

This is a **working paper**. Please do not quote without the author's authorisation. If you need to quote or reference this material, please e-mail R.Comunian@kent.ac.uk for more details.

WORKING PAPER VERSION

Winning and losing in the creative industries. An analysis of creative graduates' career opportunities across creative disciplines

Roberta Comunian, School of Arts, University of Kent, United Kingdom,

Alessandra Faggian, School of Geography, University of Southampton, United Kingdom

Sarah Jewell, School of Economics, University of Reading

Abstract

Following earlier work looking at overall career difficulties and low economic rewards faced by graduates in creative disciplines, the paper takes a closer look into the different career patterns and economic performance of 'bohemian graduates' across different creative disciplines, namely Advertising, Architecture, Crafts, Design, Film and Television, Fine Art, Music, Performing Arts, Technology and Writing and publishing. While it is widely acknowledged in the literature that careers in the creative field tends to be unstructured, often relying on part-time and temporary work as well as on low wages, our knowledge of how these characteristics differs across the creative industries and occupational sectors is very limited. The paper therefore explores the different trajectory and career patterns experienced by graduate in different creative disciplinary fields and their ability to enter creative occupation and higher level of salary. Data from the Higher Education Statistical Agency (HESA) are presented, articulating a complex picture of the reality of finding a creative occupation for creative graduates. While students of some disciplines struggle to find full-time work and to enter the creative economy, for other students in different creative fields full-time occupation is a norm. While most creative graduates show lower salaries than other graduates, for some disciplines the wage gap is minimal, while for others it is consistent and extreme. Geography plays a crucial role also in offering graduates opportunities in creative occupations and higher salaries. The findings are contextualised in the New Labour cultural policy framework and the hype surrounding the creative industries that has characterised the last decade and conclusions are drawn on whether the creative

industries policy construct has hidden a very problematic reality of winners and losers in the creative economy.

1. Introduction

It is widely acknowledged in the literature that one of the impacts of New Labour's cultural policy in UK has been a growing hype and positive representation of creative and cultural occupations (Banks and O'Connor, 2009). When New Labour policies came into place, they built on the changing economic dynamics of contemporary society embracing the new paradigm of post-industrial, flexible and knowledge-based production. In this broader framework all knowledge driven industries were celebrated (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009) but more than any others creative industries, industries that "have their origins in individual creativity, skills and talent" (DCMS, 1998) were presented as the new flagship of the UK economy. While many policy documents followed to support the New Labour re-positioning of the UK economy in the creative, innovative, knowledge-base economy (DCMS, 1999b, DCMS, 1999a, DCMS, 2001, DCMS, 2003) a more careful analysis of the real dimension of the growth and expansion of the sector (Taylor, 2006) as well as a very limited London-centric reach of its impact (Pratt, 1997, Knell and Oakley, 2007) have followed to reveal its shortcomings and limitation.

As Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009) highlight one of the weakest points of New Labour's creative industries policies has been the poor understanding of the labour dynamics that characterise the work patterns of cultural and creative practitioners. Three key issues presented by Banks and O'Connor (2009) are at core of the analysis presented in this paper. Firstly, the utopianisation of work in the creative industries; secondly, the problematic tension between creative production and economic-commercial gains in creative work; finally, the lack of a consistent policy framework addressing the difference across UK regional policies and creative economy profiles, particularly in relation to the dominance of London.

Within this conflicting policy framework, we argue that the hype surrounding creative industries developed by New Labour policies and publications, combined with almost a decade of economic stability, has also had an impact on the growth of interest and student numbers in university degrees ideally directed towards creative careers (Heartfield, 2005). The Higher Education Statistical Agency (HESA, 2009) highlights the steady growth of creative subject areas. Between 2003/2004 and 2007/2008 Architecture, Building and Planning has shown the highest growth of 34.2%, Creative arts and design have shown a 14.2% increase, while Mass Communication and documentation 7.3%, this over an overall growth across all subjects of 4.8%.

Nowadays much of this rhetoric has been dismantled by researchers specifically addressing the poor labour condition and unstable working patterns of various creative careers, such as in film and television (Blair, 2000, Dex et al., 2000), theatre (Haunschild, 2003) media (Baines, 1999, Baumann, 2002) fine artists (NESTA, 2008) and craft makers (McAuley and Fillis, 2005). However, as Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009) also point out, this body of research had little translation in the New Labour policy, even in more recent publications such as *Staying Ahead* (The Work Foundation, 2008). Only the very last policy intervention *Creative Britain* (DCMS and BERR, 2008) started recognising the instability of creative careers and more links to the educational framework.

One key issue that seems to be unaddressed both by academics and policy is the diversity of careers and job patterns, which can be experienced by workers across the creative industries. There is a lack of comparative knowledge to enable us to better understand what kind of creative careers might provide economic rewards and what kind of creative sectors more suffer from unstable work structures and markets.

Ultimately part of the problem arising by the Golden Age of New Labour Cultural policy is that it has been a Golden Age for few and the creative industries have emerged as a rhetoric construction of the New Labour policy that has allowed to hide some critical issues and realities (such as the poor career perspective of fine arts graduates) in larger positive economic trends mainly led by few highly commercial activities within the creative industries. This argument has previously been presented in relation to the national economic statistics available from the DCMS (Comunian, 2009, Taylor, 2006, Oakley, 2006), however, it is important to consider the same issue, rather than just from the business perspective from the perspective of individuals working in the creative industries.

The paper aims to explore the experience of individuals entering the creative job market - bohemian graduates - within the policy framework of the creative industries established during the New Labour government. While there has been recent work on the overall experiences of creative graduates (Ball et al., 2010) there is very limited knowledge of the relationship between studying choices and the career opportunities and patterns. Highlighting the differences in careers patterns and economic rewards experienced by the graduates of the academic year 2004/2005, the paper aims to question whether the creative industries as policy framework have really benefited prospective creative workers or if it has, on the contrary, facilitate blurring economic and structural differences across the creative industries in a positive portrait that is experienced only by few.

In discussing the career patterns of the different bohemian graduates, we will also briefly present a picture of how these graduates are geographically distributed in the UK (both where they study and work). This is also a contested topic in relation to the New Labour cultural policy, because, while the importance of attracting creative workers in more peripheral regions has been recognised a key factor for regional success (Jayne, 2005) and has been the key goal of many regional initiatives (Chapain and Comunian, 2010), the reality

is that creative graduates tend to concentrate in few regions and even more so when they look for work (Comunian and Faggian, forthcoming).

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 introduces the theoretical and policy background for our study. Section 3 briefly describes the data and methodology used. Section 4 presents and comments on the results while, Section 5 draws some reflections and conclusion in the relation to the policy implication of our findings.

