

Discussion Paper 2022/05

**Assessing the impact of COVID-19
on the arts and cultural sector:
British newspaper reporting of the
Culture Recovery Fund**

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May, 2022

ISBN: 978-1-913095-63-5

This project is part of the Creative Industries Clusters Programme, which is funded by the Industrial Strategy Challenge Fund and delivered by the Arts and Humanities Research Council on behalf of UK Research and Innovation.

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Abstract

This Discussion Paper presents the findings of a study examining British newspaper coverage of the COVID-19 pandemic's impact on the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) from 1 January to 31 December 2020 (n.4,162).¹ It assesses the broad contours of this coverage before focusing on a pivotal week – 3 to 10 July – where we find the highest concentration of items reporting on the Culture Recovery Fund (CRF) and on freelancers in the arts and cultural sector (n.215). We explore the following questions: (1) how are issues central to the Culture Recovery Fund and freelancers framed / represented in the coverage? (2) How is the government response to the crisis in the cultural and creative industries characterised and responsibility attributed?; (3) what actors (sectors, institutions, locations) are present in the coverage, which ones are the key sources, and how are their views represented? We found that the framing of the issues in news items mostly offered narrow parameters of discussion, proving overly reliant upon official press releases, and affording space to a limited range of voices.

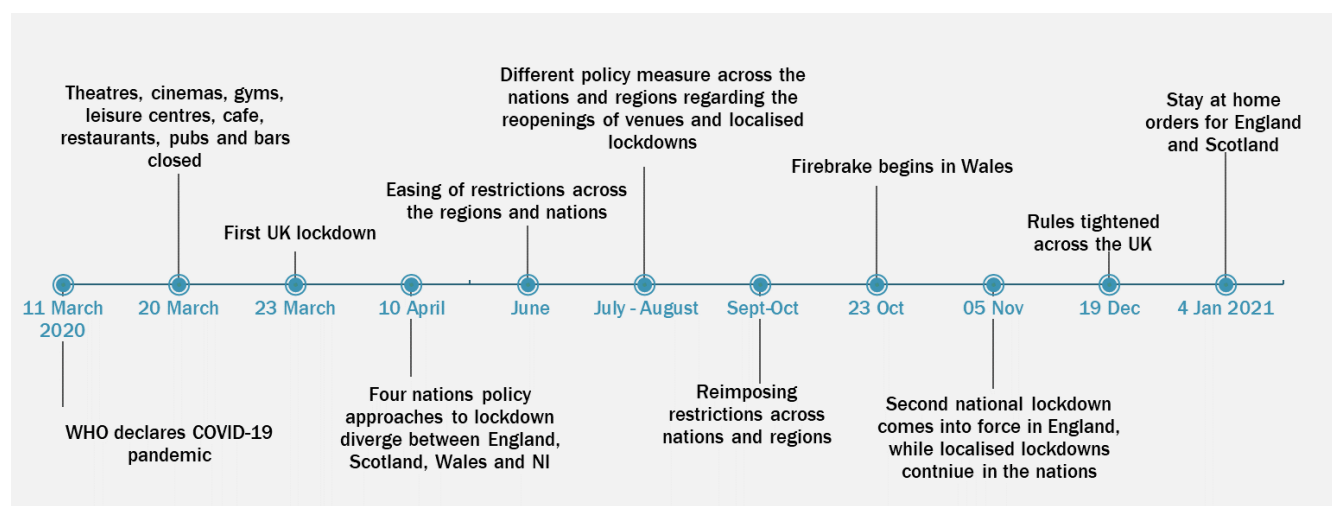
¹ Further work is underway to supplement with additional items from 2021.

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1. Introduction

In seeking to contribute to ongoing assessments of the COVID-19 pandemic's impact on the arts and cultural sector in the UK, this Discussion Paper presents the empirical findings of a research study into British national newspaper coverage of cultural policymaking initiatives from 1 January to 31 December, 2020. It maps the broad contours of the coverage with a quantitative content analysis of 4,162 news and comment items, before devoting particular attention to the week of 3 to 10 of July, a formative period of reporting on the crisis and on government strategic support. Specifically, it was on 5 July that the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) announced a £1.57 billion rescue package – the Culture Recovery Fund (CRF) – designed to protect the UK's culture and heritage sectors from Covid-19's economic impacts. Newspaper recognition of the difficulties facing cultural and creative freelancers also peaked during this period in our sample.



Timeline of the Covid-19 pandemic in the UK: March 2020 – January 2021

The principal purpose of our study is to identify and evaluate the initial terms of reference emergent in the newspaper coverage, examining how they shaped the parameters for the ensuing news reporting and commentaries on the implications of the crisis for the cultural and creative industries (CCIs). It focuses on the role of the press in helping to set the agenda for public deliberation and debate regarding the perceived challenges and needs of the sector, as well as on contrasting views concerning the efficacies of government responses. Legacy news outlets (printed, broadcast and their online counterparts) play a vital role as intermediaries between policy makers and stakeholders, recurrently bringing to the fore issues perceived to be significant for public opinion formation. In the current pandemic crisis, the government has relied on the media to relay important information about the scientific evidence associated with COVID-19, as well as vaccinations, lockdowns, and social distancing

measures.² In the case of newspapers, it is a widespread assumption that their coverage helps to set the day's media agenda, their late-night publication underwriting the next day's news and discussion points for radio (e.g., BBC Radio 4's 'Today') and morning network television programmes. In this way, newspapers are often credited with not only influencing what the public thinks, but also what it thinks about as well, to varying degrees.

Newspapers are similarly perceived to give shape and direction to policymaking to an extent circulation figures may not otherwise suggest. As Jeremy Hunt, Conservative MP and former foreign and health secretary, has observed:

"One of the great mysteries of British politics is why the newspapers continue to exert such a hold over Westminster, because we all know that readership is going down. We all know that fewer people, younger people in particular, are reading them. Yet they do still have a hold... The [Daily] Mail, [for example], has an extraordinary ability to set the agenda (Martinson 2021)."

While it is true that print circulation has been in decline over recent years, research for the Media Reform Coalition (Chivers 2021) shows how the combined print and digital reach of the UK's legacy news publishers has grown substantially. Even in comparison with news aggregators and social media, legacy newspapers are among the most popular and trusted sources of online news and information in the UK (Chivers 2021; Ofcom 2021).

One of the main objectives of the study was to ascertain whether the newspaper coverage captured the challenges facing the CCI as a result of the pandemic, inclusive of a wide range of activities – e.g., in person performances through to remote digital services. The consequences of COVID-19 regulations – including lockdowns and social-distancing rules – on the CCIs continue to unfold across the UK. Studies published to date reveal preliminary findings into the depth and breadth of this impact (e.g., Walmsley et al. 2022). One of the main findings is that the pandemic has brought to light certain longstanding problems facing the sector otherwise eluding sustained newspaper coverage. Pertinent concerns include the precarious nature of cultural work (Comunian and England 2020; Comunian et al. 2021. Walmsley et al. 2022) and the entrenchment of social-economic inequalities across the sector (social class, gender, ability and ethnicity), not least with respect to representation and of the composition of the workforce (Carey et al. 2021).

² During the pandemic, users accessing news on social media across all platforms have been much more likely to access information from official sources (e.g., NHS, Government) and traditional TV or press news sources (e.g. the BBC, and newspaper sites), than by digital first news providers (e.g. BuzzFeed, Huffington Post, Vice) and 'non-mainstream' news sources (e.g. Russia Today, Breitbart) (Ofcom 2021)

Further findings show how the pandemic has affected stakeholders across the CCIs in varied, uneven ways (Chamberlain and Morris 2021; England 2021; O'Brien et al. 2021). In this context, possible implications for the 'levelling up' agenda for this sector are scrutinised (Easton 2021). Research into the distribution of the funds allocated through the Culture Recovery Fund, for example, has shown that the maxim 'existing funding attracts future funding' continues to hold true, and that the concentration of support in certain places risks perpetuating structural and place-based inequalities (Gilmore et al. 2021).

The negative impact of the pandemic on creative and cultural freelancers³ has been the focus of research and advocacy campaigns calling for a recognition of their importance to the sector (Easton and Beckett 2021; Henry et al. 2021; Ostrowska 2021). To varying degrees, these issues have received attention by related CCI stakeholders, including academics, but have remained largely invisible to the public (England 2021). Hence the import of newspaper coverage for alerting citizens to their significance.

Finally, the crisis seems to have also highlighted how narrowly the CCIs are often understood. To the extent it is possible to generalise from our findings, when discussing the challenges and the support given by government to the CCIs, the newspaper press seems to have focused mainly on the arts and cultural sector, as can be seen by the frequency of subsectors mentions in the coverage analysed below. Theatre is the sector most referenced, and other creative industries like architecture or design were hardly mentioned when reporting on the challenges facing the creative industries. While some of it might be explained by the specific difficulties of venue-based, public oriented cultural activities, we explore whether there might be other issues at stake, like the underlying conception of the value of culture or what counts as culture or a creative enterprise. Such emphases contrast with the rhetoric of the 'creative industries' that have permeated cultural policy making in recent decades (Casey and O'Brien 2020; Banks and O'Connor 2020; Belfiore 2021; Selwood 2021), arguably to the detriment of both cultural and creative industries policy (Cunningham and Bakhshi 2016).

In this Discussion Paper, we investigate the case of The Culture Recovery Fund (CRF) as an example of how the terms and concepts used to describe the sectors and subsectors that fall under the 'cultural and creative industries' reveal underlying assumptions about the hierarchies of activities, voices and values. The CRF placed an emphasis on supporting the arts, heritage and cultural sector and not the broader creative industries, even if the latter were invoked in the

³ The term 'freelancer' is used here as an umbrella term that refers to those who are 'independent workers' and can be self-employed, sole directors of Limited Companies, or be employed short term or temporarily (Easton and Beckett 2021; Henry et al. 2021)

rhetoric surrounding the announcement and its coverage by the media (Banks and O'Connor 2020, 7).

In order to investigate the issues highlighted in this section, we ask the following research questions: (1) how are issues central to the Culture Recovery Fund and freelancers framed and represented in the coverage? (2) How is the government response to the crisis in the cultural and creative industries characterised and responsibility attributed?; (3) what actors (sectors, institutions, locations) are present in the coverage, which ones are the key sources, and how are their views represented? In the next section we explain the methodological choices of the study.

