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The role of higher education in class inequalities in the cultural and creative industries

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About the Sutton Trust

The Sutton Trust is a foundation which improves social mobility in the UK through evidence-based programmes, research and policy advocacy.

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Executive summary

There is a crisis for social mobility in Creative Higher Education (HE). Talent is everywhere, with over 150,000 students on creative courses every year. Access to the most prestigious institutions is skewed towards those from 'upper-middle-class' and privately educated backgrounds. The lack of social mobility in Creative HE is set against a backdrop of a crisis in undergraduate funding, direct cuts to government support for specific creative courses, course closures and staff redundancies, and the long-term impact of the pandemic.

New analysis by the Sutton Trust and academics from the Universities of Edinburgh, Manchester and Sheffield uses 5 years of data (2017/18-2021/22) on entry to higher education. It presents the most comprehensive picture of social mobility of UK students within creative higher education courses.

Although creative courses *overall* have similar proportions of 'upper-middle-class' and 'working-class' origin students as all HE subjects, there are much higher proportions of 'upper-middle-class' origin students at the most prestigious institutions and in key creative subjects.

At four institutions – Oxford and Cambridge, and King's College London (Russell Group) and Bath (Pre-92) – more than half of creative students come from 'upper-middle-class' backgrounds. These are greater proportions than the average for all students at King's College London (45%) and Bath (43%), but are in line with overall proportions at Oxbridge.

Oxbridge (4% Cambridge, 5% Oxford) and longer-established universities (Bath 4%, Bristol 5%, Manchester 7%) have the lowest proportions of 'working-class' origin creative students. In all cases these percentages are lower than for students on all other programmes at these institutions (6% at Oxford, and Cambridge, 7% at Bath and Bristol, and 19% at Manchester).

As with class origins, *overall* proportions of state and independent school educated students in all creative courses conceal considerable inequalities at the most prestigious institutions. Although the overall average for privately educated students is 7% in our dataset, many institutions have far higher proportions.

Royal Academy of Music (60%), Royal College of Music (56%), Durham (48%), Kings College London (46%) and Bath (42%) all have very high proportions of privately educated students. Indeed, all of these institutions have higher proportions than Oxbridge's creative subjects (32%). There are very low proportions of ethnic minority men and women in Art, Music and Drama, irrespective of their social class background. This is not the case for HE overall. Clearly creative HE subjects have an ethnicity, as much as a class, crisis.

These inequalities matter because degrees are central to the creative workforce. While 26% of the workforce has a degree, this rises to 69% of people in key creative occupations (such as actors, dancers, artists, writers), 41% of whom have a creative degree.

Summary of key findings

Higher Education in the UK is currently confronting a crisis. Those institutions offering creative courses have been at the forefront of this crisis. Long term pressures associated with the model for undergraduate funding; direct cuts to government support for specific creative courses; staff and course cuts; and the ongoing impact of the pandemic mean that creative higher education faces significant threats.[1]

Who goes to creative higher education is a crucial question in the context of this crisis. Our report, updating and deepening the existing research on the demographics of creative higher education, demonstrates lack of diversity is a significant challenge for creative higher education.

Creative higher education will be unable to meet this challenge if it faces further financial pressures. At the same time, the crisis across the higher education system must not be an excuse for inaction. Whilst there are *explanations* for the inequalities detailed in our analysis, there are few, if any *justifications* for the lack of diversity in creative higher education.

Creative higher education offers the promise of transformative experiences for students keen to pursue their passions and dreams. Passions and dreams are not exclusive to those from middle-class backgrounds. Talent is everywhere, with over 150,000 students on creative courses every year. Yet, as we show, opportunity, particularly at the most prestigious institutions, is not. Now, in this time of crisis for the sector, is the moment for creative higher education to be rethought so it can be open and supportive for anyone with the talent to enter.

[1] Wicklow, K. and Gamble, D. (2024). *The value of creative graduates.* UK ADIA and Guild HE. Available at: https://guildhe.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/The-Value-of-Creative-Graduates-Report-2024-GuildHE-and-UKADIA_compressed-1.pdf

Why do degrees matter?

We present new analysis using data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) (which records respondent occupations and their undergraduate degrees) between 2014 and 2022. This gives valuable insights into the educational backgrounds of creative workers across their entire careers. We show how degrees are central to the creative workforce:

- On average 69% of people in key creative occupations (such as actors, dancers, artists, writers) have a degree, compared to 26% of the entire workforce.

- There are important differences by age and social class: 75% of creative workers under 35 are graduates, including 66% of creative workers from working-class origins (only 19% of the wider workforce from working-class origins have degrees).

- Having a degree is especially important for demographic groups that are under-represented in creative work.

- What kind of degree also matters - 37% of graduates in creative jobs have a creative degree, rising to 43% of those under 35.

- There are important variations: 89% of architects and 83% of graphic designers have creative degrees, compared to 6% of graduate Marketing and Sales Directors and 6% of Advertising and PR Directors.

- On average 31% of creative graduates go into creative work, with the highest proportion being students of architecture (53%) and landscape design (40%).

Who studies creative degrees?

This report uses data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) that contains information about entry to higher education from 2017/18 to 2021/22. Using these 5 years of entry data, we present the most comprehensive picture of social mobility within creative higher education courses.

Social class inequalities

- There are class inequalities in higher education irrespective of subject choice.
- On creative degrees, class inequalities can be worse than the class issues in the student population as a whole. The issues are particularly acute at elite universities.
- As a whole, creative degrees have similar proportions of those from 'upper-middle-class' (NS-SEC I) backgrounds (24%) to all subjects (25%), and similar proportions of those from working-class (NS-SEC VI-VIII) backgrounds (22%) compared to all subjects (22%).
- The proportions of upper-middle-class and working-class origin students in all creative subjects hides very considerable differences for different creative subjects and at different types of universities.
- 'Upper-middle-class' origin students are over 1/3rd (37%) of creative students at Russell Group institutions. This is the same proportion as all other subjects at Russell Group institutions (37%), but higher than the overall proportion of 'upper-middle-class' students (25%).
- 'Working-class' origin students are just 11% of creative students at Russell Group institutions. This is a lower proportion than all other subjects at Russell Group institutions (13%).

- Post-92 institutions have higher proportions of 'upper-middle-class' creative students (21%) than students studying all other subjects at Post-92 institutions (17%). Even though Post-92 institutions have the highest proportions of creative students from 'working-class' backgrounds (24%) they still have a smaller proportion than all other courses (28%).

- At four institutions – Oxford and Cambridge, and King's College London (KCL) (Russell Group) and Bath (Pre-92) – more than half of creative students come from 'upper-middle-class' backgrounds. These are greater proportions than the average for all students at KCL (45%) and Bath (43%), but are in line with overall proportions at Oxbridge.

- The Russell Group institutions with the largest percentages of 'upper-middle-class' creative students are KCL (51%), Durham (48%) and Exeter (43%).

- The specialist institutions with the largest percentage of students from 'upper-middle-class' backgrounds are the Royal College of Music (43%), Royal Academy of Music (41%), and Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (34%).

- The Post-92s with the largest percentage of students from 'upper-middle-class' backgrounds are Oxford Brookes (34%), Brighton (32%) and Glasgow Caledonian University (27%).

- For 'working-class' origin creative students the pattern is broadly reversed. Post-92 institutions have the highest proportions (University of the Highlands and Islands 46%; Teesside 43%; Wolverhampton 39%).

- Oxbridge (4% Cambridge, 5% Oxford) and longer established universities (Bath 4%, Bristol 5%, Manchester 7%) have the lowest proportions of 'working-class' origin creative students. In all cases these percentages are significantly lower than for students on all other programmes at these institutions (6% at Oxford, and Cambridge, 7% at Bath and Bristol, and 19% at Manchester).

School type

- Creative courses as a whole have higher proportions of state educated students (around 76%) than all other subjects (68%), and a lower proportion (5%) of privately educated students than all other subjects (7%). This partly reflects the fact that data is more likely to be available for creative students than for all other students.

- As with class origins, these overall proportions hide significant differences, particularly at elite institutions.

- Oxbridge's creative subjects have higher proportions of privately educated students (32%) than all other subjects at these two institutions (24%) and the overall average in HE (7%).

- At the same time, Oxbridge's creative subjects have higher proportions of state school students (49%) than all students at these two institutions (43%). This is a much lower proportion of state school students than all creative HE (76%) and all other HE subjects (68%).

- The Russell Group's creative subjects (15%) also have higher proportions of privately educated students than the overall proportion in HE (8%).

- For the rest of creative HE, Pre-92 institutions (7%), Post-92 institutions (3%) and Specialist institutions (6%) have the lower proportions than the overall 8% in the sector.

- The proportions of privately educated students at specific universities shows the differences that are not fully captured by the overall figures for university groupings. 50 of 109 institutions within this dataset have more than 7% of students from private schools.

- Durham (48%), Kings College London (46%), and Exeter (37%) have the highest proportions from the Russell Group.

- Bath (42%), Royal Holloway and Surrey (both 18%) have the highest proportions from the non-Russell Group Pre-92 universities.

- Oxford Brookes (23%), Greenwich (8%) and Nottingham Trent (7%) have the highest proportions in the Post-92 group

- At two specialist institutions - the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music - more than half of students were previously privately educated.

- These specialist creative institutions present a particularly complex picture. There are huge variations. For example, the University of Creative Arts has only 3% of its intake from private schools, whilst the Royal Academy of Music has 60%. Royal College of Music (56%) and Guildhall (31%) also have very high proportions of privately educated students.

Art, Drama and Music: Intersectional perspectives

The final section of the report presents a 'deep dive' into three creative subjects: Art, Drama and Music.

- There are very low proportions of ethnic minority men and women in Art, Music and Drama, irrespective of their social class background. Clearly creative HE subjects have an ethnicity, as much as a class, crisis.

Art

- Provision of Art degrees takes place predominantly at Post-92 institutions (including UAL). There are only 5 Russell Group institutions with Art degrees. This shapes the class basis for Art courses.

- Almost half of Oxford's Art students are from 'upper-middle-class origins' and Leeds, Newcastle and Edinburgh all have over 1/3rd from these origins too. Loughborough is perhaps the outlier as a Pre-92 institution with almost 40% of its students from 'upper-middle-class' origins.

- Whilst there are, proportionally, more 'working-class' origin Asian, Black, Mixed and Other ethnicity students than their 'upper-middle-class' origin counterparts, these proportions are still an extremely small part of Art students overall.

- Upper-middle-class white women are a comparatively high proportion of all Art students, at 17%, and this proportion is higher than all other ethnicities put together, irrespective of their gender or class origin.

- The story is similar with regard to the type of school attended. White, state educated women are the highest proportion of Art students (61%), and the proportions of ethnic minorities are low.

Drama

- As compared to Art, there are many more Russell Group institutions offering Drama.
- Aside from University of Glasgow and Queen's University Belfast all of the Russell Group's Drama courses have over 1/3rd of their cohort from 'upper-middle-class' origins.
- The Universities of Sheffield (46%), Birmingham (44%), and Exeter (44%) all have proportions over 40%, higher than the average proportion of 'upper-middle-class' students studying all subjects at the Russell Group (37%).
- Specialist institutions such as Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts, Royal Central School of Speech and Drama and University of the Arts London have proportions lower than the overall average of 'upper-middle-class' students (25%) on all subjects.
- As with Art, if we look intersectionally at ethnicity, class and gender, white 'upper-middle-class' origin women form the largest proportion of Drama students at 15%. Black 'working-class' origin women are the only minoritized ethnic sub-group that are more than 1% of drama students.

Music

- Music faces the most severe challenges of all three of our 'deep dive' subjects.
- Oxford, Cambridge and King's College London all have over 50% of their Music students from 'upper-middle-class' origins, and 6 Russell Group institutions have between 40-49% of their intake from these backgrounds.
- Music (11%) has a far larger percentage of privately educated students than any other creative subject.

- Music also has, at 69% the second lowest proportion of state school students across all creative subjects after architecture, which has 62%.

- The representation of those from minority ethnic backgrounds is, as with Art and Drama, still low.

- The gender dynamics are, however, quite distinctive. White men are a more substantive proportion of Music students, and 'upper-middle-class' white men (16%) are a slightly higher proportion of Music students than 'upper-middle-class' white women. With all of

- The gender balance is also striking in terms of type of school attended, where the proportions of state and independently educated white men and white women are much more evenly matched than on Drama and Art degrees.

- Even with this gender balance, the combined proportion of privately educated white men and women studying Music (11%) is the largest of all three subjects (with Drama at 7% and Art at 4%).

Introduction

Creative industries and creative occupations are marked by significant inequalities. There is a longstanding consensus in the academic literature that gender, race and ethnicity, disability, social class, and geographical location are all important to who gets in, and who gets on, in the creative sector. Many of these inequalities have their roots in the education system.

High proportions of the creative workforce are educated to degree level.[2] These proportions are much higher than average in the rest of the economy. Particular sub-sectors of creative industries have some of the highest proportions of workers with degrees.[3]

"Access to higher education is crucial as the dominant route int the creative economy, and has been so for a long time."

Not all these creative workers have 'creative' degrees.[4] Nevertheless, access to HE is crucial as the dominant route into the creative economy, and has been so for a long time.[5] A recent report by the APPG for Creative Diversity noted, "a degree will not guarantee an individual a job in the creative industries; but an individual is unlikely to get a creative industries job without a degree".[6]

High proportions of works with degree level education are a good thing for the creative sector. Degrees provide a huge range of social value, as well as direct skills and training for creative jobs. However, access to HE is itself unequal.[7] The UK has a highly unequal education system.[8] This highly

[2] Oakley, K. *et al.* (2017). Cultural Capital: Arts Graduates, Spatial Inequality, and London's Impact on Cultural Labor Markets. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *61*(12), 1510-1531.
[3] Comunian, R., Dent, T. and Kim, S. (2022). Creative workforce: understanding skills & training needs in the CCIs; Inequalities and Exclusion Report. A DISCE publication. DISCED3.3-updated.pdf
[4] Comunian, R., Faggian, A., and Li, Q.C. (2010). Unrewarded careers in the creative class: The strange case of bohemian graduates. *Papers in Regional Science*, 89 (2), 389-410. Available at: https://rsaiconnect.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1435-5957.2010.00281.x
[5] Lee, N. and Drever, E. (2013). The Creative Industries, Creative Occupations and Innovation in London. *European Planning Studies*, 21 (12), 1977-1997. Available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09654313.2012.722969
Marrocu, E. and Paci, R. (2012). Education or creativity: What matters most for economic performance? *Economic Geography*, 88 (4), 369–401.
[6] Comunian, R. *et al.* (2023). *Making the Creative Majority: A report for the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Creative Diversity on 'What Works' to support diversity and inclusion in creative education and the talent pipeline, with a focus on the 16+ age category*. APPG for Creative Diversity. Available at: www.kcl.ac.uk/cultural/projects/creative-majority-education
[7] Montacute, R. and Culinane, C. (2023). *25 Years of University Access*. Sutton Trust. Available at: https://www.suttontrust.com/our-research/25-years-of-university-access/
[8] Farquharson, C., McNally, S., and Tahir, I. (2022). *Inequality: the IFS Deaton Review: Education Inequalities*. Institute for Fiscal Studies. Available at: https://ifs.org.uk/inequality/education-inequalities/

unequal education system is one, but not the only, factor underpinning inequality in the creative economy.

The importance of education to inequalities in the creative economy is the starting point for this report. The report builds on recent work examining social mobility and social class inequalities in creative industries, and recent work on equity, diversity and inclusion in creative HE.

The report begins by looking at the current state of inequalities in creative *occupations*. This draws from recent data and analysis by the Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, showing under-representations for those from 'working-class' origins, and the dominance of middle-class origin people in key creative occupations.[9]

The report then summarises the importance of higher education to the creative workforce. Alongside an overview of key literature, this section sets up new analysis of the Office for National Statistics (ONS) Labour Force Survey (LFS) examining the proportions of creative workers with degrees, and the types of degrees they hold.

Having shown the importance of degrees to the creative economy, the core part of the report examines social mobility into creative higher education. It uses two metrics - social class origins and type of school attended pre-HE – to understand the contours of social mobility in creative HE. Whilst overall creative HE courses have similar proportions of 'upper-middle-class' origin and privately educated students as the rest of all HE courses, specific institutions and subjects have severe class inequalities.

Social class is sometimes taken in isolation in discussions of social mobility into creative industries. The final section of the report presents an intersectional analysis for three creative subjects – Art, Drama, and Music. This final section shows both the specifics of the class crisis in Music and Drama at Russell Group institutions, as well as demonstrating how inequalities are not confined to social class alone.

[9] McAndrew, S. *et al.* (2024). *State of the Nation: Arts, Culture and Heritage: Audiences and Workforce.* Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, Newcastle University and RSA. Available at: https://pec.ac.uk/state_of_the_nation/arts-cultural-heritage-audiences-and-workforce/

Context and scope

What are the inequalities in the cultural and creative industries?

There is an extensive, and longstanding, literature on inequalities in cultural and creative industries.[10] This research, both in the UK and globally, shows a creative sector marked by profound divides in terms of gender,[11] race and ethnicity,[12] social class,[13] and disability.[14]

We know that these demographic inequalities are difficult to separate from working conditions and pay, workers' wellbeing, career insecurities, and job security.[15] Much of the literature is focused on the uneven distribution of 'good' work in the sector. This is a problem for both freelancers and for those in more secure forms of employment. Indeed, even where individuals do have more secure roles, pay can be very low. Where pay may be high for some freelancers, the lack of defined career paths is an issue for career development.[16] Both of these dynamics are important factors in shaping the demographics of the workforce.

There are also broader structural factors. The uneven geography of the creative economy in the UK plays an important role. There are 'clusters' of creative industries all across the UK.[17] However, London (31% of creative industries employment and 34% of creative industries businesses), and the Greater South East of England including London (54% of creative

[10] Brook, O., O'Brien, D., and Taylor, M. (2020). *Culture is bad for you* Manchester: Manchester University Press

[11] For instance, see: Conor, B., Gill, R., and Taylor, S. (2015). *Gender and Creative Labour*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

[12] Saha, A. (2017). *Race and the cultural industries.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

[13] O'Brien, D. *et al.* (2016) 'Are the creative industries meritocratic? An analysis of the 2014 British Labour Force Survey'. *Cultural Trends*, 25 (2), 116–131. Available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09548963.2016.1170943

[14] Randle, K. and Hardy, K. (2017). 'Macho, mobile and resilient? How workers with impairments are doubly disabled in project-based film and television work'. *Work, Employment and Society*, 31(3), 447–464.

