Fostering Diversity in the Creative Arts by Addressing Students' Capacity to Aspire

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ABSTRACT

Research on young people's aspirations and their capacity to aspire to higher education has proliferated in recent decades, however very little attention has been paid to the creative arts. Diversity in the arts remains a persistent issue in many nations, and repeated attempts to promote diversity in the Australian arts community have had limited impact, suggesting the need for new approaches. Drawing on data from a four-year longitudinal study of students from ages 8 to 18 (n = 6,492) in government schools, we examine school students' aspirations for careers in the arts. Arts-related careers were popular among students, yet we found a distinct lack of diversity among those aspiring to such careers. Using logistic regression analysis we found that being female, high achieving, from an English-speaking background, possessing high cultural capital, and attending advantaged schools were significant predictors of interest in the arts, suggesting the likely reproduction of existing patterns of participation. We argue that initiatives within schools are essential to disrupting these patterns and building the capacity of a more diverse range of students to aspire to careers in the arts.

Keywords: school students, the arts, aspirations, diversity, capacity to aspire.

INTRODUCTION

Social and cultural diversity in the creative arts is a persistent issue in many western nations (see DeVos Institute of Arts Management, 2015; Mar & Ang, 2015), highlighted, for example, in the #OscarsSoWhite response to the under-representation of African Americans among Oscar nominees at recent Academy Awards ceremonies (Gray, 2016). Arts organizations have implemented a range of policies and programs designed to promote diversity, primarily through establishing diversity targets to address the under-representation of a broad range of social and cultural groups in the arts (Arts Council England, n.d.; Gould, 2015).

Given that the arts are a vehicle for cultural expression, they have a unique role to play in the promotion of diversity. The Convention on the Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, adopted by UNESCO in 2005, affirms that "cultural diversity is a defining characteristic of humanity" (p.1) and recognises that "the diversity of cultural expressions, including traditional cultural expressions, is an important factor that allows individuals and peoples to express and share with others their ideas and values" (p.3). The Convention emphasises that cultural interaction and creativity play a vital role in sustainable development.

With attempts to promote the diversity of cultural expression predating the Convention, Australia is a signatory to the Convention and therefore is legally obligated to ensure "artists, creative professionals, practitioners and citizens…can create, produce, disseminate and enjoy a broad range of creative goods, services and activities, including their own" (UNESCO, 2005, p.53). Diversity has become a key agenda for 21st century cultural policy, and organisations like the Australia Council for the Arts have made support for a diverse range of artists a priority in order to "better reflect and extend the diversity of cultural expressions in Australia." (Mar & Ang, 2015, p.5).

Initiatives to promote cultural diversity in the arts have primarily focused on supporting a diverse range of professional artists (Gould, 2015; Mar & Ang, 2015). For example, a state government program implemented by VicHealth (n.d.), which included artistic pursuits such as drama, film making, music and stand-up comedy, was designed to reduce race-based discrimination. Other programs have encouraged diversity of cultural expression through building cultural capabilities (Mar & Ang, 2015). Such projects seek to make an important contribution to Australia's cultural diversity agenda,

strengthen cultural values, preserve heritage and history, and provide support for people already in the arts community.

Such efforts have had limited impact, however, with a recent survey of Australian artists revealing that just 8% of the professional artist population are from a non-English speaking background, compared to 16% of the general workforce – a trend which has remained stable since at least 2001 (Australia Council for the Arts, 2015). With a continued failure to meet diversity targets leading to "diversity fatigue," and ongoing calls for more diversity in the arts (Roberts, 2017; Soutphommasane, 2017), Ang and Mar (2016) argue that the arts need "new, more vigorous and pro-active ways of promoting and nurturing diversity from the ground up" (para. 9).

Given recent scholarship from both Australia (Author et al., 2015) and the United Kingdom (Whitty, Hayton, & Tang, 2015) identifying that occupational and educational aspirations begin to form early in life, in this paper we investigate the degree of diversity among school students aspiring to the arts. In so doing, we address the importance of a "ground up" approach. Indeed, understanding the formation of aspirations for careers in the creative arts is, arguably, foundational to increasing diversity. Unlike other occupational fields such as nursing, medicine, and teaching, there is surprisingly little research on aspirations for careers in the creative arts and no previous study has investigated the aspirations of school students. This study examines both the degree of interest in arts careers and how interest varies in relation to such characteristics as gender, language background, and Indigeneity. By identifying the kinds of young people who express interest in the arts and by examining factors that contribute to their capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2004), this analysis provides empirical evidence that current patterns of participation in the creative arts are likely to persist.

THE ARTS AND THE CAPACITY TO ASPIRE

'The arts' is a dynamic field, fluid in nature and difficult to restrict to clear boundaries. For some, the arts are represented by the broad umbrella of the creative industries, the scope of which is vast and links creativity with commercial markets and the potential to create wealth (British Council, n.d; Higgs, Cunningham, & Pagan, 2007). For this paper, we narrow the focus to dance, drama, literature, visual arts, music, film, and other media arts such as photography, video, and digital animation. Arguably, the key role of these "arts" in education and in the broader community ties them together

(Ewing, 2011), as does the reality that careers in these "arts" are not traditionally associated with high financial reward or employment stability (van Liemt, 2014). These conditions associated with careers in the arts potentially pose greater challenges for some individuals and groups in society than they do for others, thus affecting their capacity to aspire.

Following Appadurai (2004), we define the "capacity to aspire" as a cultural capacity unevenly distributed within societies. Aspirations are not individually constructed, but constructed collectively under certain social and cultural conditions (Appadurai, 2004). From this perspective, the greater one's advantage in terms of social, cultural, and economic resources, the more likely one is to know how to make the necessary links that lead to the realization of one's aspirations (Smith, 2011). Those with a greater capacity to aspire are said to have increased access to a range of experiences and a more highly developed understanding of the steps they need to take. They have greater opportunity to explore and experiment, and therefore amass a store of experiences as useful points of reference (Appadurai, 2004). Those from less advantaged backgrounds might share the same desires and aspirations but lack the ability to navigate social norms, and therefore construct the necessary pathways to reach their goals. This theoretical perspective has been brought to recent analyses and studies of student aspirations for higher education (see for example, Bok, 2010; Prodonovich, Perry, & Taggart, 2014) but not to students' aspirations for the arts.

While a number of recent studies have examined student participation in the creative and performing arts (see Mansour et al., 2016; Martin et al., 2013), there is almost no research that focuses specifically on aspirations for careers in the arts. We could locate only two such studies, both of which were conducted with undergraduate students already enrolled in university in the United States.

One study found that undergraduate arts students understood that they might not find a job in their field of choice and that levels of remuneration were lower than in other professions (Luftig et al., 2003). As a result, many of these students enrolled in programs that combined their passion for or love of art with other disciplines, such as education and administration, in order to secure a back-up plan (Luftig et al., 2003). The second qualitative study, involving eight undergraduate students, focused on factors that contributed to students pursuing careers in the arts (Cooley, 2007). Key influences included: artistic experiences and creative development (such as out-of-school dance classes); the critical role of teachers and mentors in nurturing artistic development; and,

being involved in a creative community. Cooley (2007) also noted that students whose parents had immigrated to the United States placed more pressure on themselves to succeed in order to achieve the "American dream" (p. 78) of their parents, a factor that may act as a barrier to choosing a career in the arts.

Given a dearth of research on attempts to understand the career decision-making of aspiring artists early in their lives, our study makes two important contributions to the field. First, we investigate the aspirations of school students rather than university students, thus highlighting schooling as a key site of possible intervention to nurture students' arts aspirations and promote diversity. Second, by illuminating patterns of interest in relation to demographic and other variables associated with diversity we provide a solid empirical basis to inform targeted interventions designed to increase diversity in the creative arts.

METHODS

A mixed methods research design was used to obtain data on the career aspirations of students from Years 3 to 12 (aged 8 - 18 years) in 64 government schools in New South Wales, Australia, who were followed over the four years of the study. While the longitudinal study was not designed specifically to investigate school student aspirations for the arts, interest in a career in the arts was high, particularly among females. Hence, the data were sufficiently broad in scope to enable a follow-up analysis of those who expressed an interest in the arts and reasons given for that interest.

SAMPLE

Four cohorts of students, initially in Years 3, 5, 7, and 9, were surveyed in four consecutive years, 2012–2015, thus providing responses from students across the range from Years 3 to 12 in an accelerated longitudinal design (Galbraith, Brown & Turner, 2014). The survey was administered annually by classroom teachers, with 6,492 students completing the survey in one or more waves, producing a total of 10,543 surveys completed over the course of the study (details by student demographic characteristics provided in Table 1).

OUTCOME VARIABLES

Students were asked in an open-ended survey question to nominate occupations of interest: "What work would you like to do when you grow up?" (Primary students) and "What kind of work would you like to be doing at 25 years of age?" (Secondary students). Students were allowed to name as many occupations as they liked and each named occupation was coded using the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) scheme developed by the government statistical agencies of Australia and New Zealand for use in censuses and workforce surveys (Trewin, Trewin, & Pink, 2006). While one researcher was primarily responsible for coding responses (named occupations) to ANZSCO classifications (a full list of occupations in the Australian workforce), consistency was ensured through a continuous process of reflection and discussion about the codes among research team members.

The primary outcome was a binary variable derived from the occupation codes indicating whether or not students nominated an arts occupation in the given survey year. For the arts, the following ANZSCO categorisation of arts professionals was used: actors, dancers, and other entertainers (2111); music professionals (2112); photographers (2113); visual arts and crafts professionals (2114); and, authors (212211).

PREDICTOR VARIABLES

Given our interest in diversity in the arts, a range of student background variables (gender, socioeconomic status, school location, Indigenous status, language background, parent occupation, cultural capital, cohort, and year of survey; see Table 2) and school-related variables (relative school socio-educational advantage [Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage, ICSEA], prior academic achievement, student self-perception of relative academic performance, and access to tutoring; see Table 3) were investigated for their relationship to students' aspirations.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Logistic regression models were used to determine if there were differences in student background and school-related variables between the students who expressed

interest in arts occupations and those who did not. All demographic and socioeconomic characteristics (student background variables) were included in a regression model as potential predictors for the arts occupation outcome, reported as adjusted odds ratios in Model 1. A second regression model included the school-related variables in addition to student background variables, reported as odds ratios in Model 2. Results obtained through logistic regression are often difficult to interpret (Osborne, 2006) and so we use a common language descriptor to assist with the interpretation of the effect size (Monson, 1990) and to indicate the substantive importance of each statistically significant predictor (Robinson & Levin, 1997).

The logistic regression models were fitted within a Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE) framework, a method robust against violations of normality and missing data assumptions, to adjust for the correlation of outcomes within students due to repeated measures. The GEE model was compared to an equivalent random effects Generalized Linear Model employing the same data and variables, both of which produced similar estimates and p-values.

A characteristic with a significant p-value in Model 1, which loses significance after school-level factors are introduced in Model 2, suggests possible mediation of the effect of that characteristic on choice of occupation. Data for categorical variables are presented as numbers of students and proportions (as row percentages) within groups. Data were analyzed using SAS software version 9.4. Statistical significance was set at 0.05.

RESULTS

WHO EXPRESSES INTEREST IN A CAREER IN THE ARTS?

Of the 6,492 students who completed the survey on one or more occasions, 1,053 nominated careers in the arts. This represents 16.2% of the whole sample and the greatest level of interest in any occupational category of those named by students.

As shown in Table 4 the significant predictors of interest in the arts in Model 1 were: being female (OR = 2.33, moderate effect); being younger (OR = 0.7, weak effect); coming from an English-speaking background (OR = 1.51, moderate effect); coming from a metropolitan area (OR = 1.24, weak effect); possessing higher cultural capital (Quartile 2, OR = 1.54, moderate effect; Quartile 3, OR = 2.33, moderate effect;

Quartile 4, OR = 3.0, strong effect); and, coming from a higher SES background (Quartile 3, OR = 1.4, weak effect; Quartile 4, OR = 1.72, moderate effect), relative to the reference category (indicated by [a] in each case).

In Model 2, when school-related variables were introduced, being in a high ICSEA school (OR = 1.61, moderate effect) and achieving in the highest NAPLAN (National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy) quartile (OR = 1.52, moderate effect) were also found to be significant. Most demographic variables remained significant, with the exception of school location, which was possibly mediated by school ICSEA. In Model 2, those in the highest cultural capital quartile (Quartile 4) had the greatest likelihood of nominating the arts (OR = 2.87, moderate effect) compared to the lowest quartile (Quartile 1). Language background remained significant with students from English-speaking backgrounds having higher odds than those from non-English speaking backgrounds (OR = 1.85, moderate effect) of expressing interest in the arts. For SES, the highest quartile (Quartile 4) remained significant (OR = 1.43, weak effect). Gender (higher odds for females than males) remained significant (OR = 2.42, moderate effect). Students in the Year 5 cohort had higher odds than the reference category (Year 3) of choosing a career in the arts (OR = 1.21, weak effect), while students in the Year 9 cohort had lower odds (OR = 0.74, weak effect). The odds for the 2013 survey year remained significant (OR = 1.25, weak effect).

The following variables were not significant (in the presence of the other variables) in predicting interest in the arts: having a parent in an arts occupation, being of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander status, students' self-perception of their relative academic performance, and academic tutoring.

DISCUSSION

DIVERSITY IN ASPIRATIONS FOR THE ARTS?

Collectively, the statistically significant findings suggest that school students' aspirations for careers in the arts are differentiated in ways that work against achieving greater diversity. Each of these significant variables is discussed below.

Gender

Gender was a significant predictor of interest in arts careers in Model 1 and Model 2, with females more than twice as likely as males to express an interest in this type of career. This is perhaps not surprising given that nearly half (47%) of all girls aged 5 to 14 years participate in cultural activities such as dancing, drama, playing a musical instrument, singing, or organized arts and crafts outside of school hours, compared to just 24% of males (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Recent research has indicated that children often aspire to careers connected to their personal experiences (Archer, DeWitt, & Wong, 2014). Hence, girls' higher level of participation in such activities could account for the greater likelihood of expressing interest in the arts.

Additionally, constructions of masculinity and cultural discourses that guide perceptions and understandings of what is appropriate for males (Burke, 2006) may influence the aspirations of males for careers in the arts. While the gender distribution of professional artists overall is reasonably balanced between males (54%) and females (46%) (Cunningham, Higgs, Freebody, & Anderson, 2010), these figures elide the fact that some occupations within the arts are highly gendered, such as female dancers or male performing artists. The lower expression of interest in the arts among boys is an early indication that careers in the arts may carry disciplinary or occupational stereotypes that shape students' capacity to aspire. For some boys, the arts might be circumscribed (Gottfredson, 1996) as an inappropriate future because they fail to align with their developing notions of hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Linguistic and cultural diversity

Results of the logistic regression show that students from language backgrounds other than English were less likely to express interest in a career in the arts than students from English-speaking backgrounds. This finding indicates that language background, particularly when viewed in connection with race/ethnicity, may impact on the capacity to aspire given that aspirations are a cultural capacity, something developed within the embedded structures of cultural life, not just the life of an individual (Appadurai, 2004).

The professional artist population in Australia is less culturally diverse than the general workforce and their median income is lower (Australia Council for the Arts, 2015). A recent Australian study has pointed to the lack of diversity on Australian television with just 18% of the main characters in Australian TV drama coming from

non-Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, despite 32% of Australians having a cultural background other than Anglo-Celtic (Screen Australia, 2016).

While numerous studies have considered the link between race/ethnicity and aspirations (see for example, Howard et al., 2011; Qian & Blair, 1999; Signer & Saldana, 2001), none has specifically investigated the arts. The results here indicate that the issue of diversity in the arts goes beyond established art communities and highlights the need for approaches that foster interest and artistic expression amongst school students from diverse backgrounds. The inclusion of early intervention activities within schools is vital to increasing the representation of certain groups in the professional artist population, and to fostering diversity in the arts.

Of particular note was the similitude between students from Indigenous and non-Indigenous backgrounds in terms of aspirations for careers in the arts. Results of the logistic regression indicated no significant difference between the two groups. This is perhaps not surprising given the centrality of art to Indigenous culture and traditions; Indigenous Australians hand down their stories orally, including through song, music, and dance which are central to religious and social ceremonies (Ewing, 2010). Furthermore, a recent report from Screen Australia (2016) found that Indigenous actors account for 5% of all main characters on Australian television, while Indigenous people account for 3% of the population. This visual representation of Indigenous people may assist in demonstrating the viability of the arts for Indigenous students.

Socioeconomic status

Despite the debate surrounding diversity in the arts and government targets to increase low-SES participation in higher education (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, 2009), socioeconomic status is an area of research that has largely been overlooked in the arts. Our finding that students from the highest SES quartile expressed greatest interest in the arts indicates that social and economic advantage does impact on young people's capacity to aspire in this field. Employment and income conditions may limit the capacity of those from low-SES backgrounds to aspire to uncertain occupational futures to a greater extent than is the case for students from more advantaged backgrounds. Students from lower SES backgrounds may not have the economic support or navigational capacity of their higher SES counterparts (Appadurai, 2004), as reflected in higher education enrolments in the arts. Indeed, there is a notable difference in higher education enrolments between

high- and low-SES applicants. Those from low-SES backgrounds (7.7%) are less likely to enrol in creative arts than those from high-SES backgrounds (10.5%) (Department of Education and Training, 2015).

<div align="center">Age</div>

Results from the logistic regression indicate a decline in interest in the arts among students in the oldest (Year 9) cohort in Model 1. This decline, as students enter the later years of schooling, may occur as many circumscribe (Gottfredson, 1996) their aspirations and select subjects that relate to careers offering greater financial reward and job security. This lack of secure financial reward, combined with an increased understanding of the challenges associated with a career in the field, might explain changes in students' aspirations for the arts over time. In some schools, particularly smaller schools, fewer opportunities to study arts-related subjects offered as electives in the later years of schooling might also contribute to the downturn in aspirations.

The finding that students in the Year 5 cohort (surveyed in Years 5, 6, 7, and 8) had higher odds of aspiring to careers in the arts in Model 2, aligns with the time during schooling when exposure to the arts is potentially at its greatest. We surmise that exposure to and experience with the arts influences student aspirations for arts-related careers (Archer et al., 2014). Although not significant in Model 2, the decline in interest in the arts in the later years of schooling (see Figure 1) may also point towards a diminished capacity to aspire, an impact that takes effect gradually over time. This pattern suggests that capacity-building initiatives would need to target students before this decline starts to occur, and continue through to the end of schooling.

<div align="center">Cultural capital</div>

Cultural capital was a significant predictor of interest in careers in the arts, with students with higher levels of cultural capital more likely to aspire to arts careers. Participation in cultural activities was not mediated by school-related variables, signalling a level of family privilege. Bourdieu (2004) explains how economic capital makes it possible for individuals to engage in experiences that in turn are able to be transformed into the "embodied dispositions and capacities" (Bok, 2010, p. 165) that characterize cultural capital. The development of such capacities and dispositions strengthens a person's capacity to navigate certain social spaces, including the educational environment (Bok, 2010). This study used participation in cultural activities

(such as the arts) to gauge levels of cultural capital (see Albright, Gore, Smith & Holmes, in press). It is therefore not surprising that those students with the means to participate in such cultural activities were more likely to aspire to careers in the arts.

Influence of schooling

In Model 2, prior achievement and the school attended were predictors of student interest in a career in the arts. Students who attend a school in the top ICSEA quartile and those from higher prior achievement quartiles were more likely to express an interest in a career in the arts. These findings demonstrate that more educationally advantaged students have greater capacity to aspire to careers in the arts. While ICSEA cannot be viewed as a singular meditating factor in isolation from other significant school-related factors, the presence and quality of arts education in different school contexts and the impact on students' career aspirations in the arts is worthy of further investigation. Not all students are afforded the same access to resources and opportunities to experience and develop skills in a variety of art forms, and at all levels of schooling. While further research is required, it is possible that higher ICSEA schools offer more comprehensive arts programs, have access to more resources, and arguably place a higher value on the arts.

CONCLUSION

This study is the first to investigate school student aspirations in the arts and as such provides a useful starting point for further research. Although our statistical analysis provides valuable insight, interviews with individual students, their teachers and families, would provide a more nuanced understanding of the development and/or decline of such aspirations. Furthermore, while we were able to track students for a four-year period, extending the study to follow students throughout their years of schooling would lead to a deeper understanding of how student interest in arts-related careers is shaped.

Through the logistic regression analysis we identified important student background and school-related factors that play a key role in shaping and supporting students with aspirations in the arts. Being female, from a high-SES background, a high ICSEA school, and being high achieving, with high cultural capital, and from an

English-speaking background all increase the likelihood of expressing interest in a career in the arts. Careers in the arts appear to present a far greater challenge for less advantaged students demonstrating the need to promote diversity by targeting underrepresented groups during schooling when occupational aspirations are beginning to form (Author et al., 2015; Whitty et al., 2015).

The lack of research on young people's aspirations in the arts is at odds with its prevalence as a field of career choice. In this study, while careers in the arts were extremely popular, there was a distinct lack of diversity among those who aspired to this type of career. We argue, therefore, that efforts to increase diversity in the arts must take account of the aspirations of school-aged children. In-school capacity building initiatives such as artist-in-residence (Gattenhof, 2012a; 2012b) and teacher professional learning (Hall & Thomson, 2017) programs, have the potential to increase the participation of people from groups that are currently under-represented within the arts community.

Appadurai's notion of the capacity to aspire (2004) is useful not only to explain why less advantaged students are less likely to aspire to arts careers, but also as the basis for developing such school-based interventions. Productive approaches to strengthening capacity need to take into consideration the multiple predictors of aspirations – both student-related and school-related. A deep understanding of the specific aspirations and circumstances of under-represented groups is likely to be crucial to the success of capacity-building initiatives. This study provides a platform for further research into aspirations in the arts and in particular the conditions needed to provide a wider range of school students with the capacity to aspire to creative endeavours.

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TABLE 1.   Student Demographic Characteristics

Characteristic	Total[a] n (%)	
Sex		
Male	5,087	(50.5)
Female	4,994	(49.5)
School location[b]		
Metro	6,070	(57.6)
Non-metro	4,472	(42.4)
Aboriginal and or Torres Strait Islander		
No	661	(6.6)
Yes	9,330	(93.4)
Socioeconomic status (SES)[c]		
Quartile 1	2,241	(23.2)
Quartile 2	2,661	(27.6)
Quartile 3	2,253	(23.3)
Quartile 4	2,501	(25.9)
Language background other than English		
English	8,988	(89.2)
Other	1,093	(10.8)
Student year level at baseline		
Year 3 cohort	2,926	(28.0)
Year 5 cohort	2,908	(27.8)
Year 7 cohort	2,872	(27.4)
Year 9 cohort	1,762	(16.8)

Note. [a] N = 10,543. [b] Determined by school postcode and dichotomised as metropolitan or other (non-metro). [c] SES Quartile 1 is the lowest and Quartile 4 the highest.

TABLE 2.   Student Background Variables

Variable	Source	Measure
Gender	School enrolment form	Categorized as male or female.
Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander status	School enrolment form	Categorized as Indigenous or non-Indigenous.
Student cohort	Survey	Year 3 Cohort: Year 3, Year 4, Year 5, Year 6; Year 5 Cohort: Year 5, Year 6, Year 7, Year 8; Year 7 Cohort: Year 7, Year 8, Year 9, Year 10; Year 9 Cohort: Year 9, Year 10, Year 11, Year 12 Measures differences between students of different ages.
School location	Department of Education, NSW	Determined by school postcode and dichotomised as metropolitan or other.
Language background	School enrolment form	Categorized as English-speaking background or language background other than English (LBOTE).
Socioeconomic status	School enrolment form	Calculated by combining the highest parental education and occupation levels for each student into an equally weighted proxy for student SES. Data for all NSW government schools were used to separate scores into quartiles.
Cultural capital	Survey	Cultural capital measure calculated by student responses to survey items including: How often do you do the following activities? (Listen to classical music; talk about music; go to the theatre to see a play, dance or opera performance; go to art galleries or museums; go to the cinema to watch a movie; go to a library; talk about books; play a musical instrument or sing; participate in dancing, gymnastics or yoga; talk about art) This scale had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.8 indicating an acceptable level of reliability.
Parental occupation	Survey	Responses to questions:

Survey year	Survey	Survey participation year. Measures changes in student aspirations over time.

TABLE 3.   School-related Variables

Variable	Source	Measure
ICSEA	My School[a]	The Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage (ICSEA) is a standardized scale measuring school advantage based on summarizing student level data. A higher score indicates a relative lack of disadvantage. This national measure was developed to compare aggregate achievement results between schools using scores from NAPLAN. ICSEA scores were categorized using cut-offs from the state quartile values in each year.
Prior achievement	Department of Education, NSW	The most recent National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) test scores for each student. Attainment was taken as the equally weighted composite of individual student Reading and Numeracy scores. Data for all NSW government schools within each year level were used to separate scores into quartiles.
Self-perception of relative academic performance	Survey	Perceived achievement relative to peers was a self-assessment item: How are your marks this year compared with other students? (Well below average, Below average, Average, Above Average, or Well above average?)
Access to tutoring	Survey	Response to question: Do you attend any out-of-school tutoring?

Note. [a] see http://www.myschool.edu.au for details

TABLE 4.   Arts Career Choice, Student Background Variables (Model 1), and School-related Variables (Model 2)

Characteristic	Arts Career Choice				Model 1		Model 2	
	No, n (%)		Yes, n (%)		OR	Effect[b]	OR	Effect[b]
Gender								
Male [a]	4,720	(92.8)	367	(7.2)				
Female	4,098	(82.1)	896	(17.9)	2.33***	Moderate	2.38***	Moderate
Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander								
Yes [a]	8,147	(87.3)	1,183	(12.7)				
No	591	(89.4)	70	(10.6)				
Student year level at baseline								
Year 3 cohort [a]	2,511	(85.8)	415	(14.2)				
Year 5 cohort	2,473	(85.0)	435	(15.0)			1.24*	Weak
Year 7 cohort	2,559	(89.1)	313	(10.9)				
Year 9 cohort	1,622	(92.1)	140	(7.9)	0.70**	Weak	0.74*	Weak
School location								
Non-metro [a]	3,996	(89.4)	476	(10.6)				

Characteristic	Arts Career Choice				Model 1		Model 2	
	No, n (%)		Yes, n (%)		OR	Effect[b]	OR	Effect[b]
Metro	5,240	(86.3)	830	(13.7)	1.24*	Weak		
Language								
Other [a]	965	(88.3)	128	(11.7)				
English	7,853	(87.4)	1,135	(12.6)	1.51***	Moderate	1.82***	Moderate
Parent in arts occupation								
No, or unknown [a]	9,175	(87.7)	1,291	(12.3)				
Yes	62	(80.5)	15	(19.5)				
SES								
Quartile 1 [a]	2,033	(90.7)	208	(9.3)				
Quartile 2	2,375	(89.3)	286	(10.7)				
Quartile 3	1,966	(87.3)	287	(12.7)	1.40**	Weak		
Quartile 4	2,071	(82.8)	430	(17.2)	1.72***	Moderate	1.36*	Weak
Cultural capital								

Characteristic	Arts Career Choice				Model 1		Model 2	
	No, n (%)		Yes, n (%)		OR	Effect[b]	OR	Effect[b]
Quartile 1 [a]	2,372	(95.1)	123	(4.9)				
Quartile 2	2,229	(90.8)	225	(9.2)	1.54***	Moderate	1.47**	Weak
Quartile 3	2,175	(84.9)	388	(15.1)	2.33***	Moderate	2.15***	Moderate
Quartile 4	1,950	(78.8)	525	(21.2)	3.00***	Strong	2.85***	Moderate
Survey year								
2012 [a]	2,251	(87.5)	321	(12.5)				
2013	3,484	(87.2)	512	(12.8)	1.21*	Weak	1.25*	Weak
2014	1,683	(88.2)	225	(11.8)				
2015	1,819	(88.0)	248	(12.0)				
ICSEA national quartile								
Quartile 1 [a]	2,336	(90.6)	242	(9.4)				
Quartile 2	3,820	(89.3)	459	(10.7)				
Quartile 3	943	(87.1)	140	(12.9)				
Quartile 4	2,138	(82.1)	465	(17.9)			1.59**	Moderate
NAPLAN score								

Characteristic	Arts Career Choice				Model 1		Model 2	
	No, n (%)		Yes, n (%)		OR	Effect[b]	OR	Effect[b]
Quartile 1 [a]	1,832	(92.2)	154	(7.8)				
Quartile 2	2,180	(88.0)	298	(12.0)			1.36*	Weak
Quartile 3	2,314	(86.4)	365	(13.6)			1.48**	Weak
Quartile 4	2,280	(84.3)	426	(15.7)			1.58**	Moderate
Self-perception of relative academic performance								
Well below average [a]	179	(92.7)	14	(7.3)				
Below average	533	(88.2)	71	(11.8)				
Average	3,454	(87.8)	480	(12.2)				
Above average	2,703	(87.3)	393	(12.7)				
Well above average	1,074	(85.4)	183	(14.6)				
Tutoring								
No [a]	7,530	(87.6)	1,066	(12.4)				
Yes	1,482	(86.4)	234	(13.6)				

Note. OR = odds ratio. [a] indicates reference category. [b] Description of effect size from Monson (1990).

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

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