© *Journal of Music, Health, and Wellbeing* (Autumn 2021)

ISSN 2515-981X

Journal of Music, Health, and Wellbeing

Journal Homepage: www.musichealthandwellbeing.co.uk

Playing In: Exploring the effect of COVID-19 on music makers across the Liverpool City Region

Mathew Flynn and Richard Anderson

The University of Liverpool

Article Info.

Date Submitted:
August 2020

Date Accepted:
March 2021

Date Published:
October 2021

Abstract

This article reports on the results of an online survey of 175 music makers from the Liverpool City Region (LCR) undertaken in late summer 2020, five months into the UK's response to the COVID-19 pandemic. During this time restrictions eased from a full 'stay at home' lockdown, however restrictions remained in place which prevented live music performances or nightclub events taking place. The following analysis of quantitative and qualitative data responses focused on five key areas in which local musicians were impacted: the financial and social effects arising from the curtailment of live performance; how musicians engaged with live streaming; how being 'locked down' affected creativity when unable to physically collaborate with other musicians; the ways in which musicians maintain online engagement; and the effectiveness of available economic support. The data findings demonstrate that the unparalleled and abrupt cessation of an entire cultural sector's activities had a profound impact on musicians in the LCR. We demonstrate how internet services did, to some extent, provide a form of respite, the study concludes by emphasising the vital importance of being in-the-room-together for virtually all musical activities. Without this sociability, music's inherent social and economic value is severely curtailed.

1. Introduction

Liverpool, in the United Kingdom (UK), is one of just forty-seven UNESCO World Cities of Music, an accolade that acknowledges the Liverpool City Region's £200 million a year music economy (BOP, Consulting 2018) as well as the significance of music to the region's heritage, culture and tourist trade. This article will report on the results of a survey of 175 music makers living and working across the Liverpool City Region (LCR). The LCR has a population of 1.5 million people, which includes the city of Liverpool but also covers five more local authorities (Halton, Knowsley, St. Helens, Sefton and Wirral) that include towns such as St. Helens and Birkenhead, and many villages and rural areas in between. As a joint project between the University of Liverpool and Bido Lito – a monthly magazine for and about the LCR's creative community – this research collates, reflects upon, and presents quantitative and qualitative data analysing the impact of lockdown on a diverse range of music makers.

The UK Government's 'lockdown' response to the COVID-19 pandemic began on 23 March 2020 and was based on a 'stay at home' order for the entire UK population. Whilst this lockdown measure was gradually reduced from early May 2020, restrictions remained in place that prevented live music performances or nightclub events taking place other than in very exceptional circumstances (UK Government, 2020). Our survey was conducted over two weeks between 27 July and 9 August 2020 and captured respondents' experiences of the first twenty weeks of various iterations of government social distancing guidance and COVID-19 regulations. During this time, the majority of music makers across the UK had been unable to practice or perform in the same physical space as others.

The paper will open with a short summary of the Liverpool City Region's music sector and will then outline the survey's rationale and methodology. We then summarise the profile of the participants who responded to the survey, discuss the representativeness of the sample and consider the data's limitations. The main body addresses five key areas of music-maker activity explored in the survey: live performance; live streaming; creativity and collaboration; online engagement; and finances and funding. The analysis considers how each of the areas have been affected by COVID-19, the resulting lockdown and the ensuing government policies, regulations and guidance put in place to manage the ongoing effect of the pandemic in the UK. The first two sections cover distinct but related aspects of live performance. First, we consider the economic, professional and personal losses suffered due to the suspension of live performances between March and August 2020. Second, we explore how effectively music-makers across the region pivoted to online-streamed performances during the same period and provide an analysis of the potential and challenges of live streaming as an alternative to live performance. In the third section we offer insight regarding the day-to-day challenges music makers faced professionally as they adapted to working at home, with an emphasis on the role of creativity and collaboration in continuing to write, practice and record music. The fourth section covers how music makers, operating at varying levels of professionalism, managed the release of recorded music and either engaged with or disengaged from social media platforms, and the reasons for their decisions. The final section addresses the financial impact on music makers' incomes and the effectiveness of government and sector schemes to mitigate the loss. The paper concludes with a summary of the key findings; the potential immediate and long-term impacts on the Liverpool City Region's music sector; and how the results could translate nationally and internationally.

2. Liverpool City Region Music Sector

Liverpool, the music city, is born of its historical status as a port. The flow of goods and people from across the globe has produced a place in which demand for entertainment is both paramount and guaranteed. According to music journalist and historian Paul Du Noyer (2004), 'Liverpool is more than a place where music happens. Liverpool is a reason why music happens' (p.1). Such statements are underpinned by a breadth of academic study that has focused predominantly on the city of Liverpool's rich musical traditions (Cohen, 1991; Cohen, 2007; Du Noyer, 2004; Brocken and Scott, 2010; Leonard and Strachan, 2010; Cohen and Kronenburg, 2018). The collective findings of these studies are that musical activity has played a defining role in the production of both the city's physical spaces and the sociality and connectivity of Liverpool's musicians (Cohen, 1995). Cohen's (1991: 225) case study of two aspiring rock bands in Liverpool in the mid-1980s encapsulates the dynamics of the city's wider music scene that remain evident today:

> The rock music 'scene' in Liverpool was thus divided by cliques, factions, feuds and rivalries, yet at the same time united by age, gender, a common ideology, mythology, and gossip grapevine, and a web of interlinking networks and band genealogies as its members moved between bands and music related occupations. They generally faced a common predicament: trapped between creativity and commerce and confronted by the same industry with its familiar 'gatekeepers'. They therefore formed, in a sense, a community.

Whilst much has changed in thirty-five years – most obviously the pervasiveness of digital technologies in everyday life – music makers creating and working together to achieve personal and, possibly, professional fulfilment is as ever-present now as it was then. Likewise, music makers entering the third decade of the twenty-first century are still confronted with the same contradictory industry. The only difference is that the 'gatekeepers' and the community now exist as much online as they do offline.

As Tschmuck (2012: 2) summarises, the music industry is 'a network in which the production and distribution of music occurs in a process relying on the division of labour and the help of the latest technologies'

Three regional industry reports published in 2018 – namely, 'Wish you were here' (UK Music, 2018), 'Developing a Liverpool City of Music Strategy' (BOP Consulting, 2018) and 'The Liverpool live music census' (Padilla, Kasikov and Flynn, 2018) – highlighted the importance of the music sector to the local economy and estimated music-related tourism to be worth £98 million in 2017. Despite the evident financial value music provides to the city, Bido Lito!'s consultation study, 'Liverpool, Music City?' (2018), revealed many challenges facing musicians across the region, in particular the threats affecting live performances and venues. A recognition of the significance of the findings across all the 2018 reports combined with the recommendations of the earlier 'Beatles Heritage in Liverpool and its Economic & Cultural Sector Impact' (Yates, Evans and Jones, 2016) led to the establishment of the LCR Music Board in December 2018. As an independent sector-led body appointed by the LCR Combined Authority, the Music Board was one of the first of its type in the UK and was charged with both creating and overseeing a strategy to grow the sector and develop its economic and social impact in the wider Liverpool area (LCR Music Board, 2020). The primary impetus for the 'Playing In' survey was to capture a snapshot of how the pandemic had initially impacted LCR music makers so that the findings could inform the decision-making of the Music Board as it sought to devise a COVID-19 survival and recovery strategy for the region's music sector.