[15] For a summary see: Brook, O., O'Brien, D., and Taylor, M. (2020). *Culture is bad for you* Manchester: Manchester University Press

[16] Carey, H., Giles, L., and O'Brien, D. (2023). *Job quality in the Creative Industries The final report from the Creative PEC's Good Work Review*. Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre and Work Advance. Available at: https://pec.ac.uk/research_report_entr/good-work-review/

[17] Seipel, J., Ramirez-Guerra, A., and Rathi, S. (2023) *State of the Nations: Geographies of Creativity.* Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, Newcastle University and RSA. Available at: https://pec.ac.uk/state_of_the_nation/geographies-of-creativity/

industries employment and 62% of creative industries business) are where a significant proportion of both creative industries and jobs are based.[18]

The characteristics of work and labour markets in the sector do not fully account for the under-representations of some demographic groups and the overrepresentation of others. The academic literature has charted significant levels, and specific incidents, of discrimination associated with sexism, racism, ageism, classism, and ableism. Academics have pointed to a specific 'norm' of a white middle-class man dominating the sector.

This 'norm' is present even in cultural industries and occupations that might have more women than men in the overall workforce; might have more ethnic and racial diversity in particular organisations; may have histories of positive environments for disabled people; or have better representations of those from working-class origins in specific parts of the UK.[19]

The most recent analysis of the makeup of the workforce comes from McAndrew et al (2024), drawing data from the Office for National Statistics' Labour Force Survey.[20] They cluster a range of cultural and creative occupations together into four broad sectors:

- Film, television, video, radio & photography, which includes managers and directors in the creative industries and photographers, audio-visual and broadcasting equipment operators

- Publishing, which includes newspaper and periodical editors, newspaper and periodical journalists and reporters, authors, writers and translators

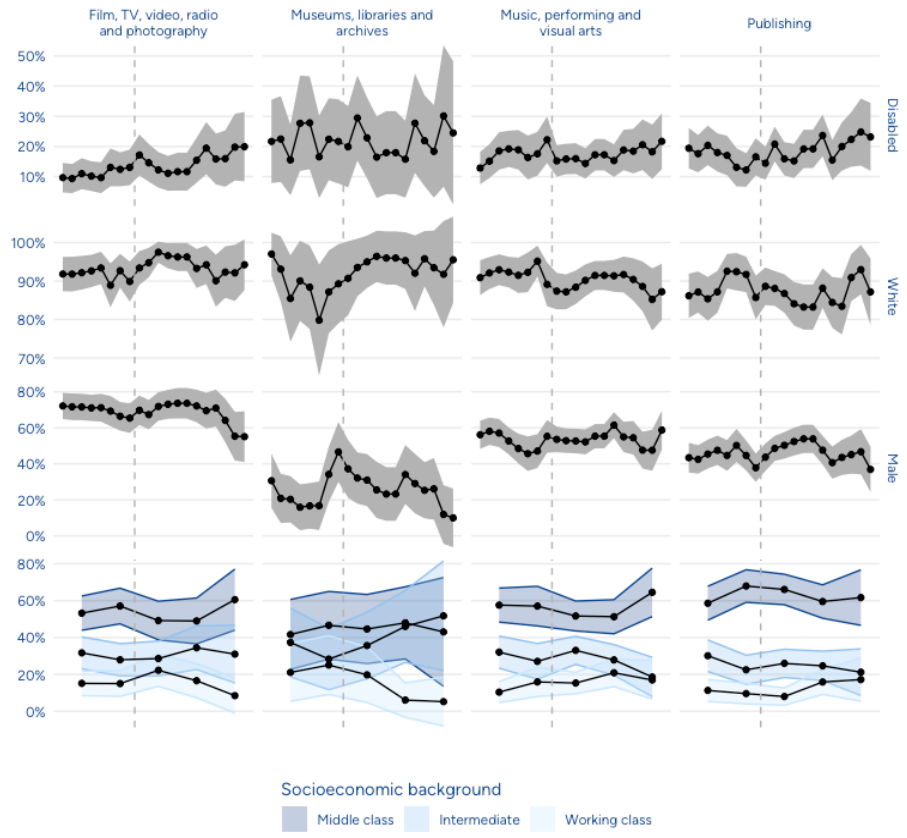
- Museums, libraries and archives, which includes librarians and archivists and curators

[18] Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre. (2022). *National statistics on the creative industries*. PEC. Available at: https://pec.ac.uk/news_entries/national-statistics-on-the-creative-industries/
[19] These issues are summarised in Brook, O., O'Brien, D., and Taylor, M. (2020). *Culture is bad for you.* Manchester: Manchester University Press
[20] McAndrew, S. *et al.* (2024). *State of the Nation: Arts, Culture and Heritage: Audiences and Workforce*. Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, Newcastle University and RSA. Available at: https://pec.ac.uk/state_of_the_nation/arts-cultural-heritage-audiences-and-workforce/

- Music, performing, and visual arts, which includes artists, actors, entertainers and presenters, dancers and choreographers, musicians and arts officers, producers and directors.

Figure 1, redrawn from McAndrew et al (2024) shows the trends in proportions of men, disabled people, white people in these 4 key sets of occupations since 2019. It also shows the proportions of three sets of social origins- routine/manual, intermediate, and professional/managerial. In media and public discussions these are usually referred to as working, intermediate, and middle-class social origins.

Figure 1: Proportions of creative workers by gender, disability, ethnicity and social class background



Source: Redrawn for McAndrew et al, 2024

We are presenting McAndrew et al (2024)'s analysis of gender, ethnicity, and disability to contextualise this paper's focus on social class. Social class is by no means the only aspect of inequality in the creative sector.

Figure 1 shows how the proportion of disabled people has been relatively stable in all four sets of occupations, albeit with the most variation year on year shown in museums and galleries, caused in part by the smaller number of employees in these occupations.

Proportions of film, TV, video, radio and photography increased, but there is significant uncertainty around these estimates.

Proportions of White people have seen similar stability, around 90% of these occupations. These figures are higher than the workforce in general, which is around 85%.

There have been changes in the proportions of men and women in creative occupations. These changes are connected to broader gender inequalities. While recently a higher proportion of women have been working in film occupations, the proportions are still low; gender balance in museums has receded post-COVID. It is also notable that the dominance of women in this sector has not translated into high profile leadership roles in the sector.[21]

The class composition of key creative occupations shows the social mobility crisis in the sector. Across all four occupational groups we see low levels of those from routine and manual (working-class) social origins. These low levels are mirrored by the high proportions from professional and managerial (middle-class) social origins.

Across all four sets of occupations around 60% are from middle-class social origins. This is a significantly greater proportion than the workforce as a whole (43%). More worryingly, recent years have seen higher proportions of workers from these origins in film, TV, video, radio and photography occupations and in music, performing and visual arts occupations, with lower proportions than the around 30% of the workforce as a whole from working-class backgrounds.

The most recent data, for 2023, suggests film, TV, video, radio and photography occupations had just 8% of workers from working-class

[21] Gilmore, A., O'Brien, D. and Walmsley, B. (eds). (2024). *Pandemic Culture.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

social origins. Music, performing and visual arts just 17%. The class crisis in the workforce is clear.[22]

Why does higher education matter?

Our starting point for the analysis is recent research by the Creative Diversity APPG in its *Making the Creative Majority* report.[23] That work synthesised a huge range of materials on creative HE, examining both its importance to inequalities in the creative economy, as well as inequalities in creative HE itself.

It is not necessary to offer the same level of detailed context as in *Making the Creative Majority*. However, some key points from both that report and the broader literature are important to understand why HE matters for inequalities in the creative economy.

The report's analysis of 2021 census data is clear: those with degree level qualifications dominate creative occupations and creative industries. Over 70% of workers in most creative occupations have a degree. Creative occupations do not have the same high levels of degree holders as medicine (96%), teaching (93%) and legal professionals (92%). Yet they still have some of the highest proportions of any occupation in the economy: Architects and associated professions (73%, Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) 245); artistic, literary and media occupations (71%, SOC 341); design occupations (71%, SOC 342); librarians and related professionals (82%, SOC 247); media professionals (82%, SOC 249); and web and multimedia design professionals (75%, SOC 214). SOC codes for creative occupations can be found in Appendix C Table C.4.

There are similarly high proportions in creative *industries*. Advertising and market research (72%); computer programming, consultancy and related activities (68%); creative, arts and entertainment activities (68%); libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities (65%); motion picture, video and television production, sound recording and music publishing activities (68%); programming and broadcasting activities (71%); and publishing activities (73%) all have high proportions of workers with

[22] McAndrew, S. *et al.* (2024). *State of the Nation: Arts, Culture and Heritage: Audiences and Workforce.* Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, Newcastle University and RSA. Available at: https://pec.ac.uk/state_of_the_nation/arts-cultural-heritage-audiences-and-workforce/

[23] Comunian, R. *et al.* (2023). *Making the Creative Majority: A report for the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Creative Diversity on 'What Works' to support diversity and inclusion in creative education and the talent pipeline, with a focus on the 16+ age category.* APPG for Creative Diversity. Available at: www.kcl.ac.uk/cultural/projects/creative-majority-education

degrees. Indeed, these proportions are some of the highest of any industrial sector.

These broad patterns are more acute for specific occupations, specific places, and younger age groups. For example, amongst media professionals, 92% of younger (aged 25-34) media professionals working in London have a degree.

The 2021 census reinforces what is well established already in the research literature: degree-level qualifications are a core element of the creative economy.[24] Not all these creative workers will have 'creative' degrees.[25] Nevertheless, access to HE is crucial as the dominant route into the creative economy. Indeed, as Comunian et al's APPG report comments, "a degree will not guarantee an individual a job in the creative industries; but an individual is unlikely to get a creative industries job without a degree".[26]

In this report we are focusing on creative degrees. *Making the Creative Majority* also provided a wealth of data and analysis on that specific subsection of higher education courses. There are two sets of context that are important for the present analysis. First, entry to creative HE courses, and second, analysis of HESA data during the years before the pandemic.

UCAS data from 2022 analysed by Comunian et al (2023) shows the majority of entrants into creative courses are women. Those from minoritised ethnic backgrounds are underrepresented. Managerial and professional (middle-class) origin individuals make up over half of all applications, offers, and acceptances on creative courses.

These under-representations vary by type of institution. For example, in the Russell Group Black students had smaller proportions of applications, offers, and acceptances to creative courses than at post-92 institutions. As we will see in our subsequent analysis, type of institution is crucial to understanding inequalities in creative higher education.

[24] Oakley, K. *et al.* (2017). Cultural Capital: Arts Graduates, Spatial Inequality, and London's Impact on Cultural Labor Markets. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *61* (12), 1510-1531.
[25] Comunian, R., Faggian, A., and Li, Q.C. (2010). Unrewarded careers in the creative class: The strange case of bohemian graduates. *Papers in Regional Science*, 89 (2), 389-410. Available at: https://rsaiconnect.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1435-5957.2010.00281.x
[26] Comunian, R. *et al.* (2023). *Making the Creative Majority: A report for the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Creative Diversity on 'What Works' to support diversity and inclusion in creative education and the talent pipeline, with a focus on the 16+ age category.* APPG for Creative Diversity. Available at: www.kcl.ac.uk/cultural/projects/creative-majority-education

Before turning to that analysis, it is also worth considering Comunian et al's (2023) analysis of HESA's Student Records data from 2010-2017, and the Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education (DLHE) data from 2017 and 2018. They found significant inequalities for both students on, and graduates of, creative HE courses.

There were gender inequalities. Women were less likely to have creative jobs compared to men, despite being the majority of students studying creative subjects. There were inequalities of ethnicity. Black and Asian students were less likely to study a creative subject at university, even when cohort, university attended, pre-university test scores and all other demographic characteristics were taken into account in the analysis.

They also found inequalities of socio-economic status (SES). Students with higher SES positions are more likely to be studying creative subjects than those with lower SES. Higher SES graduates also received better academic outcomes and are more likely to be employed. Comunian et al (2023) used 3 broad SES categories – high, medium and low – based on household occupation of the applicants. For our analysis of creative subjects in this report, we are able to offer much more fine-grained detailed analysis of the specific class categories that constituted the broad groupings in their analysis.

Methodology

We now turn to our analysis of more recent Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) Student Records data. The data used in this report is derived from a Tailored Dataset provided by Jisc (enquiry number 281902). This is derived from HESA Student Record (excluding alternative providers) and HESA Graduate Outcome Survey Results, for the academic years 2017/2018 to 2021/2022 inclusive. The total population count is 9,601,180, although this figure includes individuals appearing more than once if they were registered in higher education programmes over multiple years. Overall, the population of students and recent graduates of creative programmes comprises 1,126,924 records, reflecting the fact that this includes individual students being included multiple times if they were registered or recent graduates in multiple years that our dataset covers. Within each of the years in question, the population of students and recent graduates of creative programmes varies from 220,078 (2017/18) to 226,181 (2021/22). The percentage of students and recent graduates on creative programmes in the overall sample is 9.5%.

Our analysis follows Jisc rounding and suppression rules. As we have included very few raw numbers, and those numbers we include are large, this primarily affects rules around cases where a percentage is based on 22 or fewer respondents. Any such percentages have not been included. Percentages are based on full-time equivalent students studying a particular subject. Students registered on a part-time single honours programme are weighted at the relevant fraction of an equivalent full-time student. Similarly, students registered on joint programmes are weighted with the fraction of their programme associated with a given discipline. This has required the removal of some categories due to small numbers: for example, due to the small sample size, data on students whose gender is neither male nor female is not included in the intersectional analysis by subject area. Although most variables used have not been transformed, there are three exceptions, explained in detail in Appendix A.

The other source of data used for original analysis in this report is the Office for National Statistics Labour Force Survey (LFS). This work was undertaken in the Office for National Statistics Secure Research Service using data from ONS and other owners and does not imply the endorsement of the ONS or other data owners.

The LFS is the key source of labour market statistics, and it includes questions on respondents' education (and the subject of their undergraduate degree, if they have one) as well as their gender, age, and

other characteristics. While the HESA data includes *all* students, the LFS uses a sample of households in the UK: complex survey weighting ensures that the achieved sample matches the population on a range of characteristics. Four waves are conducted every year, with the third wave having questions about the occupations of respondents' parents, used to allocate them to a social class origin using the NS-SEC categorisation described above. Responses from the third wave each year between 2014 and 2022 were used, with an average sample of 85,000 total respondents per wave.

Creative workers are a relatively rare group, and this aggregation includes c.15,500 creative workers. This is a large enough sample to compare their educational backgrounds and other characteristics in detail. The information captured on their degree programme is understandably not as granular as in the HESA dataset, although we have used the same categorisation as in our analysis of HESA data. The exception is degrees related to computer games design, which are not specified in the LFS but subsumed under a broader category computer programming degrees, which it would be not appropriate to categorise as part of our list of creative degrees.

Analysis

The relationship between higher education and creative industries: evidence from the Labour Force Survey

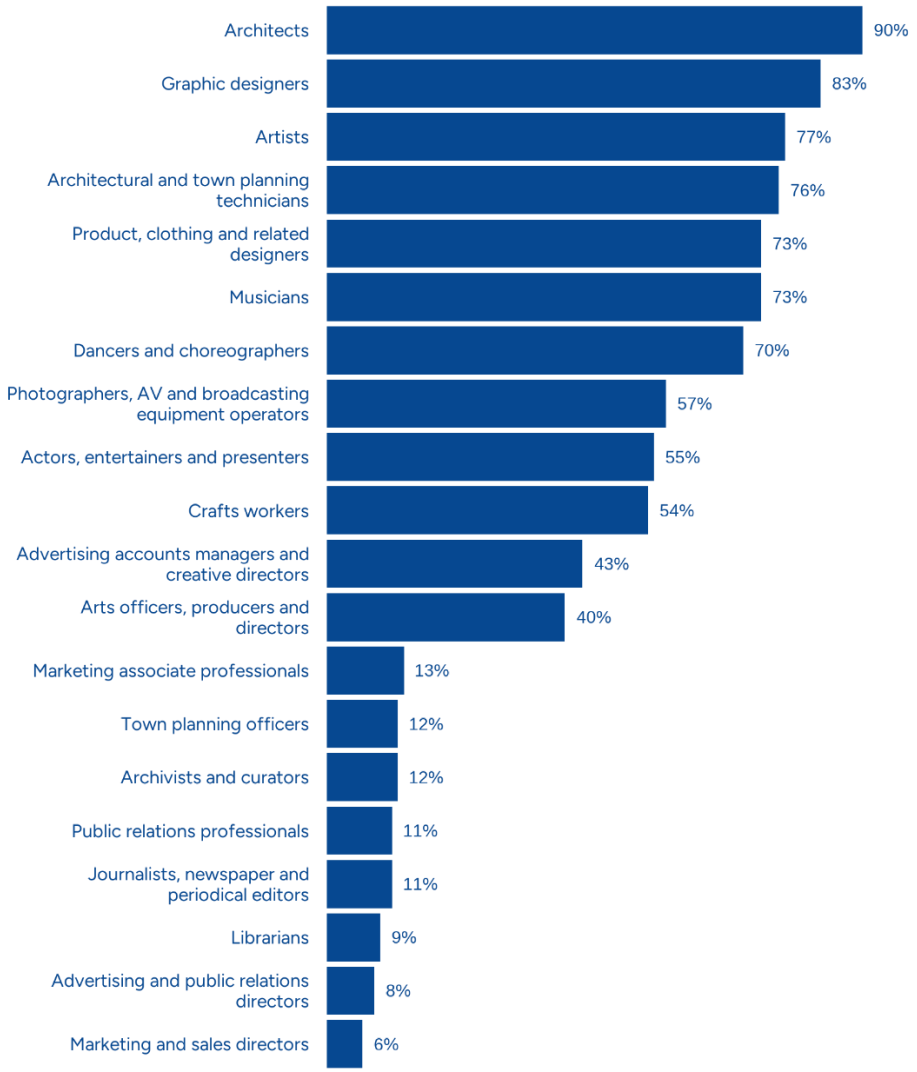
We already knew that having a degree is the strongest single predictor of entering creative work.[27] Media coverage of social inequalities in creative work has also noted the close connection between inequalities in HE and inequalities in the workforce. In this section we use analysis of the LFS to further explore the occupational destinations of creative graduates, and the educational qualifications of creative workers. This provides important context for the more detailed analysis of creative graduates presented in this report.