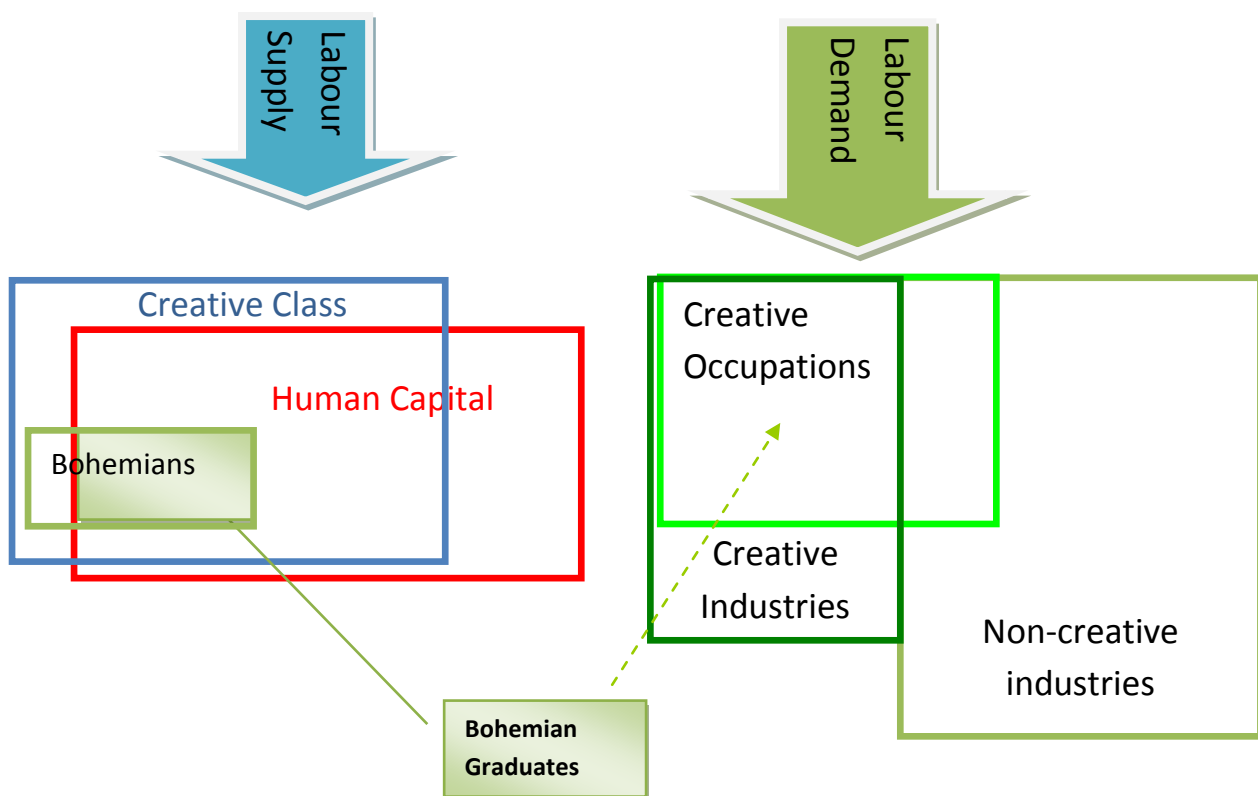
2. Research landscape and framework

The paper explores issues related to a complex research and policy landscape, overlapping different disciplines and policy frameworks. Three key areas of discussion are briefly presented here in relation to the New Labour policy and activities: the relation between *creative workers and broader economic development discourses*; the influence of *creative industry and cultural policy discourses on higher education in the UK* and the contradictions emerging in the analysis of *the creative industries and its geography*.

Firstly, the paper draws on the extensive literature available which specifically addresses the working patterns and condition of creative workers (Menger, 1999, Banks, 2007). It also draws on other research that has been specifically looking at the training and development of people that aspire to have a career in the creative and cultural industries (Oakley, 2009, NESTA, 2008, Ball, 2003, Ball et al., 2010, Aston, 1999). However, it acknowledges how these set of interventions have had limited impact in ***emerging discourses on the role of creative work (and more broadly creative industries, creative class and creative economy) in broader economic development discourses***. In particular, many researchers using the different terminology and understanding of creative work have also failed to connect with the set of interventions by Florida (Florida, 2002c, Florida, 2006) which, although highly-criticised (Comunian, 2010, Peck, 2005), have had a strong impact on policy and local development discourses in the last decade. In order to take these issues into account, the paper draws on the research framework developed by Comunian et al. (2010) that aims to take in consideration the implication that creative occupations have in local regional development (Florida, 2002a, Florida, 2002b). Within this framework 'bohemian graduates' are defined as graduates who obtained a degree in a 'bohemian' subject (creative arts, performing arts, design, mass communications, multi-media, software design and engineering, music recording and technology, architecture and landscape design), they are also considered as the intersection between creative class, creative industries and human capital (see Figure 1). This is particularly relevant because while the working conditions of these graduates could be of little interest (they account for only around 12.88 % of the entire graduate population each year, as our sample show), when creative industries and the presence of 'bohemians' (Florida 2002a) is presented as a key element in national policy

and local economic development, it becomes important to investigate the working conditions and dynamics of these individuals. Furthermore, as the role played by creative industries (and employment in these industries) is strongly linked in New Labour policy to local development, the geography and location of these individuals becomes also critical (as well as the policy aiming at the attracting or retaining them).

Figure 1: The 'Bohemian' graduate research framework



Secondly, the paper acknowledges that the role of creative industries and creative work in New Labour cultural policy has had clear ***implications and connections with education policy and specially higher education***. Buckingham and Jones (2010) specifically explore the push of New Labour's cultural and creative policies in the realm of education and specifically analyse the arguments of policy reports such as *All Our Futures* (NACCCE, 1999) as key in linking the new knowledge economy and its need for a flexible, creative workforce with new opportunities to push arts and creative activities in schools. These arguments would then find application in national programmes such as *Creative Partnership*¹. The importance of creativity – as both a sector of the economy and an acquirable skill – has had a strong impact also within the Higher Education (HE) sector. In broad terms, it has been seen as a new possibility for arts and humanities research to reach into the economy, with growing attention to practices such as knowledge transfer and intellectual property (Smith et al., 2008, Bullen et al., 2004, Crossick, 2006). From the *Lambert review of business-university collaboration* (HM Treasury, 2003) stating the need to include creative industries in the framework of business-university interactions², it is possible to read a willingness of many national bodies to include the arts and humanities in this new economic development agenda (ACE, 2006, DCMS, 2006). The HE sector has embraced the creative industries hype even more closely, within the broader discourse on the role that universities can play in local regeneration, regional development (Charles, 2003) and specifically in the development of creative regions (Powell, 2007). Interventions such as the development of the University Centre in Folkestone (Noble and Barry, 2008) seem to have married the New Labour creative and cultural regeneration agenda with the provision of higher education in local – particularly peripheral – areas of UK (Robinson and Adams, 2008) but the rhetoric of 'talent' has an even wider reach (DIUS, 2008). Furthermore, in 2008 the Millions +³ led on providing evidence of the role of universities in educating the creative workforce of the future and strongly emphasises the importance of HE institutions engaging in this new policy agenda. Anecdotal case studies and reports here highlight that the universities are already supporting the sector and its development. As in much New Labour policy interventions there is little or no reference to career difficulties and issues faced by graduates in creative disciplines (Million +, 2008). Even more problematic, there is little recognition that creative industries employers seem to be more attracted by the creative talent of individuals than their qualifications (Haukka, 2010) and that the fact that creative disciplines are taught mainly in non-Russell group universities (the one which Million + mainly represents) might influence the kind of salary they are offered (see Comunain et al. 2010). Even more recently, *Universities UK* explored similar issues about the contribution of higher education to the creative economy. The creative industries rhetoric is full flagged 'there can be no doubt that the UK's creative economy is a jewel in our crown – a national success story and an area in which the UK can rightly claim to be a global leader' (Universities UK, 2010: i) and the role played by HE (both in respect to teaching, research and enterprise activities) is promoted, presented and exemplified. The only reference to possible difficulties faced by students is

the recognition that “there is undoubtedly a need to ensure that graduates are fully prepared for working in what can be a demanding and uncertain environment” (Universities UK: 48)

Finally, the paper engages with the wider context of how *the creative industries have been defined, measured and assessed during the New Labour government*. The debate on these issues is very extensive (Taylor, 2006, Oakley, 2004, Galloway and Dunlop, 2006), however, for the scope of this paper, there are few key aspects to consider: the role of economic rewards in creative careers, the diversity of sectors included within the creative industries and the geography of creative industries. Firstly, it seems that merging arts and cultural activities into the broader creative industries umbrella, New Labour cultural policy have also ignored insights into the contradiction between cultural work and monetarisation / economic value as perceived by creative practitioners (Taylor and Littleton, 2008, Banks, 2006). However, it seems this consideration do still play an important part not only in the identity of graduates (Oakley, 2009) but also in their working patterns and business perspectives (Comunian, 2009). So, in analysing the career perspective of these graduates and their work satisfaction this contradiction might play a role, which the salary might not always reflect (although as shown by Abreu et al, 2010, job satisfaction is actually lower for bohemian graduates than the other graduates three years and half after graduation). Therefore, the paper is concern with the possibility of ‘bohemian’ graduates to enter creative occupations and the derived economic reward. While it is clear that ‘bohemian’ graduates might find other career opportunities and economic benefit in other careers, it is assumed here that, having spent three years in developing specific creative skills at higher education level, their first career choice would be to enter a creative occupation. Secondly, the paper argues that while most of the literature portrays the ‘creative industries’ as a ‘cohesive’ group of sectors with respect to economic and job dynamics, this is an unexplored issue and in fact some initial comparison on the economic performance of different creative sectors reveals interesting differences (Chapain and Comunian, 2009). Hence the need to better explore what impact different sub-disciplinary courses and education choices might have on employability and career performance of bohemian graduates. Finally, while national and regional policies (Jayne, 2005, Oakley, 2006, DCMS, 1999a) have struggled for a whole decade to make a difference in the distribution of opportunities in the creative economy in UK, all evidences gathered from different authors and methods seem to suggest that most of the creative industries and creative workers are concentrated in Greater London and the South East (Clifton, 2008, NESTA, 2009, Knell and Oakley, 2007), therefore the opportunity to attract and retain graduates seem strongly problematic for certain regions.

