

British Theatre Repertoire 2014

Report by the British Theatre Consortium,
SOLT/UKTheatre, and BON Culture

Supported by Arts Council England

May 2016



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ENGLAND**

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Headlines

The big picture

- The figures presented here are based on the most extensive and detailed dataset ever compiled on British theatre's repertoire. Following from the *British Theatre Repertoire 2013* report, they continue to build an unrivalled statistical picture of what has been happening on British stages in the 21st century.
- In 2014, our theatres presented **59,386** performances of **5,072** separate shows, attracting **33,121,360** theatre visits, at the **274** venues that make up SOLT/UKTheatre's membership, bringing in **£1,030,861,384** at the box office.
- Overall, the shape of the British theatre repertoire and its performance remained consistent between 2013 and 2014. The striking features revealed in our 2013 report stayed the same in the following year.
- The **36** shows which had 200 or more performances make up only **2%** of theatre productions but **56%** of box office income. Musicals continued to dominate, providing **51%** of all attendances and **61%** of box office. Pantomime did particularly well in 2014, with attendances up by **13%**.
- The average price paid for a theatre ticket in 2014 was £33.52, a rise of 5.7% from 2013. Although the number of productions and performances in all theatre increased by less than 1%, box office income increased by over 10%.

Repertoire

- New work continues to outstrip revivals on British stages, constituting **62%** of all theatre productions, **63%** of all box office income and 64% of all theatregoing.
- New writing continues to be at the heart of all theatre, with new plays, new adaptations and new translations representing **more than half** of all straight theatre produced in 2014.
- New writing saw a small downturn in its performance against potential compared to 2013, filling **55%** of its seats in 2014 (it was 58.7% in 2013) and gaining only **49.3%** of its potential box office income (it was 60.9% in 2013). However, attendances for new writing increased by **266,925** to over **five million**.
- Devised theatre, meanwhile, saw a notable increase in activity between 2013 and 2014, with a rise of **10%** in numbers of productions, a **16%** increase in performances, a **31%** increase in attendances and a **48%** increase in box office income.

- The commercial success of devised work is heavily concentrated in a few very successful shows, with the top **20** devised productions taking **87%** of all devised work's box office.
- The proportion of straight theatre shows that consisted of revivals remained consistent between 2013 and 2014. The box office for classical theatre considerably outperformed all other straight theatre. Of the **96** classical plays presented in 2014, **71** were by Shakespeare.

Theatre map

- London's dominance of England was greater in 2014 than the previous year, contributing **22%** of productions (up from 19%), **54%** of performances (up from 50%), **62%** of attendances (up from 59%), and generating **73%** of box office income (up from 70% in 2013).
- Wales appears to be in a golden age of theatregoing, taking **72.3%** of its potential box office (a figure rivalled only by London) and filling **73.2%** of its seats, the highest proportion of *any* UK region.

Gender

- The picture for women playwrights is in some respects identical to that presented in 2013. Plays by women make up **31%** of all new plays and the figures for women's adaptations and plays for young people are the same.
- However, in some respects the picture for women writers is bleaker in 2014. Plays by women play smaller houses than those by men (**382** to 616), for shorter runs (**19** to 28), and people pay less for tickets to see them (**£18.79** to £27.59). In each of these figures the situation has worsened since 2013.
- Theatres are not reviving plays by women as much as they are reviving plays by men. Even in the modern and postwar eras, where there is a substantial amount of plays by women to choose from, the work of Agatha Christie represents **66%** of the box office for all revivals of plays by women.
- Nonetheless, in 2014, 57% of the new plays produced by England's two leading national companies, the National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company, were written by women.

Overview

The state of our theatre

1. Looking at *all* activity in the theatres in our survey in 2014, there were **5,072** separate shows, together giving **59,386** performances, seen by **33,121,360 people**, bringing in **£1,030,861,384** at the box office.
2. While the number of shows is very slightly (**3%**) down on the previous year, the other figures are all slightly up: performances **0.2%**, attendances **1%** and box office **7%**. The membership of SOLT and UK Theatre changes a little each year but this could suggest a sign of consolidation and retrenchment around more commercially reliable work.
3. But not everything that happens in our theatres is theatre. Of 2014's productions, **44%** might be considered properly 'theatre' (rather than gigs, stand-up, book tours, poetry readings, etc.), leaving **2,211** individual 'theatre' productions (which make up around **80%** of all performances, attendances and box office).
4. Our figures for 'theatre' in 2014 are consistent with those from 2013, which showed 5,250 overall productions, 42% of which were 'theatre', a figure of 2,196 theatre productions.
5. We have divided these theatre productions into seven categories: dance, musicals, opera, pantomime, performance installation, physical theatre, and straight theatre.¹ We have introduced an additional category of 'dance' this year because we were unhappy about excluding it from theatre.
6. However, this slightly distorts the comparison with last year but if we temporarily exclude it, we can see that the proportions of the various forms of theatrical performance are broadly similar.²
7. These are the percentages of productions by form for 2014 (2013 figures in brackets)
 - Straight theatre **69.7%** (71.6%)
 - Installation **0.5%** (0.4%)
 - Physical theatre **0.3%** (0.8%)
 - Opera **7.5%** (6.7%)

¹ 'Straight theatre' is an awkward term to describe 'plays' and 'devised shows'. For more detail on these categories, see *British Theatre Repertoire 2013*, p. 6n3-5.

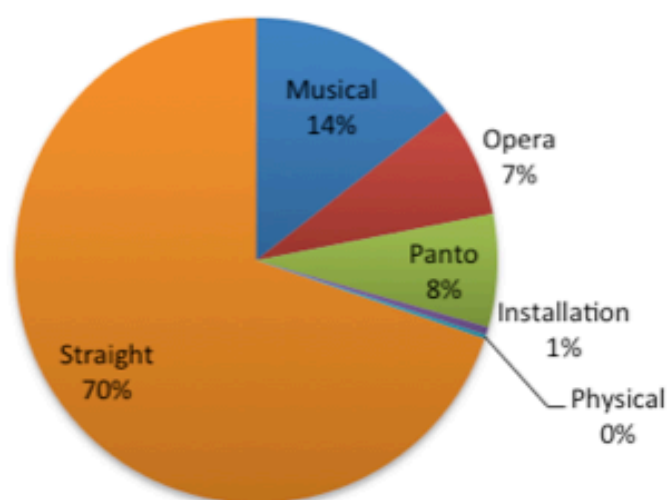
<http://britishtheatreconference.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/British-Theatre-Repertoire-2013.pdf>

² Purely for the purposes of comparison, we have excluded Dance shows, though in fact Dance represents a healthy 105 of the 2,211 shows or 4.8% of the total. We will be able to use this figures when making comparisons next year.

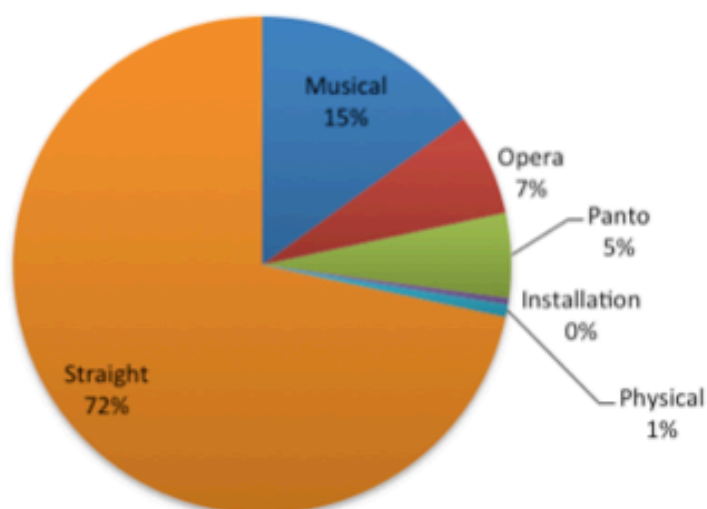
- Pantomime **7.6%** (5.5%)
- Musicals **14.4%** (15%)³

8. Elsewhere, while there are fluctuations, there is no evidence yet to suggest that they are significant. Once we have analysed the figures for 2015 and 2016, it will become clearer whether these are normal fluctuations or evidence of a trend.

Theatre Productions 2014

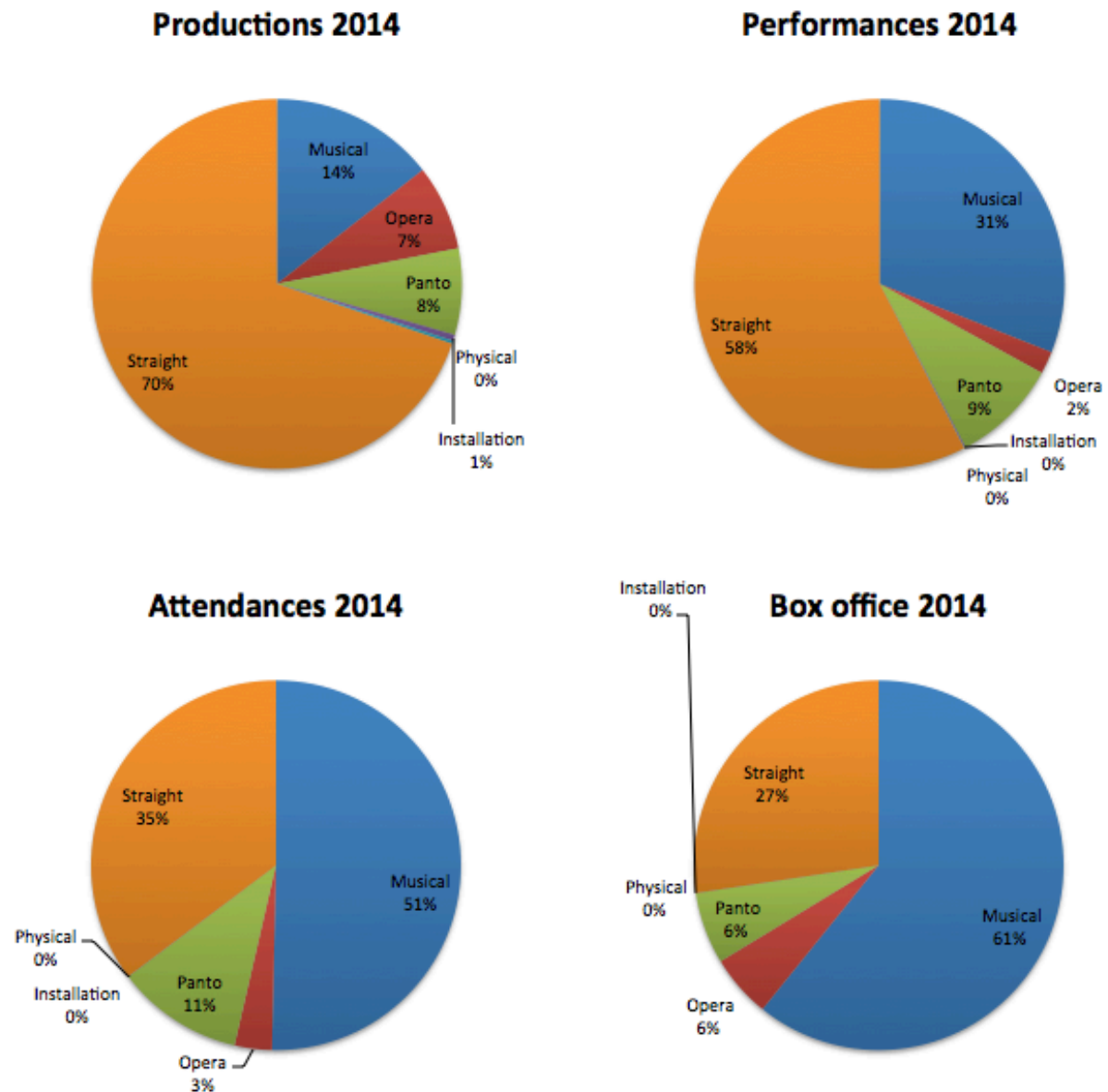


Theatre Productions 2013



³ These figures appear to show a very large rise in numbers of pantomime productions, but this effect is actually due to gaps in the data for 2013 and should be discounted. However, it is worth noting that pantomime's box office income rose by **8%** in 2014 and attendances by **13%**.

9. These figures are for numbers of productions. The picture changes significantly when we look at our other three indicators: numbers of performances, numbers of individual attendances, and box office income. (For comparison, 2013 figures in brackets)



10. Of theatre productions:

- Straight theatre makes up **70%** (72%)
- Musical theatre makes up **14%** (15%)

11. Of theatre performances

- Straight theatre makes up **58%** (59%)

- Musical theatre makes up **31%** (30%)

12. Of theatre attendances

- Straight theatre makes up **35%** (36%)
- Musical theatre makes up **51%** (50%)

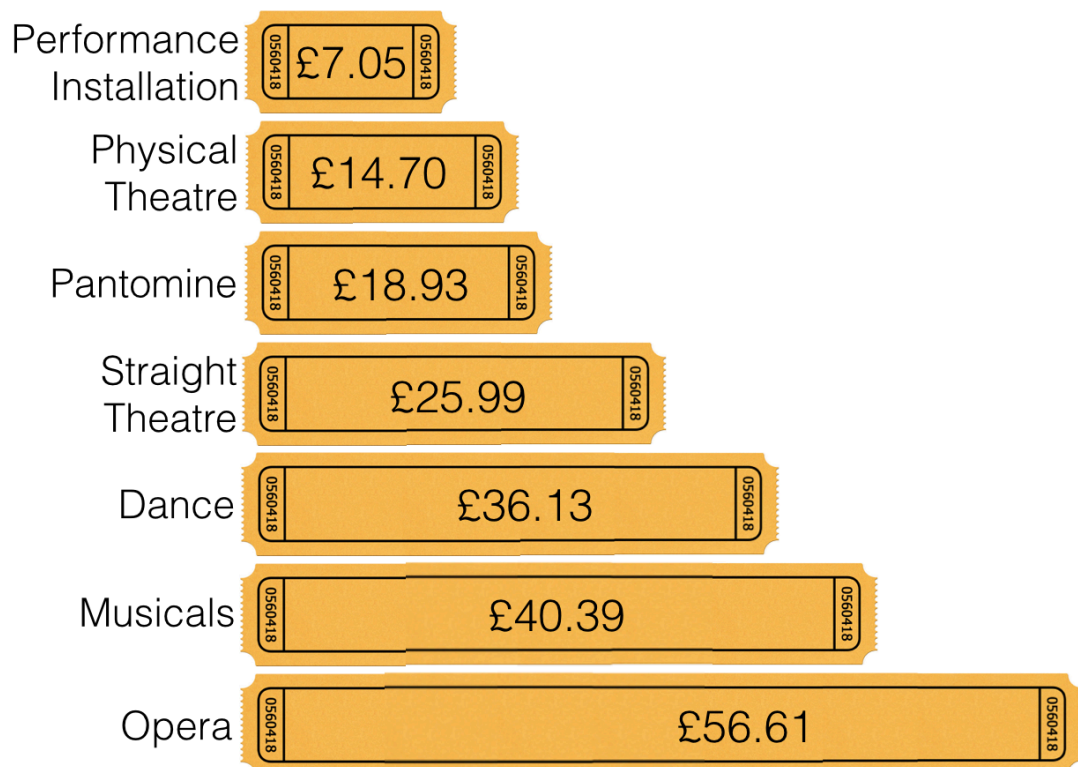
13. Of theatre box office

- Straight theatre makes up **27%** (28%)
- Musical theatre makes up **61%** (61%)

14. Again, it is clear that the pattern for 2014 is very similar to 2013.

15. Because of the demands on its performers, opera has relatively few performances per production, though it has by far the highest average ticket price⁴ of any of these seven theatre forms as seen below (not to scale):

Average Ticket Price by Theatre Form 2014



16. In the theatres we're surveying, the average price paid for a theatre ticket in 2014 is **£33.52**. For comparison:

⁴ It should be noted that these are the average price *paid* which will be, because of discounts and special offers, below the face value of the tickets.