3. Survey Methodology

UK Music's 'Music by Numbers 2020' report calculates there are 197,168 active music creators in the UK. As a percentage of the entire 2019 UK population (66.8 million) (ONS, 2020), this is 0.29%. Applying this same percentage to the 1.5 million population of the LCR (Liverpool City Region, 2020) generates a figure of 4,430 music makers in the region. Research by BOP Consulting (2018) and estimated figures supplied directly to us by Sentric Music[1] (2020) and The Musicians' Union (2020a) suggest there are up to 800 active music makers within the Liverpool City Region. However, while there is likely some overlap between each source's figures, there is very little likelihood of MU members from the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra also being registered with Sentric Music as pop songwriters. Taking account of the limitations of existing data and including an additional 700 students from the region's five universities[2] (BOP Consulting 2018), the available data for active adult music makers within the LCR indicates an estimated range of between 1,500 from BOP Consulting figures, and 4,400 from UK Music figures.

Berger (2011: 221) defines surveys as 'a research method that we use to get information about certain groups of people who are representative of some larger group of people'. Our approach was consistent with what Czaja and Blair (2005: 12) have described as the general stages of survey delivery:

1. Survey design and preliminary planning
2. Pretesting
3. Final survey design and planning
4. Data collection
5. Data coding, data-file construction, analysis, and final report.

To reach a representative sample of musicians within the LCR, we designed an online survey using JISC's Online Surveys software. Forty-four questions were posed, spread across the five key thematic areas in which lockdown restrictions had impacted on musicians. To gauge participants' attitudes, questions were formed into either those requiring a single answer, multiple choice answers, or

[1] Sentric Music formed in Liverpool in 2006 as an online based independent music publisher that empowered artists and songwriters to collect the royalties they are owed.

Likert Scale responses (Dawes, 2008; Johns, 2010). Each question also allowed additional space for respondents to voluntarily provide supplementary opinions. Links to the self-selecting online survey (Wolf, Joye, Smith and Fu, 2016: 331) were distributed across a range of online channels including the Bido Lito! website, multiple social media channels and email distribution lists for students, MU members, and through contacts of the survey team. All respondents were over 18, either living in or working within the LCR, and identified as music makers. Data cleansing normalised numerical responses so these could be analysed using software for quantitative analysis. Certain data outliers, due to probable user error in filling out the survey, were excluded from calculations. Response rates to free text questions were high, ranging between 40-90%, producing a rich set of qualitative data. These text responses were analysed and coded into common theme and pattern nodes using Nvivo software. This provided a further set of quantitative figures and articulated the key narratives emerging from each of the five themes the sampled musicians responded to.

The limitations of using a short one-off widely distributed online survey, one that adopted an unsupervised method targeting a sample of self-selecting music makers, meant the degree to which participants 'represent the population depends on a chain of selection processes about which little is known' (Ornstein, 2013: 85). However, given we could only broadly estimate the number of music makers in the LCR, establishing the statistical significance of the population was not a high priority (Hansen and Machin, 2013; Berger, 2011). The aim was to generate a snapshot that represented a range of music maker circumstances, perspectives and opinions, and the following participant profile demonstrates the diversity of the music makers that responded.

4. Participant Profile

When analysing gender representation in the music industry, the website Women in Music (2019) states, 'The gender divide across all regions is roughly 70% male to 30% female'. This same balance is broadly acknowledged by industry organisations that represent UK music makers (Cloonan and Williamson, 2016: 245; PRS, 2019). Our survey demonstrates a similar division; of the 175 respondents, 66% identified as male, 28 female, 2% non-binary, and 4% preferred not to say. In terms of ethnicity, participants identified as: White (82%); Black (1%); Asian (1%); Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups (4%); from other ethnic groups (3%); and preferred not to say (9%). The data presents a less gender-balanced and ethnically diverse survey sample as compared to UK Music's Diversity Survey (UK Music, 2020), although this considers all roles across the UK music industries, not just music makers.

In terms of age distribution, 18–34-year-olds accounted for 48% of all respondents with the 35-54 age bracket constituting 30% and 55-75 plus 18% (4% preferred not to say), suggesting the survey is more likely to reflect the attitudes and experiences of younger music makers across the region. Furthermore, respondents were concentrated mainly within Liverpool, with 58% living within and 72% working within the local authority, illustrating the city's continued dominance as the epicentre of the region's music activity. As the second most populous of the six local authorities in the LCR, unsurprisingly Wirral was the next significantly represented local authority, with 17% of respondents resident in that borough and 13% working there. Sefton (12%) had a comparatively high number of music maker residents as compared to the 3% who worked there. The other three authorities, Halton, Knowsley and St. Helens, barely registered in either category. Although these figures reflect the make-up of the music sector infrastructure and overall population density within the region, they also suggest more could have been done in distributing the survey to engage participants in underrepresented areas.

The survey asked each respondent to indicate their pre-COVID-19 annual music-related earnings and to classify themselves according to professional status. Table 1 shows the number of participants identifying with each status classification, their mean average earnings, and the percentage of total income each status group contributes to the estimated £1.7 million total annual earnings of all respondents.

Table 1. Income and status analysis for 'Playing In' survey respondents

Self-declared Professional Status	% of All Participants	Average Pre-COVID-19 Music Related Income	% Contribution to Cohort Income Total
Professional (Earning over 75% of your income directly from music related activity)	36%	£24,598	87%
Semi-Professional (You supplement your music income with another regular job)	20%	£3,586	8%
Occasional (Earn some money from music, but it's not your main source of income	20%	£1,800	3%
Amateur (Although paid occasionally, earning an income from music is not your main focus)	12%	£143	1%
Aspiring Professional (Yet to earn any significant music related income but that is your ambition)	12%	£125	1%
All Participants	100%	£9,729	100%

After applying an average UK musician earnings figure of £20,864 (DHA, 2012) to BOP Consulting's (2018) estimation of 810 professional LCR musicians, the Liverpool music strategy report calculated that local musicians contribute £16.9 million annually to the regional music economy. Even when accounting for inflation (£23,833), the Table 1 data suggests that professional musicians across the LCR were earning slightly more than the UK average prior to the pandemic. Furthermore, assuming the survey sample is representative of the distribution of types of music maker within the LCR, using the 810 BOP professional musician figure as a baseline suggests the remaining 64% of musicians within the region number 1,620. This makes a combined total of 2,430 regional musicians, a figure closer to the lower end of our estimated range in the Methodology section. However, the likely underrepresentation of four local authorities suggests that, as with music makers from ethnic minorities, the distribution of the survey may have not reached as many amateur or occasional musicians and its timing during the summer meant limited engagement from students that would usually fall within the aspiring category (despite survey distribution across the region's university platforms). Despite this, what is clear is that, economically speaking, it was professional musicians that stood to lose the most from the impact of COVID-19 and that the depth of effect on their incomes would act as an indicator as to COVID-19's impact on the wider sector. Given that 81% of musicians (DHA Communications, 2012) earn an income from performance, considering the impact of the closure of music venues was the obvious place to begin the survey and resulting analysis.

