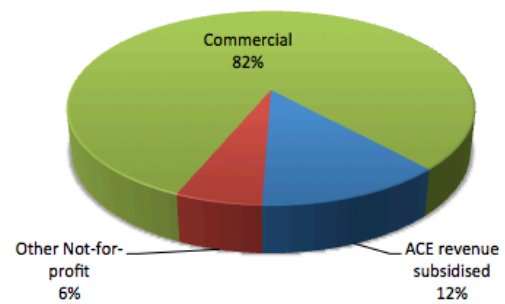
7: London

1. After the 2015 Olivier Awards, producer Cameron Mackintosh complained that these awards were no longer what they had been set up to be: 'the premier showcase of commercial theatre'.³³ Although our figures do not isolate commercial productions that originated in the subsidized sector, we can compare the proportions of work in the subsidized, commercial and not-for-profit sectors.³⁴ These can be captured in the SOLT data.³⁵ Excluding single performance and amateur productions, we can see that the subsidised sector generate the largest proportion of productions (46%), followed by the commercial sector (25%), followed by the not-for-profit sector (18%).

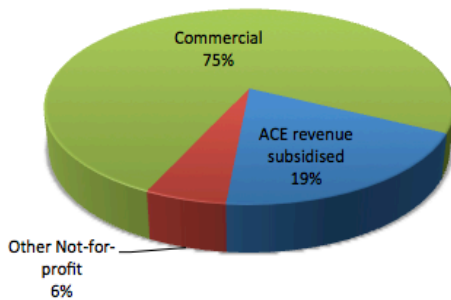
SOLT productions



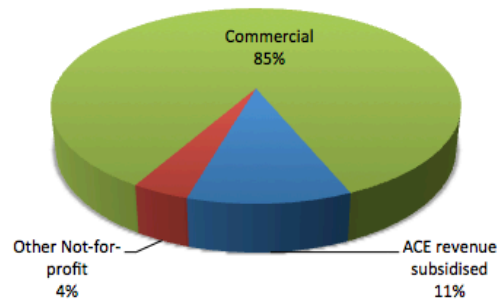
Attendances at SOLT theatres



SOLT performances



Box office income



This reflects the fact that the subsidised sector tends to work on the basis of a large number of relatively short (4-to-5-week) runs, while the commercial sector aims to have a smaller number of much longer runs.

2. This is confirmed by looking at the numbers of performances by sector (in the preceding chart). While the commercial sector contributes a little

³³ Matthew Hemley. 'Cameron Mackintosh: Oliviers failing to be 'premier showcase of commercial theatre' 14 April 2015 <https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2015/cameron-mackintosh-oliviers-failing-premier-showcase-commercial-theatre/> 7 May 2015

³⁴ The not-for-profit theatres in London are The Globe, The Old Vic, Greenwich Theatre, and Regent's Park Open Air Theatre.

³⁵ Outside London, these distinctions are often much more difficult to make.

over one third of all productions, it contributes three-quarters of all performances.