2. Study methodology

In methodological terms, this Discussion Paper gathered and interpreted its findings as follows. We analysed a database of gathered items (n.4,162) covering the period 1 January to 31 December 2020, which encompasses items published by the national British newspapers, inclusive of both daily and Sunday editions, both printed and online.⁴

These items include news reports, opinion pieces, editorials, and features.⁵ Given this press-centred evidential basis, we do not extrapolate from our findings to characterise patterns or trends in the wider media ecology. Nevertheless, in keeping with related research (Cushion et al, 2018), we recognise the decisive ways in which newspapers influence the priorities and judgements of broadcast (radio and television) and online news organisations, as well as topics on social media platforms.

Items were identified and collected using Lexis Nexis, a news database. Our research retrieved data using searches based on keywords employed by DCMS to describe the Subsectors of the Creative Industries and the Cultural Sectors.⁶ These keywords were refined through experimentation by testing different parameters to maximise the size of the sub-sample (see Appendix for more details on methodology). In order to broaden the scope of the search to the whole of the CCIs, we used the subsectors identified in two of the sectors under

⁴ The Guardian/Observer (former broadsheet, centre-left in partisan political terms), Daily Express (tabloid, right of centre), Daily Mail (middle market tabloid, right of centre), Daily Mirror (tabloid, centre-left), The Times (former broadsheet, centre-right), The Daily Telegraph (broadsheet, right of centre), Independent (former broadsheet, centre-liberal), The i- (compact, centre-liberal), Daily Star (tabloid, right of centre), and The Sun (tabloid, right of centre). All newspapers have a printed and online presence. Some appear in Nexis as separate platforms (e.g., The Daily Mail and Mail Online), while others appear as one conglomerate (e.g., The Guardian). We have included The Independent, as a legacy printed newspaper, despite its current online only presence.

⁵ Letters to the editor were excluded.

⁶ For more on methodology, keywords used and parameters, see the appendix in this study.

the remit of DCMS – the cultural sector⁷ and the creative industries.⁸ In doing so, there was an overlap with other sectors, such as Digital. Once the results were retrieved, we allocated them to a subsector depending on its prominence within each item.

More specifically, we chose a categorisation of subsectors that mirrored that offered by the DCMS, breaking it down to reflect, where possible, the categories used by the media items under analysis, thereby highlighting some of the tensions noted in studies on the definitional challenges of the CCIs (Campbell, O'Brien, and Taylor 2019; Cunningham and Flew 2019; Bakhshi 2020; Maioli, et al. 2021).⁹ In reporting on the subsectors – as we well as on the different policy interventions during this period – we have paid particular attention to the terms used to refer to these in the coverage. For brevity, we often use the acronym CCI when referring to the broader 'culture and creative industries' and the term 'cultural sector' when honing into the coverage of the CRF and the media reporting on it, as this is the sector that featured predominantly in relation to governmental support during the period under analysis.

The Nexis search results included the text of the newspaper items as well as metadata, such as date, publication location, and language.¹⁰ The initial dataset of 4,162 items was analysed for main themes and quantitative peaks of reporting.¹¹ Based on this analysis of news items, we identified the week when the Culture Recovery Fund (CRF) was announced as the highest peak of the whole sample. Selected items published during this period (3-10 of July) formed the basis of a deep dive into the reporting on the government support to the CCIs. The selected items (n.215) were uploaded into Nvivo to conduct a more detailed qualitative thematic analysis, paying particular attention to reporting frames and news access; namely, to the hierarchy of voices across varied types of sources, as well as the editorial selection – i.e., types of issues covered. The newspaper items reporting and/or commenting on these developments are analysed here using a media framing analysis. Frames focus attention, privileging certain areas of emphasis over and above alternative possibilities in order to promote a preferred interpretation as the most reasonable one available. The purpose of researching news coverage through a framing

⁷ DCMS have defined the Cultural sector as those industries with a cultural object at the centre of the industry

⁸ The Creative Industries were defined in the Government's 2001 Industries Creative Industries Mapping Document²⁰ as "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property".

⁹ The full breakdown of keywords and how they relate to DCMS sectors and subsectors codes is explained in Appendix 1.

¹⁰ Initial queries returned 22,443 items. Duplicates were eliminated and dataset cleaned of items that did not correspond to the parameters of the study bringing the final number to 4,162 items.

¹¹ Five highest peaks across the whole sample (n.4,162) are 6 July (n.38), 19 March (n.38), 20 March (n.34), 5 October (n.33), and 3 July (n.32).

exercise, then, is to discern how the press draws attention to specific issues at the expense of others while reporting on a topic – in this case, the government's support for the creative and cultural industries during this phase of the pandemic.

Since news framing often depends on the availability of various sources of information and their specific attributes (such as perceived credibility, legitimacy, power status, etc.), we explore the hierarchy of voices and sources of the newspaper items, as well as the specific 'news hooks' -- that is their main generative cause. Particular attention is placed to the interplay of government and other (institutional or not) sources quoted or paraphrased in the coverage. In recognising how the newspaper press plays a role in helping to set the public agenda within certain terms of debate, studying the press coverage promises to provide insights into the narratives that surrounded the Culture Recovery Fund and their wider significance for public perceptions of policymaking.

In the next two sections we present specific findings from this study. A high-level overview of the data in section 3, is followed in section 4 by a more detailed exploration of the findings from the qualitative analysis of the news and comment items published during the 3-10 July period, focusing on a discussion of the main news and comment frames arising from the reporting of the Culture Recovery Fund.during this period.

3. High Level Overview

Considering the important role of news media in relaying the government's public health messaging during the coronavirus crisis, it is not surprising that many of the peaks identified in the news coverage coincide with government announcements, particularly in the early phases of the crisis. The following graph show distribution by date of publication.

Timeline

First date of publication of each item (n.4,162)

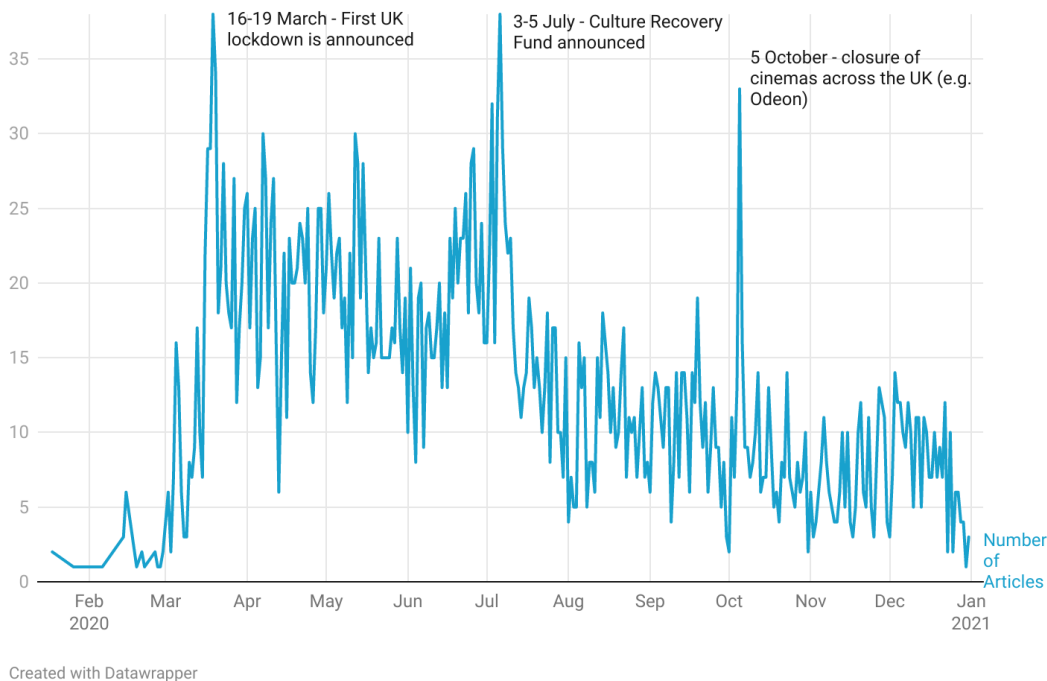


Figure 1: distribution of articles referring to C19 and the cultural and creative industries by date of publication (n.4,162). First lockdown (20 March – 19 June); Second lockdown (5 November – 2 December). Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/1PcFb/6/>

We find an increase in reporting from the 17 of March onwards, with the publication of the proposed closure measures and The Treasury's package of emergency state support, including £330bn-worth of government-backed loans and more than £20bn in tax cuts and grants for companies threatened with collapse. The emergency bill (19 March), the announcement of the first lockdown ordering venues to close (20 March), and the Treasury's package of measures to help self-employed (26/27 March) also created a buzz in news and opinion pieces.

19 of March is one of the highest peak for news coverage in the whole period, coinciding with the publication by the UK Government of the details of the proposed measures to be included in the fast-tracked coronavirus legislation, including advice for people to avoid pubs, clubs and theatres. News covers event cancellations and venue closures, as well as the reactions of different actors within the CCIs to the measures.

We also find a peak in reporting around 3-5 July, coinciding with the announcement of the Cultural Recover Fund on 5 July. Articles during this period focus on the details of the fund and first reactions of the sector. This period also

sees the announcement of the layoff of staff in some big institutions such as the Southbank and The National Theatre as well as the re-opening of museums. The peak in early October follows two main news hooks, neither related to government announcements. One is the crisis facing the film industry, particularly the Cineworld closures and lay-offs. The second most frequently reported news item this day is the sale by the Royal Opera House of its David Hockney painting to raise funds. There are, overall, more articles about the impact of Covid19 on the cultural and creative industries during the first lockdown in England, suggesting that the interest into the sector waned and the streaming frenzy gave way to audiences' digital fatigue.

Perhaps not surprisingly, we find more news items published by the 'quality' (formerly known as broadsheet) newspapers – namely *The Guardian* (24%), *The Times* (16%), *The Independent* (13%), and *The Telegraph* (14%) than by the 'tabloid' or popular titles.¹² The predominance of relevant coverage being associated with the more elite newspapers (titles with smaller circulations but attracting readers from higher socio-economic demographics) corresponds with journalistic and editorial presumptions made about their respective readers' interest in, and engagement with, arts and culture.

We also find a concentration of coverage on the CCIs in newspapers on the centre-left of the political spectrum. In the coverage of the Cultural Recovery Fund, for example, *The Guardian* published almost as many as the other three quality newspapers put together.¹³ This title is perceived to cater to professional readers, including those working in the CCIs (Ofcom 2021).¹⁴ Table 1 shows the distribution by newspaper.