5. Live Music Analysis

Live music has particular significance in Liverpool, accounting for 44% of the region's music economy, a much higher percentage than live music's 23% share of the UK's overall music economy (BOP Consulting, 2018). Once the UK lockdown was imposed, all venues were shuttered, and live public performances prohibited. Professional musicians, venue and support staff effectively became unemployed overnight. A key aim of this study was to ascertain the scale to which these measures impacted our sample of LCR musicians. Questions were focused on discovering statistically how many musicians were expecting to be involved in live performances during the affected period between March and August; the number of cancelled events; their expected earnings per show; the size of anticipated audiences; and what financial repercussions would entail from lost revenues.

The findings revealed that most surveyed musicians (87%) were scheduled to have been involved in some type of live performance during lockdown. Furthermore, 70% indicated they were expecting to earn a fee, signifying that most lost performances would have had some financial reward.

To calculate the financial impacts of cancelled shows, we derived the mean average fee per musician to be £124 ($158). This figure is less than the £150 Casual Stage Rate suggested by the Musicians' Union (2020) and is within the normal range of 'typical performance fees' (£50-£250) of surveyed Incorporated Society of Musicians' members (ISM, 2012). Our figure was arrived at after excluding the earnings data associated with outlier high-profile respondents.[2] Musicians also disclosed how many other musicians they would normally perform with on average, thereby allowing us to calculate the mean number of musicians per show (4.7). This assumed the same fee per person and revealed a mean average loss of income per show of £584. When multiplied by the number of cancelled events (mean average of a 149.5 per week), the total value of lost performance revenue averaged £87,308 per week (over the 20-week period between March 23 and August 9 when the survey closed). This weekly average equates to an annual £4.5 million loss in domestic gig income to LCR musicians.

Figure 1. Calculation of the number of shows by fee value lost by LCR musicians during lockdown

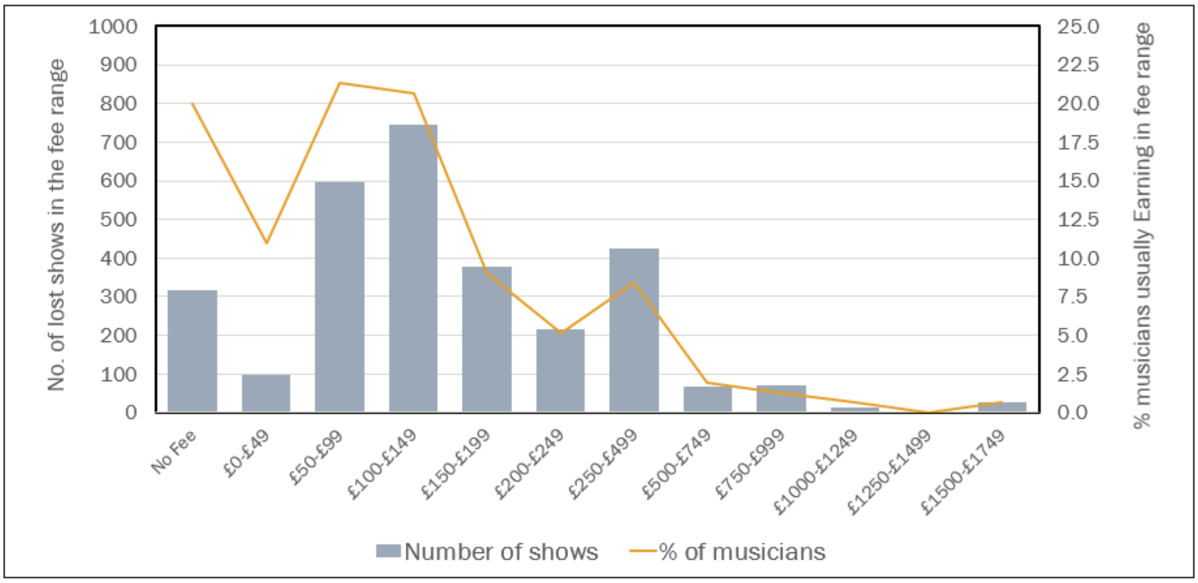

Figure 1 illustrates the number of shows cancelled for each individual fee (vertical bars) and the percentage of musicians who would usually earn that performance fee (orange line). With over half the total shows cancelled paying £50-£200 per person and affecting 50% of the respondents, evidently the bedrock of live performance income for LCR musicians are regular standard fee-paying gigs. When asked to comment on the consequences of the lack of live performances, numerous respondents described the loss of revenue as 'devastating'; others used terms such as 'ruinous' and 'doomed'. One musician succinctly summarised the financial blow as, 'A complete change in my way of life and 90% reduction in earnings gone overnight'.

Lost revenue from cancelled performances illustrates just one facet of the lockdown's impact. Many scheduled shows were routine in nature: wedding or function bookings, residencies, or as part of an orchestral season. However, for some aspiring musicians, each gig represented a stepping-stone towards their professional career goals. To capture some sense of these lost opportunities, our survey asked whether respondents missed out on any personal 'landmark' or 'first' performances due to the

[2] These musician(s), who were forced to cancel an international tour due to the restrictions, revealed average income(s) per show that exceeded by twenty times the next highest paid per show earners in the region.

lockdown. The results exposed the scale of the consequences. For emerging artists, 19% missed out on their largest festival slot to date; for 10% this involved their largest support slot; 6% reported that their first headline show was cancelled. More established acts disclosed that they were forced to cancel an international tour (9%) or their largest headline show (6%). For some, the lockdown's significance meant they lost out on the chance of their first ever live performance; their first outside of Liverpool; or even missed opportunities of performing at the BBC Proms or SXSW in Austin:

> 'It's been really unsettling. I was just getting to the point of being recognised and building a fan base outside of Liverpool... I don't want to lose my fanbase or lose momentum in growing it and receiving industry recognition.'

This recognition of a sudden loss of momentum was a recurring theme in participant responses. A sense of bitter disappointment and frustration was elicited by more than half of those who described their experience of being unable to perform live. Recognition that the lockdown will have a severe detrimental impact on career progress, rendering months of hard work seemingly void, was articulated in numerous comments: 'incredibly disappointed and frustrated'; 'Totally catastrophic, financially, emotionally, socially and creatively. Everything I've worked so hard to achieve has just crashed to the floor.'

Many clearly understood that the repercussions would mean more than a loss of potential earnings. The curtailment of live performance robs musicians of their sense of purpose and their sense of self: 'Playing live is a fundamental aspect of my identity that's been stripped away'. Beyond the physical closure of venues, the city's intangible musical 'scenes' have also, to an extent, unravelled. These delicate 'webs of microeconomic activity which foster sociability' (Straw, 2001: 249) are challenged without audience interaction and the connection with other musicians. One respondent conveyed such feelings as leaving them, 'Empty. Loss of community and creativity'.

