



Social Mobility &
Child Poverty
Commission



DAVID HUME
INSTITUTE

ELITIST SCOTLAND?

3 DECEMBER 2015

About the Commission

The Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission is an advisory non-departmental public body established under the Child Poverty Act 2010 (as amended by the Welfare Reform Act 2012) with a remit to monitor the progress of the Government and others on child poverty and social mobility. It is made up of 7 commissioners and is supported by a small secretariat.

The Commission board comprises:

- The Rt. Hon. Alan Milburn (Chair).
- The Rt. Hon. Baroness Gillian Shephard (Deputy Chair).
- Paul Cleal, Government and Public Sector Leader at Price Waterhouse Coopers.
- Paul Gregg, Professor of Economic and Social Policy, University of Bath.
- Douglas Hamilton, Director of the RS Macdonald Charitable Trust.
- David Johnston, Chief Executive of the Social Mobility Foundation.
- Catriona Williams OBE, Chief Executive of Children in Wales.

The functions of the Commission include:

- Monitoring progress on tackling child poverty and improving social mobility, including implementation of the UK's child poverty strategy and the 2020 child poverty targets, and describing implementation of the Scottish and Welsh strategies.
- Providing published advice to ministers on matters relating to social mobility and child poverty.
- Undertaking social mobility advocacy.

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We continue to extend our diverse and relevant series of published papers which document our seminars and research and we actively seek engagement and interaction with other organisations. Our specialist area of activity is research on economic and policy issues. A list of past seminars, round tables and publications is available in our annual report.

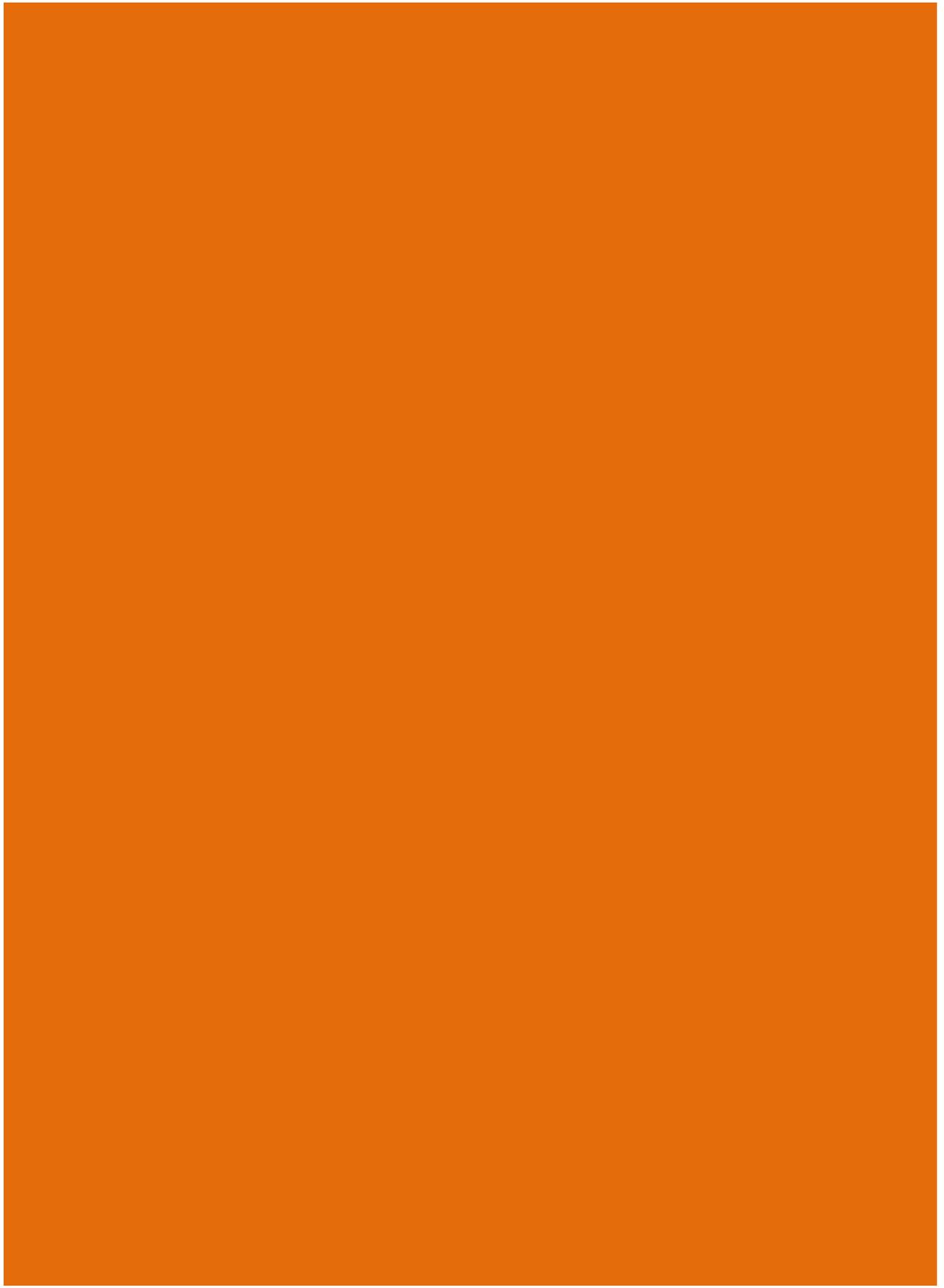
The Institute is independent of government and depends on the fees paid by its individual and corporate members and charitable donations to fund research. A full list of sponsors and donors is given in our annual report and accounts.