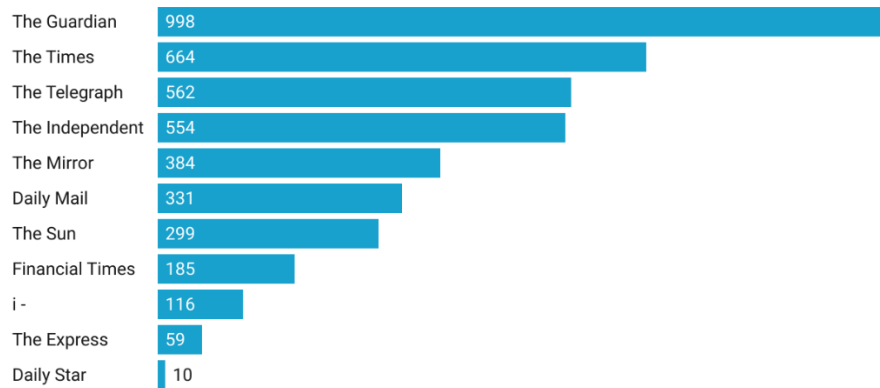
¹² In choosing the national newspapers, we are also aware of the skew in their coverage towards England, in general, and London, in particular.

¹³ The Guardian published 71 items, The Times 28, The Independent 26, The Telegraph 21 during 3-10 July.

¹⁴ The Guardian and Observer beat newspaper rivals in audience share among professional (ABC1) workers, with 25% of the audience share, among 16- to 24-year-olds, with 31%, and among readers from ethnic minority groups, with 29% (Ofcom 2021). Taking into account both print and online readership, the Guardian and Observer are second only to the Daily Mail (Ofcom 2021).

Publication distribution

Number of items in each publication (n.4,162) from 1 Jan to 31 Dec 2020



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Table 1: distribution of articles referring to the impact of Covid19 and the cultural and creative industries by newspaper (n.4,162). Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/Lt5fT/7/>

The majority of the 4,162 press items under scrutiny are categorized as feature articles (55%), followed by news (41%), with opinion pieces (including columns, editorials and reviews) constituting a much smaller share (2%).¹⁵ Table 2 shows the distribution of articles by newspaper section.

¹⁵ 2,340 items were classified as feature articles (we breakdown those that include a subsection), 1721 items as news, 101 as opinion and 85 had no metadata that identified a section of the article and are coded as n/a (2%).

Feature sections

Number of articles of a total of n.1,826 in each feature articles subsection

Section	frequency	percentage (%)
Art/Culture	376	21
Business	235	13
Theatre/Stage	205	11
TV	145	8
Film	139	8
Music	132	7
Fashion	120	7
Books	62	3
Politics	62	3
Voices	89	5
Media	47	3
Lifestyle	89	2
Technology/Game	29	2
Home	20	1
Science	15	1
Luxury	15	1
Scotland	16	1
Society	13	1
Education	16	1
Other	11	1
Total	1,826	100

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Table 2: breakdown of feature items (n.1,826). Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/e1o8c/5/>

It is significant that items in the business and politics section feature quite prominently in the sample, mostly when referring to the financial challenges faced by the CCIs as a result of lockdown and social distancing measures, and when assessing the different levels of financial support offered by English, Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland governments. As an aside, it would be interesting to compare this finding with the presence of the CCIs in the business sector pre-pandemic.

The cultural and creative industries subsectors featuring most prominently in the newspaper coverage were the performing arts (18%). Items coded in this category tended to focus on the challenges facing theatres and other venues as a result of lockdown, and later on the lack of a roadmap for reopening. We explore the distribution of subsectors further in the next section.

Subsector frequency

Number and percentage of items coded in each subsector of the cultural and creative industries (n.4162)

Subsector	frequency	percentage (%)
performing arts	747	18
film	726	17
arts	532	13
music	504	12
TV	377	9
museums	298	7
fashion	270	6
publishing	160	4
culture	123	3
radio	107	3
digital	95	2
gaming	67	2
advertising	61	1
photography	39	1
libraries	27	1
crafts	15	0
architecture	8	0
creative industries	6	0
Total	4,162	100

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Table 3: distribution of items referring to COVID-119 and the cultural and creative industries by cultural and creative industries subsectors (n.4,162). Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/ji5b9/7/>

Items relating to the screen and film industries reported on the difficulties facing both production and distribution, for example the closure of sets and of all Cineworld venues in the UK, or the conflicts between distribution and production companies about the release of films straight to streaming services. We also find items about crews resuming filming under social distancing and covid-safety guidelines or the postponement of the launch of major blockbusters such as James Bond's 'No Time to Die'. There is an overlap between the digital and other subsectors, where items reporting on streaming or VR, for example, might appear as part of the film or museums subsectors, respectively. Nonetheless, the focus of our analysis was on those digital activities that overlapped with the British arts and culture sector.¹⁶

We finally studied the data for themes, following an inductive process by which these emerged as the analysis took place and were subject to constant revision. An initial pilot thematic analysis of n.117 articles indicated initial themes to organise the articles around some broad categories as follows: (a) cancellations of events and closure of venues ('show can't go on'); (b) cultural alternatives on offer during lockdown ('armchair art'); (c) current and short to mid-term challenges – financial or otherwise – faced by the cultural and creative industries ('financial intensive care'); and (d) the value of arts and culture and opportunities for creative innovation within different cultural and creative industries subsectors ('it's not all doom'). A fifth category identified in later stages of data collection was (e) putting 'bums on seats' as reopening different venues and institutions was announced and discussed. We later broke down these categories to capture the nuances when reporting on these issues into 25 frames. Table 3 below shows the results of this analysis.

We found that 'reviews' was the most frequent frame in our sample (13%), even when the rules for inclusion meant that the items had to refer specifically to the circumstances of lockdown. This can be explained by the number of items present in the 'arts and culture section' of the newspapers under analysis. The reopening of cultural institutions was the next most frequent frame (9%), where we find news about the phases, guidelines and measures in place to ensure that audiences could enjoy arts and cultural offers safely; news about filming restarting and the challenges facing crews and production companies; and commentaries about the lack of a clear roadmap for reopening performance arts venues. This frame is closely related to items that referred to the ways in which artists and institutions were creatively adapting to lockdown and reopening guidelines, from continuing to rehearse at home and on zoom, to operas delivered over the phone to drive-in options to enjoy cinema, music and comedy.

¹⁶ We only included items referring to the Big Four (Alphabet (Google), Amazon, Apple, and Meta (Facebook)), when they related directly to the UK.

The many ways in which cultural activities went online and into our homes via the digital options offered by museums or theatres live streams was the subject of 9% of the items in our sample. We found many positive stories here, but also some criticisms to the amount of time users spent online, particularly children and in relation to gaming. Non-digital activities to do at home were the main frame in only 1% of items. We coded for those items referring to video on demand and broadcasting separately (4%) where we found the increased offers to viewers of streaming services, including the negative impact that the 'straight to TV' releases during this period had on cinemas, as well as items reporting on the technological challenges, including the digital divide and issues with broadband capacity.

The reporting on these issues often moved between themes, frames and tone, the range of issues too broad to cover within the limits of this paper. In order to capture nuances in the discussions, we focus our attention on the week of 3-10 July, namely on the framing of the Culture Recovery Fund. In the next section we therefore explore these themes and frames in more detail.

Themes and frames

Frequency and percentage of items that address each theme and frame (n.4162)

Themes	Frames	frequency	percentage (%)
'show can't go on'		215	5
	closures, cancellations and postponements	215	5
'armchair art'		590	14
	arts and culture online offers	384	9
	streaming and broadcasting	167	4
	non-digital culture at home	39	1
'financial intensive care'		806	19
	financial challenges facing the cultural sector	242	6
	support measures for the cultural sector	172	4
	challenges facing cultural workers and freelancers	168	4
	lobbying for different cultural subsectors	136	3
	fundraising initiatives to support culture	88	2
'it's not all doom'		825	20
	the value of arts and culture	354	9
	art and culture produced as a result of (or about) COVID-19	203	5
	creatively adapting to COVID-19 limitations and guidelines	177	4
	subsectors benefitting from lockdown	48	1
	cultural institutions contributing to support society and communities beyond their remit	43	1
'bums on seats'		618	15
	institutions reopening and activities resuming (or not)	395	9
	reflection of a post-pandemic future for cultural activities and institutions	142	3
	guidelines to reopen or resume cultural activities	81	2
other		1,108	27
	reviews of art and culture	524	13
	public service broadcasting	164	4
	diversity (or lack of) in the cultural sector	144	3
	artists' and creative practitioners' experiences of lockdown	89	2
	other	68	2
	technology	60	1
	audiences' experiences of arts and culture	44	1
	Brexit	15	0
Total		4,162	100

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Table 4: distribution of news items by theme and frame (1 January 2020 to 31 December 2020) n.4,162. Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/3rUyt/1/>

4. Thematic analysis

We focus in this section on the way these themes are framed and voiced in newspaper reporting during the week of 3-10 July 2020. Three Covid-19 milestones for the CCIs took place during this particular week: some restrictions were eased affecting venues reopening (4 July); the government announced a financial support package for the CCIs (5 July), namely the Culture Recovery Fund (CRF), and on 9 July the government gave the go-ahead to outdoor theatre, opera, dance and music events to take place following covid-safe protocols and social distancing measures.

Timeline of policies (3-10 July 2020)

Main policies affecting the cultural sector announced during the week of 3-10 July 2020 in the UK nations.

July 3, 2020	Performing Arts Venues Relief Fund from Creative Scotland launches (£12.5m)
July 3, 2020	Reopening of museums, galleries and heritage sites in Northern Ireland with social distancing measures
July 4, 2020	Reopening of some indoor venues in England such as cinemas, museums and galleries, with social distancing measures
July 5, 2020	Launch of the Culture Recovery Fund (CRF) is announced by DCMS
July 8, 2020	Mini budget announced with a Job Retention Bonus scheme
July 9, 2020	Announcement of reopening of outdoor theatre, opera, dance and music events in England following covid-safe protocols and social distancing measures
July 10, 2020	Round 1 of CRF opens

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Table 5: Important policy moments for the CCIs during 3-10 July 2020.

The week also encompassed further related events: important institutions in the sector (from publishing group Reach to the National Theatre) revealed plans for layoffs of large numbers of workers, while other organisations (such as the Nuffield Southampton Theatres) announced their permanent closure; film director Sam Mendes, in association with Netflix, initiated a fund to support workers and freelancers on 5 July; and separate campaigns to support theatres (#scenechange), comedy and circus performers were launched.

In examining the reporting of the impact of Covid-19 on the CCIs during this one-week period, we note 'financial intensive care' was the most frequent frame during this week, present in 40% of items. Within this category, items mostly focused on 'support measures', namely the Culture Recovery Fund, although

further examples emerged concerning other types of support (or lack of) being made available. For example, on 3 July items highlighted the need for government support to ensure the survival of the cultural sector, and on 4 July reporting centred on the announcement of the £10 million fund for performing art venues in Scotland. By 5 July, the Culture Recovery Fund was centred, but we also find items on the effect of VAT cuts on hospitality and on the Theatre Artist Fund launched by Sam Mendes with the support of Netflix.