There were voices of resilience, despite the gloomy outlook for the sector: 'It's definitely frustrating, but I feel a sense of camaraderie within the music scene locally and nationally, we're all in it together'. Several participants were keen to recognise the wider picture of the public health pandemic: 'Frustrating we can't get out and do what we love but we understand some things are more important'. One respondent rationalised the situation with self-depreciating humour: 'Perfectly acceptable. I'm not gonna let people risk their health by cramming them in a sweaty basement to listen to my half-arsed badly rehearsed six song set.'

The articulation of loss with regards to music communities, balanced against an overriding sense of responsibility in terms of the wider community, was a recurring tension also evident in answers to questions that related to creativity and collaboration. However, to substitute for the absence of any kind of 'in-person' live concerts, artists in many countries across the globe took to the internet as means to broadcast performances. It is the LCR music maker's engagement with the emergence of live streaming that we address next.

7. Live Streaming

In June, international K-Pop stars BTS sold 756,000 tickets to an online live-streamed performance that the music press heralded as one possible industry future (Stassen, 2020). Prestigious orchestras such as the Berlin Philharmonic opened their online digital channel for free access (Clements, Ashley, Jeal and Evans, 2020), while many of the music industry's biggest stars produced 'bedroom gigs' (WHO, 2020).

Of the Liverpool musicians we surveyed, 48% had been involved in live-streamed performances during lockdown. Due to the 'stay at home' nature of the lockdown and given that many artists do not live with their musical collaborators, out of necessity many of the streamed shows were solo in nature.

The figures in Table 2 suggest that while occasional multi-performer gigs took place, the vast majority were performed by an individual (median and mode). Audience reach was calculated from respondents' replies to how many people on average 'attended' their streamed performances, multiplied by the number of online shows.

Table 2. Data for online streamed shows

	No. of online streamed shows	No. of performers	Audience reach
Total	506	402	20,3445
Mean	6	5	3,229
Median	3	1	100
Mode	2	0	100

The figures in Table 2 also demonstrate that whilst there are occasional performances to huge audiences, which raised the mean value for audience reach, most online shows reached around 100 people (median and mode). One major positive emerging from this data is the potential for online streamed show audience size to go far beyond the limitations of physical capacity. The comparison of live and online audiences seen in Table 3 illustrates that although the median and mode audience figures for live and online are similar, the mean average of an online audience is ten times larger than a live audience.

Table 3. Participants' responses when asked, 'How many people on average do you perform to?' for both live gigs and online live streaming.

	Live	Online
Total	55,327	203,445
Mean	369	3,229
Median	100	100
Mode	100	100

Choice of streaming platform is a key consideration for musicians managing their online performance and maximising their audiences. Facebook (76%), YouTube (39%) and Instagram (36%) proved the most popular platforms adopted. For those who turned to streaming performances, 38% said that the choice was dictated by a third-party organisation that was facilitating the streaming experience. For those making an active choice, 30% approached their decision strategically, aiming to target the most popular platforms to maximise audience reach, whilst for other musicians (35%), ease of use and their familiarity with the software as pre-existing users determined their choice.

While audience reach through streaming appears to be considerable, we wanted to ascertain what revenue this generated for musicians cut off from their live performance income. Of the 84 musicians who took part in online streamed performances, only 16 of these indicated that they were paid. Musicians being paid for streamed shows contributed a mere 23% of the total number of streamed performances, indicating that three quarters of online shows did not generate any monetary value for the musicians taking part. With deeper analysis of the data, it was shown that of these 16, only five were paid on average over £100 for a performance, and for these five, they took part in only 24 of the 506 online performances (5%). These statistics reflect a wider pattern, namely that only select professionals benefit from streaming services (Elberse, 2013; Krueger, 2019). Even for those survey participants who had some measure of financial success, the figures barely equate to live revenue. For 95% of live streaming shows, the money generated is either non-existent or negligible as a revenue stream for performing musicians.

Applying similar analysis to the projected loss of earnings calculated for cancelled live shows, we were able to estimate a value for the streaming performances respondents were involved in between March and August. The mean average remuneration for the 97 streamed shows that generated a fee was £80.35. By multiplying this figure by the mean number of musicians involved in these performances as well as the number of shows, we could calculate that streaming shows generated an average of £1,078 per week. This value of estimated streaming income for musicians represents a mere 1.2% of estimated lost live earnings.

Despite this financial disparity, musicians involved in our survey indicated that there was some benefit to performing online. Some 27% described streaming as a positive means of staying in touch with their fans/followers. A further 18% considered the activity as a beneficial means of building fan numbers and increasing reach. A total of 20% of those who had taken part in streaming described the experience as positive for themselves as a performer, with some noting that it was 'good for their mental health'. However, 62% of respondents considered streaming to be of limited use, with descriptions indicating that it was seen as a 'stop gap' or 'better than nothing, but does not replicate the experience, interaction, or feedback of a live audience'. The musicians who commented on streaming income generally agreed that it has no financial viability in its current form. Instead, streaming's utility during lockdown was perceived as a means with which to maintain some contact and to charitably provide some entertainment for people stuck in their homes.

Although the live streaming payment method currently mirrors a fee-based live performance model, the emerging live streaming market also adheres to the 'superstar' (Adler, 1985) and 'winner takes all' (Elberse, 2013) economics readily associated with audio streaming (see Hesmondhalgh, 2020). It remains to be seen if and how live streaming develops but, based on this early evidence, it is difficult not to conclude, as Hesmondhalgh (2020) has in relation to audio streaming, that live streaming will 'retain the striking inequalities and generally poor working conditions that characterised its predecessors' (p.20). Whereas concerns as to the equity and effectiveness of live streaming present new challenges for music makers to overcome, the following section discusses the challenges the pandemic has posed to the core practices of creativity and collaboration that are the foundation of music makers' day-to-day work.

8. Working as a Music Maker

From the early and seminal works of Faulkner (1971), Bennett (2017 [1980]), Finnegan (2007 [1989]) and Cohen (1991) onwards, how musicians work and how their labour is defined and valued has been an area of academic focus. Since the turn of the century there has been an increasing emphasis on musicians' creative labour (Banks, 2010; Gable, 2018; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; O'Sullivan, 2016; Stahl, 2013; Thompson, 2019; Ramirez, 2018). Important debates have emerged as to whether or not musicians actually work (Frith, 2016) and the expanding expectations of what music makers have to do (Hracs, 2012; Taylor, 2016), as well as various attempts to define and quantify their labour (Bataille and de Brabandère, 2019; Umney and Kretsos, 2014; Umney, 2016). The pandemic presented a rare opportunity to better understand what happens when music makers cannot operate in the communal and collaborative ways to which they are accustomed.