Degrees are central to the creative workforce. As many as 69% of people in key creative occupations (such as actors, dancers, artists, writers) have a degree, compared to 26% of the entire workforce.

Figure 2 looks at the types of degrees that creative workers have. On average, 37% of graduates in creative jobs have a creative degree, rising to 43% of those under 35. Again there are important variations: 89% of architects and 83% of graphic designers have creative degrees, compared to 6% of graduate marketing and sales directors and 6% of advertising and PR directors.

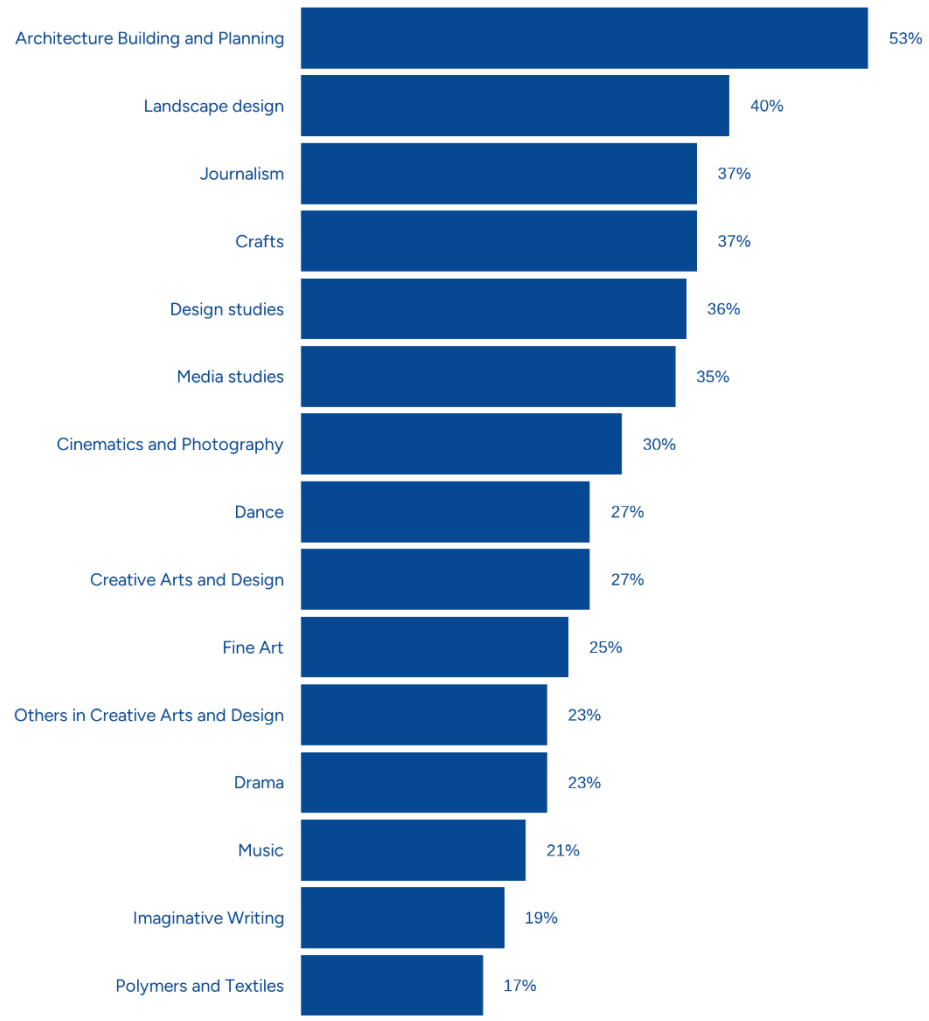
[27] Brook, O. *et al.* (2023). Social Mobility and 'Openness' in Creative Occupations since the 1970s. *Sociology*, *57* (4), 789-810. Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/00380385221129953#fn8-00380385221129953

Figure 2: Percentage of graduates in a creative occupation who hold a creative undergraduate degree



The LFS suggests that, on average, just under a third (31%) of creative graduates go into creative work. The highest proportion are students of architecture (53%) and landscape design (40%). Figures 2 and 3 suggest that creative degrees are an important route into creative work, and creative work is an important destination for creative graduates. However, this relationship is strongest for specific subjects and occupations, such as architecture, and weaker for more general creative subjects, such as art.

Figure 3: Percentage of graduates of each creative subject who hold a creative job



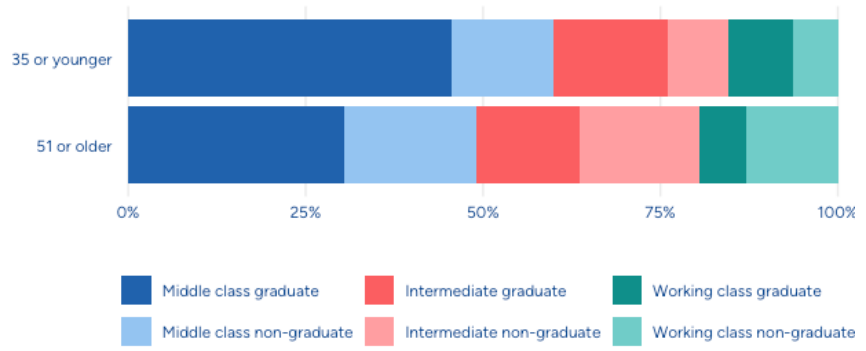
Access to higher education itself is highly socially stratified. Who gets a degree (and from where) is strongly associated with class. In recent years there have also been huge changes in the demographics of who accesses HE, as the sector has expanded. This means that, for younger cohorts, there is a substantial difference in the proportions of graduates, as well as the demographics, of workers in creative jobs.

Figure 4 reports LFS data from 2014-2022. It shows the percentage of creative workers under 35 compared to 51 and over, according to their HE status and social class background. It provides evidence of the patterns we might expect given what we know about the expansion of HE in the UK, and the changing class dynamics in the creative workforce.

There is a higher proportion of people from middle-class backgrounds in the younger creative workers compared to the older age group, and a higher proportion of graduates within this class. This means there are more middle-class origin graduate workers in the younger creative workers category.

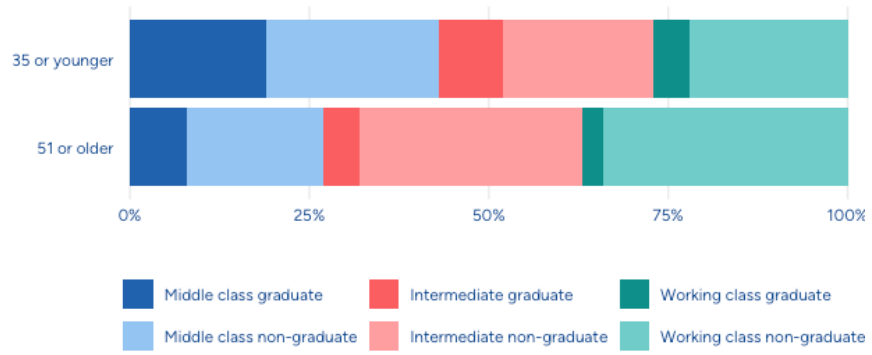
There are higher proportions of non-graduates in the older age group. Non-graduates make up half or more of the intermediate and working-class workers. Their proportions have reduced in the working-class and intermediate categories for younger workers, suggesting that having a degree has increased in importance for intermediate and working-class origin creative workers.

Figure 4: Social class of creative occupations, by age and HE status



These differences by class background, age and graduate status are more stark when compared to all workers (shown in Figure 5). The majority of people from all social class backgrounds are not graduates, even in the younger age group. Moreover, while the large majority of younger working-class origin creative workers are graduates, this is true of only a small proportion of younger working-class workers in general. Degrees, therefore, are an essential part of the creative workforce, irrespective of the class origin of the creative worker, but the increase in importance is greater in people who are not of middle-class origin.

Figure 5: Social class origins of all occupations, by age and HE status

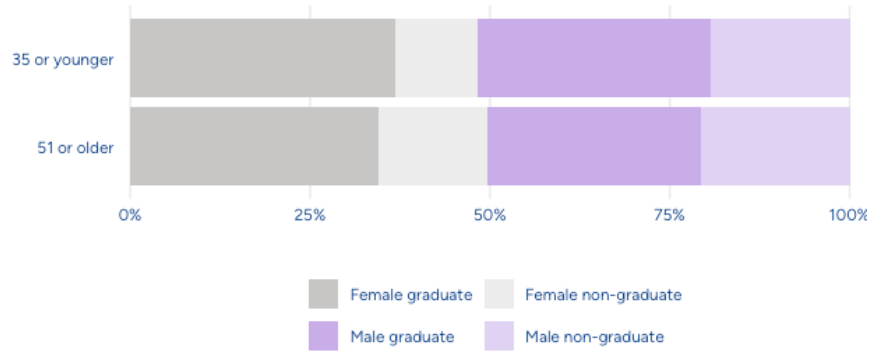


Gender

Repeating the above analysis by gender in Figure 6 we can see that about half of older men in creative work are graduates. For older women the majority are graduates. The high number of graduate female creative workers is notable given the relative absence of women in senior roles.

For younger creative workers, both men and women are more likely to be graduates than are older workers, but there is still a gender difference, with a higher proportion of female graduates than male. It is reasonable to conclude that having a degree is more important for female creative workers than for men.

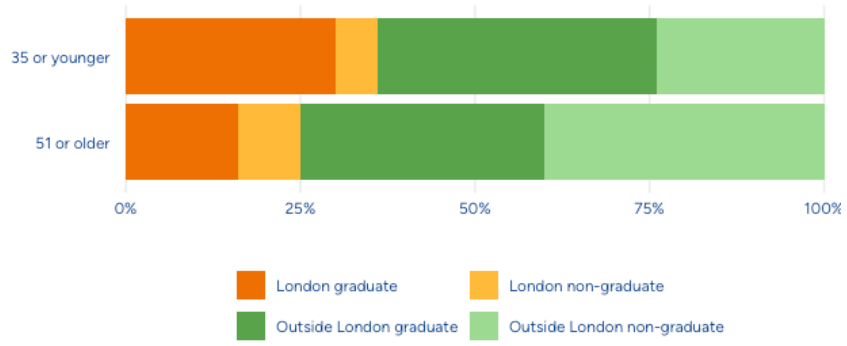
Figure 6: Gender of creative occupations, by age and HE status



Region

In Figure 7 we see that creative workers in London are more likely to be graduates, compared to those based elsewhere in the UK. This is the case for both older and younger workers.

Figure 7: Region of creative occupations, by age and HE status



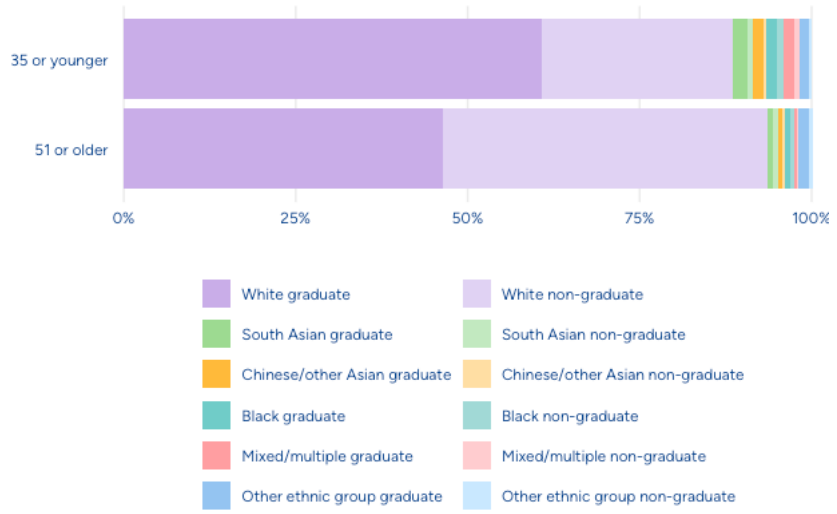
It appears that having a degree is more important if you want to get a creative job in London. This matters as people in creative work in London will have better access to employment opportunities and professional networks.

Ethnicity

The patterns for different ethnic groups are more varied. The proportion of creative workers identifying as White is higher in the older group than the younger- 94% compared to 88% (which is still very much higher than in the general population). The proportion of people from the minoritised ethnic groups is around twice as high in the younger cohort, except for the 'Other' group, with the largest increase for the 'Mixed/multiple' group. This approximately corresponds to changes in the overall population (Figure 8).

Creative workers over 50 are approximately as likely as not to be graduates, for most ethnic groups except mixed/multiple ethnicities and the 'Other' group. By contrast, creative workers aged up to 35 are approximately twice as likely to be graduates as not, if they are of White, Black/African/Caribbean or Mixed/multiple ethnicities. 'Other' ethnic groups are disproportionately more likely to be graduates. This will reflect differences in specific occupations, and in some cases more detailed ethnic group analysis might be revealing, but unfortunately the numbers for such analysis are too small to publish.

Figure 8: Ethnicity of creative occupations, by age and HE status



All of this analysis highlights that it is difficult to enter or remain in creative work without a degree. Moreover, in general the dominance of graduates is more pronounced in groups that are under-represented in the creative workforce. While having a degree is an advantage for all groups, it seems that it is less critical for white men from middle-class origins working in London, where their background and/or social networks are more likely to offer them an entry point (and the means to persist in this precarious career) even if they do not have degrees.

Who studies creative degrees?

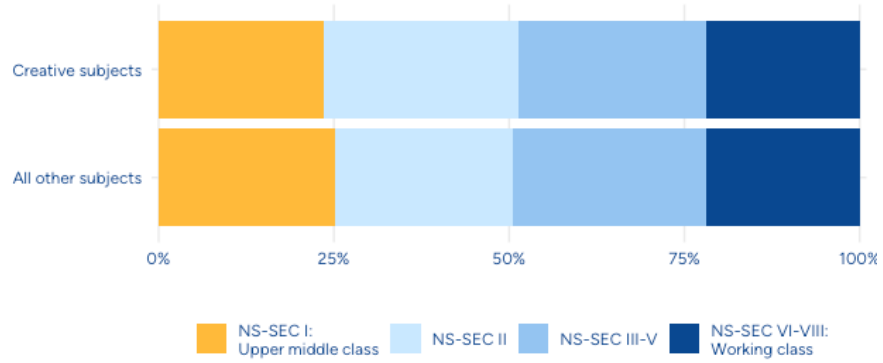
Social class origins

Our analysis begins with the class origins of all students in higher education, qualifiers, and graduates in the Graduate Outcomes survey in the academic years from 2017/18 to 2021/22 inclusive.

Figure 9 shows how across all subjects, at all universities, 25% of students are from NS-SEC I- higher professional and managerial, 'upper-middle-class'- social origins. 21% of all students are from NS-SEC VI-VIII- routine, manual or out of work, 'working-class'- social origins.

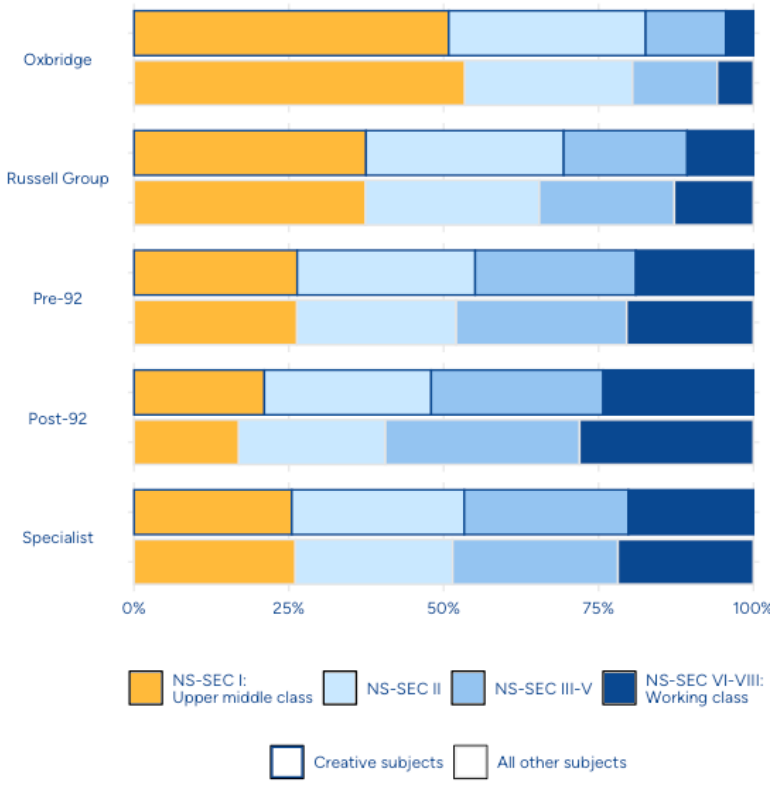
For creative subjects as a whole there is a higher proportion of students from upper-middle-class (24%) than working-class origin students (21%). Creative subjects have very slightly lower proportions of upper-middle-class origin students than the sector as a whole (compared with 25%), and around the same working-class origin students (compared with 22%).

Figure 9: Social class background of creative students and all other students



However, these general patterns contain substantial differences. We know, for example, that different types of institutions have different intakes. Figure 10 breaks these general patterns down by type of institution, comparing creative students with students on all other subjects.

Figure 10: Social class of creative students and all students by institution type



At Oxbridge and the Russell Group there is a huge imbalance between upper-middle-class social origins as compared with those from working-class' social origins. Upper-middle-class origin students are over a third (37%) of creative students at Russell Group institutions. Working-class origin students are just 11%.

For upper-middle-class origin students these class imbalances are broadly reflective of the general class inequalities in the UK's student population.[28] The proportions of upper-middle-class students studying creative subjects are generally in line with students as a whole.

One exception can be seen at post-92 institutions, where the percentage of students studying creative subjects from upper-middle-class backgrounds (21%) is higher than the percentage of students studying other subjects (17%). As we shall see, there are proportionally more students studying creative subjects at post-92 institutions than elsewhere – they form a larger proportion of students at these institutions, and a relatively large proportion of all creative students.

There is a stark contrast with working-class origin students. The proportions of working-class origin students studying creative subjects are lower than the equivalent figures for students studying all other subjects. The class crisis for working-class origin students is worse than the class inequalities in the student population as a whole. It is striking that even post-92 institutions, which have the highest proportions of creative students from working-class backgrounds (24%), still have a smaller proportion than all other courses (28%).