'Lobbying' was the main frame in 6% of newspaper items and 'Challenges' facing the cultural sector appeared in 5%, including topics such as institutions going into administration, such as the Nuffield Southampton Theatres. Reporting on job losses (in 3% of items) focused mostly on the National Theatre and Reach, the publisher of the Mirror and Express. Table 4 below shows the main themes and frames present in the items under scrutiny.

Themes and frames frequency

Frequency and percentage of items for each theme and frame from 3 to 10 July (n.215)

Themes	Frames	frequency	percentage (%)
'financial intensive care'		86	40
	support measures for the cultural sector	57	27
	lobbying for different cultural subsectors	12	6
	financial challenges facing the cultural sector	10	5
	challenges facing cultural workers and freelancers	7	3
'armchair art'		30	14
	arts and culture online offers	23	11
	streaming and broadcasting	4	2
	non-digital culture at home	3	1
'bums on seats'		31	14
	institutions reopening and activities resuming (or not)	31	14
'it's not all doom'		26	12
	the value of arts and culture	15	7
	creatively adapting to COVID-19 limitations and guidelines	7	3
	art and culture produced as a result of (or about) COVID-19	4	2
other		42	20
	diversity (or lack of) in the cultural sector	15	7
	public service broadcasting	14	7
	other	13	6
Total		215	100

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Table 5: distribution of news items by theme and frame (3 July 2020 to 10 July 2020) n.4,162. Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/DXPyz/2/>

Reopening ('bums on seats') was the main theme in 14% of items in this sample. We find a mixture of items describing the reopening of some subsectors and under which conditions, as well as on the challenges of - or the need for - a roadmap for achieving such outcomes. Museums and cinemas started to reopen from 4 July, and we read some reviews of upcoming exhibitions as well as first-hand experiences of being back in cultural spaces, such as a gallery or a library. Filming also restarted during this week – EastEnders being back on set, and Tom Cruise being able to continue filming Mission Impossible in the UK, which made the headlines several times in the sample.

Items also identified several measures needed for cultural institutions to reopen, and the attendant challenges, particularly for smaller venues. Similarly, the difficulties facing audiences wanting to attend, from online pre-booking to traveling to the sites, warranted press attention. News of the comeback of outdoor live performances was welcomed – including drive-in comedy and the opening of the UK's first large-scale socially distanced music venue in Newcastle. Framings of the reporting on outdoor events restarting for the public often included calls from the sector for a clear roadmap to reopening performing arts indoor venues, as we will see in more detail in the next section.

We coded for 'armchair art' (14%) when items referred specifically to the cultural offer in relation to Covid-19 or lockdown in the title or first paragraph of the item. Frames in this category included reviews of online offers – whether live streaming and museums digital offers (11%) or video on demand services and broadcasting (2%), as well as creativity at home outputs (1%).

'It's not all doom' was the theme of 12% of items. Varied perceptions regarding the value of culture (economic or otherwise) were a theme that permeated newspaper reporting on the impact of Covid-19. Economic value of the sector as an industry underpinned many of the discussions about government support and challenges, while many of the items on culture during COVID-19 often reflected on the value of culture in supporting (mental) health and wellbeing.

'Value' appeared as a theme more explicitly in some items, so we coded for this category when the discussion about value was specific and not secondary to other (more prominent) categories. Items in this category (7%) included reflections on the arts as a source of solace, and others about the contributors' (including artists) personal experiences and reflections on the importance of culture for themselves, fellow citizens or for the wider society. Other frames in this category included socially distanced outdoor initiatives, drive-in activities and other creative adaptations to the new guidelines (3%) and Covid-19 -inspired projects as a response to coping with the circumstances of lockdown (2%). On July 6, we find, for example, an item about a London theatre group that

created a series of short plays on pandemic stories based on interviews with black frontline staff (Bakare, 2020).

Diversity was the main frame in 7% of items in our sample. We find here reporting on efforts to diversify the sector, reflections on initiatives to 'decolonise' institutions, and some references to the 'culture wars', mainly in opinion pieces some of which went as far as to claim that 'Identity politics, not Covid, are the biggest threat to culture' (9 July 2020). A review of *Hamilton*, for example, – streamed live on Disney+ from 4 July – reflected on Lin-Manuel Miranda's 'selective storytelling' in relation to slavery (Arboine, 2020). Finally, we find that 7% of items reported on 'public service broadcasting', namely the BBC. The main theme in the PSB category was the end of the subsidised licence fee for those over 75 years of age.¹⁷

Reporting on the impact of Covid-19 on the cultural and creative industries (CCI) did not focus on all subsectors alike during this period either. We broke down some of the broader categories into separate cultural and creative activities. We found that particular emphasis was placed on the challenges facing the 'performing arts' (particularly theatre), followed by references in the reporting to the 'arts sector' – a category used mostly when reporting about the CRF. Table 5 summarises the main subsector frequency.

¹⁷ An analysis of media coverage of public service broadcasting is being undertaken by the authors of this paper for the PEC.

Subsector frequency

Subsector frequency (n.253 allowing for multiple sub-sectors coded in each newspaper item) from 3 to 10 July 2020 (n.215)

Subsector	frequency	percentage (%)
theatres	51	20
arts sector	35	14
music	27	11
screens (film, cinemas and TV)	21	8
museums, galleries and heritage	20	8
publishing	18	7
broadcasters	12	5
tech and digital	8	3
comedy	8	3
visual arts	6	2
cultural sector	5	2
opera	5	2
streaming	5	2
gaming	4	2
VR	4	2
fashion and design	4	2
radio	4	2
festivals	4	2
libraries	3	1
photography	2	1
dance	2	1
performing arts (festivals, gigs)	2	1
architecture	1	0
circus	1	0
creative industries	1	0
Total	253	100

Created with Datawrapper

Table 6: distribution of newspaper items by cultural and creative industries subsector (n.253 subsectors allowing for several options in each of the n.215 items). Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/uLhdX/5/>

Possible explanations for the prominence of the performing arts rehearsed in the coverage included a combination of the real challenges faced by venue-based culture as temporary closures (and the lack of a workable reopening roadmap) meant the disappearance of the main source of revenue for many institutions. We also find an over-reliance on a small number of lobbying voices from the performing arts (e.g., Andrew Lloyd-Weber) in press coverage; in conjunction which a prevalence of items concerned with the theatre in the

(London-based) 'quality' press – e.g., after 'News', the 'Stage' section in *The Guardian* is the most frequent one in our sample.

In frame here was the consumer oriented, in-person performance part of the CCIs, and arguably only to a limited dimension. However justified it was to focus on the subsectors most affected by lockdown and other measures for specific types of venues, there is also an undertone that permeates the coverage about the exceptionalism of the 'traditional' arts and culture in relation to their value to individuals and society. As we read in the CRF press release, for example, 'theatre and musicals, mesmerising exhibitions at our world-class galleries to gigs performed in local basement venues, the UK's cultural industry is the beating heart of this country' (Boris Johnson), British 'galleries, museums, heritage sites, music venues and independent cinemas' are 'the lifeblood of British culture' (Rishi Sunak), and 'arts and culture are the soul of our nation' (Oliver Dowden).

We identified the main 'hooks' upon which news stories are made to hang in narrative terms. Unsurprisingly, the announcement of the CRF on 5 July was the main hook, constituting a widely recognised newsworthy event galvanising press attention reporting during this period. Culture Secretary Oliver Dowden's words in the BBC radio 4 Breakfast programme on 6 July also triggered a series of items, as did Chancellor of the Exchequer Rishi Sunak's announcement of VAT cuts on 8 July and the government's announcement of the reopening of outdoor performance venues on 9 July. The Shadow Culture Secretary Jo Stevens' response to the announcement of the CRF on 5 July also garnered attention by the press, as did Sam Mendes' Theatre Artists Fund announcement on the same date. Less frequent news hooks included reports by the think tank Resolution Foundation on the need for the government to launch a £17billion jobs support programme (6 July 2020) and by the Live Comedy Association warning of the crisis of the subsector (8 July 2020).

4.1. The characterisation of the Culture Recovery Fund in the British press

Here we map the range of newspaper responses to the government's announcement of the Culture Recovery Fund on 5 July 2020. We offer insights into the several frames that prevailed in the coverage of the support package in the days following its announcement. This analysis also identifies the 'primary definers' – that is, the voices who determine the 'initial definition or primary interpretation of the topic in question' (Hall et al. 1978, 58) – quoted or paraphrased in items. We analyse 74 items in total in this manner, as well as the government's original press release (5 July 2020).¹⁸

¹⁸ The 74 items were manually selected from the 215 items in our sample for these dates, based on a thematic analysis. They correspond to several themes and frames, but mostly coded in the 'government support' category.

The Culture Recovery Fund (CRF) was announced with a governmental press release on 5 July 2020.¹⁹ Reporting leading up to it tended emphasize the need for the government to support the cultural sector as a matter of urgency, particularly those consumer-oriented, in-person venue-based activities. Coverage of the emergency package in the immediate aftermath afforded the reader with details of the support to be made available (as per the information in the press release), recurrently highlighting positive reactions to its scale and potential impact. As we will see in greater detail below, this initial sense of relief in the cultural sector was soon followed up with cautious, even critical voices expressing misgivings about the timeliness and scope of the financial package.

On 5 July 2020, the government announced that 'Britain's globally renowned arts, culture and heritage industries [would] receive a world-leading £1.57 billion rescue package to help weather the impact of coronavirus'. What was eventually called the Culture Recovery Fund is a declared package of £1.15 billion of support for cultural organisations across the UK, made up of £270 million of repayable loans and £880 million in grants, mostly administered by Arts Council England (ACE). £100 million of targeted support was allocated to national cultural institutions in England, administered by the National Lottery Heritage Fund. £120 million of capital investment would help restart construction on cultural and heritage projects in England, which had been paused due to the coronavirus pandemic. The new funding also included an extra £188 million for the devolved administrations in Scotland (£97 million), Wales (£59 million) and Northern Ireland (£33 million). The Culture Recovery Fund's Grants programme, administered by ACE, was targeted at cultural organisations that were financially stable before Covid-19 but were at imminent risk of failure. At the time of writing (March 2022), there have been three rounds of CRF funding, and a round of emergency funding to support museums, cinemas, theatres and heritage organisations affected by the Omicron variant.