Acknowledgements

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Executive Summary

This report looks at the social background of the people who run Scotland, following up an earlier study carried out by the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission looking at this issue for Great Britain as a whole.¹ In partnership with the David Hume Institute and with the support of postgraduate researchers at the University of Edinburgh, we have examined the background of almost 850 leaders in politics, business, the media and other areas of public life in Scotland.

Our research highlights that while those at the top of Scottish public life are somewhat more representative of the rest of the population than the British establishment is, those educated at independent schools and at a handful of highly selective universities are still massively over-represented.

- **Looking at the schools attended by the Scottish elite, almost one in four – 23 per cent – of leading figures across top sectors who were educated in the UK went to private schools.** This is over four times the proportion in the Scottish population as a whole.² Some professions are even less representative: for example, nearly half of senior judges in Scotland – 45 per cent – were educated privately.
- **Looking at the universities and colleges the Scottish elite attended, almost two thirds of those who attended institutions in the UK – 63 per cent – went to an elite university, including just over half who went to one of the four ancient Scottish universities – St Andrews, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen.** This is around two and a half times the proportion of young entrants to higher education in Scotland who attend the four ancient universities.³ Nearly nine out of ten of the top civil servants in Scotland went to either one of the four ancient Scottish universities, Oxbridge or one of the Russell Group universities.

Why does this matter? Locking out many of those not from advantaged backgrounds risks making Scotland's leading institutions less informed, less representative and ultimately less credible than they should be. Where institutions rely on too narrow a range of people, from too narrow a range of backgrounds, with too narrow a range of experiences, they risk behaving in ways and focusing on issues that are of salience only to a minority but not the majority in society. The lack of people from ordinary social backgrounds at the top of Scottish society indicates that a lot of talent is going to waste. Perhaps most importantly it is unfair that those with the talent from less advantaged backgrounds too often find a "class ceiling" that prevents them from reaching the top of their chosen fields.

¹ Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission, *Elitist Britain?*, August 2014

² In 2009 – the latest published data – 5.6 per cent of secondary school students in Scotland were privately educated: 302,921 students were in public funded secondary schools (Scottish Government, *Pupils in Scotland 2009, 2010*) and 18,086 students were in independent secondary schools (Scottish Government, *Independent Schools Census 2009, 2010*)

³ 62 per cent of young Scottish entrants to higher education enter university (Scottish Funding Council). 33 per cent of young full-time UK domiciled undergraduate entrants to Scottish universities enter one of the four ancient universities (HESA)

We hope that this report will prompt some serious thinking among the institutions at the top of Scottish society about what they can do to change these statistics and ensure Scotland is a country where success relies on aptitude and ability more than the ability to pay.

Figure 1 – The proportion of the Scottish elite who were privately educated (of those who were educated in the UK)

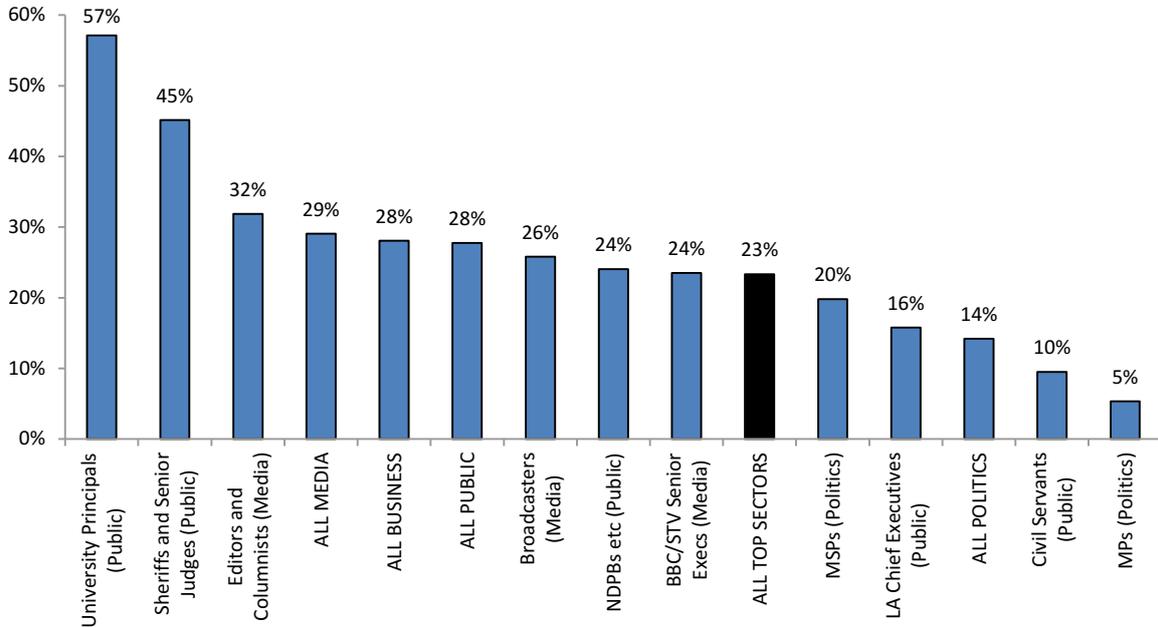
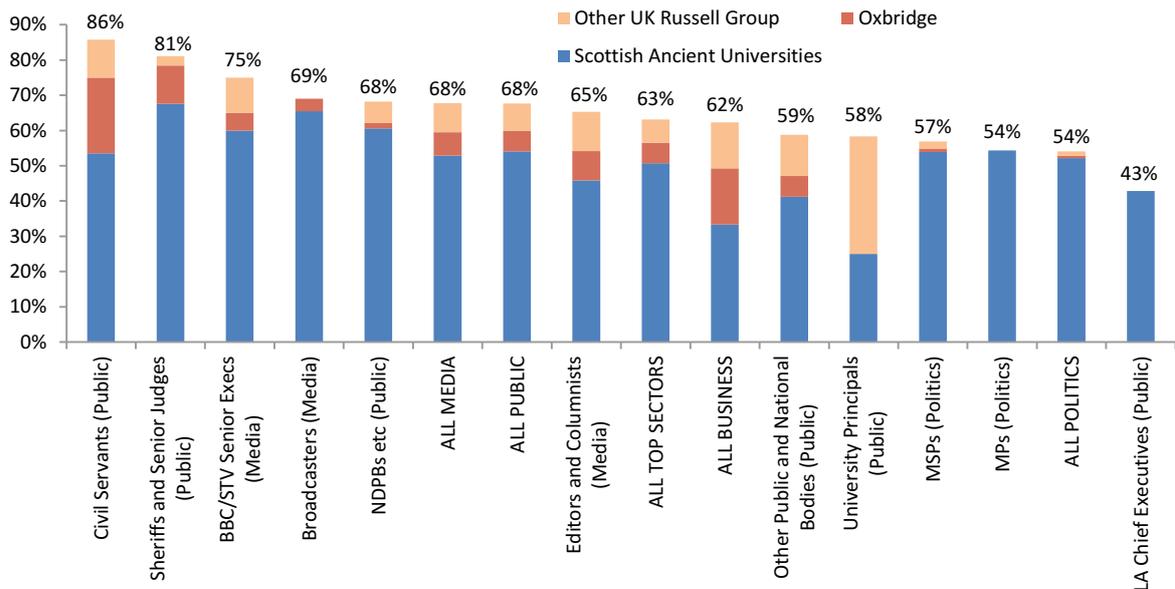


Figure 2 – The proportion of the Scottish elite with a first degree from one of the UK’s elite universities (of those with an HE qualification from the UK)



The charts do not provide separate breakdowns for professions where educational details for less than half of the sample are unknown (Health Boards, LA Leaders and Policy Scotland).

Introduction

Elitist Britain, a study published by the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission in August 2014⁴, examined the educational backgrounds of those in the top positions in British society. It concluded that there was “dramatic over-representation of those educated at independent schools and Oxbridge across the institutions that have such a profound influence on what happens in our country”.

This raises the question of whether the domination of the top of British society by those from advantaged social backgrounds is replicated in Scotland or not. In a speech in Edinburgh in November 2014, the Rt. Hon. Alan Milburn – Chair of the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission – suggested that it is:⁵

“It is hard to avoid Sir John Major’s conclusion that there remains a closed shop at the top of British society. Nor is Scotland exempt from such elitism. Almost half of senior Scottish judges were educated in private schools compared to just 5 per cent of the population as a whole and the country’s top universities remain dominated by students from better-off backgrounds”

The current study identified 846 individuals in Scotland who are at the top of key sectors of Scottish society – politics, the public sector, the media, and business – and sought to collect data about what type of secondary school they went to, whether they entered higher education and, if they did, what university they went to.

The aim is to repeat part of the *Elitist Britain* study, developing an initial sense of the landscape of key sectors of society in Scotland and trying to answer two key questions:

- Is there an *Elitist Scotland*?
- If there is, is it the same elite as identified in *Elitist Britain*, or one that is different in character?

⁴ Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission, *Elitist Britain?*, August 2014

⁵ The Rt. Hon. Alan Milburn, *Breaking the Link Between Demography and Destiny in Scotland*, Speech at *Learning for All 2014*, Edinburgh, 13 November 2014

Methodology

Our methodology has adhered to that adopted by *Elitist Britain* as far as possible. The core question, much like in that previous study, is,

*Who has the top jobs in Scotland? In particular, what are the backgrounds of people who influence opinion – such as politics and the media?*⁶

Our first step was deciding which sectors to research. *Elitist Britain* put a ‘spotlight’ on the following sectors of society:

- Politics
- The Media
- The Public Sector
- Business
- Creative Industries and Sport

Each of those broad sectors was then further subdivided into a number of different professions (see **Annex A**). For the present study we have focused on the first four sectors above. Our starting point was to find an analogous category or sub-category within Scotland to match up with the different professions looked at in *Elitist Britain*.

An initial meeting involving key individuals from a variety of Scotland’s professions helped us to think through how we identified each of the sectors and decided which individuals were at the top of that field. Some of the sectors were fairly obvious: for example, ‘Politics’ lent itself to Scotland’s 59 MPs and 129 MSPs. Others were less straightforward and required conversations with people in that field to determine what was most sensible way of going about the research: for example, within the ‘Public Sector’ we wanted to explore the legal sector and so took advice about who it would be appropriate to capture information about.

Practical considerations – both time and resource – have led us to conduct a more restricted study than that of *Elitist Britain*. For example, we had originally intended to examine the social background of partners in the major law firms with a footprint in Scotland but lack of data forced us to scale back our ambitions and ultimately the focus was placed on senior judges in Scotland. We also did not have the time to define a ‘Creative Industries’ field in Scotland, although there was such a section in *Elitist Britain*. Finally some professions that the British study looked at – such as the armed forces and the diplomatic service – are UK-wide and do not have an equivalent in Scotland.

Following *Elitist Britain*, we sought information on:

- The school attended at the start of secondary education.
- The college or university where the first higher education qualification was completed when ‘young’ (defined as by the age of 25 to account for a four-year degree education in Scotland and the possibility of short breaks in education).

Schools were categorised as private schools, state schools or schools outside of the UK. Higher education institutions were categorised as Scottish Ancient universities,

⁶ *Elitist Britain*, p. 8.

Oxbridge, Russell Group institutions (those not in the first two categories), other Scottish institutions, other UK institutions and institutions outside of the UK.

There are a number of caveats that should be noted, as there was in the *Elitist Britain* study⁷. For example:

- The method used tells us about the top tier of various professions and not about the future “pipeline”. By looking at top jobs, we are in part reflecting on past inequalities and recruitment decisions that were made decades ago.
- A small minority of those educated at private schools will have been from less advantaged backgrounds and eligible for scholarships. For example, statistics cited by the Scottish Council of Independent Schools suggest that 400 pupils in Scotland – 1.3 per cent of pupils in independent schools – are in receipt of full funding for their fees.⁸ Similarly, many of those who attend state schools are from highly advantaged social backgrounds – they are the “least affluent” 95 per cent of the population.
- University attendance is not a good proxy for social background and entry to the top universities is, in general, meritocratic as those who get very good Highers or Advanced Highers who apply to the most selective universities tend to get in. However, the social profiles of those at the top universities are narrower than the country as a whole and were even narrower in previous decades – for example, fewer than one in seven students (13 per cent) at the four ancient universities in Scotland are from working-class backgrounds and only 3 per cent have parents in routine occupations.⁹
- Non-educational advantages or ‘social capital’ have not been captured.
- We have assumed that those we could find information about are representative of the profession as a whole: our findings are therefore more reliable in those domains where we could find information for a higher proportion of the sample.

Postgraduate researchers at the University of Edinburgh, coordinated by Dr Daniel Kenealy, collected the data through a combination of searching relevant websites (e.g. the homepages of MPs and MSPs), looking at other biographical resources (e.g. Debretts, Who’s Who, LinkedIn) and through email contact with those identified.

Overall, we found school information for 67 per cent of the individuals we identified and university information for 78 per cent. Some sectors have seen a higher completion rate than others: for example, it was a lot easier to find this type of information for public figures such as politicians compared to more private figures such as corporate CEOs and public officials.

A full breakdown of the numbers of people we sought to gather information on, and the proportion we were able to find information for is detailed in **Annex B**.

⁷ See Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission, *Elitist Britain: The Methodology*, August 2014 for a fuller discussion

⁸ Scottish Council of Independent Schools, *The State of Independence: A Commentary on Scotland’s Independent Schools in 2014 and Beyond*, April 2014

⁹ Data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency. We have defined being from a working class background to mean having parents in routine and manual occupations (ONS NS-SEC 5-7)

Our Findings

This section presents the main findings of our research. Detailed tables presenting our results in full can be found in **Annex C** and **Annex D**.