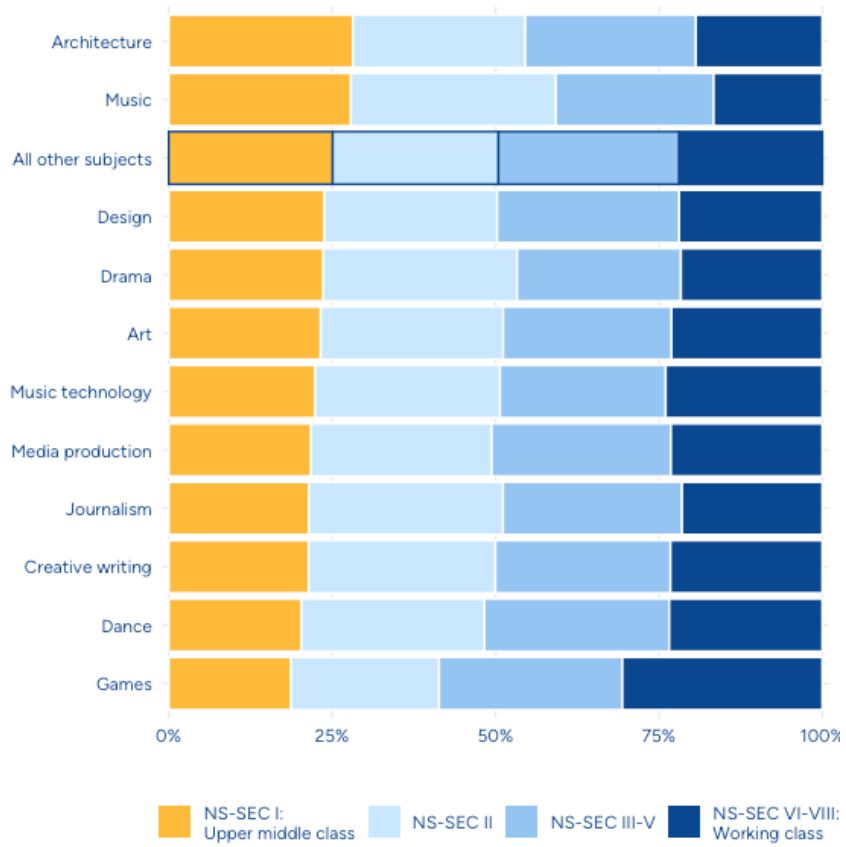
The specific type of creative course students are studying is, of course, crucial. Figure 11 shows individual creative courses and the proportions of upper-middle-class and working-class origin students.

All creative courses except Music and Architecture have fewer upper-middle-class origin students than non-creative courses, and have the same or greater proportions of students from working-class origins. Games courses, in particular, have a very high proportion of those from these working-class social origins.

[28] Comunian, R. *et al.* (2023). *Making the Creative Majority: A report for the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Creative Diversity on 'What Works' to support diversity and inclusion in creative education and the talent pipeline, with a focus on the 16+ age category.* APPG for Creative Diversity. Available at: www.kcl.ac.uk/cultural/projects/creative-majority-education

Overall, architecture is the subject with the largest percentage of students from upper-middle-class backgrounds at 28%, compared with 19% of students on games programmes. Music is the subject with the fewest students from working-class backgrounds - 16%, compared with 30% of Games students.

Figure 11: Creative subject groups by social class origin

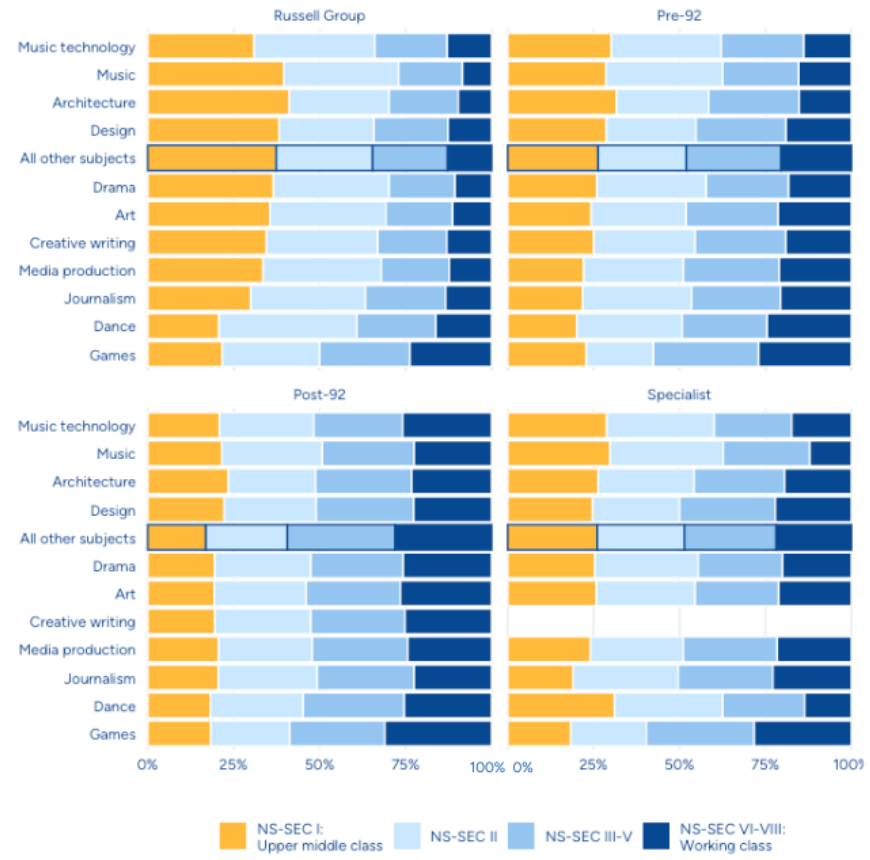


The class dynamics for specific subjects may seem to contrast with class composition for creative subjects as a whole. This is partially driven by the differences between types of higher education institutions.

Figure 12 shows the class origins for students by university type and subject area. For data suppression reasons, around the small numbers of students on the relevant programmes, we have grouped Oxbridge with the remainder of the Russell Group from Figure 12. Here, we can see the stratification of the creative HE courses. There are striking differences between the Russell Group and post-92 institutions, with very different proportions of both upper-middle-class and working-class studying creative subjects. Upper-middle-class origin students dominate Russell

Group creative courses; they are even overrepresented at post-92s as compared to all other subjects at these institutions.

Figure 12: Creative subject groups and institution type by class background



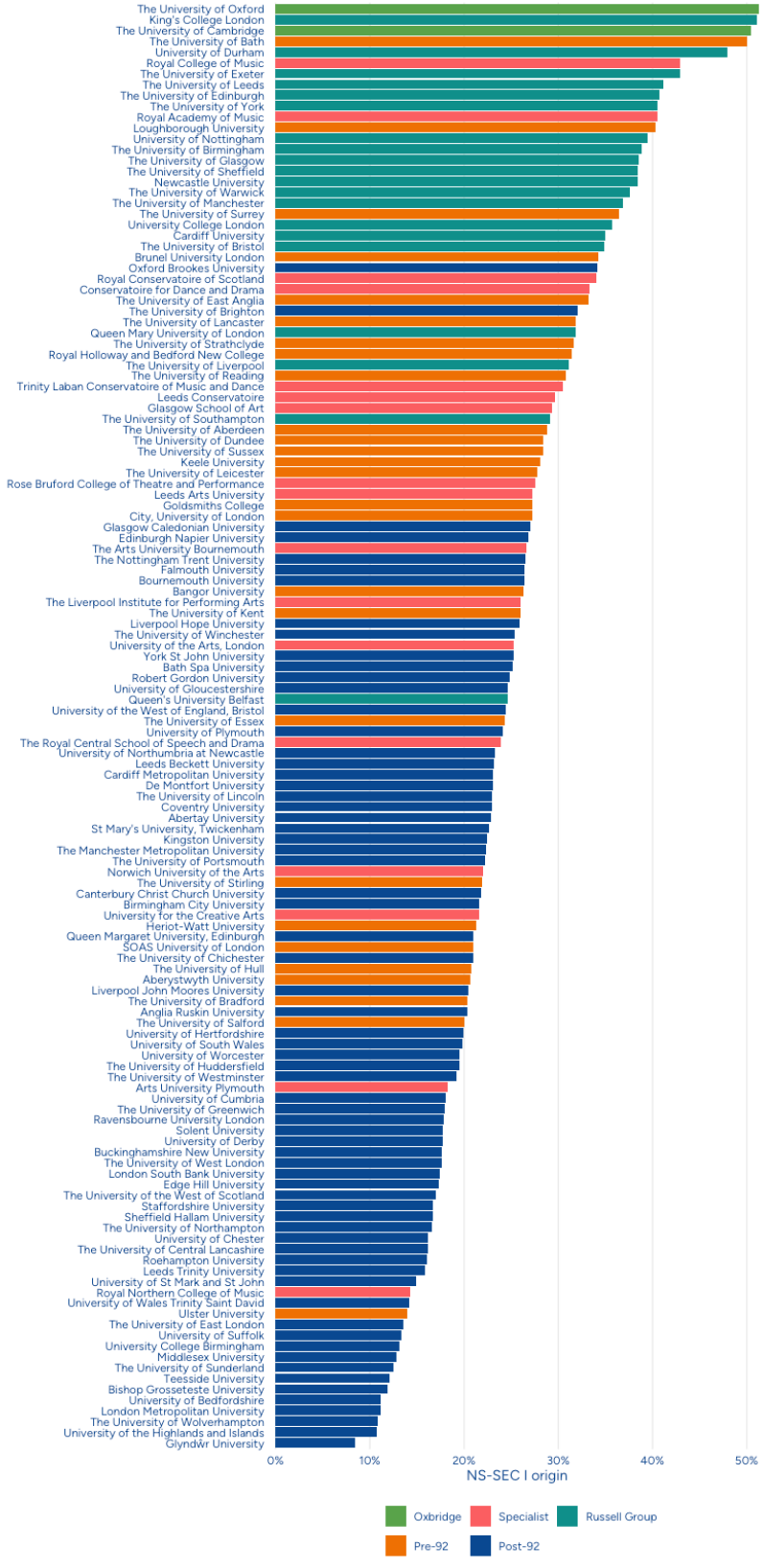
At the Russell Group, the proportions of students on key creative subjects - Art, Drama and Music - are lower than the already low proportions of working-class students at the Russell Group as a whole.

There is better news at the post-92 institutions, where most creative subjects have higher proportions of working-class students. However, even at post-92 institutions many creative courses see higher proportions of upper-middle-class origin students than non-creative subjects at these institutions.

The previous sections have shown the importance of understanding differences between types of universities, between creative subjects and the differences between subjects at different types of universities.

Just as with specific courses, there are a range of differences within general groupings of universities such as the Russell Group and the post-92s. Figure 13 visualises every university that offers creative courses, and charts the proportion of students from upper-middle-class social origins at each institution.

Figure 13: Individual HE institutions ranked by proportions of upper-middle-class origin creative students



The overall pattern is as we might expect, with lower proportions of upper-middle-class origin creative students at the post-92 institutions, and higher levels at Oxbridge and the Russell Group. Yet even within the Russell Group's creative students there are significantly different levels of upper-middle-class representation. The largest differences are among pre-92 institutions that are not members of the Russell Group.

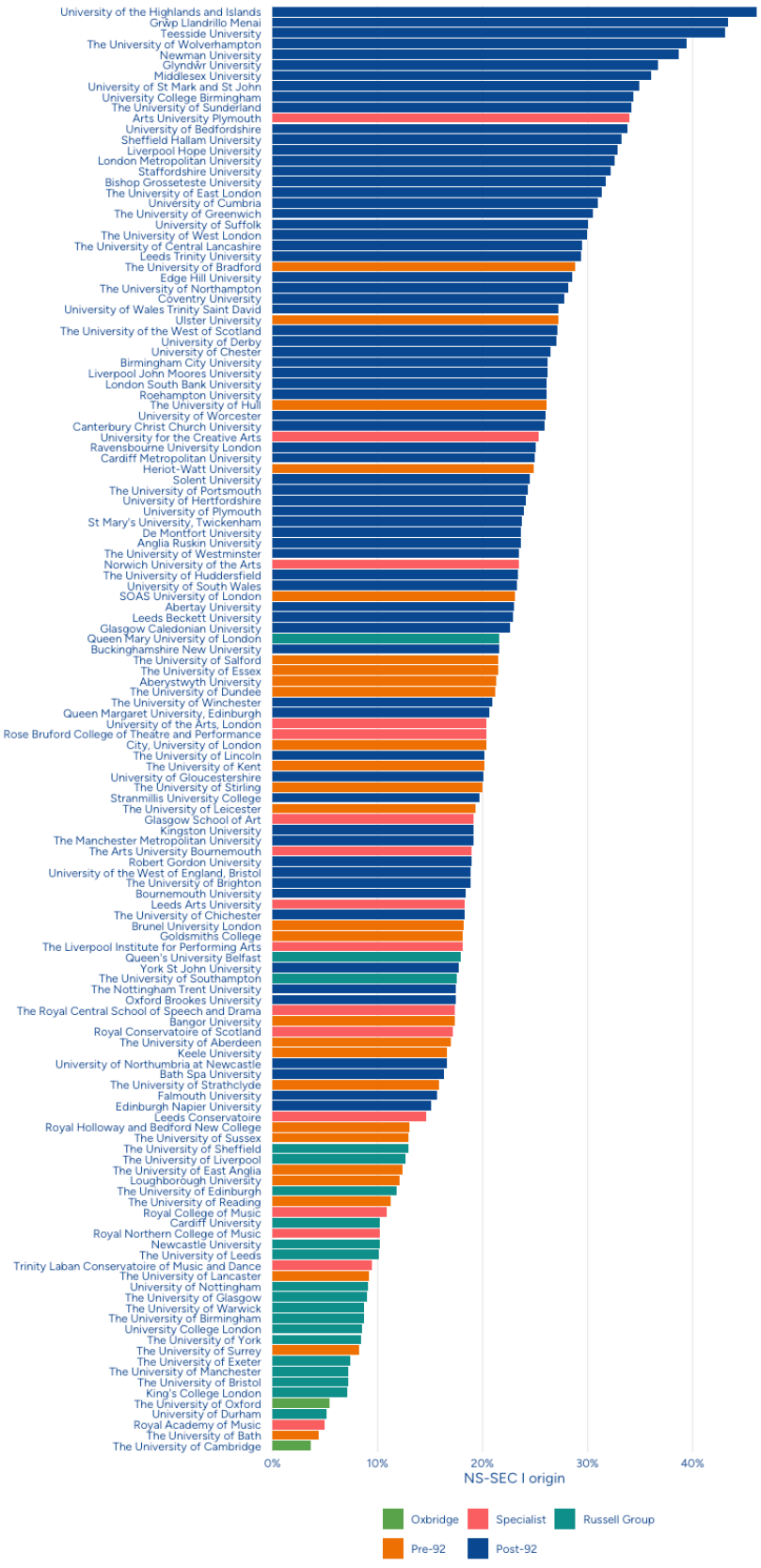
At four institutions – Oxford and Cambridge, and King's College London (Russell Group) and Bath (pre-92) – more than half of creative students come from upper-middle-class backgrounds. The Russell Group institutions with the largest percentages of upper-middle-class creative students are King's College London (51%), Durham (48%) and Exeter (43%). The smallest percentages of creative students from upper-middle-class backgrounds are Queen's University Belfast (25%), Southampton (29%) and Liverpool (31%).

The specialist institutions with the largest percentage of students from upper-middle-class backgrounds are the Royal College of Music (43%), Royal Academy of Music (41%), and Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (34%). On the other end of the scale are the Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM) (14%), Arts University Plymouth (18%) and University for the Creative Arts (UCA) (22%).

The post-92s with the largest percentage of students from upper-middle-class backgrounds are Oxford Brookes (34%), Brighton (32%) and Glasgow Caledonian University (27%). At the other end are Glyndŵr (8%), the University of the Highlands and Islands (11%), and Wolverhampton (11%).

Figure 14 shows the other side of these patterns, visualising all institutions offering creative degrees and the proportions of students from working-class backgrounds. The pattern is broadly reversed, with post-92 institutions having the highest proportions (University of the Highlands and Islands 46%; Teesside 43%; Wolverhampton 39%). Oxbridge (4% Cambridge, 5% Oxford), a specialist institution (Royal Academy of Music, 4%), the pre-92 sector (including the Russell Group) (Bath 4%, Bristol 7%, Manchester 7%) the fewest. (Data showing class origins of all creative subjects by university type can be found in Figure B.1, Appendix B).

Figure 14: Individual HE institutions ranked by proportions of working-class origin creative students

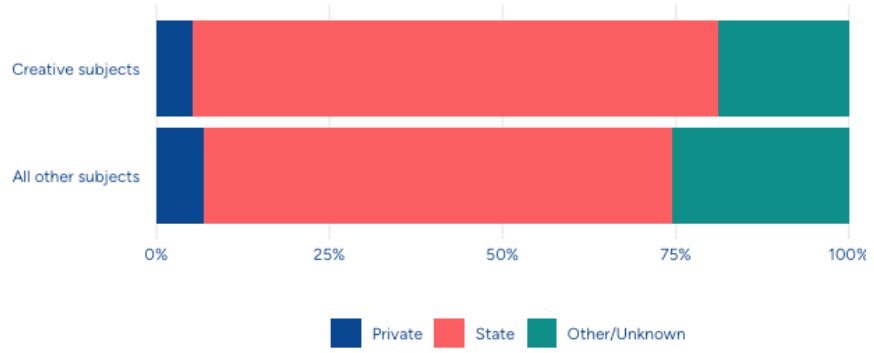


School type

Alongside social class, the type of school attended by students plays an important role in shaping inequalities in the creative economy. As the findings from the Sutton Trust elsewhere in this report show, fee paying or independent schools are hugely overrepresented in the highest profile areas of artistic and cultural success, such as BAFTA and Oscar winners or musicians with top 40 hit songs.