The government's press release (5 July), summarising this information, set the main template for the initial newspaper reporting in this period. Its key points were echoed in all news items concerned with the CRF. The press release offered quotations from a series of sources for the convenience of newspapers, many of which were dutifully reproduced by titles across the press continuum. All three of them described British 'galleries, museums, heritage sites, music venues and independent cinemas' as 'the beating heart of this country', 'the soul of our nation' and 'the lifeblood of British culture' respectively and highlight their 'world-beating' and 'world-renowned' character. The main objective of

¹⁹ Journalists were being briefed on Sunday 5th of August in the afternoon. The press release had an embargo until 10pm that night, but it was broken by the Financial Times at around 9pm (CRF045). The culture Recovery Fund was not initially announced with this name, but we have opted to refer to the fun as such for clarity.

government investment was, according to the press release, to 'safeguard' and 'preserve' these institutions 'for future generations'.

Aside from quotes by Boris Johnson, Rishi Sunak and Oliver Dowden, these sources represented the leaders in the sector who played an important role in lobbying for arts and culture during the crisis, and who had worked closely with the government to set up the recovery plan.²⁰ Our close reading of this coverage shows how the government's press release succeeded in setting down the initial framing of the CRF, providing as it did the necessary elements for credible news stories to be generated with a minimum of effort on the part of different titles.²¹ As would be expected, feature articles and opinion items are more open in their framing of issues, typically providing more nuanced – and, at times, contentious – interpretations than those likely to be included in fact-based news reportage.

We analyse here how the press coverage framed the main issues pertaining to the reporting on and reaction to the government's support to the cultural sector. A list of frames was drawn from the thematic analysis. All items were then coded and allocated at least one frame based on their prominence – each frame appears only once per item. Table 6 summarises the frequency of frames in our sample.

²⁰ Alex Beard, Chief Executive Royal Opera House; violinist Nicola Benedetti; Neil Constable, CEO, Shakespeare's Globe; Julian Bird, Chief Executive, Society of London Theatre & UK Theatre; Sir Ian Blatchford Chair of the National Museums Directors Council; Mark Cornell, Group Chief Executive of Ambassador Theatre Group; Mark Davyd, Music Venue Trust; Lord Grade; Playwright James Graham; Nigel Higgins, Chair, and Alistair Spalding, Artistic Director and CEO, Sadler's Wells; cellist Sheku Kanneh-Mason; Ros Kerslake Chief Executive of the National Lottery Heritage Fund; Andrew Lloyd Webber; RSC Executive Director, Catherine Mallyon and Artistic Director, Gregory Doran; Mark Pemberton, Association of British Orchestras; Sir Simon Rattle, Music Director London Symphony Orchestra; Ben Roberts, BFI Chief Executive; Tamara Rojo, Artistic Director and Lead Principal dancer of English National Ballet; Sir Nicholas Serota, Chair, Arts Council England; Duncan Wilson, Historic England's Chief Executive; and actor Ruth Wilson.

²¹ Distribution by newspaper in this subset (n.74) was The Guardian (23); The Independent (15); The Telegraph (11); The Times (7); i – (5); The Sun (5); Daily Mail (4); The Mirror (3); The Express (1).

Framing the Culture Recovery Fund

Frequency of frames present in newspaper items reporting on the Culture Recovery Fund (n.124 frames, non-exclusive, across n.74 items) during 3-10 July 2020

Frames	frequency
Details of the Culture Recovery Fund	27
Discussions on the need for a roadmap for all venues to reopen	24
Objections and criticisms to the Culture Recovery Fund	20
Challenges facing freelancers	15
Financial challenges facing cultural institutions	14
Alternative support	13
Lobbying for other subsectors (comedy and circus)	6
Whether the CRF will impact efforts to diversify the cultural sector	5
Total count	124

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Table 7: Main frames in newspaper items referring to the Culture Recovery Fund (n.74). Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/PsCF0/3/>

'Details of government support' was the most frequent frame appearing in 36% of the items in our sample. Most items in this category were published on 6 July and reported on the information offered by the press release in the terms laid out above. In evaluating the general tone of the reporting on the details of the CRF, this study determined it was mostly neutral and therefore consistent with conceptions of balanced reporting at the 'quality' end of the press continuum. We find here that news stories tended to highlight the positive reactions of political voices as well as of culture leaders. This is not to overlook a significant number of items (around a third) affording space to voices expressing concerns, caution or open criticisms to the terms of the funds in the following days. There were several frames offering initial criticisms concerning the CRF. We have separated them into different categories in line with the main themes identified for the whole sample (n.215 items).

4.2 Reopening is some way off

'Reopening' is one frame in which reporting on the CRF encompassed criticisms. The main concern voiced was the lack of a roadmap for reopening indoor performing venues. It is the second most frequent frame under which reporting

of the CRF took place this week (it appeared in 32% of items). Oliver Dowden's assertion that 'reopening is some way off' came as a surprise to many in the sector and was reported as the main issue in five out of the 74 items, all of which headed with the news that panto season was most likely off the cards. The CRF was here framed as one of the many measures needed for the sector to survive long term – the other being the ability of venues to reopen safely and profitably in the midterm. Panto was framed as an example of the perceived randomness of the government's measures for venues to reopen, and as a symbol of hope for the sector going forward. Both Labour and Brexit party critics, for example, were quoted as calling for pantomimes to return for Christmas under covid-safe measures. In December 2021, panto was still struggling as ticket sales remained behind pre-pandemic figures (Youngs, 2021).²²

On 9 July, the government announced plans for outdoor venues to reopen from 11 July onwards with social distancing measures in place. We find some reporting on outdoor cultural offers (such as outdoor opera at Glyndebourne or drive-in comedy), and items explaining the rules to safely hold outdoor events. Far from appeasing critics, the framing of most of the reporting on outdoor reopening highlighted the lack of plans for indoor venues, as the title 'Stage is set for outdoor theatres but indoor venues will remain closed' suggests (Sherwin, 2020b). Leading theatre figures including Andrew Lloyd Webber, Sir Cameron Mackintosh, and Nica Burns, the West End producer and co-owner of Nimax were quoted as demanding 'immediate guidance on when social distancing will be phased out so we can make firm plans to reopen' (Singh and Hope, 2020).

Only one item discussing the CRF mentioned the reopening of museums and galleries that took place on 4 July (Brown, 2020). Reporting on the opening of The National Gallery and the measures it had to take to comply with official covid-safe measures, the piece also noted that for many museums and galleries, reopening with fewer visitors cost more than to remain closed.

The reopening of other sectors of the economy was invoked in several pieces, whereby one could 'fill a plane with people, but not a concert hall' (Jenkins, 2020). This seems to point to a tension in the value of cultural activities whereby they seem to be seen as 'nice to have' rather than 'need to have', at least for the public. We find here one of the main challenges facing the cultural sector – articulating the value arts and culture bring to individual and society, other than on economic terms, in ways that speak to the priorities of policy makers.

²² Research conducted by the Audience Agency finds that ticket sales are still at just half the level recorded at this point in 2019 (<https://www.theaudienceagency.org/evidence/covid-19-cultural-participation-monitor>).

4.3 Winners and Losers: who will get the money?

The second category of frames in terms of frequency is 'criticisms of the CRF', which appears in 27% of items in our sample. While initially well-received, we find reports during this period that increasingly expressed a preoccupation with the lack of details of the CRF. As several voices pointed out, including the director of the Derby Theatre, Sarah Bringham, and Professor Alan Read, 'the devil will be in the detail' (6 and 7 July 2020). Several objections gained traction in the coverage. One such concern was whether the amount of the CRF would be enough. As Judy Dench put it, the £1.57 billion support package would be 'spread very thin', a view supported by other voices in the sector (Sherwin, 2020c).

A further line of questioning in the coverage concerned whether the funds would be fairly distributed across subsectors – whether, for example, the rescue package would be 'swallowed up by the "high arts"' (Sherwin, 2020c), or what would happen to 'the vast hinterland of community arts that give UK theatre its vibrant identity' (Read, 2020). Dowden's comment on the CRF prioritising 'those institutions that need it most, starting with the crown jewels of our national life – Royal Albert Halls and so on' was picked up in the reporting during this period.²³ Others argued that while 'the "crown jewels" [were] key parts of our identity', 'there are other aspects we must not forget: we are a confidence-building tool for our young people, a skills development crucible for our artists, a place of community and connection for our elders ... the list is endless' (Bringham, 2020).

We also find mentions to the possible uneven distribution of government support to cultural institutions across the country. Andy Burnham, Mayor of Greater Manchester, is quoted as urging ministers 'not to allow the bailout to be 'swallowed up 'by West End theatres'. Similarly, Simon Wallis, director of the Hepworth Wakefield, is quoted as hoping that it was 'time to redistribute state investments more equitably' (Sanderson, 2020a).²⁴ The government's 'levelling up' agenda is mentioned only in a handful of items, usually with an undertone of criticism rather than support (Brown, 2020).

Recent research for the Centre for Cultural Value, the Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre and the Audience Agency (Gilmore et al 2021) indicates that these voices were justified in their concerns. The Culture Recovery Fund has been unevenly distributed across regions and nations. An analysis of data from rounds one and two of the CRF shows that 'areas with lower levels of deprivation, existing flagship cultural institutions and larger numbers of National

²³ BBC Breakfast, 6 July 2020. The Royal Albert Hall was subsequently found ineligible to apply for a CRF grant, having to opt instead for a £20.74m loan.

²⁴ Manchester has in fact received more funds from the Culture Recovery Fund than any other city, including London (Gilmore et al, 2021).

Portfolio Organisations (NPOs) were more likely to receive more CRF investment per head' (Gilmore et al 2021).

The choice of institutions included in the reporting also mirrored the perceived inequalities in relation to who would receive financial support and where.²⁵ Our analysis highlights that the press coverage was skewed towards large national institutions, either National Portfolio Organisations (NPOs) or DCMS-sponsored museums and galleries.²⁶ Most of the institutions mentioned were based in England, mostly in London and other large cities, such as Manchester and Birmingham. Institutions in Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland received scant attention, and when they do, it is mostly to those in urban areas, like Cardiff and Edinburgh.²⁷ The location of the first institutions mentioned in each item is shown in figure 2.