3. Data, sample and methodology

Our empirical analysis is based on data collected by the Higher Education Statistical Agency (from now on referred to as HESA). We employ here the data provided by the 'Destination of Leavers from Higher Education Institutions' (also known as DHLE) for students who graduated in the year 2004/2005. We have to sample for that year, one approximate sample for those eligible for a DLHE (i.e. finalists) of 442, 518 observations and a reduced sample with those who have a DLHE return (from within this sample of finalists) consisting of 313,800 observations (see table 1). The sample includes all students who graduates in 2004/2005 in UK, both undergraduate students (including first degree undergraduates and other undergraduate from foundation degrees, diploma of HE, certificate of HE, HND, HNC) as well as postgraduates (including: PGCE, other Postgraduate diplomas/certificates, Masters and Doctorate. For each student, the survey includes information on personal characteristics (such as age, gender, ethnicity), course characteristics (including subject studied at the 4-digit JACS code⁴, mode of studying, i.e. full-time or part-time, institution attended, final grade achieved for finalists) and location of parental domicile (at unit postcode level). Within UK higher education the institution attended can be placed into several different groups: Russell group universities (comprise 20 research intensive universities who receive the majority of research grant and contract income), other old universities, new universities (established as part of the binary divide in 1992) and Higher Education/Further education colleges. The Russell group universities, followed by other old universities are generally considered to be more prestigious. Furthermore, the DHLE provides us with information on graduate employment six months after graduation, this includes not only the salary and location of their job, but also a brief description of their tasks and the SOC4 (standard occupational code) and SIC4 (Standard Industrial Classification) codes of their occupation, in particular we focus on their ability to enter creative occupations. Creative occupations in this paper are defined in relation to the DCMS (Department for Culture, Media and Sport) definition of creative industries and creative occupations⁵. The DCMS framework (2009) is used to identify occupations within the creative industries (through Standard Industrial Classification codes) and creative occupations outside the creative industries (using Standard Occupation Classification codes).

In this paper we classify students according to their subject at two different levels. Firstly, we distinguish between bohemian and non-bohemian graduates⁶. Broadly speaking bohemian graduates include students in creative arts & design subjects (all JACS codes starting with W), creative media graduates (all JACS codes starting with P) and other creative graduates: subjects mainly linked to technologies-based creative subjects and architecture (for the list of JACS codes used in the category of bohemian graduates please refer to table in Appendix). This first categorisation is helpful to compare and analyse the trends and data of bohemian graduates within the broader performance and career patterns of all the graduates in other disciplines (see also Comunian et al. 2010). However, it is also important to understand what different trends and patterns emerged between

graduates who studied different creative disciplines. Therefore, we differentiate graduates in the bohemian subgroup further to specifically acknowledge their field of study and expertise. Appendix 1 highlights the JACS codes classified as bohemian and their further classification in 9 creative sub-categories namely Advertising, Architecture, Crafts, Design, Film and Television, Fine Art, Music, Performing arts, Technology⁷.

As table 1 summarises, 56,996 students graduated in 2004/2005 in creative disciplines in the UK (corresponding to 12.88% of the students graduating that year). The larger sub-disciplinary groups are in the field of Design (3.33% of the graduates' population), Film and Television (2.12%) and Fine Art (1.56). Performing Arts, Music and Writing and Publishing students represented each just over 1% of the students' population, while students in creative technologies and architecture represent (each) just below 1% of the student population. The smallest group is represented by students in Crafts only 0.08% of the overall students' population. This first analysis of our sample highlights already the difficulties of defining and capturing the 'bohemian graduates' as we already seen that some subjects play a key role in defining who creative students are, while others represent more niche subjects with a very low student population. This is will also be linked to important consideration as to whether the UK Higher Education institutions are producing too many students in certain creative disciplines, weakening their job market possibilities (Abbing, 2002, Towse, 2001).

Table 1: Our samples: finalists and DLHE returns in 2004 / 2005

	Finalists		DLHE Returns	
Subject groups	No of Graduates	Percentage	No of Graduates	Percentage
Non – bohemians	385,522	87.12	271,917	86.65
Bohemians	56,996	12.88	41,883	13.35
Advertising	1,086	0.25	762	0.24
Architecture	3,805	0.86	2,492	0.79
Crafts	334	0.08	249	0.08
Design	14,717	3.33	11,084	3.53
Film and Television	9,361	2.12	6,938	2.21
Fine Art	6,891	1.56	5,191	1.65
Music	5,299	1.2	4,052	1.29
Performing arts	6,146	1.39	4,622	1.47
Technology	4,380	0.99	3,070	0.98
Writing and publishing	4,977	1.12	3,423	1.09
Total	442,518	100	313,800	100

Alongside this national overview of the subjects studied by creative graduates, it is also important to consider where these students undertake their degrees. Table 2 provides the percentage of creative students undertaking degrees in the UK regions. As the table highlights 26.5% of the creative graduates concentrate in the Greater London and South-East area. As Comunian and Faggian (forthcoming) suggest this is strongly related to the concentration of highly specialised higher education institutions in the capital region but also to the presence of HEIs of large capacity (such as the University of Arts which cater for 6.8% of the overall bohemian graduate population).

Another interesting dynamic emerging from the table is the further concentration of graduates from postgraduate courses in the Greater London area, while lower postgraduate numbers are presents in the surrounding regions South East, South West and East Midlands.

Table 2: Percentage of Bohemian graduates distribution across UK regions

	% of Bohemian graduates on UK total		
Region	All	UG	PG
Greater London	22.13	19.93	31.7
South East	13.41	14.26	9.74
North West	9.87	10.05	9.1
South West	9.2	9.73	6.89
Yorkshire & the Humber	9.16	9.00	9.16
East Midlands	9.03	10.09	5.12
Scotland	6.82	6.58	7.87
West Midlands	6.45	6.44	6.5
Wales	5.85	5.92	5.56
East of England	3.39	3.42	3.03
North East	3.35	3.19	4.28
Northern Ireland	1.34	1.41	1.05
Total			

The geography of HE provision is very important here as it has a strong connection to the opportunity of regions to retain students and also embed them in local knowledge and business networks, which can have an impact in their future career direction.

Starting from this broad sample and geographical framework, in paper we employ a three-step methodology which engages with three main research questions:

1. Firstly, we use some descriptive statistics to highlight where students concentrate to study creative disciplines and what degree of specialisation can be identified between geography and Bohemian students in general and across different sub-disciplines;
2. Secondly, we use some simple descriptive statistics to highlight the similarities and differences emerging between the sub-groups of the Bohemian graduates in our sample. This allows us to address the differences in career performance emerging among students across the nine creative sub-groups as well as considering some regional varieties;
3. Finally, we consider the salary discrepancies across the sub-disciplines using OLS models (corrected for heteroscedasticity) with the logarithm of nominal salaries as the dependent variable to examine the salary determinants (both in reference to sub-disciplines and regional location).