9. Creativity

Toynbee (2000) suggests music makers 'are creators, that is agents who make musical differences in the form of texts, performances and sounds' (p. 35). At the commencement of lockdown, there was perhaps an assumption about creativity stemming from the lingering notion of 'the romantic genius' (McIntyre, 2011), namely that musicians with time on their hands would flourish in terms of producing fresh art. To an extent this idea seemed initially to be vindicated by our respondents. When asked to rank the extent to which lockdown impacted creativity, ranging from 'did not create anything new' to 'the most creative I've been'; 40% indicated that they had been more creative, compared with

45% who said less so. Interestingly, 12% suggested that the lockdown period was most creative they had ever been. When asked to describe why this might have been their experience, nearly half (47%) said that they had felt inspired: 'I have been writing and recording more songs than before. Lockdown inspired me to create as many songs as possible'; 'I wrote, produced and mixed a huge amount (40-ish songs)'. Availability of time was cited as a factor for increased creativity in 23% of responses. These ranged from recognition of the practical elimination of constraints – 'I didn't have to go to work, so I was able to create when I wanted and how I wanted to' – to a quasi-spiritual calling – 'I had more time, and I did not want to die without leaving something I was proud of behind'. However, for each musician describing a creative freedom facilitated by time, our survey also revealed a corresponding musician whose space for creativity had been lost. Overall, 20% reported a range of inhibiting factors arising from lockdown which constrained any creative effort. These included the presence of additional people at home; separation from band members; medical shielding; childcare and home schooling; and increased workloads as 'key workers'. A third (34%) of the survey articulated their lack of inspiration, with negative mental health consequences referred to directly in 7% of responses: 'I've had way more time to create but have been really depressed and general in a bad way and thus haven't been able to utilise that time to make music'.

Creativity, or lack of inspiration, were not necessarily consistent throughout the duration of the lockdown. Some described an initial burst of creativity followed by a decline: 'as time went on it became more hard work to get motivated'. Others recognised the social nature of creativity, namely that a dynamic interplay with others within a musician's field is a crucial component of a 'collectively produced' outcome (McIntyre, 2011): 'it's hard to produce tracks for play in clubs and festivals without an audience to play them in front of. The feedback online is good but it's not like seeing an audience reaction'.
Inspiration fluctuated throughout lockdown. A total of 12% of respondents described how creative efforts were initially hindered but their resourcefulness recovered after the initial setback. This rebound reflected perhaps musicians' gradual 'coming to terms' and adaptability: 'I was not creative at first at all, just overwhelmed that my jobs fell from under my feet. As time has went on, I was required to be more creative with projects I was getting paid for'; 'I didn't feel too confident and felt quite down about the COVID-19 situation, so it was hard to gain inspiration but it's starting to return as I come to grips with the situation'.

At least a quarter mentioned that they had concentrated on fan engagement. One musician described this as more than a mere economic imperative: 'I learned to talk and joke and tell stories. A kind of raconteur. I talked about my life as a musician and told the funnier tales. I was able to put my songs across more intimately'. This further exemplifies a practical understanding of the importance of the feedback such connectivity inspires in musical authors. Such audience connections providing a crucial aspect of the 'social field' Csikszentmihalyi (2014) describes in his theoretical 'systems model of creativity'. The lockdown shifted the focus of such social connections away from performance venue spaces into the realm of online interactions. This reflects and has accelerated the challenging trends musicians face since digitalisation (Strachan, 2017), namely, that to successfully navigate contemporary musical fields, musicians must exhibit technical proficiency with digital platforms and engage an entrepreneurial mindset focussed on connectivity (Tessler and Flynn, 2015). The lockdown meant an urgent recognition of this dynamic and highlighted the vital importance of the internet in maintaining connections when all other avenues were closed. However, despite online opportunities**,** creativity remained largely context dependent, framed more by music makers' individual experiences of lockdown than lockdown itself.

10. Collaboration

The fundamental need to collaborate was implicit in every aspect of Cohen's (1991) previously quoted description of Liverpool music makers. More broadly, Howard Becker's (2008) theorisation of the arts world as 'an established network of cooperative links among participants' (p. 35) underlines the importance of collaboration in creative production.

In contrast to the ability to create, the ability to collaborate was more directly affected by the loss of physical connection. Whilst 19% of our surveyed musicians did not need to collaborate with others at this time, or worked alone, 20% reported that they were unable to collaborate at all. Of the 61% who did manage to work with other musicians, nearly all (92%) did so online. The crucial nature of the internet's place within the lockdown experience and its own technical network resilience is profound. Conceptualising a pre-internet lockdown is daunting.

Creative approaches to overcoming the restrictions on making music together were adopted, predominately involving transfer of audio stems and video clips to be reassembled or rehearsing live via 'Zoom'. One advantage of such methods is the potential of collaborative projects to extend worldwide. This global perspective was evidenced in the following comments:

> 'Mainly exploring how in the future more collaborations, discussion and meetings can occur across country boundaries through virtual media and how having been forced to use such media has made us more comfortable to use them for this.'

Several musicians made the most of such international opportunities during the lockdown: 'I sent songs to Nashville'; 'Production work virtual with an artist in New York'. For others it afforded a pleasant surprise: 'A longtime friend reached out wishing to create music to ease boredom'. However, despite its widespread adoption as a collaborative method, a clear message emerging from the commentary was that whilst 'better than nothing', collaborating online represents a poor substitute for face-to-face cooperation. Nearly half (44%) answered that they much prefer working in person with an overall preference for physical collaboration of 88%. For 20% the lack of direct real-life collaboration had completely inhibited their activities. The distinctive drawbacks of online collaboration were emphasised throughout the elicited responses regarding the experience of working together online, with 44% of all comments given over to describing why they preferred working in face-to-face situations with other musicians rather than online. One common response theme focused on the importance of being able to easily bounce ideas off other musicians to generate instant creative feedback: 'I felt unconfirmed about what I was producing a lot of the time because I couldn't get a second opinion in person from my song writing partners'. Many articulated a general disconnectedness from the shared experience: 'It makes it feel more business-like as opposed to a warm/genuine experience'. As a participant remarked,

> 'It meant that we didn't have the opportunity to continue the energy that we had built as a band. Every time we meet up, we are reminded of how powerful it is when we perform and write together. Not being able to do this meant that we really struggled to get motivated or inspired to do anything online.'

A further loss due to the lockdown was the disappearance of Liverpool's ephemeral music scenes. Straw (2015) has defined scenes as arising when cultural activities are supplemented with sociability, creating in effect an 'effervescence' or atmosphere within a city. The enforced absence from face-to-face experiences within musical friendship circles was deeply felt. One respondent recognised that 'music is a social interactive process'. In general, there was a palpable sense of loss of community: 'I miss the family'. For some musicians, this sociality has profound significance: 'I have played with the same band for 10 years and we see each other every weekend. I have missed them'.

11. Managing Content

As Mulligan (2015) remarks, 'recorded music is still the main way people interact with music' (p.300). However, as Meier (2017) has proposed, in the post-digital era, 'the recording artist 'personality' is the primary hub around which various 'ancillary' products and licensing agreements may be forged' (p.4). Through using direct-to-fan (D2F) platforms alongside social media, most twenty-first century music makers have to 'seek to construct themselves as 'subjects of value'' (Scott, 2012: 251) to reach and connect with audiences. Therefore, despite musicians being physically cut off from fellow musicians and their audiences, one mechanism that remained open was the ability to distribute content or divulge their life narratives via social media.

Our survey asked musicians to what extent they were able to maintain and manage these activities whilst confined to their homes. We were interested in discovering whether musicians would wish to continue releasing music during the uncertainty of lockdown conditions; would those who had releases scheduled maintain their plans? In response to our question on this, 40% of respondents reported that they had no release scheduled. Of those that did have plans, 21% said they carried on regardless, while 39% changed their plans.