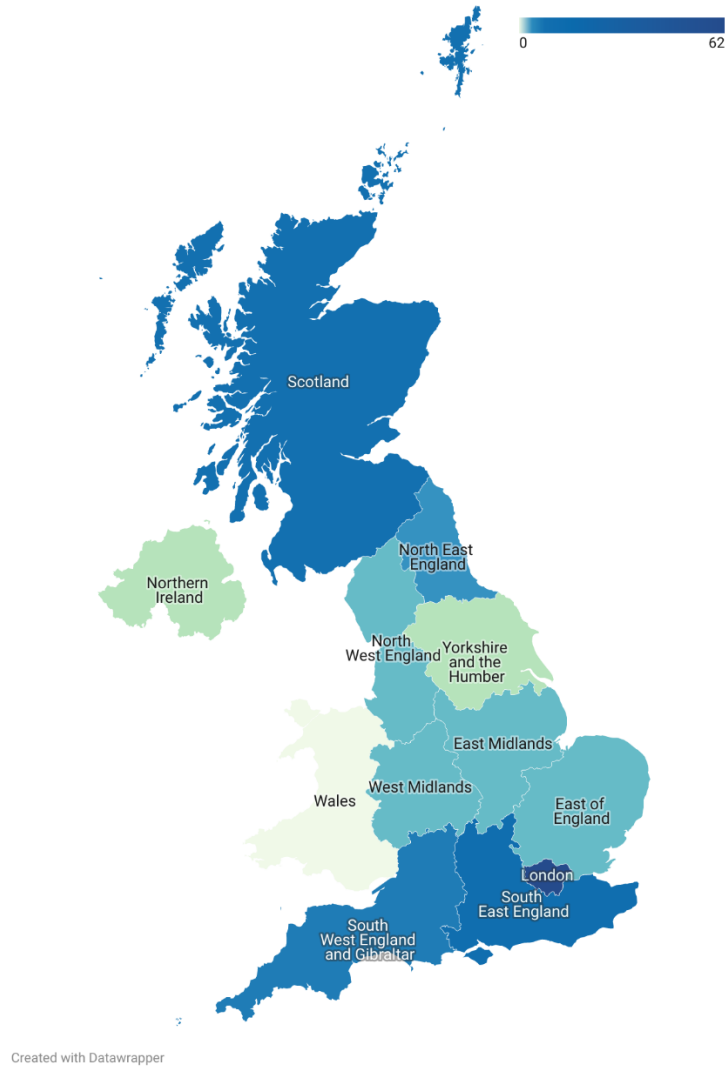
²⁵ We coded for the main institutions covered in the reporting. Each item was allocated a subsector. The first institution to be mentioned in each item was also noted, as well as the geographical region, either mentioned in the reporting or, in most cases, by noting the location of the institutions.

²⁶ The BBC and Reach were also mentioned frequently in the items under scrutiny in relation to financial challenges and funding.

²⁷ This analysis considers only the first institution mentioned in each article.

Distribution by UK nations and regions

Distribution of UK place-based institutions (n.100 allowing for repetitions) first mentioned in items from 3 to 10 July 2020.



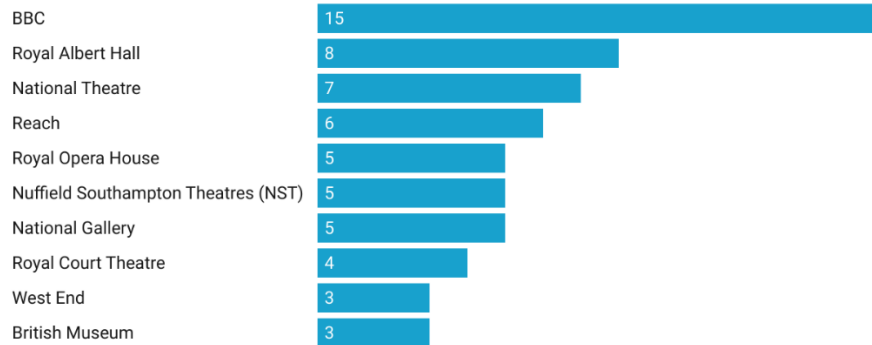
Region	Value
London	62
South East England	11
Scotland	8
South West England and Gibraltar	6
North East England	3
North West England	2
East Midlands	2
West Midlands	2
East of England	2
Yorkshire and the Humber	1
Northern Ireland	1
Wales	0

Figure 2: Distribution of locations of UK place-based institutions mentioned in news items (n.69 institutions, mentioned n.100 times allowing for repetitions). Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/CLJ14/7/>

We also found that the tendency to report about the performing arts was also reflected in the institutions mentioned in the items under scrutiny during this period. The top 10 institutions mentioned are presented in table 7.

Top 10 cultural institutions

Top 10 cultural institutions (of a total of n.69) by frequency of first mention in articles (n.129)



Created with Datawrapper

Table 8: Top ten institutions by first mention in each newspaper item in <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/AVBVU/4/>

4.4 Freelancers: it could take years to recover the lost talent

The government's focus on supporting cultural institutions, rather than cultural workers, was a recurrent feature in 20% several news items from 3-10 of July 2020.²⁸ Interesting to note here is that there is an almost complete overlap between items that have the Culture Recovery Fund as a theme and items that report about freelancers.

The tone of these items was critical regarding the perceived lack of adequate government support.²⁹ Responsibility for the difficulties facing freelancers was attributed to this inadequacy, and to broader structural issues within the cultural sector. One of the main criticisms of the CRF was that it came 'without strings attached', meaning that cultural institutions did not have to ensure that the artists, workers and freelancers they employ benefited from the money received. This was despite the fact that more than 70% of the workforce in

²⁸ There are mentions to 'freelancers' (inclusive of related terms, such as 'self-employed') in 34 items of the subsample from 3-10 July 2020 (n.215). Across the whole sample (n.4,162), 'freelancers' as a theme is only covered in 7% of the articles (n. 284).

²⁹ Main frames when reporting on freelancers were the 'favouring of institutions over workers – including freelancers – in the CRF'; 'lobbying for freelancers to receive more support'; 'freelancers in the arts having fallen between the cracks in the self-employment income support scheme (SEISS)'; 'CRF not covering freelancers'; and the belief that 'funds will trickle down from institutions to freelancers'.

theatre alone is freelance (32.3% across the whole sector according to the latest Employment Estimates from the Department of Digital, Culture, Media and Sport), compared with 15.3% across the whole economy (Guardian, 2020b).

Two reasons for aiming the support package at institutions, rather than individuals, were attributed to official sources in the reporting. First, the workforce already had other funding available. As Oliver Dowden repeated in an interview on BBC 4, 'Freelancers are already able to benefit from the freelance furlough scheme. I have to say that the essence of this package is about preserving those cultural institutions'.³⁰ Second, the assumption was that the money would trickle down. According to the press release 'funding to restart paused projects will also help support employment, including freelancers working in these sectors'. Some news items supported this claim, such as the item in the *Daily Express* that emphasized that

Under Mr Johnson's bailout, the emergency grants and loans will be available to thousands of music venues. The funding will also help support the army of industry workers who are often freelance and are struggling to make ends meet (Lister, 2020).

We also find opinion sources cited from the CCIs voicing their intent to support freelancers with the funds. Kwame Kwei-Armah, the artistic director of the Young Vic theatre, told Times Radio that many 'theatre bosses are planning to use a portion of their money to support freelancers in the theatre industry' (Sanderson, 2020a). Still, as Shadow Secretary of Culture Jo Stevens noted, 'At the end of this the buildings will still be standing but it could take years to recover the lost talent' (Singh and Hope, 2020).

Another of the main arguments highlighted by those critical about the lack of support for freelancers was that many have fallen 'between the cracks' in the self-employment income support scheme (SEISS). The other reported concern was, as has already been noted, the reopening of venues: 'as long as the theatres themselves cannot open (which Dowden admitted was still a long way off) there's no way for freelancers to make a living' (Clayton, 2020).

4.5 Too little, too late

Several further items framed criticism of the CRF in terms of financial difficulties. Concerns included the timeliness of the support, expressed in an editorial in *The Independent* aptly entitled 'Ministers finally get their act together on the arts but it could be too little too late' (7 July 2020). Other items pointed to 'mixed

³⁰ BBC Breakfast July 6th. Other bodies like Arts Council England supported cultural freelancers early in the pandemic. The Welsh government launched a specific fund for creative freelancers in October 2020. DCMS announced emergency funding for freelancers in December 2021.

reviews' of the CRF, including the high numbers of employees being laid-off from some institutions despite the Job Retention Scheme. On 10 July we read in *The Guardian*, for example, that 'Birmingham Rep may make 40% of roles redundant amid Covid-19 crisis; Despite emergency support funds, cuts may be needed for theatre to survive loss of income during coronavirus closure' (Wiegand, 2020c).

Difficulties were reported across the breadth of the press about The National Theatre, the Royal Exchange in Manchester, Sir Cameron Mackintosh's West End company, Norwich Theatre Royal, Theatre Royal Plymouth, the Birmingham Hippodrome, London's Royal Albert Hall, and the theatre industry newspaper *the Stage* (Wiegand, 2020a; Sanderson, 2020b). Some cultural institutions, such as the Nuffield Southampton Theatres, went into administration days before the announcement of the CRF; this was reported by the papers during this period as an example of the government's intervention arriving too late (Brown, 2020).³¹ As we read in the editorial in *The Independent*, 'Having been forcibly locked down since March, many critics wonder what has taken the government so long to get its act together - and too late for some, such as the Nuffield Southampton Theatres, which went bust only days before the announcement'.

The frame 'alternative support' to the cultural sector (in 18% of items) included other governmental measures such as the Scottish £10 million fund for performing arts venues announced on 4 July, and VAT reductions for hospitality announced on 8 July. Another initiative from this period that featured much less prominently, making headlines in only two occasions, was the launch of The Theatre Artists Fund on 5 July. Sam Mendes launched a support initiative using a £500,000 donation from Netflix for workers and freelancers in the theatre who were at 'breaking point' and were 'ineligible for government aid' (Sanderson, 2020a). Mendes was quoted as saying that the fund 'is not for buildings, or regular staff, but for freelance artists who actually make the shows that the public pay to see' (Wiegand, 2020b).

There are also a number of pieces reporting on the 'lobbying efforts' of sub-sectors not traditionally funded with public money, and therefore not likely to benefit from the CRF, such as comedy (present in 8% of items). *The Sun*, for example, reported that 'comedy faces "extinction" without a bailout, campaigners say' (9 Jul 2020). Only reported by one item in our sample in the *Daily Mail*, circuses were also campaigning to qualify for government support (Wilkes, 2020).