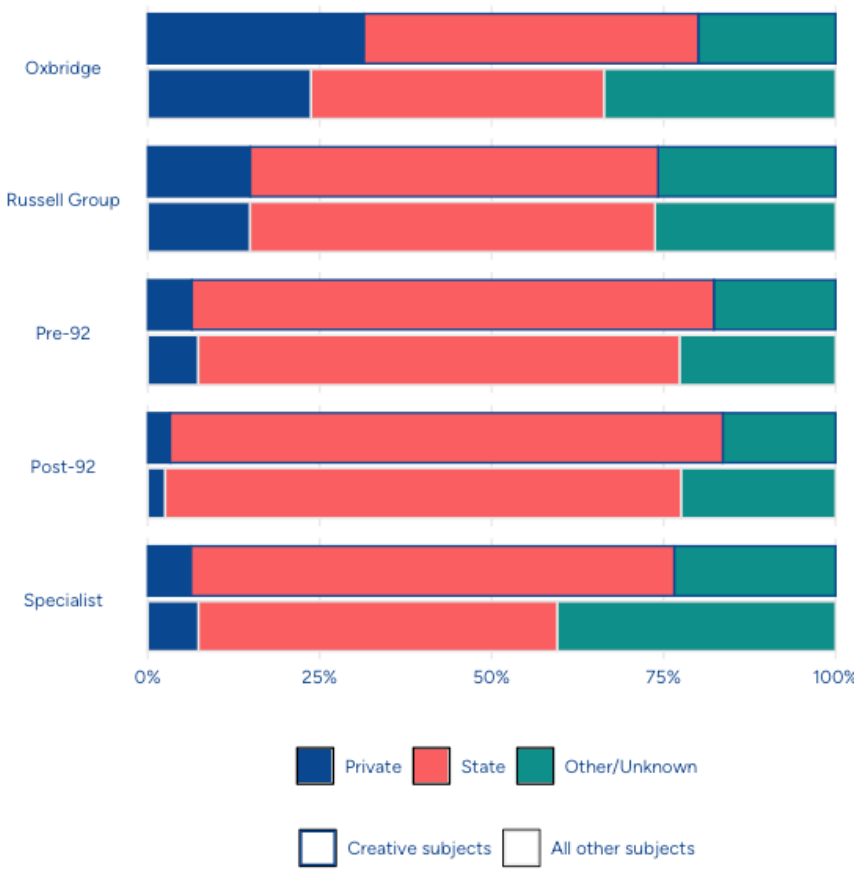
This section examines the data on school type and entry to creative HE courses. Our starting point is the overall proportions for all creative students and all other students. Figure 15 shows how creative courses have higher proportions of state educated students (around 76%) than all other subjects (68%), and a lower proportion (5%) of privately educated students than all other subjects (7%).

Figure 15: Type of school attended by creative students and all other students



However, as with social class, these overall proportions hide considerable differences and distinctive patterns between different types of university. Figure 16 shows the type of school attended by creative and all other subjects. The proportions are divided by different types of universities.

Figure 16: Type of school attended by creative students and all other students by institution type



It is important to be cautious about the proportions of other/unknown school type in this data. They are likely international students, but we do not know this for certain. That issue notwithstanding, we can make several observations about the impact of school type on creative HE courses.

The previous section sounded the alarm about the class crisis in creative HE. When looking at the type of school attended by creative HE students, the overall picture is more nuanced. Oxbridge (32%) and the Russell Group (15%) both have higher proportions than the population average of around 7% of students who attended fee-paying schools. For the remainder of the pre-92 sector the figure is the same at 7%; for specialist institutions the figure is 6%, and at post-92s it is 3%.

It is notable that for pre-92 and specialist institutions, the proportions of creative students from private schools are lower than for all subjects; at Oxbridge, pre-92, specialist and post-92 institutions creative courses there

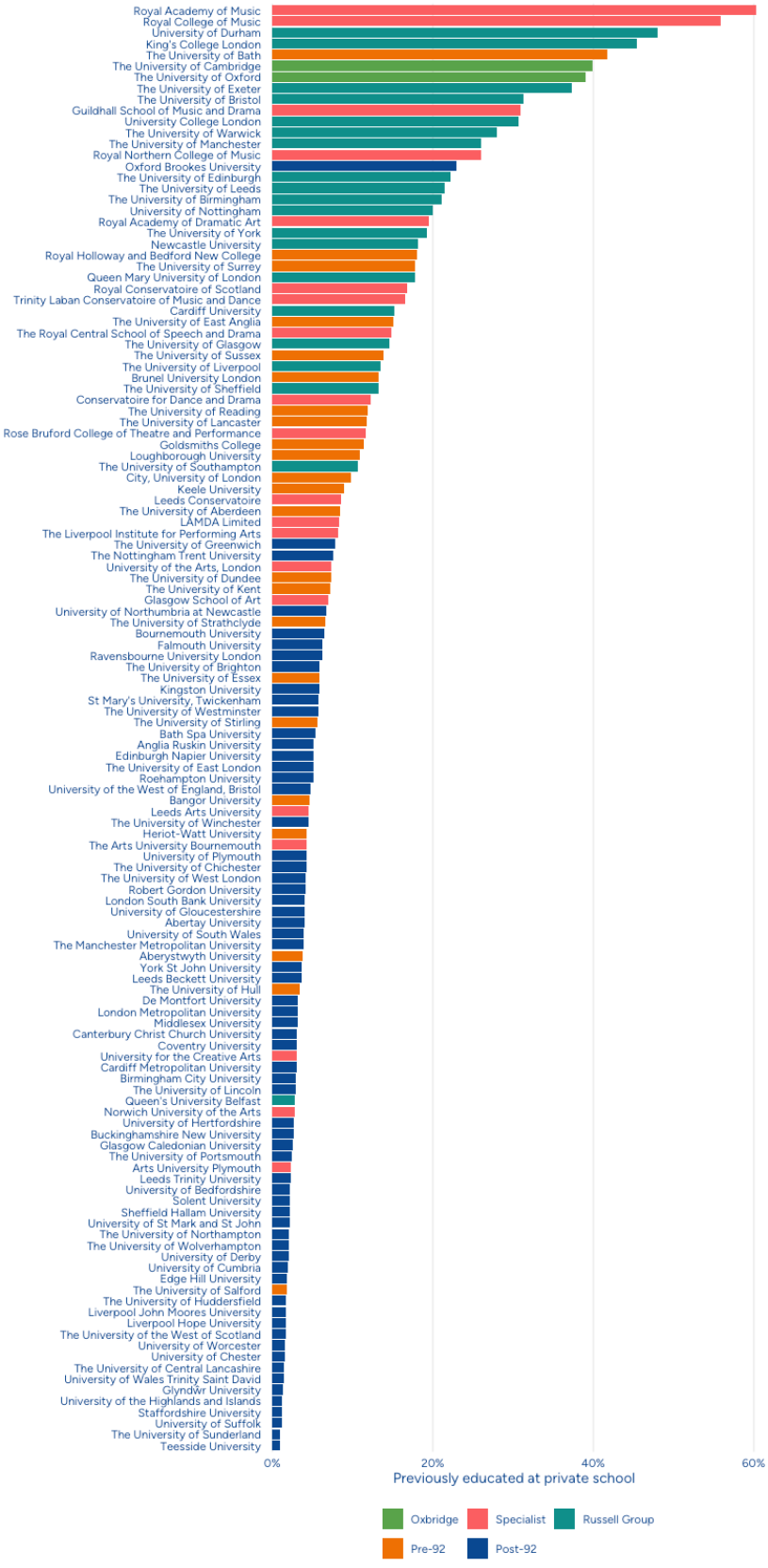
are higher proportions of students from state schools than all other subjects.

This is a different pattern as compared to class origins. While in the post-92 sector the percentage of students from upper-middle-class backgrounds significantly outstrips the percentage of students from working-class backgrounds, there is no imbalance in the case of private education.

At Oxbridge, there is a similar pattern; the balance of students from state and private schools is similar for creative subjects and all other subjects. The differences are explained by a smaller fraction of students studying creative subjects for whom data is not available. This likely reflects creative subjects having a higher proportion of privately educated students but a lower proportion of international students, but we cannot be sure of this as a result of the other/unknown category.

As with social origin, the percentages of students from private schools varies significantly within institutional types. Figure 17 presents data for every university offering creative HE courses. These percentage figures are of those for whom we have data. The “unknown/other” group has been removed.

Figure 17: Individual HE institutions ranked by proportions of creative students who attended private schools



The proportions of privately educated schools at specific universities shows the differences that are not fully captured by the overall figures for university groupings. 50 of 109 institutions within this dataset have more than 7% of students from private schools, which is the national average overall. However, the fact that just under half of institutions have a below-average percentage, which we would expect, masks significant variation. There are 14 institutions where the figure is greater than 25%, none of which is are a post-92. At two specialist institutions – the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music – more than half of students were previously privately educated.

From each group of university types, Cambridge has 40%, and Oxford 39% private school intake for their creative courses; Durham (48%), Kings College London (46%), and Exeter (37%) have the highest proportions from the Russell Group; Bath (42%), Royal Holloway and Surrey (both 18%) have the highest proportions from the non-Russell Group pre-92 universities; and Oxford Brookes (23%), Greenwich (8%) and Nottingham Trent (7%) have the highest proportions in the post-92 group.

Specialist creative institutions present a particularly complex picture. There are huge variations, for example University of Creative Arts has only 3% of its intake from private schools, whilst the Royal Academy of Music has 60%. Royal College of Music (56%) and Guildhall (31%) have very high proportions of privately educated students. On the one hand this reflects a whole range of longstanding issues related to access to music in the school system.[29] At the same time, it suggests significant inequalities associated with entry to the higher education institutions that are central to advanced music education in the UK.

We can see these issues associated with access to specific subjects in schools playing out in HE too. Individual subjects see a very wide range of proportions of state and private school students, as shown in Figure 18. Creative subjects generally have smaller percentages of privately educated students than other subjects.

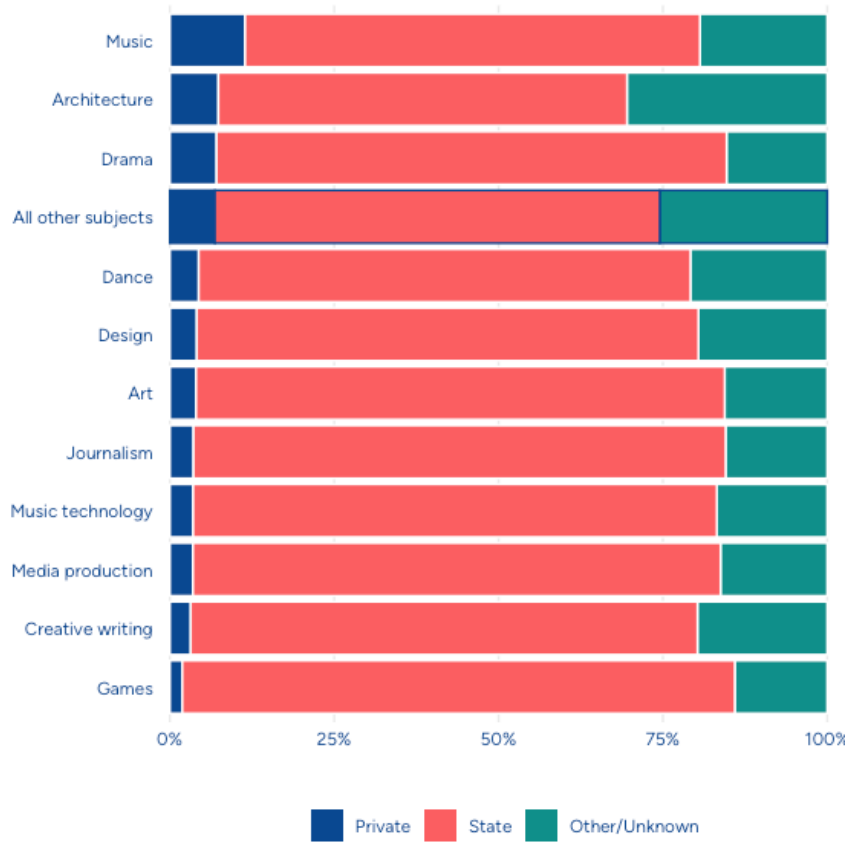
However, Music (11%) has a far larger percentage of privately educated students than any other creative subject. This proportion is also higher

[85] Daubney, A., Gary, S. and Deborah, A. (2019). *Music Education: State of the Nation*. Music Education, the Incorporated Society of Musicians and the University of Sussex. Available at: https://www.ism.org/images/images/State-of-the-Nation-Music-Education-WEB.pdf and Bull, A. (2024, under review). 'Gender Regimes in UK Music Higher Education: Quantitative Exploration of the Student and Staff Population' and Bath, N *et al.*.(2020.) 'The Declining Place of Music Education in Schools in England'. *Children & Society*, 34 (5), 443-457. Available at: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/chso.12386

than the average for all other students (7%). By contrast games (2%) has the lowest proportion of any creative subject, and is much lower than all other subjects too.

Music also has slightly higher proportions of students from state schools (69%), than all other subjects (68%). However, this 69% is lower than most other arts subjects. Only architecture (62%) has a lower proportion of state school students. The low levels of state school students in music is likely reflective of the small number of students (around 20%), compared with all other subjects, in the "Other/unknown" category in music, possibly reflecting at least in part a smaller number of international students studying music.

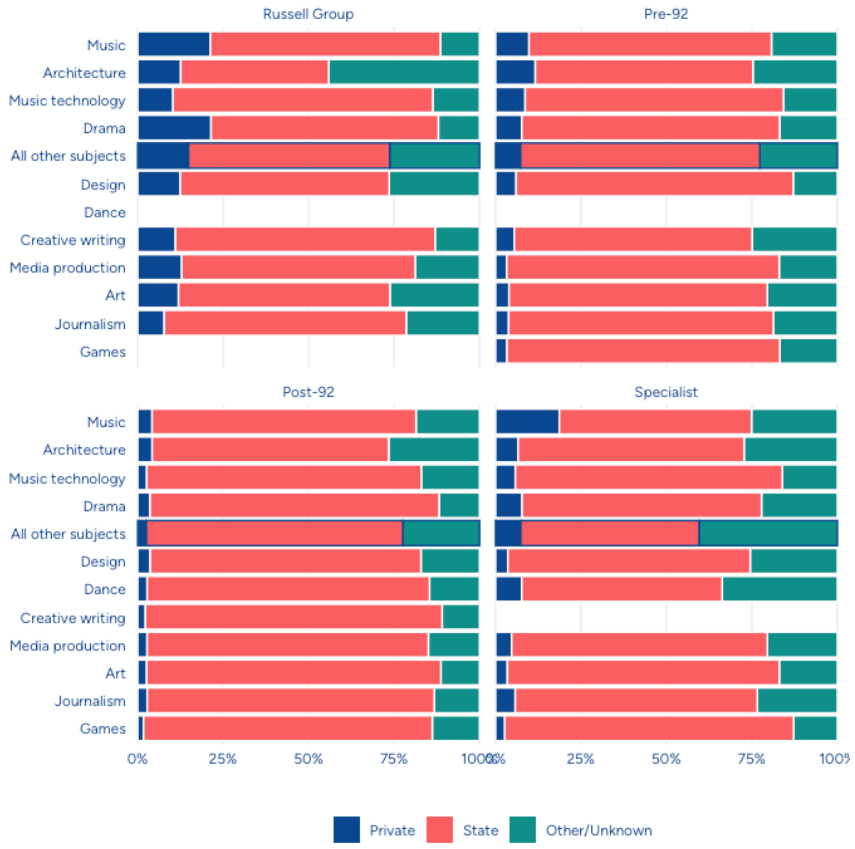
Figure 18: Creative subject groups and type of school attended



Inequalities become more apparent when we consider specific creative subjects by type of university. Figure 19 shows the proportions of type of school attended for specific creative subjects at our four different groups of institutions.

What is perhaps most interesting from Figure 19 is the proportion of private school pupils at post-92 institutions. Whilst for all subjects these proportions are lower than all other university types, specific creative subjects, including two of our three case study subjects Music and Drama (both 4%), still see higher proportions than all other subjects in post-92s (2%).

Figure 19: University type, creative subject and type of school attended



This analysis raises an important question as to the relationship between the overrepresentation of those from private schools in the most prestigious positions in creative industries, and the relatively lower proportions entering creative HE courses.

What about intersectionality? Three case studies of Art, Drama and Music

Previous sections have shown the broad patterns associated with class origins and type of school attended across creative subjects. We now look at an intersectional perspective, offering deep dives into three subjects: Art, Drama and Music.

For data protection reasons our deep dives cannot present the type of school attended for Art, Drama and Music at individual universities, nor the proportions of creative students from working-class origins at individual universities. There are also some institutions missing from the figures for those from upper-middle-class origins due to the small size of their cohorts.

We have chosen Art, Drama and Music for a variety of reasons, ranging from practitioner, media and public interest in these subjects, both in higher education and in schools;[30] the importance of these subjects as specific training routes for key occupations including artists; actors, writers and directors; and musicians (particularly classical musicians); and the relationship between these subjects and key areas of public funding for culture, such as theatres, galleries, orchestras and concert halls.

Our choice of these deep dives makes no judgement on the value or importance of other creative subject areas. For example, recent work by the British Academy (2024) has shown the importance of media studies and associated subjects to our economy and society.[31]

The overall figures for the class, ethnicity and gender of these three subjects are presented in table B.1 in Appendix B. The same demographics, but with type of school rather than social class, are in Appendix B, table B.2. These tables show the very low proportions of ethnic minority men and women in Art, Music and Drama, irrespective of their social class background. What is immediately striking is the very low levels of ethnic diversity in all three of our deep dive subjects. Clearly creative HE subjects have an ethnicity, as much as a class, crisis.

