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The Living Wage in Higher Education: Anatomy of a Social Justice Campaign

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Introduction

Since 2011 89 British universities (49 per cent) have been accredited by the Living Wage Foundation as Living Wage Employers. In so doing they commit to paying the Living Wage – currently £14.80 in London and £13.45 an hour in the rest of the UK – to all direct employees and to employees of contractors who work on their premises, such as cleaners and catering staff. Accredited universities are drawn from all categories and include research-led members of the Russell Group, former polytechnics, specialist institutions in the creative arts, and foreign universities with campuses in the UK. The Living Wage standard has also percolated through the broader higher education system and has been adopted by Oxbridge colleges, research institutes, funding bodies, and students’ unions. Higher education has proved especially responsive to the Living Wage: a hotspot in the wider national campaign to spread the standard.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the campaign to spread the Living Wage in higher education. In the first place, we examine campaign methods, seeking to identify the balance between more adversarial methods and those which are ‘business-friendly’ and try to elicit voluntary compliance. A focus on methods naturally encompasses consideration of the institutional actors involved in campaigning, and we explore the extent to which civil society organizations, end-users and trade unions - new and traditional actors - have contributed to Living Wage campaigning in higher education (Williams, 2024). This focus on actors necessarily raises the question of coalition, often identified as an essential component of social justice campaigning (Holgate, 2015), and we identify the extent to which different actors have worked together to promote the Living Wage. Finally, we consider the question of the different scales at which campaigning has taken place, ranging from ‘bottom-up’ attempts to pressure individual universities into adopting the standard to initiatives targeting the industry as a whole or focused on specific nations, regions and cities. Scaling up has been an important feature of the campaign and has often been the work of public authorities, such as the devolved nations and regions. The Living Wage is a voluntary standard emanating from civil society, but its spread in higher education is partly due to state intervention and we identify which branches of the state have become involved and what methods they have used.

Our second broad objective is to identify the outcomes of the Living Wage campaign in higher education, using a variety of indicators. The first indicator is Living Wage accreditation; whether universities have signed a license agreement with the Living Wage Foundation which formally commits them to applying the standard both to their own employees and to employees of contractors. Accreditation of this kind is a common feature of standards like the Living Wage (Demougin *et al.*, 2021), which rely on voluntary compliance by employers, and we present evidence of the degree to which accreditation of universities is associated with specific campaign methods. The second indicator concerns the redistributive impact of the campaign. Scepticism is often expressed about the value of voluntary labour standards (Hoque *et al.*, 2024), and to gauge whether this is warranted we present estimates of the number of workers in higher education who have received a Living Wage pay increase, the value of that increase expressed as a percentage increase in hourly pay, and the proportion of workers at accredited institutions who have benefited. The third indicator consists of evidence of ‘second order effects’ stemming from the campaign (Johnson, 2017). We present findings on the extent to which the campaign has uplifted pay beyond the ranks of accredited universities, whether it has led to other substantive changes, such as the return of outsourced jobs in-house, and whether it has generated organizational effects, including the spread of trade union organization amongst low-wage university employees.

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Social justice campaigns have become a more important feature of industrial relations in developed economies in recent years (Bernhardt and Osterman, 2017). Our concern below is to anatomize one such campaign, enumerating the range of methods and actors involved and the scales at which campaigning activity has taken place. We are also concerned with outputs; with measuring the success of the campaign and identifying which methods have seemingly been effective. There is a long tradition in industrial relations research, of examining processes of change, such as strikes and collective bargaining. Our aim is to extend this tradition to include the analysis of social justice campaigning.

Research on the Living Wage

Since the inception of the Living Wage campaign in 2001, a growing body of research has surveyed its progress. Researchers have provided an overview of the campaign and how it has changed over time (Bunyan, 2016), examined its impact in specific industries (Prowse and Fells, 2016) and reviewed the response of employers, including testing for putative business benefits (Werner, 2022). They have also addressed the two broad issues identified above: campaign methods and the redistributive impact of the Living Wage.

With regard to methods, the primary research focus has been on what can be labelled 'bottom-up' methods, attempts to mobilize pressure to compel employers to adopt the Living Wage. One strand in this research has focused on community organizing and the mobilization of external community institutions, such as religious congregations, by Living Wage campaigners. Early studies of the implementation of the Living Wage in universities emphasized the efficacy of this approach (Lopes and Hall, 2016; Wills, 2009), and according to some reliance on community mobilization has been a distinguishing feature of the Living Wage campaign in higher education, differentiating it from other industries (Prowse *et al.*, 2017). A feature of this strand has been to identify a rather fraught relationship between the campaign and trade unions, noting opposition from the latter and the absence of the kind of union-community coalition advocated in the wider literature on union renewal.

A second strand of research on campaign methods has placed trade unions centre stage. Prowse and Fells' (2016) study of the Living Wage in local government emphasizes the role of the GMB in spreading the standard, through its established links with the Labour Party and its institutional rights to collective bargaining and consultation within councils. While this study points to the efficacy of traditional trade unionism, a different take can be seen in research on new 'indie' unions, such as the Independent Workers' Union of Great Britain (IWGB). A largely positive literature has emerged, celebrating these new union actors, which emphasizes their militancy, mobilizing capacity and success in organizing low-wage, migrant workers, often though not exclusively in campaigns to secure the Living Wage (Alberti, 2016; Hearn and Bergos, 2011). Effective social justice campaigning, it is implied in this work, requires new unions.

While researchers have noted the reliance of the campaign on 'business friendly' methods (Howard, 2022), these have been subject to limited evaluation. What has been noted, however, is the frequent receptiveness of employers to the Living Wage campaign. Studies of the Living Wage in higher education have identified relatively favourable responses to campaign activity from senior management, which have eased the path to accreditation (Carson, 2022; Lopes and Hall, 2016). In other industries, researchers have identified not just the receptiveness of employers to the campaign but their part in initiating accreditation. Prowse and Dobbins (2022) case study of Luton Town FC points to the key role played by the chief executive and motivates grounded in commitment to acting as 'good employer' and investing in the club's local community. It can be noted, however, that identification of this initiatory role has been restricted to research on individual employers.

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Researchers have not examined the involvement of collective employers’ organizations within the campaign, either traditional employers’ associations or ‘mission-driven’ organizations promoting responsible business practice (Gooberman *et al.*, 2017).

