

Survey report June 2024

<u>CIPD Good</u> Work Index 2024

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Survey report

CIPD Good Work Index 2024

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1 Introduction

The *CIPD Good Work Index* is an annual benchmark of good work or job quality in the UK. It measures a wide range of aspects of job quality, including employment essentials, such as contractual arrangements, the day-to-day realities of work as experienced by workers themselves, and the impacts on their health and wellbeing.

The 2024 survey was conducted as the labour market continued to demonstrate resilience despite some recent weakening. Unemployment remained low and the level of unfilled vacancies remained high. The rapid fall in inflation had allowed some recovery in real wages. However, concerns over labour supply and low productivity remained as acute as ever.

Last year's report was conducted during high levels of industrial disputes, mostly in the public sector. The first two months of 2024 for which statistics are available show much reduced activity. There appears to have been no great increase in cases going to employment tribunal.¹ However, neither measure is a good indicator of underlying conflict in the workplace at the individual level. The CIPD's 2024 survey helps fill that gap.

2024 at a glance

The central focus of this report is conflict in the workplace, also a core theme from our <u>2019 survey</u>. Conflict in our context covers being undermined or humiliated at work, verbal abuse, false allegations, discrimination related to a protected characteristic (gender, race, disability, sexuality), intimidation, assault, and harassment.

The most commonly reported conflicts were being shouted at, undermined or humiliated, or being verbally abused. About 5% of people reported discrimination. Serious incidents, such as sexual and physical assault, were rare.

The headline result is good news. Conflict has fallen, from 30% reporting at least one form of conflict in 2019 to 25% in 2024. However, this may be attributed to the big rise in homeworking since 2019, rather than to underlying improvement. The decline in conflict is mostly driven by falls in incidents of being shouted at or verbally abused, which are linked to people being in physical proximity.

The largest falls in conflict were for white men over 35 in the ABC socioeconomic group (see Box 1 for details) and permanent jobs (these groups also account for most of the rise in homeworking). Non-heterosexual workers also reported higher than average declines – but from an exceptionally high level – and reported conflict still remains well above the average.

¹ Gov.uk. <u>Tribunal statistics quarterly: July to September 2023</u>.

Box 1: Survey definitions

The survey uses some condensed categories to help summarise results and we have combined some categories to give an adequate sample. These include:

ABC1 and C2DE socioeconomic groups: ABC1 is mostly those in higher-skill, white-collar managerial, professional and technical jobs. C2DE includes those in skilled manual and less skilled manual and non-manual jobs.

Non-heterosexual workers: This group combines the three survey categories of gay and lesbian, bisexual and other sexuality to ensure an adequate sample size.

Atypical contracts: This group combines three survey categories of temporary workers, zero-hours workers, and short-hours workers to ensure an adequate sample size. Note that some of these jobs are also permanent.

Age: In this analysis we have typically combined the two youngest age groups (all those under 35) to ensure a reasonable sample, especially for comparisons with the 2019 survey, where those under 25 were underrepresented.

Ethnic minorities, women, the disabled, those under 35, those with 'atypical' job contracts, and those in the C2DE socioeconomic group were more likely to report conflict in 2024 and, for them, little has changed since 2019.

A big focus of public debate for many policy-makers and practitioners is on formal processes to resolve conflict, such as grievances, mediation or industrial tribunals, but very few workplace conflicts are escalated to this level. Discussions with HR and line managers have a role, but the most common way people dealt with conflict was to let it go. It is unrealistic to think every conflict can be resolved fully, and most people reported either full or partial resolution – but one-third had no resolution.

People who reported conflict had lower job and pay satisfaction and were more likely to say they experienced excessive workload, pressure, exhaustion, and negative impacts on their mental and physical health than those who did not. They also gave more negative responses on voice in the workplace. Unsurprisingly, they were twice as likely to say they may quit their job as those who did not report conflict.

The impact of conflict on general relations in the workplace was surprisingly modest. People who reported conflict were less likely to report good relations with managers, but they were a minority. Most people who reported conflict also reported good relations in the workplace. And conflict had no significant impact on relations with colleagues or how managers perceived their relations with staff. This may be because people are making nuanced judgements about working relations in general and specific actions and incidents. Those who reported conflict were more critical of their managers and teams when specific behaviours were mentioned. It might also imply many of these incidents were one-offs where people were prepared to let it go, rather than systemic abuse, but this interpretation would require further work to confirm.

The impact on performance was ambiguous. Given all the negatives associated with conflict reported above, it is hard to see how workers who are disproportionately disaffected about their job and pay, overloaded, and exhausted at work are going to perform at their best. Conflict is likely to generate higher turnover rates. But we also found little impact on discretionary effort – most people in conflict said they would still work harder than they needed to help their employer and their colleagues and make innovative suggestions in their teams.

The 2024 survey confirms a previous trend, which started in the pandemic, where increasing numbers say they think a job is just about the money – up from 38% in 2019 to 47% in 2024. People were also less likely to say they would work harder than they need to help their employer, down from 57% to 51%. Neither trend is helpful in terms of improving workforce productivity.

There is somewhat better news on skills, training, and development, with an increasing proportion of people saying they had opportunities to acquire skills and good career opportunities. But there was no progress in matching skills and qualifications to jobs – many said they felt overqualified and had the skills to do more. We also found very little training specifically on new technologies, such as AI and virtual reality (VR), despite their growing application in the workplace.

Many other indicators show little change from either last year or from 2019. Most people have a positive experience from work with high rates of job satisfaction. Most think their work is valuable and useful for their organisation, but fewer feel inspired by the organisation or their work. They were also less likely to think their work is useful and valuable to society or serves a wider purpose, but this is a tough hurdle for many jobs to pass.

We also found no significant change in the degree of autonomy people have in their jobs when looking at tasks, pace, how work is done, and start and finish times. Although one perceived benefit of homeworking is more control over work, the rise in homeworking since 2019 has had almost no impact. This may be because those most likely to work from home were also the most likely to have jobs with high autonomy, regardless of where they do them.

This in turn leads us to a more general conclusion. If most indicators of work quality have not greatly changed since 2019, it must follow that the big increase in homeworking has had little impact on them as well. Homeworking is popular with those who do it and there is some unmet demand from those who do not. But it is not a panacea. The sort of job we do, how we do it, and the way we are treated are all likely to be more important than geographical location.

Finally, we should note that the proportion who say work is having a negative impact on their mental and physical health has not changed significantly either, nor have indicators such as excessive workload, pressure, or exhaustion. Many of these are too high, but we suggest that work is not the primary driver of the rise in inactivity caused by long-term sickness since 2019.

Box 2: What is good work?

Definition

The CIPD believes that good work is fundamental to individual wellbeing, supports a strong, fair society, and creates motivated workers, productive organisations and a strong economy.

We define 'good work' as work that:

- is fairly rewarded
- gives people the means to securely make a living
- provides opportunities to develop skills and a career and gives a sense of fulfilment
- delivers a supportive environment with constructive relationships
- allows for work-life balance
- is physically and mentally healthy for people
- gives people the voice and choice they need to shape their working lives
- is accessible to all
- is affected by a range of factors, including HR practices, the quality of people management and by workers themselves.

Seven dimensions of good work

Our definition of 'good work' is based on seven dimensions of good work that we capture data on. This data forms the basis for the *CIPD Good Work Index* itself, which uses both objective and subjective measures.