4. Results

Bohemian graduates: distribution across regions and Higher Education Institutions

As seen from the sample, the Greater London represents a hub for bohemian graduates study. In order to understand better how geography impact on the location choices of bohemian graduates, we consider whether this is true across all the creative sub-sectors or if there is a degree of regional specialisation in the HE system in reference to creative disciplines.

As highlighted in Table 3, although Greater London and the South East concentrate the highest number of students across a variety of different subject areas, there are some regional differences emerging. Advertising courses are more concentrated in the Yorkshire & the Humber (22.01%) and East Midlands (20.8%) as well as in Scotland. Architecture is concentrated in the Greater London area (22.26%), but Scotland follows (14.77%) and then the East Midlands. Crafts courses are almost non-existent in the Greater London area (1.50%) but concentrate heavily in the South West (23.65%) and East Midlands (18.86%). Design shows a strong dominance of Greater London (19.69%) and the East Midlands (13.82%) followed by the South East. The Film and Television subject area and Fine Art show very similar patterns with a strong concentration in the South (Greater London, South East

and South West) covering over 50% of the students number in this fields. For Music and Performing Arts there are similar patterns with the leading region being Greater London and to follow the South East and the North West. The creative technology subjects see Yorkshire and the Humber (18.65%) following Greater London (22.58). Writing and publishing courses are concentrated (after Greater London) in the North West and East Midlands.

Table 3: Distribution of creative graduates by subjects across UK regions

Region	% Adv	% Arch	% Crafts	% Design	% Film & TV	% Fine Art	% Music	% Perform arts	% Tech	% Writing & publish	% UK
GL	11.51	22.26	1.50	19.69	23.12	20.94	27.25	28.49	22.58	19.09	22.13
SE	5.99	8.25	13.77	11.96	17.33	16.15	14.53	11.65	17.40	9.58	13.41
NW	8.10	7.04	5.99	10.36	6.57	10.38	10.62	14.59	6.83	12.80	9.87
SW	7.37	7.67	23.65	8.83	13.23	10.91	6.30	7.79	8.74	6.13	9.2
Y&H	22.01	10.70	11.68	6.63	10.07	5.12	9.66	6.77	18.65	8.88	9.16
EM	20.81	11.93	18.86	13.82	8.88	6.78	2.98	5.99	2.47	10.25	9.03
Scotland	19.24	14.77	4.19	4.95	4.60	6.17	7.70	3.47	10.05	9.20	6.82
WM	0.46	3.99	14.07	8.48	5.61	7.34	6.53	5.91	4.25	5.99	6.45
Wales	1.57	5.26	4.49	6.12	5.01	5.60	5.11	6.28	5.43	9.08	5.85
EoE	2.85	2.02	1.80	4.32	1.54	4.25	5.06	5.63	0.73	1.49	3.39
NE	0.00	4.13	0.00	4.14	3.18	4.43	2.94	2.41	0.73	4.60	3.35
NI	0.09	1.97	0.00	0.69	0.87	1.93	1.30	1.03	2.15	2.91	1.34
Total											

Table 4: Distribution of creative graduates by discipline and HEI type

HEI Type	N HEIs	% UK student	Subjects (%)											
			Non-	Bohemian	Adv	Arch	Crafts	Design	Film &	Fine	Music	Performing	Tech	Writing and
Russell	20	22.32	94.86	5.14	0.11	1.21	0.01	0.40	0.33	0.42	1.09	0.52	0.14	0.91
Other 'Old'	44	25.92	93.04	6.96	0.06	0.28	0.02	1.08	1.13	0.82	0.92	1.00	0.65	0.99
New	48	41.54	82.85	17.15	0.41	1.07	0.13	5.46	2.99	2.05	0.94	1.17	1.66	1.26
Colleges	56	10.22	72.54	27.46	0.34	0.71	0.11	6.72	4.95	3.89	3.19	5.18	0.98	1.38
Total	168	100	87.12	12.88	0.25	0.86	0.08	3.33	2.12	1.56	1.20	1.39	0.99	1.12

It is interesting to notice also that certain regions show high level of specialisation as they do not host many creative students but they host them in very specific fields. For example in some of these cases the percentage of graduates in a specific field is double the one of overall creative graduates present in the region: crafts courses are a flagship of the South West, advertising and creative technology in Yorkshire and the Humber, crafts and advertising in East Midlands, advertising and architecture in Scotland, craft in the West Midlands, writing and publishing in Wales and in Northern Ireland.

While this geography shows the dominance of the Greater London (and more broadly the South) in many subjects, it will be interesting to notice which of these subjects provides students with more secure and economically rewarding careers to better understand the way geography interlinks with the career patterns of students in different creative sub-disciplines.

Following previous consideration in Comunian et al. (2010) that the characteristic of the HEIs that the creative graduates attend might have bearings on the career patterns and salary they will enjoy when entering work, we look at the distribution of the different creative subjects across the HEIS categories Russell group universities, Other 'Old' universities, New universities and Colleges. As it clearly emerges from table 4 most creative subject teaching takes place primarily in Colleges and New universities. With Colleges being the leading providers in Design, Film and television, fine arts, music, performing arts and writing and publishing. New universities lead in the provision of craft and creative technology courses. Therefore Russell group universities have a higher number of music students or architecture students as a proportion of their total students.

Bohemia graduates and their work patterns

These data presented might help us understand better the key patterns in the employment of creative graduates across sub-disciplines. Before looking at the sub-disciplines differences, table 5 highlight the overall different trends between non-bohemian and bohemian students. As emerged in previous analysis of different HESA datasets (Abreu et al., 2010, Comunian et al., 2010) , bohemian graduates are less likely (53.77%) to have a full-time paid work than non-bohemian graduates (57.39%). They are more likely to have a part-time job (10.53% against 7.19%). They experience more voluntary and unpaid work and are less likely to be working and studying or undertaking further studies. More worryingly, they are almost twice more likely to be unemployed than other graduates.

Table 5: Employment profile of bohemian and non-bohemian graduates

Destination	Non-bohemians	Percentage	Bohemians graduates	Percentage
Full-time paid work	156,041	57.39	22,519	53.77
Part-time paid work	19,545	7.19	4,409	10.53
Voluntary/Unpaid work	1,825	0.67	404	0.96
Work and Study	28,205	10.37	3,224	7.7
Further Study only	34,018	12.51	4,682	11.18
Assumed to be unemployed	12,836	4.72	3,195	7.63
Not available for employment	11,036	4.06	1,705	4.07
Other	2,648	0.97	675	1.61
Explicit refusal	5,763	2.12	1,070	2.55
Total	271,917	100	41,883	100

However, while these trends are known, it is important to understand how consistent they are across the different sub-disciplines. Are all creative graduates more likely to be unemployed than other graduates? If we look at table 6, it is clear that these working patterns are not common to all creative graduates.

Students in advertising, writing and publishing and architecture are performing even better than the general non-creative graduate group as their percentage of full-time employment is between 65% and 59% against 57% of the non-creative graduates and 53% of the creative graduates overall. For graduates in advertising and architecture part-time work is also very low (lower than the non-creative students group) but it is very high for graduates in craft and fine arts (respectively 17.27% and 13.70% against the 10.53% of the overall creative graduates group).

Voluntary and unpaid work is higher for advertising and fine arts, but is quite consistent across the group (but less common in crafts and architecture). Work and study is very high in architecture, due to the specific career structure of the field. While enrolling on further study only is very high in the crafts and music disciplines (respectively 18.47% and 22.01%).

Unemployment is very unevenly experienced by the sub-groups. While it is high in film and television, creative technologies and design and fine arts, it is very low (lower or comparable to the general non-graduates average) for architecture, craft and music students.