For those that decided to change plans, the majority (73%) either delayed a release, put them on hold, or cancelled a release completely. Whilst some cited interruption to the recording process as a reason for curtailing releases, others expressed concerns that it did not make sense when there were no corresponding live shows with which to promote new music. In most cases, no explicit reasons were given, which perhaps reflects a notion one respondent suggested: 'I decided to wait till normality came back'. In describing why they continued with their release schedules, 38% reported maintaining momentum as their primary rationale while others took a 'why not' stance: 'No good reason not to – people had more time on their hands to potentially listen'. Several musicians suggested lockdown had not impacted their activities in the area of releasing music 'because it was still relatively easy to share the musical projects on these channels (YouTube and Soundcloud) to any audience'.

We also wished to test a preconception that audiences locked in at home would turn to streaming, meaning that musicians might possibly see an uptick in income from digital streaming or even mail-order physical sales. Looking at the mean averages of streaming figures, there were similar mean results across the primary services:[3] 33% reported sales (streams) were unchanged, 4% saw a decrease, and 15% a growth. Across the providers only Spotify and YouTube displayed growth higher than the mean average. Mean averages for physical sales, including merchandise, saw 23% of respondents report no change, a decrease for 6%, and only 7% growth. Bandcamp, not strictly a streaming service, but rather an online shop platform for digital and physical releases and merchandise, recognised the plight of musicians during the lockdown, namely that they had been cut off from regular income streams such as performance revenue. Beginning in March they dedicated a day each month on which their fees were waived, and all proceeds were sent directly to artists. Five of the respondents in our survey reported that this had proved to have had a positive impact on their recording income.

In terms of using social media platforms to maintain engagement with their audiences, by significant margins musicians primarily utilised Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. When asked to report on the growth of 'online presence, engagements and interactions' in relation to these services, the mean averages showed 29% reporting no change, 19% a decrease, and 40% growth. When asked about their perceptions as to why their level of engagement had changed, 22% reported that they had added less content or stopped adding content altogether over the course of the lockdown. These respondents struggled to release content when there appeared little to report on: 'Most of our social media presence was promoting gigs'; 'It's hard to maintain an audience if you have nothing to shout about'.For those that saw growth in their social media interactions, 31% recognised they had actively engaged more on the platforms or added more content, 19% saw a change due to their releasing more music (including video music content), and 14% thought there was a boost from their live streaming activities. These musicians were likely to have already been adept in navigating online releases and social media promotion: 'Content creation is a powerful tool and standard procedure outside of the pandemic. This aspect of promotion remained unchanged'. Some respondents pro-actively adapted to the necessities of the new situation: 'I've done courses in order to educate myself'; 'I had to learn a lot and quickly. I have learned live streaming',

[3] Amazon, Apple, Bandcamp, Deezer, Soundcloud, Spotify, Tidal, YouTube

thereby reiterating the necessity of a growth mindset for contemporary musicians to generate opportunities to 'make it' (Dweck, 2006).

For others, managing their content in the restrictive circumstances of lockdown evidently presented challenges. We specifically asked musicians if they felt a sense of confidence in their ability to conduct and promote themselves as musicians effectively from home. What our results revealed was a general air of uncertainty, with 65% of respondents reporting a lack of confidence to varying degrees compared to 32% who responded positively. Many respondents who answered (41%) said they were not confident about promoting themselves online from home. Some expressed their lack of technical ability with social media platforms: 'I have no tech skills'; 'Haven't learned yet how to effectively use social media to promote music'; whereas some expressed reticence to being 'pushy' or intrusive: 'There is only so many times you can promote yourself online in one way, personally I think it gets annoying'. For a few, their lack of time to learn or engage with online promotion was due to family commitments; struggles with motivation; or a decision to avoid social media. A common frustration expressed was that physical distancing had hindered not only musical creativity and collaboration, but also promotional opportunities arising from encounters at live performances: 'I am not confident with promoting or marketing, especially without the ability to network in person with people or do gigs to promote myself'. Others defined themselves as live-based artists, meaning they could not operate as the musician they are in these circumstances: 'I am a live performer and I enjoy playing with other people. That's the main point of music for me, and I couldn't take part in that at all. It's been really hard'. Such an unprecedented cessation in vocational activity and labour was of course not limited to musicians. Entire sectors of the economy were shut down during the lockdown. In the following section we examine in more detail what economic respite was available to musicians.

12. Counting the Notes

Shortly before the commencement of the lockdown in March 2020, the UK Government announced its 'Coronavirus Job Retention Scheme', generally referred to as the 'furlough'. Through this the Government would alleviate mass redundancies by paying 80% of the salaries of employees unable to work due to the 'Stay at Home' order. The 'Self Employed Income Support Scheme' (SEISS), also announced in March but not introduced until May, saw self-employed individuals able to claim capped grants valued at 80% of their previous tax year's profits.

Our survey investigated to what extent participants were able to make use of these schemes to cushion the impact of a sudden and sustained loss of income. We found that 16% of all participants were furloughed, although the granularity of our questioning did not establish whether this was due to being on the payroll of a music sector employer. Only 6% of respondents were both furloughed and classified themselves as professional (earning over 75% of their income from music).

We anticipated a low number of furloughed participants because 80-90% of UK musicians are self-employed (Clegg, 2018; Cloonan and Williamson, 2016) and generally pursue 'portfolio careers' (Beeching, 2010). Consequently, more prevalent in the data was an uptake of SEISS compensation, with a quarter of all participants able to make use of this support. Most of these – some 22% of all survey participants – also self-identified as professional musicians.

A total of 62% were unable to benefit from either scheme. This figure may be because 48% of UK musicians work part-time (Clegg, 2018), while creative workers also 'expect to receive financial output from their creation, but maximising profit is not necessarily a main motive' (Purnomo and Kristiansen, 2018: 18). However, the 62% figure included 18 professional musicians – making up 10% of all respondents – who fell through the schemes' cracks. The options for these musicians were either to find work in another sector, as one respondent's husband did: 'He wasn't entitled to any furlough or SEISS so went to Tesco and got a job, he has therefore had no time to continue to be creative or better his craft', or apply for state benefits:

> 'Not entitled to SEISS as no tax return for 2018-2019 as wasn't self-employed at that time. Appealed my case but was told the same thing by HMRC. Was left to Universal Credit (~£80 per week)'.

Even taking into account that 38% of the musicians surveyed were able to get some governmental support, over half (55%) of all respondents stated they felt 'Not supported at all' by the government during the lockdown. This increased to 85% when scoped to include 'Somewhat unsupported' and 'Undecided' responses. Only 3% felt 'Very supported'.

The music and arts sectors also made grant funds available for musicians to apply for during the timeframe of our research. Some 23% or respondents sought funding and nearly all of those who did received some level of support (95%). The Help Musicians Coronavirus Financial Hardship Fund[4] (Help Musicians, 2020) was the most utilised scheme, funding almost half of all successful sector funding applications within our cohort (19 out of a total of 41 applicants). Attitudes towards such support were more positive when compared to the national government. In total, 43% of respondents expressed that they felt 'Somewhat Supported' or 'Very Supported' by music/creative organisations during the lockdown:

> 'Information about funding was readily available. I was eligible for two funds, applied to both and was successful. Help Musicians has offered help in other ways, particularly regarding mental health. Both the MU and ISM have been very good at communicating information'.