A final aspect of campaign methods that has attracted the attention of researchers is the involvement of public authorities. Special emphasis has been placed on the part of played by devolved authorities in promoting the Living Wage; the national governments of Scotland and Wales and English regional authorities such as those of Greater Manchester and London. In the absence of the right to legislate on employment standards, it has been pointed out that these authorities have necessarily relied upon relatively weak forms of intervention to promote the Living Wage, such as voluntary employment charters that include the standard. Researchers have offered differing assessments of how effective these instruments have proved to be. These assessments range from the broadly positive (Hann and Nash, 2026), through the more guarded (Herman and Johnson, 2025), to the largely negative (Cunningham *et al.*, 2022). There is widespread recognition of the role of public authorities in promoting the Living Wage, therefore, but an absence of consensus about the effectiveness of the soft regulation that has been used.

The second broad objective of our research, assessing the redistributive outcomes of the campaign, has been less widely addressed in prior research, possibly because of the primary reliance on case study methodology. There are few detailed attempts to measure how many workers have benefited from the Living Wage and to what degree. Where researchers have addressed the question of outcomes, moreover they have tended to minimize the latter. Thus, Herman and Johnson’s (2025) case studies of the Living Wage in care homes in Manchester, notes that workers received an increase in pay but that for some this was diminished through resulting reduction of benefits and failed to lead to an appreciable improvement of living standards because it was swamped by the wider cost-of-living crisis. Cunningham *et al.*’s (2022) study of social care in Scotland also points to limited gains, noting that the relative pay of care workers was not improved as employers in other industries matched the increase and that social care employers sought to recoup their costs by making other changes to employment conditions. Finally, Johnson’s (2017) study of the Living Wage in local councils, points to improvements in hourly pay for both direct and indirect workers, but also notes the resulting compression of differentials, contractors funding the higher rate of pay through reduced hours, and the relative absence of ‘second-order’ effects; most notably a lack of attempts by unions to use the campaign to develop organization amongst outsourced workers. The image of the campaign that emerges from these studies is of a rather weak intervention.

Research Methods

The main research instrument that we have used to examine the Living Wage campaign and its redistributive effects is a dataset of all UK universities, a kind of population survey. This dataset includes information on whether universities are accredited employers and, if they are, how many and which types of workers have benefited. It also includes information on whether universities have been exposed to specific campaigning methods. These methods include ‘bottom-up’ attempts to secure the Living Wage by Citizens UK, the community organizing network behind the campaign, students’ unions and trade union branches. They also include exposure to attempts by public authorities to spread the Living Wage; for example, whether a university is based in a city where the regional combined authority has introduced a good employment charter. Another indicator of ‘exposure’ is university membership of mission-driven organizations, such as the Civic University Network which promotes the civic mission of universities in their local communities; a seeming measure of

employer susceptibility to Living Wage campaigning. The key feature of the dataset is that it combines in one source, information on university adoption of the Living Wage and exposure to a range of campaign methods.

Populating this database has been relatively straightforward, as most of the information it includes is in the public domain or has been supplied to us by the Living Wage Foundation. It should be noted, however, that the data on 'bottom-up' campaigning, i.e. whether a university has been encouraged to adopt the Living Wage by Citizens UK, students or trade unions, has primarily been obtained through internet searches, supplemented by published sources and information provided by campaigners and personal contacts at universities. This method has yielded valuable information on Living Wage campaigning within the sector, but its weakness is that it is likely to produce 'false negatives'; i.e. to fail to identify all cases in which universities have experienced an approach of this kind. Despite this weakness, we are confident that we have produced fairly accurate, reliable estimates of the extent of 'bottom-up' campaigning activity within higher education.

While the database is the primary research tool that has been used, we have also employed other methods. The research in higher education is part of a broader study of the Living Wage campaign, which has encompassed extensive interviewing and observation of campaign events and meetings (Heery *et al.*, 2023). Interviews have been carried out with employers, union representatives and campaigners, including HR managers at two universities and representatives of UNISON, UCU and UCEA. We have also been participant observers within the higher education campaign, taking part in community-led campaigning, attending campaign planning sessions and public meetings and providing research support to the Higher Education Community of Practice, established by Citizens UK in 2023 to boost accreditation among universities. A final source of information is made up of archival sources, including published material on the websites of Citizens UK, the Living Wage Foundation, UNISON, 'indie unions' such as IWGB, and news websites that have reported on the spread of the Living Wage in higher education.

The spine of the project, therefore, is comprised of quantitative information that allows us to count how many universities have been exposed to the various methods used in the campaign and to provide reliable estimates of campaign outcomes. This spine is surrounded by qualitative evidence, however, which furnishes illustrative examples, insight into motives, and evidence of developments that do not lend themselves to quantification. We have tried to tell the story of the campaign in-the-round and consequently have made use of a mixed-method research design.

Campaign Methods

Table I presents information on the frequency with which universities have been exposed to different campaign methods. It also shows the rate of accreditation amongst employers exposed to each method, a crude indicator of campaign success. A variety of methods are included in the table, which have been developed by different types of institutional actors. First, are 'bottom-up' methods, including campaigns launched by local chapters of Citizens UK, student unions, and trade union branches, which are intended to pressure individual universities into adopting the Living Wage. Second, are 'employer-friendly' initiatives, launched by the Living Wage Foundation, the employer-facing division within Citizens UK which promotes the Living Wage and accredits employers. The data in the table refer to the Foundation's Living Wage Places scheme, which relies upon employer-led campaigns to build support for the Living Wage in specific boroughs, cities, and city-regions. As we will see below, the Foundation has developed other employer-friendly initiatives, targeted directly at universities on which we have not been able to gather quantitative information. The third

group of methods are those developed by public authorities seeking to spread the Living Wage in their areas of jurisdiction. These include methods that are specific to higher education as well as more general initiatives aimed at employers more broadly. The final rows in the table present data on university participation in the Citizens UK network and membership of issue-based organizations that seek to promote civic partnership. In some cases, these organizations may have encouraged universities to adopt the Living Wage, but membership can also be regarded as an indicator of the strength of a university's civic mission and its receptiveness to the other methods listed in the table.

INSERT TABLE I HERE

Bottom-up campaigning

We have been able to gather evidence of bottom-up campaigning at a third of UK universities and at approximately half of those that have been accredited as Living Wage Employers. There is prima facie evidence in Table I that many of these campaigns have reached a successful outcome with universities agreeing to adopt the Living Wage. Campaigns involving Citizens UK are especially likely to have resulted in accreditation.