Table 6: Emerging work profiles across creative disciplines

Destination	Adv	Arch	Crafts	Design	Film & TV	Fine Art	Music	Performing arts	Techn	Writing & publishing
Full-time paid work	502	1,475	100	6,097	3,835	2,309	1,866	2,547	1,557	2,231
	65.88%	59.19%	40.16%	55.01%	55.28%	44.48%	46.05%	55.11%	50.72%	65.18%
Part-time paid work	49	82	43	1,174	783	711	468	549	268	282
	6.43%	3.29%	17.27%	10.59%	11.29%	13.70%	11.55%	11.88%	8.73%	8.24%
Voluntary/Unpaid work	9	11	1	120	72	70	29	48	20	24
	1.18%	0.44%	0.40%	1.08%	1.04%	1.35%	0.72%	1.04%	0.65%	0.70%
Work and Study	31	415	26	767	408	464	367	327	204	215
	4.07%	16.65%	10.44%	6.92%	5.88%	8.94%	9.06%	7.07%	6.64%	6.28%
Further Study only	46	287	46	975	641	614	892	527	431	223
	6.04%	11.52%	18.47%	8.80%	9.24%	11.83%	22.01%	11.40%	14.04%	6.51%
Assumed to be unemployed	53	89	11	991	626	454	199	300	291	181
	6.96%	3.57%	4.42%	8.94%	9.02%	8.75%	4.91%	6.49%	9.48%	5.29%
Not avail for employment	46	77	8	452	298	274	93	166	132	159
	6.04%	3.09%	3.21%	4.08%	4.30%	5.28%	2.30%	3.59%	4.30%	4.65%
Other	4	21	5	164	117	152	55	66	51	40
	0.52%	0.84%	2.01%	1.48%	1.69%	2.93%	1.36%	1.43%	1.66%	1.17%
Explicit refusal	22	35	9	344	158	143	83	92	116	68
	2.89%	1.40%	3.61%	3.10%	2.28%	2.75%	2.05%	1.99%	3.78%	1.99%
Total	762	2,492	249	11,084	6,938	5,191	4,052	4,622	3,070	3,423

To get a better understand of the career patterns of creative students we also consider their possibilities to enter a creative occupations. As we can derive from table 7 the differences across sectors are quite important. Overall only 37.60% of creative graduates enter creative occupations (it is argued by Comunian et al. 2010 and Abreu et al. 2010 that this has implications for their job satisfaction and salary). However, architecture students find a creative occupation in 81.03% of the cases; other subject field perform better than the average of the group, namely design (40.19%) and advertising (42.81%). Few sub-disciplines perform very poorly, namely fine arts (22.60%), craft (24.71%), and music (29%). While the professional structure of architecture facilitates the employment of graduates in the creative field, the unstructured nature of career in fine arts, craft and music seem to emerge as a real obstacle for entering creative occupations.

Table 7: Distribution of graduates entering creative occupations and non-creative occupations across subdisciplines

	All	
Subject groups	Non creative occupation	Creative occupations
Non – bohemians	190,607	14,724
	92.80%	7.20%
Bohemians	19,037	11,476
	62.40%	37.60%
<i>Advertising</i>	338	253
	57.19%	42.81%
<i>Architecture</i>	376	1,606
	18.97%	81.03%
<i>Crafts</i>	128	42
	75.29%	24.71%
<i>Design</i>	4,873	3,275
	59.81%	40.19%
<i>Film & TV</i>	3,293	1,798
	64.68%	35.32%
<i>Fine Art</i>	2,746	802
	77.40%	22.60%
<i>Music</i>	1,932	789
	71.00%	29.00%
<i>Performing arts</i>	2,346	1,122
	67.65%	32.35%
<i>Technology</i>	1,354	692
	66.18%	33.82%
<i>Writing and publishing</i>	1,651	1,097
	60.08%	39.92%
Total	209,644	26,200
	88.89%	11.11%

The difference in opportunities to access creative occupations seem to reflect quite strongly on the salary levels experiences across sub-disciplines (see table 8). Overall Architecture, creative technology graduates experience higher salaries (mean respectively of 18,000 and 17,000 pounds a year, against a mean of £ 15,000 a year for the overall bohemian category). On the opposite end of the spectrum, craft, performing arts and film and television students earn lower salaries (earning respectively a mean salary of £ 11,000 and £ 14,000 pounds a year).

However, there are interesting differences emerging across the sub-sectors in reference to whether entering a creative or non-creative career has economic advantages or disadvantages. For most disciplines entering a creative occupation has economic benefits (in the regions of an increased income of £ 1,000 to £2,000 a year as mean). However, for other sub-disciplines there are no differences, or worse entering a creative occupation means losing on salary. In particular, for fine art and music graduates the difference is respectively of £4,000 and £ 1,000. This might be explained by the unstructured career opportunities offered in the fine art and music sector, where the same degree and knowledge spent in a different (non creative sector) might be rewarded more broadly as higher level of education (independently from the field of study). It also seems to suggest that the problem is not in the skills and human capital value of these students (especially for music students, we might want to remember that they are strongly representing also Russell group universities) but it is the sector that does not guarantee possible economic rewards.

Table 8: Mean (and median) salary across creative disciplines in creative and non-creative occupations

Subject	Salary mean and (median)		
	non creative occupation	creative occupations	All (rows)
Non – bohemians	20,963	21,413	20,995
	19,000	19,000	19,000
Bohemians	15,782	16,938	16,210
	15,000	16,000	15,000
<i>Advertising</i>	17,293	17,072	17,182
	15,000	17,000	16,000
<i>Architecture</i>	18,817	19,218	19,138
	17,000	18,000	18,000
<i>Crafts</i>	11,000	12,614	11,217
	11,000	12,000	11,000
<i>Design</i>	15,163	16,289	15,610
	15,000	15,000	15,000
<i>Film & TV</i>	14,449	15,997	15,028
	13,000	15,000	14,000
<i>Fine Art</i>	16,077	13,761	15,739

	17,000	13,000	16,000
<i>Music</i>	16,484	15,628	16,249
	16,000	15,000	16,000
<i>Performing arts</i>	14,886	14,978	14,912
	14,000	15,000	14,000
<i>Technology</i>	17,638	20,162	18,547
	16,000	19,000	17,000
<i>Writing and publishing</i>	17,358	17,717	17,498
	16,000	16,000	16,000
Totals	20,581	19,734	20,490
	19000	18000	19000

The geography of bohemian graduates' creative occupations and creative salaries

We first examine where the creative occupations are for all of our graduates (independently from their discipline background). As seen in table 7 creative occupations only represent the 11.11% of occupations entered by 2004/2005 graduates. Table 9 shows the distribution of these jobs, as we would expect a higher proportion of creative jobs are in London compared with all jobs and the South East also has a higher proportion of creative jobs compared with all jobs. However all other regions have a lower share of creative jobs than they do for all other jobs.

Table 9: Creative occupation as share of jobs across UK regions

Region of job	All	Non-creative occupations	Creative occupations
London	19.2	17.4	34.2
South East	12.4	12.4	12.8
North West	10.9	11.2	8.4
Scotland	9.4	9.7	6.7
Yorkshire and The Humber	7.9	8.2	6.0
West Midlands	7.6	7.9	5.7
South West	7.4	7.4	7.1
East of England	6.8	6.9	6.1
East Midlands	6.0	6.2	4.6
Wales	4.8	5.0	3.3
North East	4.2	4.3	3.0
Northern Ireland	3.3	3.4	2.1
Total	100	100	100

Other interesting differences emerge if we look at the regional spread of creative occupations across the different sub-disciplines. For example 46% of film and television graduates with creative jobs are in London, 41% of music and 44% of performing arts, whilst only 10% of craft graduates with creative jobs are in London and more (18%) are in the South East and West Midlands (15%) – although the sample size for crafts is small. More than expected advertising and architecture students with creative jobs are in Scotland.

Table 10: Distribution of graduates in creative occupations across the UK region (%)

Region of employment	Non-bohemian	Bohemian	% Adv	% Arch	% Crafts	% Design	% Film & TV	% Fine Art	% Music	% Performing arts	% Techn	% Writing & publ	All
GL	32.49	36.48	36.	31.	10.5	35.4	45.94	27.67	41.1	44.00	27.9	34.48	34.
SE	14.16	10.93	6.9	9.1	18.4	10.5	11.50	13.90	10.8	8.74	19.3	9.17	12.
NW	8.13	8.74	6.9	9.9	10.5	8.94	7.16	7.96	10.6	9.47	7.85	8.57	8.3
SW	6.80	7.59	6.0	7.2	10.5	7.55	7.83	12.69	5.34	5.68	7.38	7.56	7.1
YH	5.93	6.16	8.7	6.9	13.1	5.43	5.18	5.94	2.91	6.11	11.4	6.75	6.0
EM	4.75	4.47	8.2	4.1	5.26	6.42	3.55	4.18	2.43	2.63	2.04	4.44	4.6
SCT	6.44	6.95	13.	11.	10.5	4.83	3.43	9.18	8.25	5.79	5.49	9.58	6.6
WM	5.90	5.43	1.3	4.9	15.7	6.32	5.72	4.86	5.83	4.11	5.34	4.94	5.7
WA	3.07	3.65	2.6	3.1	2.63	3.74	2.29	3.10	3.72	5.05	4.87	4.94	3.3
EE	6.69	5.24	5.2	4.5	0.00	6.59	4.82	5.26	5.99	5.68	2.83	3.83	6.0
NE	3.28	2.52	1.7	2.8	2.63	3.01	1.99	3.37	2.27	1.68	1.10	2.82	2.9
NI	2.36	1.83	1.7	3.7	0.00	1.16	0.60	1.89	0.65	1.05	4.40	2.92	2.1
	100	100	10	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10

Another interesting consideration can be derived by comparing the regional distribution of creative graduates in reference to their regions of study (table 3) and the distribution of creative occupations across the regions (table 10). While Greater London attracts 22% of the bohemian graduates to study there, it provides 34% of the creative occupations in the overall sample. Also in East of England and Northern Ireland there is larger share of creative occupation than the share of bohemian graduates studying there. For all the other regions, the share of students in these subjects is higher than the creative occupations offered, with the only exception of Scotland (where the share of graduates and job almost corresponds).

While geography makes a difference in terms of accessing creative careers, it also has an impact on the salary that graduates can expect. Table 11 present the result of an earnings equations (where the dependent variable is the Logsalary) model looking specifically at the creative graduates (as from previous analysis we are aware that their salary underperforms the one of non-creative graduates, see Comunian et al. 2010)^{viii}. As we might have expected Technology graduates have the highest salaries followed by Advertising and Writing and Publishing with all the others not significantly different, except fine art at the 10% level which is negative. Region of employment is likely to reflect regional wages with London, relative to the South East, earning the most and Northern Ireland and Yorkshire earning the least.

Table 11: Earning equations (Dependent Variable: LogSalary)

	Ln(salary)
Personal Characteristics	
Female	-0.034*** [-4.06]
Age on graduation (ref: 21 and under)	
22-24	0.034*** [3.70]
25+	0.135*** [9.04]
Disabled	0.006 [0.39]
Ethnicity (ref: white)	
Black	0.055* [1.92]
Asian	0.027 [1.36]
Mixed	-0.008 [-0.28]
Other	-0.113* [-1.87]
Degree classification (ref: Upper second)	
First	0.005 [0.33]
Lower second	-0.029*** [-3.33]
Third/pass	-0.029* [-1.77]
Other degree class	-0.005 [-0.18]
Institution Type (ref: New University)	
Russell group	-0.015 [-0.91]
Other old	0.023* [1.86]
HE/FE Colleges	-0.040*** [-3.61]
Creative graduate (ref: Design)	
Advertising	0.049** [2.30]
Architecture	0.005 [0.27]
Crafts	-0.066 [-1.02]
Film and Television	0.01 [0.87]
Fine Art	-0.033* [-1.85]
Music	-0.014 [-0.66]

Performing arts	0.005 [0.35]
Technology	0.081*** [4.99]
Writing and publishing	0.048*** [3.42]
Job Attributes (ref: Full-time)	
Part time	-0.395*** [-21.2]
Freelance/self employed	-0.107*** [-3.15]
Region of Job (ref: South East)	
North East	-0.086*** [-4.75]
North West	-0.068*** [-4.40]
Yorkshire & Humberside	-0.113*** [-6.48]
East Midlands	-0.068*** [-3.81]
West Midlands	-0.063*** [-3.71]
East of England	-0.013 [-0.78]
London	0.121*** [9.62]
South West	-0.083*** [-4.89]
Wales	-0.049** [-2.48]
Scotland	-0.070*** [-2.97]
Northern Ireland	-0.153*** [-4.99]
Constant	9.459*** [434]
Observations	7,749
r-squared	0.35
Robust z statistics in brackets *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1	
Also includes controls for industry and SOC group	

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The central argument of the paper is that, while the New Labour cultural policy has widely promoted the creative industries and creative careers, this has promoted to be a 'golden opportunity' just for some students in the creative field, for others the experience has been rather more negative. The paper aimed to consider the career patterns experience by these students, graduating in 2004 / 2005 at the very peak of New Labour cultural policy and still uninfluenced by the then forthcoming recession, highlighting that there really never was a golden age in respect to job and career opportunities in the creative industries.

Overall, the New Labour Cultural policy has promoted the creative industries and creative work as a whole but in fact the data show that only few of these sectors were able to deliver sustainable career perspectives and a healthy job market for student graduating in creative disciplines. Furthermore, it seems that attention towards the regional dimension of the creative economy did not have any particular affect on the uneven geography of opportunity offered to creative graduates. In particular, despite the geographical spread of HE institutions involved in this field, there are fewer opportunities for graduates in the UK regions and Greater London seem to be only place providing occupational opportunities.

While we observe that for certain bohemian graduates employment patterns and salary are very close to the patterns of the overall graduates group in UK, for others the situation is more extreme. In particular we have seen expose the weak earnings conditions of craft, performing arts, film and television and fine arts graduates. Linked to this lower economic rewards is also the job stability offered by these sectors, compared to a relative more stable employment pattern available to advertising, architecture and writing and publishing students.

The role of research in pointing out the contractions and barriers faced by bohemian graduates in entering creative occupation function as a reality check for a cultural policy blinded by supporting arguments in favour of culture (Belfiore, 2009) and raising unrealistic expectation for people entering the creative and cultural field. However, as Belfiore (2009) suggests it is not just cultural policy that needs a reality check, but academia as well. While research has pointed out the short-coming of creative education - not in reference to its intrinsic value but its outcomes in reference to employability and career opportunities – many universities have expended their offer in these field without questioning the real opportunities available to bohemian graduates (Heartfield, 2005). There is very little acknowledgment in policy document developed by the HE sector of the difficulties and issues faced by bohemian graduates in entering the creative job market.

Reflecting on the analysis of Buckingham and Jones (2010) on the relation between cultural policy and education under the New Labour government, it seems that much of the enthusiasm towards the value of cultural and creativity – both intrinsically and in the economy – has also quickly translated into HE provision of creative courses. However, as the

authors point out “there is a danger that ‘creativity’ and ‘culture’ will come to be seen as magic ingredients that will automatically transform education” (p. 13). New Labour cultural policy has translated in higher education provision in a belief that creativity and creative courses would automatically translate in employability and high economic competitiveness, under the banner of the greater economic and social contribution of creative activities in our national economy. However, the data presented suggest that the creative skills of graduates in these disciplines are not fully valued and appreciated in the job market (both in creative and non creative occupations) and that the hype surrounding the creative industries has created an ‘economic bubble’ that has further expanded the provision of those skills without real corresponding opportunities. Lower economic rewards are then linked back to issues of oversupply already identified by Towse (2001) and Abbings (2002)

This also reflects in the geography of opportunities. While the New Labour cultural policy has tried to address the disparity of infrastructure and opportunities available across the UK regions, in line with other studies (Clifton, 2008, Comunian and Faggian, forthcoming), we find that opportunities for careers in the creative occupations are strongly concentrated in London and the South East. While the expansion of the higher education sector and of new higher education institutions specifically catering for creative subjects might be part of a long-term strategy of attraction and retention, it seems to have very little chances of success when job opportunities are still highly concentrate in few key urban areas (Comunian and Faggian, forthcoming).

Although there are examples of universities opening up to the creative job market and embracing business education alongside creative education, the New Labour policy has not particularly facilitate the creation of a “virtuous cycle” (Matheson, 2006) between higher education and the creative industries. Hard selling the creative industries as a leading sector has created expectations too hard to deliver and a more realistic take into the development of the future creative workforce is needed.

References

- Abbing, H. 2002. *Why are artists poor?: the exceptional economy of the arts* Amsterdam Amsterdam University Press.
- Abreu, M., Faggian, A., Comunian, R. & McCann, P. 2010. "Life is short, art is long": From Bohemian graduates to the creative class. *Western Regional Science Association, 49th Annual Meeting* Sedona, Arizona, February 21-24, 2010.
- Arts Council England (ACE) 2006. *Arts, Enterprise and Excellence: Strategy for Higher Education*. London: Arts Council England.
- Aston, J. 1999. Ambitions and Destinations: the Careers and Retrospective Views of Art and Design Graduates and Postgraduates. *International Journal of Arts and Design Education*, 18, 231-240.
- Baines, S. 1999. Servicing the media: freelancing, teleworking and 'enterprising careers'. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 14, 18-31.
- Ball, L. 2003. Future Directions for Employability Research in the Creative Industries.
- Ball, L., Pollard, E. & Stanley, N. 2010. Creative graduates, creative futures. . Available at www.creativegraduates.com (last accessed May, 2010). London: Creative Graduates Creative Futures Higher Education Partnership and the Institute for Employment Studies.
- Banks, M. 2006. Moral Economy and Cultural Work. *Sociology*, 40, 455-472.
- Banks, M. 2007. *The Politics of Cultural Work*, Palgrave MacMillan.
- Banks, M. & Hesmondhalgh, D. 2009. Looking for work in the creative industries policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15, 415 - 430.
- Banks, M. & O'Connor, J. 2009. After the creative industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15, 365-373.
- Baumann, A. 2002. Informal labour market governance: the case of the British and German media production industries. *Work, Employment and Society*, 16, 27-46.
- Belfiore, E. 2009. On bullshit in cultural policy practice and research: notes from the British case. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15, 343-359.
- Blair, H. 2000. You are only as good as your last job: the labour process and labour market in the British film industry. *Work, employment and society*, 15, 149-169.
- Buckingham, D. & Jones, K. 2010. New Labour's cultural turn: some tension in contemporary educational and cultural policy. *Journal of Education Policy*, 16, 1-14.
- Bullen, E., Robb, S. & Kenway, J. 2004. 'Creative Destruction': knowledge economy policy and the future of the arts and humanities in the academy. *Journal of Education Policy*, 19, 3 - 22.
- Chapain, C. A. & Comunian, R. 2009. Creative Cities in England: Researching Realities and Images. *Built Environment*, 35, 212-229.
- Chapain, C. A. & Comunian, R. 2010. Enabling and Inhibiting the Creative Economy: The Role of the Local and Regional Dimensions in England. *Regional Studies*, 43, 717-734.
- Charles, D. 2003. Universities and territorial development: reshaping the regional role of English universities. *Local Economy*, 18, 7-20.
- Clifton, N. 2008. The "creative class" in the UK: an initial analysis. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90, 63-82.

- Comunian, R. 2009. Questioning creative work as driver of economic development: the case of Newcastle-Gateshead. *Creative Industries Journal*, 2.
- Comunian, R. 2010. Rethinking the creative city: the role of complexity, networks and interactions in the urban creative economy. *Urban Studies* forthcoming.
- Comunian, R. & Faggian, A. forthcoming. Higher Education and the Creative City. In: Mellander, C., Andersson, A. & Andersson, D. (eds.) *Handbook on Cities and Creativity*
- Comunian, R., Faggian, A. & Li, Q. C. 2010. Unrewarded careers in the creative class: The strange case of Bohemian graduates. *Papers in Regional Science*, 89 389 - 410
- Crossick, G. 2006. Knowledge transfer without widgets: The challenge of the creative economy. *Lecture, Royal Society of Arts*. Goldsmiths University of London: London.
- DCMS 1998. Creative Industries Mapping Document London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
- DCMS 1999a. Creative Industries - The regional dimension. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
- DCMS 1999b. Creative Industries Exports - Our hidden potential. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
- DCMS 2001. *Creative Industries Mapping Document* London, Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
- DCMS 2003. Regional Cultural Data Framework. *a report by Positive Solutions, Business Strategies, Burns Owens Partnership and Andy C. Pratt*. London: DCMS (Department for Media, Culture and Sport).
- DCMS 2006. *Making the case for Public Investment: Developing Entrepreneurship for the Creative Industries - The role of Higher Education*, London, DCMS.
- DCMS & BERR 2008. Creative Britain - New Talents for the Economy. London: DCMS.
- Department for Innovation Universities and Skills (DIUS) 2008. A new 'University Challenge': Unlocking Britain's Talent. London: DIUS.
- Dex, S., Willis, J., Paterson, R. & Sheppard, E. 2000. Freelance Workers and Contract Uncertainty: The effects of Contractual Changes in the Television Industries. *Work, Employment and Society*, 14, 283-305.
- Florida, R. 2002a. Bohemia and economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 2, 55-71.
- Florida, R. 2002b. The Economic Geography of Talent. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92, 743 - 755.
- Florida, R. 2002c. *The Rise of the Creative Class*, New York, Basic Books.
- Florida, R. 2006. *The Flight of the Creative Class*. New York: HarperBusiness.
- Galloway, S. & Dunlop, S. 2006. Deconstructing the Concept of 'Creative Industries'. In: Eisenberg, C., Gerlach, R. & Handke, C. (eds.) *Cultural Industries: The British Experience in International Perspective*. Online: Humboldt University Berlin.
- Haukka, S. 2010. From education to work in Australia's creative digital industries: comparing the opinions and practices of employers and aspiring creatives. *prepared by Institute for Creative Industries and Innovation (Australia); Australian Research Council (ARC); Queensland University of Technology (QUT)*. Brisbane: Queensland Institute of Technology.
- Haunschild, A. 2003. Managing Employment Relationships in Flexible Labour Markets: The Case of German Repertory Theatres. *Human Relations* 56, 899-929.
- Heartfield, J. 2005. *The Creativity Gap*. London: Blueprint, ETP Ltd.