The value of sector-specific funding schemes was significantly less than that offered through furlough or SEISS. A total of 45% of successfully funded musicians received less than £500, and half of this group received less than £100. Only 6% of non-furloughed/non-SEISS assisted musicians received funding equating to, or in excess of, the average value of lost performance revenue per musician (£2,397). The most any musicians were funded by these grants was between £3,500-£4,000. When asked how much income each musician was estimated to have lost between March and July 2020 due to COVID-19, the professional respondents mean average was nearly £500 per week. Semi-professionals reported a loss of nearly £100 per week. Perhaps one of the most striking revelations was that of the musicians surveyed, some 57% claimed they were unaware of funding opportunities.

After months of localised restrictions in the Liverpool City Region, the UK entered a second month-long national lockdown between November and December 2020, ensuring at least thirty-six weeks of almost no live music activity. Before COVID-19, most music maker judgements about work balanced a 'trade-off between creative autonomy and factors such as remuneration' (Umney and Kretsos, 2014: 586). However, with the catastrophic loss of income incurred as a consequence of the restrictions imposed, coupled with the limited accessibility and capacity of state and sector-specific funding schemes to make up the shortfall, many music makers across the LCR and the wider UK may no longer be able to afford careers as musicians until pre-COVID-19 ways of working return.

13. Conclusion

The imposition of the March 2020 lockdown on musicians in the Liverpool City Region brought an entire sector of the economy to an unparalleled and abrupt stop. With extreme restrictions disrupting

[4] Other notable schemes included the Arts Council England Support Fund, the Liverpool City Region Music Industry Support Fund and the Musicians Union Coronavirus Hardship Fund.

musicians' normal activities, the ability to shift to online methods ensured that there were means for musicians to collaborate and communicate. Many respondents demonstrated resourcefulness, resilience, and creativity in response to restrictions, despite economic hardships and a pessimistic immediate outlook for the arts and cultural sectors in general. The survey also reveals that social distancing as a pandemic response had a profound impact on musicians; it is, precisely, a curtailment of sociality. The negative affect of this lack of connection on music makers' mental health and well-being was apparent in many participant comments, and further research must seek to explore this fully. As Straw has written, 'If there is only cultural work and no sociability, we have little more than a network or a production centre' (Straw, 2015: 408). Underlined by the devastating impact on incomes, arguably since the March 2020 lockdown, there has hardly even been a network or production centre in the LCR. Whilst live streaming and social media promotion have provided some respite, it has been made clear that even the latest technologies can not compensate or compare with the experience of being in the room together. Virtually all the musical activities described by our respondents – performing to an audience, rehearsals, recording in studios, eliciting feedback from creativity – involve physically communing around music with other humans. It is the very absence of the ability to be in the room together that has illuminated music's inherent social and economic value. Unfortunately, music makers are already personally, professionally and financially poorer for the loss of sociability, and until it returns, their restricted contribution to culture and the economy means that, as a city and a region, Liverpool, and everywhere else like it operating under similar restrictions, will be poorer too.

References

Adler, M. 1985. 'Stardom and Talent' in *The American Economic Review*, 75**,** 208.

Banks, M. 2010. 'Craft labour and creative industries' in *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16: 305-21.

Bataille, P. & de Brabandère, L. 2019. *'Musical work and its tempi: some thoughts from the Belgian case*', Working in Music. [Available online: https://wim.hypotheses.org/1008] Last Accessed: 18 July 2019.

Becker, H. S. 2008. *Art worlds*. London: University of California Press.

Beeching, A. M. 2010. *Beyond talent: creating a successful career in music,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bennett, H. Stith 2017 [1980]. *On becoming a rock musician,* New York: Columbia University Press.

Berger, A. A. 2011. *Media and communication research methods: an introduction to qualitative and quantitative approaches,* London: SAGE.

Bido Lito. 2018. *Liverpool, Music City?* Liverpool: Bido Lito.

Bop Consulting 2018. *Developing a Liverpool City of Music Strategy,* Liverpool: Culture Liverpool.

Brocken, M. & Scott, D. B. 2010. 'Taste-makers, reception, word-of-mouth' in *Other voices: Hidden histories of Liverpool's popular music scenes (1930s–1970s)* Edited by Brocken, M. & Scott, D. B. Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group.

Clegg, R. 2018. 'EMP04: employment by occupation'. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/datasets/employmentbyoccupationemp04] Last Accessed: 9 November 2020.

Clements, A., Ashley, T., Jeal , E. & Evans, R. 2020. *Free opera and classical for watching at home: our critics' picks – week two* [Available online: https://www.theguardian.com/music/2020/mar/30/free-opera-and-classical-for-watching-at-home-our-critics-picks-week-two] Last Accessed: 1 October 2020.

Cloonan, M. & Williamson, J. 2016. *Players' work time: a history of the British Musicians' Union, 1893 2013,* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cohen, S. 1991. *Rock culture in Liverpool: popular music in the making,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cohen, S. 1995. 'Sounding out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place' in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers***,** 434.

Cohen, S. 2007. *Decline, Renewal and the City in Popular Music Culture: Beyond the Beatles*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Cohen, S. 2012. 'Live music and urban landscape: mapping the beat in Liverpool' in *Social Semiotics*, 22: 587-603.

Cohen, S. & Kronenburg, R. 2018. *Liverpool's Musical Landscapes*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. 2014. *The Systems Model of Creativity: The Collected Works of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi*, New York: Springer Science and Business Media.

Czaja, R & Blair, J. 2005. *Designing surveys: a guide to decisions and procedures,* Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Dawes, J. 2008. 'Do data characteristics change according to the number of scale points used? An experiment using 5-point, 7-point and 10-point scales' in *International Journal of Market Research*, 50: 61-104.

DHA Communications. 2012. 'The Working Musician', [Available online: https://www.musiciansunion.org.uk/Files/Reports/Industry/The-Working-Musician-report] Last Accessed: 5 November 2020.

Du Noyer, P. 2004. *Liverpool: Wondrous Place : from the Cavern to the Coral*, London: Virgin.

Dweck, C. 2006. *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success,* New York: Ballantine Books.

Elberse, A. 2013. *Blockbusters: why big hits - and big risks - are the future of the entertainment business,* New York: Faber & Faber.

Faulkner, R. R. 1971. *Hollywood studio musicians: their work and careers in the recording industry,* Chicago: Aldine.

Finnegan, R. H. 2007 [1989]. *The hidden musicians: music-making in an English town,* Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.

Frith, S. 2016. 'Are workers musicians?' in *Popular Music*, 36: 111-15.

Gable, O 2018. 'Emerging popular musicians working in England and the value of public funding' in *Proceedings for Working in Music Conference 2018*, University of Lausanne.

Hansen, A. & Machin, D. 2013. *Media and communication research methods,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Help Musicians. 2020. *Help Musicians Launches £5m Coronavirus Financial Hardship Fund* [Available online: https://www.helpmusicians.org.uk/news/latest-news/help-musicians-launches-5m-coronavirus-financial-hardship-fu] Last Accessed: 5 November 2020.