Politics

Political leaders in Scotland

There is a stark contrast between the educational backgrounds of political leaders in the Scottish Parliament compared to those of political leaders in the House of Commons.

Looking at the three biggest political parties in terms of democratically elected members (the Conservative Party, the Labour Party and the Scottish National Party), while two of the leaders at Westminster attended private schools for at least part of their schooling, all three of the leaders at Holyrood attended state schools. In terms of university background, there is only one non-graduate among the six leaders of the main political parties at Westminster with all the other five attending one of the elite UK universities (which we have defined as being Oxbridge, one of the four ancient Scottish universities or another university in the Russell Group).

Looking at the educational backgrounds of Cabinet Ministers, half of Cabinet Ministers in the UK Government were privately educated, half were educated at Oxbridge and 86 per cent were educated at one of the elite UK universities. By contrast, every Cabinet Minister in Holyrood was state educated and none were educated at Oxbridge, although 60 per cent were educated at one of the Scottish ancient universities.

Scottish Parliament and MPs for Scottish constituencies

Of Scotland's MSPs we found that 20 per cent of MSPs educated in the UK about whom we collected data (118 from a total of 129) attended a private school in either Scotland or the rest of the UK. Even fewer MPs for Scottish constituencies attended private schools – only 5 per cent of the 56 of those educated in the UK that we found data on, approximately the same as the proportion of people educated privately in Scotland as a whole. By contrast *Elitist Britain* found that 33 per cent of Westminster MPs across the whole of the UK were educated independently.¹⁰

One striking finding from *Elitist Britain* was that nearly a quarter (24 per cent) of MPs across the UK attended Oxbridge, with over half (54 per cent) attending one of the 24 Russell Group universities. Refocusing to Scotland's parliament at Holyrood it is noteworthy that a different field of higher education that seems to dominate. Whilst only one MSP out of the 116 we have university data for attended Oxbridge, it is remarkable that 47 per cent of current MSPs attended one of Scotland's four ancient universities – St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh.

¹⁰ Note that this study was carried out after the 2015 General Election whereas *Elitist Britain* was carried out last year

In total 91 per cent of MSPs we had data for in our sample had entered higher education before the age of 25, with the remainder either not entering higher education or doing so later on in life as mature students. This is somewhat higher than the equivalent proportion of MPs across the whole of the UK who had a higher education qualification (83 per cent, as reported in *Elitist Britain*).

Focusing on Scotland's 59 MPs at Westminster, almost half (46 per cent) of the 54 for whom we have data attended one of Scotland's four ancient universities. Seven of the MPs that we collected data on either did not attend university or attended later in life (13 per cent).

Public sector

Civil service

The *Elitist Britain* report found that 55 per cent of permanent secretaries in UK civil service departments went to private schools and 57 per cent had a degree from either the University of Oxford or the University Cambridge. In contrast, none of the last three permanent secretaries of the Scottish Government were educated privately and only one was educated at Oxbridge.

Looking at the top levels of the civil service in Scotland more broadly – those at Director level and above - of the 21 officials we were able to collect data for, 19 (91 per cent) went to state schools and only two (9 per cent) were privately educated. However, as a group they were one of the most likely to have attended an elite UK university – 87 per cent of those for whom we have data did so – with far more having attended Oxbridge than any other profession in our study (more than one in five: 21 per cent) and almost a third (32 per cent) having attended a university in England. This difference to other Scottish professions possibly reflects the high degree of interchange between the UK and the Scottish Civil Service.

Local authorities

We collected school data for 19 of the 33 local authority chief executives and found that 16 (84 per cent) of them attended state schools and only 3 (16 per cent) attended private schools. Of the 23 for which we were able to obtain university data, nine (39 per cent) attended Scottish ancient universities, eight (35 per cent) other Scottish universities or higher education institutions and four (17 per cent) went to university outside Scotland. Two (9 per cent) did not attend university.

The law

Elitist Britain found that 71 per cent of senior judges in England and Wales had attended private schools and 75 per cent had attended either Oxford or Cambridge University. While the senior judiciary in Scotland is somewhat less unrepresentative, 14 out of the 31 educated in the UK – 45 per cent – were educated privately, meaning senior judges were eight times more likely to have attended an independent school than the wider population and four (11 per cent) were educated at Oxbridge. While two thirds – 66 per cent – were educated at one of the Scottish ancient universities, this is may be unsurprising given the dominance of those institutions in the study of law in Scotland.

Other public bodies

Finally in the public sector, we collected information about the chief executives and chairs of NDPBs (Non-departmental public bodies) and a range of other public bodies including public corporations, non-ministerial departments, ombudsman, health boards, senior officers in Police Scotland and university principals. We had mixed success in this exercise, and overall we only found school details for 44 per cent and university details for 61 per cent of the sample, with particular difficulties finding information for Police Scotland.

Of those we were able to find school data for, 71 per cent of those educated in the UK attended state schools, with only 26 out of 91 UK educated people in the sample having attended private schools.

When it came to universities, almost 59 per cent of university principals had attended an elite UK university, including almost half (48 per cent) who had attended one of the Scottish ancient universities.

Media

Elitist Britain found that people educated at private schools dominated the top of the UK media and that this had been increasing over time, from 47 per cent in 1986 to 54 per cent in 2014.

The picture in Scotland is somewhat different. We collected data for top executives and commentators in broadcasting and the largest newspapers. Although almost a third of people at the top of the Scottish media for whom we could find data were privately educated (29 per cent) – a proportion more than five times higher than for the Scottish population – this is much less than in the UK as a whole.

When it came to higher education, almost two thirds of those at the top of the media (82 out of the 128 we found data for) had attended an elite UK university including half who had attended one of the Scottish ancient universities and 6 per cent (8 out of 128) who had attended Oxbridge. By comparison, the UK survey found that 45 per cent of those at the top of the media had been to Oxford or Cambridge and 74 per cent had been to a Russell Group institution.

In total, of the media professionals in Scotland we looked at, 96 per cent attended some form of higher education institution. Just 4 per cent of those we surveyed did not attend university, or attended later in life. That is slightly lower than the 10 per cent of 'top 100 media professionals' in *Elitist Britain* who did not attend university.

Business

Scotland's business elite – CEOs and chairs of the top 100 companies based in Scotland – is an international one, with 42 per cent of those we found data for attending a school outside of the UK and 31 per cent attending university outside of the UK. This is a similar pattern to the one observed in *Elitist Britain*, where 47 per cent of the FTSE 350 attended a school outside of the UK.

Focusing on those who were educated in the UK, 16 out of 57 for whom we found data for – 28 per cent - were educated privately (compared to 41 per cent of FTSE 350

CEOs) and 43 out of 69 with a degree from a UK university attended one of the elite UK institutions – 62 per cent, though in contrast to other professions where Scottish ancient university graduates tended to dominate, only just over half of top businesspeople who had a UK higher education qualification attended one of these institutions.

In total 14 per cent of those we could find information about did not attend university, or attended later in life. That compares with a figure of 7 per cent for FTSE 350 chief executives in *Elitist Britain*. However, thinking more broadly about business, of those on the Sunday Times Rich List recorded by *Elitist Britain*, 29 per cent did not attend a university.

Conclusion

Our research suggests that the top of Scottish society is significantly unrepresentative of the Scottish population – though less so than the top of British society - with almost a quarter (23 per cent) of those in the professions we looked at educated privately at secondary education level compared to just over 5 per cent of the Scottish population as a whole and almost two thirds (63 per cent) having attended an elite UK university.

Annexes

Annex A - *Elitist Britain* and *Elitist Scotland* sectors and sub-sectors

Elitist Britain sector	Elitist Britain sub-sector	Elitist Scotland sector	Elitist Scotland sub-sector
Politics	Members of the House of Commons (650)	Politics	Members of the Scottish Parliament (129)
	- UK Cabinet (22)		- Scottish Cabinet (10)
	- UK Junior Ministers (102)		- Scottish Junior Ministers (13)
	- UK Shadow Cabinet (27)		- Scottish Opposition Spokespeople (47)
	- UK Shadow Ministers (109)		- Committee Chairs (20)
	- Commons Select Committee Members (302)		
	- Commons Select Committee Chairs (33)		
	Members of the House of Lords (780)		Members of the House of Commons (59)
	Local authority leaders (33)		
Public Sector	Whitehall Permanent Secretaries (37)	Public Sector	Scottish Government Directors+ (36)
	Public body chairs (189)		Public body chairs/CEOs (182)
	Public body CEOs (182)		
	Local government CEOs (England) (333)		Local authority CEOs (33)
	Local government leaders (England) (355)		Data included in Politics section
	Senior diplomats (150)		No equivalent in Scotland
	Senior judges (161)		Senior judges (38)
	Senior armed forces officers (114)		No equivalent in Scotland
	Police & Crime Commissioners. (Eng & Wales) (43)		No equivalent in Scotland
	Chief Constables (England & Wales) (46)		
	University Vice Chancellors (144)		Police Scotland senior officials (16)
			University Principals (18)

Elitist Britain sector	Elitist Britain sub-sector	Elitist Scotland sector	Elitist Scotland sub-sector
Business	FTSE 350 CEOs (318)	Business	CEOs/Chairs top 100 companies (139)
	Sunday Times Rich List (163)		
Media	Newspaper editors (Not specified)	Media	Newspaper editors, deputy editors, senior editors (25)
	UK national columnists (261)		National newspaper columnists (75)
	Broadcasters (Not specified)		Broadcasters (37)
	BBC executives (187)		BBC Scotland executives (16) STV executives (10)
Sport/Creative	Wealthiest 100 UK-born in TV, film and music (Times Rich List) (Not specified)	Sport/Creative	Not completed for this research
	UK artist who had one of the top 40 selling albums in 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014 (Not specified)		
	England, Scotland, Wales rugby teams (111)		
	England national football team (Not specified)		
	England cricket team (33)		

Annex B - *Elitist Scotland*: proportion of sample where educational background data could be found

Profession	Individuals identified	% schools known	% university known
POLITICS	221	84.2%	82.8%
<i>MSPs</i>	128	92.2%	90.6%
<i>MPs</i>	59	96.6%	91.5%
<i>LA Leaders</i>	34	32.4%	38.2%
PUBLIC BODIES	323	52.0%	68.1%
<i>LA Chief Executives</i>	33	57.6%	69.7%
<i>Civil Servants</i>	36	58.3%	77.8%
<i>Non-Departmental Public Bodies etc.</i>	108	50.0%	63.9%
<i>Health Boards</i>	47	40.4%	46.8%
<i>Police Scotland</i>	17	5.9%	29.4%
<i>Other Public and National Bodies</i>	26	38.5%	65.4%
<i>Sheriffs and Senior Judges</i>	38	86.8%	100.0%
<i>Vice Chancellors</i>	18	61.1%	100.0%
BUSINESS	139	70.5%	68.1%
MEDIA	163	71.8%	78.5%
<i>BBC/STV Senior Managers</i>	26	65.4%	84.6%
<i>Broadcasters</i>	37	83.8%	81.1%
<i>Editors and Columnists</i>	100	69.0%	76.0%
TOTAL	846	67.3%	77.5%

Annex C - *Elitist Scotland*: summary of findings on school background

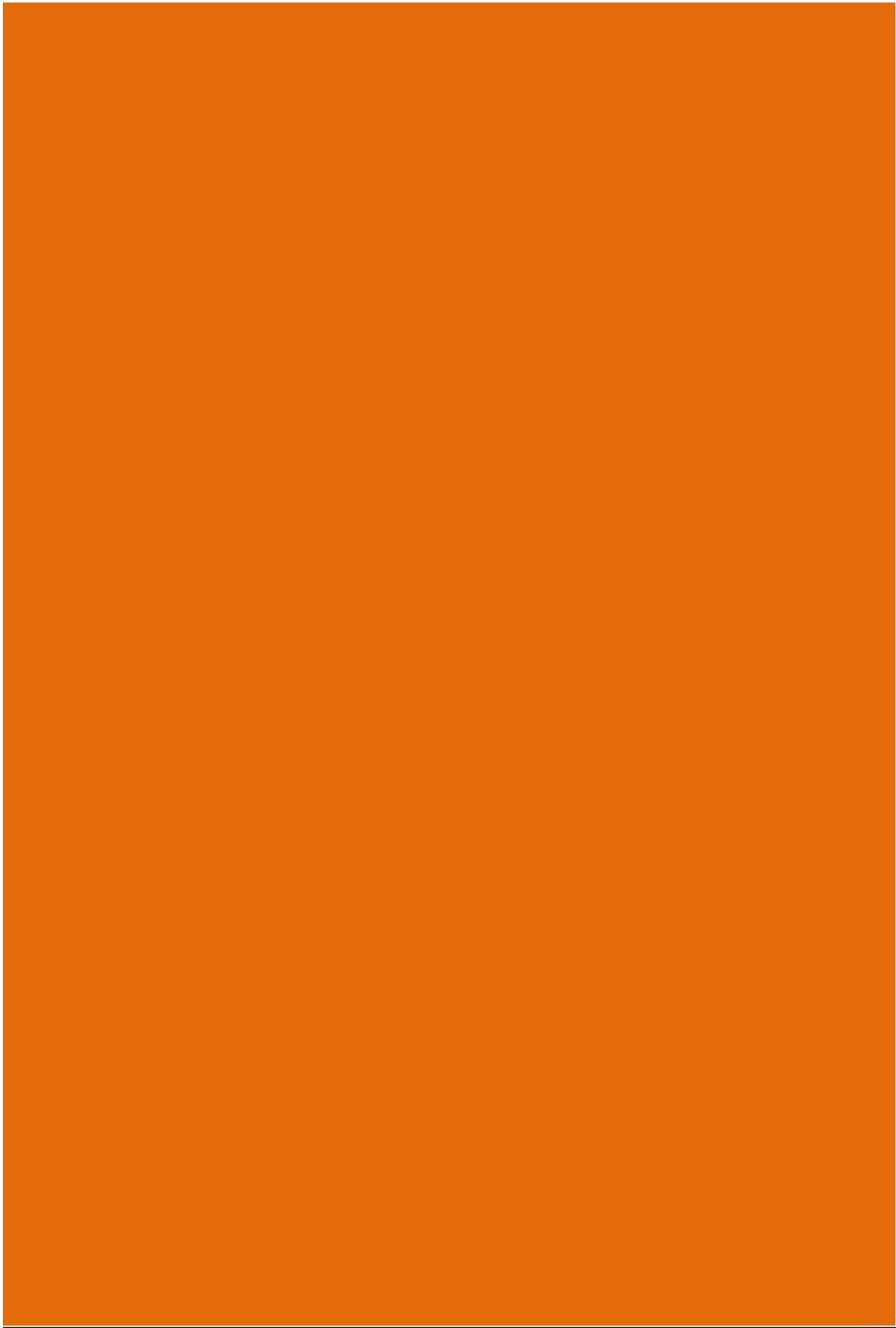
Profession	Total known	State school	Private school	School outside of the UK
POLITICS	186	157 (84%)	26 (14%)	3 (2%)
<i>MSPs</i>	118	93 (79%)	23 (19%)	2 (2%)
<i>MPs</i>	57	53 (93%)	3 (5%)	1 (2%)
<i>LA Leaders</i>	11	11 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
PUBLIC BODIES	168	117 (70%)	45 (27%)	6 (4%)
<i>LA Chief Executives</i>	19	16 (84%)	3 (16%)	0 (0%)
<i>Civil Servants</i>	21	19 (90%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)
<i>Non-Departmental Public Bodies etc.</i>	54	41 (76%)	13 (24%)	0 (0%)
<i>Health Boards</i>	19	15 (79%)	4 (21%)	0 (0%)
<i>Police Scotland</i>	1	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
<i>Other Public and National Bodies</i>	10	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	0 (40%)
<i>Senior Judges</i>	33	17 (52%)	14 (42%)	2 (6%)
<i>University Principals</i>	11	3 (27%)	4 (36%)	4 (36%)
BUSINESS	98	41 (42%)	16 (16%)	41 (42%)
MEDIA	117	83 (71%)	34 (29%)	0 (0%)
<i>BBC/STV Senior Managers</i>	17	13 (76%)	4 (24%)	0 (0%)
<i>Broadcasters</i>	31	23 (74%)	8 (26%)	0 (0%)
<i>Editors and Columnists</i>	69	47 (68%)	22 (32%)	
TOTAL	569	398 (70%)	121 (21%)	50 (9%)

Professions where data was available for less than 50 per cent of the sample have been greyed out due to unreliability.

Annex D - *Elitist Scotland*: summary of findings on university background

Profession	Total known	Ancient university	Oxbridge	Russell Group	Other Scotland	Other UK	Non UK	None
POLITICS	183	83 (45%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	67 (37%)	6 (3%)	5 (3%)	19 (10%)
<i>MSPs</i>	116	55 (47%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	40 (34%)	4 (3%)	4 (3%)	10 (9%)
<i>MPs</i>	54	25 (46%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	21 (39%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	7 (13%)
<i>LA Leaders</i>	13	3 (23%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (46%)	2 (15%)	0 (0%)	2 (15%)
PUBLIC BODIES	220	112 (51%)	12 (5%)	16 (7%)	47 (21%)	20 (9%)	9 (4%)	4 (2%)
<i>LA Chief Executives</i>	23	9 (39%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (35%)	4 (17%)	0 (0%)	2 (9%)
<i>Civil Servants</i>	28	15 (54%)	6 (21%)	3 (11%)	3 (11%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Non-Departmental Public Bodies etc.</i>	69	40 (58%)	1 (1%)	4 (6%)	15 (22%)	6 (9%)	2 (3%)	1 (1%)
<i>Health Boards</i>	22	11 (50%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	9 (41%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)
<i>Police Scotland</i>	5	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Other Public and National Bodies</i>	17	7 (41%)	1 (6%)	2 (12%)	3 (18%)	4 (24%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Senior Judges</i>	38	25 (66%)	4 (11%)	1 (3%)	7 (18%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
<i>University Principals</i>	18	3 (16%)	0 (0%)	4 (22%)	1 (6%)	4 (22%)	6 (33%)	0 (0%)
BUSINESS	125	23 (18%)	11 (9%)	9 (7%)	15 (12%)	11 (9%)	39 (31%)	17 (14%)
MEDIA	128	64 (50%)	8 (6%)	10 (8%)	29 (23%)	10 (8%)	2 (2%)	5 (4%)
<i>Senior Managers</i>	22	12 (55%)	1 (5%)	2 (9%)	4 (18%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	2 (9%)
<i>Broadcasters</i>	30	19 (63%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	8 (27%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
<i>Editors and Columnists</i>	76	33 (43%)	6 (8%)	8 (11%)	17 (22%)	8 (11%)	2 (3%)	2 (33%)
TOTAL	656	282 (43%)	32 (5%)	37 (6%)	158 (24%)	47 (7%)	55 (8%)	45 (7%)

Professions where data was available for less than 50 per cent of the sample have been greyed out due to unreliability





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