- in 2014 the cheapest matchday ticket in all Premiership football grounds averaged £28.80 (from Hull's £16 to Chelsea's £50)
- the average price of the most expensive tickets in each Premiership ground was £56.85 (from Sunderland's £40 to Arsenal's £97).⁵

17. Overall, ticket prices rose between 2013 and 2014 by **5.7%**.

- Opera tickets made the largest leap, jumping **9.1%**.
- Musicals and straight theatre tickets rose by **5.1%** and **5.4%**, respectively.
- Pantomime tickets rose by **4.8%**.

Dance was not an individual category in 2013 and the numbers for physical theatre and performance installation are so small that no meaningful comparison can be made between years. (Indeed the figures for 2014 in those forms should be treated with great caution.)

18. The following graphic offers a snapshot of the theatre in 2014.⁶ Again, the figures are largely consistent with 2013. Our figures show a slight increase in numbers of productions (just under **1%**) and of productions (**2.5%**), though this may be accounted entirely by new theatres and companies being included in the figures.

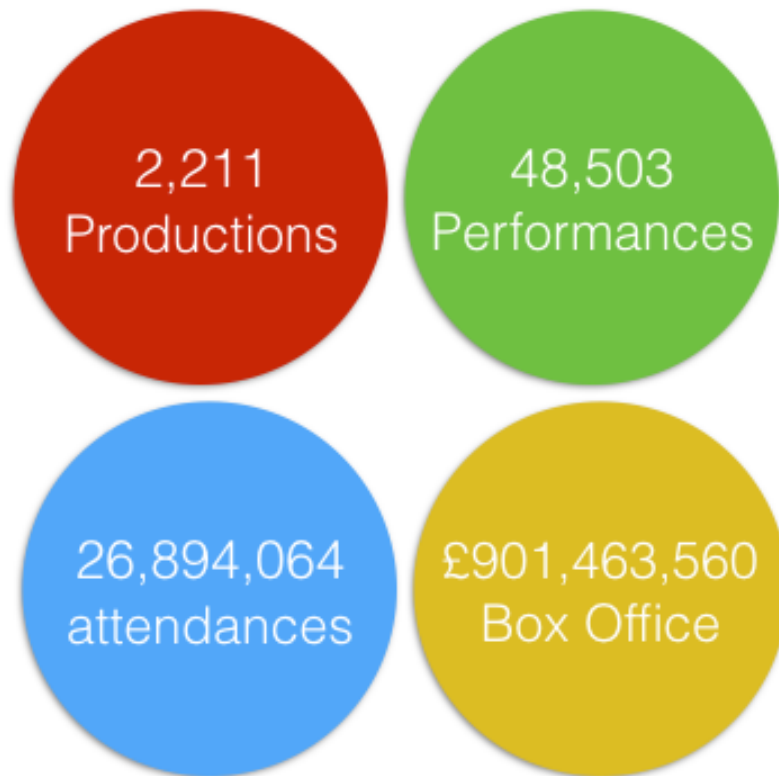
19. However, it is worth noting that despite numbers of productions remaining pretty stable and the UK inflation rate averaging 2% across 2013 and 2014, box office income for all theatre between 2013 and 2014 increased by over **10%**.

20. Overall, this suggests that our theatres are continuing to hold their own, despite the increasingly hostile funding environment. It will be worth exploring which sectors are flourishing and which are struggling.

⁵ 'Price of Football Calculator,' BBC News. 15 October 2014 <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-29527838> Visited: 9 February 2016.

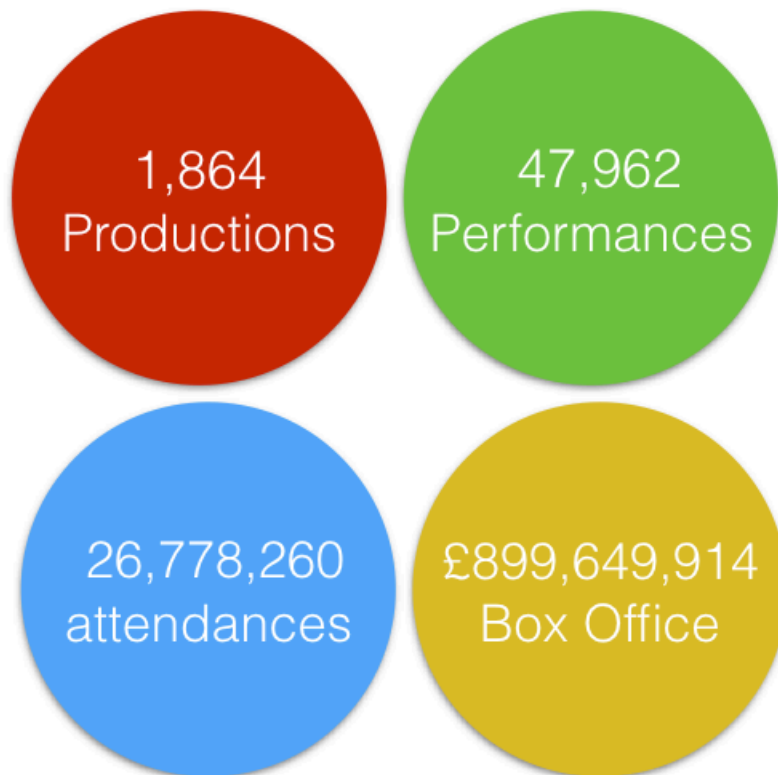
⁶ The overall box office figure may appear to contradict the widely-reported figure of over £1bn reported for UK box office in 2014 – and indeed our own headline figure given on p. 3. However, while it is true that collectively over £1bn was taken at the box offices at our theatre in 2014, not all of these were for theatre events. These figures are strictly for theatrical performances in our theatres.

Theatre 2014



21. To begin considering the make-up of the repertoire, it's useful to narrow focus on the performances in our theatres. Although all of these figures refer to theatrical performance, they include a number of one-off performances (which include playreadings, gala performances, recitations and so on), and amateur theatre work.
22. The revised picture of the narrower set, which we shall be using as the baseline set from most of the subsequent figures in this document, can be seen below.

Theatre 2014 (narrow set)



23. Of those productions, there were

- 1217 plays and devised shows (straight theatre)
- 270 musicals
- 150 pantomimes
- 122 operas
- 98 dance/physical theatre pieces
- 7 installations

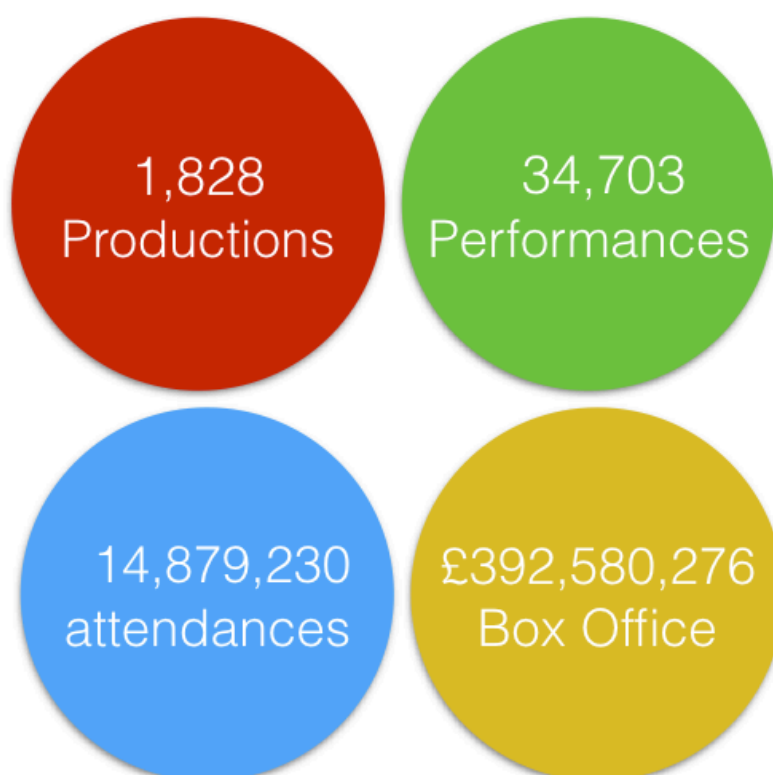
24. Productions, performances and attendances (which rose only by around 1% in the wider set) are up by **between 4 and 5%** in this narrower set. This suggests that in full runs of professional theatre there is some evidence of a noteworthy increase of activity – by theatres and their audiences. However, the mixture of the sharply rising ticket price and the lift in attendances means that box office income is up by **10.4%**, over five times the average rate of inflation across the two years.

25. It's worth digging a little deeper, particularly to observe the possibly distorting effect of very long-running productions. In 2014, **36** of the **1,864** productions had at least 200 performances. They account for just

under **2%** of productions, but **28.6%** of performances, **44.4%** of attendances and well over half of all the box-office income (**56.4%**).

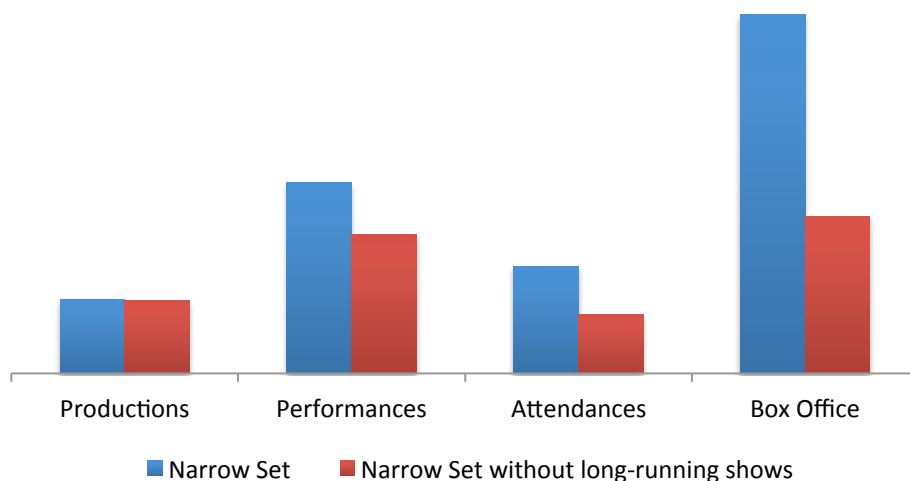
26. If we were to remove these productions, the picture would look like this.

Theatre 2014 (narrow set, without long-running shows)



27. The difference can be seen graphically in this chart, which shows the differences between the amounts of theatre activity under our four categories if you include the long-running shows and if you exclude them.⁷

⁷ For readability the sizes of the four categories have been scaled.



While the difference between numbers of productions is minimal (less than **2%**), The difference between productions is **28%** and between attendances is **44%**. The difference to the box office is a staggering **56%**. In other words **36** long-running shows account for **56%** of theatre box office income in our figures.

28. Of course, there is no practical reason to exclude long-running productions from any picture of the theatre's health in 2014, except to demonstrate the remarkable importance of a few super-successful productions to the theatre's economy and ecology.

The repertoire

29. We are now in a position to look at the make up of the 'straight theatre' repertoire for 2014. This category comprises **1,217** productions (or **65%** of the narrow theatre set).

30. What did the 2014 straight theatre repertoire break down into (with 2013 figures in brackets)?

- **51%** of the productions are of new plays (55%).⁸
- **16%** of the productions are new devised shows (14%).⁹
- **33%** of the productions are revivals (31%).

31. We can break those numbers down further. Of the 33% that were revivals (with 2013 figures in brackets):

- **8%** are classical revivals (up to 1850) (8%)
- **5%** are modern revivals (1850-1945) (5%)

⁸ This figure includes a substantial number of new adaptations and some plays for children. If both of these were excluded to give the number of wholly original plays for adults, the figure is **29%** (slightly down from 31% in 2013).

⁹ Devised shows are shows that are created collaboratively by a company and typically do not start with a script (though a script might be produced in the process)

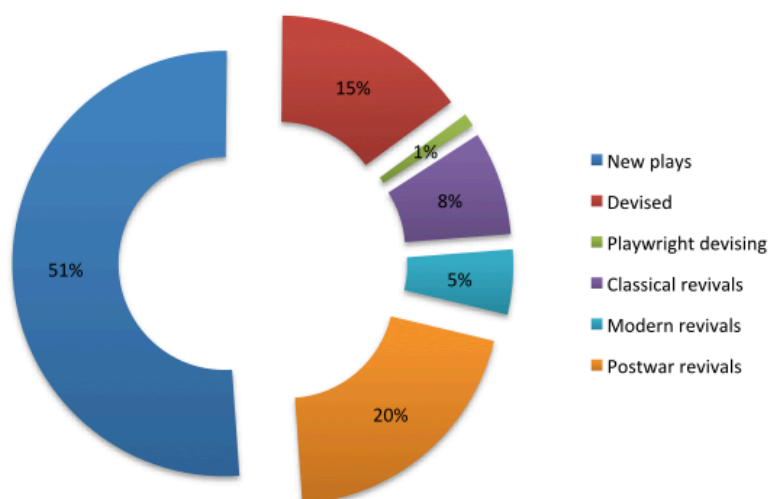
- **20%** are postwar revivals (after 1945) (19%)

32. And of the 16% that were devised shows (with 2013 figures in brackets):

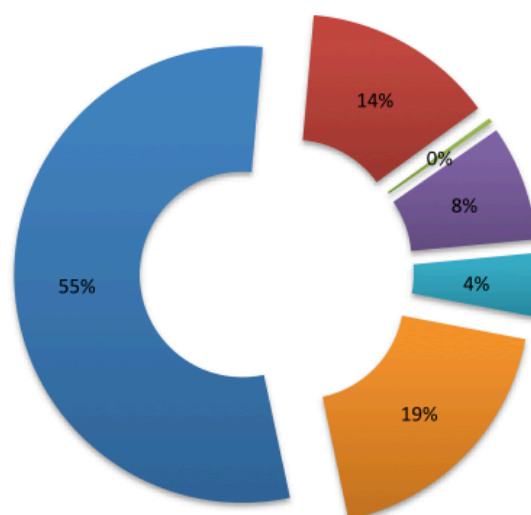
- **15%** were collaboratively created without a named writer (13.6%)
- **1%** were collaboratively created with a named writer (0.3%).¹⁰

33. These figures are broadly consistent with the proportions of the repertoire observed in 2013, as can be seen from this chart:

Repertoire 2014



Repertoire 2013



34. The place of revivals in the repertoire is almost identical. The proportion made up by new plays is slightly less in 2014 than the previous year, though this could be ordinary fluctuation or it might be the result of our more precise division of shows into 'playwriting' or 'devised'.¹¹

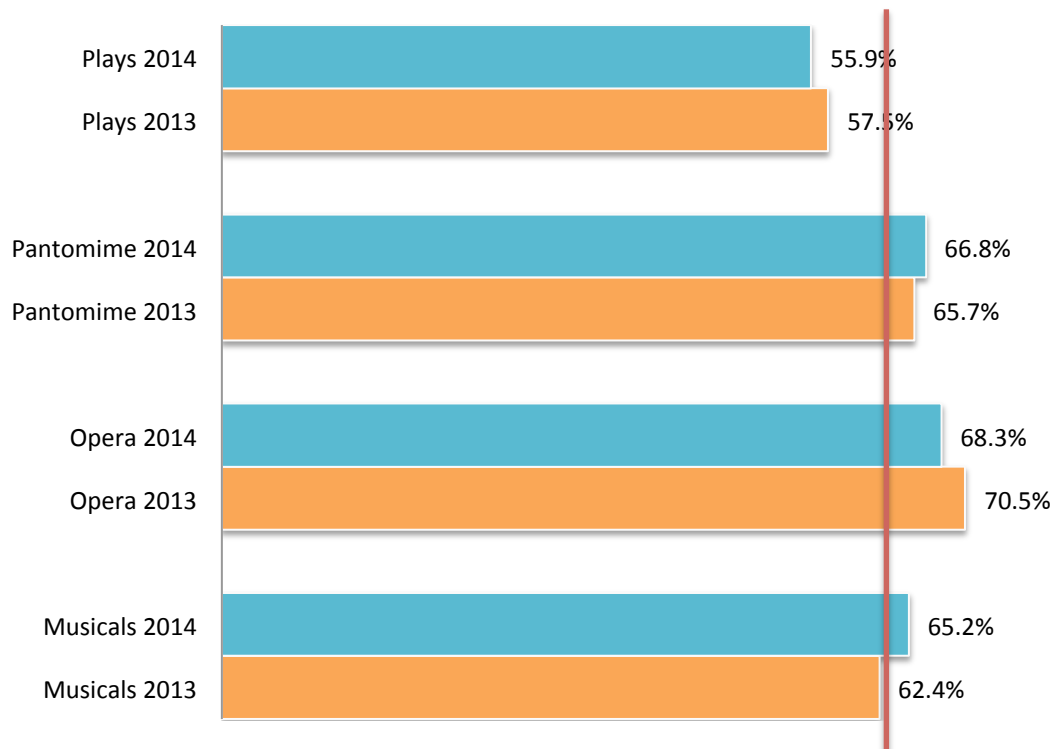
¹⁰ These are identified as 'playwright devising' in the chart. We are interested to trace the amount of work that crosses over between the traditionally isolated realms of devised work and playwriting. These shows might be considered to partake both in the performance and the new writing traditions of British theatre.

¹¹ It can be difficult to identify a show that is 'devised' or 'collaboratively created' or 'non-script-based' or any of these overlapping terms that denote performances that don't start with a script and which are usually created collectively by the company. Because we had concerns that devised work might be under-represented in these figures, we double-checked all items and did recategorise some productions. Nonetheless, we found 189 devised shows in our reporting theatres in 2014, compared to 172 in 2013, a relatively modest increase in productions, but see p. 19.

Performance against potential

35. Our figures show us not simply attendances and income but also *potential* attendances and *potential* income. We can, therefore, plot how far the theatre met its potential on this two measures in 2014.
36. Overall, theatre productions (excluding one-off performances and amateurs) achieved average box office income against potential of **62.7%**. This is slightly up on 2013's average of 61.4%.
37. There is a similar small rise in average attendance against total seat capacity of **66.7%** (or **68.1%** if you include complimentary tickets), up from 65.7% (or 67.5%) in 2013.
38. We can drill down a bit further with these figures, looking at them by form. The numbers for Performance Installation and Physical Theatre are too small to make any meaningful comparison and Dance was not an isolated category in 2013, but we can compare the box office performance against potential of Musicals, Opera, Pantomime and Plays. The red vertical line indicates average box office performance across all theatre in 2014 (**62.7%**).

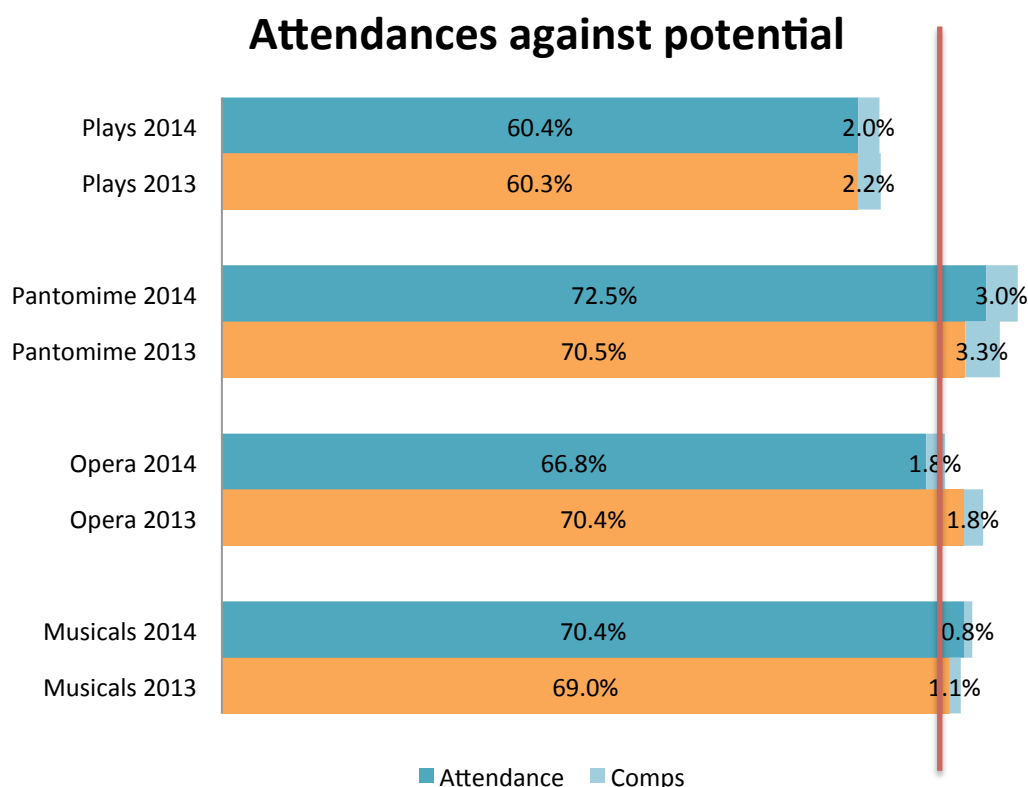
Box office income against potential



39. We can see that opera performs well above the average, while plays perform well below the average. Musicals and pantomime perform a

little above the average and have also increased their performance level since 2013, while plays and opera have dropped somewhat.

40. A similar picture is shown when we compare attendances against potential. Again the vertical line shows the average attendance across all theatre, including comps (**67.5%**).¹² That the average attendance against potential is higher than the average box office income against potential might suggest that theatres on the whole find it hard to attract people to the higher-priced tickets.



41. Now it is pantomime that performs most strongly, benefitting perhaps from tradition, seasonal goodwill, and a Christmas period where all pantomime advertising probably supports the whole sector as much as it fosters competition between individual shows. Again plays perform least well against potential, while musicals and opera perform about average. There are some fluctuations but too small to be significant at this point.

¹² Complimentary tickets are separated out in the UK Theatre figures but not in those from SOLT. It is therefore impossible strictly to include or exclude them. For consistency, we have included them in all figures just for attendances but not when calculating attendance against income. The average attendance across all professional theatre without the UK Theatre comps is 65.7%.

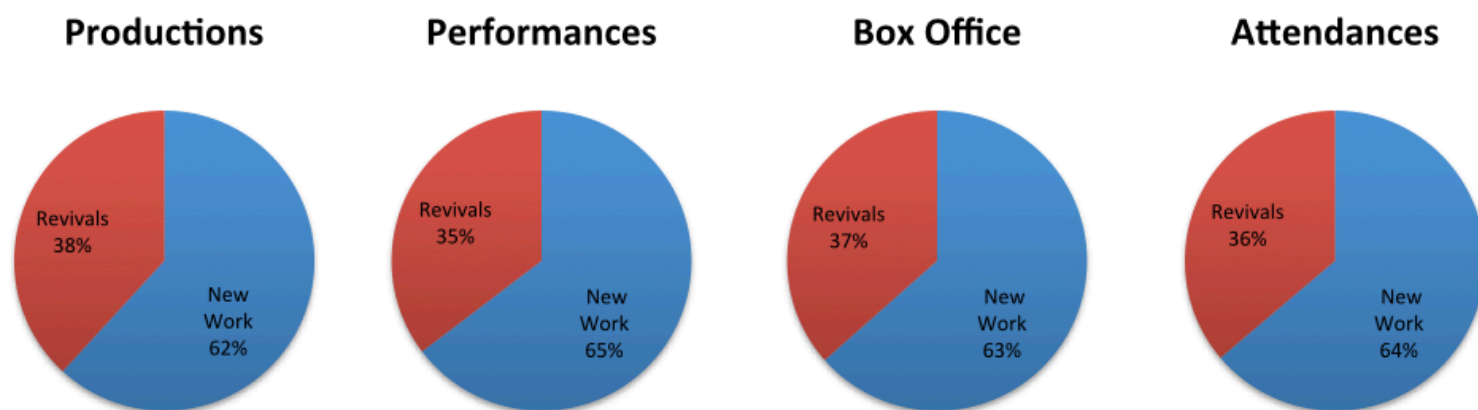
Summary

42. Broadly speaking the 2013 pattern of British theatre performance and repertoire was sustained in 2014, with West End musicals remaining the dominant form. The increases in numbers of productions, performances and people attending, were outstripped by a 5.6% rise in ticket prices and 10.4% rise in box office income. Pantomime did particularly well, with productions up by 31% and attendances by 13%. The proportions of new work and revivals has remained more or less the same. However, the number of new plays has declined slightly and devised work increased.

New Work

1. In the report covering 2013, we reported that new work had overtaken revivals for the first time in living memory (and probably much longer). This was maintained in 2014
2. Of all theatre in 2014, new work constitutes:
 - **62%** of all productions (59%)
 - **65%** of all performances (64%)
 - **63%** of all box office income (66%)
 - **64%** of all attendances (63%)¹³

The 2013 figures are in brackets and the very small variations would generally suggest that the pattern is holding firm.

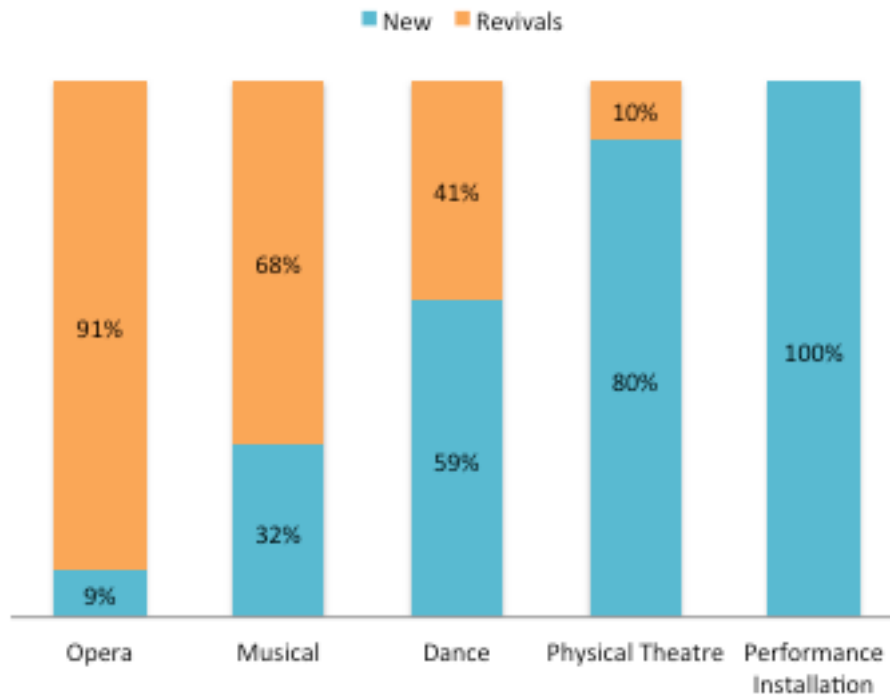


3. In other words, using all measures, new work significantly outnumbers revivals. As shown in the previous section, new plays dominate straight theatre, but in fact, across all theatre forms, there are significant amounts of new work. Although opera and musical theatre are led by the existing repertoire, in dance, pantomime, physical theatre and performance installation, new work strongly leads revivals.
4. A quick comparison with 2013's figures show that this is a consistent figure across the two years (Dance was not a separate category in 2013 and so does not appear in the second chart).¹⁴

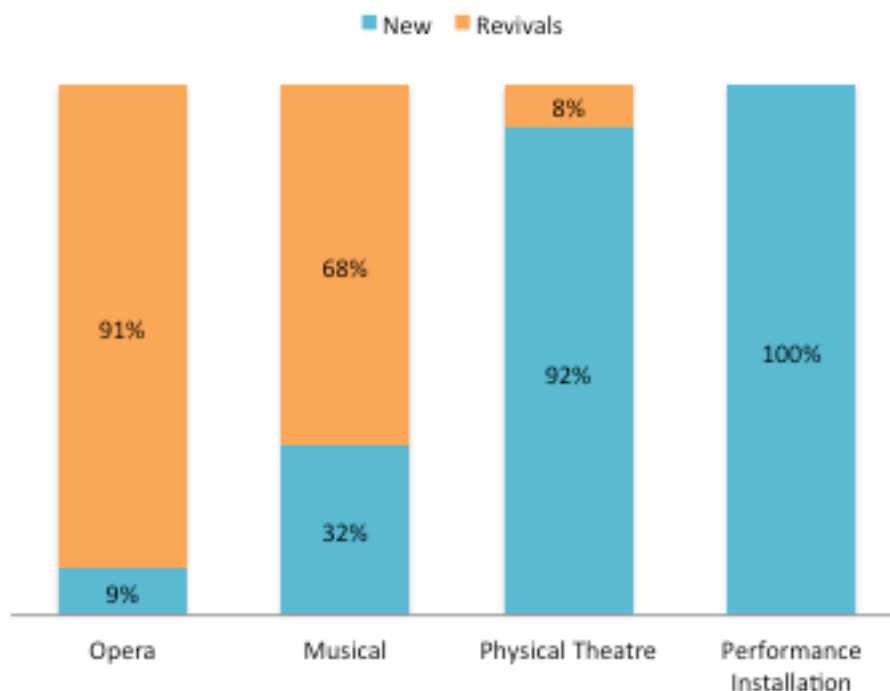
¹³ There is a small number of shows where we have found it hard to determine whether they are new work or revivals and we have excluded those from these figures. They make up only 4% of the total number of productions and 3% or less of performance, box office and attendances.

¹⁴ We have not included pantomimes in these charts; although some pantomime scripts are entirely new and others entirely revivals – most are combinations of old and new material in incalculable and varying proportions.

New work as % of 2014 theatre



New work as % of 2013 theatre

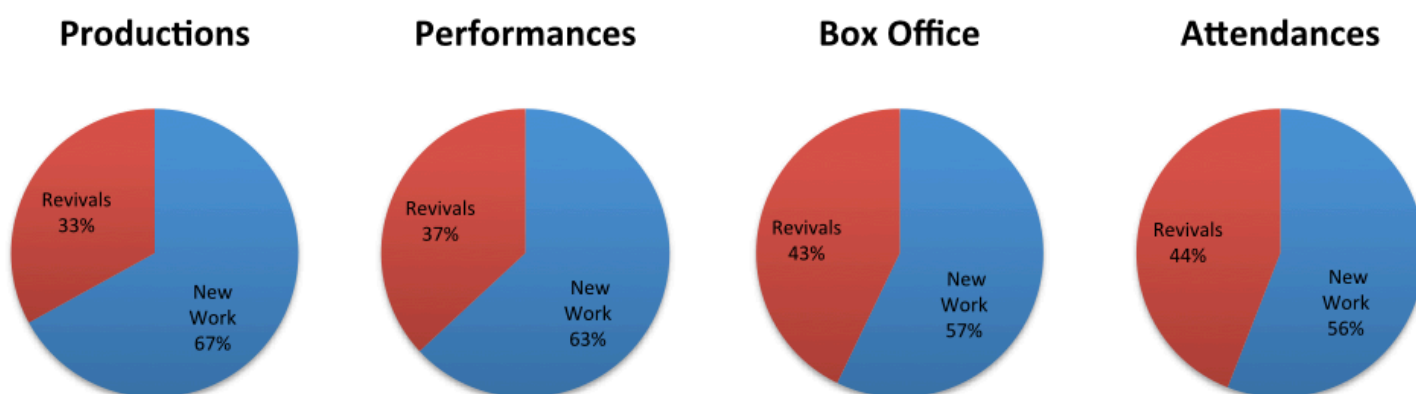


5. Almost a third of musical theatre productions are new (87 out of 270, almost exactly the same proportion as in 2013), though it should be borne in mind that 'new work' includes a large number of musicals that

are still, technically, in their first run. *Les Misérables*, for example, although it has changed theatre twice and the whole cast innumerable times *is* the same production and comes under ‘new work’. It is worth looking to see if these shows distort the performance of ‘new work’ in our sample.

6. We can test this by looking only at ‘straight theatre’, which removes musicals, opera, dance, physical theatre, pantomime and performance installation. Here we find very similar figures. Of all straight theatre in 2014, new work constitutes (with 2013 figures in brackets):

- **67%** of all productions (69%)
- **63%** of all performances (62%)
- **57%** of box office income (54%)
- **56%** of all attendances (55%)



Again, the figures are consistent between 2013 and 2014. Without the musicals and pantomimes (which are the two theatre forms that on average fill the highest percentage of seats¹⁵), new work has shorter runs and therefore lower attendances and box office.

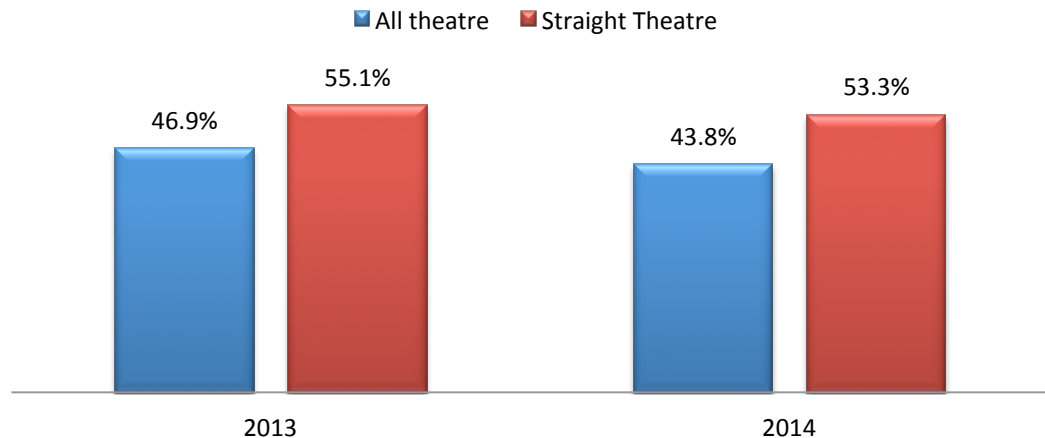
New writing

7. In the last report, we reported the concern of some commentators that ‘new writing’, as a category, might be under threat from the funding cuts. We found that in 2013, ‘new writing’ appeared¹⁶ to be in good health, continuing to have a crucial, even dominant, place in the theatrical ecology. (New writing includes new original plays, but also new adaptations and translations.)

¹⁵ Pantomimes and Musicals fill on average 75.5% and 71.2% of their seats, respectively. (These figures include complimentary tickets – while UK Theatre disaggregate comps and paid tickets in their figures, SOLT do not, so it is impossible to exclude comps altogether. Comps appear to make very little difference to the numbers attending pantos and musicals, though.)

¹⁶ We should add the caveat that, since 2013 was the first year for which we had accurate figures, we could not say whether there had *already* been a decline.

New Writing in Theatre (productions)



8. The 2014 figures suggest that the situation is fairly stable. New writing has dropped three percentage points as a proportion of all theatre productions and a little under two percentage points as a proportion of straight theatre. Nonetheless, these are small variations, the significance of which should not be overstated. And it once again tells us that some new writing was involved in more than half of the repertoire.

9. We can go further: of all theatre (narrow set) in 2014, new writing comprised:

- **49.5%** of performances (52.2%)
- **40.8%** of box office income (45.3%)
- **43.5%** of attendances (46.4%)

2013's figures are in brackets. It suggests small variation: in 2014, slightly shorter runs, rather higher prices and raised attendance, though it is not possible to describe this as a trend.

10. The narrow theatre set includes opera (dominated by the canon), pantomimes (in which authorship is often hard to identify), and musicals (dominated by revivals). Of straight theatre in 2014, where most new writing is concentrated, new writing comprised:

- **56.4%** of performances (55.8%)
- **55.3%** of box office income (52.5%)
- **55.4%** of attendances (52.7%)

2013's figures are in brackets.

11. New writing continues to be involved in the majority of productions, performances, box office income and attendances, and all figures (except number of productions) are slightly up. Attendances for new

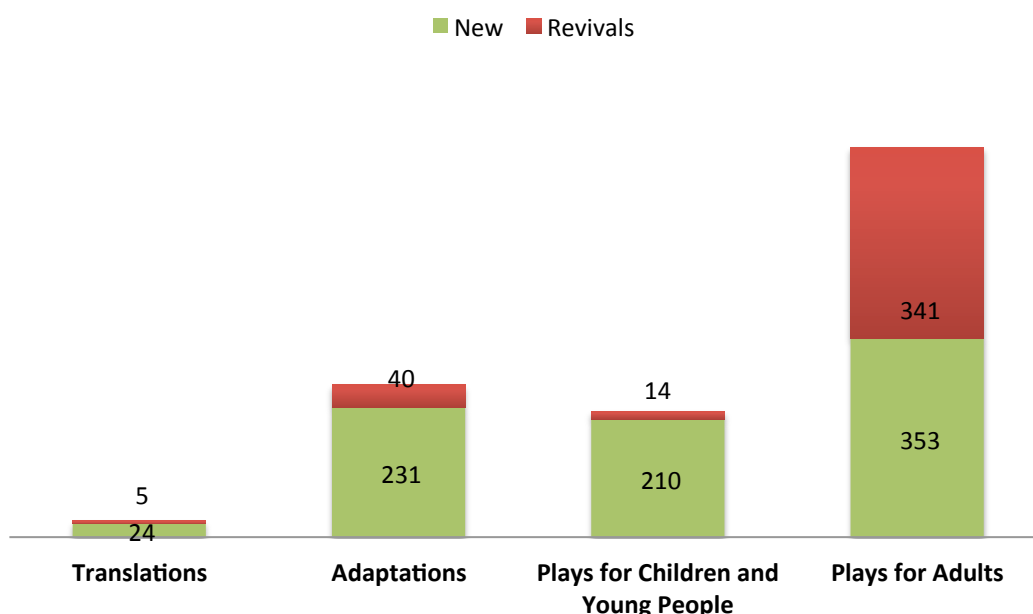
plays, adaptation and translations increased by 266,925, to over five million. At the same time, in this sector, box office increased by 11% from £119.5m to £132.4m. There were 816 productions in 2014 that involved new writing; that is, more than 2 new writing productions on average every day.

12. New writing leads right across the categories of straight theatre. It makes up (2013 figures in brackets):

- **83%** of translations (62%)
- **85%** of adaptations (86%)
- **74%** of plays for children and young people (74%)
- **54%** of plays for adults (56%)

Most of the figures are broadly consistent between 2013 and 2014. The biggest change is in translations where new writing has moved from 62% of the whole to **83%**. However, three things should be noted: (a) numbers of translations are very small so small changes have big effects; (b) it is sometimes extremely difficult to find out whether a translation is new or old so there are quite a few productions where we have not been able to tag it either way; (c) last year we had 15 revived and 24 new translations in our figures – this year it's **5** and **24**; in other words, it's not so much a matter of more new translations as fewer old ones.

New Work vs. Revivals



13. Although the figure for new authored adaptations is the same as in 2013, the number of adaptations as a whole has increased by **11.5%** (from 243 to **271**). This is partly-fuelled by a **34%** increase in revived adaptations. New adaptations (including adaptations for children) represent a **quarter** of all new plays.

It should be said that revived adaptations have not been a great box office success, declining from 61% to **48%** of box office capacity (while the box office performance of new adaptations rose to **57%**).

It should also be noted that the number of devised adaptations declined from 13.2% to **10.3%** of the total.

14. The reason why the figure for authored new plays for children seems unexpectedly low is that **37%** of new plays in this sector are devised (overall, **94%** of new theatre works for children are new).

Between 2013 and 2014 the number of productions of plays for children declined slightly, from 247 to **224**. The decline in performances (**9.6%** down) and attendances (**8.1%** down) was more precipitous. However, there were still well **over a million** attendances at plays for children and young people in 2014.

15. Average ticket prices for new writing productions have gone up:

- In all theatre, they have risen from £31.03 in 2013 to **£31.56** (a rise of 1.7%, below the rate of inflation).
- In straight theatre, they have risen from £24.74 in 2013 to **£25.99** (an above-inflation rise of 5%)

As stated above (note 4), ticket prices rose on average by **5.6%** so these are both below average.

16. How did new writing perform against potential? Despite the increase in attendances and box office for new plays, in terms of percentages, the new play figures for all theatre are down:

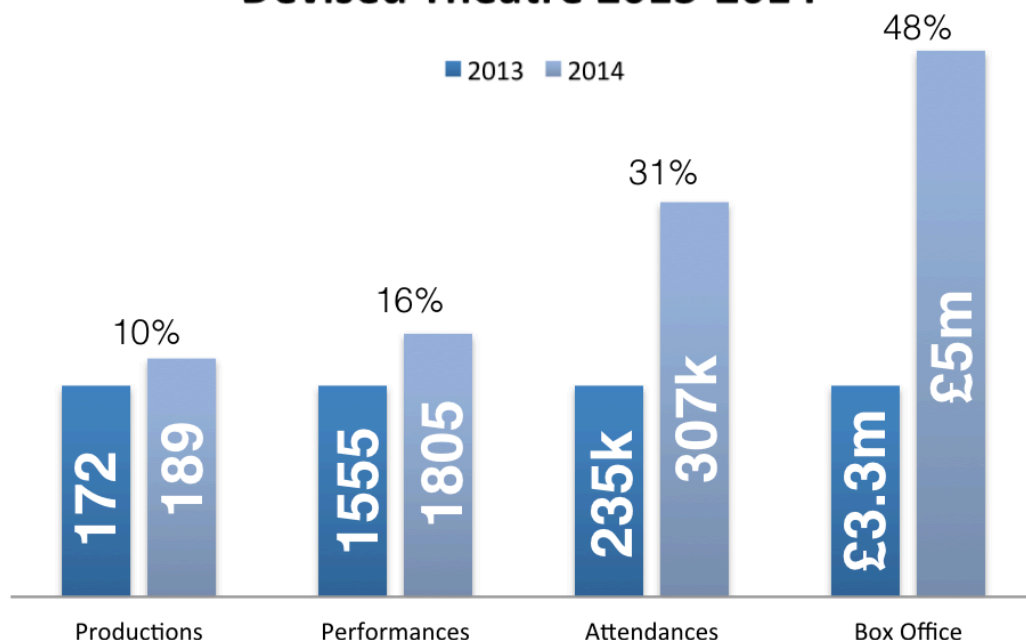
- Attendance at new writing productions (measured as percentage of capacity) dropped from 61.7% in 2013 to **57.5%** in 2014 (against an average for all theatre of **68.13%**)
- Box office income from new writing productions (measured as percentage of total potential income) dropped significantly from 60.9% in 2013 to **49.3%** in 2014 (against an average for all theatre of **62.7%**)

Devised theatre

17. Devised work forms a much smaller proportion of productions, performances attendances and box office than does new writing. However, in 2014's figures, Devised theatre shows some notable increases. The number of productions has grown from 171 to **189** (an increase of **10%**) – and all other indicators show a considerable increase in activity, as this chart¹⁷ illustrates.

¹⁷ The chart is limited only to devised work in 'straight theatre'.

Devised Theatre 2013-2014



Numbers of performances have increased by **16%** since 2013, attendances by almost a third (**31%**), and box office income in 2014 was **48%** higher than that of 2013.

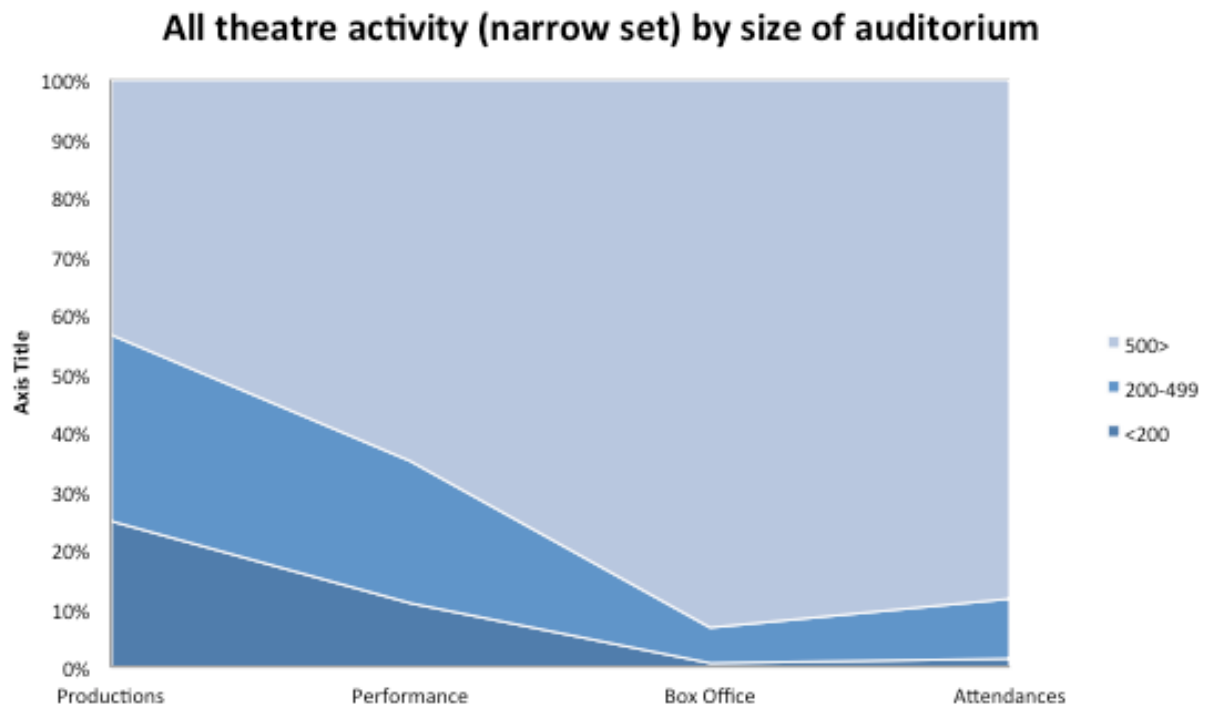
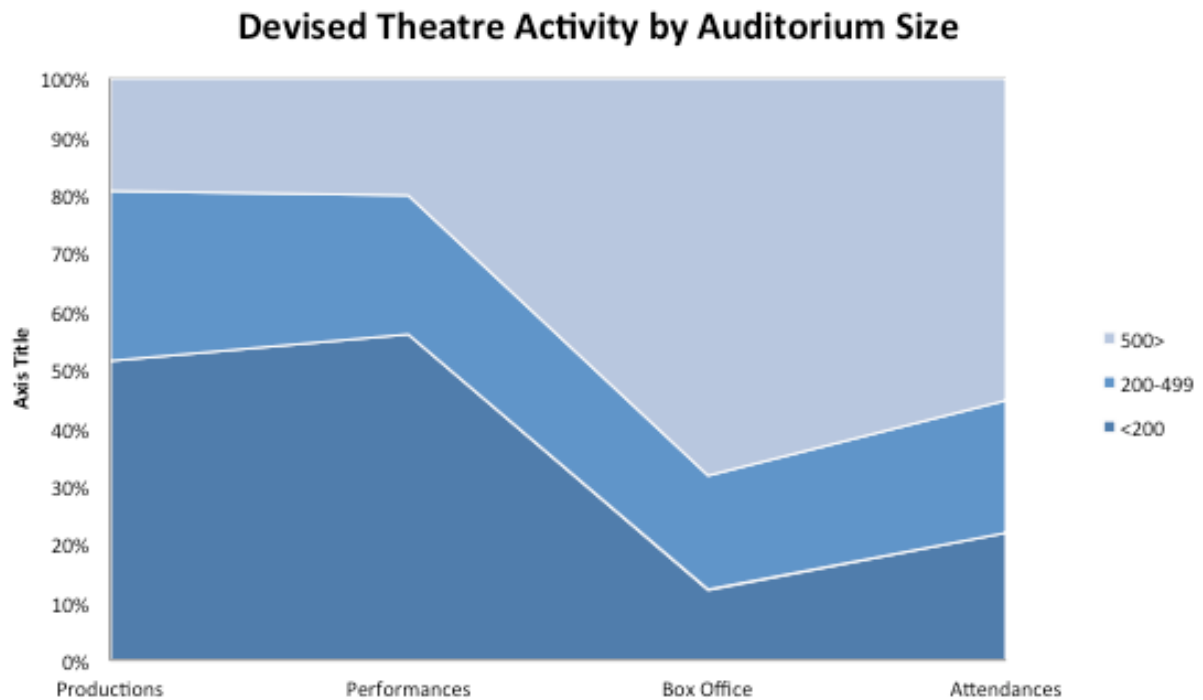
18. In part, these increases will be due to a more assiduous categorisation of devised shows, but that cannot be the whole story as the relatively small increase of productions tells. More likely it will be the very strong performance of a small number of successful devised shows. It should also be noted that many high-performing devised shows were for children and young people.

19. Indeed, in terms of attendance and box office, a small number of shows dominate the statistics for devised work – more so that, say, for new writing productions.

- The top **10** devised shows account for **63%** of all devised show attendances and **75%** of all devised show box office income.
- When you look at the top **20** devised shows, this rises to **78%** of attendances and **87%** of income.
- For new writing, conversely, the top **10** shows account for **34%** of attendances and **50%** of tickets; for the top **20** it is still only **51%** of attendances and **66%** of tickets.

20. Although the largest number of devised productions take place in smaller theatres (below 200 seats), the majority of the box office is made in the largest theatres, as the following chart shows. In fact

although there is a substantial amount of devised work in the largest theatres, proportionately it is much more typically played in intimate spaces than theatre as a whole, as can be seen by comparing the second chart. While the performance of theatre in attendances and box office is dominated by the larger theatres, devising is spread more evenly across different size auditoriums.



21. Overall, devised theatre represented **15.5%** of productions of straight theatre (as opposed to **14.1%** in 2013). For our other indicators the figures are:

- Performances **6.6%** (6%)
- Attendances **3.5%** (2.6%)
- Box office **2.1%** (1.5%)

2013's figures are in brackets.

22. However, it should be noted that, in numerical terms, devised theatre's attendance increased by 71,980 to **307,219** and its box office take by £1,620,608 to **£4,964,535**.

23. In terms of box office and capacity percentages, the picture for devised work is also more positive. New writing achieved **55%** of box office capacity (down from 57% in 2013); devised work achieved the same, but up **5%** from 2013. Devised work achieved an impressive **73%** of capacity, up from 57% in 2013 (while new writing remained at **62%**).

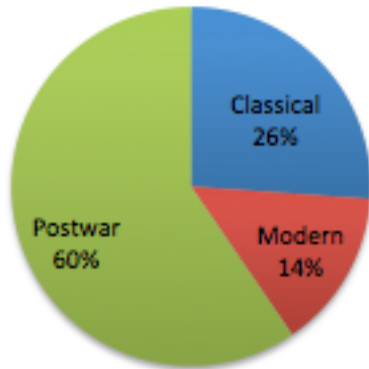
24. Devising is overwhelmingly composed of new work. Only **1.6%** of devised shows are revivals and they account for less than half of one percent of performances, box office and attendances.

Revivals

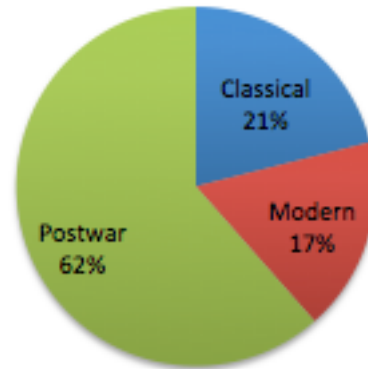
25. As stated in the last chapter, revivals as a proportion of straight theatre have remained more or less consistent between 2013 and 2014. Within revivals there is also a more or less consistent pattern, as shown in the following charts:

revivals 2013

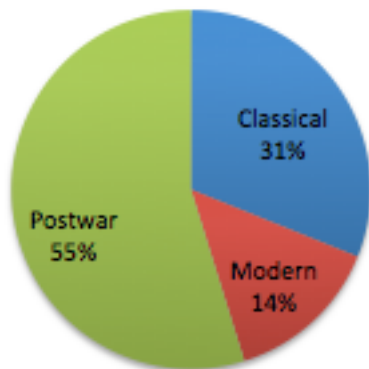
Productions



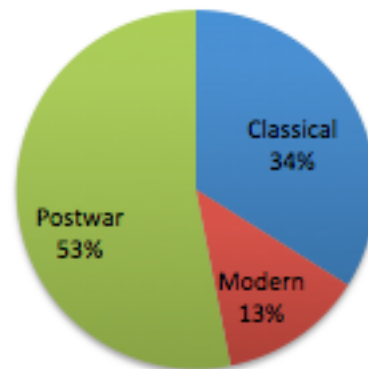
Performances



Attendance



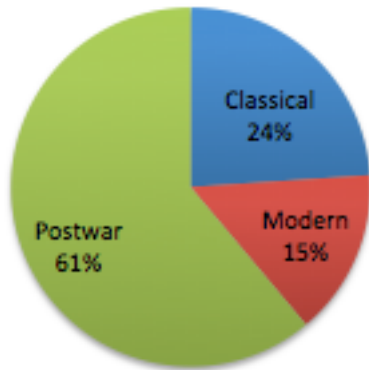
Box office



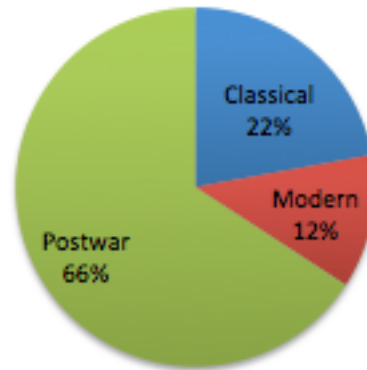
26. The proportions of productions have remained very similar, while performances of postwar (1945+) revivals have increased at the expense of the modern (1850-1945) repertoire. In terms of attendance, classical (pre-1850) revivals are up slightly, again at the expense of modern revivals.

revivals 2014

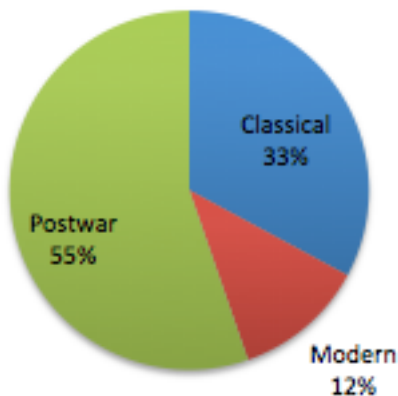
Productions



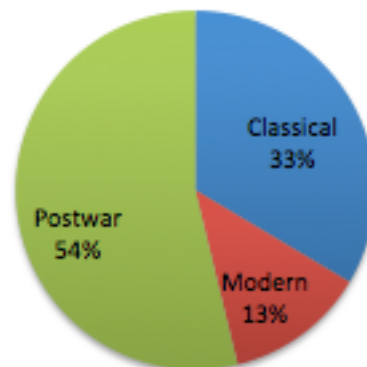
Performances



Attendance



Box office



27. Notably, in terms of attendance and box office, classical revivals punch above their weight (judged by sheer numbers of productions and performances). Although classical plays make up **less than a quarter** of productions of revivals, they represent a **third** of all box office and attendance. In terms of performance against potential, classical plays achieved **74.4%** of potential box office and filled **79.9%** of seats in 2014 (up **5%** on 2013).

28. It should be said that, of the **96** classical plays presented in 2014, **71** were by Shakespeare, who represents **6%** of all productions of plays, **10%** of all attendances and **11%** of the box office take.

29. Box office and attendance percentages for classical plays (**75%** and **80%** respectively, the latter up **3%** on 2013) considerably outperform the average figure for all plays (box office **56%**, attendance **62%**) and

new plays (box office **55%**, attendance also **62%**). However, this is not due to the fact that **74%** of these productions are Shakespeare: in fact that attendance and box office figures consistent right across the range of classical plays; Greek tragedy, Shakespeare's contemporaries and restoration drama are doing equally well.

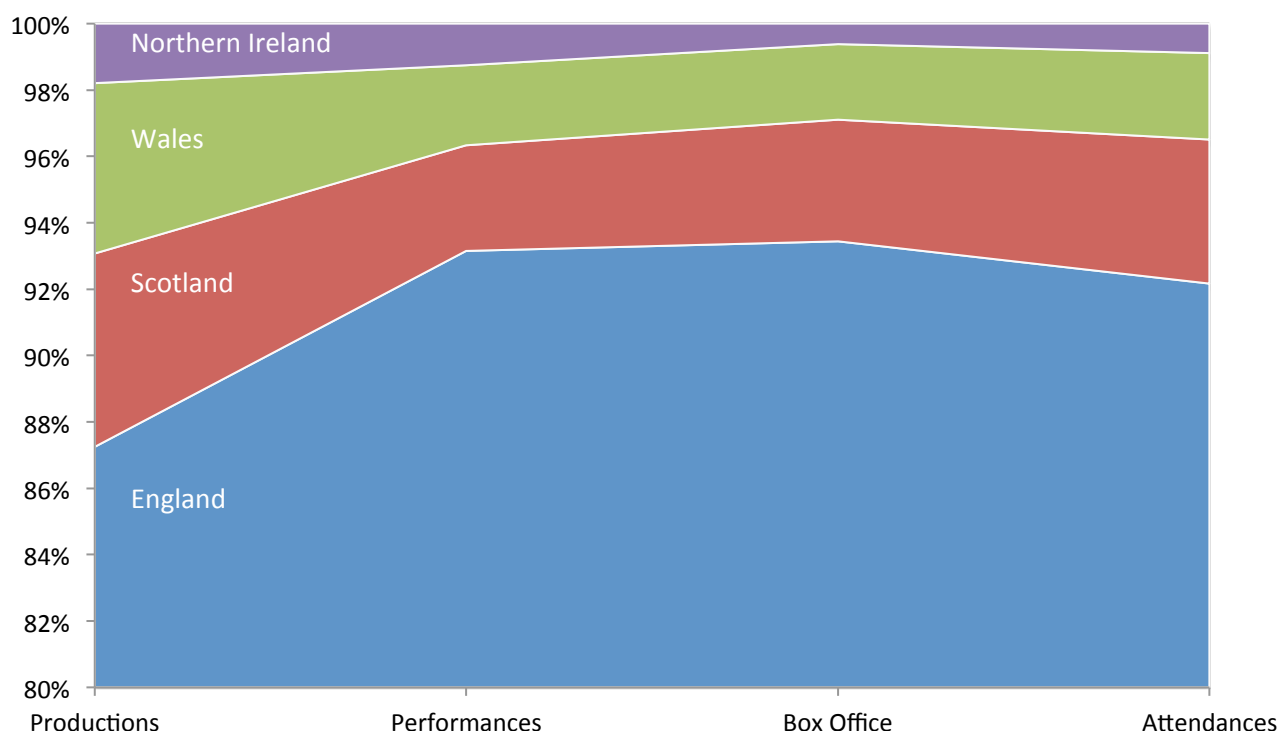
30. Later eras do less well in terms of box office and attendance performance: in 2014, new plays equalled modern drama in box office (**55%**) but outperformed it in attendance (modern drama **57%**). New plays also outperformed postwar drama's **51%** box office and **57%** attendance.
31. In terms of raw attendance figures, the attendance for modern drama fell just over a percentage point, while that for postwar drama rose nearly two points. These changes are unlikely to be significant.

Summary

32. New work continues to dominate straight theatre, and there is little sign that cuts in funding have yet impacted on the amount of new work produced. The dominance of new over old adaptations, translations and plays for children continued (with new translations even more preponderant). A general increase in adaptations (old and new) may indicate a more conservative trend in programming. Although the box office take for new plays, adaptations and translations has increased (to over **£130m**, representing over **5m** attendances), their box office performance in percentage terms has declined. The amount and performance of devised work has increased in terms of productions, performances, attendances and box office, taking nearly **£5m** at the box office and selling over **300,000** tickets.

Regions

1. The distribution of cultural activity among Britain's regions and nations is a longstanding topic for debate. This debate has been given additional political currency in the last two years by the previous and present Governments' stated commitment to developing a 'Northern Powerhouse' to stimulate industrial activity away from London.¹⁸ Our figures last year showed that there was, in fact, a broad correlation between population and theatregoing – but only if the capital city is taken out of the equation. There is a hugely disproportionate concentration of cultural capital in London. Our report for 2013 showed that while London had 13.1% of the population, it had 54.3% of the theatregoing. We are keen, therefore, to see if these positions have changed.
2. The distribution of productions, performances, box office income and theatre attendances in 2014 in the nations of Britain are illustrated by this chart.¹⁹ Note that to show the differences between the four indicators the Y axis of the chart begins at 80%, which obscures England's national dominance. (The full chart would be five times as



¹⁸ See for instance George Osborne's speech 'We Need a Northern Powerhouse' delivered at the Museum of Science and Industry, Manchester, 23 June 2014. www.gov.uk 23 June 2014 <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/chancellor-we-need-a-northern-powerhouse> 13 February 2016.

¹⁹ It should be noted that figures for productions are not exclusive to region because of touring (two-fifths of productions designated as 'England' in this chart are touring and also show up in the figures of other nations). However performances, box office income and attendances are all specific to region.

long vertically and blue right to the bottom).

England has the largest share of productions (**87%**) and even more of performances (**92%**), box office and attendances (**93%**).

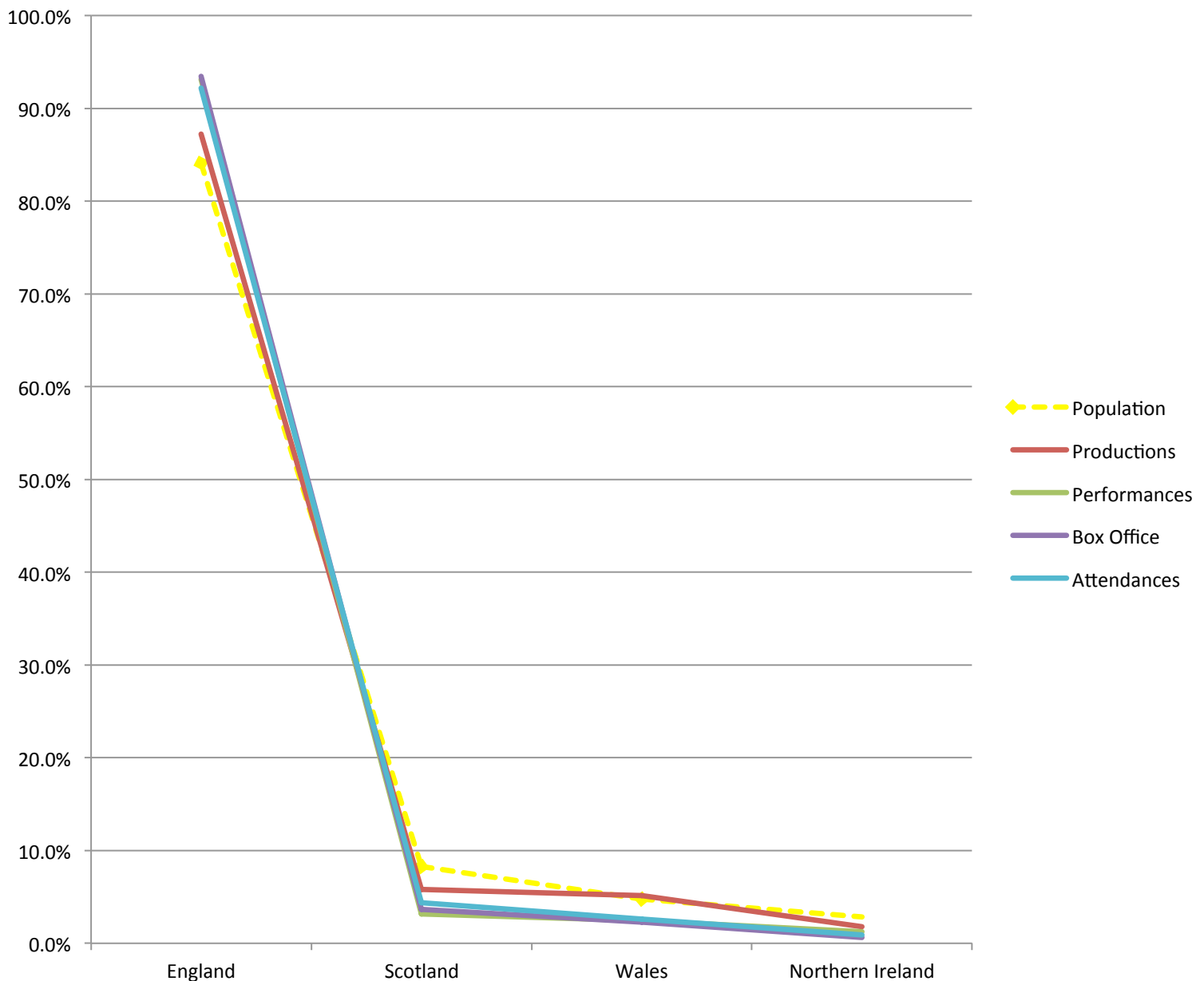
3. All other regions have a proportionately smaller share of box office than they do of both productions or attendances. What this points to is the higher ticket price in England than in Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland. As this graphic shows, England pays most for its tickets and Northern Ireland pays the least, England's tickets being **46%** more expensive than Northern Ireland.



4. We can plot productions, performances, box office performance, and attendances against population and we find that taken as regions, the national picture is roughly proportionate between share of theatre activity and share of population, as can be seen on the following graph.²⁰ In fact, activity is so proportionate that it is difficult to

²⁰ Population information is drawn from Office for National Statistics *Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, Mid-2014* 25 June 2015
<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/pop-estimate/population-estimates-for-uk--england-and-wales-->

distinguish the different element. The dotted yellow line shows population so we can see that in England all four measures of theatrical activity are slightly above the level of population, that in Scotland and Northern Ireland, they are slightly below and that in Wales, the share of productions is slightly above share of population, but performances, box office and attendances are below. Nonetheless, the broad picture is that national shares of theatre activity are in line with population.



5. But if we look at England in more detail, the picture is rather different. Looking at the share of theatrical activity between England's regions, we see an increasingly startling concentration of activity in London.

6. The number of productions is largely proportionate to population, as shown in the following graph.²¹ In the East and West Midlands, and especially London, the share of productions is higher than its share of population. In the East of England and especially in the North West, the share of productions is lower than share of population. Elsewhere, share of population and share of theatre production are about the same.

Population vs. Theatre Productions in England's Regions

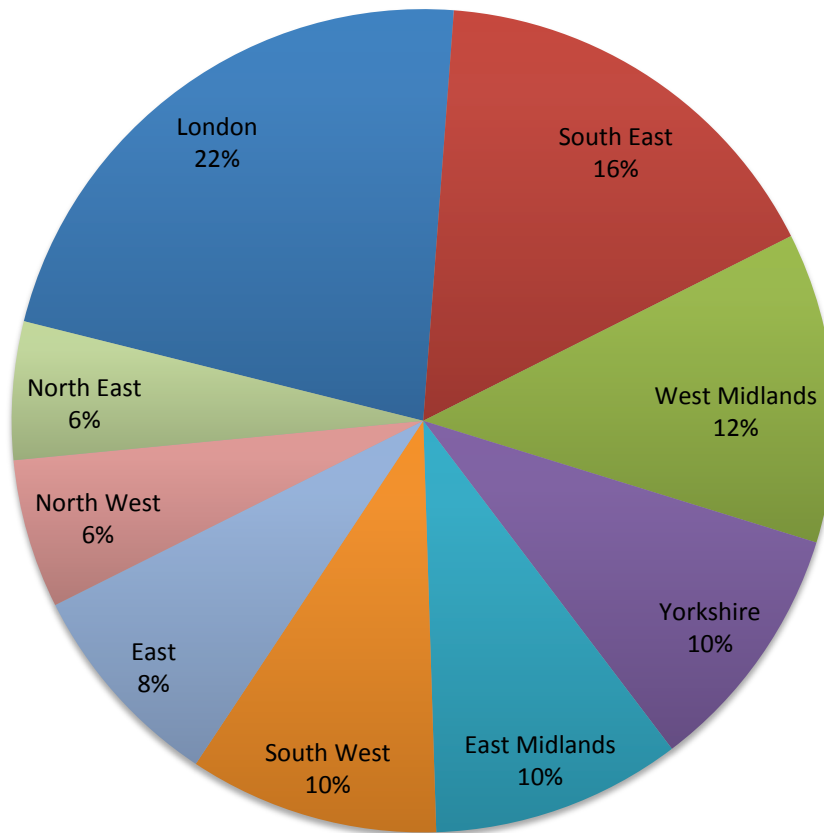


7. Although this graph does show that there are some disparities, it is useful to look at the data differently, for instance in a pie chart, from which the conclusion could be drawn that theatre production is fairly evenly spread throughout England's regions. London has the largest share and the North East the smallest but there are still substantial amounts of theatre production going on in all areas – from close to **3** shows opening per week in the North East to close to **12** per week in London.²²

²¹ Population figures for England's regions are drawn from Office for National Statistics, Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, Mid-2014, Population Estimates Analysis Tool. 25 June 2015. <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/pop-estimate/population-estimates-for-uk--england-and-wales--scotland-and-northern-ireland/mid-2014/rft---mid-2014-population-estimates-analysis-tool.zip> 14 February 2016.

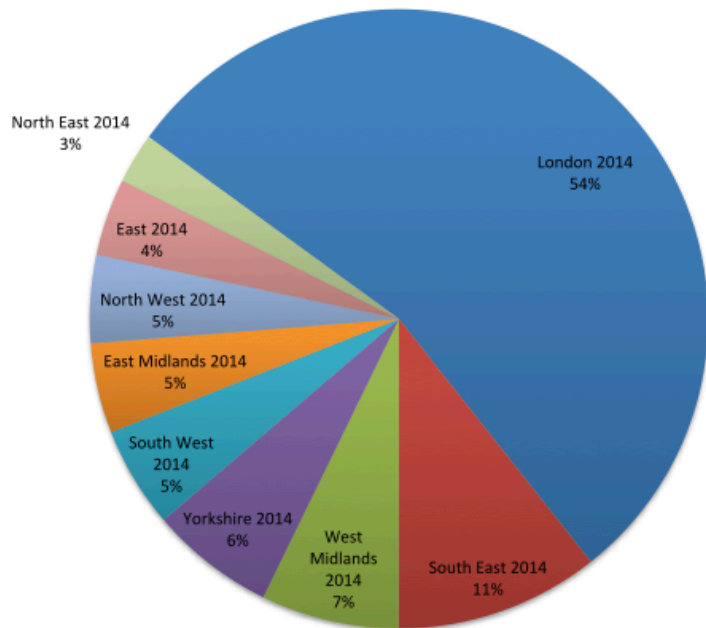
²² It should be noted that productions tour between regions so some productions will appear in more than one region in this chart, though performances, attendances and box office income are particular to regions.

Productions 2014

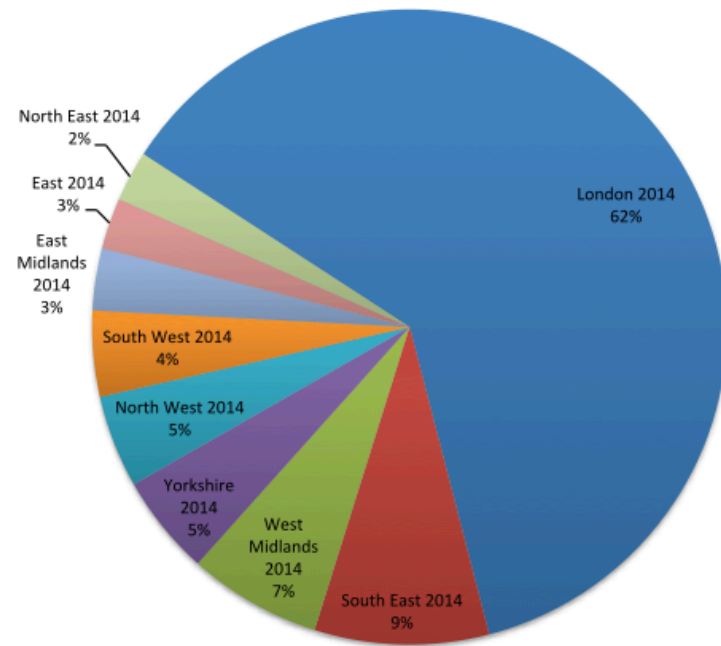


8. But as we look at the other indicators, London's dominance begins to assert itself more strongly.
9. When we consider performances, we have to remember that virtually all the long-running shows are in London, meaning a substantial number of theatres with no dark periods. As a result, while London has **less than a quarter** of all productions in England it has **over half** of all performances.
10. When we look at attendances, London is even more dominant. Of course this is in part a result of tourism, both from abroad and from the other regions and nations of Britain. Nonetheless, **over three-fifths** of all theatre visits in England take place in London.
11. And when we look at Box Office, we see the impact of the long-running shows, the concentration of large theatres in the West End. **Almost three-quarters** of all the theatre box office income generated in England is generated in London.

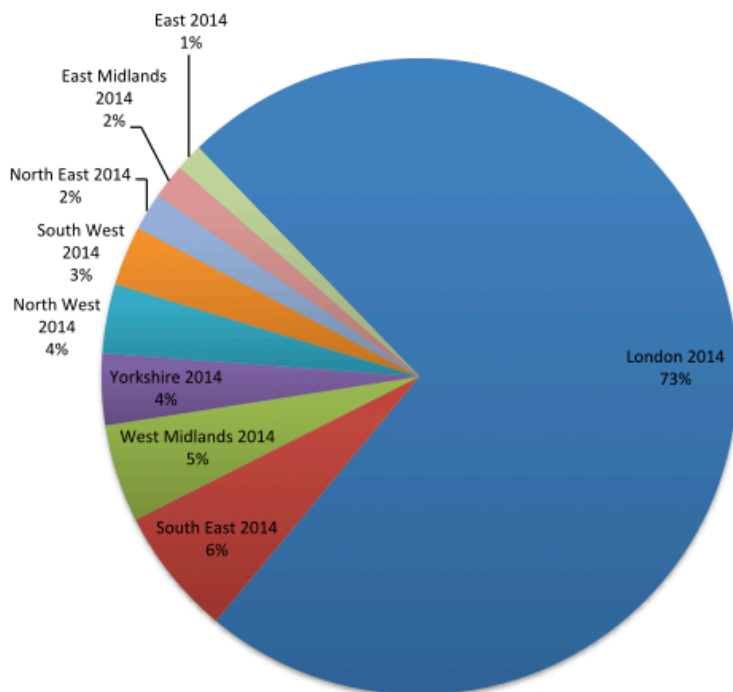
Performances



Attendances



Box office



12. The picture is even more striking than we found in 2013. London's share:

- of productions has risen from 19% to **22%**
- of performances has risen from 50% to **54%**
- of attendances has risen from 59% to **62%**
- of box office income has risen from 70% to **73%**

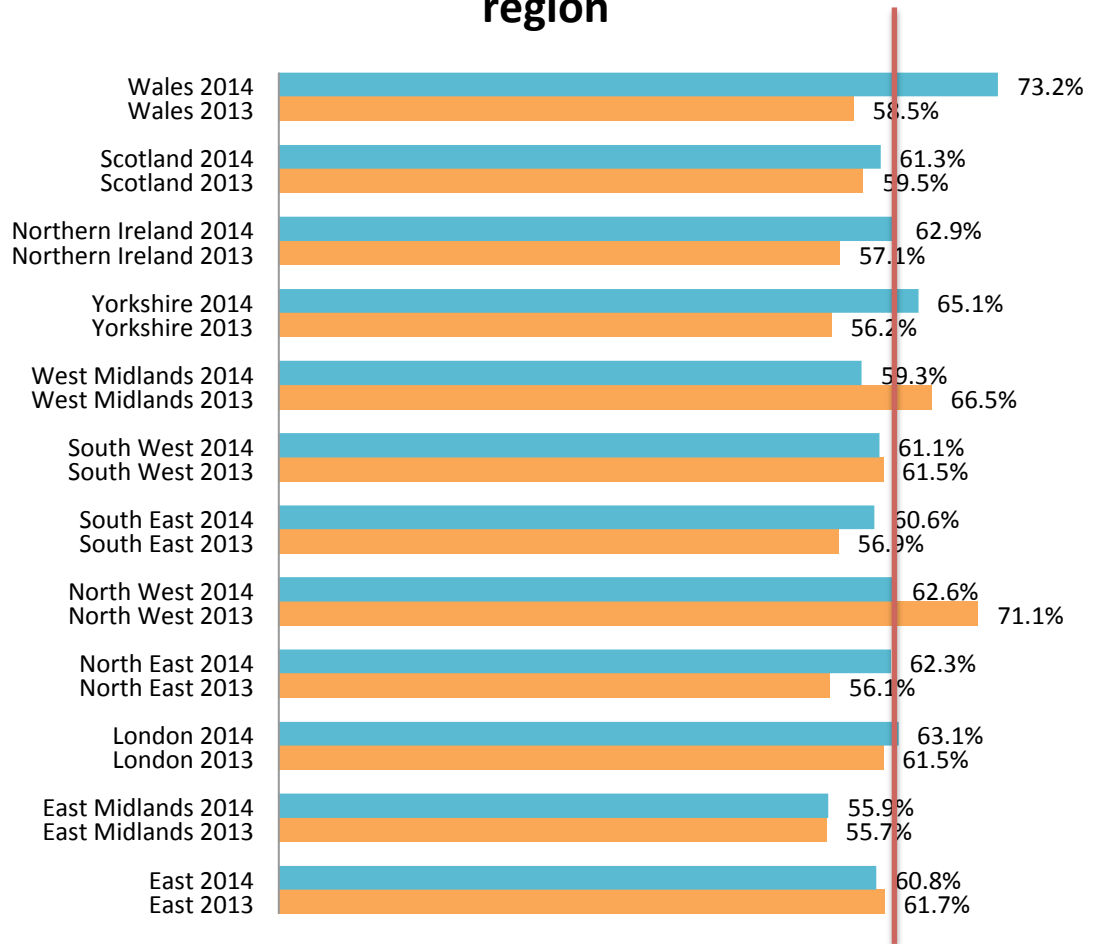
13. As elsewhere in this report, we should be cautious before concluding that we have seen a trend (these figures may be within the ordinary fluctuations of theatre activity). At the very least, however, anyone with a commitment to the continuing cultural vitality of all England's regions should await next year's figures with concern.

Performance against potential

14. We can look at the performance of each region in terms of their performance against potential, both in terms of box office and of seats sold against capacity. These measures are fairly crude – some regions are blessed by very flexible auditoria which can change size to reflect likely attendance, while other regions – like the West End of London – have rather inflexible and large houses. The figures are shown in the following chart. The red line once again indicates average theatre box office performance across all regions (**62.7%**).

15. Nonetheless, the results are very interesting. The region that performs best against box office potential is Wales, up dramatically on the previous year. Of the other regions, Northern Ireland, Yorkshire, and London perform a little above average. The rest perform a little below average, the East Midlands being the lowest performer in 2014. The disproportionate amount of theatre activity in London pulls the average considerably up, which explain why 8 out of 12 regions have underperformed in 2014.

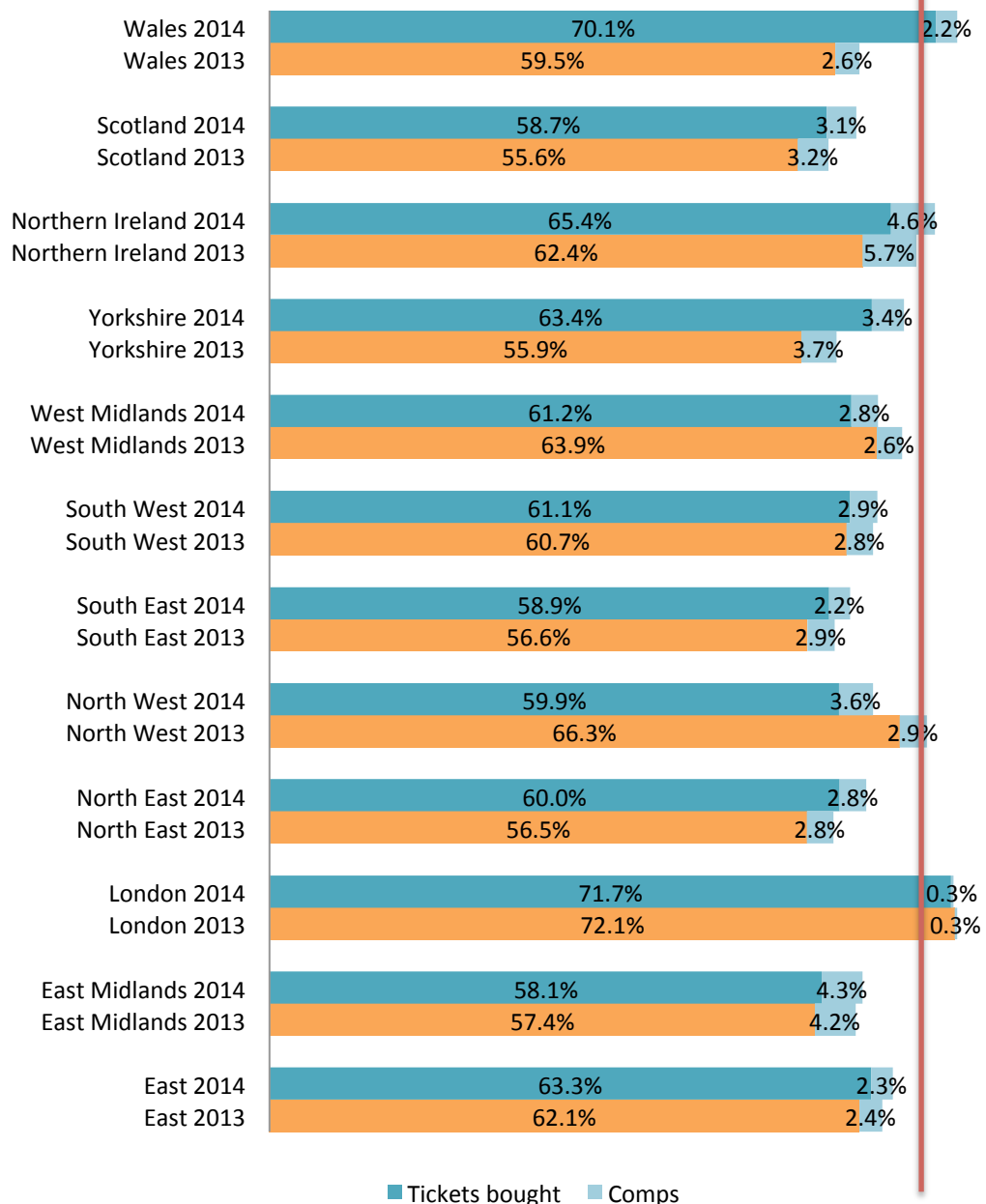
Box office income against potential by region



16. If we run the same figures but now for attendances against potential capacity, we get some slight differences.²³ The vertical red line indicates average attendance against capacity across the UK (**68.2%**) and we can see that London regularly fills the largest proportion of its seats. Wales continues to perform extremely strongly (4.1% above the national average). Northern Ireland and the North-West exceed the mean, while all other regions underperform, with the South-East filling the lowest proportion of its seats (perhaps because of the competition from London). Once again, we must note that London's numerical preponderance in these figures distort the picture somewhat.

²³ The figures for complimentary tickets should be taken with a note of caution. UK Theatre records these separately but SOLT does not, and since most London theatres in our figures are SOLT rather than UK Theatre, the figures underrepresent comps in London.

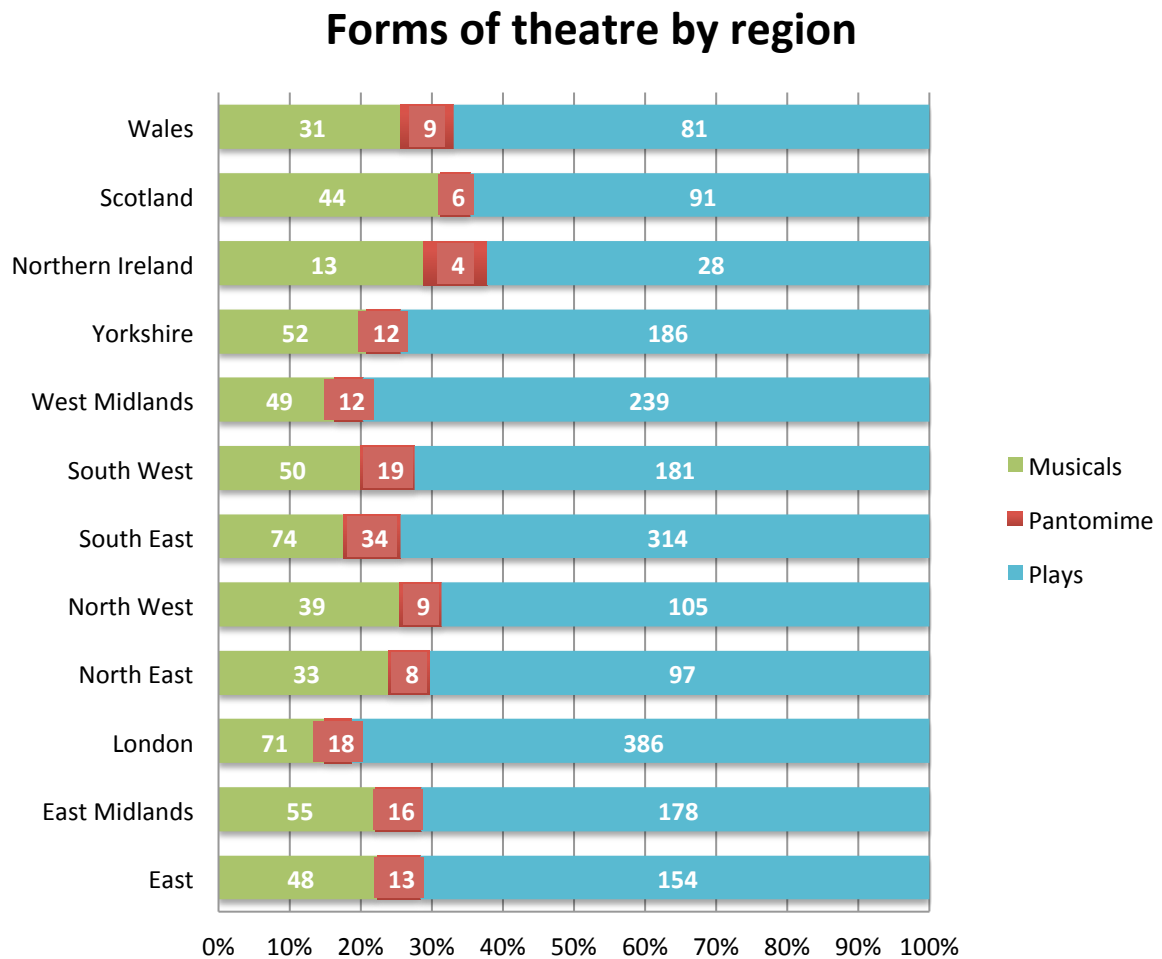
Attendances against capacity by region



The regional repertoire

17. We can break down each region by repertoire to see what differences there are between the kinds of theatre that are performed. The following chart shows only the three most commonly produced forms of theatre – plays, musicals and pantomimes. The bars give the proportions and the numbers show the raw numbers of productions.
18. The overall pattern suggests a broadly similar pattern. On average, of those three forms of theatre, **22%** of shows are musicals, **72%** are plays and **6%** are pantomimes.

- London does the largest number of *plays* both as proportion of its repertoire and in terms of raw numbers.
- Scotland is the region in which *musicals* form the largest part of the repertoire, though the South East has the largest raw number of musicals.
- Northern Ireland is the region in which pantomimes form the largest part of the repertoire, though the South East offers the largest raw number of musicals.

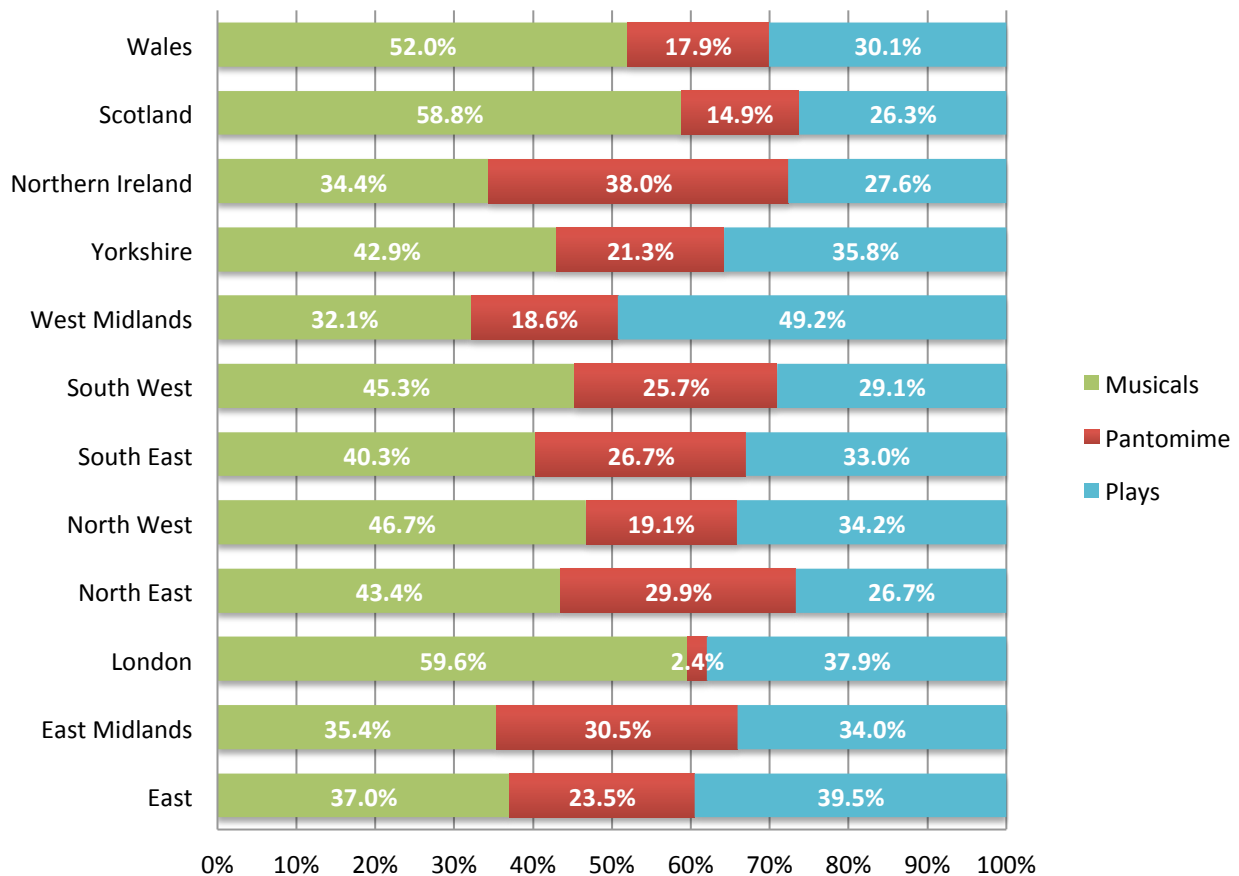


19. One can see where these different forms are least performed, too.

- You get the narrowest choice of musicals, plays and pantomimes in Northern Ireland.
- *Plays* form the smallest portion of the repertoire in Northern Ireland.
- *Pantomimes* and *Musicals* form the smallest portion of the repertoire in London.

20. These are figures for what shows are produced. In terms of actual attendances, the picture is rather different.

Attendances at forms of theatre by region



- People are proportionately most likely to go to *plays* in the West Midlands, *pantomimes* in Northern Ireland, and *musicals* in London.
- They are proportionately least likely to go to *plays* in Scotland, *pantomimes* in London, and *musicals* in the West Midlands.

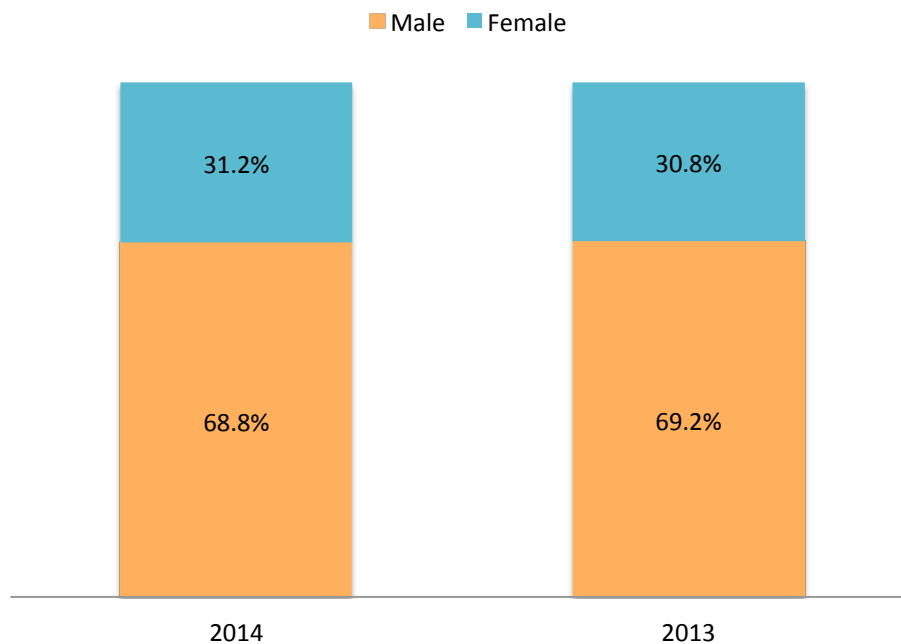
Summary

21. Outside London, there continues to be a strong correlation between population and theatregoing. However, the concentration of theatrical activity in London has increased. The capital has less than a quarter of productions, yet over half the performances, three-fifths of theatre visits and three quarters of all income from theatre in England. In terms of theatre's performance against box office and attendance capacity, Wales did exceptionally well in 2014. Proportionately, people in the West Midlands are most likely to go to plays, and residents of Northern Ireland to go to musicals. Pantomimes are least popular in London.

Gender

1. Our report on 2013 caused quite a stir identifying a glass ceiling that has seemed to contain women playwrights at 31% of the new play repertoire and showed that plays by women typically played in smaller houses, for shorter runs, and with lower ticket prices. We also demonstrated that women were, perplexingly, less likely to be commissioned for adaptations and translations than men. We have been keen to see if these figures are continued this year or if 2013 might have been atypical.
2. When we look at the figures for new solo-authored plays (in the straight theatre category), we find that the position is pretty much identical. Once again, women wrote **31%** of new plays written by a single author.

Solo-authored new plays by gender 2013 & 2014

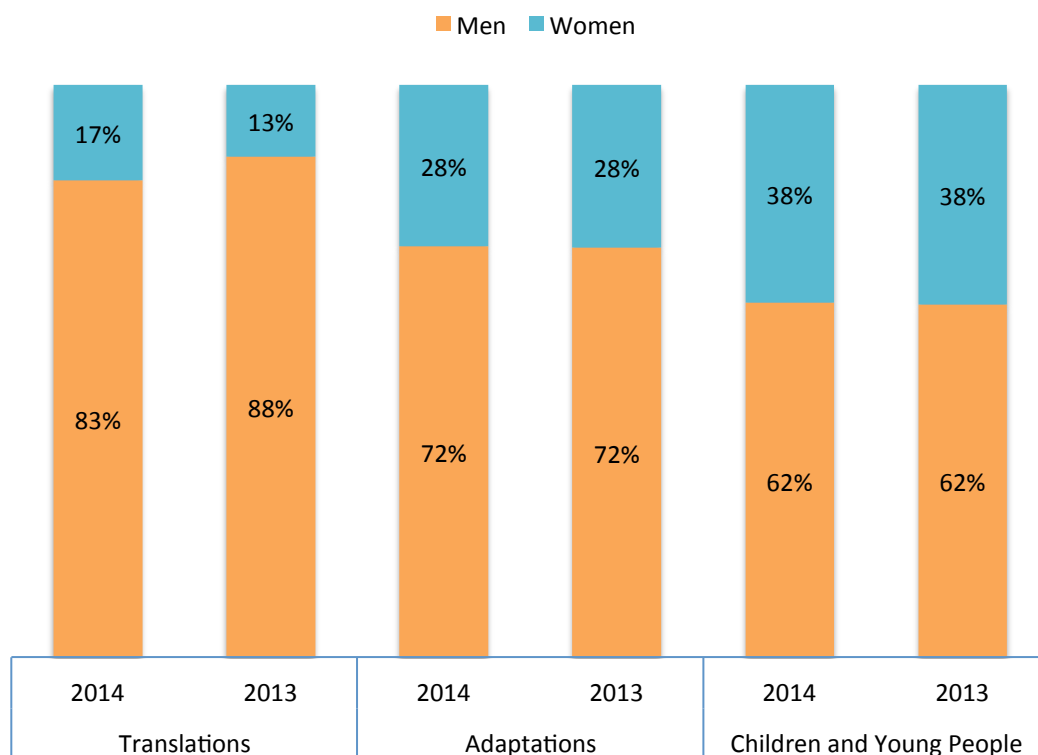


3. The small differences (**0.4%**) are well within the margin of error. We can therefore say that on this rating, the situation has stayed the same.
4. There are a few plays each year co-written by men and women. In 2014 there were **40** (in 2013 there were 39). If we divide those plays between men and women, we come up with the marginally improved figure of **32%** of plays being written by a woman.
5. We can extract from these lists translations, adaptations, and plays for children and young people to see how those specific sectors fare.

6. With new translations , it is always important to remember that the numbers we are looking at are very small (**24** both in 2013 and 2014), so tiny variations can appear to have a big effect. Of those 24 in 2013, 4 were written by women. In 2014, only **2** were sole-authored by women, but there were **2** translations co-authored by men and women, which, when divided equally, produces the apparent result that women have dropped from providing 17% of the new translations to **13%**. In practice, this means a woman was involved in one fewer translation in 2014 than in 2013.
7. With adaptations and plays for children and young people, as the chart below shows, the picture is completely unchanged.
 - In 2013 women wrote (or co-wrote) **28%** of all new adaptations and in 2014 it was the same.
 - In 2013 women wrote (or co-wrote) **38%** of all new plays for children and young people and in 2014 it was the same.

Only by going into one decimal place can any difference be found but at that level and with these numbers the difference is statistically insignificant. The situation for women writers in these categories has not changed.

Gender of playwright by category of work 2013 & 2014



As we noted in our 2013 study, there seems no reason at all why fewer women should be commissioned to write translations or adaptations. Yet the proportion of adaptations and translations written by women is actually lower than the proportion of plays written by women overall.

8. When we look at other figures, women's play work at a considerable disadvantage to men, playing in smaller houses, in shorter runs, with cheaper tickets.
 - A play by a woman will, on average, play in a theatre with **382** seats; a play by a man will play in a theatre with **616** seats.
 - A play by a woman will run, on average, for **19** performances; a play by a man will run for **28** performances.
 - A play by a woman will make **£18.79** per ticket; a play by a man will make **£27.59**.
9. These figures are mostly worse than 2013.²⁴
 - Men's plays are playing bigger theatres (**616** compared to 568); women's plays are playing smaller theatres (**382** compared to 451)
 - Men's plays had slightly longer average production runs in 2014 (**28** compared to 26); women's plays have also gained, but by less (**19** performances compared to 18), so the differential has grown.
 - Men's plays bring in an average per ticket of **£27.59** which is an above-inflation rise of **4%** compared to 2013's average of £26.41; women's plays bring in an average per ticket of **£18.79** (a **1%** drop from £19.00)
10. Some of these changes are relatively small fluctuations, but some of them are not. It will be important to monitor this in subsequent years. In any case, the difference between plays by men and plays by women in terms of their place in the repertoire, the theatres they play to, the prices charged for them, and the lengths of the runs they achieve is now very firmly established by two years of figures.
11. Among 2014's revivals, women are even more in the minority.
12. There was **a single revival** of a classical-era play (before 1850): it was *The Rover* by Aphra Behn, performed by a drama school. That means **1%** of the performed classical repertoire in 2014 was of plays by women.

²⁴ The figures for 2013 given here are slightly different from those given in the 2013 report. This is because we've decided to include the figures for plays written jointly by male and female writers. It is a small change but places the figures on an even stronger foundation and allows for clearer comparison between years.

13. There were **5 revivals** of plays from the modern era (1850-1945): **3** of them were plays by Agatha Christie (and **2** of those were *And Then There Were None*). The other **2** were both by Githa Sowerby. This means **6%** of the performed modern repertoire in 2014 was of plays by women.
14. There were **47 revivals** of postwar plays by women in 2014, making up 13% of the performed postwar repertoire. The most popular postwar woman playwright in 2014 was Agatha Christie with **4** productions (to be added to her **3** modern period plays, making her far and away the most popular women playwright on UK stages). After that come Amanda Whittington, Bryony Lavery, Caryl Churchill, Helen Edmundson, Laura Wade and Shelagh Delaney with two productions each.
15. The dominance of Agatha Christie becomes much more striking when we look at numbers of performances, attendances and box office take. Christie plays represent **16%** of all revivals by women, but **57%** of performances, **62%** of attendances and **66%** of box office.
- However, despite her popularity, Christie does less well in percentage terms than other plays by women. Both new plays by women and plays by women as a whole played to **60%** of capacity in 2014. In terms of percentage of box office, new plays by women played to **64%**, plays by women in general to **51%** and Christie plays to **45%**.
- (In comparison, plays by men played to **62%** of capacity and **55%** of box office. Plays written by both men and women played to **42%** of capacity and **34%** of box office.)
16. It would appear that, despite a few high-profile successes, the progress of women playwrights on our stages is at a standstill.
17. If we look at three leading national companies to see the gender balance in the writers whose work they perform on their stages we see the following in 2014:²⁵

All plays 2014	Men	Women
National Theatre	10.5	9.5
Royal Shakespeare Company	14	4
Royal Court	8	5

18. How did they fare in terms of gender equality in respect of the playwrights whose plays they programmed?²⁶ Of these:

²⁵ Shows co-written by men and women are recorded as half each, hence the .5 figures in this table.

- the National Theatre mostly closely approached gender equality with **48%** of its plays written by women.
- **38%** of play productions at the Royal Court were written by women
- **22%** of plays at the Royal Shakespeare Company were written by women (there were also two Hilary Mantel adaptations but the playwright involved was male).

19. For comparison we might note that in the previous year, 2013:

- At the National Theatre only **23%** of its plays were written by women.
- At the Royal Court, **35%** of its plays were written by women
- At the RSC, **17%** of its plays were written by women.

20. In other words, the National Theatre and Royal Court's repertoires in 2014 were above average in their representation of women's plays. The RSC was well below, but given their commitment to performing the works of Shakespeare this is perhaps understandable. The National, too, has a commitment to reviving the dramatic canon, which makes its figure of nearly 50% even more striking.

21. However, if one were to remove revivals from these figures the picture looks very different. In 2014, plays by women comprised:

- **57%** of the National Theatre's new plays.
- **57%** of the RSC's new plays
- **33%** of the Royal Court's new plays.²⁷

New plays 2014	Men	Women
National Theatre	6	8
Royal Shakespeare Company	3	4
Royal Court	8	4

²⁶ Wanting not to unbalance this survey we focused on full productions. We discounted productions given very short runs (anything less than a week). This has an effect on the figures, since all three theatres – but particularly the National and the Royal Court – offered short seasons of runs by new writers, including the Royal Court's *New Plays from South Africa* season or *Maidan: Voices from the Uprising* or the National Theatre's annual Connections season. Shows that were co-written are allocated 50% to each gender. Adaptations are assigned to the gender of the adaptor.

²⁷ The figure goes down at the Royal Court because it does very few revivals and in 2014, *The Nether* by Jennifer Haley which premiered in Los Angeles the year before was technically a revival and is removed from the figures. In 2014, the RSC refashioned its Courtyard Theatre as a studio theatre, and presented plays by four women (Alice Birch, E.V.Crowe, Timberlake Wertenbaker and Abi Zakarian) in two programmes of work collectively titled *Midsummer Mischief*. Of the other three new plays, two were Mike Poulton's adaptations of Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* and *Bring up the Bodies*. At the RSC in 2014 therefore, there were more new plays than plays by Shakespeare.

22. This is a significant change from 2013 where plays by women comprised:

- **45%** of the National Theatre's new plays
- **67%** of the RSC's new plays²⁸
- **32%** of the Royal Court's new plays

23. England's national companies, by some measure, are therefore leading in trying to balance the gender of the performed repertoire. It is only in the last half-century that the 2500-years male dominance of the repertoire has been challenged and so, with the continuing obligation on some of our theatres to explore and revive plays from the history of world theatre, there are challenges to maintaining permanent balance. However, these figures, which would have been unimaginable a generation ago, are a welcome sign of change.

Summary

24. In 2013, we showed that women wrote under a third of new plays, a position that did not improve significantly in 2014. Women continued to play in smaller houses, for shorter runs and with lower ticket prices than men (indeed, the gender gap increased in 2014). Women continued to be less likely than men to write adaptations and translations. However, the figures for the three national companies showed a marked improvement in the proportion of plays by women in the repertoire.

²⁸ It should be noted that these are small numbers: this figure of 67% comes from two plays by women (*The Empress*, *Wendy and Peter Pan*) and one new play by a man (*Candide*).

Conclusions

1. Our study of British Theatre Repertoire in 2013 was not only the most comprehensive study of the repertoire ever, but also the first repertoire study of any kind since 2009. We had no idea whether the striking new landscape we discovered was a blip, or had been emerging over the preceding years.
2. The big story of 2014 was the consistency of pattern with the preceding year. 2013 was not a blip. In particular, the dramatic increase of new work in the repertoire (outperforming revivals in terms of productions, performances, attendances and box office) was maintained. There is thus little sign that cuts in funding have yet impacted on the amount of new work produced.
3. The balance between individually written and devised work shifted a little in 2014. Although the box office take for new plays, adaptations and translations increased (to over **£130m**, representing over **5m** attendances), their box office performance in percentage terms has slightly declined. The amount and performance of devised work increased in terms of productions, performances, attendances and box office, taking nearly **£5m** at the box office and selling over **300,000** tickets. Nonetheless, the individually-written new theatre text forms the majority of work presented on British stages.
4. The increase in the commissioning of new adaptations, translations and plays for children (overwhelmingly new in all three cases) is one of the major changes in the character of the British theatre repertoire. Up until relatively recently, majority practice was to use previously-written translations and adaptations. Now, commissioning new versions has become the norm. New adaptations represent a quarter of all new plays. However, a general increase in adaptations (old and new) may indicate a more conservative trend in programming (as it did in the 1980s).
5. The character of original new writing for adults may be changing too. The increase in solo shows (written and performed by the same person) is one example of new interactions between writers and performers. In subsequent years, we will see the effect of opening up institutional theatres - in and outside London - to new methods of playmaking.
6. The fact that new writing by women playwrights is stuck at under a third of new plays presented is a disappointment. It is however probable that changes in policy at several major theatres will lead to a significant increase in work by women in subsequent years. Already in 2014, figures for the three national companies showed a marked improvement in the proportion of plays by women in the repertoire.

7. Productions of plays from the classical, modern and postwar canon have reduced numerically, though postwar drama in particular remains a substantial part of the repertoire. What we have called the classical canon – from the birth of drama to 1850 - is increasingly dominated by Shakespeare and, in terms of numbers of productions, is in decline. However, in terms of percentage capacity and box office, classical plays significantly outperform plays from any other era, including new plays.
8. The increase in new work – whether authored or devised – has transformed the subject matter and the setting of British theatre. There are of course new plays set in the past, but – as in television and film drama – now is the new normal. The fact that the majority of shows are new, with the majority of that majority being set in the present day, makes it easier for theatre to reflect the ethnic diversity of present-day Britain. And the quickest way to increase the number of parts for women is to reduce the proportion of plays from the traditional canon in the repertoire.
9. Many other features of the 2013 study were confirmed in 2014. In box office terms, West End musicals remain the dominant form. Although there were only small overall increases in numbers of productions, performances and people attending, box office income increased by **10.4%** (indicating both that prices had increased, but also that playgoers were choosing to pay more within the range). Musicals and pantomime provided a substantial majority of the **27m** attendances in 2014.
10. Our study of 2014 confirms a transformed theatre landscape. However, the fact that many of the developments we identified in 2013 have plateaued or – like the increase in new writing – marginally declined, suggests that the current picture may not represent a direction of travel. Nonetheless, our 2013 findings contributed to a growing confidence in adventurous programming. We were grateful for the support of our partner organisations, and to Arts Council England, for enabling this work to continue. We think it essential to carry it on in future years.

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* (2011), *The Roar of the Crowd* (2014), and *Cutting Edge: British theatre in hard times* (2015). Previous publications are *Writ Large: new writing on the English stage 2003-2009* (for Arts Council England, 2009), *Critical Mass: theatre spectatorship and value attribution* (for the AHRC, 2014), and *British Theatre Repertoire 2013* (for Arts Council England 2014).

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British Theatre Repertoire 2014 was financially supported by Arts Council England. It is available online at <http://britishtheatreconference.co.uk/british-theatre-repertoire-2014/>. The report was researched and written by David Brownlee, David Edgar, Clare Ollerhead and Dan Rebellato.



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