



PUBLIC SECTOR PAY AND THE FORGOTTEN THREE MILLION

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FOREWORD



The election result has changed everything.

There can be no clearer rejection of the failed austerity policies that are running public sector workers into the ground.

The toxic pay cap cost the Conservatives seats up and down the country.

But some Ministers are still trying to deny public servants a proper wage rise.

Philip Hammond apparently thinks that public sector workers are 'overpaid' – despite all the evidence to the contrary and the thousands of pounds pinched from them in real terms since 2010.

And other MPs think they can get away with rises for just the minority covered by Pay Review Bodies.

Excluding millions of local government workers, education and police support staff workers and civil servants.

Apparently, if you're not covered by a Pay Review Body, you don't count as a 'front-line public sector worker.'

THE COUNTRY COULD NOT FUNCTION WITHOUT THE GOODWILL OF OUR PUBLIC SECTOR WORKERS. THEY ALL NEED A REAL PAY RISE."

I'd like to see them tell that to the care workers who spend their nights at the homes of dementia patients, and don't even get fair pay for those shifts. Or the PCSOs who have to detain and escort dangerous criminals. Or the teaching assistants who regularly face the threat of violence in the classroom.

The country could not function without the goodwill of our public sector workers. The people who were the first to respond at Grenfell, at the Manchester Arena and at London Bridge.

They are the people who protect our most vulnerable children, keep our hospitals clean, empty our bins and care for us in our old age – and who give over £11 billion worth of their labour to the Exchequer every year in unpaid overtime because they are devoted to public service.

They all need a real pay rise.

So there can be no more ignoring the forgotten three million people not covered by a Pay Review Body.

And no more trying to set one group of public sector workers against another.

This report reveals that the Government has cut billions from local government funding to enforce the 1 per cent cap.

Pinching money from the pockets of those who regularly work eight hours unpaid extra a week or more to make sure those services are available for the rest of us.

The goodwill has almost run out.

It's time for a real pay rise for all public sector workers.

Rehana Azam National Secretary, Public Services Section, GMB



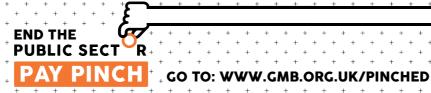
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



- Public sector pay played a critical role in the 2017 election and the case for lifting the one per cent cap has strengthened since the March Budget. However, Ministers appear to only be considering higher pay awards for the minority of public sector workers covered by Pay Review Bodies excluding the forgotten three million in local government, schools, police forces and other non-Pay Review Body occupations (Section 1).
- Contrary to claims that public sector workers are 'overpaid' there is now no meaningful difference in average take-home pay between public and private sectors and low-pay is endemic in local government employment. The apparent public sector pay 'premium' largely reflects the weaknesses of private sector pension provisions, and the rate of average pension contributions made by some public sector workers has increased by 47 per cent in just five years (Section 2).
- Since 2010 the independence of the Pay Review Bodies has effectively been lost after Ministers directed them to make recommendations in line with the one per cent cap. Nor is it correct to claim that the Government respects automatically respects their findings. Recommendations for a consolidated one per cent increases for NHS workers were rejected in 2014/15 in both England and Northern Ireland, and a Review Body for school support staff was abolished after 2010 (Section 3).
- Public sector workers not covered by Pay Review Bodies have suffered significant real-terms salary cuts. Most councils are experiencing recruitment and retention problems, and GMB analysis suggests that there are similar challenges for police staff in forces across the UK. Despite Ministers' claims that they are not responsible for wider public sector pay settlements, local government budgets been subject to additional cuts to enforce the one per cent cap which included a £737 million reduction to local government funding over two years (Section 4).
- The pay cap is having a significant impact on family life as **real-terms pay cuts affect 2.3 million children in 1.3 million households.** The pressures created by rising demand and job cuts are also being met in many cases by unpaid overtime. Approximately **1.8 million public sector workers regularly work unpaid overtime, averaging 7.8 hours a week each.** This unpaid contribution is worth over £11 billion to the Treasury every year (Section 5).

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1. PUBLIC SECTOR PAY SINCE THE ELECTION

Report background

This report is intended to be a supplementary update to GMB's March 2017 case to the Government for lifting the public sector pay cap.¹

That report examined the negative impacts of the cap in respect of real-terms pay devaluations, equality, regional disparities, and recruitment and retention (including in light of high Brexit-linked inflation and the potential loss of employers' ability to recruit EU nationals).

In the new context of a Government review of the pay cap, and an increased public focus on the mechanisms by which public sector pay is determined, this report seeks to broaden the evidence base of the negative impact of the cap – especially on the majority of public sector workers that are not covered by a Pay Review Body.

Public sector pay and the election

Six months ago, GMB warned that public sector workers 'could play a decisive role in the next election' – and our argument has been vindicated.

It is now clear that opposition to a planned decade of real-terms pay cuts was an important factor in the surge in Labour's support and the Conservatives loss of their majority.

During the election Conservative-commissioned focus groups reportedly 'raised widespread concerns over issues such as school cuts and the lack of pay rises for loved ones working in public services.'2

And post-election, the Prime Minister's response to an NHS nurse that there was 'no magic money tree' to fund public sector pay increases was undermined when up to £1.5 billion was made available over three years to secure a supply and confidence deal with the Democratic Unionist Party.³



Polling commissioned before and after the election confirms that around 75 per cent of people oppose the pay cap (including 70 per cent of Conservative supporters.)⁴

GMB research found that in 80 per cent of the seats that the Conservatives lost, public sector workers outnumbered the incumbent's majority.⁵

Pressure built immediately after the results were declared. Bob Kerslake, the former head of the civil service, said 'the consensus on public-sector pay will have to be revised.'6

This view was echoed by a significant number of current and former Conservative MPs, including the Prime Minister's new Chief of Staff Gavin Barwell⁷, and serving Cabinet Ministers suggested that the cap 'could be lifted right across the public sector as a whole.'8

The evidence of mounting recruitment and retention challenges has also strengthened since March. Newly released Whole of Government Accounts reveal that the annual cost to the public sector of employing consultants and temporary workers rose by £2.5 billion between 2012/13 and 2015/16.9 By contrast, Treasury's own modelling estimated that the pay cap would save £2.2 billion in 2017/18.10

The future of public sector pay policy

In the immediate aftermath of the election, it looked like the pay cap was about to be dropped.

It was reported that Theresa May had 'acknowledged several warnings from [Conservative] MPs who described meeting people who said they could not vote Tory because of cuts to hospitals, schools or failure to increase public sector wages in real terms.'

A Conservative spokesperson said that the Prime Minister had 'heard the message' of the election, and that the policy was under review with a final decision anticipated in the end-of-year Budget. `12

But as quickly as it came, the prospect of real pay rises slipped away again. Wage increases for teachers were held at one per cent after 'the Secretary of State emphasised to us [the Pay Review Body] that there will be no additional funding for schools to implement a pay award.'

Philip Hammond reportedly told the Cabinet that public sector workers are 'overpaid'¹³ - and it appears that the Treasury is now seeking to tie any change in policy to adopting the failed proposals of the past.

One preferred option is a return to John Major's policy of 'self-funded' pay rises – under which any increase must be paid for through yet more cuts to services and jobs.

Another is to hold back pay growth in those areas of the country where there are the biggest gaps between average public and private sector pay, such as Northern Ireland and the North East. This policy, which ignores differences in the types of roles performed by each sector and the context of local labour markets, was successfully defeated in the 2010 Parliament.

At the time of writing – when the Government is reportedly looking at dropping the cap for some groups of workers in 2018/19 and potentially ending the cap for all groups covered by Pay Review Bodies (PRBs) in 2019/20 – it is unclear whether any enhanced pay offers will be externally funded, or whether the Treasury will seek to refight the 2010 to 2015 Parliament's battles over pay regionalisation.

This report focuses on the tendency of Ministers to only talk about raising wage rates for the minority of public sector workers covered by PRB, an approach that has largely gone unchallenged in the media.

One Conservative MP reportedly said that '[Theresa May] and Hammond will invite the pay review bodies to come back with bigger settlements in due course.'14

A Number 10 spokesperson said in early September 2017 that 'the process is that the Treasury writes to the independent public sector pay bodies in the autumn to set out their remit, the departments submit evidence and those bodies make their recommendations [and] that process is ongoing.' But relying on this approach would, at best, only deliver real-terms wage increases for a minority of public sector workers.

GMB believes that *all* public sector workers must get the real pay rise they need and deserve. Some of the worst paid staff in the sector are not covered by a PRB. As we reveal in this report, Ministers have cut billions in funding from local government budgets with the explicit intention of making inflation-matching pay rises unaffordable.

Any claim that the cap has been lifted, while excluding the 55 per cent of public sector workers who do not fall under a PRB, will not win popular support.

When a decision is made in the Budget on the future of public sector pay policy, fair pay rises for all public sector workers must be at its heart.

1a. PUBLIC SECTOR PAY - WHAT CONSERVATIVES HAVE SAID:



"Our economy should work for everyone, but if your pay has stagnated for several years in a row and fixed items of spending keep going up, it doesn't feel like it's working for you."

Theresa May, October 2016



"Our economy should work for everyone, but if your pay has stagnated for several years in a row and fixed items of spending keep going up, it doesn't feel like it's working for you."

Theresa May, Conservative Party Conference speech, October 2016¹⁶

"It had started to look like what we were doing in the public sector was ideological." James Heappy, Wells¹⁷

"[Lifting the pay cap] is something we have to consider, not just for the army, but right across the public sector as a whole."

Michael Fallon, Sevenoaks

"I do hope the public sector pay will be eased because it has been in place for a long time and restraint cannot go on forever."

Charles Walker, Broxbourne¹⁸



"New DUP cash must surely mean funding will be urgently reviewed for pub sector wages, schools, social care, Univ Credit across whole UK too?."

Heidi Allen, South Cambridgeshire

"It is right that those who contribute so much to our public services should be rewarded fairly for their work. In light of the recent additional pressures on these sectors, particularly in Hospitals and Schools I am convinced that now is the time for the Government to reconsider its priorities and lift the cap on public sector pay."

Maria Caulfield, Lewes¹⁹

"Public sector pay is an issue being debated extensively within the Conservative Party as we are all concerned about inflation eroding workers' pay and many of us had lengthy conversations on the doorstep during the election with police and hospital workers who are anxious about wages."

Julia Dockerill, Hornchurch and Upminster²⁰

"Many feel they are being forced out of the job they love. ... Their pay should reflect the value of their work and the people they serve, which is each and every one us. Scrapping the 1% public sector pay cap would be a bold step towards achieving this."

Angela Burns AM, Shadow Welsh Health Secretary²¹

"It's time for us to think again about the impact of the public sector pay cap because there's no doubt in my mind that seven years of this cap is now having a significant impact on morale within the health service, and across our wider public sector."



Dr Sarah Wollaston, Totnes

"New DUP cash must surely mean funding will be urgently reviewed for pub sector wages, schools, social care, Univ Credit across whole UK too?"

Heidi Allen, South Cambridgeshire²²

"The time has come to lift the blanket public sector 1 per cent pay cap. With prices now rising, there is very serious pressure on those on low incomes - including nurses - who are such dedicated public servants. I'm concerned too that if we don't change course, places like GCHQ will find it harder to recruit and retain the best talent."

Alex Chalk, Cheltenham²³

"40 Conservative MPs today signalled we need a different approach to public pay cap. Ministers listening."

George Freeman, Mid Norfolk²⁴

"I have a great deal of sympathy for the case that nurses among others have made on the issue of pay."

Jeremy Hunt, South West Sussex²⁵

"It's time for us to think again about the impact of the public sector pay cap because there's no doubt in my mind that seven years of this cap is now having a significant impact on morale within the health service, and across our wider public sector."

Dr Sarah Wollaston, Totnes²⁶



"We really need to tune our ear much more closely to the needs of the public sector in Wales and across the UK, and clearly the seven years of wage restraint ... we probably need to be looking at that."

Stephen Crabb, Preseli Pembrokeshire

"I understand how demoralising this has been for people and it is right as the economy improves we look to lift the cap."

Penny Mourdant, Portsmouth North²⁷

"Public sector workers are the guardians of our nation in terms of our security, health, education and infrastructure, so we clearly have to do something, in particular for the lower paid."

Robert Halfon, Harlow²⁸

"People have great concerns over funding for public services and the cap on public sector wages. I accept that the government needs to address these concerns."

Robert Pawsey, Rugby²⁹

"In the NHS half a million staff are at the top of their pay scale and have received a real-terms pay cut over the past few years. They work incredibly hard, above and beyond the call of duty. They are the people who gave up their days off to go in when the terrorist attacks happened in London and Manchester. Those people do need a pay rise."

Dr Dan Poulter, Central Suffolk and North Ipswich³⁰

"I want to see the next budget deal with the public sector pay cap — we value our public sector workers: police, fire, NHS, teachers."

Lucy Allan, Telford³¹

"I would be in favour of the cap being lifted ... I've spoken with the government and I feel confident there will be change."

Chris Davies, Brecon and Radnorshire³²

"My own view is that the cap needs to be lifted and public sector workers should be able to enjoy the benefits from the growth in the economy which we are achieving."

Laurence Robertson, Tewkesbury³³

"Public sector pay was clearly an issue in the election, and when I was Education Secretary we saw it was having an effect on recruitment."

Nicky Morgan, Loughborough

"I want to see public sector workers paid more and I have been lobbying to that effect, but I also think it's most important to focus on those with lower and middle income."

Vicky Ford, Chelmsford³⁴

"With a bit of inflation creeping in and the length of time that public sector workers have had to endure the pay cap, I think there are opportunities to ease it slightly and indeed a good economic case."

Richard Benyon, Newbury³⁵

"Public sector pay was clearly an issue in the election, and when I was Education Secretary we saw it was having an effect on recruitment."

Nicky Morgan, Loughborough³⁶

"We really need to tune our ear much more closely to the needs of the public sector in Wales and across the UK, and clearly the seven years of wage restraint ... we probably need to be looking at that. It's about time people across different sectors got a wage increase."

Stephen Crabb, Preseli Pembrokeshire³⁷

"These people give far more back to the service than we give to them, in terms of the package, and those of us who go into medicine, healthcare or social care understand that. ... When we have to support our families, pay the mortgage and deal with everything that bears down on people in their working lives, it is pretty rotten to see salaries increasing, rightly, in the general economy but not in the public service."

Dr Andrew Murrison, South West Wiltshire³⁸

2. ARE PUBLIC SECTOR WORKERS OVERPAID?

Is there a 'public sector pay premium'?

It is now widely accepted that there is no longer a meaningful difference between take home public and private sector pay.

Public and private sector job responsibilities and average skill levels vary considerably, and independent observers therefore make adjustments to balance these factors instead of directly comparing misleading averages.

The trends towards outsourcing mostly lowerpaid public sector jobs also artificially inflates the public sector average and depresses the private sector median. A lack of centrally collected data makes it difficult to quantify this effect.

Philip Hammond recently acknowledged that 'public and private sector pay on average are around about the same level.'³⁹ The Treasury itself said in 2015 that, before pension contributions are taken into account, 'overall, levels of pay in the public sector are now, on average, comparable to those in the private sector.'⁴⁰

The Treasury's own analysis of hourly pay rates suggests that in 2015, once adjustments had been made for age, skills levels and region, the gap in take-home pay was close to zero. The independent Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) found that, once adjustments had been made for educational levels, in 2012 the public sector 'premium' was 4.6% - falling to around 3% in 2016.⁴¹ Amongst men the 'premium' ranged from around 0% to negative values.⁴²

Any apparent basic pay 'premium' is therefore likely to reflect excessively low average wage rates for women in the private sector – not any in-built public sector generosity.

Pensions contributions and take home pay

The real debate is therefore about pension contributions, not basic pay. The Chancellor



has argued that, once pension contributions are taken into account, 'relative to private sector workers [the public sector is] paid about a 10% premium.'43

Historically, the 'public sector pension premium' reflected a sharp fall in the number of private sector Defined Benefit schemes, and lower general pension take-up rates in the private sector.

However, as the IFS has said, 'recent reforms have significantly reduced the generosity of public sector schemes,'⁴⁴ with the eventual value of public sector pensions for new entrants falling by up to two thirds.⁴⁵

Even before these recent changes, it would be wrong to assert that public sector pensions were typically excessive, or even adequate. In 2012 the average annual payment from the Local Government Pension Scheme was around £4,200; for women it was just £2,800. This compared to an average UK occupational pension of £8,740 a year.⁴⁶

As the generosity of public sector pensions has fallen, the cost of contributions for employees has risen dramatically. The annual average cost of pension contributions for NHS Band 5 workers who were at the top of their pay band – such as paramedics and nurses – increased by 47% between 2011/12 and 2016/17.⁴⁷

In the wider public sector, the net value of employee pension contributions rose by £2 billion (or 19 per cent) in cash terms between 2010 and 2016 while employer contributions shrank by £2.6 billion (a fall of 10 per cent).⁴⁸

This net shift in the burden of pension costs from employers to employees has occurred despite public sector job losses and despite the fact that the overall public sector coverage rate was relatively unaffected by auto-enrolment.

When it comes to their pensions, public sector workers are paying more to receive less, and the value of pension schemes is falling relative to those in the private sector. The deferred

income that pensions provide also offers no respite to public sector workers struggling to pay their bills now.

Other deductions

Ministers have said that public sector workers benefit from the raising of the Personal Allowance since 2010.⁴⁹

This argument does not reflect the net effect of all changes to deductible charges on employee pay, such as National Insurance and pension contributions, which have resulted in total deductions rising in absolute terms for some workers.

A recent Office of Manpower Economics analysis used unpublished HMRC and payroll data to examine the net changes for workers at the top of the Agenda for Change Band 5 (such as nurses and paramedics).

This work showed that take-home pay actually decreased in cash terms between 2015/16 and 2016/17, and that significant increases in National Insurance and pension contributions negated reductions in Income Tax.

Deductions actually rose as a share of total pay for this group of workers over a five year period – while take home pay increased by just 2.6 per cent in cash terms.

Low pay in the public sector

Low pay rates are endemic in local government – which is by far the largest section of the public sector workforce not covered by a PRB. In 2014/15 the average local government salary was £20,194, 22 per cent lower than the average across the public sector as a whole.⁵¹

The lowest pay rate on the national local government pay spine is just 28p above the National Living Wage, and thousands of local government workers are paid less than the Foundation Living Wage rate.⁵²

Figure 2. Median non-FTE public sector earnings, 2014/15⁵³

Central government civil service	£24,980
Public sector overall	£24,686
Local government	£20,194
Care workers	£12,529

Figure 1. Estimated take home pay – top of NHS Band 5 (England), 2011/12 to 2016/17. Adapted from OME analysis of HMRC, NHS Employers and NHS Business Services data 50

		Estimated take home pay		As % of total pay	
	2011/12	2016/17	2011/12	2016/17	
Student Loan	£1,136	£987	4.1%	3.5%	
Pension Contribution	£1,796	£2,647	6.5%	9.3%	
National Insurance	£2,091	£2,448	7.6%	8.6%	
Income Tax	£3,671	£2,963	13.3%	10.4%	
Take Home Pay	£18,931	£19,417	68.5%	68.2%	
Total deductions	£8,694	£9,045	31.5%	31.8%	
Total pay	£27,625	£28,462	100%	100%	

Some of the lowest paid public servants provide services that have been outsourced under successive governments.

The problem is particularly acute in social care: the average hourly wage for a care worker is £7.75 – just 25p above the over-25 National Minimum Wage (NMW).⁵⁴

The Communities and Local Government Select Committee has found that 'non-payment of the national minimum wage is widespread as a result of providers failing to pay care workers for their travel time, travel costs and 'sleep in' shifts'⁵⁵ – but at the time of writing NMW enforcement in the sector has been suspended by the Government⁵⁶, further impeding an accurate assessment of the volume of NMW breaches in the sector.

An indication of the scale problem was given in February 2017 when HMRC identified 32 care providers – including an NHS Trust – that had failed to pay £126,946 of owed minimum wages to 469 workers.⁵⁷

In practice, many care providers follow the lead set by the public sector in applying the 1 per cent cap (if any pay offer is made at all). The additional cuts to local authority budgets associated with the pay cap policy – worth almost £750 million in 2013/14 and 2014/15 alone – also have a direct impact on councils' ability to properly fund social care contracts.

Many public sector employees are also caught in precarious employment: 32 per cent of care workers are on a zero hours contract, compared to an average of 2.8 per cent across all occupations.⁵⁸

Impact of pay cuts on services

As GMB argued in its March 2017 report, equalising public and private sector pay rates is a misguided policy objective.

Research suggests that private sector competition for public sector staff, which intensifies as real wage levels fall, is associated with increased fatality rates in the NHS and worsened test results in schools due to workforce turnover and the loss of expertise.⁵⁹

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Conclusion

The public sector pay 'premium' is more illusory than real – and further cuts to public sector wage rates are likely to cause serious damage to public services and the people who rely on them.

3. PAY REVIEW BODIES AND PUBLIC SECTOR WORKERS



How is public sector pay awarded?

There is no single mechanism for determining public sector pay.

The recommendations of Pay Review Bodies have dominated public discussion, but the PRBs only cover 45 per cent of workers in the sector – leaving around three million public servants outside of their remits.⁶⁰

It is therefore incorrect to claim, as Michael Gove has done, that 'we should listen to the pay review bodies who govern each individual area of public sector pay.'61 Other Ministers have gone further and suggested that pay policy is only under review for 'frontline public sector workers.'62

If 'frontline public sector workers' are equated to those covered by PRBs, this definition excludes care workers and Police Community Support Officers, alongside other police staff, to whom functions traditionally performed by officers (such as powers of detention) are increasingly being delegated. Nor does it include teaching assistants, more than half of whom have been attacked at work, and a fifth report suffering from violence at work at least once a week.⁶³

As employees covered by local government National Joint Council terms, social workers are also excluded. The opposite table summarises the groups of public sector workers that are not covered by PRBs.

A recent study by UCL found that, for the ten most populous workforces represented by PRBs (excluding groups such as senior civil servants), average wage rates fell by 10.1% in real terms between 2005 and 2015 compared to an overall average of a 5.8% decrease across the whole economy.⁶⁴

Pay Review Body recommendations

PRBs have been in existence since the 1970s.

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and the proportion of public sector workers covered by their recommendations has gradually increased. This process has been accelerated by increased employment in the NHS in contrast to local government, which has shed 768,000 jobs since 2010 (a decrease of 27 per cent). Despite this trend, the majority of public sector workers continue to fall outside of the PRBs' remits.

In exchange for evidence-based recommendations made by independent bodies (and the reasonable expectation of their acceptance by the Government), trade unions and employers agree to forego the usual processes of collective bargaining.

The PRBs also have a duty to take account of central Government guidance and the affordability of any recommendations made. Ministers may accept or reject PRB recommendations, although in practice there is an expectation that the recommendations will be accepted.

Figure 3. Pay Review Body coverage by workforce group

Pay Review Bodies	Not covered by a Pay Review Body
NHS workers	Local Government workers
Doctors and Dentists	School support staff
School Teachers	FE and HE staff
Armed Forces	Civil servants (excluding those on senior salaries)
Prison Service	Social care workers
Senior Salaries (judiciary, senior civil service and senior armed forces)	Non-Departmental public body employees
National Crime Agency	MoD civilian staff
Police Officers	Police staff
	Firefighters
	Outsourced workers in public service roles

Loss of PRB independence

Since 2010 the independence of the PRBs has effectively been lost. It is sometimes claimed that the Government is a disinterested party to the PRB process, but in reality the Government has directed the PRBs' conclusions.

As Figure 8 (in the Appendix) shows, when the one per cent cap was initially announced, over £500 million was taken from the Home Office and Ministry of Defence budgets. These Departments both fund PRB-covered workforces, and the budget adjustments were made before the relevant PRBs had made their recommendations for the years affected.

Ministers have both cut the total sum of funding available and made it clear that recommendations of above 0 or 1 per cent will be rejected. The latest (2016) remit letter from the Treasury stated that 'we will fund public sector workforces for pay awards of an average of 1 per cent, up to 2019/20.'66

The latest PRB to report, the School Teachers' Pay Review Body, made it clear that a recommendation for an above 1 per cent rise was only held back because of the Government's unwillingness to fund higher increases.

Rejecting PRB recommendations

Nor is it correct to say that the Government always respects the recommendations of the Pay Review Bodies. In 2014/15, Ministers rejected the NHS PRB's recommendations in 2014/15 on the grounds that a consolidated one per cent increase was 'unaffordable.'67

This rejection of a PRB recommendation, and an attempt to deny NHS workers consolidated pay increases for two consecutive years, triggered national industrial action involving eleven health unions including GMB.⁶⁸

A one per cent increase for NHS workers was also rejected in Northern Ireland.⁶⁹

Abolishing a PRB

In addition to rejecting a PRB recommendation, this Government also took the unprecedented

step of abolishing a newly-constituted pay negotiation body for school support staff.

Pay levels and terms and conditions for school support staff vary wildly across the country. Differences in the way term-time only pay rates are calculated are widespread, and the sector lacks a clear understanding the degree of divergence in pay rates and contract terms from local authority to local authority, or between academies and multi-academy trusts. This lack of transparency leaves school workers vulnerable to both deliberate exploitation and accidental underpayment of wages.

In response to the concerns raised by support staff unions, the need for a separate pay review structure for school staff was recognised in 2003. The School Support Staff Negotiating Body (SSSNB) was created in 2009 'to negotiate pay and conditions of support staff in maintained schools (in England) and "give a bigger voice to more than 300,000 school support staff".'

Its remit included:

- The production of a core contract of employment to cover remuneration, duties and working time;
- The design of national job roles profiles to cover core school support staff roles;
- The development and production of a method for converting those job role profiles into a salary structure; and
- A strategy to effectively implement the national pay and conditions' framework in all schools maintained by local authorities in England including a methodology to manage both transition and steady state.

However, in October 2010, Michael Gove announced that negotiating body that covered school support staff was to be abolished because it did:

'Not fit well with the Government's priorities for greater deregulation of the pay and conditions arrangements for the school workforce.'71

The Government's real record is therefore one of denying the independence of PRBs, rejecting their recommendations and even abolishing them in favour of a deregulated market model.

3a. PUBLIC SECTOR PAY - WHAT PAY REVIEW BODIES HAVE SAID



The Pay Review Bodies have raised serious concerns about the impact of Government pay policy on public sector morale, recruitment and retention:

NHS Pay Review Body

2017 Annual Report: 'It is clear that current public sector pay policy is coming under stress. There are significant supply shortages in a number of staff groups and geographical areas. There are widespread concerns about recruitment, retention and motivation that are shared by employers and staff side alike. Inflation is set to increase during 2017 compared to what was forecast leading to bigger cuts in real pay for staff than were anticipated in 2015.'

2014 Annual Report: 'As the economy recovers [pay restraint] cannot continue to be the main mechanism by which the NHS achieves cost savings.'

School Teachers' Pay Review Body

2017 Annual Report: 'There is a strong case for an uplift to the national pay framework that would start to reduce the gap between teaching and other graduate professions. This is necessary to mitigate recruitment and retention pressures and make sure that a high quality teaching workforce is maintained in England and Wales to support pupil achievement.

'Our remit requires us to consider the affordability of our recommendations. The Secretary of State emphasised to us that there will be no additional funding for schools to implement a pay award.'72

2016 Annual Report: 'If current recruitment and retention trends continue, we expect an uplift to the pay framework significantly higher than 1% will be required in the course of this Parliament.'73

Armed Forces' Pay Review Body

2017 Annual Report: 'Our visit programme made clear that Service personnel are becoming increasingly frustrated with public sector pay policy. They feel their pay is being unfairly constrained in a period when costs are rising, private sector earnings are starting to recover, and the high tempo demands on the Armed Forces have not diminished.'74

In addition to the Pay Review Bodies, a number of other public sector bodies have also voiced concerns.

In 2016, the Migration Advisory Committee argued that 'the sectors [health and social care employers] have, in our opinion, an unrealistic view that the role of pay in recruitment and retention is only weak ... we would suggest to the employers that they go and increase the number of training places to meet capacity and increase staff pay to reduce the numbers leaving the profession.'75

NHS England's influential Five Year Forward View (2014) said that the one per cent cap was not 'indefinitely repeatable ... as the economy returns to growth, NHS pay will need to stay broadly in line with private sector wages in order to recruit and retain frontline staff.'76

The health regulator **Monitor**, now part of **NHS Improvement**, also warned in 2013 that:

'We do not believe [the 1% pay cap] is a sustainable strategy for improving productivity in the NHS. Periods of wage restraint are generally followed by periods of "catch up" with their trend level in subsequent years. Capping wages for longer to keep costs down would be self-defeating for the sector in the long term as it would make recruiting and retaining good quality professionals increasingly difficult.'⁷⁷

4. NON PRB-WORKERS - LOCAL GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION AND POLICE SUPPORT STAFF



"My pay has barely changed but my pension costs, travel costs and bills keep going up. A number of my colleagues have left and not been replaced, so all our workloads have increased because there is higher than ever demand for our services. We provide a critical public service that requires specialist skills, but many people just don't see a local authority as an attractive option and pay is part of the problem."

Local Authority Worker, East Midlands

Local government, which employs around 40 per cent of all public sector workers, comprises by far the single largest group of staff affected by the pay cap.

The terms and conditions of most local government and non-teaching school staff are either set or influenced by the National Joint Council for Local Government Services ('the NJC'), which agrees both a national pay spine and terms of conditions which are codified in a national agreement (commonly known as 'the Green Book.')

English employers are represented on the NJC by the Local Government Association. The body represents a more traditional central bargaining structure in contrast to PRB arrangements. In recent years, however, a number of councils and academy chains have opted out of the NJC's remit, and direct bargaining is becoming increasingly common.

The negative consequences of funding cuts and public sector pay constraints are especially acute in local government. Some 768,000 local government jobs have been cut since 2010.

Central government funding was reduced by 37 per cent between 2010/11 and 2015/16⁷⁸ - funding reductions that were inclusive of

additional budget cuts associated with the pay cap policy.

The pay freeze effectively began a year earlier than in the rest of the public sector after employers failed to make a pay offer in 2009/10. Since then the one per cent cap has been applied.

Because local government salaries are lower than average than the rest of the public sector, and authorities employ a relatively high concentration of workers in less well-paid roles, the marginal effect of pay constraints on lower paid workers is greater.

Like the wider public sector, the pay pinch is having a serious impact on the ability of councils and schools to carry out essential duties. 71 per cent of local authorities now say they are experiencing recruitment and retention challenges, rising to 85 per cent of unitary authorities.⁸⁰

The local government unions (GMB, UNISON and Unite) have submitted a joint pay claim for restorative pay increases of at least five per cent in 2018/19 and for local authorities to become Foundational Living Wage employers.

"We know that staff are struggling with basic bills and there has been an increase in financial problems, which contributes to stress levels and absence. The costs of living have gone up and up – but public sector salaries haven't."

Sue Evans, President of the Public Services People Managers' Association and HR Director at Warwickshire County Council⁷⁹

An additional source of information on school support staff salaries is the School Workforce Census, although support staff wage data is not routinely published and the statistics in Figure 4 have only been released in response to Parliamentary Questions.

GMB analysis of these official estimates shows that average teaching assistant pay increased by just 2.7 per cent between 2011 and 2016. This meant that wage grew three to four times slower than the rate of inflation. Teaching assistants employed in Free Schools also suffer an average twelve per cent pay penalty.

Figure 4. DfE estimates of average FTE teaching assistant salaries⁸¹

	All Schools	Free Schools
2011	£18,600	*
2012	£18,500	£15,700
2013	£18,700	*
2014	£18,700	£16,500
2015	£18,900	£16,900
2016	£19,100	£16,900
Changes 2011	to 2016:	
> TA pay	2.7%	
> CPI	7.8%	
> RPI	11.9%	

^{*} Free school data suppressed in 2011 and 2013 due to small sample size.

"1% doesn't come close to matching increases in basic costs of living. There's enormous pressure on the sector and the goodwill won't last for ever."

Education Worker, London

Police staff workers

The pay rates for over 70,000 police support staff workers, including PCSOs, are set through the national Police Staff Council which agrees a central pay spine (although the banding of individual jobs is set locally and is subject to significant variation).

The Home Office is represented on the Police Staff Council alongside police employers and recognised trade unions (GMB, UNISON and Unite). Police staff have been subject to the same pressures as the wider public sector.

"I am actually worse off, in terms of net pay, than I was 12 months ago."

_ * _ Police staff worker, North West

Twenty five thousand police staff jobs (including PCSOs) have been lost since 2010, and most salary points have lost between 9.4 per cent (CPI) and 13.5 per cent (RPI) of their value since 2010/11. 82

A typical PSCO at the top of their pay band will cumulatively lose £9,580 over the planned decade of real-terms pay cuts (Figure 6).

In a recent GMB survey of police staff members, 77 per cent of respondents said they were unhappy with the Government's pay policy and 73 per cent said that a pay increase of 3 per cent or more was needed to make ends meet. Staff also reported high levels of work-related stress.⁸³

As with other workforces not covered by a Pay Review Body, the Government does not deliberately collect information on the recruitment and retention pressures facing police staff. GMB analysis of Home Office data suggests, however, that recruitment and retention is fast becoming a serious problem for police forces.

+ Figure 5. Police staff voluntary turnover rates – England + and Wales⁸⁴

	Police Officers	PCSOs	Police Staff*
2009/10	1.1%	12.7%	5.0%
2010/11	1.1%	7.7%	6.1%
2011/12	0.9%	12.9%	9.9%
2012/13	1.0%	8.3%	6.4%
2013/14	1.3%	15.5%	8.4%
2014/15	1.5%	12.8%	8.1%
2015/16	1.7%	13.6%	11.2%
2016/17	1.8%	14.6%	9.7%
4 year average 09/10 to 12/13	1%	10.4%	6.9%
4 year average 13/14 to 2016/17	1.6%	14.1%	9.4%

*Not including PCSOs.

The Home Office data allows distinctions to be drawn between voluntary resignations and people who exit forces due to death, transfers, dismals or retirement (either medical or normal retirements).

The resulting analysis suggests that the voluntary turnover rate is rising amongst all grades of staff, but that the problem is particularly acute for PCSOs and other civilian staff.

It is likely that this reflects both real-terms pay cuts and the trend of forces delegating additional and potentially stressful duties to PCSOs, such as detaining suspects, without compensatory pay increases.

Figure 6. Cumulative pay pinch for workers not covered by a Pay Review Body (compared to CPI)

Role	Estimated total
	loss - 2010 to
	2020
Police Administrative	£6,739
Assistant	
School Lab Technician	£8,637
Teaching Assistant	£8,868
Refuse Collector	£9,042
Police Custody Officer	£9,270
PCSO	£9,580
Administrative Assistant	£10,642
(LA)	
Qualified Residential	£11,709
Social Worker	
Scene of Crime	£11,933
Investigator	
Higher Level Teaching	£12,492
Assistant	
Social Worker	£12,987
School Library Manager	£13,421
Housing Officer	£14,675
Homelessness	£15,090
Prevention Officer	

Civil servants and employees of armslength public bodies

With the exception of those workers on Senior Civil Service grades, employees of Government Departments and most arms-length bodies are subject to direct bargaining. Central bargaining was formerly in place for Department civil servants, but this arrangement was abolished in 1996⁸⁵ and wage rates are now set by the individual Departments. The 1 per cent cap has been strictly applied for the great majority of civil servants since 2010.

A number of public bodies, including HS2 Ltd and Highways England, have been granted pay flexibilities outside of the one per cent cap by the Treasury.⁸⁶

The pay cap does however cover some bodies critical to national security that compete with the private sector for recruitment, such as the Nuclear Decommissioning Authority.

As with other parts of the public sector, recruitment and retention pressures have been attributed to the pay cap. The Chief Executive of the DVLA recently said that 'the 1% [pay cap] is obviously a longer term challenge ... a lot of the differences in pay are making recruitment quite challenging.'87

Government accountability for local government pay awards

The Government formal position is that, because the pay cap technically only applies to PRB occupations and the Civil Service, it is not responsible for pay awards in Local Government or other sectors not covered by review bodies.

The Treasury has said that 'the pay restraint policy applies to the Pay Review Body workforces and the Civil Service and associated bodies [and] the government does not control pay in public corporations or local government.'88

Ministers have also recently argued that:

'While local government is not covered by public sector pay policy which is set by HM Treasury, it will, of course, have regard for it. ... It is for local authorities as independent employers and locally elected bodies to make these decisions within the limits of what is affordable.'89

These statements are contradicted by the Government's own record. In the years after 2010, Ministers made it clear that the pay constraint policy was to also apply to local authorities:

'[We] expect all local authorities to exercise pay restraint in keeping with the central Government public sector pay freeze announced in the emergency Budget.'90

Jeremy Hunt recently reinforced the message that pay policy is to all practical purposes set centrally when he said that 'public sector pay is a matter for the Chancellor and it is for the Chancellor to set pay across the public sector.'91

Matthew Hancock, at the time the Paymaster General, also said last year that 'all public servants ... are subject to an overall 1% pay remit.'92

The point was also tacitly acknowledged in an internal Conservative Party consultation document that reportedly asked 'what does the party offer the nation's 7m [sic] pay-capped public sector workers?'.93

The Treasury's estimates of the savings achieved from the pay cap were also measured across the public sector as a whole, according to information obtained by GMB under the Freedom of Information Act.

This expectation from central government that the one per cent cap would be adopted throughout the public sector was enforced through direct reductions to local authority budgets. In 2011 it was announced that the 0 per cent pay freeze would be succeeded by a 1 per cent cap and 'departmental budgets will be adjusted in line with this policy' – the details of the adjustments were published because they were made within a Comprehensive Spending Review period.

£2 billion of planned funding was removed from Departmental budgets over the two year period 2013/14 to 2014/15. This included £737 million that was removed from local government funding – explicitly because above one per cent pay awards would no longer be made. 94 This included funding for fire and rescue authorities and some police funding.

Information on budget cuts linked to the cap in subsequent years has not been proactively

published by the Treasury. The Treasury has told the GMB that, in the 2013 and 2015 Comprehensive Spending Reviews, the assumption that pay awards would be limited to one per cent 'was included in these departmental allocations at the outset'95 and that separate breakdowns were not available for these years.

If it is assumed the same methodology was applied by the Treasury in subsequent years (that is, an annual cumulative one per cent reduction was made to Departmental Resource Departmental Expenditure Limits budgets) then it may be estimated that the overall reduction to DCLG funding associated with the one per cent cap from 2013/14 to 2019/20 has been somewhere in the range of £4.6 billion and £5.2 billion.⁹⁶

It is important to note these cuts represent only one component of the 37 per cent reduction in central funding for local government services between 2010 and 2015. Due to their impact on Barnett Formula consequentials, additional funding for the devolved administrations has also been cut by Whitehall.

The continuation of the one per cent cap in local government and other non-PRB professions is not an accident of Government policy. It has been designed, specified and enforced by Ministers.

Breaches of the pay cap

There have been a limited number of breaches of the one per cent cap where employers fall outside of Pay Review Bodies' remits. Firefighters have been offered a 2% initial basic pay award – although the employers made it clear that most of the funding for the proposed multi-year settlement was dependent on additional revenue being secured from the Government.⁹⁷

Network Rail workers have been offered a 2.2% increase, followed by an increase tied to RPI in 2018 after the body was offered a special dispensation by the Treasury. NHS staff in the Isle of Man, which falls outside of Treasury control, have received a 2.5% pay deal (compared to 2.3% for other public sector workers.)⁹⁸

5. IMPACT OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR PAY CAP - FAMILIES AND UNPAID OVERTIME



"My parents still help out with my son's clothing and unexpected bills. I want to be able to live myself and not get handouts."

Police Staff Worker, Yorkshire

One explanation for the prominence of pay policy in the 2017 election is the negative affect of the pay cap on household incomes and the quality of life of family members who do not work in the public sector.

A previous ONS estimate suggested that there may be 4.2 million 'dual-income' households that contain both public and private sector workers (or 6,400 per Parliamentary constituency).⁹⁹

GMB analysis of unpublished ONS Labour Force Survey (LFS) data suggests that the pay cap affects over 2.3 million children living in 1.3 million households that contain at least one public sector worker (see Figure 9).

Many of these families will also have been affected by the cash freeze on benefits and restrictions to the number of children that can receive Child Benefit.

According to the LFS, 29.6 per cent of public sector workers (or two million in total) receive some form of in-work benefit, compared to 21.3 per cent of private sector workers – and two thirds of those public sector workers are in receipt of child benefit.¹⁰⁰

Another negative consequence for family life created by the rising strain on services is the rate of overtime worked by public sector staff. As the NHS Pay Review Body has warned, in the health service 'the [recruitment and retention] gap is also being filled by agency staff, as well as by Bank staff and a higher incidence of paid and unpaid overtime.'¹⁰¹

GMB analysis using LFS data suggests that 1.8 million public sector workers (or 27 per cent

of the total) report that they regularly work unpaid overtime averaging 7.8 additional hours a week. 5 per cent of public sector workers reported regularly working very high levels of additional unpaid time (15 hours or more a week).

Although unpaid working is common across all sectors of the economy, public sector workers were almost twice as likely to put in unpaid hours than their private sector counterparts (at 27 per cent compared to 14 per cent).

Measured by basic pay alone (excluding additional employer costs such as pension and National Insurance contributions), this additional unpaid labour is worth £11 billion a year to the Exchequer. See Figure 10 in the Appendix for GMB's full tables.

Additional analysis suggests that unpaid working is common in the workforces not covered by a PRB. In addition, workers falling under the ONS classification 'local government or council (including police etc)' were significantly more likely to work unpaid hours than the public sector as a whole or central government civil service.

Other occupations examined in Figure 10 include school support staff workers and local authority social workers.

Figure 7. Incidence of unpaid overtime – central and local government workers

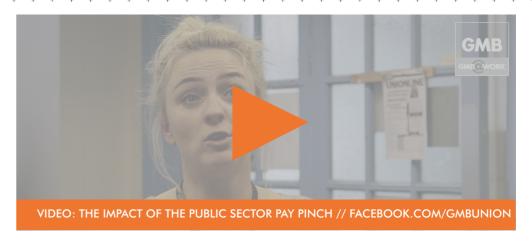
	Public sector workers in 'Central Gov,civil service'	Public sector workers in 'Local gov or council (inc police etc)'
Number of workers	700,580	3,010,471
Number regularly working unpaid overtime	117,973	900,349
Per cent regularly working unpaid overtime	17%	30%
Average extra hours of those that work unpaid overtime	6.9	9.0

It is worth noting that independent assessments suggest that the Labour Force Surveys may underestimate the scale of unpaid overtime in the sector. 85 per cent of midwives told the 2016 NHS Staff Survey that they regularly worked unpaid overtime, compared to 38 per cent of the sample captured by the LFS.¹⁰² This apparent disparity is also attested by anecdotal evidence from GMB members.

The differential may derive from the relatively small occupational samples in the LFS or the different structures of the two surveys, but the higher rates of overtime reported by the NHS Staff Survey may be indicative of even higher rates of unpaid overtime in the public sector than those suggested by official statistics.

"I'm a single parent with four children, so obviously my pay looks after my children. I haven't taken my children on holiday for the last three years because I haven't been able to afford it."

Teaching Assistant, West Midlands



6. CONCLUSION



GMB welcomes the Government's belated review of its public sector pay policy, but its early signals have been discouraging.

Limiting pay increases to only those public sector workers covered by Pay Review Bodies would not resolve the practical or the political problems confronting the sector.

The forgotten three million public sector employees not covered by Review Bodies have also lost thousands in real-terms pay cuts, and they are also pulling in dangerous levels of unpaid overtime so essential services can still be delivered. They must not be treated as second class workers, and as far as GMB is concerned the pay cap will not have been lifted until all our members receive a proper pay rise.

MAS FAR AS GMB IS CONCERNED THE PAY CAP WILL NOT HAVE BEEN LIFTED UNTIL ALL OUR MEMBERS RECEIVE A PROPER PAY RISE."

As we establish in this report, the Government is directly accountable for the pay awards made to these groups of workers. Ministers cannot both remove hundreds of millions from local government wage budgets and claim that they bear no responsibility for the near-universal application of the one per cent cap.

Local authorities, schools and colleges, police forces and other parts of the public sector all face the same challenges of recruitment and retention shortfalls, loss of morale and the rising pressures caused by staff cuts and increased demand. A moment of crisis is approaching and it requires a strategic response across the public sector as a whole.

The issues identified in our previous report have not gone away. The cap is a policy that overwhelmingly affects women: two thirds of public sector workers are female, rising to over 90 per cent in some occupations. Brexit continues to push up inflation, which is almost ten times its rate before the referendum.

No meaningful progress has been made on clarifying the status of EU nationals currently employed in the public sector, and the potential loss of access to EU recruitment makes the retention of the

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existing UK workforce even more important. There is a strong argument that the cap may ultimately save the public purse no significant money as the costs associated with recruitment and retention pressures, such as agency staff fees, continue to rise.

The Budget must provide clarity, and Ministers must engage properly with workers' representatives

as they consider their options. The election result made it clear that any response must be able to command public support. This should automatically rule out any additional cuts to services or unpopular, unworkable and discredited proposals that have been defeated in previous Parliaments.

As we demonstrated in our previous report, ending the public sector pay cap is both realistic and affordable. The time has come to put a stop to this deeply damaging policy for good. GMB will not stop our campaign until this goal has been achieved.

APPENDIX - SUPPORTING DATA TABLES



Figure 8. HMT reductions to Departmental funding following 1 per cent cap announcement (not including adjustments to Barnett consequentials) for the years 2013/14 and 2014/15, £ms¹⁰³

	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	Total
Education	-4	-25	-42	-71
Transport	-6	-14	-14	-34
CLG Communities	-3	-6	-6	-15
CLG Local Gov- ernment	0	-240	-497	-737
Business, Innova- tion and Skills	-9	-19	-19	-47
Home Office	-14	-68	-135	-217
Justice	0	-43	-85	-128
Law Officers' Departments	0	-4	-9	-13
Defence	0	-103	-197	-300
Foreign and Com- monwealth Office	0	-3	-7	-10
Energy and Cli- mate Change	-1	-3	-3	-7
Environment Food and Rural Affairs	-10	-22	-22	-54
Culture Media and Sport	-4	-9	-9	-22
Work and Pensions	-32	-72	-72	-176
Scotland	-4	-23	-38	-65
Wales	-2	-19	-35	-56
Northern Ireland	-2	-10	-15	-27
HM Revenue and Customs	0	-24	-47	-71
HMT	-1	-1	-1	-3
СО	-2	-4	-4	-10
SIA	0	-11	-11	-22
Small and Inde- pendent Bodies	0	-4	-4	-8
Total	-95	-727	-1,272	-2,094

Figure 9. Dependent children affected by the public sector pay cap¹⁰⁴

Region	Number of households	Number of children
North East	63,873	101,964
North West	181,976	302,755
Yorkshire and Humberside	123,972	214,834
East Midlands	84,115	141,065
West Midlands	118,364	201,647
East of England	113,525	192,322
London	166,264	301,978
South East	173,840	310,218
South West	109,273	183,772
Wales	91,543	146,753
Scotland	115,988	181,542
Northern Ireland	47,974	88,037
UK total	1,390,707	2,366,887

Households with dependent children (aged 0 to 19) in which an adult (aged 16 to 64) is employed as a public sector worker in their main job

Figure 10. Unpaid additional hours worked in the public sector¹⁰⁵

By public sector occupations

Occupation	Per cent regularly working unpaid hours
Midwives	37.5
Social workers	36.9
School secretaries	28.2
Nurses	28.5
Librarians	27.4
Teaching Assistants	26.0
Police and Community Support Officers	21.0
Private sector average	14.4

Proportion regularly working unpaid hours (per cent)

Country/Region	Public Sector	Private sector
UK	26.8	14.4
North East	22.1	11.6
North West	26.6	12.5
Yorkshire and Humberside	26.4	11.9
East Midlands	30.1	14.5
West Midlands	21.4	10.8
East of England	31.6	14.2
London	29.6	19.1
South East	29.8	16.6
South West	32.8	16.1
Wales	18.9	11.4
Scotland	22.9	12.4
Northern Ireland	14.7	9.3

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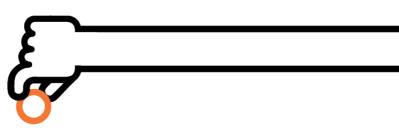
Economic value of unpaid overtime

Country/Region	Public sector workers regularly doing unpaid overtime	Average hours per week	Annual unpaid contribution	As a percentage of annual salary	Net value of unpaid contributions
UK	1,828,413	7.8	£6,018	24.1	£11,003,956,120
North East	64,223	8.8	£6,142	26.8	£394,457,404
North West	207,555	8.6	£6,439	26.4	£1,336,491,846
Yorkshire and Humberside	153,555	7.7	£5,444	24.2	£835,882,515
East Midlands	139,744	8.3	£6,097	26.7	£851,952,166
West Midlands	116,903	9.4	£6,845	29.5	£800,238,059
East of England	184,039	7.5	£5,630	24.7	£1,036,071,921
London	248,756	7.6	£7,274	22.0	£1,809,353,563
South East	267,427	8.0	£6,036	24.9	£1,614,157,702
South West	186,801	7.1	£5,227	22.7	£976,453,035
Wales	77,074	7.0	£5,089	21.6	£392,261,514
Scotland	151,053	6.8	£5,230	20.5	£789,970,594
Northern Ireland	31,283	7.6	£5,816	22.7	£181,937,883

Public sector staff regularly working 15 hours or more unpaid overtime a week

Country/Region	Number of public sector workers doing 15 hours plus unpaid work a week	
UK	316,281	4.6
North East	15,437	5.3
North West	45,967	5.9
Yorkshire and Humberside	29,423	5.1
East Midlands	25,231	5.4
West Midlands	28,293	5.2
East of England	24,453	4.2
London	38,333	4.6
South East	47,307	5.3
South West	25,464	4.5
Wales	8,248	2.0
Scotland	22,717	3.4
Northern Ireland	5,408	2.5

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