Objective measures capture aspects that, in principle, should be unbiased: for example, data on contract type and union membership.

Subjective measures reflect an opinion, preference or feeling: for example, how meaningful people find their work, the quality of relationships at work, and measures of job or life satisfaction.

Our seven dimensions of good work are as set out in Table 1.

Table 1: Dimensions of good work

Dimension	Areas included
1 Pay and benefits	Subjective feelings regarding pay, employer pension contributions, and other employee benefits
2 Contracts	Contract type, underemployment, and job security
3 Work–life balance	Overwork, commuting time, how much work encroaches on personal life and vice versa, and HR provision for flexible working
4 Job design and the nature of work	Workload or work intensity, autonomy or how empowered people are in their jobs, how well resourced they are to carry out their work, job complexity and how well this matches the person's skills and qualifications, how meaningful people find their work, and development opportunities provided
5 Relationships at work	Social support and cohesion, the quality of relationships at work, psychological safety, and the quality of people management
6 Employee voice	Channels and opportunities for feeding views to one's employer and managers' openness to employee views
7 Health and wellbeing	Positive and negative impacts of work on physical and mental health, often considered as an outcome of job quality

2 Work centrality and discretionary effort

The following section sets out some of the main findings from the 2024 survey. We have also compared this with previous surveys from 2019 onwards. Most indicators show little or very modest change over the period.

One of the big exceptions has been a measure of 'work centrality', where respondents were asked whether a job to them is just about the money and nothing else. This was a trend we highlighted in last year's report and this year saw a further rise. In 2024, 47% agreed, compared with just 36% in 2019. The turning point seems to have been the pandemic.

A further question asked about discretionary effort, measured by people's willingness to work harder than they needed to help their employer or organisation. This has declined from pre-pandemic levels. In 2019, 57% said they would be willing to work harder than they had to and, in 2024, this was down to 51%. Recent surveys suggest it has stabilised at this lower level. If things are not getting worse, they are also showing no sign of returning to pre-pandemic levels.

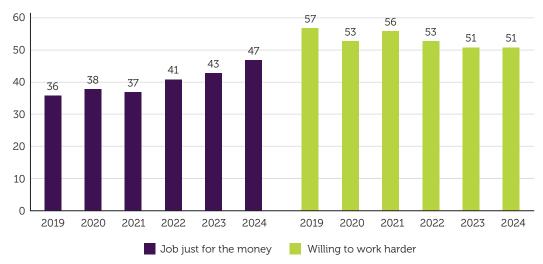


Figure 1: My job is just for the money and I am willing to work harder than I need (%)

Base: all (n=5,482).

In 2024, men were more likely to agree that a job is just about the money than women. There was little variation by age, except for the oldest group of 55 or over, where only 35% agreed a job is just about the money. Workers in the C2DE socioeconomic groups were more likely to agree than those in ABC1 groups. Private sector workers were more likely to agree (49%) than the public sector (42%) or the voluntary sector (37%).

Since 2019, there has been an exceptionally large increase for three groups – those under 35, those in atypical employment contracts, and ethnic minorities. The first two are related, as the young are disproportionately likely to be in atypical work. However, as the 2019 survey underrepresented younger age groups and atypical work, some of these results should be read with caution. In contrast, there was below-average change for those 55 or over, those in socioeconomic group C2DE, and the disabled.

	2019 (%)	2024 (%)	% change
Men	40	52	+12
Women	31	42	+11
Under 35*	34*	52	+18
55 or older	32	35	+ 3
C2DE socioeconomic group	45	51	+ 6
ABC1 socioeconomic group	33	45	+12
White	36	45	+ 9
Ethnic minority	38	58	+20
Disabled	40	46	+ 6
Non-disabled	35	47	+12
Atypical contract*	26	46	+20
Permanent contract	39	49	+10
All in work	36	47	+ 11

Table 2: A job is just about the money (% agree)

Note: * small sample sizes in at least one survey.

Base: all in work (2019: n=5,113; 2024: n=5,482); men (2019: n=2,696; 2024: n=2,863); women (2019: n=2,417; 2024: n=2,619); under 35 (2019: n=1,041; 2024: n=1,491); 55 or older (2019: n=1,628; 2024: n=1,441); ABC1 (2019: n=3,684; 2024: n=4,001); C2DE (2019: n=1,317; 2024: n=1,397); white (2019: n=4,495; 2024: n=4,970); ethnic minority (2019: n=489; 2024: n=396); disabled (2019: n=989; 2024: n=909); non-disabled (2019: n=3,998; 2024: n=4,522); atypical contract (2019: n=226; 2024: n=253); permanent contract (2019: n=4,222; 2024: n=4,615).

Working at home and work centrality

The 2024 survey suggests that those who worked at home were less likely to say a job is just about the money than those who did no work at home (43% v 52%). Those who worked at home were also more likely to say they are willing to work harder than they need to help their employer or organisation (55%) than those who did not (47%). So the 2024 survey does not suggest an obvious association between working at home and less commitment to work as measured by these questions.

It is still possible that the rise in homeworking is associated with an increase in lower work commitment. We cannot directly test this because of differences in the questions asked in the two surveys. There is some indirect association. As Table 2 shows, it is among the ABC1 group that we see bigger than average increases in the share who say work is just about the money, and it is the ABC1 group who also account for almost all the increase in working at home since 2019.

However, as we show later, the increase in working at home had no impact on many other work quality measures, such as autonomy, suggesting it is the nature of the job and how we are treated at work which are more important drivers than where we work. Any link to homeworking and the rise in those saying a job is just about the money must be regarded as not proven for the time being.

Many would enjoy a job even if they did not need the money

Work centrality is, however, a complex issue. Although nearly 40% agreed a job is just about the money, even more (57%) agreed they would enjoy their job even if they did not need the cash.

In 2024, women were somewhat more likely to agree this is the case than men (younger age groups were much more likely to agree, as were ethnic minority workers). Those in 'atypical contracts' were slightly more likely to agree than those in permanent work. But there was no difference by disability or socioeconomic group (58% for ABC1, 57% for C2DE). The proportion of people in work who hold this view has been remarkably stable across all groups since 2019.

We might say that work today is becoming more polarised between those who see it just as a means of income and those who value it for the enjoyment it brings. This seems to be especially so for younger as well as ethnic minority workers. Both groups saw exceptionally large increases in the proportion who said a job is just for money, but both were also consistently more likely than other groups to say they would enjoy a job even if they did not need the cash.

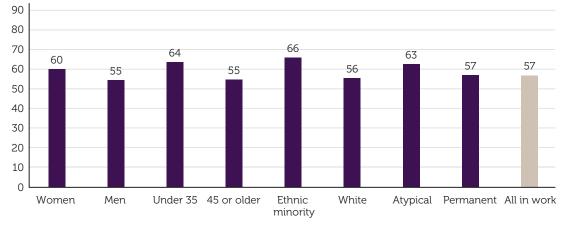
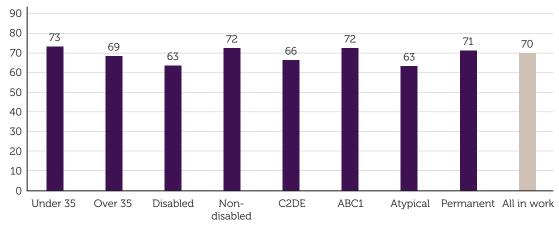


Figure 2: I would enjoy having a paid job even if I didn't need the money (% agree)

Base: women (n=2,584); men (n=2,802); under 35 (n=1,467); 45 or older (n=2,702); ethnic minority (n=392); white (n=4,879); atypical contract (n=249); permanent contract (n=4,534); all in work (n=5,426).

Job satisfaction and pay

In 2024, most people said they were satisfied with their job (70%) and only 13% said they were dissatisfied. There were no significant differences by gender or ethnicity (or between the public, private and voluntary sectors). Younger age groups were slightly more satisfied than older age groups (73% for those under 35 and 69% for those over 35). In contrast, the disabled were significantly less satisfied than the non-disabled. So too were those in less skilled work (socioeconomic group C2DE) compared with higher-skill, white-collar jobs (socioeconomic group ABC1). This was also the case for those in atypical contracts.





Base: under 35 (n=1,496); over 35 (n=3,993); disabled (n=912); non-disabled (n=4,525); C2DE (n=1,400); ABC1 (n=4,005); atypical contract (n=253); permanent contract (n=4,622); all in work (n=5,489).

Pay match with responsibilities

The survey also asked whether people thought they were paid appropriately for the responsibilities they had – 51% agreed while 30% disagreed. The proportion in agreement has edged up since last year and is noticeably up from 45% in 2019. The rise was almost entirely driven by the private sector (52% in 2024).

In comparison, the voluntary sector was slightly less likely to agree (50%) and the public sector least so (46%). There were relatively minor differences by gender, ethnicity, age, and socioeconomic group. Employees with disabilities were less likely to agree, at 44%, compared with those without disabilities (52%).

This may feel a little counterintuitive given the pressures on real pay in recent years and increased incidences of industrial action. However, the question asks people to judge pay against responsibilities and not, for example, whether pay has kept pace with prices in general. In that sense, we can say there has been modest progress in aligning pay and responsibilities in the private sector and very little, if any, in the public sector.

4 Impact of work on mental and physical health

Some 39% said work had a positive impact on their mental health and 31% said it had a positive impact on physical health. But a quarter of the workforce reported negative physical and mental health impacts from work.

For mental health, there were no significant differences by gender or disability. Those most likely to report positive impacts were at opposite ends of the age spectrum: the under-25s at 56% and those over 55 at 45%. Rather surprisingly, those in atypical contracts were much more likely to report positive impacts on mental health (53%) than those on permanent contracts (36%). This may, however, be partly explained by the young being more likely to have an atypical contract.

There were also significant differences by sector: only 31% of public sector workers reported a positive impact on mental health, compared with 41% of private and voluntary sector workers. Conversely, 32% of public sector workers reported a negative impact on mental health, compared with 24% of private sector workers.

There has been no significant change since 2019 for most of these groups, though the share of under-35s reporting positive impacts of work on mental health has edged up to 43% in 2024, from 37% in 2019.

The UK Government has recently launched a consultation over the increased incidence of inactive claimants of working age due to long-term sickness and a rapid rise in the welfare payments for those unable to work due to mental and physical illness and disability. We draw two broad conclusions from the survey that may be relevant.

First, there has been no increase in the negative impact of work on either mental or physical health since 2019. The survey does not tell us whether the severity of that impact has increased over time, but it does not suggest that work is making people sicker than it was before the pandemic. Other indicators that might be related, such as the proportion reporting excessive workload, being under pressure or feeing exhausted at work, have not significantly changed. Nor, as we report later, can it have been caused by any increase in workplace conflict.

Second, while it is true that work on average seems to be better for us than involuntary inactivity, it does not follow that all jobs have a positive impact on health and wellbeing, with 25% reporting adverse impacts, rising to 30% for those with a disability. It is not just a job that matters, but the quality of that work.

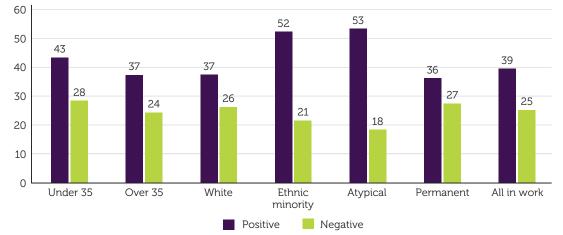


Figure 4: Impacts of work on mental health (%)

Base: under 35 (n=1,450); over 35 (n=3,934); white (n=4,893); ethnic minority (n=382); atypical contract (n=246); permanent contract (n=4,535); all in work (n=5,384).

Engagement and meaning

How I feel about my job

The survey also looked in detail at some positive and negative aspects of the job. About half of all respondents said that they are always or often enthusiastic, that time flies or they are immersed in their work. Relatively few said they rarely or never experienced these things. However, only 30% said they are always or often full of energy, and 26% said it is rare or never.

The negative aspects were a mixed picture. Most people reported they are rarely or never lonely, miserable, or bored. But they were less positive when it came to being full of energy, under pressure or feeling exhausted.

Indeed, between a fifth and a quarter reported they rarely or never feel full of energy and always or often suffer from excessive pressure, feel exhausted at work or have an excessive workload. None of these indicators have changed significantly since 2019.

	Always/often	Sometimes	Rarely/never
Enthusiastic	51	34	16
Time flies	50	38	13
Immersed	49	36	14
Full of energy	30	45	26
Lonely	14	26	61
Miserable	13	28	60
Bored	16	34	50
Excessive pressure	21	37	41
Exhausted	24	42	33

Table 3: How I feel about my job (%)

Base: all (n=5,496).

Engagement and meaning

Meaningful work

Much has been written about whether people think their jobs contribute to an organisation or have a broader impact on society and the wider world. Overall, the large majority feel they do valuable work at the organisational level, but much fewer feel inspired by the organisation's purpose. Around half think it serves a wider societal purpose and a quarter do not, but these are high bars that would be unrealistic to expect all jobs to meet.

In terms of what people get out of their work, two-thirds agreed they get a sense of achievement. Just over half agreed that their work fits what they value in life, matches their interests, and contributes to their personal growth. However, only 41% said they feel inspired at work. Table 4 gives the details. Responses are very similar to previous years.

Table 4: Value of work and what I get out of my job (%)

	Agree	Disagree
My work is important to the organisation	82	5
My work makes a valuable contribution to the organisation	78	7
My work is useful to the organisation	73	11
I am inspired by the organisation's purpose	43	25
I am doing useful work for society	51	25
My work serves a greater purpose	49	24
My work makes the world a better place	43	26
Sense of achievement	67	14
Fits what I value in life	55	17
Matches my interests	54	22
Contributes to my personal growth	51	21
Feel inspired at work	41	28

Base: all (n=5,496); all who are not freelance workers (n=5,218).

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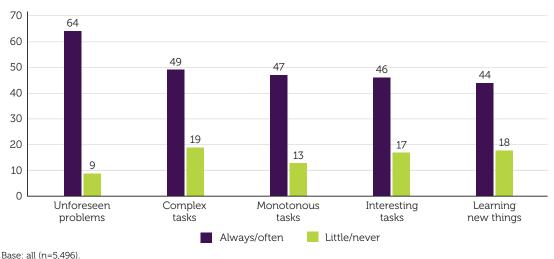
Task complexity and work–life balance

Job tasks

Most jobs are a mix of tasks, some monotonous, some interesting, and allow for learning new things. Most people said their work always or often involves solving unforeseen problems on their own. Other job features were more mixed, with just under half saying their job always or often involves complex or interesting tasks or provides opportunities for learning new things. In contrast, just under a fifth said their job rarely or never involves such tasks.

However, nearly half said that their job involves monotonous tasks most or all of the time. It is hard to design a job that does not include some monotonous

tasks, but nonetheless, it is concerning that nearly half the workforce are reporting this as the norm. Figure 5 gives details. There has been no significant change in this and the other indicators since 2019.





Outside commitments and flexibility

Over half said work did not affect their outside commitments (56%), with about a quarter (24%) disagreeing. In contrast, few people felt outside commitments make it harder to do their jobs properly and 77% said they don't. There has been little change in these indicators since 2019.

There was also considerable informal flexibility around people being able to take an hour or two off work to deal with a personal or family issue, with most people saying it would be easy to do so. Since 2019, there has been some improvement, with the proportion saying it would be easy increasing from 64% to 70%, and the those saying it is hard falling from 22% to 17% (Figure 6).

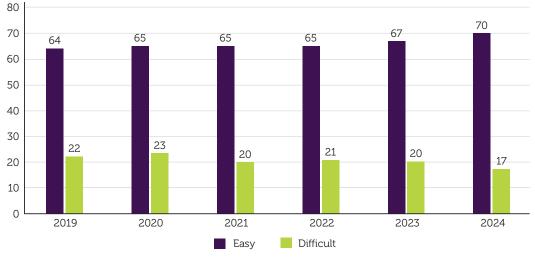


Figure 6: Easy or hard to take some time off (%)

Base: 2019 (n=5,136); 2020 (n=6,681); 2021 (n=6,257); 2022 (n=6,262); 2023 (n=5,139); 2024 (n=5,496).

Task complexity and work-life balance

7 Job security

The survey asks two questions that are widely used in surveys to measure job security. The first asked people how likely they are to lose their job in the next six months. In 2024, 13% said it was likely and 65% said it was unlikely. The second asks how easy it would be to get another job with similar terms and conditions. To this, 34% said it would be easy, but 43% said it would be difficult.

However, the second question has to be interpreted with care. Those most likely to say it would be difficult to get a job as good as the one they currently have were older workers in permanent, long-tenure jobs, and the least likely were younger workers with shorter tenures. For example, 34% of those with tenures of up to two years said it would be difficult to find a new job as good, compared with 53% of those with tenures of 10 years or more.

The greater pessimism among longer-tenure workers is likely because many will have built up benefits, such as access to final salary pension schemes, which would be hard to match with a new employer. Some older workers may be concerned that they will suffer age discrimination. Some who have built up skills and experience specific to a company or sector may think they will not be easily transferable to new opportunities elsewhere in the labour market.

Both measures showed a peak during the pandemic in 2021, but recovered quickly. The proportion saying they were unlikely to lose their job has increased somewhat from pre-pandemic levels, from 61% in 2019 to 65% in 2024. The proportion saying it would be easy to get a similar job has increased post-pandemic, from 29% in 2019 to 34%. Overall, these indicators suggest modest improvements in job security post-pandemic, perhaps reflecting increased availability of unfilled vacancies.

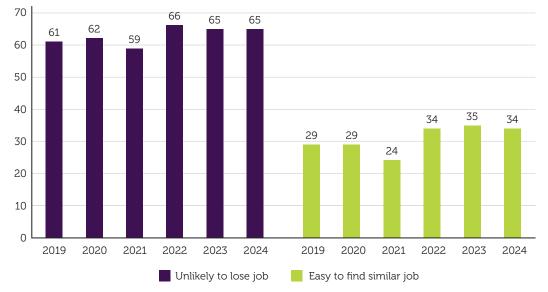


Figure 7: Job security indicators (%)

Base: 2019 (n=5,136); 2020 (n=6,681); 2021 (n=6,257); 2022 (n=6,262); 2023 (n=5,139); 2024 (n=5,496).

Job security

Quitting

The UK labour market is dynamic, with large numbers of people moving each year between different jobs and industries, mostly on a voluntary basis. We found 20% of respondents saying they were likely to quit in the next 12 months, with 61% saying they were unlikely to leave and 18% saying neither. Apart from a pandemic-related fall in 2021, there has been very little change since 2019.

The reasons why people leave their job are similar to previous surveys. The most commonly reported reasons were unsurprising – better pay and conditions, work–life balance, and job satisfaction. Some 17% said they wanted a different type of work. Less common were more flexible working hours, opportunities for promotion, better job security, to get training, and demand for remote working.

However, unhappiness with senior management and leadership is also one of the most common reasons (22%). People can pick more than one reason, so perceived failings by senior managers may not be the only trigger. Nonetheless, how organisational leadership is perceived clearly matters for staff turnover. In addition, 11% reported conflict with line managers or colleagues, and 6% discrimination, bullying and harassment. Redundancy accounted for 15% of responses.

Reason (any three)			
Better pay and conditions	27	Conflict with line managers/colleagues	11
Work-life balance	22	Promotion opportunities	10
Unhappiness with senior managers	22	Better job security	8
Better job satisfaction	19	To get training/development	7
Different type of work	17	Discrimination, bullying, harassment	6
Made redundant	15	Remote working	6
Flexible working hours	13	Some other reason	14

Table 5: Why people left their last job (%)

Base: all (n=5,496)

8 Conflict in the workplace

This section focuses on reported conflict in the workplace over the last 12 months, including who is affected most and some of the associations between conflict and workplace performance, wellbeing and place of work. We start with a review of workplace relations across the workforce.

Workplace conflict

In the survey, conflict included:

- being humiliated or undermined at work
- heated arguments, being shouted at or verbally abused
- discrimination by reason of sex, race, disability, age
- intimidation
- sexual harassment or assault
- physical threat or assault.

The survey showed that a quarter of people in work had experienced at least one of these forms of conflict or abuse in the last 12 months.

What form does conflict take?

The survey allowed people to report as many forms of conflict as they felt applied. The most common form of conflict was being humiliated or undermined at work (reported by 12%), followed by those who said they were involved in a heated argument or shouted at or who were verbally abused. Those who reported discrimination because of a protected characteristic (such as gender, race, sexuality, age, or disability) accounted for about 5%. Other forms of conflict, such as sexual harassment and assault and physical threat and assault, were relatively uncommon, typically reported by 1–2%. These are shown in the left-hand column of Table 6. The table also shows the same results expressed as a share of those who reported conflict in the middle column.

What was the most important conflict reported?

The survey allowed respondents to make more than one response, so it's possible that conflicts reported as discrimination may be understated. For example, someone may report a conflict as discrimination if someone undermined or shouted at them at work because of race, gender or sexuality, and might therefore legitimately report both as a cause of conflict. A follow-up question asked people to identify the one reason they thought was the most important to them and to the organisation. However, the relative ranking of discrimination and most other reported conflicts did not greatly change on this measure (see right-hand column in Table 6).

	All reported conflicts	All reported conflicts	Most important conflict
	Proportion of all those in work	Proportion reporting at least one conflict	Proportion reporting at least one conflict
Undermined/humiliated	12	48	25
Shouted at/heated argument	9	35	15
Verbal abuse or insult	8	34	11
Discriminatory behaviour	5	20	11
False allegations	4	18	11
Intimidation (non-sexual)	3	12	6*
Unwanted sexual attention	2	9	2*
Physical threat	2	8	4*
Physical assault (non-sexual)	1*	3*	1*
Other behaviours	1*	3*	2*
Sexual assault	_	2*	1*
Prefer not to say	3		11

Table 6: All reported conflicts and most important conflict (%)

Base: all (n=5,496).

Note: * small sample size, n=<50.

Who is most affected by conflict?

As might be expected, those with protected characteristics reported more conflict, given that legislation recognises they may be more subject to victimisation. Women were more likely than men to report at least one form of conflict, as were ethnic minorities compared with those who were white, and those with some form of disability and those without. There were also marked differences by sexual orientation – a third of those who identified as non-heterosexual reported conflict, compared with 24% of those who identified as heterosexual. There were also some significant differences by age. Of those under 35, 32% reported some form of conflict, compared with 22% of those over 35 (see Figure 8).

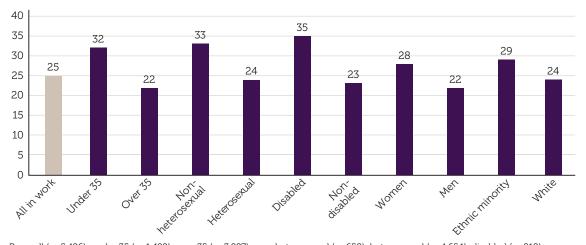


Figure 8: Employees reporting conflict at work (%)

Base: all (n=5,496); under 35 (n=1,499); over 35 (n=3,997); non-heterosexual (n=658); heterosexual (n=4,654); disabled (n=912); non-disabled (n=4,532); women (n=2,625); men (n=2,871); ethnic minority (n=398); white (n=4,982).

Conflict by job contract, socioeconomic group and sector

Of those in atypical contracts, 38% had experienced conflict, compared with 26% of permanent employees. This in part is likely to be related to higher rates of reported conflict for under-35s, given that younger workers are much more likely to be in atypical work contracts. Reported conflict was also somewhat higher for those in C2DE socioeconomic groups (28%), compared with ABC1s (24%).

Those in the public sector were more likely to report conflict (31%) than those in the private or voluntary sectors (24%). Within the private sector, there are significant differences between low-pay services (retail and hospitality), where 30% reported conflict, and high-pay services (information and communication, professional, scientific and technical services, finance and real estate), where 20% reported conflict, and production industries (manufacturing, construction, and energy and water), where 21% did so (see Figure 9).

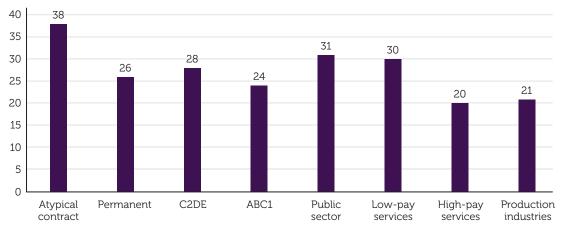


Figure 9: Any conflict, by contract, job and sector (%)

Base: atypical contract (n=253); permanent contract (n=4,627); C2DE (n=1,401); ABC1 (n=4,011); public sector (n=869); low-pay services (n=1,143); high-pay services (n=1,487); production industries (n=875).

Note: Low-pay services are retail and hospitality. High-pay services are information and communication, professional, scientific and technical, and finance and real estate. Production is manufacturing, energy and water, and construction.

How conflicts are resolved

The survey asked what had been done to resolve these conflicts, with people able to select more than one option. The most dominant answer by far was to just let it go (47% of all those in work said this). The next most common was to have a discussion with HR (29%), and more informal discussions, either with someone outside work, such as family or friends (21%), or with the other person involved (17%) (see Figure 10).

However, exit was an option for a minority, with 9% saying they were looking for another job and 3% saying they had left the organisation. Moreover, a separate question in the survey showed that it was twice as common for those who reported conflict to say they were likely to leave over the next 12 months (33%) than those who did not (16%).

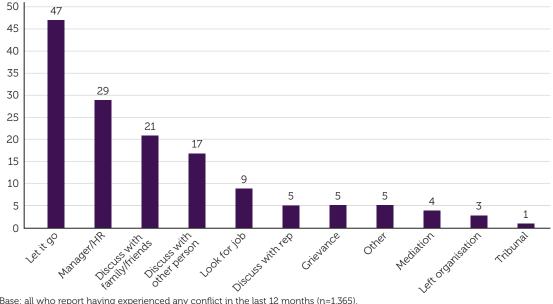


Figure 10: How people try to resolve conflict (%)

Base: all who report having experienced any conflict in the last 12 months (n=1,365).

Most people said their conflict was either fully or partially resolved (66%), but only 36% said it was fully resolved. It would, of course, be unrealistic to suggest that every source of conflict can be resolved to the full satisfaction of both parties. But over a third did say they had no resolution at all.

Most organisational and media attention is likely to focus on more formal resolution procedures. This is understandable, given that they are likely to involve more serious cases which have wider implications for organisations, practitioners, individuals and policy-makers. However, they are not typical of the way the vast majority of workplace conflicts are resolved. It was comparatively rare to discuss it with a trade union representative, escalate it into a formal grievance or involve a trained mediator. Hardly any involved a case going to an employment tribunal.

We cannot say from the survey why relatively few people escalate conflicts to the more formal stage. Some may have felt the incident, while distressing at the time, was not worth pursuing more formally, especially if it was seen as a one-off or that informal processes had addressed the issue sufficiently. However, some may have thought that formal procedures would be a waste of time or that they would be victimised for trying to invoke it. As we show below, there is some evidence that the former may be somewhat more common than the latter, but that is not conclusive.

Impact of conflict on work

Conflict can arise in the best-run workplaces, either with managers and supervisors or between co-workers. In this section, we also look at the association between reported incidence of conflict and indicators of performance, job security, and mental and physical wellbeing.

Work centrality, job and pay satisfaction, and work pressures

Earlier we reported on work centrality, measured by whether people thought a job is just for money or something they would enjoy even if they did not need cash. Experience of conflict does not appear to affect either of these.

However, those who had experienced conflict were much less likely to say they thought their pay was appropriate given their responsibilities and much less likely to say they were satisfied with their job. Some 38% who reported conflict thought that their pay was appropriate, compared with 55% of those who did not. Similarly, 54% of those who reported conflict were satisfied with their job, compared with 77% of those who did not.

Those who reported conflict were also more likely to be in a high-pressure job. They were much more likely to say that their workload is too high; that they feel under pressure most or all of the time; or that they feel exhausted most or all of the time. We cannot say from the survey whether this was because of a high-pressure work environment more generally or an individual struggling with pressure at work. Both are likely to be true. Those in conflict were also much more likely to report negative impacts on their mental and physical health. Table 7 gives details.

	Any conflict	None
Satisfied with my job (% satisfied)	54	77
My pay is appropriate given my responsibilities (% agree)	38	55
Workload in a typical week (% too much)	46	24
Feel exhausted at work (% always/often)	42	18
Feel under pressure at work (% always/often)	37	15
Impact of work on mental health (% positive)	28	43
Impact of work on physical health (% positive)	25	32

Table 7: Conflict and satisfaction, workload and wellbeing (%)

Base: all (n=5,496); all who report having experienced any conflict in the last 12 months (n=1,365).

Management, teams and conflict

We also looked at a wider range of questions asking about views on managers, supervisors and directors. It wouldn't be a surprise if those involved in conflict with their workplace seniors, or who felt that managers and seniors were either unsympathetic to, or ineffectual in, resolving conflicts, viewed their performance and their treatment negatively. The survey confirms this association on most, but not all, measures.

Those who reported conflict were significantly less likely to think that senior managers and directors had the right vision, that they were able, or that they could be trusted to act with integrity.

However, the association between conflict and negative perceptions further down the ladder at workplace level is much weaker. Only a small minority of those who reported conflict also said that their relations with their line manager were poor (15%), compared with 67% who reported it was good. Similar views were expressed about other managers.

If the association between conflict and poor working relations with managers is weak, it is non-existent for colleagues. There were no significant differences between those who reported conflict and those who did not when it came to rating relations with colleagues in the team or with other colleagues. Managers who reported conflict gave similar responses on their working relations with staff as those who did not.

This may be because people make a distinction between general working relations and specific actions: those who reported conflict were more likely to take a dimmer view of their manager's performance when specific actions were mentioned than they were for working relations in general.

Those who reported conflict were significantly less likely to say their manager treated them with respect, treated them fairly, and was supportive if they had a problem, compared with those who did not report conflict. Similarly, people who had experienced conflict were more likely to agree that their manager would hold a grudge against them if they made a mistake compared with those who experienced no conflict.

Those who reported conflict were also more likely to agree that their team sometimes rejected others for being different. They were also less likely to agree that no one in their team would act to undermine efforts compared with those who did not report conflict.

However, even with specific actions and behaviours, it was still the case that most people who reported conflict also had favourable opinions of their manager and teams. For example, around 60% of those who reported conflict also said their managers treated them with respect and treated them fairly. This is consistent with one interpretation: that at least some of these conflicts were one-offs or sufficiently low level and therefore did limited damage to people's views of workplace relations.

Conflict and discretionary effort

There is only a weak association between indicators of discretionary effort and conflict. Of those who reported conflict, 48% agreed they would work harder than they needed to help their employer or organisation, compared with 53% who did not. Those who reported conflict were just as willing to volunteer to do things not formally required by the job, to help colleagues with workloads and overcome hurdles, and to make innovative suggestions to improve team quality as those who did not.

Conflict and voice in the workplace

There is a clearer association between conflict and lack of voice. For example, around a third of those who reported conflict thought their managers were good at responding to employee suggestions, seeking views and keeping them informed, compared with around half of those who did not report conflict. They were also much less likely to rate as 'good' the ability of employees to influence final decisions or be involved in pay negotiations (compared with those who did not report conflict) (see Table 8).

Table 8: Conflict, working relations, behaviours, effort and voice (% who agree or said relations were good)

	Any conflict	None
Senior management and directors	% agree	% agree
Senior managers have a clear vision for the organisation	46	62
I have confidence in senior managers/directors' ability	39	57
I trust senior managers/directors to act with integrity	36	60
Working relations with line managers and colleagues	% good	% good
Team colleagues	80	81
Staff I manage	79	83
Other colleagues	71	73
Line managers	67	86
Other managers	59	75
My line manager/supervisor	% agree	% agree
Respects me as a person	63	86
Treats me fairly	60	86
Is supportive if I have a problem	60	84
Recognises when I have done a good job	56	77
Is open and approachable on mental health	53	74
Is successful in getting people to work together	47	67
Leads by example	46	64
Supports my learning and development	46	64
Can be relied on to keep their promise	45	70
Helps me perform well in my job	45	67
Provides useful feedback on my work	45	64
Supports long-term career development	38	55
Workplace behaviours	% agree	% agree
Teams reject people who are different	36	14
Manager holds grudge for mistake	34	12
No one undermines efforts	50	78
Discretionary effort	% agree	% agree
Help with others' workload and overcome hurdles	72	75
Make innovative suggestions to improve team quality	60	62
Volunteer to do more than formally required	57	57
Work harder than needed in order to help employer	48	53
Voice in the workplace – managers at my workplace	% good	% good
Seek employee views	36	51
Keep employees informed	35	51
Respond to employee suggestions	32	50
Allow influence on final decisions	27	42
Recognise role in pay negotiations	25	41

Base: all (n=5,496); all who report having experienced any conflict in the last 12 months (n=1,365).

Conflict in the workplace

Has conflict in the workplace risen or fallen?

Our survey previously asked questions about conflict in 2019. Over the last five years, the proportion of the workforce reporting any conflict has fallen from 30% to 25%.

The biggest falls were for male, white, non-disabled, over-35s from the higherskill socioeconomic group (ABC1s). There was also an above-average fall for non-heterosexual workers, albeit from an exceptionally high level in 2019. Those who experienced below-average falls were women, ethnic minorities, and disabled workers, those in C2DE socioeconomic groups, the under-35s, and those in atypical work contracts (where there is a slight but nonsignificant rise). However, results for the young and those in atypical work should be treated with some caution, as they were underrepresented in the 2019 survey (see Table 9).

	2019 (%)	2024 (%)	% change
All in work	30	25	-5
Male	29	22	-7
Over 35	29	22	-7
Non-heterosexual	39	33	-6
White	30	24	-6
Permanent employee	32	26	-6
Socioeconomic group ABC1	30	24	-6
Heterosexual	29	24	-5
Non-disabled	28	23	-5
Female	31	28	-3
Ethnic minority	32	29	-3
Disabled	37	35	-2
Socioeconomic group C2DE	30	28	-2
Under 35*	33	32	-1
Atypical employee contract*	35	38	+3

Table 9: Changes in reported workplace conflicts, by group

Base: 2019 (n=5,136); 2024 (n=5,496).

Note: *these results should be used with caution due to sample size issues.

There was not a great deal of change in the types of conflicts being reported. In both 2019 and 2024, the most reported were: being undermined or humiliated at work, being shouted at or being in a heated argument, and verbal assault or insult. There was, however, a fall in reports of people being shouted at or being involved in a heated argument at work, from 13% down to 9%. Incidents of other offensive or threatening behaviour also fell from 5% in 2019 to 1% in 2024 (see Table 10).

Conflict (all that apply)	2019 (%)	2024 (%)	% change
Undermined/humiliated	14	12	-2
Shouted at/heated argument	13	9	-4
Verbal abuse or insult	11	8	-3
Discriminatory behaviour	6	5	-1
False allegations	6	4	-2
Intimidation (non-sexual)	6	3	-3
Physical threat	3	2	-1
Unwanted sexual attention	2	2	_
Physical assault (non-sexual)	2	1*	-1
Other offensive/threatening behaviour	5	1*	-4
Sexual assault	—	_	_

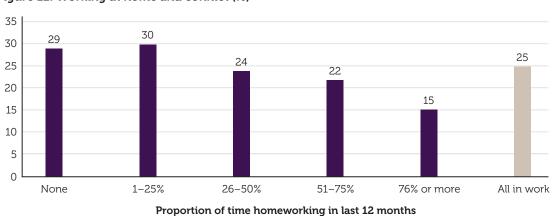
Table 10: Types of conflict

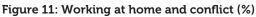
Base: 2019 (n=5,136); 2024 (n=5,496).

Note: * small sample (n=<50).

Why has conflict fallen?

A fall in conflict is welcome, even if it is unevenly distributed. However, rather than any underlying improvement in workplaces, the most important reason is probably the large increase in homeworking since 2019. In 2024, the more time people spend working at home, the less likely they are to report conflict (see Figure 11). For example, just 15% of those who spent 75% or more of their time at home reported conflict, compared with 30% of those who did no work at home or spent 25% or less time at home.





Base: all (n=5,496).

Why homeworking might lower conflict

We only have sufficient sample numbers to look at homeworking by the most common forms of conflict. Only 4% of those who worked at least half their time from home reported being shouted at, compared with 11% who said they did no or little work at home. Similarly, only 3% said they had been verbally abused, compared with 12% of those who did little or no work at home. In contrast, homeworking made much less difference in whether people reported being undermined and humiliated at work or suffered discrimination.

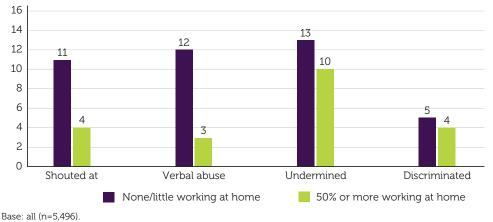


Figure 12: Working at home, by type of conflict (%)

Note: Little is 25% or less. All figures are over the last 12 months.

Figure 12 could indicate a link between higher rates of homeworking and lower rates of conflict that require people to be in physical proximity, such as verbal abuse, being shouted at or getting into heated arguments. The underlying relationship between working at home and conflict is likely to be more complex, given that those who work at home a lot are also likely to be in occupational and age groups which report lower levels of conflict. Nonetheless, it is a plausible explanation of why more homeworking would lead to fewer conflicts being reported.

9 Autonomy and control

Our survey asked about the control and autonomy people have over their work. People had most control over how they did their work, with over 40% saying they had a lot of control and 23% saying they had little or no control. They had less control over the pace at which they did their work, and much less control over the tasks they had to do and start and finish times. For example, while 27% said they had a lot of control over start and finish times, 45% said they had little or none (see Figure 13).

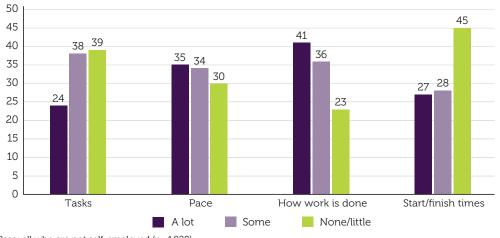


Figure 13: How much control people have over their work (%)

Base: all who are not self-employed (n=4,928).

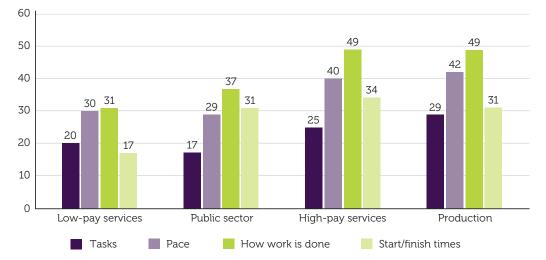
Autonomy and control

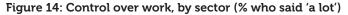
Autonomy by sector

People who work in the private or voluntary sector were more likely to say they have a lot of control over work tasks, the pace of work, and how work is done than people in the public sector. However, people who work in the public and voluntary sectors were more likely to say they have a lot of control over start and finish times than those in the private sector.

The production sector (manufacturing, energy and water, and construction) and some high-wage private sectors (information and communication, and professional and scientific services) have above-average levels of autonomy on most measures, and the low-pay private sector industries (retail and hospitality) and public services have below-average levels. For example, while around 40% of people who work in high-pay services and production industries said they have a lot of control over the pace at which they work, this fell to around 30% in public and low-pay private services. Similarly, while about 50% of people who work in production and high-pay services said they have a lot of control over the figure was just 30% in low-pay services (Figure 14).

In some ways, the public sector looks more like low-pay private services than the high-pay services or production when it comes to control over how work is done. One underlying reason may be that much of the public sector provides common services with common standards and procedures to the general population, and in some areas with centrally imposed targets. This in turn may limit how much autonomy can be given to individuals about the services they provide.





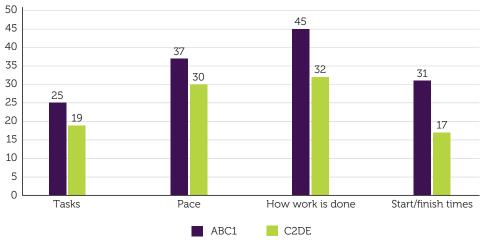
Base: low-pay services (n=1,042); public sector (n=855); high-pay services (n=1,321); production (n=799).

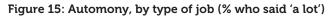
Note: Low-pay services are retail and hospitality; high-pay services are information and communication, professional, scientific and technical services, finance and real estate; production is manufacturing, energy and water, and construction. Autonomy measures are how work is done, the pace at which work is done, and choice over tasks.

Autonomy and control

Autonomy by personal characteristics and socioeconomic group

There is not a huge variation of these measures by personal characteristics such as gender, sexuality, age, disability, or by employment status or tenure. The main exception was between men and women, where men consistently reported higher levels of autonomy than women, most likely reflecting differences in the type of jobs they do. There is a strong association by socioeconomic group, with much higher levels of autonomy for those in the ABC1 socioeconomic group (Figure 15).





Base: ABC1 (n=3,623); C2DE (n=1,225).

Working at home and autonomy

As shown in Figure 16, the survey confirms that those who work at home have significantly higher levels of autonomy than those who don't. There is clearly an association between working at home and greater autonomy, and it is often seen as one of the big advantages of homeworking.

Those who said they have never worked at home had much less autonomy than those who did. It didn't greatly matter how much time people spent at home.

However, we suggest that these differences are because of the sort of jobs homeworkers do, rather than homeworking itself. There has been no significant change in the level of autonomy reported since 2019 for all workers and for those in the ABC1 socioeconomic groups. And it is the ABC1 group which provides most homeworking and has driven the increase in homeworking since the pandemic. Put another way, had we not seen the pandemic-induced surge in homeworking, the results in the 2024 survey on autonomy would not have been very different. This is also likely to be true for most other measures of job quality, which also show little or no change since 2019.

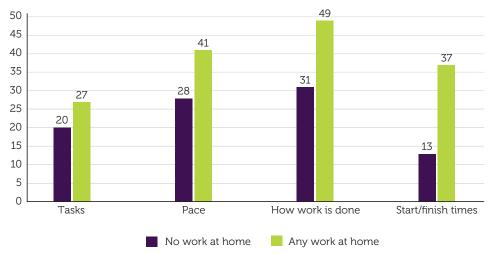


Figure 16: Homeworking and autonomy (% who said 'a lot')

Base: all who spent no time working from home in the last 12 months (n=2,103); all who spent some time working from home in the last 12 months (n=2,825).

10 Skills and training in the workplace

As in previous years, our survey asked people to assess whether their skills match the demands of their job and whether their qualifications correspond to their job. Skills and qualifications are different things, but both measures suggest a significant problem of underskilling and overqualification.

In 2024, 35% of respondents thought they had the skills to do more than their job demands, compared with just 12% who thought they lacked the skills to do their job well (see Figure 17). Similarly, 31% of respondents thought their qualifications exceeded those required by the job, while just 5% said they were underqualified.

There may be some caveats with these questions, as bodies such as the OECD have suggested that people tend to overstate what they can do with their existing skills and qualifications, and have published estimates based on more sophisticated measures.² However, despite this, a significant underlying problem of skill and qualification mismatch remains and, worryingly, there has been no significant change since 2019.

² McGowan, M.A. and Andrews, D. (2015) <u>Skill mismatch and public policy in OECD countries</u>. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

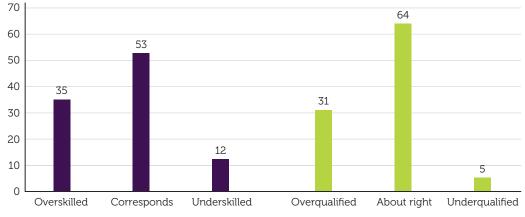


Figure 17: Skills and qualification mismatch (%)

Base: all (n=5,496).

Most people thought they had the training and information they needed to do their job well or develop skills, and most managers agreed they had the training and information to manage their staff well. However, between a fifth and a quarter disagreed. Views on career advancement were less positive, with only 38% of people saying they agreed they had good opportunities at work, with nearly as many (35%) disagreeing. Since 2019, there have been improvements in all of these measures, as shown in Figure 18, and there was no significant change in the numbers who disagreed with these propositions.

There was a significant increase in the proportion who said they had good career development prospects, from 29% to 38%.



Figure 18: Skills, training and careers (% agree)

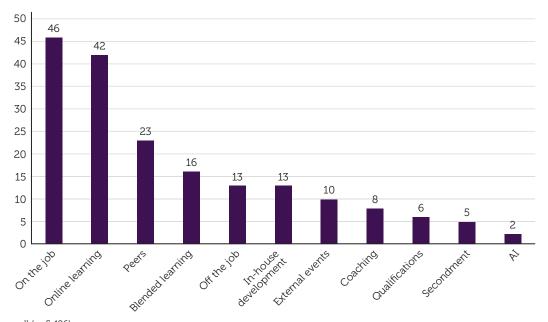
Training received in 2024

Most people said they received some sort of training in the last 12 months (74%). This was most likely to be either online learning (42%) or more informal forms of training and learning, such as on the job (46%) and learning from peers (23%). A tenth said they attended external conferences, events and workshops (see Figure 19).

Training and learning with a more formal element was less frequently mentioned, including blended learning, off-the-job training and in-house development, coaching, getting formal qualifications, and receiving secondment, job shadowing or job rotation opportunities. There was little mention of training or learning specifically about emerging technologies, such as AI or VR – just 2% – though possibly some of this might arise in other forms of learning.

The vast majority said they found these forms of learning and training useful (typically over 90%). There was, however, somewhat less satisfaction with online learning, with 71% saying it was useful and 29% saying it wasn't.

The same question was asked in 2018, but some of the questions have changed so we can only do a partial comparison. The main change is a large increase in online learning, reported by 27% in 2018 and 42% in 2024³ – likely reflecting both underlying growth and the impact of the pandemic. Most other forms of learning did not greatly change. We were, however, unable to compare on-the-job training due to different questions being asked in 2018.





Base: all (n=5,496).

³ The 2018 survey also included the category 'learning on a mobile device', which was not in the 2024 survey. It was, however, reported by only 3% of respondents and so is unlikely to greatly distort the results for learning online.

11 Conclusion and recommendations

Conflict in the workplace has a negative impact on almost every aspect of work measured in this survey. With 25% of the workforce surveyed reporting conflict in the last year, that extrapolates into over 8 million people at work who might be affected by it. Reducing conflict must be part of an overall strategy to improve work quality. It is especially important for those with protected characteristics, who have above-average incidence of conflict and have seen no improvement over the last five years.

The main focus should be on the role of the line manager and the people function, because it is at the workplace level that most conflicts arise, where the impacts are felt, and where they are resolved or not. Thankfully, very few conflicts ever escalate to formal grievances, mediation, or industrial tribunal.

Legislative reforms and improvements in how these more formal processes operate are helpful and can address the worst abuses, but our contention is that they are unlikely to greatly reduce the overall incidence of lower-level conflict in the workplace.

Investing in line management training to deal with conflict effectively and address underlying causes, such as poor team practices, is likely to be more effective. The fact that working relations with line managers and colleagues seem fairly robust – even when conflicts arise – suggests a solid base that further support and development can be built on.

In doing so, we are clear that reducing conflict as defined in this survey cannot be at the expense of suppressing healthy challenge or reconciling different viewpoints and perspectives that inevitably arise in workplaces and that often lead to better solutions and more productive outcomes.⁴

Reducing conflict cannot, however, be done just by looking at process and management. Just as conflict leads to worse outcomes, poor work practices lead to more conflict. A successful workplace-based approach will seek to identify and address underlying causes of conflict, such as excessive workloads, exhaustion and pressure.

A practical initiative the CIPD has advocated for some years is to provide locally delivered business support services to SMEs on HR and people management issues, through key stakeholders and established business networks. The CIPD's <u>People Skills</u> pilots have shown that a limited amount of free 'pump-priming' HR consultancy support to small firms can not only build owner-manager confidence and people management capability, but also deliver positive outcomes for their staff.

⁴ See for example: CIPD. (2020) <u>Shifting the perception of workplace conflict</u>. Podcast. 2 June.

Overskilling and overgualification remain significant drags on realising the workforce's full potential and show no sign of improvement. Increasing job demands so the skills that people already have are used better will help, but we also need to address broader questions about the supply of skills and gualifications. Successive governments have struggled to create a robust training infrastructure outside the university system, and it remains a longterm challenge for the next government.

Some incremental changes could, however, be made relatively quickly to build on existing initiatives to improve skills investment for young people and older workers. Making the Apprenticeship Levy more flexible would give firms and organisations more scope to respond in ways that meet the needs of the business and learners more effectively.

There has been growing concern at the increase in the economically inactive due to long-term sickness and the associated rise in welfare bills since 2019.⁵ Our survey suggests this has little to do with work making people sicker. However, the survey also shows that not all jobs are good for you: 25% of those in work report negative impacts on mental and physical health. A fully coherent policy response requires a revitalised good work policy building on previous government initiatives.

The 2024 survey shows (as have all previous surveys) there has been little progress on raising job guality since the UK Government's Good Work Plan was published in 2018, setting out a vision of the UK's future labour market. There is a great deal of positive practice and outcomes to build on – most people have a good experience at work and have good relations with managers and colleagues – but for a large minority, there are significant shortcomings that are still to be addressed.

12 About this report

This survey report is based on the seventh annual UK Working Lives survey. The report's central purpose is to set out how people work, what they think about it, and how that has changed over the last five years. It achieves this by capturing data on seven dimensions of work to define what good work looks like.

The 2024 survey was conducted in January and February 2024 and provides a total sample of 5,496 (unweighted figure) workers. To make the samples representative of the UK as a whole, guotas were used to target the sample, and subsequent weights based on ONS figures were applied to the dataset. The sample is representative of the UK workforce in: the intersection of gender by full- or part-time work status; organisation size within sector; industry; and age.

A subsample of approximately 1,000 of the 2019 respondents have since been resurveyed in 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023 and 2024, allowing us to observe how the quality of work evolves within jobs.

⁵ Those of working age (16–64) who are not in work or actively seeking work. Gov.uk. (2024) Disability benefits system to be reviewed as PM outlines 'moral mission' to reform welfare. Press release. 19 April.

Table 11: Breakdown of sample, by country and region

Region	
North England	892
Midlands	666
East England	372
London	553
South England	994
Wales	505
Scotland	1,006
Northern Ireland	499





The Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development 151 The Broadway London SW19 1JQ United Kingdom T +44 (0)20 8612 6200 F +44 (0)20 8612 6201 E cipd@cipd.co.uk W cipd.org

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