There is evidence in the table therefore, that campaigning of this kind works, but it is also apparent that attempts to pressure universities into Living Wage accreditation are neither necessary nor sufficient. Our evidence indicates that more than 40 universities have adopted the Living Wage without encountering upward pressure from campaigners. The HR Director at a large teaching university accredited in 2016, said that management had experienced no pressure from students or trade unions to adopt the Living Wage and there was no Citizens UK chapter in the city where the university is based. Knowledge of the Living Wage was first gained at a regional briefing run by the Universities and Colleges Employers' Association (UCEA), and this led to the HR function seeking approval from university leadership to develop a proposal for accreditation. In this, and we suspect other cases, the intention to adopt the standard originated within management, independently of campaign pressure.

When there has been campaigning pressure, moreover, this has not always generated a successful outcome. Several universities, including Birmingham, Leeds, and Imperial, have been resolute in rejecting Living Wage accreditation despite sustained pressure from Citizens UK, students and trade unions. In other cases, such as Swansea, prolonged bottom-up campaigning led to accreditation but only after the senior leadership of the university was replaced by a new team, more receptive to the Living Wage. In a third set of universities the initial reaction of university leadership was favourable and campaigning activity was correspondingly short (Carson, 2022; Lopes and Hall, 2016; Wills, 2009). What this pattern suggests is that if bottom-up campaigning is to prove effective it may have to be initiated in a favourable context and that the response of the employer is a key determinant of campaign outcomes. This finding accords with a long tradition of industrial relations research which points to the determining influence of employer policy on processes such as union organizing and union recognition (Bain, 1970).

Table I indicates that three types of institutional actor have been involved in bottom-up campaigning, each of which has developed a distinctive approach. Local chapters of Citizens UK are a quintessential 'new industrial relations actor', a transposition of the American community organizing movement that arrived in Britain in the 1980s and launched the Living Wage campaign in 2001 (Howard, 2022; Williams, 2024). Citizens UK is a meta-organization, and its chapters are composed of other organizations that have affiliated to its network. Faith organizations, from a variety of religions and denominations, are especially

prominent, but chapters also include local community organizations, educational institutions, including universities and university departments, local service providers, and trade union branches. There are currently twenty chapters, which cover all of Wales and much of England. All chapters are supported by professional community organizers, and it is these organizers who have played a central role in launching and coordinating Living Wage campaigns within universities.

Citizens UK chapters have used a distinctive repertoire of campaign methods that have been developed within the community organizing movement (Walls, 2015). These methods include the following: 1) Identifying campaign 'leaders' through one-to-one interviews who are then trained in community organizing practice. Leaders may be drawn from low-paid workers but have also included students and members of academic staff; 2) Using themed 'actions' to highlight the issue of low-pay within the university, which can include demonstrating, petitioning or elements of street theatre; 3) Collecting testimony from low-paid university workers about the difficulties of life on low-pay, which may be delivered in public meetings, meetings with management or recorded on video and distributed through social media; 4) Developing a coalition of supporters both within and outside the university, who can take part in actions and exert pressure on university leaders. Faith leaders have sometimes been prominent in these coalitions, writing to Vice-Chancellors about the impact of low-pay on local communities and the pressing need for the Living Wage (Lopes and Hall, 2016); 5) Seeking meetings between management, organizers and community leaders to discuss Living Wage accreditation and facilitate contact with the Living Wage Foundation; 6) Thanking university leaders publicly when the Living Wage is formally adopted, often through worker testimony. In one case we witnessed a distinctly embarrassed university HR Director having a garland placed round her neck by a delegation of cleaners. As this example illustrates, Citizens UK's approach to campaigning is not highly adversarial. Actions are often whimsical rather than disruptive – at Nottingham University campaigners held a 'clean-in', bringing cleaning equipment and publicly cleaning the building where the Vice-Chancellor is based – and campaigns typically are not confrontational, relying instead on shaming or embarrassing university leaders and seeking repeatedly to initiate dialogue.

A second institutional actor involved in bottom-up campaigning is comprised of end-users within higher education, a category that has not featured previously in Living Wage research (Williams, 2024). Students have played a part in advocating higher labour standards, most notably in the case of United Students Against Sweatshops in the USA (Wimberley *et al.*, 2024), and they have been active in the Living Wage campaign. In 2012, the National Union of Students (NUS) launched a joint campaign with UNISON to spread the Living Wage amongst UK universities, and this prompted campus-level activity at Manchester, Nottingham, Reading and other institutions (UNISON/NUS, 2014). Socialist societies and other left groups amongst students have typically been at the heart of this activity and it has drawn upon the established techniques of student radicalism: passing motions at student assemblies, demonstrating, picketing and petitioning, writing to university leaders, and using student newspapers to highlight the issue of low pay. As with Citizens UK, campaigns have sought to discomfit university leaders, often drawing a contrast between the salaries of senior management and the low pay of outsourced university staff. At Reading, we were told the campaign had fixed on the fact that those employed to contact wealthy alumni to solicit donations were paid below the Living Wage. Another notable feature of student campaigning is that students' organizations have themselves become Living Wage accredited. NUS is a Living Wage Employer, and a total of 49 campus-level unions have been accredited at some point during the scheme's life. There is some evidence that student union accreditation can stimulate Living Wage adoption by universities: there

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are 33 cases where both union and university are accredited and in 20 of these the student body was accredited either before or in the same year as the university.

The third actor engaged in bottom-up campaigning are trade unions, identified as pressing for the Living Wage in just over a quarter of UK universities and in about a third of those that have been accredited. As was noted above, other research has shown that unions have played an important part in spreading the Living Wage in other branches of public service and the evidence in Table I reveals a similar pattern, demonstrating that traditional industrial relations actors have been participants in the campaign. All higher education unions have supported the Living Wage campaign, but UNISON has been most active, reflecting its long tradition of action on low pay. As we have seen, UNISON launched a joint initiative with NUS in 2012 and in the period since it has continued to provide advice to local branches on negotiating Living Wage agreements (UNISON, 2025). UNISON's approach to campaigning can be characterized as one of 'appropriation' (Heery *et al.*, 2023), in that it has often acted independently of Citizens UK and the Living Wage Foundation and used the established machinery of consultation and negotiation to progress the issue with university employers. At national level it has sought, so far unsuccessfully, to secure an agreement committing all universities to Living Wage accreditation and at local level has had some success either in negotiating local agreements or persuading universities to adopt the Living Wage unilaterally. Reflecting this orientation, UNISON has drawn upon its traditional repertoire for pursuing claims within public services, resorting on several occasions to strike ballots and using political contacts in the Labour Party to exert pressure on university leaders. It has also relied upon its status as a recognized representative body within universities to monitor management implementation of the Living Wage, correcting failings where the terms of the employer's license agreement with the Living Wage Foundation have not been fully adhered to. UNISON activists have worked with Citizens UK and students to promote the Living Wage, engaging in joint campaigning activity, but the main thrust of its efforts have been to incorporate the issue of the Living Wage within the established routines of industrial relations.

Other unions have worked alongside UNISON in joint negotiating and consultative bodies to try to secure acceptance of the Living Wage and in some cases have taken the lead role. The University and College Union's (UCU) involvement has been especially noticeable and has differed somewhat from that of UNISON. Its involvement has often taken the form of activist participation in campaigns initiated by local chapters of Citizens UK. Supportive action of this kind – an expression of solidarity with low-paid workers beyond the union's own constituency – was a feature of the early effort at QMUL as well as at several provincial universities as the campaign spread beyond London (Wills, 2009). UCU members were participants in the cleaning 'action' at Nottingham.

Another set of distinctive union contributors to the campaign have been the 'indie unions', IWGB, United Voices of the World (UVW) and the Cleaners & Allied Independent Workers' Union (CAIWU). These militant, breakaway unions have been active in promoting the London Living Wage and we estimate have had a presence at eleven London universities (Alberti and Però, 2018; Però, 2019). In most of these universities, however, the Living Wage had been adopted by the employer before indie unions became active. The exceptions are the Royal College of Art, which has subsequently become a Living Wage Employer, the Royal College of Music which has not, and the University of Greenwich where members of both UVW and IWGB took strike action to secure payment of the London Living Wage in 2020. The attempts of indie unions to spread the Living Wage have been militant, making use of strike action, picketing, demonstrations, occupations and other forms of mobilization (Hearn and Bergos, 2011). They have also been expressed through adversarial

language, accusing universities and the contractors who deliver outsourced services of exploitation, malpractice, and victimization. Their rhetoric contrasts markedly with the much softer language used by Citizens UK.

The final row in Table I shows that just under a half of bottom-up campaigns involve two or more actors. The success rate of these joint campaigns is higher (82.8 per cent) than that for campaigns involving only a single actor (60.6 per cent), underlining the value of coalition as a campaign strategy. In some cases, the cooperation forged in the campaign has led to an enduring relationship. Sunderland UNISON and Nottingham UCU have affiliated to their local chapter of Citizens UK, as have several students' unions. In most cases, though the relationships have endured only for the span of the campaign and have taken the form of what have been labelled 'ad hoc coalitions' (Prowse *et al.*, 2017).

Employer-friendly campaigning

Since the creation of the accreditation scheme in 2011, the dominant approach to spreading the Living Wage has been through 'employer-friendly campaigning', in which the Living Wage Foundation and its partners in Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales seek to persuade employers that it is both their civic duty and in their own interests to adopt the standard. Significantly, these employer-facing accrediting bodies do not become involved in the kind of bottom-up campaigns described above, leaving these to Citizens UK. The Living Wage Places scheme incorporates this principle of employer-friendly campaigning. The scheme is based around action plans that seek to raise the level of accreditation in towns, cities, zones, boroughs and city-regions, with the plan devised by and implemented through employer-led action groups. Recruitment of new employers is often done through employer-peers and there is an emphasis on involving 'anchor institutions' in the scheme; that is large local public service organizations, major businesses, and culturally significant organizations, such as sports teams and arts institutions, which can use their financial resources and influencing power to spread the Living Wage locally.

Table I shows that nearly half of UK universities are found in places where there has been a Living Wage Places initiative and nearly 60 per cent of these universities have become accredited Living Wage Employers. There is *prima facie* evidence that employer-friendly campaigning, in the form of the Living Wage Places scheme, has been effective. It is also notable that initiatives which cover a smaller geographical area and are focused on a specific city or borough register the highest level of accreditation success. In these cases, the accreditation rate among universities climbs above 70 per cent.

It is important to note, however, that several universities are members of Living Wage Places action groups and that they signed up to the Living Wage before the latter were created. Examples include Bristol, Cardiff, London Metropolitan, Newcastle, and Salford. There is a degree of reverse causality therefore, reflecting the fact that universities can number amongst the anchor institutions developing a Living Wage Places campaign. Other universities in these areas though, such as Cardiff Metropolitan, Northumbria and West of England, have become accredited following a Living Wage City launch and action groups have often targeted non-accredited universities as major employers within their locality. In some cases, university members of action groups have helped recruit their non-accredited university peers.

The Living Wage Places scheme is not the only example of an employer-friendly initiative that has targeted universities. In 2023 Citizens UK brought together a Higher Education Community of Practice, made up of senior university managers, consultants, a retired politician with contacts throughout the sector, and academics with an interest in the

Living Wage. The purpose of the group was to ensure all major UK universities became accredited Living Wage Employers by 2028. It sought to do this by connecting the Living Wage to the ‘civic mission’ of universities, arguing in the words of one of its members that adopting the standard, ‘is an entry level hygiene factor to being civic...that paying and being accredited...provides a robust assessment of an institution’s commitment to its local population’ (Grant, 2023). It was further suggested that universities that have proclaimed a civic mission but have not become accredited as Living Wage Employers are engaging in ‘civic washing’.

The group effectively disbanded in 2025, but in its two years of activity it employed a variety of campaigning methods. Freedom of Information requests were used to identify universities that were paying the Living Wage, but which had not been formally accredited, partly to identify receptive targets. Members of the group spoke at industry conferences, wrote articles, and gave presentations and an attempt was made to forge alliances with students’ unions at targeted universities. There was also a largely unsuccessful attempt to develop partnerships with employers’ organizations such as Universities UK, the University & Colleges Employers’ Association (UCEA) and London Higher. Most of these approaches were rebuffed and though meetings took place with some organizations they failed to result in employer bodies endorsing the Living Wage and helping to promote its spread amongst member institutions. Rather more successful were direct approaches to individual universities, which often were facilitated by existing personal contacts between group members and university leaders. Approaches of this kind were directed at Brunel, City St George’s, Derby, Lancashire, Lancaster, Leicester, Nottingham Trent, Reading, Royal Holloway, Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam, West London, and Westminster. Several of these universities have subsequently been accredited as Living Wage Employers. Peer-to-peer recruitment at leadership level, without recourse to bottom-up campaigning, has helped spread the Living Wage in higher education.

Pressure from public authorities

Although the Living Wage is an example of non-statutory civil regulation, its spread has often depended on support from public authorities, with devolved national governments and English regional authorities playing a central part (Hann and Nash, 2026; Heery *et al.*, 2020). Table I shows the extent to which universities in all parts of the UK have been exposed to attempts by public authorities to promote the Living Wage. The first row of data includes information on two types of initiative that have been targeted directly at universities. The first is the issuing of ‘remit letters’ to funding bodies by the Scottish and Welsh Governments which express an expectation that all higher education institutions will adopt the Living Wage. This initiative has seemingly been effective. All Welsh universities have been accredited Living Wage Employers since 2020 and 14 of 18 Scottish universities (77.8 per cent) have joined the scheme, as have nine of the constituent colleges of the University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI). The other type of initiative is the creation of Civic University Partnerships, agreed with local or regional authorities, which commit university signatories to adopt the Living Wage. Greater Manchester’s Civic University Agreement, for example, includes a commitment of this kind covering the city’s five universities, four of which are accredited. The evidence in the table suggests that these kinds of targeted approaches by public authorities have been effective in spreading the Living Wage amongst universities.

The other data on university exposure to initiatives by public authorities refer to a general initiative that is not directed explicitly at higher education. This is the adoption of a fair employment charter by city region authorities, such as the Greater London Authority’s Good Work Standard (Hann and Nash, 2026). Charters of this kind have been adopted by

several combined authorities in recent years, and they invariably require supporting employers to pay the Living Wage (Herman and Johnson, 2025). The table shows that more than 40 per cent of universities are located in parts of the country covered by a standard of this type but that fewer than half of these institutions have become Living Wage accredited. Some universities have signed up to regional charters – Bath Spa, Durham, Liverpool, Liverpool Hope, Manchester Metropolitan, Salford - but the evidence suggests that this indirect method, covering a broad area has been less effective in promoting the spread of accreditation in higher education.

Civic university mission

It is not unusual for university leaders to reference their institution's civic mission when announcing their accreditation as a Living Wage Employer and the widespread declaration of a civic mission may make universities susceptible to the messages of campaigners and public authorities seeking to spread the Living Wage. To explore this issue, we collected data on the extent to which universities are affiliated to mission-based organizations that promote civic engagement and whether an affiliation of this kind is associated with Living Wage accreditation.

The results shown in Table I are mixed. The accreditation rate amongst participants in the Civic University Network is only marginally above those for the general population of higher education institutions. There is a high rate of accreditation, however, amongst the small number of universities that are members of Business in the Community and nearly two-thirds of institutions affiliated to local chapters of Citizens UK have signed up. It is not the case that Living Wage accreditation has been accepted as a 'hygiene factor' among universities with a declared civic mission, but there is some quantitative evidence that a mission of this kind can incline universities to adopt the standard.

Higher education is an industry with a high level of collective organization amongst employers. In addition to the mission-based organizations listed in Table I, there is an industrywide 'trade association', Universities UK, and specialist organizations representing specific types of university or universities in different parts of the country. There is also an employers' association, UCEA, which has most universities in membership. None of these organizations is formally accredited as a Living Wage Employer, something which distinguishes higher education from other public services, and they have tended to adopt a position of formal neutrality towards the standard, regarding it as a matter for individual member institutions, when they have considered it at all. It is nevertheless the case that at least some of these organizations have helped spread the Living Wage.

UCEA is a case in point. The association has consistently refused to negotiate a Living Wage agreement with the higher education unions, but it has taken steps to facilitate its adoption by individual institutions. It has agreed to the bottom-loading of pay agreements and the elimination of the lowest points on the industry salary scale, produced figures to allow universities to benchmark their annual salaries against the hourly Living Wage rates, and has organized member briefings on the Living Wage. Shortly after the introduction of the accreditation scheme in 2011, UCEA ran a joint event with the Living Wage Foundation, attended by representatives from about fifty universities, which explained how the Living Wage was calculated and heard from universities that had adopted it. 'Following that', we were told, 'we did get a lot of people going down the accreditation route' (UCEA Interview, 2016); the teaching university referred to above being a case in point. It is not just mission-driven employers' organizations that have predisposed universities to Living Wage accreditation therefore, more traditional bodies have done so as well.

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Campaign Outcomes

Although the Community of Practice objective of accrediting all major universities has not been attained, higher education has a high level of support for the Living Wage and, despite the severe financial crisis affecting the sector this support at present remains firm. Table II presents further data on the outcomes of the campaign, focusing on its redistributive effect. It contains information on the number and types of workers that have benefited from a Living Wage pay increase, the percentage of beneficiaries within individual universities, a measure of redistribution at employer level, and the percentage increase in hourly pay received by beneficiaries, an individual level measure of redistributive impact.

INSERT TABLE II HERE

The table shows that universities have reported that more than 20,000 low paid workers have received a pay increase, bringing their hourly pay up to the Living Wage rate. It was noted above that the Living Wage has spread to other employers in higher education and many of these have also reported substantial impact. Across the 49 students' unions that have joined the scheme it is reported that 2,254 employees received a pay uplift, while the 34 university colleges that have joined report that 1,209 employees have gained. If these figures are added to those from universities, then more than 25,000 workers within the sector have gained directly from the accreditation scheme.

In universities, about two-thirds of those gaining from the scheme are part-time workers, nearly a third are indirect employees working for contractors, while about a fifth are based in the capital and have received the higher London Living Wage. Universities do not provide reports of the sex and ethnicity of Living Wage recipients, but the high number of part-time workers suggests that many low paid working women have been recipients of the Living Wage, while migrant and minority workers often perform the kind of outsourced service jobs that have also been affected by the scheme.

The figures on employer-level impact show the median reported number of Living Wage recipients and this figure expressed as a percentage of direct headcount. The median reported number of recipients for universities is 178, though this figure masks considerable variation. A small number of universities report no beneficiaries – all workers were paid the Living Wage prior to accreditation – while some report that several hundred have benefited. These differences probably reflect the extent to which universities have outsourced support services, such as cleaning and catering: the impact ratio is higher where universities report that contract workers benefited from the scheme. The median percentage figure is just above five per cent, reflecting the fact that universities employ relatively few low paid workers.

The final column in Table II indicates that workers have generally received a substantial uplift in their hourly rate of pay through Living Wage accreditation. Across universities the median percentage increase is just above 10 per cent, while a higher percentage increase has been recorded for part-time workers, contract workers, and those receiving the London Living Wage. One reason why pay-increases have been substantial is that many of those affected were being paid the statutory minimum wage prior to Living Wage accreditation. More than half of all universities who provided information on pay rates (54.3 per cent) were paying at least some workers the statutory minimum and in most of these cases all workers were paid at this level. The evidence points to the function of voluntary standards as being to elevate conditions of employment above minimum standards required by law.

The data in Table II refer only to accredited universities. There is evidence, however, that many non-accredited employers have adopted the Living Wage, at least for some workers, and that the campaign has generated a 'second-order' effect that extends beyond those that are formally accredited (Johnson, 2017). The FoI research carried out by the Community of Practice revealed that in 2023 39 non-accredited universities paid the Living Wage to direct employees, while eight ensured that it was paid to employees of contractors (Grant, 2024). How many workers have gained through these arrangements it is not possible to say with any accuracy. Reports from individual universities, however, suggest that there may be a substantial number of beneficiaries. At non-accredited Exeter, Nottingham and Teeside it was reported that 337, 745 and 162 workers respectively had received a Living Wage pay increase. If there are similar numbers of beneficiaries at other compliant but non-accredited universities then several thousand additional workers could be added to the aggregate redistributive score.

These estimates indicate that the Living Wage campaign has had a significant redistributive effect in higher education, generating a substantial wage transfer to low paid employees over a period of nearly twenty years. Case study research from other industries, reported above, raises the possibility that the value of this transfer may have been reduced by universities seeking to clawback the cost of the Living Wage through reducing working time or other changes. We have no way of assessing if and with what frequency clawback of this kind has occurred in universities. Other research we have carried out on the general population of Living Wage Employers, however, suggests that attempt to recoup costs in this way are not common (Heery *et al.*, 2022: p.22). We have also encountered cases of universities extending the Living Wage to employees such as short-term agency staff, who are not covered by the terms of their license agreement with the Foundation. This suggests a desire to honour the spirit as well as the letter of the scheme may as equally be a feature of the Living Wage experience as attempts to clawback costs.

Second-order effects

In addition to the ripple effect seen in non-accredited but compliant universities, the campaign might generate second-order effects within accredited employers. We attempted to identify two types of second-order effect. The first type are substantive effects, with accreditation leading to improvement in terms of employment beyond hourly wage rates, while the second are organizational effects, such as the establishment of trade union membership and representation amongst workers receiving the Living Wage. Here we consider, in turn, the pattern of second-order effects generated by campaigns led by Citizens UK and by trade unions.

Community-led campaigns, initiated by Citizens UK, have often drawn low paid workers into campaign activity, taking part in actions and providing testimony. We did not identify cases however, where this involvement led to sustained organization amongst low paid university workers. One reason for this is the nature of Citizens UK as a meta-organization. Individual workers cannot join Citizens UK directly and if there is no workplace organization affiliated to the network, such as a trade union branch, then there is no vehicle through which temporary mobilization can lead to permanent organization.

Neither did we find extensive evidence of Citizens UK campaigns leading to improvements in other employment conditions. One means of effecting change of this kind is through universities signing up to additional standards promoted by the Living Wage Foundation. These standards are designed to broaden the impact of the campaign and are often presented under the rubric of Living Work. Accredited employers can also apply for accreditation for Living Hours, a standard meant to address short and unpredictable hours,

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3 and the Living Pension, a means to improve occupational pension provision for low paid
4 employees. Only one higher education institution has so far received an additional
5 accreditation of this kind: the University of Salford is an accredited Living Pension Employer.
6 Another, city-specific standard developed by Citizens UK is the Ffair Jobs Compact in
7 Cardiff. This scheme commits supporting employers to recruit actively in the Cardiff Bay area
8 of the city, which has a high ethnic minority and migrant population, including the use of
9 name and address-blind applications for employee selection. Thirty Cardiff employers have
10 signed up to the Compact, but again, only one higher education institution has done so:
11 Cardiff University.
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14 The principal second-order effect generated by Living Wage campaigns run by
15 Citizens UK has been to help spread the latter's network of local chapters. As Table I
16 indicates, 27 universities are members of their local chapter and in a further ten cases
17 university departments or campuses have joined. In addition, two university colleges and 14
18 students' unions are chapter members. In some cases, including Cardiff, King's and QMUL,
19 universities became involved in their local chapter following their accreditation as a Living
20 Wage Employer: the campaign leading directly to affiliation. Universities have also played a
21 direct part in building the chapter network and in several chapters, they are identified as
22 founding members or strategic partners.
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25 Universities that have affiliated to Citizens UK chapters have often created degree
26 schemes or modules in community organizing and have involved staff and students in
27 community organizing activities (Wills, 2012). In some cases, this has involved contributing
28 to the Living Wage campaign. In December 2024 King's students taking a 'Social Change
29 Lab' module took part in a South London Citizens action outside the British Film Institute
30 (BFI), alongside local community groups and members of the IWGB union. The action took
31 the form of a mock Oscars ceremony, complete with red carpet, at which workers,
32 campaigners and local accredited employers were given awards, followed by a carol
33 ceremony with changed lyrics: 'Hark the Living Wages Rise', 'We Wish for Accreditation'.
34 Five months later the BFI became an accredited employer. Other affiliated universities where
35 students have taken part in Living Wage campaigning, include Cardiff, Essex, and
36 Westminster. Other local campaigns to which universities have contributed include those
37 aimed at supporting asylum seekers. The effect of involvement in the Citizens network has
38 been to reinforce the civic mission of universities, orienting their activity outwards towards
39 their host communities.
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42 The second-order effects generated by trade unions are rather different, though also
43 are quite limited in scale. One effect has been to develop trade union organization amongst
44 low paid workers benefiting from the Living Wage (Alberti, 2016; Hearn and Bergos, 2011).
45 This change is most apparent amongst the indie unions, which have developed activists,
46 established groups of members at universities, and created overarching branches to
47 coordinate activities. UVW has created a cleaners' section which currently reports members
48 at LSE, while IWGB has a Universities of London branch which reports members at several
49 universities. In addition, CAIWU, an occupational union for cleaners and a breakaway from
50 IWGB, has recruited members at the Royal College of Music and UEL. It is unclear however,
51 how extensive and sustainable are these membership structures – the webpage for IWGB's
52 Universities of London branch has no updates after July 2024 suggesting it has proven
53 difficult to maintain organization over time, while in the past UVW reported members at other
54 London universities, such as Greenwich, but no longer does so. An important factor in this
55 regard is that universities have been reluctant to concede recognition to indie unions and this
56 absence of employer acceptance is likely to make their position precarious.
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A second way in which unions have attempted to generate second-order effects is by linking the Living Wage to other issues within an extended bargaining agenda. When indie unions first became active, they identified the Living Wage as one item within a '3 cosas' campaign, which also included equalizing employment benefits for contract workers and returning jobs in-house (Alberti, 2016). At universities where the Living Wage has been conceded, putting an end to the outsourcing of university services has been the primary objective of these unions. This objective is shared with established unions, and UNISON has a policy of negotiating the return of jobs in-house and, where this is not achievable, of ensuring that a Living Wage clause is included in contracts between universities and their suppliers. UNISON's advice to its branches also encourages them to negotiate increases for those on higher grades when the Living Wage is introduced to maintain differentials and to try and exceed the Living Wage rate in subsequent negotiations. The union's view is that the Living Wage should be regarded as a floor, not a ceiling: 'a stepping stone toward UNISON's wider goal of achieving minimum pay rates of £15 an hour across the UK' (UNISON, 2025: 4).

These attempts to secure substantive concessions beyond the Living Wage have registered some successes. UNISON has negotiated the return of outsourced jobs at LSE and cleaning and other services have been brought in-house at QMUL and the University of London. Despite sustained campaigns at other institutions, however, such as Greenwich, the Royal College of Music, SOAS, UCL and UEL, universities have continued to rely upon contractors for the supply of ancillary services. In higher education as more generally, the effect of the Living Wage campaign has been to regulate, not reverse, outsourcing as evidenced by the large number of contract workers who have received a pay increase (Heery *et al.*, 2022). It also seems likely that unions have had only limited success in surpassing the Living Wage standard. We have identified only two cases where unions have pressed universities to adopt the higher union-authored wage standard advocated by UNISON and in only of these, at Sheffield, was this attempt successful. Unions have attempted to build outwards from the Living Wage, establishing collective organization and winning additional substantive concessions for higher education workers. Their focus has been on generating second-order effects within universities, though the evidence suggests that success has been limited.

Conclusion

Earlier research on the Living Wage campaign has tended to focus on specific methods or has identified differences in methods across industries (Prowse *et al.*, 2017). Our main finding regarding the nature of the campaign in higher education is its sheer variety. Whether we consider methods, actors, relationships between actors, or the scales at which campaigning has occurred, there is variation and it is not possible to identify a single dominant approach. The campaign to spread the Living Wage amongst universities emerges from the evidence as a surprisingly complex phenomenon.

Thus, the methods used stretch from militant trade unionism at one extreme to peer-based recruitment on the basis of civic mission at the other, with a variety of other methods in between. Similarly, new and old industrial relations actors have taken part in the campaign, including civil society organizations like Citizens UK and the Living Wage Foundation, end-user associations in the form of students' unions, and both established and newly minted trade unions. This mix of the old and the new can also be seen on the employers' side, where the employers' association, UCEA, has facilitated Living Wage accreditation alongside newer mission-based employers' organizations (Gooberman *et al.*, 2017). The campaign has also been marked by joint working between actors, with

combinations of community organizations, students' unions, trade unions and employers and their organizations coming together at different times and places to promote the Living Wage. Much of the research literature focuses on union-community coalitions (Holgate, 2015). Our research has identified coalitions of this kind, but typically of a temporary and ad hoc nature, and has also noted that unions have tended to 'appropriate' the Living Wage and seek to spread it through established industrial relations procedures without the involvement of other actors (Heery *et al.*, 2023). For its part, Citizens UK has worked jointly with unions but has formed more widespread and more durable links with higher education institutions and students' unions. Coalition has been characteristic of the campaign but has not always assumed the form that is the focus of academic debate.

The campaign has also been developed at a variety of scales. Much activity has been targeted at individual higher education employers, whether in the form of 'bottom-up' campaigns or peer recruitment at leadership level. Employer-level activity of this kind, however, has often been initiated and coordinated through national, sector-wide projects that include the joint UNISON/NUS campaign and the Higher Education Community of Practice. In addition, a notable feature of the campaign has been the use of place-based initiatives, such as Living Wage Places, regional fair employment charters and the Scottish and Welsh attempts to use university funding to leverage university accreditation. All these place-based initiatives have either been supported or developed by public authorities and the involvement of the latter has been a notable feature of the campaign. It is the outlying branches of the UK state, however, regional combined authorities and national devolved governments, that have encouraged universities to adopt the Living Wage. Because these outlying branches lack legislative power over employment they have tended to use other means of state intervention - control over finance and the influencing power that stems from political office – to shape university behaviour (Heery *et al.*, 2020).

Our second main finding is that the Living Wage campaign in higher education has been relatively successful. The objective of accrediting all universities as Living Wage Employers remains distant but virtually half have signed up and many others have been influenced by the campaign and have paid the Living Wage without seeking accreditation. A substantial number of low-paid workers have benefited from the campaign. The successful outcomes registered in higher education attest to the effectiveness of social justice campaigning and its capacity to make a difference within the system of industrial relations. It should also be noted, however, that employers in the industry, as elsewhere (Carson, 2022), have proved receptive to the campaign and it is likely that the traditional good employer commitment in public services, mediated through contemporary notions of civic mission, have rendered higher education susceptible to campaigning. The employer response, as we have noted above, has often been critical in determining campaign outcomes.

The evidence also points to specific campaign features that appear to have proved effective. Bottom-up campaigning is seemingly more effective when it assumes joint form, involving two or more institutional actors. Campaign initiatives directed specifically at higher education seem to have reaped greater rewards than those that are cross-industry, while place-based campaigns at a lower scale have generated greater success than those covering broad regions. When public authorities have joined the campaign, they appear to have had greater influence when they possess a degree of leverage over universities, as is the case in Scotland and Wales, and less influence when their initiatives have been purely voluntary.

Perhaps the main finding on campaign effectiveness, however, is that no single method emerges as notably superior to the others. All methods used, adversarial and

consensual, bottom-up and top-down, state-led and purely voluntary, have yielded positive results. Other research has tended to display a normative attach to specific campaign methods, and it is often argued that there is 'one best way' to campaign; for example, that labour standards like the Living Wage are best diffused through community organizing rather than trade unionism (Tapia, 2013). Our evidence does not support this proposition. It is catholic in its conclusion, showing that a range of methods can prove effective.

Where there is clear variation in outcomes between different methods, it lies in second-order rather than primary effects. The second-order effects identified in the study are not particularly extensive, echoing the findings of research on the Living Wage in other industries (Johnson, 2017), but they vary between Citizens UK and trade union-led campaigns. Citizens UK has used the Living Wage to extend its community network amongst universities, colleges, and students' unions and has enlisted the latter in outward-facing community campaigns, including attempts to spread the Living Wage in other industries. This aspect of the campaign has largely been neglected in prior research. Trade unions, in contrast, have tried to generate inward-facing secondary effects, building membership and organization amongst university workers and seeking to negotiate substantive improvements that reach beyond the Living Wage standard. It is in these varying patterns that one can see the distinctive contributions of different institutional actors.

This article has presented a case study of a hitherto largely neglected industrial relations process, a social justice campaign. Future research, we believe, might fruitfully examine other examples of this kind of process. Social justice campaigning has become an established feature of contemporary labour markets and arguably should be the subject of greater attention by researchers. One issue such research might explore is whether social justice campaigns vary by context. Our research has charted a relatively successful campaign in a specific context: a unionized public service industry, which employs relatively few low-wage workers, whose end-users (students) possess associational power, and which is subject to explicit political influence. Where some or all these conditions are absent then it is likely that social justice campaigning will take a different form and perhaps prove less effective. For example, in low-wage service industries, such as hospitality or retail, from which unions are largely absent, where consumers are not organized collectively, where the influence of public authorities is more distant, and where low pay is a defining characteristic, attempts to secure the Living Wage or other labour standards, may develop rather differently and secure fewer positive outcomes. A second issue that might be addressed is the emergence of what can be thought of as 'anti-social justice' campaigns. In the USA, the populist-right has launched initiatives to roll back 'diversity, equality and inclusion' policies within employment, often with a specific focus on universities. These initiatives have begun to spread to other countries, including Britain. Campaigns of this kind might usefully be subject to the type of industrial relations case-study analysis presented above, we believe, with its focus on actors, methods and outcomes.

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Employee Relations

Table I Influences on Living Wage accreditation in UK universities

	All universities		Accredited universities ¹		% of accredited universities with characteristic ²
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	%
All	183	100	89	48.6	48.6
<i>Bottom-up campaigning</i>					
Any workplace campaign ³	62	33.9	44	49.4	80.0
Citizens UK campaign	25	13.7	21	23.6	84.0
Student campaign	30	16.4	23	25.8	76.7
Union campaign	47	25.7	34	38.2	72.3
Joint campaign ⁴	29	15.9	24	27.0	82.8
<i>Employer-friendly campaigning</i>					
Living Wage Place ⁵	36	19.7	26	29.2	72.2
Living Wage City-Region ⁶	64	35.0	36	40.4	56.3
Living Wage Place or Region	85	46.4	50	56.2	58.8
<i>Pressure from public authorities</i>					
Remit Letters & CU Agreements ⁷	36	19.7	30	33.7	83.3
Regional employment charter ⁸	76	41.5	44	49.4	57.9
<i>Civic university mission</i>					
University affiliated to BitC ⁹	14	7.7	12	13.5	85.7
University affiliated to CUK chapter ¹⁰	27	16.8	16	21.9	59.3
Member of Civic University Network ¹¹	40	25.5	20	29.9	50.0

Notes:

- 1) Universities that have been accredited since the introduction of the accreditation scheme in 2011; currently there are three universities that have been but are no longer accredited;
- 2) The percentage of universities with a particular characteristic that have been accredited; e.g. the percentage of those that have been subject to a workplace campaign that has joined the accreditation scheme;

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- 3) Universities where there has been a bottom-up campaign involving Citizens UK, students, or a local trade union branch; i.e. at least one of these three actors.
- 4) Universities where there has been a campaign involving two or more organizations, e.g. Citizens UK working jointly with either a trade union or a student union;
- 5) Universities in locations where there has been a Living Wage City or Living Wage Borough campaign;
- 6) Universities in locations where there has been a Living Wage Region campaign;
- 7) Universities subject to direct attempt to ensure they pay the Living Wage, either through remit letters to national funding bodies or Civic University Partnerships;
- 8) Universities in city-regions where a voluntary fair or good employment charter has been launched which requires payment of the Living Wage;
- 9) Universities or one of their departments are members of Business in the Community (includes two universities, UEL and Winchester whose BitC membership recently lapsed);
- 10) Universities are affiliated members of their local Citizens UK Chapter (Scottish and Northern Irish universities are excluded);
- 11) Universities are part of the Civic University Network and have an agreed partnership with local or regional authorities (Scottish and Welsh universities are not included).

Employee Relations

Table II Living Wage impact in higher education

	Aggregate impact		University-level impact		Individual-level impact
	Beneficiaries of Living Wage²		Median beneficiaries per employer	Median impact ratio per employer³	Median percentage increase in hourly pay⁴
	N	%	N	%	%
Universities¹					
All workers	21,336	100.0	178	6.7	11.5
Part-timers	13,880	65.1	-	-	13.2
Contract workers	6,570	30.8	-	-	14.7
London-based ⁵	4,724	22.1	-	-	24.9

Notes:

- 1) Data are taken from 86 universities apart from estimates of percentage increases in hourly pay which are taken from 55 universities.
- 2) Number of employees (direct and contract) reported to have received a pay increase when the employer first adopted the Living Wage
- 3) The impact ratio is the number of beneficiaries (direct and contract) divided by the direct headcount at the time of adopting the Living Wage
- 4) Employers are asked to report the lowest hourly rate for each category of employees (direct, contract, full-time, part-time, London or UK-based) at the point of adopting the Living Wage. These data have been used to calculate a weighted median of the percentage increase in pay for workers at each university, college and students' union.
- 5) Workers who received the higher London Living Wage