Hesmondhalgh, D. & Baker, S. 2011. *Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries,* London: Routledge.

Hesmondhalgh, D. 2020 'Is music streaming bad for musicians? Problems of evidence and argument' in *New Media & Society*, Septemebr 2020.

Hracs, B. J. 2012. 'A creative industry in transition: The rise of digitally driven independent music production' in *Growth & Change*, 43(3), pp. 442-461.

ISM. 2012. *Fees for performers: our survey results* [Available online: https://www.ism.org/advice/performers-fees] Last Accessed: 1 October 2020.

Johns, R. 2010. 'Methods fact sheet 1: likert items and scales' in *Survey response network*. Online: The UK Data Service.

Krueger, A. B. 2019. *Rockonomics: What the Music Industry Can Teach Us About Economics (and Our Future),* London: John Murray.

Lashua, B. & Cohen, S. 2012. 'A fanzine of record: Merseysound and mapping Liverpool's post-punk popular musicscapes' in *Punk & Post Punk*, 1: 87-104.

LCR Music Board, 2020. *The Liverpool City Region Music Board*, [Available online: https://lcrmusicboard.co.uk/] Last Accessed: 6 November 2020.

Leonard, M. & Strachan, R. 2010. *The Beat Goes On : Liverpool, Popular Music and the Changing City*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Liverpool City Region. 2020. *Liverpool City Region*, [Available online: https://liverpoolcityregion.uk/liverpool-population-statistics-for-the-city-region.html] Last Accessed: 6 November 2020.

Mcintyre, P. 2011. 'Rethinking the creative process: The systems model of creativity applied to popular songwriting' in *Journal of music, technology and education*, 4**,** 77-90.

Meier, L. M. 2017. *Popular music as promotion: music and branding in the digital age,* Cambridge: Polity.

Mulligan, M. 2015. *Awakening: The music industry in the digital age*. London: MIDiA Research.

Musicians' Union, 2020a. Personal communication with Mathew Flynn via email 5 November 2020.

Musicians' Union. 2020b. *Casual Stage Rate - Musicians' Union* [Available online: https://www.musiciansunion.org.uk/Files/Rates/Live-Rates/Casual-stage-rates] Last Accessed: 1 October 2020.

O'Sullivan, C. 2016. *From gigging to social networking: changing practices of indie and dance musicians in Dublin*, Unpublished PhD Thesis. Trinity College Dublin.

ONS 2020. *Population estimates,* Office for National Statistics [Available online: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates] Last Accessed: 6 April 2021.

Ornstein, M. 2013. *A companion to survey research*, London: SAGE Publications.

Padilla, L. V. D. L., Kasikov, E. & Flynn, M. 2018. *Liverpool Live Music Census: analysis of data.* Liverpool: University of Liverpool.

PRS. 2019. *New figures from PRS for Music reveal extent of gender disparity in songwriting*, PRS, [Available online: https://www.prsformusic.com/press/2019/new-figures-gender-disparity-songwriting] Last Accessed: 21 July 2019.

Purnomo, B.R. and Kristiansen, S. 2018. 'Economic reasoning and creative industries progress' in *Creative Industries Journal*, 11(1), pp. 3-21.

Ramirez, Ml. 2018. *Destined for greatness: passions, dreams, and aspirations in a college music town*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Scott, M. .2012. 'Cultural entrepreneurs, cultural entrepreneurship: music producers mobilising and converting Bourdieu's alternative capitals' in *Poetics*, 40(3), pp. 237-255.

Sentric Music, 2020. Personal communication with Mathew Flynn via email 20 August 2020.

Stahl, Mt. 2013. *Unfree masters: recording artists and the politics of work*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Stassen, M. 2020. *BTS Bank Close to $20m from a Single Pay-Per-View Online Concert* [Available online: https://www.musicbusinessworldwide.com/bts-bank-close-to-20m-from-virtual-pay-per-view-concert/] Last Accessed: 5 November 2020.

Straw, W. 2001. 'Scenes and Sensibilities' in *Public*, 22-23.

Straw, W. 2015. 'Above and Below Ground' in *Keep it Simple Make it Fast - An Approach to Underground Music Scenes.* Edited by Guerra, P. and Moreira , T., Porto: Universidade do Porto.

Strachan, R. 2017. *Sonic technologies: popular music, digital culture and the creative process,* New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Taylor, T. D. 2016. *Music and capitalism: a history of the present,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tessler, H. & Flynn, M. 2015. 'From DIY to D2F: contextualizing entrepreneurship for the artist/musician'' in *Music Entrepreneurship* Edited by Dumbreck, A & McPherson, G. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Thompson, P. 2019. *Creativity in the recording studio: alternative takes*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Toynbee, J. 2000. *Making popular music: Musicians, creativity and institutions*. London: Arnold.

Tschmuck, P. 2006. *Creativity and innovation in the music industry*, Berlin: Springer.

UK Government. 2020. '*Working safely during coronavirus (COVID-19) - Performing Arts*', Department of Culture, Media and Sport, [Available online: https://www.gov.uk/guidance/working-safely-during-coronavirus-covid-19/performing-arts] Last Accessed: 5 November 2020.

UK Music 2018. *Wish You Were Here - Liverpool City Region Edition*. London: UK Muisc.

UK Music. 2020. *Music by Numbers 2020* [Available online: https://www.ukmusic.org/research-reports/music-by-numbers-2020/ Last Accessed: 6 April 2021.

UK Music. 2020. *Diversity Report 2020* [Available online: https://www.ukmusic.org/equality-diversity/uk-music-diversity-taskforce-workforce-diversity-survey/2020-report/] Last Accessed: 5 November 2020.

Umney, C. 2016. 'The labour market for jazz musicians in Paris and London: formal regulation and informal norms' in *Human Relations*, 69: 711-29.

Umney, C. & Kretsos, L.. 2014. 'Creative labour and collective interaction: the working lives of young jazz musicians in London' in *Work, Employment & Society*, 28: 571-88.

UNESCO. 2018. *Liverpool UNESCO City of Music* [Available online: http://citiesofmusic.net/city/liverpool/] Last Accessed: 12 September 2018.

WHO. 2020. *'One World: Together At Home' Global Special* [Available online: https://www.who.int/news-room/events/detail/2020/04/18/default-calendar/one-world-together-at-home-global-special] Last Accessed: 1 October 2020.

Wolf, C., Joye, D., Smith, T W. & Fu, Y. 2016. *The SAGE Handbook of Survey Methodology,* London: SAGE.

Women in Music. 2019. *Women in Music*, [Available online: https://www.womeninmusic.org/uploads/1/1/7/7/117763892/corpmembership_forsite.pdf] Last Accessed: 9 November 2020.

Yates, SJ , Evans, SR and Jones, M. 2016. *Beatles Heritage in Liverpool and its Economic and Cultural Sector Impact: A report for Liverpool City Council*. [Available online: http://researchonline.ljmu.ac.uk/id/eprint/2900/1/Beatles%20Heritage%20in%20Liverpool%2048pp%20210x210mm%20aw.pdf] Last Accessed: 9 November 2020

Zwaan, K. 2009. *Working on a dream: careers of pop musicians in the Netherlands*, Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht.