All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Mobility

The class ceiling: Increasing access to the leading professions
In her first speech outside Number 10 Downing Street, Prime Minister May spoke of building a country which works for everyone and not just the privileged few. With that speech Theresa May put social mobility at the heart of this Government’s agenda, a focus welcomed by this All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG). Her commitment to this agenda was reiterated in her first major social policy speech earlier this month (Jan 2017) in which Mrs May spoke once again of building a country that works for everybody.

As this APPG’s inquiry into leading professions has progressed, it is clear that there is more to be done to widen access to the top professions in our country. Research shows that the UK’s top professions remain disproportionately occupied by alumni of private schools and Oxbridge. While some positive steps have been taken, the overarching evidence from the inquiry and available statistics still show that students from disadvantaged backgrounds are less successful than their more advantaged counterparts in getting into the top professions. In business, nearly a third of the FSTE 100 chief executives educated in the UK were independently educated, and in law, nearly three quarters of the top judiciary were educated at independent schools. Yet across the country, only 7% of students attend private schools. This pattern is mirrored, to varying degrees, in a number of different professions such as medicine, journalism and politics and the civil service.

One of the most striking findings from the evidence sessions held by the inquiry was that despite the vast range of professions we spoke to, the challenges they faced in widening access were extremely similar. Many spoke of needing to tackle unconscious bias, the lack of contextual recruitment practices, and the fact that for some employers, they just did not receive applications from highly able applicants from disadvantaged backgrounds.

The last point exemplifies how it is not only a formal education which makes a difference to those from disadvantaged backgrounds, but also an informal education such as the learning of soft skills, along with having aspirations and role models to admire and emulate. Employers look for confidence, resilience, social skills and self-motivation in their employees, but for those who have had little to no exposure to extracurricular activities, work experience or mentoring, these skills can be difficult to acquire. A clear message from our evidence sessions was that we need to become better at inspiring our youngsters to reach their full potential, especially for those who start out at a disadvantage.

Our professions should reflect our communities and our country, and employers themselves would ultimately benefit from harnessing the broader experience and potential of the country as a whole and not just established groups. This business case for diversity was put forward by many who responded to this inquiry. By widening access to the professions, organisations benefit from an increased pool of skills and experience. Having a diverse workforce which encompasses many different talents, backgrounds and experiences can help create a dynamic organisation ready to face the challenges of the 21st Century. Businesses need to be measuring and monitoring the social background of their employees in the same way in which they monitor protected characteristics, and held accountable for how well they are doing in widening access.

This inquiry raises many interesting and varied points for discussion, but ultimately concludes that we need a cross sector strategic approach to social mobility. We hope that the Prime Minister, and her Government, will look closely at the recommendations of this report as she looks to build a country that works for everyone, and not just the privileged few.

We would like to thank everyone who participated in the inquiry and give our particular thanks to the Sutton Trust for their support as Secretariat and in helping produce this report.

Justin Madders MP
Baroness Tyler of Enfield
Andrea Jenkins MP
**Biographies**

**Officers**

**Justin Madders MP, Ellesmere Port, Chair**

Justin Madders has been the Labour MP for Ellesmere Port & Neston since May 2015.

Justin grew up in the constituency and became the first person in his family to go to University, when he graduated with a Degree in Law from the University of Sheffield. He qualified as a solicitor in 1998 and at the same time became a Councillor.

Before being elected, Justin worked in employment law, defending the rights of working people to be treated fairly and with dignity at work. Justin is the Shadow Minister for Health.

**Baroness Tyler of Enfield, Co-Chair**

Claire Tyler is a Liberal Democrat life peer in the House of Lords where she sits as Baroness Tyler of Enfield.

After graduating in law and politics from Southampton University, Claire joined the Greater London Council/Inner London Education Authority in 1978. In 1988 Claire joined the Civil Service where she worked until 2007 including four years as the Head of the Government’s Social Exclusion Unit. From 2007 to 2012 Claire was the Chief Executive of the charity, Relate.

Claire took up post as Chair of CAFCASS (Children and Family Court Advisory and Support Service) in February 2012. She also became President of the National Children’s Bureau and Vice President of Relate in 2012.

In 2015 Claire was made Liberal Democrat Mental Health Spokesperson and in addition to her frontbench role, she is Chair of the Lords Select Committee on Financial Exclusion. Claire is also Co-chair of the APPG on Wellbeing Economics. Outside of Parliament Claire is Chair of the Make Every Adult Matter Coalition of Charities helping adults with multiple needs.

**Andrea Jenkyns MP, Social mobility APPG Champion**

Andrea is the Member of Parliament for Morley and Outwood having been elected in May 2015. From Yorkshire, Andrea has had a rounded and diverse career with over 15 years in management in the private sector working for multi-national companies.

Having left school and going straight to work; she worked her way up from being retail Saturday assistant to senior management. During the late 1990’s/2000’s Andrea was a retail store manager locally in the constituency at the White Rose Centre, also in Leeds, Guiseley and Wakefield. Further roles included; International Business Development Manager for an executive management training company in which she was solely responsible for increasing sales penetration in Europe and Asia through developing client relations in both the public and private sectors.

Andrea has also worked in the public sector and was previously a music tutor teaching in three secondary schools, and has run her own business. In her late-thirties she decided to re-train and has since embarked on studying Economics through the Open University and a Degree in International Relations and Politics and she recently graduated at the age of 40, whilst working.

**Sutton Trust (Secretariat)**

The Sutton Trust was founded in 1997 by Sir Peter Lampl to improve social mobility through education. As well as being a think-tank, the Sutton Trust is a “do-tank,” having funded over 200 programmes, commissioned over 180 research studies and influenced Government education policy by pushing social mobility to the top of the political agenda.

For more information about the APPG on Social mobility, please visit: http://www.socialmobilityappg.co.uk
1. Overview

1.1 This report summarises the All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Mobility’s inquiry into Access into Leading Professions, investigating how to increase access of people from disadvantaged backgrounds into the most selective professions – such as law, finance, medicine, journalism, the arts, the civil service and politics. The report outlines how the government, universities, schools and employers can lead the way so everybody, no matter what their background, may aspire to join the leading professions. The APPG has been supported by the Sutton Trust through this inquiry.¹

1.2 The inquiry has been inspired by almost two decades of research by the Sutton Trust, which has consistently shown that the UK’s professional elite is disproportionally educated at private schools and Oxbridge. Leading People 2016, the Sutton Trust’s latest report on the subject, shows that the UK’s top professions remain disproportionately populated by alumni of private schools and Oxbridge, despite these educating only a small minority of the population.

1.3 Leading People 2016 found that almost a third of MPs in the 2015 intake were independently educated, as are nearly a third of those FTSE 100 chief executives that were educated in the UK. Of all High Court and Appeals Court judges, nearly three quarters attended private schools, as did over half of the top 100 news journalists and over two-thirds of British Oscar winners. This pattern is repeated, to varying degrees, across a host of other professions.

1.4 It is not only the very top jobs where an advantage to the privately educated exists. Research by the Bridge Group recently noted that “73% of those who came from the most advantaged backgrounds before Higher Education were in the most advantaged occupation groups six months after graduating in 2012/13. 67% of those from less advantaged backgrounds were in the most advantaged occupation groups”, a gap of 6 percentage points.²

1.5 This is reinforced by research the Sutton Trust published in partnership with upReach in 2015, which found that, three and a half years after graduation, private school graduates in top jobs earn £6,500 more than their state school counterparts. While half of this pay difference can be explained by the type of higher education institution attended or prior academic achievement, the other half cannot be explained by educational factors.³

1.6 Over recent years, we have seen a greater focus on diversity in the professions, with an improvement in the number of women appointed to boards at FTSE 100 companies, for example. The Coalition Government set up a Social Mobility Business Compact to encourage employers to be more open to people from disadvantaged backgrounds. Recently the Civil Service announced it was reforming its recruitment process to encourage diversity, while many major companies have changed their admissions process and have set up programmes aiming to widen access.

1.7 The inquiry heard from Sky Sports News Executive Editor, Andy Cairns, about the challenges posed by the changing landscape in journalism. He said that this creates opportunities for media organisations to adapt and that if they can get the ‘balance and the blend right’ then they can create dynamic workforces to overcome these challenges. Sky News’ Diversity Work Placement Scheme - available to people from ethnic minority and economically disadvantaged backgrounds - is one example of the way in which Sky News is diversifying its workforce.

1.8 This inquiry has explored what is being done to improve access into the leading professions for people from disadvantaged backgrounds, what is working to improve access and what are the remaining obstacles. The sheer volume of reform, programmes and initiatives to widen access by various professions that the inquiry has identified offer considerable encouragement, yet gaps remain, of which the most important is national leadership to help map these activities and identify significant gaps.

1.9 The inquiry looked at the professions that Leading People 2016 had identified as having significantly distorted private-state educated ratios, with evidence sessions looking at: law, accountancy and finance; medicine; politics and the civil service; and entertainment and the media.

1.10 Interestingly the inquiry has identified strikingly similar issues encumbering access, and similar policies and programmes being used to address the access challenge across the sectors. While some sectors have developed far more sophisticated solutions to the challenges than others, notably accountancy and to a lesser extent law, the main finding from this inquiry is that the issues and solutions are general and not exclusive to any single profession or sector.

The report will address each of the issues in turn, and look at solutions and further recommendations.
2. Recommendations to improve access to the professions

2.1 A strategic approach to social mobility should be developed

The issues preventing fair access to the leading professions require cross-sector leadership and real collaboration to solve.

The government should develop a national social mobility strategy, linking the work of schools, universities and employers to build a real business case and practical plan for improving social mobility.

In doing so, the government should identify champions and model initiatives in each of the most selective professions that can collaborate and share cross sector best practices, setting goals for each sector to meet.

Employers in ‘elite’ professions should take part in the Social Mobility Employer Index, being launched next year by the Social Mobility Foundation and the Social Mobility Commission. Organisations should be required to report on all measures of the index to highlight how well they are doing in widening access. Once piloted, this should be rolled out to all organisations over a certain size and the index should be considered by companies as akin to diversity tracking and other protected characteristics.

Employers should learn from what works in their own profession and from other sectors.

2.2 Financial barriers to accessing the professions should be minimised

There are significant barriers to accessing professions, particularly the most competitive and those that are mostly concentrated in London.

The government should ban unpaid internships. Employers need to review their work experience policies to ensure access is fair and transparent, ensuring that all posts are publicly advertised to allow a more diverse range of candidates to apply. After at most one month, interns should be paid the National (or London) Living Wage.

Employers should increase efforts to reduce the London-centric focus of recruitment, either by increasing regional recruitment or outreach, and at least fully cover travel reimbursement for any interviews or work experience placements.

The Social Mobility Commission should continue to focus on social mobility by geography – to encourage the government and employers to create and support routes for social mobility in those areas that need it most.

2.3 Recruitment practices should be fair and transparent

Employers should ensure that they are doing more to encourage best practice with regards to widening access and are helping to break down the barriers graduates face when transitioning from higher education into employment.

Employers should adopt contextual recruitment practices that place attainment and successes achieved in the context of disadvantage, including underperforming schools and less advantaged neighbourhoods.

Employers should ensure that all internships are advertised publicly, and recruited based on merit and not on networks. They should also ensure that any work experience opportunities are advertised publicly, following best practice.

Employers should be conscious of the impact of recruiting from a narrow pool of universities in the graduate ‘milk round’, and the social mix of institutions, building on the work already being done in some elite professions. Unconscious bias training for recruiters should also be considered.

UCAS and universities should consider how to modify the application system to allow for more post-qualification applications than are allowed by the current clearing system.

2.4 Careers advice for young people needs to be significantly improved

Good careers advice can be transformative for young people. It should be based on “what works”, so that young people know all the options available to them and what they would need to do to achieve them.
Schools should learn from best practice on how to support pupils’ choices, and use their own destinations data to help inform their support.

Employers should commit to offering careers support and partnerships that genuinely enhance social mobility. This could be by providing mentors and creating opportunities to raise awareness and aspirations of their professions.

Universities should ensure careers services are a core part of the university support system and, in particular, target proven interventions at disadvantaged students to improve their awareness of career opportunities.

The Government should do more to encourage education in later life and lifelong learning so that people of all ages have access to education throughout their lives. They can do this through encouraging more people to take up postgraduate/part time study loans and by advocating the benefits of education in later life.

2.5 Aspirations, soft skills and extra-curricular activities

Schools should encourage pupils to develop skills beyond their core curriculum that are keenly sought after by employers, such as resilience, confidence, social skills and self-motivation.

Employers should pro-actively work with schools and universities to help teach the skills that are most sought after in the workplace.

Schools should actively identify young people who could most benefit from mentoring support from charities and employers.

Schools should also raise aspirations by encouraging reading for pleasure, provide educational trips and ensure that they are offering out-of-school studying opportunities, sport and arts provision for disadvantaged students at all stages of education.

Schools should also encourage pupils to take up volunteering or get involved in social action to help build the skills that universities and employers identify as attractive.

2.6 Sector-specific recommendations

Throughout this enquiry, evidence was received from several professional sectors. Some specific recommendations for these sectors are below but should be considered in all sectors, where applicable.

Politics and the civil service

Political parties should actively use contextual information when recruiting employees and always pay interns the living wage. This could set an example to other professions and encourage people from non-traditional backgrounds to get more involved in politics. The socio-economic background information of staff should be monitored and reviewed on an anonymous basis.

MPs and Lords should support the Speakers Parliamentary Scheme to expand wherever possible.

MPs should look to draw up shortlists for applications where 50% of candidates are from the local area. This would help to combat issues around networking and would allow the makeup of the MPs staff to reflect that of the local population.

The Civil Service should ensure that all departments collaborate to ensure that the image of working in the Civil Service is more open and not intimidating. The Civil Service should look specifically at progression, performance, and pay, to lead by example for other professions. The same rigour on social mobility should be applied to the rest of the civil service recruitment as is currently applied to the Fast Stream.

Medicine

Universities should contextualise admissions to study medicine, recognising that academic ability is just one crucial part of being a successful doctor. This should build on innovative schemes, such as the ‘foundation year’ schemes already underway at some medical schools.

Work experience opportunities for school students should be coordinated to ensure all students, regardless of where they live and their personal networks, can get that crucial experience.

An effort should be made to encourage pupils to take an interest in medicine earlier on in their academic lives. This could be done in part, by schools and medical colleges working together in order to expose pupils to the possibilities of studying medicine.

Law, finance and professional services

Established professional bodies should drive
the social mobility agenda in law, finance and accountancy. Where possible, initiatives to improve social mobility should be coordinated to ensure they can have significant impact, where it is most needed.

Employers should ban all unpaid internships and need to review their work experience policies to ensure access is fair and transparent.

All firms should undertake awareness-raising activities to ensure that young people, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, are aware of the opportunities to join their profession and the requirements.

**Arts and media**

Building on the success of the BRIT School in London, other schools and colleges should encourage young people to develop their skills in creative pursuits, regardless of background.

The business case for having more diverse groups of people, in this case particularly those from different socio-economic backgrounds, needs to be developed in both the arts and the media.

The Government should ban all unpaid internships, as previously stated, and employers need to review their work experience policies to ensure access is fair and transparent, ensuring that all posts are publicly advertised to allow a more diverse range of candidates to apply.

The government should provide proper support and funding for local arts projects, some of which could be done as part of the pupil premium scheme, through which lower income families could purchase additional educational support for pupils, such as theatre visits and other cultural activities.
3. Access Issues - Supply

3.1 Educational attainment

There is a clear and long-standing gap in the educational attainment between those pupils from the most disadvantaged and most advantaged backgrounds, which results in disadvantaged pupils being less likely to have the academic qualifications that leading employers desire.

There is a well-documented relationship between family income and educational attainment whereby pupils from the wealthiest backgrounds fare far better than those from the poorest. This “educational attainment gap”, as it is widely known, starts early and widens as education progresses. This gap has a direct impact on access into the leading professions because disadvantaged pupils are less likely to have the academic qualifications that leading employers desire.

There is a 19-month “school readiness” gap between the richest and poorest children at age five. By the age of 16, Department for Education statistics show that children eligible for free school meals achieve grades 20-30% lower at GCSE than those not eligible for free school meals. School aged educational performance is not only linked to access to higher education and subsequent outcomes (see 2) but also influences subject choices and career aspirations. This will have knock on effects to access into higher education, future earning potential and life chances.

3.2 Higher education access

Disadvantaged young people are far less likely to enter higher education and significantly more unlikely to enter the most selective universities that leading professions often recruit from.

The final report of the Social Mobility Advisory Group, set up in 2015 by the Universities Minister Jo Johnson, demonstrated that socio-economic disadvantage continues to be the most significant driver of inequality in terms of access to and outcomes from higher education and professional jobs. It found that eighteen year-olds from the most advantaged groups remain 2.4 times more likely to enter university than their disadvantaged peers, and 6.3 times more likely to attend one of the most selective institutions in the UK. It noted that, having graduated from university, students from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to go into professional jobs and, if they do, they are likely to be paid less.

The Sutton Trust published a report, Leading People 2016, which identified the prevalence of Oxford University and Cambridge University (“Oxbridge”) graduates in leading professions, including 78% of leading barristers, 74% of the judiciary, 54% of leading journalists, 51% of top civil servants and 40% of top medics. Meanwhile an analysis by Boston Consulting Group estimated that an Oxbridge graduate will earn an average £10,000 more every year of their lives than a graduate of a non-Russell Group university.
This is linked to evidence that the inquiry heard throughout its course, and in numerous written submissions, which discussed the common practice of employers recruiting from Russell Group universities (also see section 10). The Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Services (AGCAS) said that ‘a significant obstacle to improving access to the professions stems from employer practices of only targeting and recruiting students and graduates from a narrow group of institutions (often their own alma mater),’ suggesting that this is because they are ‘recruiting in their own image’ and perpetuating the access issue.¹⁵

3.3 Careers advice

The quality of careers advice in schools is too varied, leaving young people unaware about steps to build a career especially in the most selective professions.

Throughout the inquiry, we heard concerns about the quality of careers advice in schools and also in university (also see section 27). John Craven, Chief Executive of social mobility charity upReach, said that the decline of careers services in schools has had an enormous effect on access into the professions.¹⁶ This decline has been identified by a 2014 report for the Sutton Trust, which found that there had been a marked decline in the quality and quantity of the career guidance in schools from what was already regarded as a low base.¹⁷

In its written response to the inquiry, mentoring charity Brightside said that ‘patchy provision of careers advice in state schools’ contributes to the issue of disadvantaged young people being less likely to apply to the most selective universities and study the ‘facilitating subjects’ required to get into them.¹⁸ In its report Background to Success, the Sutton Trust identified that disadvantaged pupils who take these ‘facilitating subjects’ are more likely to gain entry to high status universities.¹⁹

The imbalance of careers provision extends into the use of work experience, which seems to also be affected by the same drivers of inequality in access to the professions on the whole. For instance, a recent analysis by Education and Employers found that whilst almost twice as many pupils at independent schools undertook work experience at 14-16 than at independent schools [82% to 45%], at 16-19 the situation reverses and nearly three times as many independent school educated pupils took work experience as state school pupils [52% to 18%].²⁰ Given the dominance of the top professions by independently educated pupils it is concerning that state educated 16-19 year olds are not receiving as much work experience as their independently educated peers, just when many will be considering their career pathways.

3.4 Mentors and examples

Children and young people from disadvantaged backgrounds lack mentors and examples to follow to inspire them to enter careers in elite professions.

The inquiry heard how children and young people from disadvantaged backgrounds too often lack mentors and examples to follow to inspire them to enter careers in elite professions. The inquiry session on medicine particularly brought this issue to the fore, given that only around 15% of the students who get onto medical courses come from the most deprived areas compared to about 45% of the students come from the most affluent areas.²¹

Junior doctor Sukhpreet Dubb, a beneficiary of the Sutton Trust Pathways to Medicine programme for aspiring medics from disadvantaged backgrounds, said that role models are the most important way of inspiring young people from disadvantaged backgrounds to enter professions such as medicine. Professor Ged Byrne, Director of Education and Quality at Health Education England, said that ‘capability, opportunity and motivation were the key to getting into medical school.’ Medicine is also an area where there is the clearest opportunity for mentoring, given the near certainty of people of all backgrounds encountering medical professionals during the lives.²²

Mentoring is also extremely important in helping to build the confidence and soft skills required in order to help pupils gain the skills sought after by employers. The inquiry heard from Archie Brixton on how he believes that pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds can be empowered through mentoring.²³ Having a mentor or role model can be critical to the levels of confidence students have and mentors can help pupils to build these skills in a safe and encouraging environment.

3.5 Regional disparities

Gulf in opportunity between London and elsewhere in the UK, especially post-industrial, coastal and rural areas

The inquiry found very clearly that one barrier to social mobility and access into the leading professions was physical mobility, linked to the financial and geographic obstacles for persons from disadvantaged moving to the major cities where the leading professions are more likely to operate. Trendence, a research institute specialising in employment, says that whilst 75% of young people from higher socio-economic backgrounds move away for university only 53% of those from lower socio-economic backgrounds do so and, where they do, they are more likely to return to their home region on graduation.²⁴

The Sutton Trust’s Mobility Map,²⁵ the Social Mobility Commission’s Social Mobility Index,²⁶ and Centre for Cities analysis of educational and employment outcomes in urban areas,²⁷ all show that
graduate outcomes are highest in the high growth metropolitan centres of London, Manchester and Birmingham. The UK’s three largest cities, especially London, have higher than average educational outcomes for the most disadvantaged pupils and higher progression into graduate professions. Meanwhile, the Social Mobility Commission identifies concerning ‘social mobility coldspots’ in coastal areas, the north-east, Yorkshire, East Anglia and Cornwall, which Education Secretary Justine Greening has recently raised as a major policy priority for her Department. These have been a focus for her new Opportunity Areas.

Interestingly, analysis by the inquiry has found that there are several major cities with far below average educational and youth employment outcomes on both the Sutton Trust and Social Mobility Commission’s social mobility indexes, such as Leeds, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge and Reading, yet they also have among the highest progression rates into graduate jobs, according to Adzuna’s job market report. This proves the issue of access into the professions is not simply educational but is linked to the lack of graduate job opportunities in particular areas and the barriers that prevent internal migration from those areas to the high growth clusters where graduate jobs are being created.

London remains the hub of best practice of outreach activity by employers, whilst most charities also focus work in the capital. As the Social Mobility Commission has noted, the most intensive social inclusion initiatives have historically been focused on London, though coverage is now expanding. Teach First, upReach, the Social Mobility Foundation, Creative Society, Arts Emergency, and Into University all started with programmes focused in London. Few London schools with a high proportion of disadvantaged pupils lack a partnership with a local major corporation and many will have several such links. However, other parts of the UK are not so fortunate.

3.6 Network effects

The most affluent young people benefit from networks that provide opportunities to access top professions, which those from disadvantaged backgrounds lack.

Research conducted by the London School of Economics for the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission found that ‘less able, better-off kids are 35% more likely to become high earners than bright poor kids’, which it calls the “glass floor” of social mobility. Among the key factors cited by the Social Mobility Commission are networking effects and the social circles that those from affluent backgrounds may access.

This networking effect is one of the most difficult to quantify yet pervasive social mobility challenges exacerbating the issue of access into the professions. The mentoring charity Brightside told us that disadvantaged groups are ‘less likely to have contacts in their family or social circles who can provide informal advice support and contacts based on their own first-hand experience of higher education or the professions.’ And, as the RSA also points out, ‘greater access to beneficial networks, institutions, and opportunities to acquire formal skills is important as means to greater upward mobility and individual advancement’.

Dr Lee Elliot Major, Chief Executive of the Sutton Trust, told the inquiry that social mobility at the top of society is incredibly rigid. He added that progress to the very top takes time and that every time the playing is levelled ‘a new frontier opens exacerbating the access issue’, meaning new barriers constantly need addressing. Dr Major said that social and cultural networks are one of these key barriers, citing unpaid internships or the practice of some employers offering work experience to friends and family as particularly concerning examples.

3.7 ‘Soft skills’ or ‘character’

Attainment alone does not explain why few disadvantaged enter professional careers. Other skills may be equally important.

Dr Major also told the inquiry that education is not the only factor in social mobility. He said there is a particular issue in the UK whereby a disadvantaged graduate could leave the same university with the same degree qualification as an affluent student but still be less likely to have the same career outcomes. Academic credentials and networking effects alone do not explain the phenomenon where the independently educated dominate the leading professions, but as Leading People 2016 explains, ‘elite jobs are not secured solely through academic achievement or “old boys” or girls’ networks [but] it is the complex interplay between these factors, amongst others, including what have been called ‘soft skills’ (such as confidence and aspiration).’

Archie Brixton, a young banker who had benefitted from the support of upReach, told the inquiry that ‘soft skills was the area that he was most behind in against more affluent peers’. He also told the inquiry that not only were soft skills necessary to build up, but the importance of just being told how necessary they were was useful in itself in creating awareness of what might be expected of him. Amy Carter, who was on the Sutton Trust’s Pathways to Law programme, described to the inquiry how employers too often expect persons to have certain character traits or to have certain experiences that are linked to their background. She said in an interview she was asked ‘why she hadn’t been travelling’, when this was not something she could afford.

ICAEW, a professional body for chartered accountants, said the biggest challenge for its members was their view that too many young
people are not 'work ready'. It noted that 'core skills such as communication, resilience, innovation and commercial awareness which employers value, but that students, particularly from disadvantaged backgrounds, are lacking.'

3.8 Aspirations

Disadvantaged groups are not applying to elite universities and top professions, which is likely related to all the supply side issues discussed above and many of the demand side issues below.

David Morley, Senior Partner at Allen & Overy, widely considered one of the world's most prestigious law firms, said that aspiration was one of the biggest barriers to increasing access into professional careers as his firm could only recruit those who apply to it. From the Civil Service, to finance, to medicine, to journalism, this was an issue frequently raised - people from disadvantaged backgrounds are not applying for jobs in their professions in significant numbers. Deloitte said that 'a perception exists that the professional and financial services sectors remain a 'closed shop'', which is not helped by a lack of data. Katie Petty-Saphon, Chief Executive of the Medical Schools Council, noted how half of state schools in England have not had a single pupil that has even applied for medical school. This issue is often described as a 'poverty of aspiration' among disadvantaged groups, a comment we heard during the inquiry, but as the first annual 'State of the Nation' report from the Social Mobility Commission (or Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission as it then was) said 'the principal problem is not, as often alleged, one of poverty of aspiration [but] one of execution'. In an update of the Sutton Trust's 2004 report identifying a 'missing 3000' state school students underrepresented at leading universities, the 2013 State of the Nation report suggested there was a 'missing 3700', showing that disadvantaged pupils are also not applying to the top universities.

Even those disadvantaged pupils who enter university are not applying for the top opportunities on offer. A UNITE student insight report found that 50% of students turn down placement opportunities, citing concern about cost and confidence. Liz Wilkinson, Director of Careers and Employability at Royal Holloway, University of London, has said that 'many [university] students find traditional placement and internship options off-putting and over-competitive'. This suggests that schools, universities and employers all have a role to play in challenging assumptions and raising aspirations.
4. Access Issues - Demand

4.1 Experience and unpaid internships

Recruiters often favour experience as much as aptitude, which the disadvantaged have least opportunity to gain.

A Highfliers analysis identified that nearly 30% of accounting and professional services vacancies, over 30% of consulting vacancies, over 55% of law vacancies and over 50% of banking and finance vacancies, are filled by graduates who have already worked for the employer. Highfliers found that nearly 80% of vacancies specifically in investment banking were filled by those who had already worked there, compared with less than 10% of roles in the public sector. This suggests that work experience is both crucial for entry into the most elite professions and implies that recruiters are favouring those who have already had experience with their organisation.

The prevalence of unpaid internships has been a widely acknowledged social mobility issue. In 2014, the Sutton Trust found that 31% of university graduates working as interns were doing so for no pay. The Social Mobility Commission found that 63% of cultural and creative, 56% of media-related, and 42% of financial and professional services internships advertised on the Graduate Talent Pool website were unpaid. The Sutton Trust said that the cost of a six month internship in Manchester could set back an intern a minimum of £4,728 (£788 a month), excluding transport costs which are usually paid by the employer.

This inquiry found this trend as being particularly acute in the media. The National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCJT) said that the extensive use of internships, the majority unpaid, as a recruitment mechanism adds to the difficulty of entry into journalism for those who cannot rely on family support. In its written submission, the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) went further and said that unpaid internships have become almost institutionalised in the media and inevitably disadvantaged those who are unable to work for free.

4.2 Qualification bias

Top professions favour Russell Group degrees and/or post-graduate degrees and so are dominated by most affluent groups.

One of the most common issues the inquiry heard was the practice of leading professions recruiting from a narrow range of elite universities, mostly in the Russell Group, in which people from disadvantaged backgrounds are underrepresented in (see section 2). The Social Mobility Commission has identified that top employers are far more likely to visit universities with a low proportion of students from disadvantaged backgrounds to recruit. For instance, in 2015, the Law Society found that ‘the type of university attended is one of the most important elements to factor into a person’s chance to receive a job offer from top law firms’.

On top of this, prohibitively expensive post-graduate degrees or professional qualifications are also required to enter many leading professions. This is true in medicine, where costs can continue after graduation for further study. The British Medical Journal has estimated that in England, a doctor can graduate with between £64,000 and £82,000 debt. David Morley from Allen and Overy told the inquiry non-law graduates require two years of law school and his firm provides considerable financial assistance to trainee recruits (eg paying law school fees) including a relatively small number of bursaries to support some students from less advantaged backgrounds with the costs of going to university. The Law Society estimates that it costs £25,000-£50,000 to qualify as a solicitor while the President of the Bar Council said that qualifying as a Barrister may cost up to £127,000.

In the media, the NCTJ said there is a requirement for many new journalists to have postgraduate degrees, which are often self-financed, meaning young people frequently need financial support to enter. This is supported by a report by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, which found that of those journalists who began their careers in 2013, 2014 and 2015, 98% had a bachelor’s degree and 36% a master’s.

4.3 Leadership and confidence traits

Employers want recruits to show leadership qualities, yet people from disadvantaged backgrounds lack leaders in their lives as examples to emulate.

There is an entire literature on 'leadership in
business’ and there is a widely held assumption that leading employers are looking for ‘natural leaders’ and their assumed associated attributes. The Social Mobility Commission has noted how many firms use ‘competency or strengths based frameworks to seek evidence for skills such as leadership and teamwork’, or to identify ‘aptitudes such as resilience, drive, enthusiasm and adaptability’. The inquiry heard how leadership characteristics are often associated with confidence. In its submission, Brightside said that the issue of access into leading professions is linked to confidence as well as the educational attainment gap. Dan Jarvis MP, champion of the Speaker’s Parliamentary Placement Scheme that offers paid internships in Parliament to people from disadvantaged backgrounds, provides its beneficiaries with confidence to interact with senior parliamentarians and policymakers, which is important for their later career. Archie Brixton said the support he received from upReach built his confidence to commence a career in finance.

The link between confidence and career progress has been quantified by the Sutton Trust in a report that analysed the BBC’s ‘Big Personality Test’ to identify the links between personality traits and career earnings. The report found that highly extroverted people – those who were more confident, sociable or assertive – had a 25% higher chance of being in a high-earning job (over £40,000 per year), with the odds being higher for men than women. The report also found that personality and aspirations were found to be strongly affected by social background, showing that people from more advantaged backgrounds (those whose parents had professional jobs) had significantly higher levels of extroversion and very substantially higher economic aspirations.

4.4 The business case for diversity

Employers need to know there is value in the return on investment in tapping talent everywhere, not just major cities just as London, Birmingham and Manchester.

One of the strongest messages that emerged from the inquiry is that a business case needs to be made to convince businesses – large, medium and small – to take social mobility seriously and adopt the measures such as those proposed in this document. Sacha Romanovitch, CEO of accountancy firm Grant Thornton, told the inquiry that said she came from a modest background which has inspired her determination to ensure her firm is more representative of society, and that part of this was ‘making a business case for widening access emphasising that it enables business to be more competitive’. Helen Brand, CEO of the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants (ACCA), told the inquiry ‘that this applies to businesses large and small… [business] people are passionate about social mobility but they do not have the tools to address these issues’.

McKinsey, a leading consultancy firm, recently found that ‘inherent diversity’ (gender, race and socio-economic background) and ‘acquired diversity’ (experience and skills) ‘leads to greater business outcomes, including companies with such “two dimensional diversity” having 45% more market share’. These findings align with a report by Boston Consulting Group for the Sutton Trust in 2010, which found that failing to improve low levels of social mobility will cost the UK economy up to £140 billion a year by 2050 – or an additional 4% of Gross Domestic Product.

There was a wide recognition that any business case made for widening participation needed to justify an effort by recruiters to alleviate the London centric focus of recruitment, either by regional recruitment or outreach. AGCAS told the inquiry that ‘there is a perception of a “London set” that overlook graduates from the regions’, adding that persons living in areas of traditional industrial employment or localised tourism (i.e. the North, Wales and coastal areas) are ‘unlikely to have the same access to leading professions as their London equivalents because of a networking effect and their cultural outlook’. As David Morley from Allen and Overy acknowledged, his firm do not need to widen the net to find talent because they have so many applications but they have made significant steps in that direction because they believe many good candidates would otherwise miss out.

Another area in which widening access to increase diversity is needed in the arts. BAFTA and Emmy Award winning actor Michael Sheen told the inquiry that improving access to careers in the arts industries is critical. Sheen said that failure to ensure working class voices are heard in film, theatre and TV will have a wider impact on society as a whole. He added that he have to make sure that theatre appeals to everybody and reflects the experiences of the country as a whole, not just the privileged few. Stuart Worden, from the BRIT School, also told the inquiry that there is often a perception that artistic talent is innate and not learnt, ‘we say, ‘that’s not exactly rocket science’ – we should also say ‘that’s not exactly contemporary dance,’ it’s just as hard”.

4.5 Clustering effect

Networking effect contributes to a clustering of affluent people in top professions, especially the privately educated elite.

The Sutton Trust’s Leading People 2016 makes it clear that the top of the leading professions are largely dominated by the privately educated. The inquiry heard that a networking effect leads to similar types of persons accessing the top jobs, who often recruit in their own image thereby exacerbating this problem. John Langley, Head of Global Finance and Risk Solutions at Barclays, explained how the bank had introduced unconscious bias training to the interview process, and
contextualised screening has been brought in in order to widen access into the organisation.62

This clustering effect of similar people working across different professions may be leading to unnecessary barriers. In 2014, a report for the Sutton Trust by Boston Consulting Group found that over 50% of leaders of major banks and nearly 70% of leaders from private equity firms are privately educated, while 34% of new banking recruits and 69% of private equity recruits were privately educated.63 This research implies that privately educated bankers tend to hire privately educated bankers, a situation even more patent in private equity.

In law, the Solicitors Regulation Authority noted that those from a higher socio-economic background where internships are common place are more likely to know of their existence and have the social networks to know what qualities the firms are looking for;64 a situation also highlighted by the Panel on Fair Access to the Professions in 2009.65 The Centre for Market and Public Organisation Research in Public Policy suggested that attending a private school has an additional advantage, over and above demographic differences, the prior attainment of graduates, their choice of institution and selection into post-graduate education.66

Across other professions, the effect is demonstrated most clearly in terms of ethnicity where data is most clear. The inquiry learned how journalism is 94% white despite the media being largely based in multicultural London.67 In medicine, over 95% of vets are white but only 65% of doctors and less than 60% of dentists (and over 20% of dentists’ ethnicity is Indian, compared to less than 10% of doctors and 1% of vets).68 Cultural backgrounds will likely have a strong influence on this phenomenon, but the data nevertheless illustrates that certain professions are dominated by people from particular backgrounds.

4.6 ‘Cultural fit’

Employers look for ‘character’ skills associated with being more affluent, as well as identifying right ‘fit’ for the workplace.

The inquiry found that networking and clustering effects are also very clearly associated with organisational culture. The Social Mobility Commission’s recent report into access into investment banking found that ‘hiring managers have a tendency to recruit for familiarity and similarity, and focus on perceived ‘fit’’. The Commission concludes that this mounts a particular challenge for candidates from disadvantaged backgrounds, as it suggests ‘the concept of “fit” is often determined by whether aspirant bankers share a social educational background with current hiring managers’.69

This issue was discussed at length when the inquiry looked at the civil service. Nicholas Miller, Director of the Bridge Group, which has conducted deep research into the diversity and access issues within the civil service, and Nicola Hanns, who has set up a social mobility initiative within the civil service, both told the inquiry that the civil service was often considered ‘attractive but intimidating’. They explained how this was linked to the organisational culture, which also seems to have had an effect on the level of progression of people from disadvantaged backgrounds to the top
of the civil service. Nicholas Miller explained how the organisational culture varies from department to department, while Nicola Hanns explained that it is often dependent on the Minister overseeing the department. Cabinet Office Minister Ben Gummer responded to this by acknowledging that ‘the Cabinet Office needs diversity for legitimacy and also to tap into the riches of the country and understand the challenges that people face’.70

Raphael Mokades, Managing Director of Rare Recruitment, which supports firms to diversify their workforce, said there were three major aspects to disadvantage that hinder access to leading professions: ‘economic disadvantage, whereby income is an obstacle; social disadvantage including issues related to class, race or gender; and cultural disadvantage, which has a major impact on access into work because of the cultural importance of conventions such as a strong handshake or eye contact’. He said that the issue of cultural fit is the hardest to address because culture is slow to evolve.71

4.7 Transparency concerns

Many businesses are reluctant to be open about socio-economic diversity and want to control what is published.

`What gets measured gets managed`, Helen Brand, CEO of Association of Chartered Certified Accountants, repeated this wise adage to the inquiry to underline the importance of data as a key tool in widening access to the professions. It was widely accepted that socio-economic diversity data would enable us to identify the issues, the scale of the challenges across the sectors, and measure the success of the various proposed solutions.72 ICAEW, a professional body for chartered accountants, said that ‘monitoring and reviewing access to the professions is vital to ensuring that progress on social mobility is made’.73

The lack of socio-economic diversity data is highlighted in a survey by the Association of Graduate Recruiters (AGR). The AGR found that, in 2015, while over two thirds of the employers it surveyed were monitoring the diversity of its employees in terms of gender, ethnicity and disability, less than 40% were monitoring socio-economic status though this was up from about 30% in 2014. It is encouraging that there is a trend towards monitoring socio-economic status, although the culture of doing so was a long way behind monitoring gender, ethnicity and disability.74

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5.1 Contextual recruitment

Recruiters judge attainment in its context, such as the relative performance of a candidate by their school’s average performance.

If data collection was widely suggested to the inquiry as the key tool to hold leading professions to account for improving access, contextual recruitment was widely suggested as the key activity those professions could do to address it. Contextual recruitment involves considering a range of information about an applicant in addition to formal attainment measures such as degree classification and school examination grades. This can include information about the applicant’s personal and educational background, as well as relevant skills and experience, demonstrated through a range of contexts, including inclusively conducted assessments and interviews.

In its submission, KPMG says that considering a candidate’s context is an important part of its recruitment process, explaining that while it recognises that not all students will achieve as high grades, ‘this is in no way a reflection of their potential and ambition’ which is why it encourages a ‘more diverse pipeline of candidates’.76 Deloitte has announced that it is adopting contextualised admissions, including adjusting its academic and internal assessment requirements for applicants with ‘contextual flags’, following advice from Rare Recruitment.

Contextual recruitment is based on the principle that achievement should be seen in context. For example, four As and four A*s at GCSE is below average at St Paul’s Girls’ School where the average is seven A*s, but far above average at Grieg City Academy in Haringey where the average is below five Cs. Therefore the argument is that achieving four As and four A*s at GCSE at Grieg City Academy is a greater achievement than doing so at St Paul’s Girls’ School and this should be recognised.77 The Bridge Group, which published guidance on contextual recruitment in 2015, says that ‘contextual recruitment if executed effectively should ‘result in the recruitment of able graduates who perform highly in the job and whose collective breadth of experience enriches the organisation.”78

5.2 Alternative qualifications and professional routes

Top professions are starting to broaden their scope beyond elite universities and considering professional apprenticeships

To widen access into leading professions, the inquiry learned of three encouraging developments that elite employers are undertaking to widen their talent pool: they are looking beyond Russell Group universities where socio-economic diversity is underrepresented, and increasingly using an ‘education blind’ recruitment process; working with professional bodies to reform or reconsider what professional qualifications are required, as a way to drive down costs for applicants; and employ professionals without degrees by taking on advanced apprentices.

The Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Services said that if employers introduced a name-blind and institution blind recruitment process, this will make a big impact on shifting the focus away from the most elitist institutions.79 This is supported with some initial evidence from a major accountancy firm who revealed confidentially to the inquiry that the proportion of its graduates that attended Russell Group or Oxbridge universities where socio-economic diversity is underrepresented, and increasingly using an ‘education blind’ recruitment process; working with professional bodies to reform or reconsider what professional qualifications are required, as a way to drive down costs for applicants; and employ professionals without degrees by taking on advanced apprentices.

In order to open up access into the legal profession, the Solicitors Regulation Authority (SRA) is proposing removing their current requirements
for intending solicitors to do the Legal Practice Course after their law degree, something which can cost up to £15,000, to allow firms to consider alternative routes into the profession – including legal apprenticeships. The Chartered Institute of Legal Executives (CILEx) says that alternative legal qualifications, such as legal diplomas, allow a greater range of persons to build practical legal skills for ‘less than £10,000 compared to up to £50,000 for traditional routes’. CILEx says that 74% of its lawyers with legal diplomas are women, compared to 48% of solicitors and 33.5% of barristers, while 32% are from BAME backgrounds and 97% do not have a parent that is a lawyer.81

Most leading professions are developing apprenticeship schemes to widen access. The SRA cites Gordons Apprentice Programme as a pioneering scheme that is actively widening access into the legal sector.82 Helen Brand from ACCA said that you do not need a degree to access the accountancy professions, with Sacha Romanovitch adding that Grant Thornton now employs 120 people straight from school on its apprenticeship programme. KPMG said that through its apprenticeship programme ‘it would expect an apprentice to achieve chartered status and be promoted to assistant manager six years after joining the firm’, which is about the same as if they spent three years at university and then joined its graduate scheme.84 John Langley said that that Barclays also has 2500 people on apprenticeships to increase access into finance.86 Meanwhile the National Union of Journalists in Scotland, in collaboration with the Scottish government, has a developed an apprenticeship in digital journalism.86

Case Study: KPMG apprenticeship programme

KMPG360° is a three or six year Apprenticeship Programme for school/college leavers who have completed a Level 3 qualification.

The programme begins with a one year foundation level, which lays the ground work for a career in accountancy and finance. Apprentices rotate around Audit, Tax and Advisory, gaining a broad and balanced understanding of business areas, and complete the AAT Level 3 qualification.

In addition, further non certified training focuses on bridging the gap between academic study and the world of work and builds on core skills such as resilience, collaboration and making an impact.

Upon completion of the foundation level, apprentices can exit the programme if they choose. Those who stay on progress to the two year technician level and study the AAT Level 4 (Certificate).

At the end of year three, apprentices can again exit the programme and apply for a role relevant to the skills and experience they have acquired, or otherwise have a qualification which they can use in the industry.

The final stage of the programme is a further three years training in which apprentices specialise in one area and study for a chartered level qualification.

KPMG recognises the importance of Apprenticeships both to broadening the firm’s recruitment base, but also to affording individuals the opportunity to access a range of different pathways – helping to increase the diversity of the workforce and creating better social mobility. The rotational aspect of the KPMG360° programme allows for specialist content across a suite of areas – as with leading international apprenticeships – and also incorporates a series of graduated and accredited qualifications which have labour market value.

5.3 Work experience

The best employers have a policy of open competitions for work experience placements in order to limit the amount of work experience only available to friends and family of staff members and clients.
The inquiry heard that one aspect of the networking and clustering effects is the practice of work experience being offered by employers to friends and family of staff members and clients or important stakeholders. An area where this has been most controversial is in politics, where a culture of offering work experience or internships to friends and family has been prevalent. The Speakers’ Parliamentary Placement Scheme was set up to mitigate this and gives ten people a year the opportunity to work in Parliament who would otherwise never get the chance.\(^{87}\)

In the inquiry’s evidence session on the law, finance and accountancy professions, it was widely acknowledged that work experience should be offered more widely to disadvantaged young people to spread opportunity and counterbalance networking effects. David Morley, Allen & Overy, is also a former Chair of PRIME, a UK access to law scheme. All members of PRIME commit to offering work experience to young people from less privileged backgrounds to access careers in the legal world. David Morley said that this part prompted his interest in practical ideas to address social mobility, such as his firm’s new ‘Smart Start’ scheme to offer accredited work experience placements.\(^{88}\)

Sacha Romanovitch, of Grant Thornton, said that the firm has a policy of ensuring that it matches the work experience it offers to friends and family of staff with work experience offered to school children. Deloitte has launched a work experience programme targeted at pupils eligible for free school meals in Year 12 and Year 13 (aged 16-18), with five of the 141 students who took part in 2015 offered permanent roles in the firm through their apprenticeship scheme. The firm also says it discourages its employees from offering work experience to friends or family members of partners, employees or clients and those that apply are subject to the same application process as other candidates.\(^{89}\) KPMG says it has also offered 148 work experience placements to students from lower socio-economic backgrounds in every one of its offices across the UK in 2015, rising to over 230 similar placements for such students in 2016.\(^{90}\)

Programmes such as these are also on the rise in medicine, with the Medical Schools Council alongside Health Education England and the Royal College of General Practitioners having worked together to create a GP work experience toolkit to support GPs to create work experience opportunities. The Medical Schools Council and Health Education England have also developed similar toolkits for dentists and hospitals.\(^{91}\)

### Case Study: PRIME

PRIME is an alliance of law firms and legal departments across the UK who have made a commitment to broaden access to the legal profession. PRIME firms offer work experience to young people from less privileged backgrounds who might otherwise not have the opportunity to access careers in the legal world.

PRIME’s members are actively trying to ensure that anyone who wants to enter the world of law has an equal chance to do so, regardless of their background.

For many years, finding work experience opportunities in the legal profession depended largely on who you know, not what you know. PRIME members have made a collective commitment to change this by providing fair access to work experience schemes.

### 5.4 Mentoring programmes

Charities and employers are increasingly involved in providing mentoring support in schools, with some evidence of impact.

The inquiry heard that one of the most widely used strategies by employers to encourage socio-economically disadvantaged people is mentoring. Mentoring often takes place in the workplace but also there is an increasing trend for firms to partner with local schools to provide mentoring support for young people as well. Mentoring was identified as one of the most effective methods of increasing the number of disadvantaged young people at university in the Sutton Trust report *Evaluating Access*.\(^{92}\)

The Social Mobility Commission recommended that employers offer mentoring to schools as a positive action they could take to actively widen access into the professions. However, the commission also raised concerns that often employer mentoring programmes are run as a part of a corporate social responsibility initiative and were detached from the mainstream recruitment process.\(^{93}\)

John Craven, Chief Executive of upReach, said that mentoring is crucial as it ‘lifts the horizons’ of those who participate. Brightside, the online mentoring charity, says that over 90% of users of its *Get In Get On* project to provide young people with advice on progressing into the finance and accountancy sector had a better understanding of the way these sectors work and of career opportunities in these professions.\(^{94}\)
5.5 Local targeting and school partnerships

The best professions and schemes target programmes and partnerships in highly deprived areas to maximise outreach.

Mentoring is part of a wider strategy that is being used by employers to partner with schools in disadvantaged areas or with a high number of disadvantaged pupils. John Langley, Barclays, said that business has a responsibility to lead the way to bring change, including early involvement with students at schools. This is being actively encouraged by government as noted by the ICAEW, a professional body for chartered accountants, which said that the Social Mobility Business Compact encourages members to work with local schools to offer work experience placements.

An example of a designated Social Mobility Business Compact Champion is KPMG, which told the inquiry that it works with over 30 primary schools and 100 secondary schools or colleges, which all have ‘above average levels of disadvantage’ as identified with support from the Bridge Group. The firm said that in 2015 it provided nearly 10,000 hours of support to over 14,000 young people through these school partnerships. KPMG is also a co-sponsor of the City Academy, Hackney, offering financial assistance, work experience, literacy support, help with the debate club, subject-specific tutoring and mentoring to 350 of its pupils a year. It noted that evidence suggests the partnership is having a positive effect, with 93% of pupils that were tutored by KMPG receiving five A*-C grades at GCSE compared to 81% of the year average.

After a year of mentoring is complete, they offer their ‘graduates’ ongoing access to the network. The aim is to create opportunity and offer practical support in the longer term.

5.6 Highly developed access programmes

Some very sophisticated programmes exist to increase disadvantaged access for some top professions such as law and medicine.

There are some highly sophisticated access schemes that have been developed by charities to increase access into leading professions. The Social Mobility Foundation runs schemes to support young people to access a range of professions, from architecture to banking, physics to media and communications. In partnership with universities and employers, upReach offer a comprehensive three year programme of support to undergraduates to help them secure top graduate jobs, while the Creative Society supports young people to develop careers in the arts and runs the Speaker’s Parliamentary Placement Scheme.
The inquiry also heard from beneficiaries of the Sutton Trust’s ‘Pathways’ programmes, which include law, STEM and medicine along with university outreach and professional work experience. Amy Carter, on the Sutton Trust’s Pathways to Law Plus programme, said that she was from a rural area that made it very difficult for her to find work experience and that without the scheme she would not have secured a summer vacation scheme at ‘Magic Circle’ law firm Freshfields.97

The Journalism Diversity Fund, administered by the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ), is aimed at people without the financial means to attend NCTJ-accredited journalism courses who can show they are either socially or ethnically diverse. It was set up in 2005 and with the help of the Fund, applicants can see the costs of their NCTJ accredited course and examination fees covered, access work placements at leading publishing companies and receive contributions to living expenses whilst training.

The University of Birmingham offers an example of a comprehensive programme combining a range of interventions: its Routes to the Professions: Medicine programme. The programme begins with a targeted introduction to medicine workshop in year 10 in schools with a high proportion of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds, followed by a year 12 support scheme for those interested in applying to medicine, including a mentoring programme and work experience. There is then a contextualised admissions process offering a guaranteed interview and a grade discount to get onto medicine courses for those that take part. It notes that in 2015, 57% of those on the scheme applied for medicine with 41% of those progressing to study medicine and a further 23% studying other healthcare courses.98 This model is being replicated across the UK.

Case study: Sutton Trust Pathways to Medicine

Pathways to Medicine draws on the same end-to-end approach of Pathways to Law to address the multiple obstacles to accessing a career in medicine that young people from low/middle income homes face.

Aimed at non-privileged students in state schools and colleges, the programme offers support from year 11 and throughout the two sixth form years. The Pathways to Medicine activities support both academic work, so that students achieve the grades needed for highly competitive medical school places, as well as providing other support – such as a work placement, a mentor in the profession, and soft skills sessions – which will help young people to make a strong and informed application to study medicine.

The Sutton Trust is also supporting Pathways to Medicine in partnership with Imperial College London and Hull-York Medical School, along with Health Education England and the Medical Schools Council.

5.7 Unconscious bias training

Recruiters use unconscious bias training to limit the effect of employers favouring candidates similar to themselves.

The inquiry heard how employers are increasingly more aware of the possibility that unconscious bias may be leading them to favour candidates similar to themselves.99 Unconscious bias refers to the biases we have of which we are not in conscious control. These biases occur automatically, triggered by our brain making quick judgments and assessments of people and situations based on our background, cultural environment and our experiences. There is a growing body of research which suggests unconscious biases influence key decisions in the workplace and are responsible for some of the enduring inequalities that are evident today.100

The Social Mobility Commission said that in most firms those responsible for selection are expected to undertake unconscious bias training. It said that amongst large employers it was increasingly perceived as good practice for staff who are involved in recruiting and selecting new entrants to the profession to be trained in unconscious bias, which led them to be ‘generally aware of the dangers of recruiting in their own image’. However, the Commission did find that such training is rarely focused specifically on social background.101
Case study: Civil Service Social Mobility Action Plan

In 2014, the Cabinet Office commissioned the Bridge Group to analyse social mobility within the Civil Service, focusing particularly on the civil service fast stream. This directly led to the Social Mobility Action Plan for the civil service. As part of this, Sir Jeremy Heywood, Cabinet Secretary and Head of the Civil Service, said that the plan sets out that ‘as well as increasing opportunity for every civil servant, to be more inclusive we know we have to eradicate any unconscious bias there might still be in our recruitment and assessment processes’.  

Sir Jeremy said in March 2016 that over a quarter of the civil service workforce had taken training to counter unconscious bias. Bespoke support has also been offered to staff networks through a new leadership learning pathway for Civil Service Network Chairs. This is complemented by a development programme for civil servants from underrepresented groups called the Positive Action Pathway. In 2015, the Civil Service also introduced name-blind recruitment to cover all roles below the Senior Civil Service. The Civil Service seems determined to set an example for other employers to follow in terms of eradicating unconscious bias from its recruitment and development process.

5.8 Data publication

Several sectors are taking the lead in data transparency, encouraging competition to increase diversity of workforce

Cabinet Office Minister Ben Gummer MP told the inquiry that he has picked up the agenda set out by his predecessor Matthew Hancock MP to pilot the use of the socio-economic background measures with the senior Civil Service, which employers may use as a model should they wish to. Sacha Romanovitch, Grant Thornton (GT) and a Trustee of Access Accountancy, told the inquiry that it is the responsibility of major firms to be transparent and ‘showcase things that are bold’. She explained that by collecting its own data to inform changes to its recruitment system, Grant Thornton has identified that ‘21% of people have joined GT in the past year that would not have under the previous system’.  

Fittingly, accountancy firms appear to be taking the lead on independent data collection. For instance, Deloitte’s evidence to the inquiry showed that about 20% of its staff attended a fee-paying school, 16% a grammar school and 40% went to a comprehensive school, with the remainder either educated outside the UK or not revealing their education background. Deloitte’s survey also found that over half of its staff (51%) were from families where neither of their parents had a degree and 13.9% were from families in receipt of social security benefits. This is an example of how deeply some firms were exploring the backgrounds of their staff at all levels, not just focusing on new joiners or those at the beginning of their career. Access Accountancy has recently commissioned the Bridge Group to provide more detailed analysis on firms’ recruitment data to deliver insights to help evaluate and inform policy change.

Case study: Solicitors Regulation Authority

The Solicitors Regulation Authority has asked law firms in England and Wales to submit diversity data since 2012 and publishes a benchmarking tool for firms to compare their profiles and see if certain groups are underrepresented. The SRA says that indirectly these measures are prompting firms to widen access by encouraging them to give greater consideration to the diversity of their staff. Under the guidance of the SRA, law firms provide the most public data on diversity of any of the sectors this inquiry has explored.

According to the SRA, across England and Wales 68% of UK educated solicitors at partner level or equivalent attended state schools, 32% attended independent schools. These figures differ, though, when London firms are considered exclusively, with 59% of UK-educated London-based partners or equivalent having attended state schools, 41% independent schools. The figures are even closer when only the UK’s largest law firms (consisting of 50 partners or more, which include all the ’magic circle’) are considered. With this filter applied, 52% of UK-educated partners or equivalent attended state schools, only marginally more than attended independent schools (48%).

Using these figures we can conclude that privately-educated partners are more concentrated in London than elsewhere in the UK and even more likely to be represented within the UK’s largest (and so usually most successful) law firms. Through this data we can build the case for change.
6. Next steps – addressing the gaps

6.1 A strategic approach to social mobility should be developed.

The issues preventing fair access to the leading professions require cross-sector leadership and real collaboration to solve and whilst there are pockets of good examples, more needs to be done to bring these separate strands together into one comprehensive strategy.

Among employers, it is the London offices that are taking the lead on access initiatives. Few inner city London schools, with a high proportion of disadvantaged pupils, lack a partnership with a local major corporation and many will have several such links. Yet other parts of the UK, and even outer London, are not so fortunate. Whilst there are some examples of good practice, such as KPMG’s Discovery programme which aims to raise awareness of the profession for young people and having started in London, has expanded across all of the firm’s offices, initiatives like this tend to be the exception.

Helen Brand, ACCA, told the inquiry there was a difficulty over how smaller businesses engage with school leaders because it is proportionally a larger drain in resource for them, indicating one of the challenges with encouraging a co-ordinated effort among businesses to increasing social mobility.

The Careers and Enterprise Company (CEC) is still in its infancy and the impact on the ground has been limited to date. Further government direction has been called for, which has prompted the government to develop a ‘careers strategy’ that was first mooted by then Education and Childcare Minister Sam Gyimah in December 2015, although has since been delayed.106

It is clear that there needs to be a cross sector effort, encouraged and supported by government, to ensure that a coherent social mobility strategy is put in place and carried out. The Bridge Group has called for collective responsibility and collaborative action. They argue that ‘by collaborating university outreach with outreach from the professions, integrated provision can more actively demonstrate to school pupils the links between school level study, higher education and professional employment’. In their engagement with universities, the Bridge Group says that employers should be supporting the employability of students from more disadvantaged backgrounds by working with university career services and academic staff who influence student career choices and course content.107

6.2 Financial barriers to accessing the professions should be minimised as they remain a deterrent for disadvantaged young people to enter a profession.

London remains the hub of best practice of outreach activity by employers, whilst most charities also focus work in the capital yet it is unaffordable for many young people. Some professions also continue to pose a financial risk in pursuing such careers, and there are very few paid and professional apprenticeships in certain careers, which can be a deterrent for those from disadvantaged backgrounds.

As the Social Mobility Commission has noted, the most intensive social inclusion initiatives have historically been focused on London, though coverage is now expanding.108 Teach First, upReach, Social Mobility Foundation, Creative Society, Arts Emergency, and Into University all started with programmes focused in London.

Other parts of the UK, and even outer London, are not so fortunate. Lee Elliot Major, Sutton Trust, said that there should be a greater focus on evaluating what works for school-business partnerships in the capital and spreading this nationally.

In some of the highest profile professions, such as politics and the judiciary, aspirant individuals must take considerable financial risks to pursue such careers, which is a huge deterrent for people for disadvantaged backgrounds. The Spectator says that the financial cost of entering parliament, because prospective MPs often need to give up their job to campaign, is £34,400.109 Chantal-Aimée Doerries QC has recently claimed that the cost of qualifying as a barrister can rise up to £127,000.110 Only a third of those that pass the bar exam secure a ‘pupillage’ within the prestigious ‘Inns of Court’,111 which is the crucial stepping stone to become a barrister, and many fall down at this stage, exposing the financial risk of pursuing such a career.112

Apprenticeships and alternative pathways into professions

Apprenticeships and alternative access routes to professions are underdeveloped. There are a very limited number of professional apprenticeships, with a very small number of apprenticeships at a standard of quality (level 4+5) that would lead to professional jobs, while accessible routes into some of the highest profile professions such as politics and the judiciary are almost non-existent.

Professional apprenticeships are a fairly new development, as the Grant Thornton, KMPG and Gordons Legal Apprenticeship examples testify. Professional apprenticeships as alternatives to degree qualifications are also not widespread. For instance the Social Mobility Commission noted recently that finance is behind law and accountancy
on such access initiatives. The Social Mobility Commission has said that while apprenticeship programmes ‘offer an opportunity to open entry to the professions on the basis of social backgrounds... many are relatively small-scale compared to graduate entry and do not appoint high numbers of non-traditional students’.

Even where professional apprenticeships are available, there are concerns about whether such vocational routes are given the same credibility as more traditional professional entry points. It is a deeper challenge that the perceived lesser value of apprenticeships compared to degrees appears to be an ingrained part of UK culture, as ComRes polling and Oliver Wyman research for the Sutton Trust suggests. The Chartered Institute of Legal Executives (CILEx) said that addressing the issue of parity for vocational and professional qualifications is the ‘highest priority’.

6.3 Recruitment practices should be fair and transparent as employers and universities continue not to highlight their use of contextual recruitment/admissions.

Recruiters are not open about using contextual recruitment methods and so people from disadvantaged backgrounds are unaware that their context could be taken into consideration.

Contextual recruitment is a solution that potentially addresses a series of the challenges this inquiry has identified to increase access into leading professions, from the educational attainment gap and the low representation of disadvantaged groups in elite universities, to the concern that disadvantaged young people do not apply for such jobs. Employers (and elite universities) argue that too few disadvantaged students apply to join them. But, this would likely change should those students know their context may be an asset and not a deterrent. However, employers (and universities) use of using contextual information in their recruitment (and admissions) processes is currently hidden and applicants are not always aware that their context is being positively taken into consideration. Based on the evidence heard throughout this inquiry, there is a clear need for employers and universities to be more transparent about their use of contextual information when considering applicants.

Contextual recruitment is only used by a minority of employers. However, those who are using it are more likely to find it impactful than any other sort of diversity initiative. According to the 2015 Association of Graduate Recruiters survey, 68.4% of those using contextual information found it highly impactful, with the next most impactful measure being partnering with diversity organisations. This inquiry has heard that contextual recruitment is a transformational tool but more needs to be done in order to encourage other organisations to introduce it. All the specialist diversity organisations we engaged with during this inquiry – including the Sutton Trust, upReach, Rare Recruitment and the Bridge Group – advocate contextual recruitment as a key method of achieving socio-economic diversity. It is clear that more research into, and more publicity about, contextual recruitment should be undertaken in order to increase the proportion of employers using the tool.

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**AGR survey 2015 [see submission]**
6.4 Careers advice for young people needs to be significantly improved as careers advice of varying quality is offered across the country.

With the Careers and Enterprise Company (CEC) still in its infancy, the quality of careers advisory support in schools remains variable.

Concerns about the quality of careers education services [see section 3] have prompted some action by the government. In December 2014, then Education Secretary Nicky Morgan said ‘it is widely acknowledged that careers provision in schools has long been inadequate’ in a speech announcing the creation of the Careers and Enterprise Company (CEC). The CEC has been charged with providing advice to schools and colleges, helping them choose effective careers organisations to partner with, through a local network of advisors, as well as mapping the extent of engagement between schools and employers across the country and stimulating more activity in areas where evidence suggests it is needed. The CEC will also administer a £5 million investment fund to support innovation and stimulate good practice.

The CEC has been widely welcomed, however two years after that announcement the body has barely emerged from its infancy and impact on the ground has understandably been limited to date. It was noticeable that none of those who gave oral evidence to this inquiry mentioned the CEC, which indicates the work that it still needs to do. Further government direction has been called for, and whilst the government did develop a ‘careers strategy’ that was first suggested by then Education and Childcare Minister Sam Gyimah in December 2015 this has since been delayed.

In September 2016, the newly appointed Education Secretary Justine Greening gave evidence to the Education Committee and said the new Skills Minister, Robert Halfon, was considering the careers strategy that was first suggested by then Education and Childcare Minister Sam Gyimah in December 2015 this has since been delayed. In September 2016, the newly appointed Education Secretary Justine Greening gave evidence to the Education Committee and said the new Skills Minister, Robert Halfon, was considering the careers strategy that was first suggested by then Education and Childcare Minister Sam Gyimah in December 2015 this has since been delayed. In September 2016, the newly appointed Education Secretary Justine Greening gave evidence to the Education Committee and said the new Skills Minister, Robert Halfon, was considering the careers strategy that was first suggested by then Education and Childcare Minister Sam Gyimah in December 2015 this has since been delayed.118

In the January 2016 speech by the former Prime Minister, the Government announced the launch of a national mentoring campaign that ‘will connect a new generation of mentors to pre-GCSE teens at risk of disengaging and under-performing’, which is being coordinated by the Careers and Enterprise Company with £12 million to support the scale up of proven mentoring projects.121 It is also promising to see that the Education Endowment Foundation will be trialling and evaluating different approaches to careers education.124

David Morley, Allen & Overy, said that he thought there was a lot of school-business link-up, but much of it was focused in London and there was a danger that it was ‘all too piecemeal’, adding that he thought it would not tackle the wider problem unless it is brought together. He argued that it should be better coordinated and emphasised that, while there are ‘no quick fixes to the question of widening access, there is a role for schools, role for business and a role for government in addressing the issue’.125

It is welcome that many employers are looking to engage with schools to provide support, which often includes running after-school clubs such as debating and offering one-to-one or group mentoring. Katie Petty Saphon, Medical Schools Council, was concerned that some schools are not taking up the opportunity to partner with medical schools where they were offered.126 While Dr Lee Elliot Major, Sutton Trust, raised concerns about how effective such schemes were where they were unstructured.127 The Education Endowment Foundation has identified that evidence shows that mentoring programmes which have a clear structure and expectation are associated with more successful outcomes, yet there is a risk that unsuccessful mentor pairings may have a detrimental effect on the mentee.128

6.5 More needs to be done to raise aspirations, increase access to mentoring, build soft skills and encourage extracurricular activities.

6.6 Sector specific gaps: Politics and the civil service

The London focus is arguably most acute in politics, which is highly London-centric. The London situation also creates further challenges to widen access into professions based in the capital due to the cost of living.

Dan Jarvis MP, Speaker’s Parliamentary Scheme Champion, and beneficiary of the scheme Jasmine Storry said that a number of people do not apply to the scheme because of the cost of living in London and those on it struggled because they found the cost of living too high even on the London living
wage. Another beneficiary of the scheme, Stacy Best, highlighted how the cost of living in London can put people off applying for unpaid internships generally and that whilst the Parliamentary Scheme is a great opportunity, it should be allocated more funding given the cost of living in London.

**Medicine**

The inquiry’s session on widening access into medicine focused a portion of the discussion on access to the top of the medical profession, which exposed how professional development is set to be the next phase of the access challenge. Looking at working-age professionals with fellowship of the Royal College of Physicians, the Sutton Trust found that 61% attended independent schools, 22% were educated at grammar schools and 16% attended comprehensives.

This could be, in part, related to the age demographic of those with Fellowships given the amount of time that it can take to become a consultant and then a Fellow. Previously less attention may have been given to widening participation. However, Martin Hart, General Medical Council, said that success through the profession seems to come from a narrower and narrower pool of talent. Anne Corrin, Royal College of Nursing, said that this progression was also a major challenge in nursing.

**Law, finance and professional services**

While over 70% of law firms have programmes in place to address social mobility according to the Association of Graduate Recruiters, 32% of partners in law firms went to independent schools, rising to 51% of partners in the top ‘Magic Circle’ law firms. Partners, like leaders in other sectors, set the organisational culture that the firm adopts and the standard of candidates that the firm is looking to recruit.

It is therefore no surprise that despite the overwhelming majority of law firms having social mobility programmes in place, widening access to those from disadvantaged backgrounds is still a stubborn challenge. For young people to aspire to become leading professionals, they must have examples to follow.

**Career progression:**

Once disadvantaged people enter professions, there is little evidence of support to help them to rise to positions of seniority.

The greatest gap in access to the leading professions is not between the different professions, but actually the career progression of those from disadvantaged backgrounds once they are hired in all of the top professions. Encouraging the progression of those from disadvantaged backgrounds to the top of leading professions is the great unspoken challenge, of which there are few examples of any practice to draw on let alone good practice.

Brightside, the mentoring charity, raised the issue of career progression strongly in the conclusion of its submission. They said that ‘the fight for social mobility does not end with fair access to the professions’ and said that the ‘good work being done on access by the Sutton Trust, Bridge Group, Cabinet Office and employers should form the foundation of a wider project linking ongoing research into tackling educational disadvantage earlier in life with newer research into disparities in the workplace to create a comprehensive lifelong strategy for social mobility’. 

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Image courtesy of Rooful Ali at Aliway Photography
A list of the four evidence sessions held as part of the inquiry

Session One: Access into law, finance and professional services

2pm, 22nd March 2016, House of Commons Committee Room 11

Panel 1 – the views of charities promoting widening access

- Lee Elliot Major, Chief Executive of the Sutton Trust
- John Craven, Chief Executive of upReach
- Raphael Mokades, Managing Director of Rare Recruitment
- Amy Carter, Sutton Trust Pathways Plus representative
- Archie Brixton, Upreach Associate

Panel 2 – the views of professions actively widening access

- Sacha Romanovitch, CEO of Grant Thornton
- Helen Brand, CEO of Association of Chartered Certified Accountants
- David Morley, the Chairman of PRIME and the Senior Partner at Allen and Overy
- John Langley, Head of Global Finance at Barclays

Parliamentarians in attendance:

- Justin Madders MP (Labour), Chair of the Social Mobility APPG
- Baroness Tyler (Liberal Democrat), Co-Chair of the Social Mobility APPG
- Baroness Sharp (Liberal Democrat), Vice-Chair of the Social Mobility APPG
- Flick Drummond MP (Conservative), Inquiry Champion
- Andrea Jenkyns MP (Conservative), Inquiry Champion
- Jo Churchill MP (Conservative), Inquiry Champion
- Siobhain McDonagh (Labour), Inquiry Champion

Session Two: Access into Medicine

Tuesday, 24 May 2016 from 15:00 to 17:00
Committee Room 11, House of Commons

Panel 1 – Access into Medical School

- Katie Petty-Saphon, Chief Executive of the Medical Schools Council
- Professor Ged Byrne, Director of Education and Quality, Health Education England
- Dr Kevin Murphy, Department of Medicine at Imperial College London
- Dr Paul Docherty, Hull York Medical School
- Sukhpreet Dubb, NHS Junior Doctor

Panel 2 – Progress through the medical profession

- Ian Balmer (left RSM December 2016), Chief Executive of the Royal Society of Medicine
- Martin Hart, Assistant Director of Education at General Medical Council
- Clare McNaught, Consultant General and Colorectal Surgeon at Scarborough Hospital
- Prof Stephen Holgate, Clinical Professor of Immunopharmacology, Medical Research Council
- Anne Corrin, Interim Head of Education at the Royal College of Nursing

Parliamentarians in attendance:

- Justin Madders MP (Chair)
- Baroness Tyler (Co-Chair)
- Lucy Allan MP (Vice-Chair)
- Lucy Frazer MP
- Barry Sheerman MP

Session 3: Access into politics

Monday, 12th September 2016 from 15:00 to 17:00
Macmillan Room, Portcullis House

Panel 1 – Access into Politics

- Dan Jarvis MP, Speaker’s Parliamentary Placement Scheme Champion
- Stacy Best, Office of Stuart Andrew MP and Parliamentary Placement Scheme beneficiary
- Jasmine Storry, Office of Damian Green MP and Parliamentary Placement Scheme beneficiary

Panel 2 – Access into the Civil Service

- Nicholas Miller, Director of the Bridge Group
- Nicola Hanns, Department of Work and Pensions
- Rt Hon Ben Gummer MP, Minister for the Cabinet Office

Parliamentarians in attendance:

- Justin Madders MP (Chair)
- Baroness Tyler (Co-Chair)
- Lucy Allan MP (Vice-Chair)
- Natalie McGarry (Vice-Chair)
- Chloe Smith MP (Vice-Chair)
- James Berry MP
- Angela Jenkyns MP
- Melanie Onn MP
- Lord Hodgson

Session 4: Access into entertainment and media

Monday, 24th October 2016 from 19:00 to 21:00
Jubilee Room, House of Commons

Panel 1 – Challenges for the Arts
• Sir Peter Bazalgette, Chair of Arts Council and Chair of ITV
• Carys Nelkon, Arts Emergency
Panel 2 – Media Access
• Andy Cairns, Executive Editor of Sky Sports News
• Joanne Butcher, Chief executive of National Council for the Training of Journalists
• Megan Bramall, BBC Breakfast and Journalism Diversity Fund graduate
• Helena Carter, ITV News/ITN presenter and reporter
Part 3 – Entertainment Access

• Michael Sheen, Bafta and Emmy award winning actor
• Stuart Worden, Head of the Brit School

Parliamentarians in attendance:
• Justin Madders MP [Chair]
• Baroness Tyler [Co-Chair]
• Ian Lucas MP
• Chris Matheson MP
• Peter Bottomley MP
• Lord Lea
Appendix and notes

1 http://www.suttontrust.com/researcharchive/leading-people-2016/
3 http://www.suttontrust.com/researcharchive/private-pay-progresslion/
4 The Social Mobility Foundation and the Social Mobility Commission will publish an annual employer index on social mobility, beginning in Spring 2017. Britain’s top businesses will be ranked for the first time on how open they are to accessing talent from all socio-economic backgrounds.
5 In this report, the term ‘internship’ has been used to define a work placement which lasts longer than four weeks, and is a placement where the intern is expected to do the real work of the business during that time.
6 http://www.suttontrust.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/1Attainment_deprived_schools_summary.pdf
7 Social Mobility Report, The Sutton Trust, 2012
10 The Final Report of the Social Mobility Advisory Group, October 2016
12 HEFCE (2015) Differences in employment outcomes: Equality and diversity characteristics, IFS
13 Leading People 2016
15 AGCAS submission
17 http://www.suttontrust.com/researcharchive/advancing-ambitions/
18 Brightside evidence
25 http://www.suttontrust.com/researcharchive/interactive-mobility-map/
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29 Social Mobility & Child Poverty Commission, ‘Downward mobility, opportunity hoarding and the ‘glass floor’, Abigail McKnight, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE), London School of Economics, June 2015
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32 Inquiry session 1
33 Inquiry session 1
35 [ICAEW evidence]
36 Law session (1)
37 Deloitte evidence
38 Medicine session (3)
40 Social Mobility & Child Poverty Commission, ‘State of the Nation 2013: social mobility and child poverty in Great Britain’, October 2013
41 Bridge Group Graduate Outcomes report, page 22
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43 http://www.suttontrust.com/newsarchive/nearly-a-third-of-graduate-interns-are-unpaid-each-consuming-926-a-month-to-work-for-free/
44 NCJT submission
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46 Social Mobility Commission, Elite Professions, 2015
47 Law Society Shaping Diversity
48 British Medical Journal, April 2015, http://careers.bmj.com/careers/advice/UK_doctors_unlikely_to_be_able_to_repay_student_loans_study_finds
49 Evidence session 1
50 Law Society website, costs of qualifying.
51 CILEX submission
52 NUJ submission
53 Social Mobility & Child Poverty Commission, ‘A qualitative evaluation of non-educational barriers to the elite professions’, Dr Louise Ashley, Royal Holloway University of London Professor Jo Duberley, University of Birmingham Professor Hilary Sommerlad, University of Birmingham Professor Dora Scholarios, University of Strathclyde, June 2015
54 Brightside submission
55 Session 3
56 Session 1
60 AGCAS submission
61 Session 1
62 Session 1