- Higher Education Statistical Agency (HESA) 2009. Press release 141- Science and Medicine studies see five year growth. Cheltenham: HESA.
- HM Treasury 2003. The Lambert review of business-university collaboration. London: The Stationary Office.
- Jayne, M. 2005. Creative industries: the regional dimension? *Environment & Planning C: Government & Policy*, 23, 537 - 556.
- Knell, J. & Oakley, K. 2007. London's Creative Economy: An Accidental Success? London: The Work Foundation.
- Matheson, B. 2006. A culture of creativity. design education and the creative industries. *Journal of Management Development*, 25, 55-64.
- McAuley, A. & Fillis, I. 2005. Careers and Lifestyles of Craft Makers in the 21st Century. *Cultural Trends*, 14, 139 - 156.
- Menger, P. M. 1999. Artistic Labor Markets and Careers. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25, 541-574.
- Million + 2008. Creative Futures: Building the Creative Economy through Universities. *In: Report prepared by C. Atton, A. M., H Mabweazara , S. Ward (Centre for Creative and Cultural Industries Research, Napier University) (ed.)*. London: Million +
- National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) 1999. All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education. London: DfEE and DCMS.
- NESTA 2008. *The art of innovation: how fine arts graduates contribute to innovation*, London, NESTA.
- NESTA 2009. The geography of creativity. London: NESTA.
- Noble, M. & Barry, T. 2008. Supporting Regional Regeneration and Workforce Development: Establishing a new University Centre in Folkestone *UVAC Annual Conference Higher Education - Skills in the Workplace: Delivering employer-led higher level work-based learning* Royal York Hotel, York
- Oakley, K. 2004. Not So Cool Britannia: The Role of the Creative Industries in Economic Development. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7, 67-77.
- Oakley, K. 2006. Include Us Out—Economic Development and Social Policy in the Creative Industries. *Cultural Trends*, 15, 255 - 273.
- Oakley, K. 2009. From Bohemian to Britart - art students over 50 years. *Cultural Trends*, 18, 281 - 294.
- Peck, J. 2005. Struggling with the Creative Class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29, 740-770.
- Powell, J. 2007. Creative universities and their creative city-regions. *Industry and Higher Education*, 21, 323-335.
- Pratt, A. C. 1997. The cultural industries production system: a case study of employment change in Britain, 1984-91. *Environment and Planning A*, 29, 1953-1974.
- Robinson, C. & Adams, N. 2008. Unlocking the potential: the role of Universities in pursuing regeneration and promoting sustainable communities. *Local Economy*, 23, 277-289.
- Smith, D., Taylor, C. & Comunian, R. 2008. Universities in the cultural economy: bridging innovation in arts and humanities and the creative industries *ICCPR 2008 - International Conference on Cultural Policy Research*. Istanbul, Turkey.
- Taylor, C. 2006. Beyond Advocacy: Developing an Evidence Base for Regional Creative Industry Strategies. *Cultural Trends*, 15, 3 -18.
- Taylor, S. & Littleton, K. 2008. Art work or money: Conflicts in the construction of a creative identity. *Sociological Review*, 56, 275-292.

- The Work Foundation 2008. Staying ahead: the economic performance of the UK's creative industries. London: The Work Foundation.
- Towse, R. 2001. Partly for the Money: Rewards and Incentives to Artists. *KYKLOS*, 54, 473-490.
- Universities UK 2010. Creating Prosperity: the role of higher education in driving the UK's creative economy. London Universities UK.

Appendix 1

Creative Sub-disciplines	JACS codes
Architecture	K Architecture, Building and Planning; K100 Architecture; K110 Architectural Design Theory; K120 Interior Architecture; K130 Architectural Technology; K190 Architecture not elsewhere classified; K300 Landscape Design; K310 Landscape Architecture; K320 Landscape studies; K390 Landscape Design not elsewhere classified
Advertising	N561 Advertising; P200 Publicity studies; P210 Public Relations; P290 Publicity studies not elsewhere classified
Crafts	W700 Crafts; W710 Fabric and Leather Crafts; W711 Needlecraft; W712 Dressmaking; W713 Soft Furnishing; W714 Weaving; W715 Leatherwork; W720 Metal Crafts; W721 Silversmithing / Goldsmithing; W722 Blacksmithing; W723 Clock/Watchmaking; W730 Wood Crafts; W731 Carpentry/Joinery; W732 Cabinet making; W733 Marquetry and Inlaying; W734 Veneering; W740 Surface Decoration; W750 Clay and Stone Crafts; W751 Pottery; W752 Tile Making; W753 Stone Crafts; W760 Reed Crafts; W761 Basketry; W762 Thatching; W770 Glass Crafts; W771 Glassblowing; W780 Paper Crafts; W781 Bookbinding; W782 Origami; W790 Crafts not elsewhere classified
Design	W200 Design studies; W210 Graphic Design; W211 Typography; W212 Multimedia Design; W213 Visual Communication; W220 Illustration; W230 Clothing/Fashion Design; W231 Textile Design; W240 Industrial/Product Design; W250 Interior Design; W260 Furniture Design; W270 Ceramics Design; W990 Creative Arts and Design not elsewhere classified
Film and TV	P300 Media studies; P301 Television studies; P302 Radio studies; P303 Film studies; P304 Electronic Media studies; P310 Media Production; P311 Television Production; P312 Radio Production; P313 Film Production; P390 Media studies not elsewhere classified; W600 Cinematics and Photography; W610 Moving Image Techniques; W611 Directing Motion Pictures; W612 Producing Motion Pictures; W613 Film & Sound Recording; W614 Visual and Audio Effects; W620 Cinematography; W630 History of Cinematics and Photography; W631 History of Cinematics; W632 History of Photography; W640 Photography; W690 Cinematics and Photography not elsewhere classified

Fine Arts	P130 Curatorial studies; P131 Museum studies; P132 Archive studies; W100 Fine Art; W110 Drawing; W120 Painting; W130 Sculpture; W140 Printmaking; W150 Calligraphy; W160 Fine Art Conservation; W190 Fine Art not elsewhere classified; W900 Others in Creative Arts and Design
Music	W300 Music; W310 Musicianship/Performance studies; W330 History of Music; W340 Types of Music; W350 Musicology; W360 Musical Instrument History; W390 Music not elsewhere classified
Technology	P430 Interactive Publishing; P420 Multi-media Publishing; W280 Interactive and Electronic Design; W615 Animation Techniques; G450 Multi-media Computing Science; G600 Software Engineering; G610 Software Design; J931 Music Recording; J950 Musical Instrument Technology; P412 Publishing on CD-ROM; P413 Publishing via the World Wide Web
Performing Arts	W400 Drama; W410 Acting; W420 Directing for Theatre; W430 Producing for Theatre; W440 Theatre studies; W450 Stage Management; W451 Theatrical Wardrobe Design; W452 Theatrical Make-up; W460 Theatre Design; W461 Stage Design; W490 Drama not elsewhere classified; W500 Dance; W510 Choreography; W520 Body Awareness; W530 History of Dance; W540 Types of Dance; W590 Dance not elsewhere classified
Writing and Publishing	P100 Information Services; P110 Information Management; P120 Librarianship; P121 Library studies; P190 Information Services not elsewhere classified; P490 Publishing not elsewhere classified; P500 Journalism; P510 Factual Reporting; P590 Journalism not elsewhere classified; P900 Others in Mass Communications and Documentation; P990 Mass Communications and Documentation not elsewhere classified; P400 Publishing; P410 Electronic Publishing; P411 Publishing on audio/video tape; P305 Paper-based Media studies; W800 Imaginative Writing; W810 Scriptwriting; W820 Poetry Writing; W830 Prose Writing; W890 Imaginative Writing not elsewhere classified.

¹ The flagship New Labour's arts education project might be one of the victims of funding cuts planned by the new coalition government.

² In the review, it is specifically stated "there are many excellent examples of collaborations involving the creative industries and universities or colleges of art and design. Policy-makers must ensure that policies aimed at promoting knowledge transfer are broad enough to allow initiatives such as these to grow and flourish, and that the focus is not entirely on science and engineering" HM Treasury 2003, p. 43

³ Million + (formerly known as the Coalition of Modern Universities) is a think-tank membership organisation mainly involving post-1992 and university colleges.

⁴ For more information on the Joint Academic Coding System (or JACS) see

http://www.hesa.ac.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=158&Itemid=233

⁵ We acknowledge that this definition has quite a few limitations (see for further discussion Oakley, 2006) and might not be applicable to other countries but considering that our analysis is set in the UK, this seems to be the most suitable definition to adopt. Therefore, it is important to clarify that 'creative occupations' here are not defined as occupations that are creative (this could include for instance scientific inventions and other creative jobs) but as occupation within the creative (and cultural) sector as defined by the DCMS.

⁶ Graduates were categorised as 'bohemian graduates' if they were a single honours students and their subject fell under any of the creative categories; if they were a joint honours student and their first or both subjects were creative – those whose second but not first subject were classed as bohemian were classified as "non-bohemian"; if they were a joint honours student with three subjects and two or three of the subjects were creative (even if the first subject was not creative).

⁷ The following guidelines have been used in the classification in creative sub groupings. If the student had more than one subject that was creative the first subject's sub group was used. When the student was studying three subjects the second subject was used if the first subject was non-creative.

^{viii} Note the model only refers to undergraduates since it includes degree classification.