[30] Ashton, H. *et al.* (2024). *The state of the Arts*. Campaign for the Arts & Centre for Cultural and Media Policy Studies, University of Warwick. Available at: https://www.campaignforthearts.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/The-State-of-the-Arts.pdf

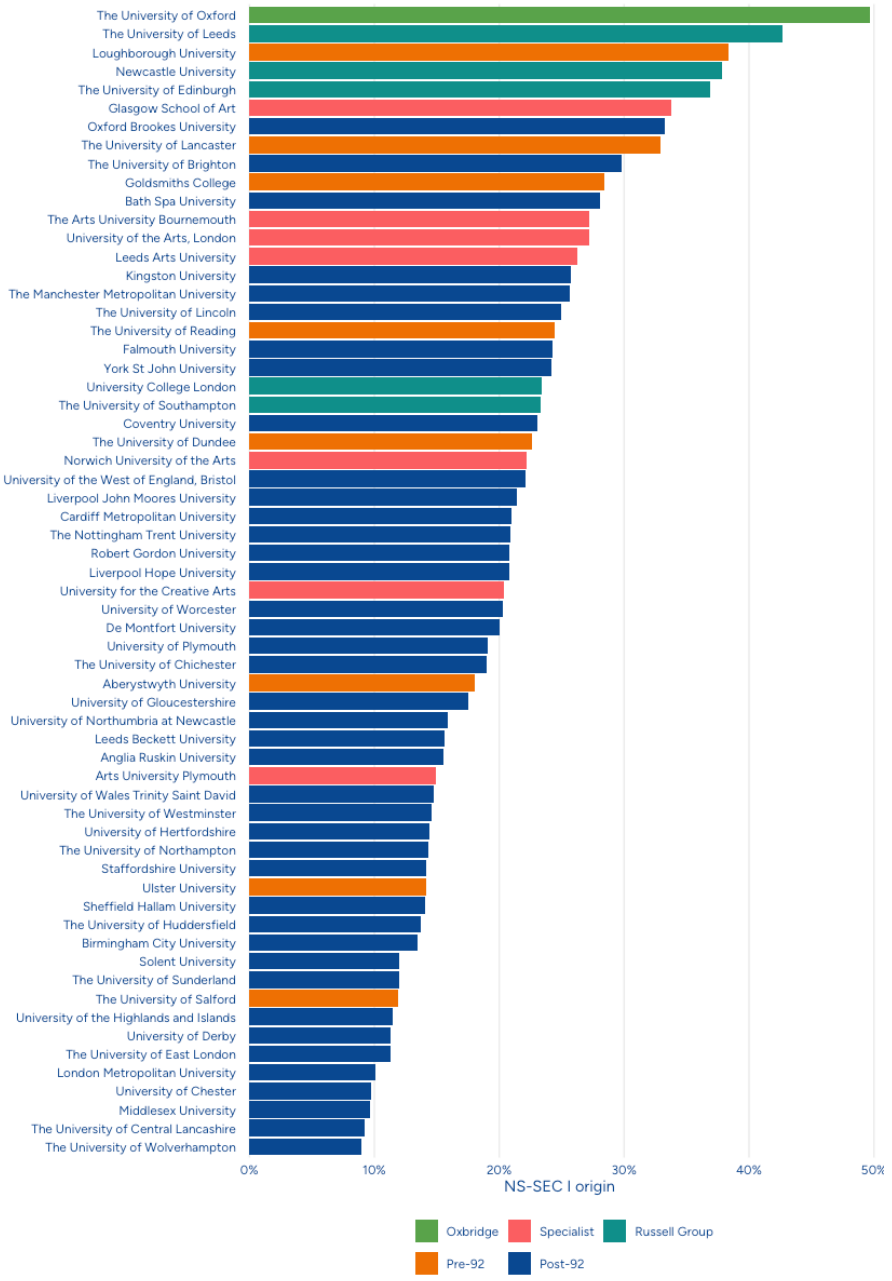
[31] British Academy. (2024). *Media, Screen, Journalism and Communication Studies: Provision in UK Higher Education.* The British Academy. Available at: https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/publications/media-screen-journalism-and-communication-studies-provision-in-uk-higher-education/

Art

Our deep dive begins by presenting class origin for all universities offering Art courses, shown in Figure 20. The contours of the landscape for undergraduate Art courses is immediately clear, with the absence of the Russell Group institutions.

We noted earlier how 25% of all students are from upper-middle-class backgrounds, with the average across Art slightly below this. Figure 20 shows that there are 17 institutions with higher proportions, and these are the most prestigious places. Unsurprisingly almost half of Oxford's Art students are from upper-middle-class origins, and Leeds, Newcastle and Edinburgh all have over a third from upper-middle-class origins too. Loughborough is perhaps the outlier as a pre-92 institution with almost 40% of its students from upper-middle-class origins.

Figure 20: Individual HE institutions ranked by proportions of Art students from upper-middle-class backgrounds



We look at Art in Figure 21. It shows the proportions of students studying Art by ethnicity, gender, upper-middle-class and working-class origins. Figure 22 presents the same information, but with school type rather than class origins. The scale for White students is separate, as they make up a much higher proportion of students studying these subjects.

We can also offer an intersectional perspective on these figures. We present the proportions for all students by class, gender and ethnicity in

Figure 23. This also provides the comparison for our 'deep dives' on Drama and Music.

Whilst there are, proportionally, more working-class origin Asian, Black, Mixed and Other ethnicity students than their upper-middle-class origin counterparts, these proportions are still an extremely small part of Art students overall. Upper-middle-class origin White women are a large proportion, at 17%, of all Art students. This proportion is higher than all ethnicities put together, irrespective of their gender or class origin.

The story is similar with regard to the type of school attended. White, state-educated women are the highest proportion of Art students (61%) and the proportions of ethnic minorities are low.

Figure 21: Proportions of Art students by class, gender and ethnicity

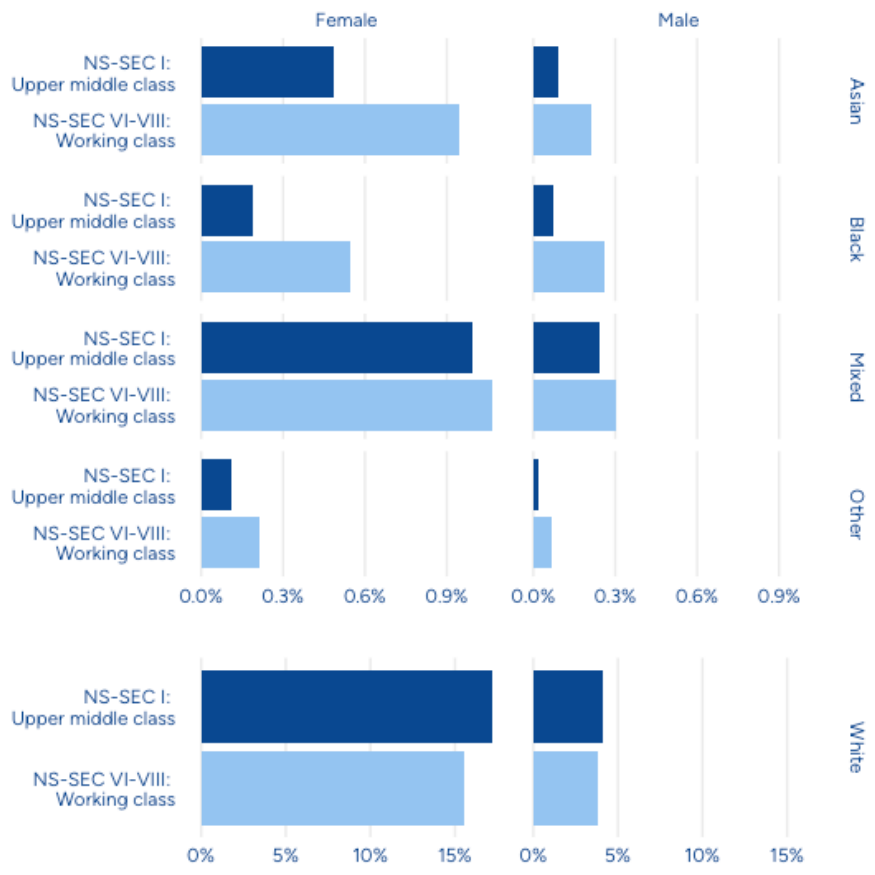


Figure 22: Proportions of Art students by school type, gender and ethnicity

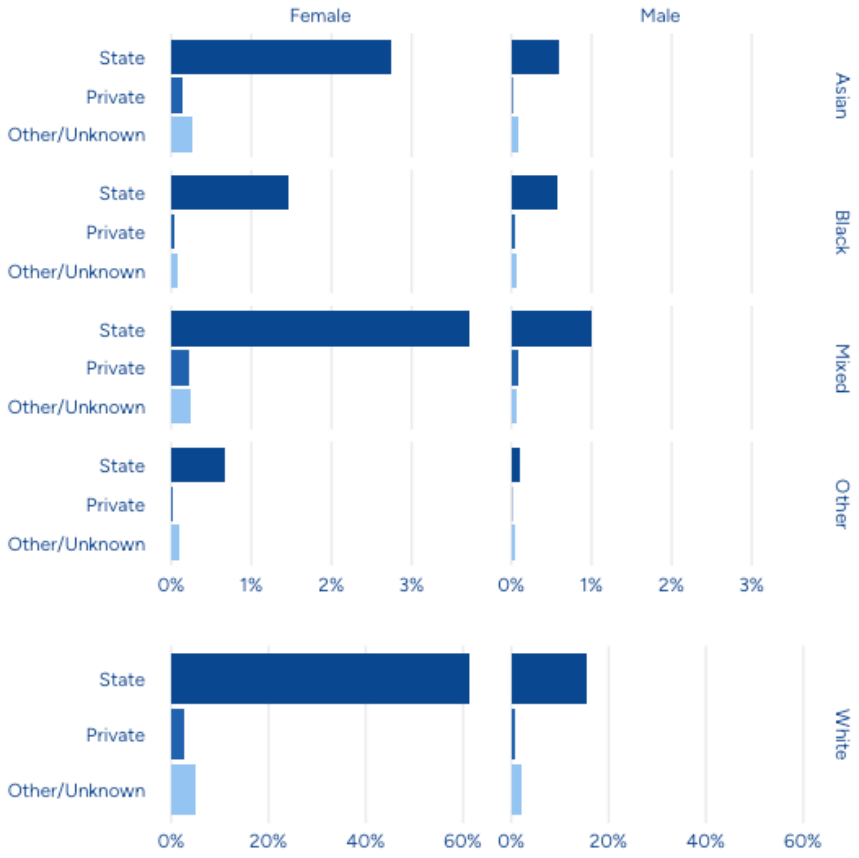
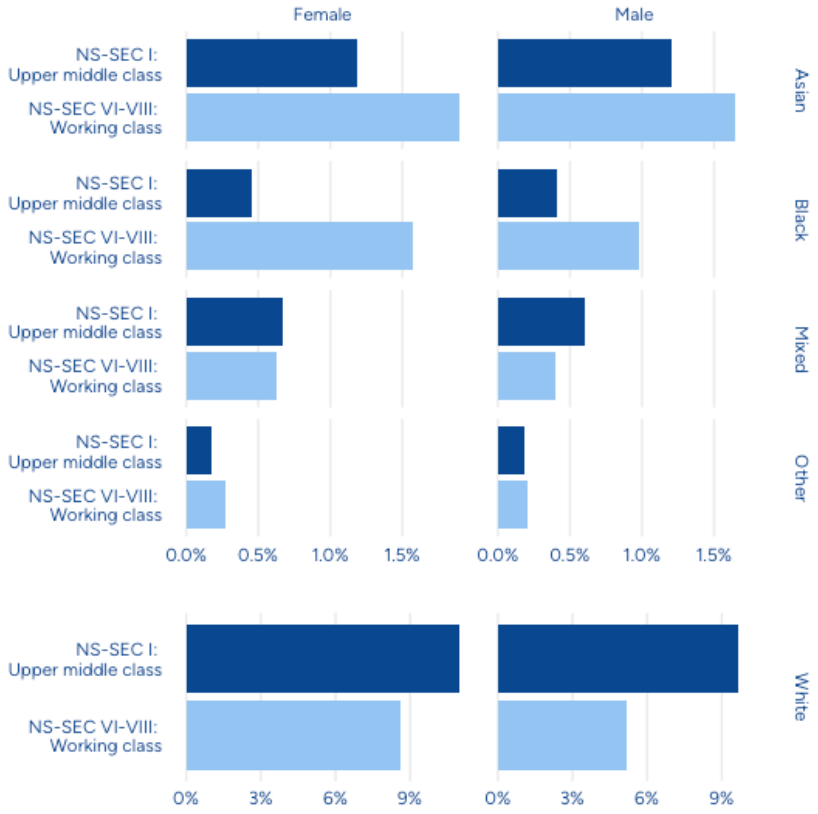


Figure 23: Proportions of all students by class, gender and ethnicity



Drama

As with Art, the deep dive into Drama begins with Figure 24, showing the class origin of students for all universities offering Drama courses.

The comparison with Art is striking. There are many more Russell Group institutions offering Drama, and they all, aside from University of Glasgow and Queen's University Belfast, have over a third of their cohort from upper-middle-class backgrounds. The Universities of Sheffield (45%), Birmingham (44%), and Exeter (44%) all have proportions over 40%, higher than the average proportion of upper-middle-class origin students studying all subjects at the Russell Group (37%).

The class crisis is clear at Russell Group institutions. Interestingly, specialist institutions such as Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts (LIPA), Central and University of the Arts London (UAL) have proportions lower than the overall average of upper-middle-class origin students (25%) on all subjects. The dynamics of class in drama schools are a huge subject of concern, yet these figures suggest there are substantial differences depending on the type of institution offering this subject.

Figure 24: Individual HE institutions ranked by proportions of Drama students from upper-middle-class backgrounds

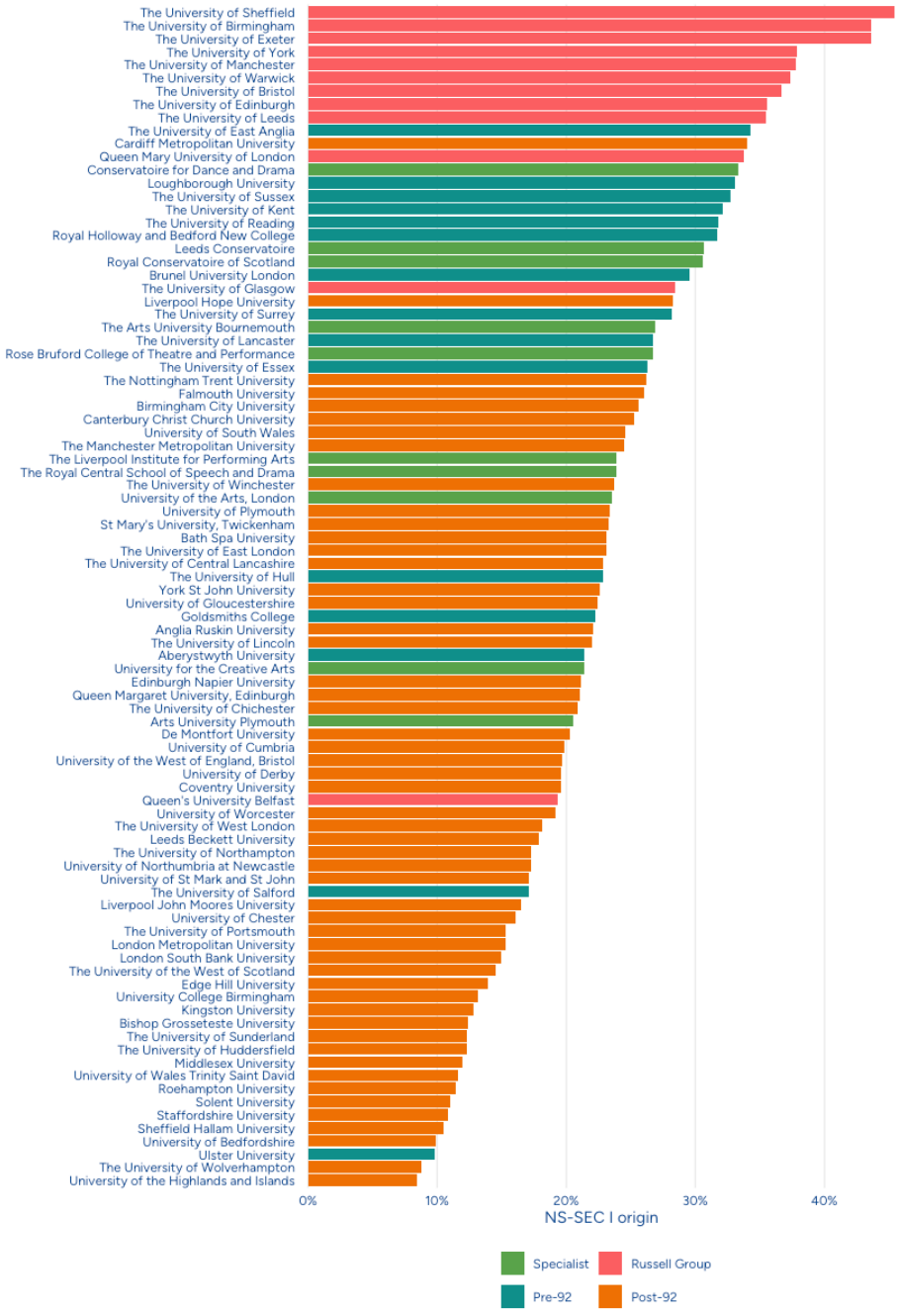


Figure 25: Proportions of Drama students by class, gender and ethnicity

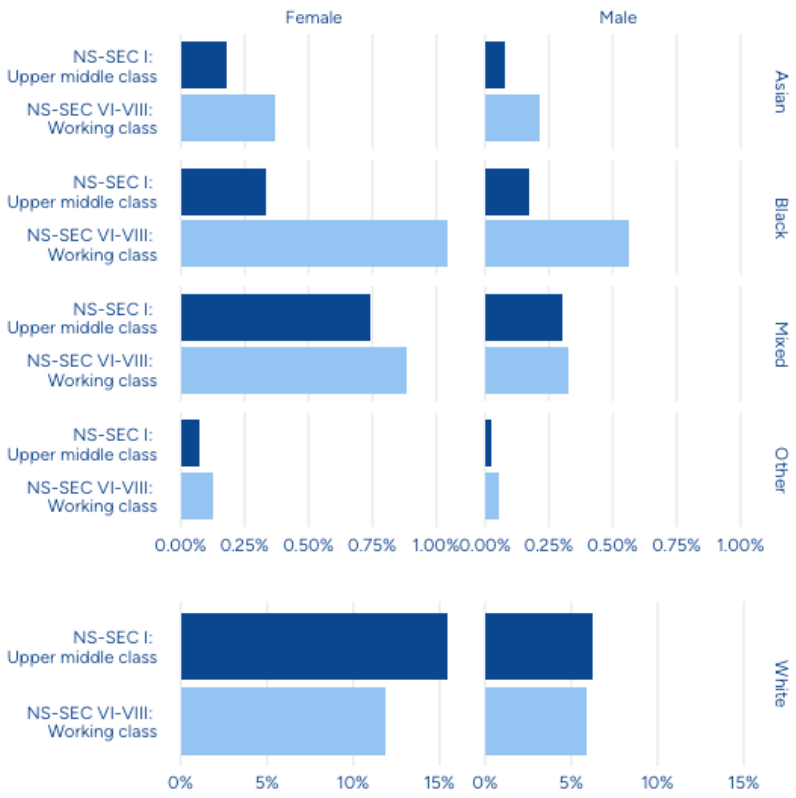


Figure 25 shows the proportions of students studying Drama by ethnicity, gender, upper-middle-class and working-class origins. Figure 26 presents the same information, but with school type rather than class origins. These can be compared with Figures 21 and 22, which have the proportions for all students.