Although not at the forefront of reporting, we found a handful of items (7%) concerned with the (lack of) 'diversity' in the sector. These voices are reported as warning readers about the risk of the pandemic – and the terms of the CRF –

³¹ The closure of the NST is reported as a casualty of the pandemic only. No items in this sample mention other reasons for the cuts of already allocated funding by ACE (Gompertz, 2020).

forcing the sector to step 'away from our duty to ensure that the gains made over the last few years in equality, inclusion and diversity are built upon and accelerated' (Brigham, 2020). Christine Payne, Equity's general secretary, alerted readers to the fact that 'the first to leave the sector will be our BAME, female, disabled and working-class talent, worsening the diversity of the sector' (Wiegand, 2020b). The suspension of outreach programmes of many cultural institutions was also noted, which risked 'further alienating kids from all backgrounds who otherwise might not have contact with classical music' (Clayton, 2020). The CRF was seen by some as a chance to 'demystify the arts and to challenge the label of 'elitism 'at every opportunity' (Clayton, 2020), and to ensure that 'every part of our nation is represented in our workforce, on our stages, in our galleries, on our screens' (Brigham, 2020).

The challenge for others was precisely whether the sector could survive while continuing to implement the structural changes it had started to demand in relation to equality and inclusion. This is voiced in relation with the worry that funds will go to save only the 'glossy shows in big cities' and not benefit all communities (Brigham, 2020). Suba Das, artistic director and chief executive of High Tide, asked in *The Guardian* 'can you rescue and reform at the same time?'. Elaborating on this point, Das explained that:

'The great concern is how this rescue package finds its way into supporting new voices, freelance artists and the most marginalised in society because in any moment of economic uncertainty they are the most at risk' (Wieg and Alberge, 2020)

4.6 'The frenzied 48 hours to save UK culture: did the news of a rescue package stunned some of the industry's biggest leading lights?'³²

Within the framing analysis, we focused on the attribution of responsibility for the causes –and possible solutions – related to the crisis. In assessing this attribution, we offer an analysis of a media frame that has been found to strongly shape public opinion (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). In each item we code for 'causal responsibility' – i.e., what is the perceived origin of the problem. We also code for 'treatment responsibility' – i.e., 'who or what has the power to alleviate' the problem according to the reporting (Iyengar, 1991, p.8).

Attribution of responsibility for the crisis in the cultural sector ('causal responsibility') is mostly given to the negative effects of the pandemic and lockdown on the ability of arts and cultural institutions to generate revenue

³² (Cavendish, 2020)

(n.47), often without a wider context inclusive of challenges already facing the sector pre-pandemic. Some attention was given to the effects of years of austerity or to structural issues within the sector (n.9). A handful of items placed the blame of the severity of the crisis in the sector on the inadequacy and slowness of governmental interventions (n.13).

In contrast, attributions of responsibility for addressing and mitigating the impact of the pandemic on the cultural sector during this period (i.e., treatment responsibility) tended to focus on the support offered by the UK government (n. 56), followed by the importance of the lobbying efforts of different actors within the sector, such as Andrew Lloyd Webber (n. 13). The factors perceived to be giving shape and direction to government support were the dire financial situation of the sector, particularly for the venue-based activities and events, including the need to balance the measures to control the pandemic with the unsustainability of the business models of many institutions under the circumstances of lockdown.

Most voices from the cultural sector quoted in the press release, for example, noted having 'work(ed) closely together throughout this crisis to develop genuine solutions', and expressed gratefulness to the Secretary of State (Digital, Culture, Media and Sport) and DCMS for the support offered to the sector. On the other hand, it was reported that the CRF came as a surprise to many in the sector 'especially since the mood music from the Treasury had appeared to signal reluctance to intervene too heavily' (Featherstone in Brown, 2020). Some voices attributed responsibility to those in the sector 'putting pressure' on Oliver Dowden 'to step in and support the arts, which have been unable to safely reopen due to social distancing guidance' (Vaughan, 2020). There were a small number of items that blamed culture leaders and actors for not lobbying sufficiently to save theatre (Letts, 2020).

The next section expands further on some of the issues highlighted in the analysis of items covering the announcement of the CRF, by shifting the focus of the analysis to *how* the impacts of lockdown, the official measures and governmental financial support (or lack of) on the cultural sector are reported in the items under scrutiny during this period.

5. Who gets to speak about the impact of Covid-19 on the cultural and creative industries?

In order to further unpack how the 'primary definitions' laid out by official press release announcing the Culture Recovery Fund (CRF) were rendered in the newspaper items, we also coded for the wider range of sources (quoted or paraphrased) utilised. Table 8 shows the distribution by source category.³³

Type of Source

First source in each item (n.166) of a total of n.215

Source	frequency	percentage (%)
political: UK national	38	23
director of cultural institution/performance venues/impresario	34	21
political: regions and nations/local	29	18
actor/artist/writer	13	8
non-governmental public body (ACE, BFI...)	8	5
playwright, screen or stage director, producer	8	5
other	8	5
industry association/network	6	4
political: shadow government	5	3
union	4	2
journalist	5	3
academic/scientist	5	3
freelancer	3	2
Total	166	100

Created with Datawrapper

Table 9: Frequency and percentage of first source mentioned in each newspaper item. Data: <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/lX7og/3/>

5.1 The most frequent sources are those offered in the government press release

Political voices accounted for almost half of the sources, most referencing statements attributed to Prime Minister Boris Johnson, to the then Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, Oliver Dowden, and to the

³³ We coded for first source quoted or paraphrased in n.215 items (no sources were mentioned in 49 items). While some of these categories might overlap, we allocated them to each source depending on the role in which they were quoted. For example, an actor might be a freelancer, but might not be referenced as such in the coverage. We also coded the contributors of opinion pieces as sources. By-lines of each item (where these were authored) include arts and culture editors (n.18), political correspondents (n. 17), theatre critics (n. 6), cultural workers (n.5), news editors (n.4), business editors (n.3), music critics (n.3), columnists (n.2), and academics (n.2).

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rishi Sunak, in the official press release. They also tended to be quoted in first place (Johnson's words are cited in five of the headlines).

Johnson and Sunak were mostly quoted in relation to the CRF or other forms of government support, such as VAT cuts. In contrast, Dowden was often mentioned in relation to the interview he gave to the BBC on the back of the CRF announcement, in which he said that theatres – including panto – would probably not reopen any time soon.³⁴ Not surprisingly, quotes from Labour politicians were more critical in tone. The Shadow Culture Secretary Jo Stevens – the most frequently mentioned source not included in the government's press release – was quoted as tweeting that while the package was 'a much needed injection of cash', it came 'too little too late' for many institutions, particularly theatres, 'teetering on the brink fast – especially those across the towns and small cities where venues and arts organisations are so vital to local economies providing many interdependent jobs, particularly in hospitality' (Devlin, 2020; Crerar 2020; Brown, 2020; Devlin 2020; Milne 2020; Murphy, 2020; Singh and Hope, 2020; Brown 2020;).³⁵

The second largest group of sources (around a quarter) is composed of leading voices in the cultural sector. The five most frequent sources in this category are Andrew Lloyd-Webber, Sam Mendes, playwright James Graham, Alex Beard (Chief Executive of the Royal Opera House) and producer and actor, Julian Bird.³⁶ All of these voices – except Sam Mendes – were used in the government's press release offering positive quotes that were, for the most part, repeated in the coverage of the CRF.³⁷ These voices were soon followed by others from the sector that also praised the CRF. Kwame Kwei-Armah, the artistic director of the Young Vic theatre, was quoted in *The Times* as telling Times Radio that the sector felt very 'relieved' by the news: 'When we heard last night, we slept for the first time since March' (Sanderson, 2020a).³⁸

While there is an enthusiastic initial reception of the CRF by different opinion-leaders in the cultural sector, a range of items began voicing other, more cautious, views of the government's support package. On the day of the

³⁴ BBC Breakfast, 6 July 2020.

³⁵ Publications quoting Jo Steven's tweet include *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Mirror* and *The Independent*.

³⁶ He was the Chief Executive of the Society of London Theatre and UK Theatre until December 2021.

³⁷ Andrew Lloyd-Webber is also used as a source in articles criticising the lack of roadmap for indoor performances to reopen.

³⁸ This article by *The Times* includes positive views on the CRF by Kwame Kwei-Armah, the artistic director of the Young Vic theatre, Alex Beard, James Graham, Caroline Norbury, chief executive of the Creative Industries Federation, Andy Burnham, Boris Johnson, Rishi Sunak, Oliver Dowden, Sir Cameron Mackintosh's, Rufus Norris. Sir Sam Mendes.

announcement, 5 July, *The Guardian* published a series of 'alternative' voices to those in the press release entitled 'At last a glimpse of hope'.³⁹ Despite the positive title, we find here mixed reviews. *The Guardian* was attempting to create a forum for discussion, examining the CRF from a wider range of perspectives than what would be otherwise available. We see here a shift in politics whereby some voices challenged aspects of the 'official' narrative, such as the timeliness, reach and scope of the measures, as we saw above.

These voices can be labelled as what Justin Audibert, artistic director of the Unicorn theatre, called the 'cautiously optimistic'. Most belonged to the performing arts, noting that the CRF was a step in the right direction, but still needed to be followed up with other measures and forms of support. Julia Fawcett, CEO of the Lowry, for example, worried that the help might have arrived too late. She urged the government to speed up its implementation to 'get these much-needed funds to the organisations most at risk - and fast'.

The 'actors/artists/writers' category also offered mixed reviews to the CRF. It included well-known actors, some of which, such as Rob Brydon and Hugh Bonneville, offered positive reactions (Harrison, 2020), or Judi Dench, who offered a more cautious opinion saying that 'we have got to hope that things don't go to the wall' (Sherwin, 2020c). Within this category, we find sources – mostly quoted in the reporting about comedy venues and circuses – that were openly critical with the lack of governmental support to their sectors during and prior to the pandemic. Comedian Fern Brady, for example, spoke in *The Guardian* about the financial struggles in the sector arguing that 'comedy had been "invisible" so far in the debate about saving the arts' (Bakare, 2020).

Heads of non-governmental public bodies such as Ben Roberts from the British Film Institute (BFI) and Nicholas Serota from Arts Council England praised the CRF, featuring more frequently as sources than union representatives such as Philippa Childs (Bectu) or Christine Payne (Equity), that tended to have a more critical stance with the government.

It is interesting to note that support for these in-presence cultural production industries largely came from other voices within this subsector, not the wider creative industries. Equally, these voices did not advocate to extend the support beyond their particular industries, or even to other activities – for example, we don't find any voices supporting comedy beyond comedians. Criticism to the

³⁹ These include Indhu Rubasingham, Artistic director of [Kiln theatre](#); Suba Das, Artistic director of [High Tide](#) theatre company; Rufus Norris, Director of the [National Theatre](#); John Berry, Former artistic director of [English National Opera](#); Julia Fawcett, CEO, [the Lowry](#); Justin Audibert; Artistic director of the Unicorn theatre; Philippa Childs, Head of [Bectu](#); Nicholas Hytner, Co-director, [London Theatre Company](#); Tamara Harvey, Artistic director of Theatr Clwyd.

limitations of the CRF are also limited to specific activities and workers whereby the preoccupation most voiced was whether the support would reach a wider section of, for example, theatres, but not whether it would expand to, for example, comedy. This again points to the fact that the CCIs operate in interconnected but fairly distinct ecosystems, and also that the media (and arguably the public's) perceptions about their relative status are still very much focused on the 'traditional' arts and culture.

5.2 Lack of diversity in the sources mirrors the lack of diversity in the sector

Notable across all categories is the lack of diversity in the range of sources being selected to speak in the newspaper coverage. This is particularly apparent in the voices representative of the cultural sector (mostly directors of large cultural institutions), with correspondingly restricted scope for policy deliberation within newspaper parameters. As noted above, there is also a lack of diversity in terms of the subsectors represented. Not only we find that the CCIs are very narrowly defined in all the rhetoric surrounding the crisis and governmental measures (namely to refer to the arts and cultural sector in the main), but within these terms, the voices that speak almost always belong to the traditional – and arguably more 'highbrow' – artistic realms. Criticisms to the CRF seem to focus on whether the support was being too narrowly spread within the performing arts, for example, rather than supporting comedy, circus or related forms of popular entertainment.

There were hardly any voices representing cultural workers and freelancers, for example, despite being identified in the reporting as a particularly vulnerable section of the cultural sector. In virtually all cases, when freelancers were mentioned, they were represented in the plural as generic, faceless and nameless. Interestingly, a *Daily Mail* item about circus performers is the single instance where we find named voices of cultural workers, even if only mentioned as 'a human cannonball called Eddie'. There are no freelancers, named or otherwise, quoted as sources in the reporting. We find only two pieces written by freelancers on the precarity of their work and the impacts of Covid-19 during this period, the opera singer Allan Clayton writing in *The Telegraph* (8 July 2020) and Anna Fleischle, a production designer writing in *The Independent* (10 July 2020).

For those sources that are identified, our reading of items suggests that those used in the CRF coverage during this period were three times more likely to be male than female. As far as we can determine, there was also a lack of diversity

in terms of race, disability, class and spatial disparities.⁴⁰ Recent research for the PEC has shown how these factors intersect and interact to compound disadvantage (Carey et al., 2021). The pandemic only seems to have increased the inequalities facing the sector. It is therefore significant that in giving a platform to a narrow section of mostly white, male cultural leaders (managerial roles or well-known artists), the framing of the items here analysed tend to mirror the inequalities identified in the coverage as plaguing the cultural sector, and the creative industries more broadly.

We suggest that some of the reasons that perpetuate inequalities in the sector such as the role of social networks, and the cultural elements in commissioning decisions (O'Brien, 2020) might also be behind the selection of media sources, since news framing often depends on the availability of various sources of information and their specific attributes (such as perceived credibility, legitimacy, and power status). In this sense, our analysis shows that the media coverage by the British national daily press of the impact of Covid-19 on arts and culture tends to replicate, rather than challenge, the existing inequalities in the cultural sector and the creative industries that it also identifies in the reporting under scrutiny during this period.

Conclusion

This Discussion Paper has presented a selection of findings of a study examining British newspaper coverage of the COVID-19 pandemic's impact on the cultural and creative industries (CCI) sector from 1 January to 31 December, 2020. Following a general overview of the 2020 coverage, it focused on a pivotal week – 3 to 10 July – where we find the highest concentration of items reporting on the Culture Recovery Fund (CRF) and the challenges faced by freelancers.

To the extent it is possible to generalise, the representation and framing of these issues in news items often affirmed narrow parameters of discussion, tending to be reliant upon official press releases, and thereby affording space to a limited range of voices. We found that framing decisions (not always made consciously), including the relative inclusion/exclusion of specific stakeholders as voices in the coverage, tended to follow certain patterns. For example, political voices (UK national, regional and local governments, shadow government and political parties) account for the largest source type (they are the first source in a quarter of the items in the sample), most referencing consistent with what Boris Johnson, Oliver Dowden and Rishi Sunak stated in official press releases. This was

⁴⁰ For example, Tamara Harvey, Artistic director of Theatr Clwyd, was the only source from the Welsh cultural sector. Scottish cultural institutions and leaders are also less frequently used as sources in national (London-based) news. There are however some items in the sample from the Scottish editions of the papers that do report about the cultural sector in Scotland specifically. No sources from NI are present in our analysis.

echoed by leaders in the performing arts and heads of institutions and businesses in the CCIs.⁴¹

Other items responded by highlighting the financial challenges facing the sector (particularly staff lay-offs and lack of clarity around re-opening indoor venues), offered views from more critical voices from within the sector. Even so, there was a lack of diversity in the sources selected, particularly the limited range of representatives of the CCIs. A comparison with the sources used in the official government press release (2020) showed close correspondence.

We analysed which sectors and institutions were mentioned more frequently, and those that were not. Most of the institutions identified this way were theatres and other performing arts venues. The majority were based in England, mostly in London and other large cities, such as Manchester and Birmingham. The government's 'levelling up' agenda was hardly ever referenced in this sample, but, when it was, it was identified as a key driver shaping the criteria for the distribution of this funding – not always positively. Institutions in Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland received scant attention. Support for these in-presence cultural production industries largely came from voices within this sub-sector, particularly well-known figures like Andrew Lloyd-Webber. Criticisms, as we have seen, tended to be more about whether the support was being too narrowly spread within this subsector, effectively over-privileging more traditional tastes and interests. The reporting of the challenges facing the CCIs, the advocacy efforts and the governmental support highlighted the tensions between the cultural sector and the creative industries.

Our study also shows how newspaper reporting on the impact of Covid-19 on the cultural and creative industries mirrored perceived inequalities in the sector in terms of who gets to speak, who is perceived to be deserving of support and why. While freelancers were often mentioned as a crucial, but vulnerable component of industrial development, the voices that were selected to speak tended to belong to leaders in the sector. The analysis of the coverage has shown how newspapers may contribute to perpetuating the official take on a particular issue as they tend to work closely with the same sources among policymakers. This might go some way in explaining why several key points of deliberative tension identified in this study remain almost invisible to the public – thereby inhibiting adequate scrutiny, transparency and accountability in cultural policymaking.

⁴¹ We examined the principal sources used in the reporting on the impact of Covid-19 on the CCIs during this week. We coded for the first source (quoted or paraphrased) in all items in this sample.

Acknowledgements

We are pleased to acknowledge the AHRC for its funding support of the Creative Industries Policy & Evidence Centre (PEC). We also extend our gratitude to our workstrand colleagues at Cardiff University, as well as at the PEC (particularly Professor Bruce Tether at the University of Manchester and Eliza Easton, Head of the Policy Unit) for very helpful comments on an earlier draft.

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Appendix

Keywords used in search, following DCMS sector and subsector categories for the creative industries and the cultural sector.

DCMS	DCMS	Keywords used	Theme used in report
Creative Industries Sub-sectors	Cultural Sector Sub-sectors	creative or culture or cultural or industry!	cultural sector art sector creative industries ⁴²
1. Advertising and marketing		advertising or marketing	advertising
2. Architecture		architecture	architecture
3. Crafts	Crafts	craft*	crafts
4. Design and designer fashion		fashion! or design!	fashion
5. Film, TV, video, radio and photography	Film, TV and Music; Photography; Radio	film! or TV or radio or photograph! or "media sector*" or "media industr!" or "the media" or broadcaster* or broadcasting	screens (film, cinemas and TV) radio photography broadcasters
6. IT, software and computer services ⁴³		VR or "virtual reality" animation or immersive or gaming or VFX or AR or software	VR gaming streaming digital
7. Publishing		publishing or publisher or books	publishing
8. Museums, Galleries and Libraries	Museums and Galleries; Library and Archives; Operation of historical sites and similar visitor attractions	museum or galler! or librar! or archive* or "historical site*" or heritage or exhibit!	museums and heritage
9. Music, performing and visual arts	Arts	music or theatre* or "visual art*" or "performing art*" or dance or opera or concert or gig or stage or comedy or ballet or festival* or art or arts	music theatre opera dance comedy performing arts circus visual arts ⁴⁴
	Cultural education	"cultural education"	cultural education

⁴² Used when the article refers specifically to the creative industries

⁴³ The Digital Sector is included when it overlap with the CCIs and cultural sector.

⁴⁴ When the term 'arts' is used in the article in its generic meaning covering a range of activities (as in 'arts and culture' or 'the arts'), it is coded under art sector.

The Boolean search was conducted in Nexis using the following keywords:

(covid or coronavirus or "SARS-CoV-2" or "corona virus" or lockdown or "lock down" or lock-down or crisis or pandemic) and headline("music" or "concert" or "gig" or "theatre" or "performing art" or "stage" or "comedy" or "opera" or "dance" or "ballet" or "festival" or "art!" or "arts" or "creative industry" or "creative industries" or "creative economy" or "creative sector" or "culture" or "cultural" or "fashion" or "design" or "designer" or "architecture" or "advertising" or "marketing" or "craft" or "crafts" or "film!" or "films" or "cinema" or "cinemas" or "movie" or "movies" or "photography" or "photographer" or "TV" or "television" or "streaming" or "media sector" or "media industr*" or "the media" or "radio" or "broadcaster" or "broadcasting" or "VR" or "animation" or "immersive" or "gaming" or "virtual reality" or "VFX" or AR, or software or "publishing" or "publisher" or "books" or "museum" or "gallery" or "galleries" or "library" or "libraries" or "archive*" or "historical site*" or "heritage" or "exhibit" or "exhibition" or "comedy" or "freelancer!" or "artist!" or "actor!!" or "production" or "screen!" or "circus")

Parameters:

- Timeline: 01 Oct, 2019 to 31 Dec, 2020;⁴⁵
- Publication Location: Europe; United Kingdom of Great Britain & Northern Ireland;
- Publication Language: English;
- Publication type: Newspapers;⁴⁶
- Publication Name: mirror.co.uk, *The Times* (London), *The Mirror* (The Daily Mirror and *The Sunday Mirror*), *Daily Star*, *The Daily Telegraph* (London), *MailOnline*, *The Sun* (England), *The Independent* (United Kingdom), *The Guardian* (London), thetimes.co.uk, thesun.co.uk, i - Independent Print Ltd, *The Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday* (London), *The Sunday Times* (London), telegraph.co.uk, *The Sunday Telegraph* (London), *Financial Times* (London, England), *The Observer* (London), *Sunday Sun* (UK); *The Express*
- Geography News: Europe.

⁴⁵ First news of Covid19.

⁴⁶ Including website publications such as MailOnline – duplicates with printed versions have been excluded.