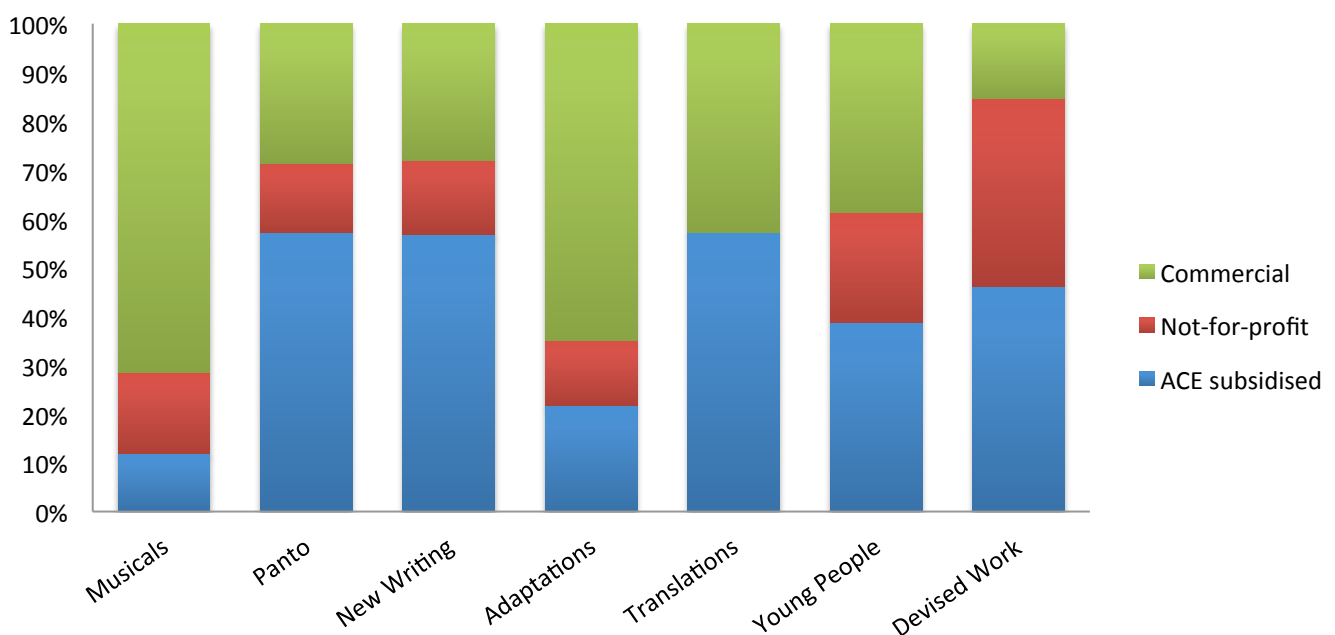
3. London's commercial theatres have an average auditorium size of 1,080, while its subsidised theatres have just over half that, at 537. (The non-for-profit sector has an average size of 1,008.) That, combined with the higher number of performances, means that the commercial sector makes up an even higher proportion of attendances: 82%.
4. The ticket prices are, as one might expect, much higher in commercial theatre than in the subsidised sector.
 - The average ticket price in a London commercial theatre is £49.60
 - The average ticket price in a London subsidised theatre is £37.99
 - The average ticket price in a London not-for-profit theatre is £29.42.³⁶
5. The combination of more performances, bigger auditoria and higher ticket prices, results in the commercial sector generating 85% of all of the SOLT theatres' box office income.
 - In the case of the musical, the commercial sector generates over 98% of all box office income from musicals in London. The subsidised sector, meanwhile, produces less than 1%.
 - Commercial sector box office income from musicals account for 64% of all box office income in any London theatre in any sector.
6. Indeed, one might expect the combination of more performances, bigger auditoria and higher ticket prices to produce an even higher proportion of income than 85%, but it is important to observe that the subsidised sector fills its theatres much more effectively than the commercial and not-for-profit sectors.
 - The average percentage attendance at a London commercial show is 71%.
 - The average percentage attendance at a London not-for-profit show is 75%.
 - The average percentage attendance at a London subsidised show is 86%.

This is the case across all types of theatre – even musicals, which get an average of 88% houses in subsidised venues and 72% in commercial ones.³⁷

³⁶ Again, these are the prices asked rather than the prices received (see footnote 2). The prices received are £41.60 (commercial), £26.46 (not-for-profit), and £34.92 (subsidized). The commercial sector tends to discount more than the subsidized sector. The former gets 84% of face value, the latter gets 92%.

7. We can look at the forms of theatre discussed already to see which sectors are producing them. The results are shown below.
- Musicals and pantomime are dominated by the commercial sector.
 - New writing and panto are dominated by the subsidised sector.³⁸
 - The not-for-profit sector makes a very significant contribution to the total number of devised work and plays for children and young people.

Types of theatre broken down into sector



8. As might be expected, the subsidised sector is the largest producer of what we are calling 'straight theatre' in London, though the commercial sector is still a significant contributor to this area of work. However, our figures do not capture the very high proportion of new west end plays which started life in the subsidized sector – from *Chimerica* to *War Horse* – as well as musicals like *Matilda*. With that caveat, our figures are
- The subsidised sector contributes 49% of straight theatre shows
 - The not-for-profit sector contributes 21% of straight theatre shows
 - The commercial sector contributes 30% of straight theatre shows

³⁷ The only instance where the subsidised sector is outperformed in terms of percentage capacity is in adaptations where the not-for-profit sector does marginally better (81% against 80%).