As with Art, there are very low proportions of specific demographic groups studying drama. White upper-middle-class origin women are the largest single demographic (17%) group, and Black working-class origin women are the only ethnic minority group that are more than 1% of drama students.

For school type, White, state educated women are the largest proportion (52%), although this is a smaller proportion than Art students.

Figure 26: Proportions of Drama students by school type, gender and ethnicity

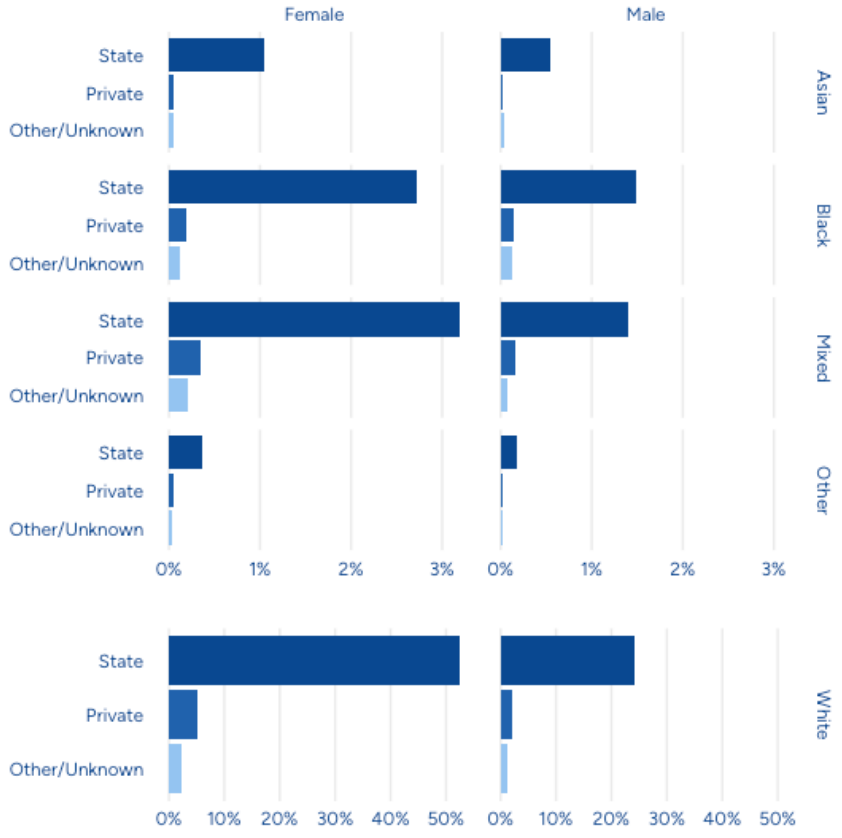
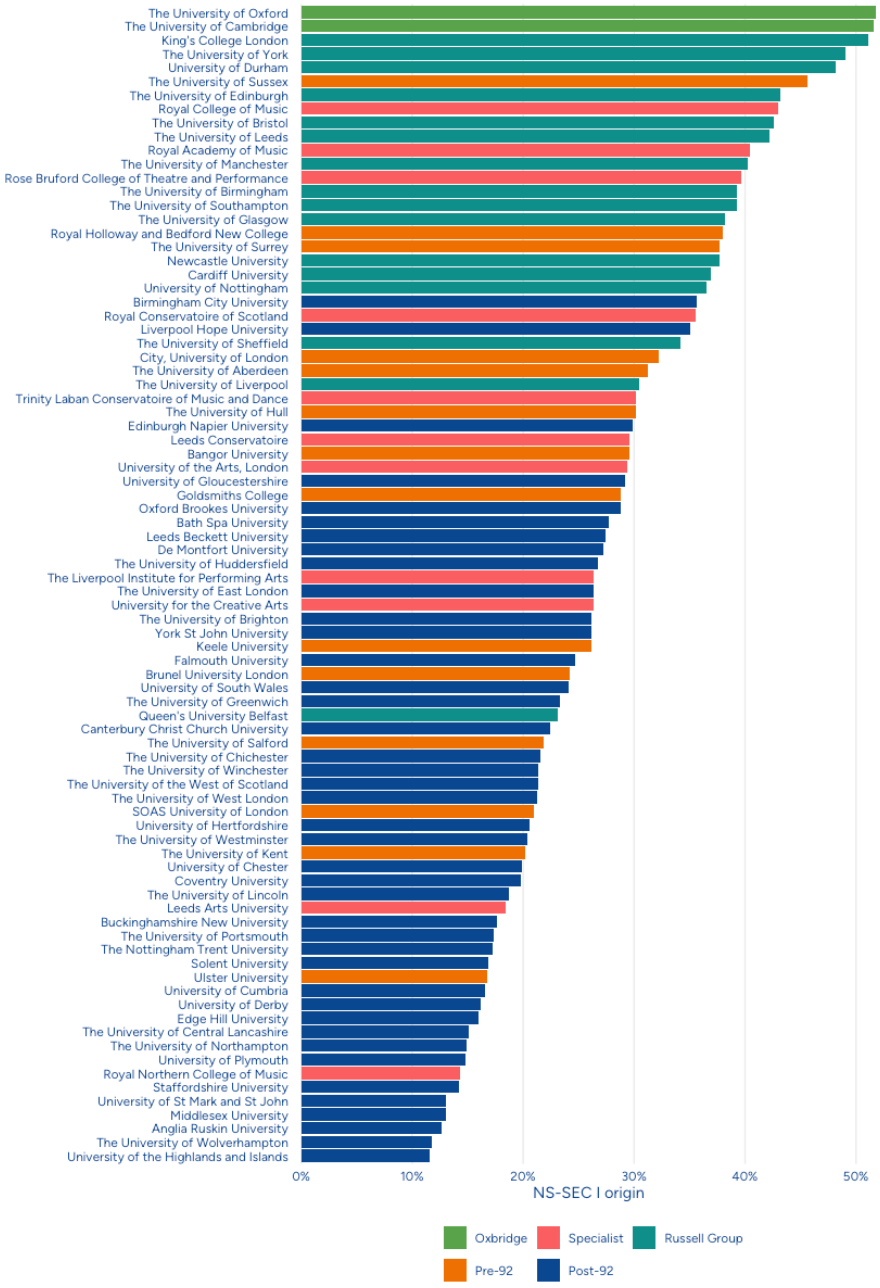


Figure 27: Individual HE institutions ranked by proportions of Music students from upper-middle-class backgrounds



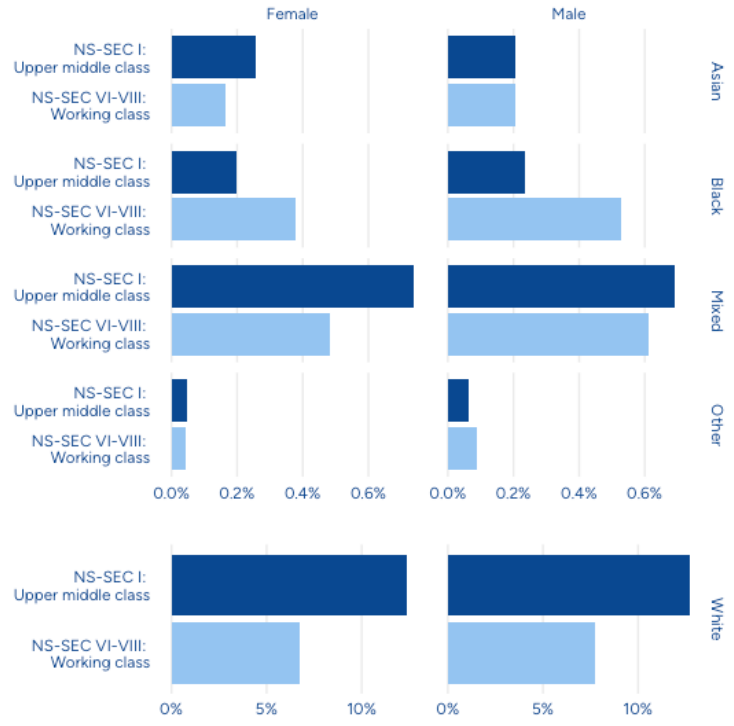
"Oxford, Cambridge and King's College London all have over 50% of their Music students from upper-middle-class backgrounds. The Russell Group, as with Drama, dominates the top half of the figure."

Music

Finally, we turn to Music. Music has been a subject of intensive interest from scholars examining inequalities in HE.[32] As with Art and Drama, Figure 27 shows the proportions of students from upper-middle-class origins at all universities offering Music courses.

Oxford, Cambridge and King's College London all have over 50% of their Music students from upper-middle-class backgrounds. The Russell Group, as with Drama, dominates the top half of the figure. The proportions are generally higher than drama, with six Russell Group institutions having between 40-49% of their intake from upper-middle-class backgrounds, as compared with three for Drama. Queen's University Belfast's low proportions, as with drama, is the outlier within the Russell Group.

Figure 28: Proportions of Music students by class, gender and ethnicity



[32] Bull, A. *et al.* (2022). *Slow Train Coming? Equality, Diversity and Inclusion in UK Music Higher Education*. Equality, Diversity and Inclusion in Music Studies network. Available at: https://edims.network/report/slowtraincoming/

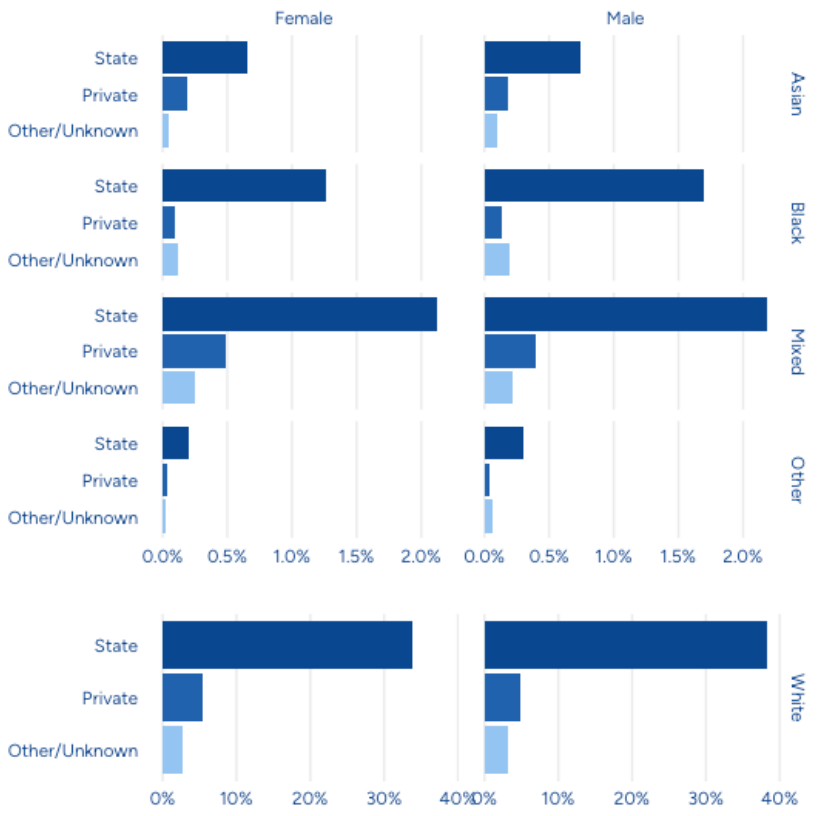
For an intersectional perspective, Figure 28 shows the proportions of students studying Music by ethnicity, gender, upper-middle-class and working-class origins. Figure 29 presents the same information, but with school type rather than class origins. As with Art and Drama, these proportions can be compared to the overall figures presented above.

The representation of those from minority ethnic backgrounds is, as with Art and Drama, still low. The gender dynamics are, however, quite distinctive. Whereas women, particularly White women, dominate Art and Drama, White men are a more substantial proportion of Music students. Indeed, upper-middle-class men (16%) are fractionally greater than upper-middle-class women. There are also fewer working-class women than men.

The gender balance is even more striking in terms of type of school attended, where the proportions of state educated men (38%) and women (34%) and men (5%) and women (6%) from independent schools are much more evenly matched when compared to the much larger proportions of women in Drama and Art degrees.

Even with this gender balance, the combined proportion of privately educated White men and women studying Music (11%) is the largest of all three subjects (with Drama at 7% and Art at 4%).

Figure 29: Proportions of Music students by school type, gender and ethnicity



Conclusion

Many of the inequalities revealed by this data should not be a surprise. The findings build on well-established and longstanding research that has tried to call attention, using both quantitative and qualitative methods, to the uneven spread of opportunities in creative HE.[33]

Inequalities in the creative workforce, along with the importance of HE as a route into that workforce, indicate the existence of inequalities in the 'pipeline' for the creative sector. At the same time, longstanding fears as to the place of creative subjects in the education system, both in HE and in schools, suggest we might expect to find an unequal pattern of mobility into creative HE subjects.

"Currently, key parts of the sector seem only to welcome those from the most privileged backgrounds, providing a narrow pipeline accessible to an already advantaged few."

What is most striking, and perhaps most worrying, is the stratification of inequality in creative HE. On the surface, creative HE seems like it mirrors inequality found in HE more generally. However, it is only when we look at specific subjects, as we have done for art, drama, and music, or specific types of universities, such as the Russell Group, that we see how institutional prestige goes hand in hand with the most extreme forms of class inequalities.

Some of these inequalities are straightforward to explain. The collapse of access to music teaching over the past 14 years, along with marginalisation of arts subjects in the state school curriculum, likely plays a significant role in the dominance of private schools and upper-middle-class students at the most prestigious specialist institutions.[34] Broader issues associated with the long-term struggle to widen participation beyond the upper middle class have a significant impact on the absence of working-class students from Russell Group institutions. These contextual factors play into the explanations for the class crisis in creative HE. They do not, however, excuse it.

[33] Quantitative research: Comunian, R. *et al.* (2023). *Making the Creative Majority: A report for the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Creative Diversity on 'What Works' to support diversity and inclusion in creative education and the talent pipeline, with a focus on the 16+ age category.* APPG for Creative Diversity. Available at: www.kcl.ac.uk/cultural/projects/creative-majority-education and Qualitative research: Banks, M. and Oakley, K. (2015). The dance goes on forever? Art schools, class and UK higher education. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22 (1), 41–57.
[34] Ashton, H. *et al.* (2024). *The state of the Arts*. Campaign for the Arts & Centre for Cultural and Media Policy Studies, University of Warwick. Available at: https://www.campaignforthearts.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/The-State-of-the-Arts.pdf

Other research-led interventions have given detailed recommendations on what needs to change and 'what works' to address this crisis.[35] At a time of huge financial pressure for HE in the UK, institutions may be tempted to avoid the pressing need for equality of access. In spite of these significant problems for universities, and the pressing need for a new financial settlement, creative HE will struggle to attract support if it continues to be exclusive.

Currently, key parts of the sector seem only to welcome those from the most privileged backgrounds, providing a narrow pipeline accessible to an already advantaged few. The more prestigious institutions, which as we've evidenced are where the inequalities in access are most acute, need to do better on recruiting more students from working-class origins into their creative degree programmes. Moreover, new measures to ensure these institutions are accountable for making the change are also needed.

In its current form, creative HE is a major reason why the creative sector has such catastrophically low levels of social mobility. It is not delivering on the new government's mission to offer opportunities in culture, nor is it part of a cultural system that fairly reflects the diversity and talent of the UK.

[35] Comunian, R. *et al.* (2023). *Making the Creative Majority: A report for the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Creative Diversity on 'What Works' to support diversity and inclusion in creative education and the talent pipeline, with a focus on the 16+ age category.* APPG for Creative Diversity. Available at: www.kcl.ac.uk/cultural/projects/creative-majority-education

Appendices

Appendix A: Variable transformation notes

- Institutions have been grouped together into five main groups: Oxbridge, Russell Group, Pre-92, Specialist, and Post-92. Birkbeck College and the Open University has been removed from analysis due to very small fractions of students at those institutions who start higher education within the three years after completing their post-16 education. The full list of each institution in each category is in Appendix C Table C.1. Whilst there are important differences and distinctions within these groups, they allow the analysis to show the broad patterns across the sector, without disclosing an individual university's data.

- We follow Comunian et al's (2023) definition of creative courses. Programme codes have been grouped together into simpler categories, including "STEM", "Games", "Art", etc. For data prior to the 2019/2020 academic year, this was based on JACS codes for data from 2019/2020 onwards, these are based on HECoS codes. The comparisons can be found in appendices table C.2 (JACS) and C.3 (HECOS).

- We have two key measures of social origin: NS-SEC, collected by and available through UCAS, and school type. Neither of these is a perfect measure; in particular, there are significant missing responses on both measures. In both cases, this is mostly accounted for by international and mature students who are not included in these measures; however, in the case of school type, there is missingness beyond this. For this reason, we highlight the percentages of students whose school type is unknown in our initial analysis.

- The report focuses on comparing and contrasting students from NS-SEC I, higher managerial and professional social origins– described as 'upper-middle-class' students – with those from NS-SEC VI-VII, routine, manual and long-term unemployed origins – described here as 'working-class' students.

- The categories for the socio-economic background of the parent have been grouped together. NS-SEC categories I and II are kept distinct, while NS-SEC III-V and NS-SEC VI-VIII have each been grouped together. Cases where socio-economic background is

absent (either unknown or not classified) have been dropped from analysis.

- For school type, the report compares students from state schools (including state-funded grammars) with those who attended private schools.

- As we have already noted, neither of these is a perfect measure, and more granular data would always be welcome. However, both measures give an excellent indication of the broader trends and patterns for entry to creative HE courses.

- We have no information on individuals who are not attending university, and so all comparisons and proportions discussed in the report are for students on HE courses.

Appendix B

Table B.1: Percentages of students in Music, Drama, and Art, by ethnic group, sex, and NS-SEC

	Origin	Asian		Black		Mixed		Other		White	
Subject	Gender	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Music	NS-SEC I	0.26	0.2	0.2	0.23	0.74	0.69	0.05	0.06	12.38	12.73
	NS-SEC II	0.18	0.23	0.45	0.53	0.92	0.84	0.06	0.08	13.75	14.7
	NS-SEC III-V	0.25	0.23	0.31	0.41	0.59	0.54	0.08	0.08	10.59	10.71
	NS-SEC VI-VIII	0.16	0.21	0.38	0.53	0.48	0.61	0.04	0.09	6.71	7.71
Drama	NS-SEC I	0.18	0.08	0.33	0.17	0.73	0.31	0.07	xxx	15.3	6.32
	NS-SEC II	0.23	0.11	0.82	0.44	1.07	0.47	0.09	xxx	18.52	8.35
	NS-SEC III-V	0.3	0.18	0.65	0.33	0.84	0.36	0.11	xxx	15.21	6.91
	NS-SEC VI-VIII	0.37	0.21	1.03	0.56	0.87	0.33	0.13	xxx	11.84	6.01
Art	NS-SEC I	0.48	0.09	0.19	0.07	1	0.24	0.11	xxx	17.16	4.06
	NS-SEC II	0.58	0.16	0.48	0.16	1.15	0.34	0.11	xxx	19.66	5.25
	NS-SEC III-V	0.9	0.16	0.4	0.15	1.03	0.31	0.21	xxx	17.97	4.49

	NS-SEC VI-VIII	0.94	0.21	0.55	0.26	1.06	0.3	0.21	xxx	15.57	3.82
All other subjects	NS-SEC I	1.27	1.31	0.47	0.43	0.66	0.62	0.18	0.2	10.82	9.78
	NS-SEC II	1.26	1.2	1.03	0.78	0.68	0.54	0.15	0.14	11.24	8.69
	NS-SEC III-V	2.33	2.18	1.43	0.84	0.63	0.47	0.26	0.22	11.3	7.5
	NS-SEC VI-VIII	2.01	1.75	1.66	1.02	0.6	0.38	0.28	0.21	8.54	4.92

Table B.2: Percentages of students in Music, Drama, and Art, by ethnic group, sex, and school type

	Origin	Asian		Black		Mixed		Other		White	
Subject	Gender	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Music	Other /Unknown	0.05	0.1	0.12	0.2	0.25	0.21	0.03	0.06	2.66	3.14
	Private	0.19	0.18	0.09	0.13	0.49	0.39	0.03	0.04	5.38	4.93
	State	0.65	0.74	1.26	1.7	2.12	2.18	0.2	0.3	33.93	38.24
Drama	Other /Unknown	0.06	0.03	0.12	0.12	0.2	0.07	0.03	xxx	2.4	1.23
	Private	0.06	0.03	0.19	0.14	0.34	0.16	0.05	xxx	5.01	2.16
	State	1.03	0.54	2.7	1.46	3.16	1.39	0.36	xxx	52.27	24.49
Art	Other /Unknown	0.26	0.09	0.09	0.07	0.25	0.07	xxx	xxx	5.05	2.09
	Private	0.15	0.01	0.05	0.04	0.22	0.09	xxx	xxx	2.74	0.79
	State	2.74	0.6	1.45	0.56	3.72	1	xxx	xxx	61.34	15.57
All other subjects	Other /Unknown	0.66	0.54	0.78	0.52	0.29	0.2	0.17	0.15	6.1	4.01
	Private	0.44	0.48	0.12	0.1	0.24	0.24	0.05	0.05	3.11	3.19
	State	5.57	5.04	3.87	2.5	1.95	1.42	0.77	0.64	33.45	23.35

Figure B.1: Class origins of all creative subjects by university type

Appendix C

Table C.1: List of Universities and University types

The University of Cambridge	Oxbridge	Royal Academy of Dramatic Art	Specialist	Cardiff University	Russell Group
The University of Oxford	Oxbridge	Royal Academy of Music	Specialist	Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine	Russell Group
Arts University Plymouth	Specialist	Royal College of Art	Specialist	King's College London	Russell Group
Conservatoire for Dance and Drama	Specialist	Royal College of Music	Specialist	London School of Economics and Political Science	Russell Group
Courtauld Institute of Art	Specialist	Royal Conservatoire of Scotland	Specialist	Newcastle University	Russell Group
Glasgow School of Art	Specialist	Royal Northern College of Music	Specialist	Queen Mary University of London	Russell Group
Guildhall School of Music and Drama	Specialist	The Arts University Bournemouth	Specialist	Queen's University Belfast	Russell Group
LAMDA Limited	Specialist	The Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts	Specialist	The University of Birmingham	Russell Group
Leeds Arts University	Specialist	The Royal Central School of Speech and Drama	Specialist	The University of Bristol	Russell Group
Leeds Conservatoire	Specialist	Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance	Specialist	The University of Edinburgh	Russell Group
Norwich University of the Arts	Specialist	University for the Creative Arts	Specialist	The University of Exeter	Russell Group
Rose Bruford College of Theatre and Performance	Specialist	University of the Arts, London	Specialist	The University of Glasgow	Russell Group

The University of Leeds	Russell Group	Cranfield University	Pre-92	The University of Buckingham	Pre-92
The University of Manchester	Russell Group	City, University of London	Pre-92	The University of Dundee	Pre-92
The University of Liverpool	Russell Group	Goldsmiths College	Pre-92	The University of East Anglia	Pre-92
The University of Sheffield	Russell Group	Heriot-Watt University	Pre-92	The University of Essex	Pre-92
The University of Southampton	Russell Group	Keele University	Pre-92	The University of Hull	Pre-92
The University of Warwick	Russell Group	Loughborough University	Pre-92	The University of Kent	Pre-92
The University of York	Russell Group	Royal Agricultural University	Pre-92	The University of Lancaster	Pre-92
University College London	Russell Group	Royal Holloway and Bedford New College	Pre-92	The University of Leicester	Pre-92
University of Durham	Russell Group	SOAS University of London	Pre-92	The University of Reading	Pre-92
University of Nottingham	Russell Group	St George's, University of London	Pre-92	The University of Salford	Pre-92
Aberystwyth University	Pre-92	Swansea University	Pre-92	The University of St. Andrews	Pre-92
Aston University	Pre-92	The Royal Veterinary College	Pre-92	The University of Stirling	Pre-92
Bangor University	Pre-92	The University of Aberdeen	Pre-92	The University of Strathclyde	Pre-92
Birkbeck College	Pre-92	The University of Bath	Pre-92	The University of Surrey	Pre-92
Brunel University London	Pre-92	The University of Bradford	Pre-92	The University of Sussex	Pre-92

Ulster University	Pre-92	Glasgow Caledonian University	Post-92	Middlesex University	Post-92
University of London (Institutes and activities)	Pre-92	Glyndŵr University	Post-92	Newman University	Post-92
AECC University College	Post-92	Gower College Swansea	Post-92	Oxford Brookes University	Post-92
Abertay University	Post-92	Grŵp Llandrillo Menai	Post-92	Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh	Post-92
Anglia Ruskin University	Post-92	Grŵp NPTC Group	Post-92	Ravensbourne University London	Post-92
Bath Spa University	Post-92	Harper Adams University	Post-92	Robert Gordon University	Post-92
Birmingham City University	Post-92	Hartpury University	Post-92	Roehampton University	Post-92
Bishop Grosseteste University	Post-92	Heythrop College	Post-92	SRUC	Post-92
Bournemouth University	Post-92	Kingston University	Post-92	Sheffield Hallam University	Post-92
Buckinghamshire New University	Post-92	Leeds Beckett University	Post-92	Solent University	Post-92
Canterbury Christ Church University	Post-92	Leeds Trinity University	Post-92	St Mary's University College	Post-92
Cardiff Metropolitan University	Post-92	Liverpool Hope University	Post-92	St Mary's University, Twickenham	Post-92
Coventry University	Post-92	Liverpool John Moores University	Post-92	Staffordshire University	Post-92
De Montfort University	Post-92	The University of West London	Post-92	University of Plymouth	Post-92
Edge Hill University	Post-92	The University of Westminster	Post-92	University of South Wales	Post-92

Stranmillis University College	Post-92	London Metropolitan University	Post-92	University of Wales Trinity Saint David	Post-92
Teesside University	Post-92	London South Bank University	Post-92	University of Worcester	Post-92
The Manchester Metropolitan University	Post-92	The University of Winchester	Post-92	University of the Highlands and Islands	Post-92
The Nottingham Trent University	Post-92	The University of Wolverhampton	Post-92	University of the West of England, Bristol	Post-92
The University College of Osteopathy	Post-92	The University of the West of Scotland	Post-92	Writtle University College	Post-92
The University of Brighton	Post-92	University College Birmingham	Post-92	York St John University	Post-92
The University of Central Lancashire	Post-92	University of Bedfordshire	Post-92		
The University of Chichester	Post-92	University of Chester	Post-92		
The University of East London	Post-92	University of Cumbria	Post-92		
The University of Greenwich	Post-92	University of Derby	Post-92		
The University of Huddersfield	Post-92	University of Gloucestershire	Post-92		
The University of Lincoln	Post-92	University of Hertfordshire	Post-92		
The University of Northampton	Post-92	University of Northumbria at Newcastle	Post-92		
The University of Portsmouth	Post-92	University of St Mark and St John	Post-92		
The University of Sunderland	Post-92	University of Suffolk	Post-92		

Table C.2: List of creative subjects and subject codes (JACS)

Category	JACS code	JACS label	Category	JACS code	JACS label
Architecture	**K100**	Architecture	Art	**W130**	Sculpture
Architecture	**K110**	Architectural design theory	Art	**W140**	Printmaking
Architecture	**K120**	Interior architecture	Art	**W160**	Fine art conservation
Architecture	**K130**	Architectural technology	Art	**W190**	Fine art not elsewhere classified
Architecture	**K190**	Architecture not elsewhere classified	Creative writing	**W800**	Imaginative writing
Architecture	**K300**	Landscape & garden design	Creative writing	**W810**	Scriptwriting
Architecture	**K310**	Landscape architecture	Creative writing	**W820**	Poetry writing
Architecture	**K320**	Landscape studies	Creative writing	**W830**	Prose writing
Architecture	**K340**	Garden design	Creative writing	**W890**	Imaginative writing not elsewhere classified
Art	**W100**	Fine art	Dance	**W500**	Dance
Art	**W110**	Drawing	Dance	**W510**	Choreography
Art	**W120**	Painting	Dance	**W540**	Types of dance
Dance	**W543**	Contemporary dance	Design	**W220**	Illustration

Dance	**W550**	Dance performance	Design	**W230**	Clothing/fashion design
Dance	**W590**	Dance not elsewhere classified	Design	**W231**	Textile design
Design	**J400**	Polymers & textiles	Design	**W240**	Industrial/product design
Design	**J410**	Polymers technology	Design	**W250**	Interior design
Design	**J420**	Textiles technology	Design	**W260**	Furniture design
Design	**J430**	Leather technology	Design	**W270**	Ceramics design
Design	**J440**	Clothing production	Design	**W280**	Interactive & electronic design
Design	**J443**	Pattern cutting	Design	**W290**	Design studies not elsewhere classified
Design	**J445**	Footwear production	Design	**W700**	Crafts
Design	**W200**	Design studies	Design	**W720**	Metal crafts
Design	**W210**	Graphic design	Design	**W721**	Silversmithing/goldsmithing
Design	**W211**	Typography	Design	**W723**	Clock/watchmaking
Design	**W212**	Multimedia design	Design	**W730**	Wood crafts
Design	**W213**	Visual communication	Design	**W740**	Surface decoration
Design	**W762**	Thatching	Drama	**W461**	Stage design

Design	**W770**	Glass crafts	Drama	**W470**	Performance & live arts
Drama	**W400**	Drama	Drama	**W472**	Circus arts
Drama	**W410**	Acting	Drama	**W473**	Community theatre
Drama	**W420**	Directing for theatre	Drama	**W490**	Drama not elsewhere classified
Drama	**W430**	Producing for theatre	Games	**I600**	Games
Drama	**W440**	Theatre studies	Games	**I610**	Computer games programming
Drama	**W441**	Theatre & professional practice	Games	**I620**	Computer games design
Drama	**W442**	Contemporary theatre	Games	**I630**	Computer games graphics
Drama	**W443**	Technical arts & special effects for theatre	Journalism	**P500**	Journalism
Drama	**W450**	Stage management	Journalism	**P510**	Factual reporting
Drama	**W451**	Theatrical wardrobe design	Journalism	**P590**	Journalism not elsewhere classified
Drama	**W452**	Theatrical make-up	Media production	**I700**	Computer generated visual & audio effects
Drama	**W453**	Technical stage management	Media production	**I710**	Computer generated imagery
Drama	**W460**	Theatre design	Media production	**P310**	Media production
Media production	**P311**	Television production	Music	**W300**	Music

Media production	**P312**	Radio production	Music	**W310**	Musicianship/performance studies
Media production	**P313**	Film production	Music	**W311**	Instrumental or vocal performance
Media production	**W600**	Cinematics & photography	Music	**W312**	Musical theatre
Media production	**W610**	Moving image techniques	Music	**W314**	Jazz performance
Media production	**W611**	Directing motion pictures	Music	**W315**	Popular music performance
Media production	**W612**	Producing motion pictures	Music	**W317**	Historical performance practice
Media production	**W613**	Film & sound recording	Music	**W320**	Music education/teaching
Media production	**W614**	Visual & audio effects	Music	**W330**	History of music
Media production	**W615**	Animation techniques	Music	**W340**	Types of music
Media production	**W620**	Cinematography	Music	**W341**	Popular music
Media production	**W630**	History of cinematics & photography	Music	**W342**	Film music/screen music
Media production	**W631**	History of cinematics	Music	**W343**	Jazz
Media production	**W640**	Photography	Music	**W344**	Folk music
Media production	**W690**	Cinematics & photography not elsewhere classified	Music	**W346**	Sacred music
Music	**W350**	Musicology	Music	**W388**	Popular music composition

Music	**W351**	Ethnomusicology/world music	Music	**W390**	Music not elsewhere classified
Music	**W355**	Music psychology	Music technology	**J930**	Audio technology
Music	**W380**	Composition	Music technology	**J931**	Music recording
Music	**W381**	Electracoustic composition/acousmatic composition	Music technology	**W370**	Music technology & industry
Music	**W382**	Sonic arts	Music technology	**W371**	Sound design/commercial music recording
Music	**W383**	Electronic music	Music technology	**W372**	Creative music technology
Music	**W384**	Applied music/musicianship	Music technology	**W374**	Music production
Music	**W385**	Commercial music composition	Music technology	**W375**	Music management/music industry management/arts management
Music	**W386**	Multimedia music composition	Music technology	**W376**	Music marketing

Table C.3: List of creative subjects and subject codes (HECOS)

Category	HECoS code	HECoS label	Category	HECoS code	HECoS label
Architecture	**100583**	architectural design	Dance	**100711**	choreography
Architecture	**100122**	architecture	Dance	**100885**	ballet
Architecture	**100121**	architectural technology	Design	**100061**	graphic design
Art	**100059**	fine art	Design	**100062**	illustration
Art	**100587**	drawing	Design	**100632**	visual communication
Art	**100592**	sculpture	Design	**100055**	fashion design
Art	**100595**	printmaking	Design	**100054**	fashion
Art	**100589**	painting	Design	**100050**	product design
Dance	**100068**	dance	Design	**100051**	textile design
Dance	**100712**	dance performance	Design	**101316**	interior design and architecture
Dance	**101454**	community dance	Design	**100048**	design
Dance	**100886**	contemporary dance	Design	**100375**	web and multimedia design

Design	**100636**	interactive and electronic design	Drama	**100700**	theatre production
Design	**100060**	graphic arts	Drama	**100702**	technical theatre studies
Design	**100633**	furniture design and making	Drama	**100697**	directing for theatre
Design	**100630**	typography	Games	**101268**	computer games design
Design	**100003**	ceramics	Games	**101020**	computer games programming
Design	**100052**	ergonomics	Games	**101267**	computer games
Drama	**100703**	stage management	Games	**101019**	computer games graphics
Drama	**100698**	theatre studies	Journalism	**100442**	journalism
Drama	**100067**	acting	Journalism	**100445**	multimedia journalism
Drama	**100069**	drama	Journalism	**100439**	broadcast journalism
Drama	**100710**	community theatre	Media production	**100441**	film production
Drama	**100704**	technical stage management	Media production	**100057**	animation
Drama	**100705**	theatrical wardrobe design	Media production	**100716**	cinematography
Drama	**100708**	stage design	Media production	**100924**	radio production
Drama	**100707**	circus arts	Media production	**100890**	film and sound recording

Media production	**100887**	moving image techniques	Music	**100643**	music and arts management
Media production	**100363**	computer animation and visual effects	Music	**100657**	popular music performance
Media production	**101214**	cinematics	Music	**101449**	music theory and analysis
Media production	**100923**	television production	Music	**100862**	sonic arts
Media production	**100443**	media production	Music	**100656**	jazz performance
Media production	**100063**	photography	Music	**100854**	community music
Media production	**100888**	film directing	Music	**100639**	instrumental or vocal performance
Media production	**100717**	visual and audio effects	Music	**100667**	musicology
Music	**100070**	music	Music	**100842**	film music and screen music
Music	**100867**	electronic music	Music	**101451**	popular music composition
Music	**100035**	musical theatre	Music	**101450**	applied music and musicianship
Music	**100843**	jazz	Music	**100642**	music education and teaching
Music	**100841**	popular music	Music	**100674**	ethnomusicology and world music
Music	**100637**	musicianship and performance studies	Music	**101448**	opera
Music	**100695**	music composition	Music	**101447**	folk music

Music	**100661**	historical performance practice	Music technology	**100222**	audio technology
Music technology	**100223**	music production	Music technology	**100221**	music technology

Table C.4: SOC2010 codes for core creative occupations and other creative occupations

Core Creative occupations			
2451	Librarians	**3413**	Actors, entertainers and presenters
2452	Archivists and curators	**3414**	Dancers and choreographers
2471	Journalists, newspaper and periodical editors	**3415**	Musicians
3411	Artists	**3416**	Arts officers, producers and directors
3412	Authors, writers and translators	**3417**	Photographers, audio-visual and broadcasting equipment operator
Non-core creative occupations			
1132	Marketing and sales directors	**3421**	Graphic designers
1134	Advertising and public relations directors	**3422**	Product, clothing and related designers
2431	Architects	**3543**	Marketing associate professionals
2432	Town planning officers	**5211**	Smiths and forge workers

2435	Chartered architectural technologists	**5411**	Weavers and knitters
2472	'Public relations professionals	**5441**	Glass and ceramics makers, decor
2473	'Advertising accounts managers and creative directors	**5442**	Furniture makers and other craft
3121	Architectural and town planning technicians	**5449**	'Other skilled trades n.e.c'

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