³⁸ It's important to note that these figures represent only seven pantomimes in total and the picture would be very different outside London.

8: Conclusion

1. Despite the economic downturn of 2008, UK Theatre and Society of London Theatre members report that audience numbers and levels of income have proved remarkably resilient. The importance of the subsidized theatre in the ecology of British theatre, and particularly for the west end, implies that this achievement is despite not because of an unprecedented reduction in public subsidy. As the first sectors to be hit are small-scale and regional theatre – where experiment takes place and careers are begun - the deleterious consequences of the cuts may take some time to work their way through, but will be with us for many years.
2. The most dramatic finding of our report is a success story within the success story. For the first time since records began, new work and new writing have overtaken revivals in the British theatre repertoire. This is a success story for British playwrights and the makers of new work, but it is also for the artistic directors who have chosen to programme new work and for the Arts Council, for whom new writing has almost always been a priority. It is a demonstration that funding bodies with activist policies in the arts can have a real and lasting impact on what the arts do.
3. Within the new work sector, there is a lively and probably increasing amount of work which challenges traditional methods of playmaking, as well as a heartening – and, again, probably increasing – amount of work written for children. Some commentators criticise the number of adaptations on British stages (20% of all plays), but the fact that 86% of those are new is to be welcomed, as is the fact that 61% of translations are also new.
4. Other findings are less positive. The benefits of the increase in new work are unequally distributed. Women playwrights do worse than male playwrights overall, and particularly in those forms where theatres have a choice about who to commission, like translations and adaptations. And British theatre production and resources remain stubbornly concentrated in London and the south-east.
5. Our report cannot fully chart the increasingly collaborative relationship between the commercial and subsidized theatre. However, it is clear from the amount of work that starts in the subsidized sector – and even more from the amount of work that stays there – that what we have called straight theatre would hardly exist without public funding. At the same time, Cameron Mackintosh now argues that musicals too are best developed in the public sector. London's hugely successful commercial sector sits on top of a pyramid of subsidy. Without that, it would collapse.

6. The other thing this report cannot do (on its own) is to judge the direction of travel. This is far and away the most detailed and comprehensive study of British theatre repertoire ever, and although we can guess some trends from past studies of the past (certainly, more new work) we cannot really assess where theatre is going until we look in the same detail at 2014 and beyond. Previous reports on repertoire have had a significant impact both on funding policy and how artistic directors programme their theatres. This report in particular should encourage interventionist funding and adventurous programming. It is our hope that we will be able to find the resources to continue this work in the future.

The British Theatre Consortium is a group of playwrights and academics formed in 2007 to organise conferences and undertake research. Its conferences are *How was it for us? Theatre under Blair* (2007), *All Together Now: British theatre after multiculturalism* (2009), *20/20: Playwriting, Pedagogy* (2010), *Next Act: the past and future of new writing for theatre* (2010), *From Spectatorship to Engagement* (seminar, 2011), *The Roar of the Crowd* (2014), and *Cutting Edge: British theatre in hard times* (2015). Its previous publications are *Writ Large: new writing on the English stage 2003-2009* (for Arts Council England, 2009) and *Critical Mass: theatre spectatorship and value attribution* (for the Arts and Humanities Research Council, 2014).

Established in 1894, **UK Theatre** is the UK's leading membership organisation for theatre and the performing arts. UK Theatre supports theatre and performing arts organisations and individuals who work professionally in the performing arts at any stage of their career. Members benefit from access to a range of professional services, high quality training and events, and networking opportunities.

Society of London Theatre (SOLT) is the association that represents the producers, theatre owners and managers of the 64 major commercial and grant-aided theatres in central London. The organisation exists in order to promote theatregoing, develop audiences, and to serve, protect and promote the interests of those engaged in theatre across London, through activities including the Olivier Awards with MasterCard, TKTS ticket booth, the Official London Theatre website and the printed Official London Theatre Guide, Theatre Tokens, West End LIVE in association with MasterCard, and the annual promotions Kids Week and Get Into London Theatre.

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